

## **RESOURCE PACKET**

Task Group on Racism in New York Yearly Meeting

2008

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### **BOOKS**

from FGC catalog:

#### **Dismantling Racism**

*The Continuing Challenge To White America*

**BY JOSEPH BARNDT**

**This book presents a tough, demanding message on facing and dismantling racism in our hearts and institutions to build a just, multiracial, multicultural society.**

***Augsburg 1991 179 PP. Paper***

**\$15.99**

#### **Uprooting Racism**

***How White People Can Work For Racial Justice***

**BY PAUL KIVEL**

Promotes understanding of the dynamics of racism within society, institutions, and daily lives. Stories and suggestions encourage white people to work for racial justice.

*New Society 1996 243 PP. Paper*

\$17.95

**Against Racism - Where Do Quakers Stand?**

**BY BRITAIN YEARLY MEETING**

Where do Quakers stand? "Racism is a barrier that hides what God is doing in those we meet and in ourselves... the core of our Quaker life is about answering that of God in everyone. - Quaker Life Central Committee, (Britain YM) - Minute 28, June 2003." This useful tract from the Quaker Committee for Racial Equality has four sections on Consider, Contemplate, Act, and Your Meeting.

*Britain Yearly Meeting 3 PP. Tract*

\$1.00

**Silent Racism**

*How Well-meaning White People Perpetuate The Racial Divide*

**BY BARBARA TREPANIGER**

Vivid and engaging, *Silent Racism* persuasively demonstrates that silent racism - racism by people who classify themselves as "not racist" - is instrumental in the production of institutional racism. Trepagnier argues that heightened race awareness is more important in changing racial inequality than judging whether individuals are racist. The collective voices and confessions of "non-racist" white women heard in this book help reveal that all individuals harbor some racist thoughts and feelings. The oppositional categories should be replaced in contemporary thought with a continuum model that more accurately portrays today's racial reality in the United States.

*Pardigm 2007 222 PP. Paper*

\$21.95

**Overcoming Our Racism**

*The Journey To Liberation*

**BY DERALD WING SUE**

"This uncompromising anti-racist manifesto written for a white audience is concerned less with Klansmen and skinheads than with the white woman clutching her purse when minority teenagers draw near; the white man flinching at getting in an elevator full of black men; even the well-meaning but patronizing liberal teacher in a ghetto school. Sue, a Chinese-American psychologist, argues that the countless daily slights inflicted by such 'unconscious and unintentional racists,' do more harm to minorities than the occasional hate-crime. The book includes a seven-phase program for reconstructing a non-racist white identity." - Publishers Weekly

*P.Jossey Bass 2003 297 PP. Cloth*

\$22.95

**The Great Awakening**

*Reviving Faith And Politics In A Post-religious Right America*

**BY JIM WALLIS**

What can we do about extreme and needless poverty, global warming and environmental degradation, terrorism and the endless cycle of violence, racism, human trafficking, health care and education, and other pressing problems? While Washington offers only the politics of blame and fear, Jim Wallis has traveled the country and found a nation hungry for a politics of solutions and hope. He shows us that a revival is happening, as people of faith and moral conviction seek common ground for change.

*HarperOne 2008 352 PP., Cloth*

\$25.95

### The Heart Of Whiteness

*Confronting Race, Racism And White Privilege*

BY ROBERT JENSEN

This book is both a cautionary tale for those white people who believe that they have transcended racism, and also an expression of the hope for genuine transcendence. "Very few white writers have been able to point out the pathological nature of white privilege and supremacy with the eloquence of Robert Jensen. In *The Heart of Whiteness*, Jensen demonstrates not only immense wisdom on the issue of race, but does so in the kind of direct and accessible fashion that separates him from virtually any other academic scholar, or journalist, writing on these subjects today." -Tim Wise, author, *White Like Me: Reflections on Race from a Privileged Son*

*City Lights Books 2005 124 PP. Paper*

\$12.95

### Healing Heart - Communities

*Storytelling For Strong And Healthy Communities*

EDITED BY ALISON COX AND DAVID ALBERT

The *Healing Heart* provides powerful examples of the use of stories and storytelling in encouraging resiliency, empathy, respect, and healing. These engaging books contain stories, and narratives about the use of the stories in activities with different populations or which address specific social or community problems. This volume focuses on community-building, with sections on youth, violence prevention, poverty, domestic violence, substance abuse and addiction, racism, elders, culture, environmental protection, homelessness, and community development.

*New Society 2003 256 PP. Paper*

\$19.95

### Here I Am, Lord

BY ERNIE BUSCEMI AND VINCE BUSCEMI

A cutting edge booklet on discerning callings. 'We are creatures of habit and we do what is comfortable. Faith however inspires action; it produces doers. And those faithful to the obedience, to the urging of the spirit are moved into service.' The authors challenge us to explore the impact of racism on the choices we make.

*Southeastern Yearly Meeting 2006 28 PP. Paper*

\$4.00

### Here I Stand

*My Struggle For A Christianity Of Integrity, Love, And Equality (sale Books)*

BY JOHN SHELBY SPONG

Spong came from a childhood of racism, homophobia and Christian fundamentalism to become a controversial and liberal Episcopal Bishop. This book tells of his struggle to discover and create a more just, loving, and authentic Christianity, and the people and events that influenced him. Spong is scheduled as a Plenary speaker at the 2005 FGC Gathering.

*HarperSanFrancisco 1999 464 PP Paper*

\$7.50

### The Back Bench

*A Novel*

BY MARGARET HOPE BACON

It's 1837, and fourteen-year-old Quaker Myra Harlan's mother has died, forcing her to leave her home and

family in the country to live in Philadelphia. Shocked by the racism she sees all around her and caught in the aftermath of the Orthodox-Hicksite split in the Religious Society of Friends, Myra longs for her mother and struggles to make friends until she finds the Female Anti-Slavery Society, Lucretia Mott, Sarah Douglass, and - ultimately - herself.

*Quaker Press of FGC 2007 127 PP. Paper*

\$13.00

**It's Your World - If You Don't Like It, Change It**

*Activism For Teenagers*

**BY MIKKI HALPIN**

"Animal rights, racism, war protest, AIDS, school violence and bullying, women's rights, and promoting tolerance are among the topics covered here. Halpin provides basic information about each one and then makes myriad suggestions for action at home, in the community, the 'five-minute activist,' etc. The ideas are easy to implement.... This is an important book that will empower any young adult who would like to make a difference." - School Library Journal

*Simon & Schuster 2004 304 PP. Paper*

\$8.99

**Nobody Gonna Turn Me 'round**

*Stories And Songs Of The Civil Rights Movement*

**BY DOREEN RAPPAPORT, ILLUSTRATED BY SHANE W. EVANS**

Author Doreen Rappaport uses true accounts to put readers in the shoes of extraordinary people who risked everything to fight the epidemic of racism during the civil rights era. Moses Wright testified against the white men who stood accused of Till's murder. Nine black teenagers in Little Rock, Arkansas, dared to attend a newly integrated high school. James Lawson trained activists not to fight back, no matter how many insults or billy clubs rained down on them. Throughout ten turbulent years, black southerners filled jails and public places with the songs and the strength passed down to them by their ancestors, who knew too well what it meant to be chained.

*Candlewick 2006 63 PP. Cloth*

\$19.95

**The Story Of Ruby Bridges**

**BY ROBERT COLES, ILLUSTRATED BY GEORGE FORD**

"Please, God, try to forgive those people. Because even if they say those bad things, They don't know what they're doing." This is the true story of an extraordinary 6-year-old who helped shape history when she became the first African-American sent to first grade in an all white school. This moving book captures the courage of a little girl standing alone in the face of racism. "Ford's moving watercolor paintings...capture the...warmth of Ruby's family and community, the immense powers against her, and her shining inner strength." - Booklist

*Scholastic 2004 32 PP. Paper*

\$6.99

**Sarah Mapps Douglass, Faithful Attender Of Quaker Meeting**

*View From The Back Bench*

**BY MARGARET HOPE BACON, FOREWORD BY VANESSA JULYE**

Understanding the past is often key to changing the present. After 165 years the legacy of Sarah Mapps Douglass, African American scholar, educator, abolitionist, artist and faithful attender of Quaker meeting has much to say to Friends in the 21st century, especially those concerned with racism and the lack of racial diversity within the Religious Society of Friends. In the foreword Vanessa Julye places the lessons from Sarah Mapps Douglass' life in a vivid and painful contemporary context. In the biography that follows Margaret Hope Bacon explores Sarah's life.

*Quaker Press of FGC 2003 34 PP. Paper*

\$10.00

**Assimilation Blues**

*Black Families In White Communities - Who Succeeds And Why?*

BY BEVERLY DANIEL-TATUM

An exploration of racial identity and family, as seen through the lens of 10 Black families living in a predominantly white, affluent community. What does it mean to be Black in a white, middle-class community? Is it the ultimate symbol of success? Or will one pay in isolation, alienation, rootlessness? What price must one pay for paradise? Is the price too high? Tatum, a renowned authority on the psychology of racism and author of *Why are all the Black Kids sitting Together in the Cafeteria?*, interviewed black families in depth to identify the sacrifices and achievements necessary to survive and prosper in a white community.

*Basic Books 2000 139 PP. Paper*

\$14.00

**White Privilege**

*Essential Readings On The Other Side Of Racism*

EDITED BY PAULA ROTHENBERG

Studies of racism often focus on its devastating effects on the victims of prejudice. But no discussion of race is complete without exploring the other side--the ways in which some people or groups actually benefit, deliberately or inadvertently, from racial bias. *White Privilege, Second Edition*, the revision to the groundbreaking anthology from Paula Rothenberg, continues her efforts from the first edition. Two new essays contribute to the discussion of the nature and history of white power. The concluding section again challenges readers to explore ideas for using the power and the concept of white privilege to help combat racism in their own lives.

*Worth Publishers 2001 148 PP. Paper*

\$26.00

**Why Are All The Black Kids**

*Sitting Together In The Cafeteria? A Psychologist Explains The Development Of Racial Identity*

BY BEVERLY TATUM

Race identity is a positive developmental factor for young people of color, according to psychologist Beverly Daniel Tatum, Ph.D. A renowned authority on the psychology of racism, she asserts it is all right, even necessary, for Black adolescents to have a strong sense of belonging, even if it requires a period of segregation. Using real-life examples and a conversational tone, Tatum takes this issue to the grassroots level.

*HarperSF 1999 270 PP. Paper*

\$15.95

**Seeing A Color-blind Future**

*The Paradox Of Race*

BY PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

In these five eloquent and passionate pieces Patricia J. Williams asks how we might achieve a world where "color doesn't matter"--where whiteness is not equated with normalcy and blackness with exoticism and danger. Drawing on her own experience, Williams delineates the great divide between "the poles of other people's imagination and the nice calm center of oneself where dignity resides," and discusses how it might be bridged as a first step toward resolving racism. Williams offers us a new starting point--"a sensible and sustained consideration"--from which we might begin to deal honestly with the legacy and current realities of our prejudices.

*Noonday Press 1998 80 PP. Paper*

\$11.00

## White Awareness

*Handbook For Anti-racism Training, Second Edition*

BY JUDITH KATZ

Originally designed for facilitators as a training handbook complete with exercises and tools to assist white people address racism, this book guides white people through the process of understanding, challenging, and confronting issues of racism. This training program provides a meaningful way to help create change in the white community.

*University of Oklahoma Press 2003 232 PP. Paper*

\$21.95

## One Heart And A Wrong Spirit

*The Religious Society Of Friends And Colonial Racism - The 2006 James Backhouse Lecture*

BY POLLY DAKSI WALKER

"Although the original Quaker settlers held good intentions [in the United States], they were part of a larger system of colonial racism that legitimized the appropriation of Indigenous peoples and lands. Not only in the Americas, but also in colonized lands across the globe, a wrong spirit wrought devastation on all Indigenous peoples through a system of colonial racism." - the author, from the introduction In this lecture, Polly Walker draws on her Cherokee forebears and on interviews she conducted with Indigenous Australians to illustrate the damage and distress to Indigenous peoples caused by the continuing legacy of colonial racism in the United States and in Australia.

*Australia Yearly Mtg. 2006 71 PP. Paper*

\$12.50

## The Seed Cracked Open

*Growing Beyond Racism*

BY VANESSA JULYE

In this keynote address for the July 2005 New York Yearly Meeting annual sessions, Vanessa Julye addresses the reality of racism within the Religious Society of Friends. Stories from generations of her family, and the experiences of other Black Friends across time, make vivid the sense of isolation and barriers people of color face in the white, middle-class Friends culture. Vanessa Julye goes beyond critique, however, to present significant questions and additional resources as a ministry to heal and to empower Friends to "move further along the spectrum of racism."

*Quaker Press of FGC 2006 32 PP. Paper*

\$8.00

## Pray And Pay Attention

*Or How To Enjoy Meeting For Business*

BY CHARLES BROWN

An essay which traces the movement of the Spirit as Philadelphia Yearly Meeting grappled with the question of reparations and issues of racism in its annual sessions in the early 70s.

*Southeastern Yearly Meeting 1991 24 PP. Paper*

\$4.00

## Soul Work

*Anti-racist Theologies In Dialogue*

EDITED BY MARJORIE BOWENS-WHEATLEY AND NANCY PALMER-JONES

In January 2001, the UUA convened a three-day consultation on theology and racism. Approximately 30

scholars, ministers, theologians, seminarians, teachers and activists participated. The resulting 9 papers -and dialogue that followed -address the complex and pressing issues of racism. The thoughts and feelings captured here encourage reconsideration of long-held beliefs. A resource presenting many points of view, Soul Work can be used for individual reflection and study, for book discussion groups or adult education classes.

*Skinner House 2002 272 PP. Paper*

\$20.00

The Search For A Nonviolent Future

*A Promise Of Peace For Ourselves, Our Families And Our World*

BY MICHAEL NAGLER

Beginning with the achievements of Mahatma Gandhi, and following the legacy of nonviolence through the struggles against Nazism in Europe, racism in America, oppression in China and Latin America, and ethnic conflicts in Africa and Bosnia, Michael Nagler unveils a hidden history. Nonviolence, he proposes, has proven its power against arms and social injustice wherever it has been correctly understood and applied. Nagler's approach is not only historical but also spiritual, drawing on the experience of Gandhi and other activists and teachers. Individual chapters include 'A Way Out of Hell,' 'The Sweet Sound of Order,' and 'A Clear Picture of Peace.' New edition of his earlier book.

*Inner Ocean 2004 336 PP. Paper*

\$16.95

Lifting The White Veil

*An Exploration Of White American Culture In A Multiracial Context*

BY JEFF HITCHCOCK

This is an enlightening, and often revelatory work. The main focus is on the development and current characteristics of the white subculture in the United States. Hitchcock is white, married to a black woman, and worked many years in the field of diversity training and racial reconciliation. He gives white Americans the information they need to start to move beyond ingrained beliefs toward a clearer and more accurate understanding of our society and relations with other races. For those of us who would like to face and overcome the racial exclusiveness incorporated in our culture and traditions this book provides inspiration and tools to move that work forward.

*Crandall, Dostie 2002 262 PP Cloth*

\$22.95

from other sources:

Lasting Echoes, An Oral History.

BY JOSEPH BRUCHAC

A history of the treatment afforded America's original inhabitants as seen through the eyes of American Indians, from the first European settlements to the current day. Generous quotes from speeches, letters, journals, reports, and other sources documenting the arrival of and welcome extended to settlers in America; a description of how native people viewed land (not as something to own but something to share); the greed and dominance of the settlers; and the resistance to this brutality by the Native Americans. Included are treaties, reservations, Indian rights, and the activism of the last decades.

*HarperTrophy, 1999 (paperback). Ages 9-12*

(Varying used book prices only)

Race: The History of an Idea in America

BY THOMAS GOSSETT

**Bold, rigorous, and broad in scope. A lucid, accessibly written volume that ranges from colonial race theory and its European antecedents, through eighteenth- and nineteenth- century race pseudoscience, to the racist dimension of American thought and literature emerging against backgrounds such as Anglo-Saxonism, westward expansion, Social Darwinism, xenophobia, World War I, and modern racial theory.**

*Oxford University Press, New York, 1997 (paperback)*

\$26.95

**Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?**

**BY MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

King understood that racism was not merely the individualistic prejudiced attitude held against a particular person or people, but had more to do with power/economics (racism = power + prejudice), which could deny an entire group access to opportunities. In his last book, he warns that the dawning awareness that Negro demands will necessitate structural changes in society has generated a new phase of white resistance in North and South', and calls for continued faith in "mass nonviolent action and the ballot."

*Beacon Press, 1968 (paperback)*

Over \$60 new and used.

**And Don't Call Me a Racist!**

**BY ELLA MAZEL**

A treasury of thought-provoking quotes on the past, present, and future of the color line in America. An uncomfortable look at the divergent ways in which Americans view black/white relations. Most white Americans want to believe that racism is dead, or at least no longer the problem it once was. The sad truth is that racism is alive and well, and is even thriving as we enter the 21st century. Recommended for discussion.

*Argonaut Press, 1998 (paperback)*

(Varying used book prices only)

**I'm Chocolate, You're Vanilla: Raising Healthy Black and Biracial Children in a Race-Conscious World, A Guide for Parents and Teachers.**

**BY MARGUERITE A. WRIGHT**

A clear and easy book to read and use. Wright, a clinical and research psychologist, has spent many years counseling children and families. Here, she provides an exceptionally useful resource for parents and teachers to help them gain the tools to navigate the often murky terrain of race, as adults know it and, more importantly, as children experience it. She dispels contemporary myths about how young children experience race, at what age race becomes important in their psychological development and how to support adolescents as questions of race and self-esteem arise.

*Jossey-Bass Publishing, 2000 (paperback)*

\$15.95

**Race Matters**

**BY CORNELL WEST**

Thought-provoking essays that address a number of controversial issues of concern to African Americans.

The writing style is scholarly and sparse, and the prose is easy to read. Yet West's viewpoints are radical and passionately felt. He is not afraid to speak frankly and, while he presents many criticisms, he also offers many solutions.

*Vintage, 1994 (paperback) Young Adult*

\$12.95



## **ARTICLES:**

### **White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack**

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

by Peggy McIntosh

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

Thinking through unacknowledged male privilege as a phenomenon, I realized that, since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there are most likely a phenomenon of white privilege that was similarly denied and protected. As a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something that puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage.

I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks.

Describing white privilege makes one newly accountable. As we in Women's Studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so one who writes about having white privilege must ask, "Having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?"

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

My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. My schooling followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow "them" to be more like "us".

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

1. I usually think of privilege as being a favored state, whether earned or conferred by birth or luck. Yet some of the conditions I have described here work to systematically overempower certain groups. Such privilege simply confers dominance because of one's race or sex.
2. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
3. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
4. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
5. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
6. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
7. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
8. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
9. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.

10. I can 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.
11. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
12. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.
13. 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.
14. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
15. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
16. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
17. 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.
18. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.
19. 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.
20. 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.
21. I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
22. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, out numbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.
23. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having coworkers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.
24. 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.
25. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
26. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
27. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in flesh color and have them more or less match my skin.

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

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

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

In proportion as my racial group was being made confident, comfortable, and oblivious, other groups were likely being made unconfident, uncomfortable, and alienated. Whiteness protected me from many kinds of hostility, distress, and violence, which I was being subtly trained to visit in turn upon people of color. For this reason, the word "privilege" now seems to me misleading. We want, then, to distinguish between earned strength and unearned power conferred systematically. Power from unearned privilege can look like strength when it is in fact permission to escape or to dominate. But not all of the privileges on my list are inevitably damaging. Some, like the expectation that neighbors will be decent to you, or that your race will not count against you in court, should be the norm in a just society. Others, like the privilege to

ignore less powerful people, distort the humanity of the holders as well as the ignored groups.

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

I have met very few men who are truly distressed about systemic, unearned male advantage and conferred dominance. And so one question for me and others like me is whether we will be like them, or whether we will get truly distressed, even outraged, about unearned race advantage and conferred dominance and if so, what we will do to lessen them. In any case, we need to do more work in identifying how they actually affect our daily lives. Many, perhaps most, of our white students in the U.S. think that racism doesn't affect them because they are not people of color; they do not see "whiteness" as a racial identity. In addition, since race and sex are not the only advantaging systems at work, we need similarly to examine the daily experience of having age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation.

Difficulties and dangers surrounding the task of finding parallels are many. Since racism, sexism, and heterosexism are not the same, the advantaging associated with them should not be seen as the same. In addition, it is hard to disentangle aspects of unearned advantage which rest more on social class, economic class, race, religion, sex and ethnic identity than on other factors. Still, all of the oppressions are interlocking, as the Combahee River Collective Statement of 1977 continues to remind us eloquently. One factor seems clear about all of the interlocking oppressions. They take both active forms which we can see and embedded forms which as a member of the dominant group one is taught not to see. In my class and place, I did not see myself as a racist because I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on my group from birth.

Disapproving of the systems won't be enough to change them. I was taught to think that racism could end if white individuals changed their attitudes. But a white skin in the United States opens many doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance has been conferred on us. Individual acts can palliate, but cannot end, these problems. To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these taboo subjects. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to be now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that systems of dominance exist.

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

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

*Peggy McIntosh is associate director of the Wellesley Collage Center for Research on Women. This essay is excerpted from Working Paper 189. "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming To See Correspondences through Work in Women's Studies" (1988), by Peggy McIntosh; available for \$4.00 from the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley MA 02181. The working paper contains a longer list of privileges.*

### **Black Pain: Bearing the Constant Burden**

by Jean Tucker Mann

*"I was taught to see racism as an attitude held by individuals rather than cultural groups/populations. I was taught that I could overcome the consequences of racism by respecting myself and others, setting high standards and goals, and believing in my ability to accomplish whatever I set ut to do."*

1. I can, if I wish, arrange to be in the company of people of my race in most social settings. This is not the case in my professional life where most of my colleagues are of a different culture.
2. When I consider purchasing or renting a house in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live, I know some of my prospective neighbors feel silent panic that their property value will decrease and their community will change for the worse.
3. I can be pretty sure that some of my neighbors in such a location will eventually move because I chose to live there or

will be hostile to me because I am black.

4. When I am shopping, know that security personnel observe me more closely as a potential shoplifter than they would a white woman.
5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see few people of my race represented in positive circumstances.
6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown few people of my color who made worthwhile contributions to that cause.
7. I was sure that my children would be given curricular materials that barely reflected an historical or current account of the contributions of black people to the development of our country, and I was correct.
8. If I want to, I can persevere to find a publisher for this piece on Black Pain, but many will have a "so what's new" attitude.
9. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented because so many musicians outside of my culture have adopted the ethnic nuances of black music in their compositions and arrangements.
10. Whenever I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color to give the appearance of financial risk.
11. My children are increasingly at risk because they are black males and I worry constantly about their well being because of their skin color.
12. I can swear, or dress in second hand clothes, or not answer letters or be late for meetings and be certain that others will stereotype my behavior as "what blacks do."
13. I can speak in public to a powerful male group and will mostly likely be politely received, but not taken seriously even if my presentation is powerfully relevant.
14. Whenever I do well, I'm perceived as a credit to my race.
15. Most white people believe that I can speak to all issues and problems that concern black people.
16. If I remained oblivious to the language and customs of the white majority, I would be penalized economically, academically and professionally.
17. I would be seen as a cultural antagonist if I criticized our government and discussed my fear of its policies and behavior.
18. I can be pretty sure most of the time when I ask to speak to "the person in charge," I will be facing a white person.
19. My race can be a catalyst for negative attention by traffic policemen and IRS audits of tax returns.
20. In order to buy posters, post cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race, I must find special sections in shops and stores or purchase from black owned businesses.
21. When I attend high level meetings, I am either the only black person in the room or one of very few. This can make me feel isolated, alone, outnumbered and I am frequently ignored.
22. When I receive a high level appointment to a position, there are always co-workers who assume racial preference rather than competence.
23. I can put certain members of my race in jeopardy of embarrassment by selecting certain public places for meetings/gatherings.
24. My race can be a negative factor in obtaining legal or medical help.
25. I am constantly "on alert" for racial overtones in circumstances, situations, and interactions.
26. Blemish cover sold in most stores does not match my skin. Bandages advertised as "flesh" color are not the color of my flesh.

While I hate racism, I have learned to survive it. I feel such heavy sadness that my children and their children and my friends' children and grandchildren will continue to be caught in the vise of this venomous, perverse attitudinal phenomenon that too many in our society intentionally and unintentionally perpetuate.

I know that no matter what I achieve, how hard I work, how much I contribute, how high my standards, how deep my values, how good my intentions - in the minds of too many who have the power to impact my life, the color of my skin relegates me to second class citizenship; that is and always will be a Constant Burden.

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*Copying fee is \$0.50 per copy that you make and is payable to The SEED Project at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley MA 02181. If this fee creates a problem for your Meeting, please contact the Clerk of the Task Group on Racism.*

## **VIDEOS/FILMS**

**THE COLOR OF FEAR** by Lee Mun Wah (Chinese American community therapist), 1994. Distributed through NTI Film and Video. 19 minutes.

Powerful documentary examines issues of race, prejudice, privilege and fear through the eyes of a group of eight men from various racial and ethnic backgrounds who come together for a weekend to talk honestly about race across race. "We saw that through no fault of our own, all of us have internalized messages that devalue people of color and that portray White people as more intelligent, able, moral and credible."

**FREE INDEED**, 1995. 25 minutes. A video drama about racism that challenges white viewers to think about the privileges that come with being white in North America. Four white, middle-class young adults play a card game as a prerequisite for doing a service project for a black Baptist church. The game leads to a discussion about the privileges white people have and their attitudes about racism. A thought-provoking discussion starter.

**EYE OF THE STORM** (ABC News), 1970. 26 minutes.  
Code: JE-26

In response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. over thirty years ago, Jane Elliott devised the controversial and startling "Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes" exercise. A wake up call for all ages, this best-selling program teaches about prejudices using a dramatic framework. It provides an examination of the realities of discrimination as experienced by actual students in the classroom of third grade teacher, Jane Elliott, whose demonstration shows how quickly children can succumb to discriminatory behavior.

This video chronicles her now famous exercise where she divides her class based upon the color of their eyes and bestows upon one group privileges and on the other group impediments. Her work endures to this day and this ABC video, decades later, still has a great deal to teach us.

**A CLASS DIVIDED**, 1984. 60 minutes.  
Code: 3E-60

Filmed fifteen years after "Eye of the Storm," this sequel explores what the children in Jane Elliott's daring classroom exercise learned about discrimination and how it still affects them today. Ms. Elliott meets with some of her former students to analyze the exercise in prejudice and its impact on their lives.

**MIRRORS OF PRIVILEGE: MAKING WHITENESS VISIBLE**, Shakti Butler, Producer/Director. 50 minute. Color video.

A simply made but surprisingly compelling film, introduces white people to the part of our whiteness we've learned not to see, through a series of conversations with white people who have thought deeply about race. These are images and voices that have been largely missing from America's discussion of race—articulate, principled, caring white people struggling to come to grips with their own fear, guilt, and ambivalence. They form, as anti-racism activist Van Jones puts it, "a cry from the heart of white people working to restore their own humanity."

## **CURRICULA:**

**Teaching Tolerance** is an award-winning project of the **Southern Poverty Law Center** which collects, produces, and distributes information to support the efforts of K-12 teachers and other educators to promote respect for differences and appreciation of diversity.

Teaching Tolerance was launched in 1991 by the Southern Poverty Law Center to provide teachers at all levels with ideas and free resources for building community in the classroom and beyond. Through its semiannual [Teaching Tolerance](#) magazine, video-and-text packages, teacher grants and Internet activities, the project helps schools nationwide fight bias and celebrate diversity.

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Educational kits and subscriptions to its magazine are FREE to: classroom teachers, school librarians, school counselors, school administrators, professors of education, leaders of homeschool networks, youth directors at houses of worship and employees of youth-serving nonprofit organizations.

To receive FREE materials, download and return our free product order form on line (PDF).

Teachers wishing to order classroom sets of books included in our kits should use the book order form (attached at back of packet).

#### **Other related materials from the Center:**

##### ***Teaching Tolerance* magazine**

Released twice a year, this journal is the nation's leading publication for preK-12 educators on diversity issues.

##### ***Responding to Hate at School***

The strategies profiled in "Responding to Hate at School" can help teachers, administrators, and counselors react effectively to incidents of hate, bias and prejudice.

##### ***10 Ways to Fight Hate on Campus***

In response to the groundswell of hate crimes and bias incidents on U.S. campuses, this guide presents ten steps for student activists, administrators, and others to address a crisis — and prevent these incidents from happening.

##### ***Beyond the Golden Rule: A Parent's Guide***

In age-specific sections, parents will find practical advice from psychologists, educators and other experts about ways to prevent and respond to prejudice.

##### ***10 Ways to Fight Hate***

The Klan is planning a march in your community. A child just became the victim of a hate crime. What can you do? "10 Ways to Fight Hate" outlines proven strategies that community activists can use to react effectively when hatred hits home.

##### ***101 Tools for Tolerance***

Hatred and intolerance can be overcome only when citizen activists stand up and make a difference. "101 Tools for Tolerance" provides simple ideas for promoting equity and celebrating diversity. The booklet offers steps specifically designed for individuals, schools, businesses and communities.

#### **From the Anti-Defamation League:**

##### ***The Life and Achievements of Rosa Parks***

A commemoration of the life of Rosa Parks that includes a brief biography of her life, a lesson plan for grades 6 and up, a list of resources for teachers and an annotated bibliography of children's books.

#### **WORKSHOP, SELF-FACILITATED (Task Group on Racism in NYM)**

##### ***Fostering Inclusion in Our Meetings and in the New York Yearly Meeting.*** Task Group on Racism in the New York Yearly Meeting

A clear and flexible guide that helps Friends to explore the goal of reaching out to people of color and increasing diversity in our meetings.

#### **APOLOGIES by other faith communities - SOME EXCERPTS**

### **1. Reform Mormonism:**

We deeply apologize to the world, and in particular African Americans, for the erroneous teachings of ... the historical Mormon faith. ... We acknowledge the pain and suffering [that] racism caused and continues to cause in the world, and we strongly condemn these practices. ... We regret any pain and suffering caused by Mormon practices with regards to race, and will continue to state honestly our regret for the past and our hope for an improved future where the subject is honestly accounted for and every attempt is made to treat each other equally with respect, love, admiration, and fellowship.

(Excerpts. From the Internet, "Racism and Mormon History" - no date.)

### **2. Episcopal Church (U.S.A.):**

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church declare unequivocally that the institution of slavery in the United States and anywhere else in the world, based as it is on "ownership" of some persons by other persons, was and is a sin and a fundamental betrayal of the humanity of all persons who were involved, a sin that continues to plague our common life in the Church and our culture; and be it further

Resolved, That The Episcopal Church acknowledge its history of participation in this sin and the deep and lasting injury which the institution of slavery and its aftermath have inflicted on society and on the Church; and be it further

Resolved, That we express our most profound regret that (a) The Episcopal Church lent the institution of slavery its support and justification based on Scripture, and (b) after slavery was formally abolished, The Episcopal Church continued for at least a century to support de jure and de facto segregation and discrimination; and be it further

Resolved, That The Episcopal Church apologize for its complicity in and the injury done by the institution of slavery and its aftermath; we repent of this sin and ask God's grace and forgiveness ...

Excerpt. Citation: General Convention, Journal of the General Convention of...The Episcopal Church, Columbus, 2006 (New York: General Convention, 2007), pp. 664-665.

### **3. Southern Baptists:**

Urging Baptists to be "agents of reconciliation," the news release reported, the covenant specifically calls Baptists:

-- to examine ways in which their "evangelism, Christian education and economic structures perpetuate racism, and work aggressively for change."

-- to "a renewal of worship and cleansing from racial sin" in Baptist churches "and a commitment to wholistic and interracial mission and evangelism."

-- "to work for the elimination of unfair trade and [for] a just world economy, the protection of the rights of aboriginal and tribal peoples and to study the affirmation of the relationship between gospel and culture."

-- to repent "in churches, especially in North America and Europe, where worship is largely still segregated."

-- to commit to "racial justice as an integral part of proclaiming Good News; [to] promote economic development as a way forward to racial justice; use multi-racial images and idioms in worship; and [to] develop church educational programs that promote a Christian lifestyle that demonstrates justice and racial harmony."

-- to move "towards a mission policy that empowers all Baptists to evangelize and disciple all people groups around the world."

Excerpts. Resolution On Racial Reconciliation On The 150th Anniversary Of The Southern Baptist Convention, June 1995

### **4. Presbyterians:**

The Presbyterian Church of America at its 2002 Annual Meeting in Birmingham, Alabama passed the following:

The heinous sins attendant upon unbiblical forms of servitude - including oppression, racism, exploitation, manstealing, and chattel slavery - stand in opposition to the Gospel. The effects of these sins have created and continue to create barriers between brothers and sisters of different races and/or economic spheres.

Therefore we confess our involvement in these sins. As a people, both we and our fathers, have failed to keep the commandments, the statutes, and the laws God has commanded. We therefore publicly repent of our pride, our complacency, and our complicity. Furthermore, we seek the forgiveness of our brothers and sisters for the reticence of our

hearts that have constrained us from acting swiftly in this matter. We will strive, in the manner consistent with the Gospel imperatives, for the encouragement of racial conciliation, the establishment of urban and minority congregations, and the enhancement of existing ministries in our cities, among the poor, and across all social, racial, and economic boundaries, to the glory of God.

An observation from "Reconciliation as a Spiritual Discipline," UU World: the Magazine of Unitarian Universalist Association, March/April, 2004:

Many programs that address antiracism have not stressed **reconciliation**, perhaps out of concern that people might confuse reconciliation with apologizing and forgiving. ...

"Who is apology really for? What does it do for the injured party? Is it to relieve the burden of the person who caused the injury, leaving the injured holding the responsibility of accepting the apology with no commitment to changing the conditions that caused the problem? The person who apologizes may never know the impact of their actions."

By contrast, reconciliation transforms the present moment as well as the future of a relationship.

TGR.NYYM  
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Teaching Tolerance brochures (preK-12)

Responding to Hate at School (K-12): English

Responding to Hate at School (K-12): Spanish

Speak Up (General Audience)

10 Ways to Fight Hate on Campus (Colleges)

Beyond the Golden Rule (Parents)

10 Ways to Fight Hate (General Audience): English

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