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Scaffolding as Social Construction

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To our families who have lived and continue to live through the struggles against racism with grace and dignity

Foreword

W. E. B. DuBois, the famous sociologist, wrote that the problem of the twentieth century would be the problem of the color line (DuBois, 2007, p. 15). How has that problem continued into the twenty-first century—with such insistence? In the first two chapters of this book (see pages 1–23), authors Tourse, Hamilton-Mason, and Wewiorski provide a conceptual framework to address that question, highlighting "scaffolding" as a cohesive structure of reinforcement and continuation of racism.

"It is the scaffolding … that supports and maintains racial discrimination … that helps to prevent the collapse of this morphing entity… Racism morphs, but the scaffolding continues to hold it in place… It is the structural stability of the scaffolding, based on interchangeable parts and cross bracing, that has enabled and promoted the evolution of racism to forms that are now more sophisticated and often less capable of being identified" (p. 7).

Faced with a moment of great urgency to discuss race in America, people of concern and goodwill seek frameworks in which to discuss such a socially charged topic. This book provides a particularly coherent framework for such discourse because the authors analyze how the social system is constructed, functions, and persists.

To understand the framework the authors create to define, describe, and discuss Systemic Institutional Racism, consider the following visual exercise:

- IMAGINE a construction toy/game with interlacing pieces in colors red, yellow, orange, and blue.
- CONSTRUCT a creative form from each color.
- CONNECT the four color forms to each other—to make a single form.
- NAME the completed form "A So*cial Construction*."
- IDENTIFY and name those parts of the final social construction form: "poles" that anchor the structure vertically, and "rungs" that brace the structure by going around the poles.
- SHOW how the structure has "interchangeable" and "interconnected" parts reinforcing the structural form and preventing its collapse.

When the authors' conceptual framework is visualized, we see why comments like "I don't see color," or "Some of my best friends are…," simply miss or avoid the power of firmly constructed reality. In a systemic framework, color is not simply a category; it is both constructed in a particular manner and *also* connected to the larger constructed framework. Individual pieces of the construction exist, but they are *also* connected to their same color components and the larger constructed framework.

Scaffolding Poles and Rungs The authors define five "upright poles" of the scaffolding based on Young's (p. 10) five concepts of how oppression is developed and sustained: *exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence.* They also provide examples of "…how the interconnectedness of these five areas of oppression help to solidify racial scaffolding." Emphasizing frameworks of theorists who highlight issues of economic stratification and power, six component dimensions in the development of racial oppression are then presented (pp. 10–12):

- Initiation of oppression
- Mechanisms of oppression
- Privileges of oppression
- Elite maintenance of oppression
- Rationalization of oppression
- Resistance to oppression

These six dimensions in the development of racial oppression inform the conceptualization of the supporting "rungs" that are structured around the scaffolding's "upright poles." The supporting rungs are *colonialism, capitalism, class structure, legal structures, the distribution of privileges and benefits, and prevailing intellectual thought and scientific theories* (p.12).

Systemic Institutional Racism (a form of oppression) is defined early in the book and types of racism are also described including *aversive* racism, *dominative* racism, *normative/symbolic,* and *cultural* racism (p. 6). The authors agree with proponents of Critical Race Theory "…that racism as a social construction eclipses other forms of oppression and should be viewed structurally" (p. 6).

Scaffolding and People of Color The refinement and reinforcement of this scaffolding over time has led to the institutionalized ways in which all groups of color have been constrained historically and continue to be constrained today (p. 6). To illustrate the structural stability of racial scaffolding based on interchangeable parts and cross-bracing, the authors apply the framework to experiences of four core groups: First Nation Peoples, African Americans, Mexicans, and Chinese (Chap. 3, pp. 25–38). Based on the authors' premise, these are the first groups to experience continual racial bias, and the groups upon which inbred contemporary systemic institutional racist infrastructure is grounded. Scaffolding can also be applied to other components in the Interconnected Institutional Web including *health, social services, finances, government, industry, the military, religion, the legal system, housing, and education* (p. 12).

Scaffolding and Education Public education in the United States is a component of the Institutional Web, so I applied the authors' framework to sample educational experiences of African Americans and children of First Nations in the United States. When the concept of "scaffolding" is applied to public education for African Americans, a history of oppression and resistance emerges. A primary pole of the scaffold is *exploitation* in enslavement, and the pole of *violence* has been used to maintain the pole of *exploitation*. The rungs of *capitalism* and *class structure* buttress the scaffold. Significant contradictions arise between two other buttressing rungs of the scaffold—prominent in African American history—the *legal structure* and *scientific theories*. While racist "scientific" theories were used to try to prove black intellectual inferiority (Jackson & Weidman, 2006, pp. 29–61), laws were also passed to prevent black people from learning to read and write. The ironic contradiction is clear; if black people's intellectual inferiority can be shown scientifically, why was it necessary to pass laws to *prevent* them from learning to read and write? That obvious contradiction did not prevent passage of laws in eight states making literacy illegal for black people. The strong pole of **violence** was firmly planted in the scaffold and used to enforce the contradictory anti-literacy laws (Williams, 2005, pp. 203–208).

Another historical contradiction is revealed in reinforced joining of two poles on the scaffold representing *cultural imperialism* and *exploitation* related to educational treatment of First Nation Peoples. Many children from First Nations on this continent were forced to attend government or church-related schools beginning in the late nineteenth century. Only English was spoken in school, and children were forbidden to and punished for using their native languages. Many years later during World War II, the languages of some First Nation people were used as Codes by the U.S. military to safely send military messages. People who were forbidden to speak their languages in schools were asked to use them in military service. The First Nations Code Talkers were very successful, but were not honored for their World War II military service until 2001—56 years after the war ended (National Museum of the American Indian Education Office, 2006).

Within the Institutional Web the authors present, education is related to all other components. Of particular note is the relationship between education and housing. Recent scholarship by Richard Rothstein (2017) in *The Color of Law* details how, in the 1940s and 1950s, government policy at the federal, state, and local level racially segregated housing and frequently demolished integrated neighborhoods in cities. The Federal Government also subsidized the development of suburbs with policies that excluded black people. The result is that for many years housing patterns have been a major reason that schools are becoming more segregated than they were in 1954, when Brown v Board of Education outlawed segregation in public schools (Rothstein, 2017).

Reality and Acknowledgments For people seeking to understand racism within an institutional network, this book stands out in its presentation of a framework in which to understand not only what racism *is,* but also how racism *works*! In the discussion of examples of the cross-bracing of interchangeable parts, readers gain greater clarity about the interconnectedness of components of racism in the daily lives of people of color. Chapter 7 (pp. 101–114) on "Intersectionality" illustrates

the "cross-bracing" by using Critical Race Theory to capture the complexity of the scaffolding of racism within the concept of intersectionality. Defining racial oppression as more than a single ideology or occurrence, "counter stories" by people of color are used to examine both personal experience and history. Complex contradictions often emerge. The authors note for example that African Americans can be both very invisible and very visible at the same time. They are often invisible in written history at the same time that they are highly visible in racial profiling. "Everything done by people of color is infiltrated by these conflicting forms of discrimination which are structured on power and privilege" (p. 103).

In addition to describing what racism is and how it works, in Chap. 9, the authors also indicate models of resistance that illustrate the strength of the interlocking system supporting racism. Additionally, these models also indicate what is required to deconstruct racism and continue and improve the age-old struggle for social justice. The models are defined as diverse forms of formal and informal opposition to social institutions, policies, and practices that are experienced as oppressive. Antiracism is defined as "…the practice of identifying, challenging and changing the values, structures and behaviors that perpetuate systemic racism" (p. 137). Antiracism movements and models presented include the Civil Rights Movement, Liberation Health, Liberation Theology, Undoing Racism, Black Lives Matter, Standing Rock, and Critical Race Theory. "All models emphasize some form of resistance directed at deconstructing the rungs and poles of systemic racial scaffolding with the ultimate goal of eliminating oppression" (p. 139). For social models designed to combat racism to be successful, there must first be acknowledgement of the problem. As James Baldwin said prophetically:

"Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced" (Kenan, 2010).

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Preface

The purpose of this book is to articulate the essence of racism in the United States. Racism is embodied in the oppressive scaffolding that historically assisted in the development of the United States and is still embedded and continues to evolve in this country's ongoing construction. For example, it is present in economic, political, and social structures and systems that govern this country. Additionally, this book revisits historically what keeps this scaffolding in position currently, and how it intersects with other areas of discrimination. We identify basic concepts that are important for a full understanding of racism in America: oppression, social construction of race, the institutional web, privilege, intersectionality, and scaffolding. Finally, the book examines the relationship between racism and justice and discusses activism directed at deconstructing institutionalized racism.

One would think that by this point in American history racism would have been eliminated; however, it has dynamic sociological and psychological scaffolding that anchors and shapes the societal infrastructures (e.g., education, the penal system, the economy) that support ongoing racism in this country. Treaties, laws, codes, and policies that oppress, discriminate, and denigrate and that evolved over hundreds of years in this country have reinforced and sustained the inequitable outcomes for its peoples of color. The societal and social dimensions of racism are entrenched in the Nation's psyche, supported by an internalized psychological need for power and control by whites that continues to exist, even today. Both the societal and the social dimensions are an integral part of the scaffolding that maintains racism in the United States.

Racism is *imbedded* in every facet of American life and saturates individual sense of being through inequities and biases such as marginalization and distancing. Its existence at multiple hierarchical levels—individual, organizational, and societal—makes it a very strong and entrenched force that is virtually invisible to many in the society because it appears to be the norm. Racism also intersects with and is entrenched in social subsets such as gender, class, sexual orientation, and functional ability. When one becomes aware of all the elements that comprise the scaffolding for maintaining racism and that help to keep the scaffolding in place, racism appears so overwhelming and pervasive that it can seem impossible to eradicate. Deconstructing this scaffolding helps us to understand how racism might be changed.

The nine chapters of this book provide a deeper understanding of the scaffolding and other psychological, social, and structural mechanisms that maintain racism in the United States. Scenarios are provided that bring to life the racial inequities and perspectives that exist in this country. These scenarios illuminate some of the documented historical and contemporary experiences, as well as the collective lived experiences and observations of the authors, beginning during the segregation era.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of racism in the United States, giving a brief perspective of the forefathers' engagement in the established order of that time that supported racial discrimination; it defines racism for the purposes of this book; and it discusses some theoretical concepts that are important for understanding racism. Most importantly, this chapter introduces and describes the concept of *scaffolding* as the means of perpetuating racism from its historical formation in this country to the present. The concept of scaffolding is used throughout the book to provide an understanding of the various components of racism as it permeates American society.

Chapter 2 looks closely at discrimination as it is exemplified in the myriad acts that malign, denigrate, physically harm, and globally oppress individuals and groups. This chapter succinctly explicates the multifaceted and complex ways in which discrimination becomes an intrinsic aspect of one's life and particularly, how it is used by some towards others. It ends with definitions of some concepts that manifest acts of discrimination.

Chapter 3 examines the four major racial groups of color that historically were the targets of legalized racial discrimination during the formation and expansion of the United States. It also briefly explains the historical context that supported this discrimination. Each of the four groups—Africans, First Nation People, Mexicans, and Chinese—is discussed within the context of historical institutionalized racial discrimination. They are also discussed in terms of how the components of the scaffolding established and maintained their subordinate position in American society relative to the dominant position of whites.

Chapter 4 focuses on how racism is manifest in the phenomenon of immigration. It defines the concept of immigration, examines the history of immigration in the United States, and presents some of the theories that explain the movement of people. This chapter also analyzes in greater detail the relationship between systemic racism and immigration within the identified core groups, using examples of how the core groups, as well as other more recent arrivals, are treated.

Chapter 5 examines racism as an intricate part of who we are. Internalized racism comes from centuries of acceptance and reinforcement of societal norms that reflect an unequal society. This chapter examines how racism influences the physic infrastructure of the individual by discussing racial identity, discussing the difference between race and ethnicity, and noting two racial identity models that can identify where people are in their racial development.

Chapter 6 examines entrenched racism that operates to create and maintain racial inequalities at the broad societal level. Racial disparities in poverty and accumulated wealth are examined to illuminate the operation of this structural form of racism. Using a systems theory framework, we also describe and discuss the operation of

structural racism on three levels—individual, organizational, and societal—and then use employment as an example to examine its impacts.

Chapter 7 looks at the intersection of racism with other subsets of discrimination such as gender, class, and ethnicity. This chapter also discusses oppression and elements that influence dominance—power and cultural sway. In addition, the chapter examines colonization, immigration, and their intersections with race. Finally, the chapter emphasizes how the overlay of racial discrimination influences and complicates further life locations.

Chapter 8 examines the connection between racism and social justice. Social justice is defined and the processes by which it is achieved are considered through the examination of inequality and types of justice such as distributive, procedural, and interactional justice. We explore the social construction of justice for the core groups and recent immigrants through examples. An intersectional analysis is applied to further understand the ways in which gender, sexual orientation, immigration status, and ethnicity intersect with racial scaffolding.

Chapter 9 discusses in depth the deconstruction of racism through activism. It addresses models and liberation theories and past movements that coalesce into today's activism. Two different movement styles relevant for contemporary activism are presented.

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This book has been a 6-year odyssey. Along the way, we have had the unending confirmation and understanding of our families who listened to our quandaries, provided vocal support, and at times who were just there as comfort. Their support was deepened in that they realize the need for expressing the historical significance of racism in the United States. We are grateful for their absolute belief in this project and most importantly, their love and inspiration. Family is important, and to have their acceptance of this work assisted us in completing this book.

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About the Authors

Robbie W.C. Tourse retired in 2008 from Boston College Graduate School of Social Work after a 29-year career at that institution. During her tenure there she was Director of Field Education, Coordinator of the Worcester/Paxton Off-Site Program, and taught in the clinical sequence. She received her B.A. from Spelman College, her M.S. from Simmons College School of Social Work, and her Ph.D. from the Lynch School of Education at Boston College in Administration in Higher Education. Her clinical interests involve cultural/racial issues; transdisciplinary practice, particularly between public schools and mental health facilities in urban areas; and field education. Dr. Tourse also developed and directed a social service department in a community development corporation before joining Boston College. In addition, throughout her years of clinical practice and public service, she consulted with and/or co-led social work and medical groups as well as other entities on racial and cultural understanding and their integration in the work place. She has co-edited a book and has numerous publications in journals and chapters in books. Dr. Tourse has also presented papers in her areas of interests nationally and internationally. She received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Massachusetts Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers in 2010. Since retirement, Dr. Tourse has been an adjunct professor at Simmons College School of Social Work teaching courses in human behavior, racism, and group work.

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Chapter 1
Racial Scaffolding: Conceptual Overview

"The land of the free" is a widely held and loudly sung sentiment about the United States. It is an ideal that has become a credo that draws diverse peoples from around the globe to this uniquely created nation. However, the unique history and development of the United States of America have led to the establishment of a nation in which freedom and equality are not universally enjoyed by all its people. This is a central paradox built into the constitution by the founding fathers that continues to haunt the nation today.

The founding fathers were a group of white Anglo-Saxon protestant males who had established themselves as the landed gentry in the American British colonies. They were seeking independence from the English monarchy and from a system of governance that they viewed as oppressive. In their Declaration of Independence they pronounced, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Their aim was to establish a nation in which they and their heirs would be free to live as they desired under a system of self-governance. In making this declaration, they gave no thought to extending these rights to individuals outside their peer group of white landholding males residing in the British colonies in America. Their document did not address the contradiction of implementing a system of "Life, Liberty and Freedom" for themselves, and implementing a restrictive oppressive society for individuals outside of their select in-group.

Consequently, as this newly established country evolved, it developed a myriad of practices and policies that institutionalized the central paradox that not all its residents had equal rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The truth is that, although it is touted as "the land of the free," the United States has never been a nation in which all its peoples have been "free" or "equal." For those of Anglo-Saxon protestant ancestry who have had power and privilege, the United States has indeed been the "land of the free." The rules, norms, and standards for a society are established by those in power. Thus, over time, all the structures of American society have been set up to support white identity. This support provides privileges that others are not privy to. White privilege has been the norm in this country because whites have continually been the dominant group. In contrast, freedom and equality have been elusive for those without power or

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privilege—those who lived on this land before the arrival of European colonists or who subsequently came to these shores from other regions of the world. Over time, rights and privileges have been extended to individuals from other ancestral heritages. However, over the long term and as a group, it is whites who have benefited politically, financially, personally, socially, and generally within the institutional structures that govern this country.

Beginning with the English colonists and continuing to the present day, the need of white Americans to retain power, resources, and social status has ingrained in the American psyche a psychological perception of "the other" as marginal, inferior, and, therefore, not worthy of occupying positions that require thoughtful and intelligent actions. Consequently, even when persons who are members of subordinate groups obtain power positions, they continue to be perceived as "the other" and often face tactical maneuvers that can stymie, protract, or devalue cogent well-conceived ideas and possible positive change. These tactics, along with established laws and policies, form a scaffolding that supports institutionalized racism in this country. This book explains and examines how the continuing lack of freedom and equality of those perceived as "the other" is perpetuated and reinforced by institutional scaffolding based on the uniquely American social construction of race. The following case exemplifies the fractured nature of freedom and equality in the United States and illuminates the social construction of racism.

The Case of Trayvon Martin

> In 2012 as he talked on his cellphone while walking through his middle-class Florida neighborhood, 17 year-old Trayvon Martin, an African-American youth was gunned down by an overzealous neighborhood watch coordinator. His murderer, George Zimmerman, was acquitted (Rubin, 2013). The murder of Trayvon Martin and the acquittal of his murderer confronted America with the fact it is still not a post-racial social society. This murder was a sad reminder of how far the United States has yet to go to eliminate racism.

The Trayvon Martin case unfolds as a symbol of contemporary race relations in the United States. Cho (2008) describes post-racialism as a "twenty-first century ideology that reflects a belief that, due to the significant racial progress that has been made, the state need not engage in race-based decision-making or adopt race-based remedies, and that society eschew race as a central organizing principle of social action. Central to post-racialism is the idea that "racial thinking and racial remedies are no longer needed because the nation has…transcended racial divisions of past generations" (Cho, 2008, p. 458). Post-racialists may be correct that we have come a long way, but they are not correct when they claim that race no longer matters and should not be acknowledged.

From the time of Trayvon Martin's murder until the acquittal of Zimmerman, and even now, the case represents poignant symbolism of the enduring legacy of how racism is enacted in America. Regardless of the lack of a conviction for Zimmerman, if Martin had been white, it is unlikely that Zimmerman would have stated, as he did during the trial, that Martin was "real suspicious," "up to no good," and "on drugs or something."

Whether he was aware of this or not, race likely influenced Zimmerman's perception that Martin posed a threat of criminality (Lee, 2013, p. 111). Race also may have influenced the government's decision not to arrest Zimmerman. Had Zimmerman been an African American who shot an unarmed white teenager during a fist fight, it is unlikely that the police would have released Zimmerman without any charges.

This paradox points out the deep racial schism in American society and epitomizes the fragmented nature of the American soul and psyche as the nation confronts its oldest social problem in a new century. For example, the election of Barak Obama in 2008, as the first African American president of the United States, signaled to most Americans that the United States had entered a post-racial society. Yet extremist racist views and implicit biases (unconscious thoughts that surface in prejudicial ways) have continued to motivate anti-integration violence against its citizens. While many eras in American history have included moments of racial progress, occurring in the midst of violence, in this particular moment, the violent expression of racism alongside such obvious racial progress seems to defy logic.

Aversive racism theory (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 2004; Kovel, 1984) is a form of racism that provides one explanation for racial extremism in this post-civil rights era. Aversive racism is a form of present day bias in which individuals sympathize with victims of past injustice, support the principle of racial equality, and regard themselves as non-prejudiced, but at the same time possess negative feelings and beliefs about persons of color (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 2004). Conflicting views therefore coexist within a particular individual. Because such views are contradictory, aversive racists subconsciously suppress their negative views and will not discriminate unless they can ascribe nonracial reasons for their actions. Hence, Trayvon Martin was perceived as a threat. In finding George Zimmerman not guilty of murder or manslaughter, the jury agreed that the shooting of Trayvon Martin could have been justifiable because Zimmerman feared great bodily harm or death.

A broader explanation for this case is that there is a foundation of institutional racial scaffolding in the United States—racism stresses differences among individuals or groups; it is not the differences themselves that lead to subordination and systemic oppression, but the interpretation of differences in policy and law enforcement. In this way, racism can be viewed as persistent and evolving. Racist oppression is characterized by cultural, individual, and institutional components of oppression that are interlocking, systemic processes and behaviors within our society (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Wewiorski, 1995). These institutions shape individual lives, treat individuals differently, and offer unequal opportunities in the areas of housing, education, employment, economics, and within the judicial system. Institutional scaffolding contributes to and maintains the entrenchment of racism today. Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman exemplify individuals trapped in this interlocking system. If most people assume that young black males, in this instance Trayvon Martin, are armed and dangerous, then a defendant, such as George Zimmerman, claiming that he shot a young black male in self-defense, is more likely to be seen by the judge and jury as having acted reasonably, even if the young black male in question was not in fact a threat (Lee, 2013).

Racism in America

Historically, and continuing to the present, the common American *perception* is that this is a land of "freedom" that offers liberty and equality for all. However, the *reality* is that this freedom, in the past, and even now, exists to varying degrees as liberty and equality primarily for whites. This freedom was not extended to First Nation People[1] and Mexicans whose land was absconded and exploited, nor was it extended to Africans who were brought in shackles to provide the manual labor necessary to establish the country's economic affluence; and, it did not include Chinese who were not officially enslaved but who legally were treated inhumanely as a people and as laborers. The Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution represented the landed gentry and, to a lesser extent, poor Europeans seeking greater wealth, and discounted those relegated as "other." Policies and laws were established to curtail and restrict the liberties of persons who belonged to these groups of color. These legal and institutional structures formed the restrictive scaffolding that was initially established during the period of bondage and enslavement of Africans. The refinement and reinforcement of this scaffolding over time has led to the institutionalized ways in which all groups of color have been constrained historically and continue to be constrained today.

Racism is dynamic, multidimensional, and complex. It is dynamic in that its form is constantly changing. Its energetic force morphs, emerges, and permeates the systemic, societal, structural, and psychological existence of this country and, therefore, influences and guides the direction of the United States. Racism is multidimensional because there is depth of conflict (such as in ideologies, cultures, traditions, mores, belief systems, and allocation of resources) and breadth of construction (for example, psychological, social, institutional, group, and individual). This myriad of social influences and barrage of perpetual structural stimuli are what make racism extremely complex and a powerful social force.

Over the years, many authors (for example, Alexander, 2012; Allport, 1981; Bell, 1997; Bell, Castañeda, & Zúñiga, 2010; Feagin, 1989, 2000; Paynter, Hautaniemi, & Muller, 1994; Pinderhughes, 1989; Sue et al., 2007; Tourse, 2016; Trouellot in Gregory, 1994; Walter et al., 2017; Wewiorski, 1995; Yamato, 2004) have defined and discussed racism and the innumerable dynamic and multidimensional intricacies that make up its complex nature. Examples of the various types of racism make its complexity more evident and pronounced. We have already discussed a modern type of racism, aversive racism, in our discussion of the Trayvon Martin case. The literature explicates several other types of racism that emphasize either behavior,

[1] Indigenous peoples, also known as first peoples, aboriginal peoples, native peoples, or autochthonous peoples, are ethnic groups who are descended from and identify with the original inhabitants of a given region, in contrast to groups that have settled, occupied, or colonized the area more recently (UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2008). In the authors attempt to develop an anti-racism book with understanding of these terms we have chosen to identify these groups as First Nation People because this label is more preferential than the term Native American. This is the authors' attempt to utilize terms that are embraced by the people and not just the language constructed by the federal government.

context, or feeling. These types are overlapping and interconnected, and highlight the complex and varied ways in which racism can be manifest and understood. Most notable of these various racism forms, including aversive racism, are dominative, normative/symbolic, cultural, and institutional.

Dominative or *old-fashioned* racism is overt and was very present in the United States—from the colonial period through the 1960s civil rights era—with whites dominating and discriminating against people of color, and in particular, initially, First Nation Peoples, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese. The dominative type of racism is expressed in overt misuse of power, exploitation, and extermination of subordinate groups. Dominative racism still exists and still promotes inequitable justice but most often now it is cloaked in robes reflecting contemporary styles of oppression (Bonilla-Silva, 2014), such as incarceration (see Alexander, 2012); police brutality as exemplified in incidents occurring in 2014 in Ferguson, MO (see Schmidt, Apuzzo, & Bosman, 2014) and Staten Island, NY (see Goldstein & Schweber, 2014); migrant/itinerant farming (see Capp's analysis Migration Policy Institute, Capps, 2015); high unemployment (see Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014), and poor or inept health care (see Fadiman, 2012; Skloot, 2011).

After the Civil Rights Era, racism morphed, took a more *modern* tack, and re-emerged in various forms. Two such forms are normative/symbolic and cultural racism. In contrast with dominative racism, these forms are more covert, elusive, and more difficult to identify and prove. The *normative/symbolic* type of racism reflects the overarching American norms that are Anglo-Saxon in origin. These norms establish "expected behaviors that define what is adequate or not adequate" (Pinderhughes, 1989, p. 149) in the human condition. Kinder and Sanders in Bonilla-Silva (2014, p. 6) indicate that this racism revolves around moral character, and is imbued with norms that address and hold sway for the dominant group and leave subordinate groups prone to stereotypes that reflect deficiency, incompetence, and an inability to carry forth the spirit of American individualism. As the old saying goes, subordinate groups should "pull themselves up by their boot straps." But, the counterpoint to this saying is that one has to have *access* to boots in order to pull them up. Normative/symbolic racism does not allow access, just false erroneous rationales by whites for the supposed inadequacies of people of color.

Cultural racism has been defined as "any message or image prevalent in society that promotes the false but constant idea that White is the standard, ideal, normal" (McGoldrick & Hardy, 2008, p. 415). This brings about tension on all sides for the spurious belief by whites, which presupposes that the culture of others has deficits, and, for the "others," it implies that their cultures are lacking and that the ideal exists outside of their own culture. Operating in and between conflicting cultures (the dominant and subordinate) can bring about discord and cultural distain (Lum, 2000). Ironically, some aspects of subordinate cultures are embraced by the dominant culture, which gives the impression that there is acceptance. Over their lifetimes the authors have observed that portions of the culture of subordinate groups are accepted (for instance types of music, style of housing, form of dress), but the people of these cultures are not accepted—they are kept at bay and exploited in ways that benefit the dominant group.

These and other types of racism are ingrained in American institutions—from governmental agencies and private business and industry, to basic accommodations. Racism is commonly disguised within unrecognized and known privileges as well as established power bases embedded in the structures and systems that represent the United States. Such institutions have held sway and manifest racial bias since the colonial period. *Institutional racism* is developed by individuals or groups of individuals who hold power and who reflect their individual racial biases consciously or unconsciously in the rules, regulations, policies, procedures, and practices that govern institutions. Jones (see Sue, 2006) suggests that this systemic structural scaffolding is "designed to subjugate, oppress, and force dependence of individuals and groups on a larger society … [doing so] by sanctioning unequal goals, unequal status, and unequal access to goods and services" (p. 52).

The diffused, elusive, and entrenched nature of racism in this country makes it impossible for individuals to escape its presence in their lives. Racism is an intrinsic aspect of each person's identity regardless of their race and whether they acknowledge, are aware of, or deny its existence (Roppolo, 2010; Tatum, 2013; Yamato, 2004).

> *As defined in this body of work, racism is an all-encompassing oppressive multidimensional construction that infiltrates the individual, societal, institutional and structural mind-set and physical/geographic construction of this country. It is also a system based on domination and subordination, which involves one group discriminating against other groups based on their racial heritage, physical characteristics and language facility. Its foundation in the United States is rooted in resource attainment and a benefits system (institutional policies and practices) that favor the racial group in power. In this country the favored group is those who benefit from white privilege.*

We therefore agree with the proponents of Critical Race Theory (for instance, Abrams & Moio, 2009; Razack & Jeffery, 2002; Schiele, 2007; Yee, 2005) whose view is that racism as a social construction eclipses other forms of oppression (e.g., homophobia, classism, xenophobia, and sexism). Critical Race theory challenges the liberal claims of objectivity, neutrality, and color blindness of the law as it relates to all oppressive states (Schiele, 2007). Such perceptions normalize and perpetuate racism by ignoring the racial inequalities that infuse and direct the structural makeup of other types of oppressions. Giving equal weight to all types of oppression diminishes the importance and pernicious persistence of the endemic and foundational legacy of race upon which this country was founded and the significant effect of racism on all of our lives. It discounts the racialized historical values and beliefs that continue to support and drive this country's social systems and psychological identity.

The core groups that historically experienced pejorative treatment based on race within the United States were First Nation Peoples, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese. These are the groups upon which the racism mold was developed. Information about the historical racism experienced by these core groups provides a foundation for better understanding the continuing individual and systemic discriminatory treatment of all groups of color. Over time, the mold has shifted and changed, and the mold of racism has now incorporated other groups of color who have immigrated to the United States. Ignoring the history of racism with respect to these core groups discounts the extent to which white privilege and dominance have historically

defined this country. To deny and/or misconstrue the existence of racism minimizes the social and psychological importance of racism in the development of the United States on both the individual and the institutional level and allows for the perpetuation of the false perceptions that there is racial equality in this country.

Racism is not peculiar to just the United States, but the United States has its own unique form of racism that is rooted and embedded in this country's genesis**.** Racism supplies a strong but structurally flawed existence upon which the U.S. incorporates its founding values. The impact and influence of racism has long been recognized and the racial perceptions of years past are still dynamic and still occurring today.

When defining racism earlier, the authors alluded to the multidimensitonal nature of oppression. It is the *scaffolding* anchored in that oppression that supports and maintains racial discrimination. Scaffolding is an unseen but integral aspect of racism that helps to prevent the collapse of this morphing entity. It involves thought processes, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs that are borne out of societal, group, and individual cues. Racism develops and evolves within the context of its place in history, but it remains a constant through time because of the scaffolding. Racism morphs, but the scaffolding continues to hold it in place.

In developmental psychology, scaffolding is conceptualized as a means to instructively mold a person's cognitive skill set from one level to a higher more advanced cognitive level of functioning (Davies, 2011; Vygotsky in McLeod, 2014). The structure of this scaffolding is made up of the resources, encouragement, guidance, and reinforcement that are provided by adults to support and shape children's learning of complex social concepts and behaviors. For example, children are born without any ideas about gender differences. They learn their gender identity, build ideas of gender differences, and shape their behavior over time through a cognitive process that is supported by the scaffolding provided by their significant caregivers.

In a similar way, at the societal level, there is scaffolding to support the development and evolution of racism. In the society, there are established norms and laws that historically reinforce institutional systems relative to race. For example, both individually and collectively as a society, we learn how the system of white privilege works and shape our behaviors to adapt to this existing system. Thus, our societal structures constitute the relatively permanent elements of the scaffolding that supports ongoing racism. With the support of this scaffolding, racism is able to evolve to more advanced forms, such as normative and cultural racism. It is the structural stability of the scaffolding, based on interchangeable parts and cross bracing, that has enabled and promoted the evolution of racism to forms that are now more sophisticated and often less capable of being identified (see Fig. 1.1).

Vygotsky believed that cognitive development differs across cultures and that it advances to higher planes through cultural interactions (McLeod, 2014). Vygotsky's theories stress the role of social interaction in the development of cognition over time (McLeod, 2014). For racism, it is the *lack* of cultural interaction and of genuine exploration of cultural differences, as well as the lack of efforts to understand such differences, that strengthens the basis for viewing "the other" negatively (Tourse, 2016). Social distance from "the other" promotes the possibility that the beliefs and perceptions of individuals will be influenced by the subtle and not so subtle reproachful societal cues received about different cultures.

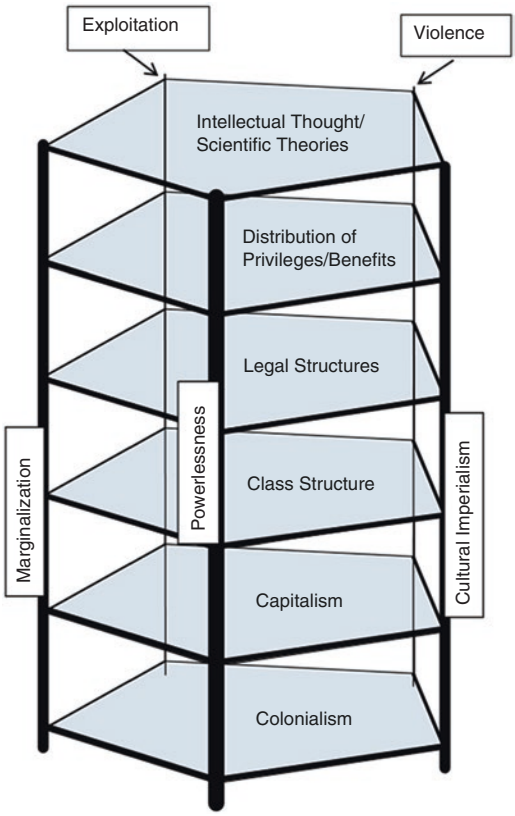

Fig. 1.1 Scaffolding that supports racism in America

Social Construction

Race is a social construction. As such, it is based on societal cues from which there is bidirectional interaction. These relationships hinge on group and/or individual perceptions (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2012). Social construction theory provides a conceptual framework that explains contemporary social events and social order as based on historical and cultural transactions and perceptions that are reflected in the interactions between and among individuals and groups. This idea grew out of the philosophical discussions of Berger and Luckmann (1967) on the objective and subjective nature of reality and the postmodern thought that history, as well as past and present social and language cues, play an integral part in interpersonal transactions (see Gergen in Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2013, p. 330). A tenet of social construction theory is that one's various positive and negative *subjective* views of events and images are perceived to be *objective* based on one's individual or group history and historical experience with social interactions and social relationships. This subjective internalization of perceived reality then leads to objective legitimization and validation by individuals and those in power "as though [reality] were separate from the human processes that created it" (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2013, p. 332). Thus, reality for individuals and groups, or as inculcated in institutions, is based on how such entities

perceive and relate to an event or events. Social Construction Theory thus explicates the existence and formation of our biases in the ways we think about and use categories and social cues to structure our experience and analysis of the world.

Consider the example of a car accident. Several people may have witnessed the accident and each will have his or her own view of what is the reality of the event. Based on these various eyewitness accounts, the law enforcement institution(s) may take yet another perspective. All these accounts are influenced by the internalized world views of each of the witnesses, the biases of the legal system, and by all of their relational perspectives on race, gender, religion, and other cultural attributes. By sifting through this myriad of perceptions, someone or some individuals will try to construct a more factual representation of the reality of the event.

The social construction of racism requires sifting through the historical and cultural evidence and facts, and analyzing their presence in today's society. As we have learned in the Trayvon Martin case, there were differing perspectives. For example, the public was divided over the not guilty verdict in the George Zimmerman trial and over the conversation about race that has surrounded it (Pew Research Center for People and Press 2013). The Pew Research Center conducted a study in July 17–21, 2013, with 1480 adults nationwide. They found that roughly as many people were satisfied with the outcome of the case (39%) as were dissatisfied (42%), and that nearly one-in-five (19%) had no opinion. Fifty-two percent of those surveyed reported that race was getting more attention in the case than it deserved, while 36% said the case raised important issues about race that need to be discussed. Perceptions also clearly differed by race. African Americans expressed a clear and strong reaction to the case and its meaning. By an 86% to 5% margin, African Americans were dissatisfied with Zimmerman's acquittal in the death of Trayvon Martin. Nearly eight-in-ten blacks (78%) said the case raised important issues about race that should be discussed. On the other hand, among whites, more were satisfied (49%) than were dissatisfied (30%) with the outcome of the Zimmerman trial. Just 28% of whites said the case raised important issues about race, while twice as many (60%) said the issue of race was getting more attention than it deserved. Reality continues to be capricious as perceived by individuals and groups, and the Trayvon Martin case provides a glimpse into how the social construction of race, as represented in the United States, exists.

Oppression

By definition, oppression is a means to assist those with power (the socially dominant group) in maintaining and legitimizing their existence by suppressing the individual, group, and institutional free-will of others (the socially subordinate groups). It is a tactic for diminishing the psychological and social strength of subordinate groups and for maintaining a labor force consonant with the will and need of the socially dominant group. Numerous definitions and perceptions exist that are consistent with this conceptualization of oppression (Hayes III, 2000; Pillari & Newsome Jr., 1998; Schiele, 1999; Swigonski, 1999; Turner, Singleton Jr., & Musick, 1990). Bell (1997) aptly notes that oppression is

pervasive, restrictive, hierarchical, a complex multiple cross-cutting relationship, is internalized, and reflects "isms." The authors concur with Bell that "no one form of oppression is the base for all others, and no single definition includes [all of these features], but all are connected within a system that makes them possible" (p. 6) Oppression is a known and accepted concept that takes many forms, one of which is racial oppression.

Racial oppression in the United States had its genesis with the exploitation of First Nation Peoples (see for example Brown, 1978). It was then institutionalized and solidified in the young nation through practices and policies that supported the enslavement of persons of African descent (see for example Stampp, 1956). Over time, this uniquely American social and structural order became imbedded in an American way of life that continually reinforced, facilitated, and promoted ongoing racial oppression.

Expanded definitions of oppression that consider its manifestations in societal structures are explicated by Young (2000) (also see Schiele, 2007) and Feagin and Feagin (1999). Young's oppressive mechanisms and Feagin's and Feagin's oppressive dimensions are consistent with our concept of scaffolding. In describing the faces of oppression, Young notes that structural oppression is also imbued with symbols, norms that are taken for granted, as well as behaviors and practices. She suggests that "[in] this extended structural sense, oppression refers to the vast and deep injustices some groups suffer as a consequence of often unconscious assumptions and reactions of well-meaning people in ordinary interactions, media and cultural stereotypes and structural features of bureaucratic hierarchies and market mechanisms" (p. 36). Young identifies five concepts for how oppression occurs:

- Exploitation
- Marginalization
- Powerlessness
- Cultural imperialism
- Violence

Using our concept of scaffolding, these mechanisms are the upright poles that help to stabilize the structure of the scaffold, and thus promote the perpetuation of racism (see Fig. 1.1). The various examples described below show how the interconnectedness of these areas of oppression helps to solidify racial scaffolding.

Exploitation results in the transfer of the value of the labor of a subordinate social group to the benefit of the dominant group. This is what happened with slavery and, in more sophisticated forms, with sharecropping and Jim Crow laws and practices. The prison industry of the criminal justice system (see Alexander, 2012) exemplifies exploitation today. Through a comprehensive targeted campaign termed "the war on drugs," the government has incentivized incarceration to such an extent that this "war" now offers lucrative business opportunities for companies that have a cost-effective business model for warehousing prisoners who disproportionately are poor and persons of color.

Marginalization is the process of relegating people outside or at the margins of society and the labor system. First Nation tribes were marginalized by being forced to resettle on reservations that had barren terrain. In the labor system, marginalized workers tend to have subminimum wage earnings, irregular hours, unstable employment, and no fringe benefits. African Americans and Mexicans tend to be disproportionately represented in

such marginalized occupations as domestic help, farm workers (especially migrant workers), and day laborers. The median usual weekly earnings of foreign-born full-time wage and salary workers were $643 in 2013, compared with $805 for their native-born counterparts (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). Differences in earnings reflect a variety of factors, including variations in the distributions of foreign-born and native-born workers by educational attainment, occupation, industry, and geographic region. Marginalization occurs when geographic areas occupied mainly by people of color are redlined and deemed not economically viable, thus making it difficult for residents to acquire loans from banks to improve or buy property. Another example of marginalization is the education of children from subordinate groups in substandard schools.

Powerlessness is the inability to influence the forces that shape one's life and is the result of how labor, resources, and influence are distributed. The dominant group in the United States has exerted its power through land appropriation and forced migration of Mexicans and First Nation people. The enslavement of Africans forced them into a condition of extreme powerlessness. After emancipation, those in power continued to disempower African Americans through a variety of legal and illegal disenfranchisement tactics, including violence, fraudulent electoral practices, poll taxes, literacy tests, restrictions on voting in primaries, voter registration restrictions, gerrymandering, and voter identification laws. "Driving while black" and other forms of racial profiling are police practices that have a disempowering effect. Unarmed African Americans are completely powerless as they are brutalized or fatally shot by the police. The general availability of video recording devices has enabled the recording of many such occurrences and led to a number of widely publicized cases, including those of Rodney King in 1992, Michael Brown in 2014, and Freddie Gray in 2015.

Cultural Imperialism promotes the establishment of widespread utilization of a dominant group's experience and culture such that they become the cultural norm. The cultural norm in the United States is the culture of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs). The United States has patterned much of its legal and governing system and structures on those of England. Despite being a country comprised predominantly of persons from non-English-speaking heritages, English is the established national language. Thus, official documents are written in English and public schools are taught in English. Although freedom of religion is a protected right, Christianity has become the "unofficial" religion of the United States. This is exemplified in the fact that Christmas Day, a Christian holy day, has been officially designated a national holiday.

Violence is used to maintain powerlessness so that exploitation, marginalization, and cultural imperialism can be sustained. Unprovoked violence based on racial bias has a long history in the United States. Various iterations of violence can be seen in the longstanding practice of lynching African Americans, in attacks on children during The Civil Rights Movement, in mob violence and massacres of First Nation people, African Americans, Mexicans and Chinese, and, more recently, in such cases as that of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, and Freddie Gray.

Feagin and Feagin (1999) suggest a comprehensive theory of racial oppression, drawing on the conceptual work of a number of power-conflict theorists, most notably W. E. B. Du Bois, Oliver C. Cos, and Robert Blauner. The conceptual frameworks of these theorists emphasize economic stratification, and power issues. Feagin and Feagin (1999, pp. 58–63) identify six component dimensions in the development of racial oppression:

- *Initiation of Oppression*—capitalism and colonialism create a context favorable to the development of a system of racial oppression
- *Mechanisms of Oppression*—genocidal actions, enslavement, and economic exploitation are supported by legal structures
- *Privileges of Oppression*—the oppressed group has unequal access to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and the associated material and psychological benefits
- *Elite Maintenance of Oppression*—class structure reinforces the power of the white elite
- *Rationalization of Oppression*—establishment of an intellectual ideology emphasizing the inferiority of the subordinated group that is maintained by power elites and the media
- *Resistance to Oppression*—members of the oppressed group have an alternative perspective and engage in overt and covert confrontation with and opposition to members of the dominant group

These dimensions are consistent with our conceptualization of the supporting rungs in the scaffolding that sustains the continual evolution of racism as it adapts to the changing legal, social, economic, technological, and moral climate in the United States (see Fig. 1.1). We conceptualize the primary supporting rungs of the scaffold to be colonialism, capitalism, class structure, legal structures, the distribution of privileges and benefits, and prevailing intellectual thought and scientific theories.

The poles and rungs of the scaffolding support the operation of racism in all of the institutional structures within the society. The institutional sectors and domains in the society are connected and strongly influence each other within an interlocking meta-system that can be conceptualized as an institutional web (see Fig. 1.2). Because racism is present in so many interconnected institutions that are influencing each other, it becomes firmly established in all the sectors and levels of the society. The strong interlocking forces within the institutional web are reinforced by the durable and adaptable rungs and poles of the scaffolding. As the society changes and evolves, the types and manifestations of racism morph and adapt to the changing context. Individuals, groups, and organizations become ensnared in the systemic and pervasive racism that is sustained by both the institutional web and the scaffolding, consequently, once established within the societal infrastructure, racism is very difficult to eradicate.

Throughout this book we discuss major concepts that help explicate institutionalized racism in the US. Major concepts introduced in this chapter

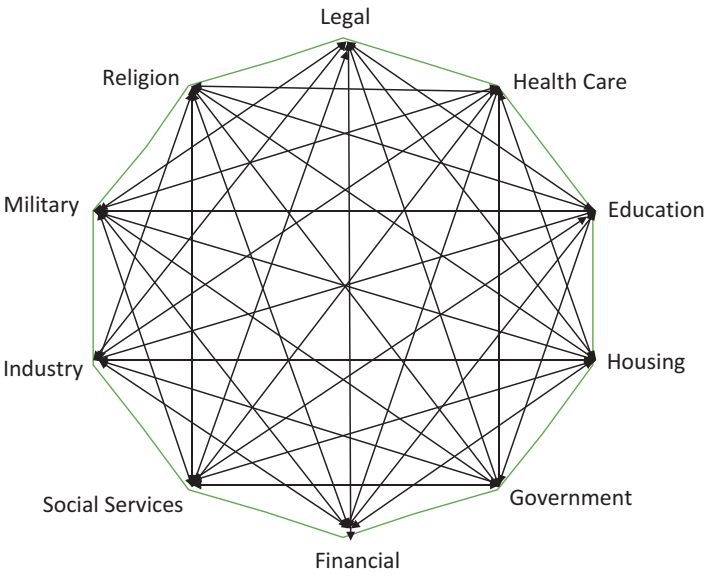

Fig. 1.2 Sectors of Society as an Interconnected Institutional Web (adapted from Wewiorski, 1995)

include social construction, oppression, scaffolding; and institutional web. Future chapters will introduce two additional major concepts: privilege and intersectionality.

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Chapter 2
Discrimination

Foundational to discrimination as a concept is pejorative conduct. Discrimination can be covert or overt. It is multifaceted and therefore complicated. It also is dependent upon a particular or unique societal perspective (Bell, 1997; Turner, Singleton Jr., & Musick, 1990) and social sensibility. Discrimination is designed to restrict reasonable wants and drives of individuals and members of the "other," and thereby takes some specific measure to harm that person or group (Luhman, 2002). This inequitable feature is built into institutions and society through the actions, traditions, rules, and laws that historically marginalize the "other." Discrimination is held in place by fixed oppressive scaffolding construction. The rungs of the scaffolding are based on historical events and perceptions that include colonialism, capitalism, class structure, distribution of privileges and benefits, and pejorative laws against various groups of color over the centuries. Scaffolding construction also includes solid poles that are grounded in oppressive structures that contain project mechanisms of discrimination.

Personal and societal constructions, as discussed by Payne (2005), strengthen the scaffolding rungs. The meanings that evolve from *individual perspectives and experiences*, are *social in characterization* (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2012), and ultimately reflect societal constructions. These reflections—which rely on interpretation of societal cues or symbols such as language, heritage, physical objects, groups, and experiences—determine the intensity of discrimination. Such reflective societal constructions suggest how cues can transform and be transformed, reinforce the poles and rungs, and create new ones that keep oppressive scaffolding secure.

The Relational Model (see Fig. 2.1) is helpful for understanding discrimination. It is based on personal constructions and depicts the transaction process for interacting with others. Perceptions influence societal cues for how a person relates to and interacts with individuals, groups, and society. These societal cues are filtered by misinformation and lack of knowledge and by advanced knowledge or basic information. Thus, they can paint a negative or positive picture of others and events. Filtered cues inform cognitive thought processes and influence a person's *attitudes* and *behaviors*. A person then will *respond* either in a negative or positive manner, somewhere in between, or,

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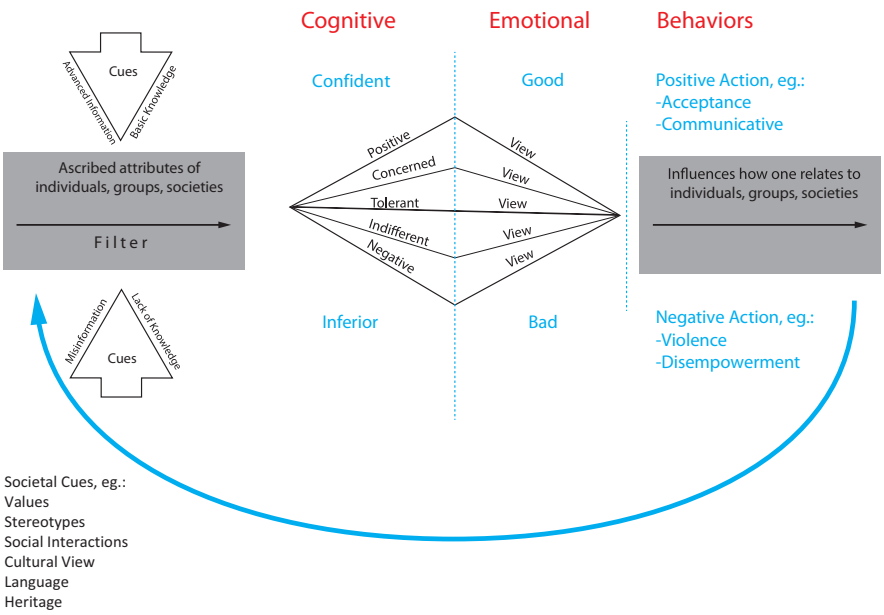

Fig. 2.1 Relational Model (adapted from Tourse, 1995)

may change their perspective entirely. This chapter focuses on the negative portion of the model—discrimination. A person's actions based on societal cues that are filtered by misinformation or no information. This skewed societal understanding precipitates thoughts and responses that constitute discrimination.

Looking at the case of Trayvon Martin as the example, George Zimmerman, like most people, would have made decisions and would have taken action based on misinformation or a lack of information. Trayvon Martin was black, Zimmerman white. The filtered perspective of Zimmerman, which was supported by the scaffolding poles, and the rungs that reinforce the poles, saw Martin as a threat. Martin wore a hoodie, he did not appear to fit into the neighborhood, and Zimmerman determined this black man did not belong in his community. Zimmerman perceived Martin as possible danger, and determined that, as a neighborhood-watch marshal, he needed to "protect" the area in which he lived. This discriminatory negative perception resulted in Trayvon Martin being shot and killed, and Zimmerman having to stand trial for his murder. George Zimmerman was found innocent. The judicial system, which is part of the institutional web and is infused in the makeup of the scaffolding, supported his perceptions. It is impossible to know how subsequently these tragic events further influenced Zimmerman's perceptions (attitude and emotions) and behavior toward African Americans. Did this event reinforce his internalized perceptions of societal scaffolding based on his cues and symbols or did he gain an altered perspective? We do not know. We leave it to the reader to ponder.

Perceptions that affect relational interactions mean that individuals or groups (consciously or unconsciously) use discrimination in a targeted manner. These interactions are exhibited in the treatment of others as well as in the distribution

and delivery of services, resources, and goods. The individual and collectivity of people become part of social systems that operate within, as well as reinforce, the societal scaffolding that perpetuates oppression and discrimination in the United States. This oppression and this discrimination are constructions that limit the full participation of a targeted group as a whole, as well as the individuals within it (Marger, 2015; Wijeyesinghe, Griffin, & Love, 1997); and therefore, such groups and individuals are not reflected fully in the societal picture of this country. Targeted intolerance results in various types of social discrimination such as, and not limited to, classism, sexism, heterosexism, religious intolerance, ableism, and of course *racism*. Pejorative views, therefore, that are based on oppressive scaffolding poles, on strong but also morphing rungs, and on societal cues and symbols, result in discriminatory acts.

Acts of Discrimination

Discrimination as a *subject* is considered to be synonymous with the term oppression (Queralt, 1996; Turner et al., 1990). Discrimination, however, results in behaviors that invade and infuse social and societal structures whereas oppression helps to build, solidify, and maintain discrimination within these structures. Discriminatory acts, such as micro-aggressions (see Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008), penetrate these structures based on the values, mores, perspectives, and the like, of the dominant group (agent). Members of the dominant group ingest these societal cues and grapple with them based on their thoughts and emotions and, ultimately, through discriminatory behaviors directed toward individuals, groups, and the society. In this instance, the acts have a negative impact on other racial groups. Discrimination, therefore, is communicated by dominant groups through differential actions that can be physically harmful, construct social disadvantages, and can be fashioned in great and small ways (Feagin, 1989; Marger, 2015; Turner et al., 1990).

Terms that demonstrate types of discrimination are numerous (Marger, 2015). Each term can stand alone as an act of discrimination, they also can become interwoven and more oppressive when entwined and when they envelop a targeted individual or group. The terms stressed here, in alphabetical order, *with racism being the catalyst* are: domination, marginalization, power, prejudice, privilege, stereotype, and subordination.

Domination does not equate with size. It does represent, however, an implicit or explicit power differential over another. This power provides a sense of superiority that protects and bolsters the dominant group's social position and sense of self. Miller (1976) suggests that once superiority over another becomes an accepted standard, then the destructive force of domination is played out in the social system.

Marginalization constrains and excludes subordinate groups from the opportunities and privileges the dominant group takes for granted. It keeps subordinate groups on the periphery and helps to maintain distance between these two identified groups. As noted by Sue, Rasheed, and Rasheed (2016), marginalization also speaks to inequality and less inclusion in the social existence that frames the American structure. Marginalization assists as well in trivializing and minimizing the importance of subordinate groups.

Power connotes influence and works to support or abuse individuals, social, societal, and political groups, culture, institutions, and systems. This differential power is expressed in the dominant/subordinate structure (Marden, Meyer, & Engel, 1992; Pinderhughes, 1989, 2017; Tourse, 2016) that employs verbal or physical assault or holds sway through the establishment of laws that maintain the status quo for the power elite.

Prejudice is an intense arbitrary attitude and/or belief and is usually negative. Allport (1981) contends that "there must be an *attitude* of favor or disfavor; and it must be related to an overgeneralized (and therefore erroneous) *belief*" (p.13). Such a viewpoint has the tendency, especially when focused on people, to close off understanding of others who are different and denies the capacity to objectively relate to an individual or group. A form of prejudice that exists in America is racial in nature. Racial prejudice arose out of and was buoyed initially by the ideological structures entangled with plantation production needs and the robust economic structure that was fueled by the Atlantic slave trade (Paynter, Hautaniemi, & Muller, 1994) as well as racial policing. In addition to ideology, slave labor, and economic resources and policing, there was also a need for land procurement by laws and military prowess—land that belonged to the original inhabitants of this country—First Nation Peoples**.** The ideology, resource requisites, and policing, therefore, were then, and are now, supported by pejorative views based on race.

Privilege is a system of benefits or unearned advantages enjoyed by members of particular groups based solely on membership in those groups (McIntosh, 2008; Swigonski, 1999; Walls et al., 2009). Privilege provides a sense of power which is recognized, unknown, acknowledged, or denied by groups or members of a group. Privilege is evident on all levels of interaction, for example, individual, cultural, societal, and institutional. It is also embedded in social constructs such as religion, ethnicity, class, and of course race.

Stereotypes are based on a generalized minute truth or a particular trait from which a sweeping global perception (actual or probable) is then transferred to an entire group. Often the stereotypic perception becomes the reality and the true reality becomes marginalized and excluded. Generalizations simplify the differences between and among groups, and such simplification negates the complexities and multifaceted nature that exists in actual relationship building and among groups. Oversimplifications of groups reinforce and verify for the general population whatever stereotype is in play (Marden et al., 1992; Sethi, 2004).

Subordination indicates that those who are not the dominate group are in a lesser position. Role assignment is essential in subordination by those who are in a dominant position. These roles reflect subordination for instance through policies, regulation, laws as well as through demeaning and demanding attitudes and behaviors created by the dominant group. Miller (1976) notes that some dominant individuals believe that those in subordinate positions are usually incapable, and that such lack of ability is a result of innate, mental or physical, deficits that lack the capacity for growth or change. For those who are in the subordinate position, the target group, their focus is on being strong and resilient, on trying to survive, and they seek to use indirect tactics related to knowledge and/or behavior to avoid destructive acts to their well-being. The legal victories by African Americans, First Nation Peoples, and Japanese in the

legal system are examples. These victories respectively are Brown v Board of Education (1954), which provided a broad brush for eventual desegregation of accommodations; The 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act, which eliminated the absconding of children from First Nation families (see Jones, Tilden, & Gaines-Stoner, 2008); and the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which provided WWII Internment Reparations (Hatamiya, 1994). Subordination therefore represents decoding behavior that maintains the status quo by the dominant group. It also represents for the target group, breaking down the scaffolding that keeps oppressive discrimination intact.

How Discrimination Has Played Out in the Social Order

Discrimination connotes a structured inequality that is activated by "force, custom, and law" (Marden et al., 1992, p. 38). *Force* suggests physical or police/military power discharged in a manner that oppresses and subordinates. Physical acts are often carried out by an individual or a small group that harm or kill a person or group that is different than the dominant group. An example of an individual or a small group respectively are George Zimmerman shooting and killing Trayvon Martin in Florida (Lee, 2013), and the killing of James Bird (Temple-Raston, 2002) in Jasper, Texas by three men who dragged Bird behind their truck decapitating him. During 2014 and 2016, examples of violent and brutal treatment by police include the ten killings of black men and boys and the suicide in jail of a black woman after a harsh arrest (Miller, 2016).

Custom involves a level of privilege, tradition, and heritage that has kept the dominant group endowed with benefits not experienced by subordinate groups—preserving the way of life—the status quo—that is comfortable for those in power. The customs that prevail in the United States are those established by the dominant group. Subordinate groups also have customs but their values and traditions are not considered *the* customs that prevail in America.

Law indicates the political and legal structures that make the acts, codes, and regulations by which the dominant and subordinate groups live and work. These laws, codes, and regulations often help to maintain the status quo and support the privileges that the dominant group retains. For instance, The Affordable Care Act is a means to purge the inequality of health care. It was enacted in 2010 and became available to the populous in 2014 but continues to be an ongoing issue as national political influences continue to work on dismantling this Act (Cohn & Young, 2017).

Discrimination can also come in the form of implicit bias—attitudes or stereotypes that influence unconsciously a person's thought processes and decisions (Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, 2015). This unconscious conundrum puts all people in the position of harboring biases against "the other," especially when the other is of a different race. This means that well-intended people are often unaware of their propensity to disfavor, in the instance of race, other racial groups. Although unintended, such bias reinforces and exacerbates inequality that is activated by force, custom, and law.

Discrimination and Race

Discrimination is also a process that allows one to distinguish, differentiate, or choose (Luhman, 2002) how one perceives an object, person, or group. When such understanding is applied to racial groups, it equates to determining which group is "better," which group is "worse," and which groups fall in between. In the United States, the choice of "better" reflects individuals of European ancestry and centers on differential economic power, as well as political and social locations. Distinctive physical characteristics and language facility are also a part of the "better"/"worse" perspective and, in this country, being white and speaking English historically has been considered "better." These discriminatory distinctions lead to determining or choosing how whites as a group and individually perceive other racial groups: peoples from Asian, Latino, Middle Eastern, First Nation, and African Diasporas. These distinctions also determine how other racial groups perceive the dominant group or individuals in the dominant group. Based on the dominant group persona, it also suggests to other racial groups how perhaps they should perceive one another.

Summary

Discrimination is an important element in the system of institutionalized racism in the United States of America. When individuals and groups view others as different, racially or otherwise, their feelings and behaviors incorporate the biases they extract from societal cues. When interacting with others, their biases then are manifest in their use of such oppressive strategies as domination, marginalization, exercise of power, prejudice, privilege, stereotyping, and subordination. These approaches to interacting with others, as well as with the broader society, characterize the most common forms of discrimination, but are not all inclusive. All types of discrimination help to strengthen the scaffolding that supports the existence of racism throughout all the institutional structures and systems of the society.

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Chapter 3
Institutional Legalization of Racism: Exploitation of the Core Groups

Racism became institutionalized in the culture and structure of the United States through a process of legalization that systematically subjugated and exploited persons who the dominant group (WASPs) viewed as "the other." Four groups were directly and openly targeted using legal strategies and mechanisms, as well other means. They were First Nation Peoples, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese. How each group came to be in the United States varied, but each group was part of the social construction of race that is particular to American society. The evolution of oppressive scaffolding that maintains racism in the United States is tied to the country's history with these four groups. The rungs of the scaffolding (see Fig. 1.1) provided the value base and belief systems that encouraged and endorsed the development of a nation that institutionalized race-based discrimination and that relegated persons of color to a subordinate status. This system of institutionalized racism was initiated and legitimized through laws, treaties, legal practices, and court decisions that focused on these four racially constructed groups, which we refer to as the "core groups." The oppressive mold for systemic racism was created primarily on Africans, but it was adopted, applied, and adapted to the other core groups. This chapter will discuss how legalized institutional bias promoted the systematic prejudice, discrimination, and exploitation experienced by these core groups. It will note the unfair treatment of these groups, which established a history that laid the foundation for broad persistent pervasive oppressive racism in the U.S.

Historical Context

The scaffolding that supports racism in the U.S. was not yet fully in place when the first European explorers arrived at the shores of North America. Racial scaffolding was constructed and shaped bit by bit over a period of 400 years.

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The colonial approach is to resettle in a new geographic area and, ultimately, to take it over. The European settlers who came to America as colonialists utilized a colonial approach in their "new" world, retaining certain structures and practices from their "old" world. Some examples include governmental structures, business/trade practices, class structures, legal structures and practices, the right to own property/land, religious/cultural beliefs and practices, language, and the state of scientific, philosophical, and intellectual thought. Thus, colonialism was a foundational part of the scaffolding.

As colonialists, the early settlers in America created a society with elements that can be conceptualized as the rungs of the scaffolding that supports racism in America. Colonialism was the first rung in the scaffold and it facilitated the adding of other rungs. For example, these newcomers established a capitalistic monetary-based economy that respected individual ownership of land and other property. The colonialists introduced a class structure that valued white superiority, leaving other racial groups as "inferiors." They brought with them their attitudes about the inferiority of people perceived as "other" and established a class structure that ranked people according to race and other characteristics. They accepted the prevailing scientific thinking that there are natural schema for ranking people according to race (Sanjek, 1994). Thus, prevalent intellectual thought and belief systems of the American colonists, and later, of power-holding citizens in the United States, contributed to the development of a country based on the ideology of white supremacy. Colonialism allowed for and encouraged biased laws and social positions that exploited, debased, and devalued persons outside of their (white) group. And, very importantly, the colonists and their white successors who were in positions of power and privilege established legal structures and practices that protected their self-interests and that were very instrumental in the systematic exploitation and subjugation of First Nation Peoples, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese.

Colonialism provided the historical context that allowed for the creation of legal structures that would become a particularly strong scaffolding rung in the support of race-based discrimination and the subordination of non-white persons. First Nation/Indigenous People, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese were major contributors to this country's development by forced events and/or needs of the white colonialists, such as slavery, slave labor/indentured servitude or detention, and land confiscation. Through their desire for exploration, dominance, and expansion, whites gained overwhelming influence over the development of the infrastructure of institutionalized racism that exists today. In essence, whites embraced and took charge over this land at the expense of other racial groups. The rungs of the scaffolding provided the basis for targeting these four core groups as the country established a broad system of institutionalized racism. As a result of this history, two insidious forms of subjugation took root and grew: individual racism and institutional racism. These discriminatory practices still exist today, and now also have expanded so that they impact and establish barriers for other non-white racial groups who live in this country.

Exploitation of the Core Groups

First Nation Peoples Institutionalization

> We know our lands are now become more valuable: the white people think we do not know their value; but we are sensible that the land is everlasting, and the few goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone. For the future we will sell no lands but when Brother Onas [the proprietor of Pennsylvania] is in the country; and we will know beforehand the quantity of the goods we are to receive. Besides, we are not well used with respect to the lands still unsold by us. Your people daily settle on these lands, and spoil our hunting…
>
> *Excerpts from speech by Canassatego, an Iroquois Chief as printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1740s*

First Nation Peoples were the original inhabitants of what is now known as the United States of America. As Europeans immigrated to this land, over time, they established a "Trust Relationship" (Brown, 1978b) with the native inhabitants through agreements, treaties, and statutes. The most recognized institutionalization of a "Trust Relationship" is noted in the Constitution of the United States. This was the initial institutional recognition that proud and self-sufficient people, the first inhabitants of this country, were considered autonomous, and as such acknowledged the many tribes inhabiting this country as sovereign governments (Brown, 1978b). From the beginning however, these immigrants from Europe believed they were culturally superior. Initially, such thinking was nurtured by the religious beliefs that they had a mission to bring Christianity to First Nation People and in so doing, "civilize" them (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969). Many native tribes bonded with Europeans—some to combat their enemies (other tribes or the colonial government) and some through culture (Schaefer, 1988). Such bonding was fluid and alliances changed with time. The practice of "civilizing" inevitably failed and provided the raison d'être for the transition from spiritual benevolence to conquering malevolence—from co-inhabitants in the "new world" to Europeans attaining land and First Nation Peoples becoming servant, slave, and ultimately reservation bound. This transition was reinforced and given credence by the endorsement of white superiority and eventually the quest for westward expansion (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969; Segal, 1966; Stampp, 1956). Knowles and Prewitt (1969) spoke of this transition when they explicated that "[s]ince Indians were capable of reaching only the stage of 'savage', they [w]ould not be allowed to impede the forward (westward, to be exact) progress of white civilization" (p. 8).

Many agreements and treaties beyond the Trust Relationship were made with First Nation Peoples and the evolving United States of America (Brown, 1978b; Knowles & Prewitt, 1969; Segal, 1966; Schaefer, 1988; Stampp, 1956); for example, from colonial times, beginning in 1656, a series of statutes by the Virginia Assembly barred "Indian" enslavement (Stampp, 1956; Knowles & Prewitt, 1969). Enslavement of First Nation Peoples would have been an ineffective labor proposition since this was land they knew well and from which they could easily escape servitude; in addition, First Nation People were better viewed as allies for Colonial settlers in a land in which settlers were

mostly unfamiliar (Stampp, 1956). How well Colonials and First Nation Peoples related was contingent on whether the sovereignty of First Nation Peoples was deemed congruent with Colonial dictates and needs. With the passage of time, as the white settlers gained familiarity with the eastern landscape, had less need for war allies, and were motivated to move further west, First Nation People became less an asset and more of a liability to them. With the removal of First Nation People from Eastern colonies and with westward expansion of white settlers, by the middle of the 1800s and beyond, reservations became a way of life for native peoples throughout the land (see also Brown, 1978a; Campisi, 1991; Jaimes, 1994; Luhman, 2002; Unger, 1977). Ultimately, every agreement, statute, and treaty that recognized the sovereignty of First Nation People was dishonored (Schaefer, 1988; Knowles & Prewitt, 1969). Although land confiscation was the objective, whites felt comfortable in their actions because they believed they were "racially superior" (based on religion, intellect, and military might). The sovereignty of First Nation People was further repressed when in 1824 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established within the confines of the War Department—the ultimate institutionalization of First Nation People by race (Schaefer, 1988). Through this establishment of the Bureau, *racial institutionalization* became firmly ensconced in the American system of government for First Nation People.

An example of the hypocrisy and land confiscation under the Bureau was Indian removal. Indian removal across the Mississippi River was legislated in 1830, 6 years after the Bureau was established. This process lasted for more than a decade, and moved major Southeastern tribes (Chaoctaw, Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole) across land to Oklahoma (Luhman, 2002; Schaefer, 1988). This mandated migration provided more land for white settlers who had begun to view North American land as theirs. The migration west for the Southeastern tribes was known as the "Trail of Tears" because of the severe circumstances under which they were forced westward—inadequate governmental planning and supplies, a lack of attention to the health of native peoples while being moved, and most importantly for native tribes, the loss of ancestral land (Brown, 1978a; Luhman, 2002; Schaefer, 1988). Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs since the twentieth century has tried to change and limit the Bureau's involvement with native peoples (Schaefer, 1988)—it still has jurisdiction over reservations (Jaimes, 1994; Schaefer, 1988). For example, The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which focused on the revocation of the Land Allotment Act as well as the acknowledgment of tribal identity, still *proposed the contradictory concept of assimilation* of Native peoples into the broader society (Schaefer, 1988). The Termination Act of 1953 is another example that began as an act supportive of Indian autonomy and sovereignty, and then in a planned manner gradually decreased funding of supportive services such as road building, medical care, and college scholarships. This gradual transition that was to allow native peoples a chance to acclimate to independent life did not occur. The final version of this 1953 Act focused on reducing costs and disregarded gradual abatement of services for infrastructure and social services on reservations (Schaefer, 1988).

This overview does not encompass all of the treaties or acts prior to or after the establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, nor does it provide specific examples of the struggles experienced by the First Nation Peoples of the northeast, plains and west. It does, however, provide a sense of the deceptions, governmental pretexts, and betrayals

that took place and it provides some understanding of how the initial scaffolding affected First Nation People and institutionalized racism within the Federal governmental structure. Native people wanted all along to live as sovereigns on *their* land, as they had done for centuries. However, Europeans took over their land through colonialism and they injected their class structure, their legal structures, and their intellectual belief systems. With the subsequent desire of white settlers for westward expansion, *sovereignty of First Nation Peoples* became a meaningless phrase. Institutional domination by the Federal government of the United States became the norm.

Africans Made Slaves

> Dere was hundreds of acres in dat dere plantation. Marse Lewis had a heep of slaves. De overseer, he had a bugle what he blowed to wake up de slaves … When a rainy spell come and de grass got to growin fast, dey wukked dem slaves at night, even when de moon warn't shinin. On dem dark nights one set of slaves helt lanterns for de others to see how to chop de weeds out de cotton and corn. Wuk was sho' tight dem days.
>
> *Rachel Adams 78 years old – interview compiled as part of the Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration during 1936–1938*

Records show that the first blacks were brought from Africa to this country and the West Indies during the 1500s by individuals from Spain and England. The majority of Africans in the American colonies lived generation after generation as slaves from 1619 to 1865. Initially, Africans had the same status as indentured servants, but, during the 1600s and 1700s, slavery was codified in the laws of the English colonies. The laws swiftly established a distinction between indentured servants and slaves (Du Bois, 1903). For example, Maryland's law made this distinction as early as 1640; Massachusetts legally recognized slavery in 1641; Virginia passed a law-making Negroes slaves for life in 1661. The intersection of legislation, racism, and servitude continued until there were roughly 600,000 slaves at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence (Foster, 1954).

Theorists (Du Bois, 1903; Myrdal, 1944; Stampp, 1956) argue that Europeans and later European Americans did not create the slave system all at once in 1619. Stampp (1956) regards slavery not as a method of regulating race relations or as an arrangement that was essentially paternalistic, but as a practical system of controlling and exploiting labor. He also argues that Southerners built the institution of slavery little by little, step by step, choice by choice, over a period of years, and all the while many slaveholders appeared blind to the ultimate consequences of the choices they were making (Stampp, 1956). The use of slaves "initially in southern agriculture was a deliberate choice, made by men who sought greater returns than they could obtain from their own labor alone and who found other types of labor more expensive" (Stampp, 1956 p. 5). While the gravitation of Northern colonies toward embracing slavery was not motivated by the desire to cultivate land, New Englanders were partners in the rise of Atlantic slavery (Wilder, 2014). In fact, African slavery and the slave trade subsidized early colleges and the colonies. In the north, according to Wilder, "newcomers used indentured servants until they could afford to procure Negroes" (p. 30).

Laws were also upheld in court proceedings about slavery throughout New England before the American Revolution (Wilder, 2013). Soon after, Northern states outlawed chattel slavery. Vermont's constitution abolished slavery in 1777 and Massachusetts followed in 1780, declaring that all men were born free and equal, which its courts interpreted as abolition in 1783. Other states followed suit with emancipation laws—Pennsylvania in 1780, Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1784, New York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804 (Melish, 1998). This wave of emancipation laws occurred quite early in the international age of abolition. However, as Melish (1998) documents, most of these laws sanctioned gradual emancipation, which did little to change internalized contradictions and hypocrisy in the attitudes and behaviors supported by public policy for most Americans. Slavery survived until the 1860s in some parts of the North.

Little is written about the 200-year history of Northern slavery. Robert Steinfeld (2003) articulates that slavery was abolished by 1804 in New England, although more than 1000 slaves remained in New England. There are many illustrations of contradictions, for example, a black woman named Zipporah Potter, a seventeenth-century African-American woman, owned property in the North End of Boston. To be black and a women put her ahead of her time and made her the first African-American landowner in Boston, male or female (Baker & Crimaldi, 2014; Johnson, 2010).

The rise of slavery, however, particularly in the South, seemed inevitable in the sense that racial institutionalization solidified through *scaffolding* (such as exploitation, violence, and cultural imperialism) intertwined in a web of laws, codes, and habits connecting every aspect of life for Africans in the United States (Stampp, 1956, Myrdal, 1944, Miller, 2007). Southern resistance to extending the rights and privileges of citizenship to blacks persisted following Emancipation, and Southern states used all their powers, including terror and violence to subvert the intent of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments (Du Bois, 1903). These amendments were adopted between 1865 and 1870, the 5 years immediately following the Civil War. The Thirteenth Amendment officially abolished and continues to prohibit slavery and the Fourteenth Amendment declared that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are American citizens including Africans.

Structural and systemic oppression was perpetuated through the creation of the Black Codes, laws that limited the rights of former slaves (Novak, 1978). Former slave owners retained a slavery mind-set and responded by recreating as many aspects of slavery as possible (Novak, 1978). Thus, at the federal level, legalized slavery was supported by the United States Constitution, which allowed the slave trade to continue for twenty more years, and counted a slave as 3/5 of a man for the purposes of determining seats in the House of Representatives (United States Constitution).

Legislative actions by Congress maintained slavery began in the 16th century, spanning 1863 to 1877, however others note that this period was from 1865 to 1877 following the Civil War (Jones & Freedman, 2011). After emancipation, one of the first laws was passed in February of 1865. Congress established in the War Department a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Land. Additional legislative actions began during the Reconstruction Era under the administration of

President Andrew Johnson in 1865 and 1866, at the same time as new southern state legislatures passed additional restrictive "black codes" to control the labor and behavior of former slaves and other blacks. Some of the laws, including judiciary review, began during this period and continue to influence blacks today. The more salient laws include Plessey v. Ferguson (1896), Jim Crow laws, segregation, Brown v. Board of Education (1954), and civil rights acts. The history of race relations between blacks and whites can be viewed in caste-like terms (Bell, 1997). The outcome of chattel slavery in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries was complete stratification: whites of all ethnicities and immigrant statuses were at the top of the social and economic hierarchy, and blacks were at the bottom. Graves (2002) notes, "Race and racism were fundamental forces in the founding of the United States of America. Many of our present political and social problems stem from that fact" (pp. 2–3).

Reflecting on the past, the historical importance of the role of legislative operations, norms, and values at the state and federal levels strengthened the specter of skin color as a determinant of privilege and power. The infrastructure of racism is apparent even when it goes unmentioned, as it was both visible and invisible forces that influenced (and continue to influence) public policy as well as private relationships (Franklin, 1947). Myrdal (1944) similarly wrote that the predicament of American society was the conflict between the ideals that white Americans proclaimed and their betrayal of these ideals in daily life. He held that this was particularly true in the South, where, he argued, discrimination was due less to bias than to a failure of the courts and the police to enforce the Constitution.

Mexicans Enveloped within America

> Since 1848 Native Americans and Mexican Americans have struggled to achieve political and social equality within the United States, often citing the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo as a document that promised civil and property rights.
>
> *War's End Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo by Richard Griswold del Castillo (2006).*

Institutional domination of territories that formally were a part of Mexico was accomplished over a period of years by means of treaties, trust and land expansion issues between American settlers and Mexico, and wars. The country we now know as Mexico was once a colonial territory of Spain. The original native inhabitants of the Mexican Peninsula were conquered by Spanish explorers who intermarried with natives and after several centuries the Mexican people as we know them today emerged as a distinct group of people (Schaefer, 1988). Since the seventeenth century, Mexicans had had a presence in their northern territories which included the provinces of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821; its freedom, however, began to be tested by U.S. Anglo settlers residing within the confines of the northern Mexican territories. Mexico initially welcomed settlers to Texas, for the land was arid, mostly desert, and few Mexicans lived that far north (Longres, 2000; McLemore & Romo, 1985; Schaefer, 1988). Anglos then began to covet ownership of this land and this

was reinforced by their belief in Manifest Destiny—that God was supporting their expansion westward (Luhman, 2002). The first major rift between Texas and Mexico took place in the 1830s with the Anglo revolt led by Sam Houston to usurp power from Mexico. During this Texas conflict Mexico won an important battle (the Alamo), but eventually lost the war (Acuña, 1972). This was the context for the American government using institutional scaffolding in its takeover and racial subjugation of Mexicans.

The Texas War of 1836 was the catalyst for the eventual annexation of Mexican border territory by the United States government. After the Texas War, Texas became a Republic, and remained so until it was made a state in December 1845 by a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States. This resolution was passed at the request of President Tyler whose tenure as President was coming to an end (Acuña, 1972). Mexico viewed the annexation unfavorably. In addition, there was not agreement between the United States government and Mexico as to the location of the border of the new state. The United States claimed the border existed at the Rio Grande. Mexico asserted that the border was 150 miles further north, at the Nueces River (Acuña, 1972). This feud was the impetus for the Mexican-American war. The fervor around this dispute was intensified by the United States crossing the Nueces River. Mexico subsequently refused to accept the terms posed by the United States envoy sent to Mexico by incumbent president, Polk, and Mexican forces crossed the Rio Grande attacking the United States military contingent. The Mexican attack gave President Polk the excuse needed to declare war on Mexico, pursuing not only the disputed land between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande, but also other Southwest territory held by Mexico (Acuña, 1972; McLemore & Romo, 1985).

The war gave further momentum to the process of westward expansion that was underway in the United States. Settlers already inhabited border territories belonging to Mexico. Acquiring this territory through war gave the United States more land and resources to complete its westward expansion. President Polk therefore went into the war with three goals in mind:

> 1) Mexicans would be cleared out of Texas; 2) Anglos would occupy California and New Mexico; and 3) U.S forces would march to Mexico City to force the beaten government to make peace on Polk's terms. And that was the way the campaign basically went. In the end, at a relatively small cost in men and money, the war netted the United States huge territorial gains: all of the Pacific coast from below San Diego to the Forty-ninth Parallel, and the whole area between the coast and the Continental Divide. (Acuña, 1972, p.21).

The outcome of the war (the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848) was that the US not only added Texas as a state, but it also acquired the territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and California as United States possessions.

Prior to the Texas and Mexican-American wars, and under terms stipulated by the Mexican government, Americans were encouraged to settle in Mexican territories. The Mexican government had abolished slavery, but American settlers in the Texas territory, most of whom migrated from slaveholding southern states (Alvarez, 1985; McLemore & Romo, 1985), found ways to elude the intent of the law, often maintaining former slaves as indentured servants (McLemore & Romo, 1985). These American settlers who owned slaves wanted to maintain their way of life. They brought with them their beliefs about their superiority and their practices of oppressing and denigrating a group of people who were racially different from them.

The slaveholding attitudes and practices of American settlers also were manifested in distinct ways in their relationships with Mexicans. Most settlers felt superior and entitled, viewing the Mexican as inferior and incompetent (Acuña, 1972; Alvarez, 1985; McLemore & Romo, 1985; Romo & Romo, 1985). Thus, although the peace treaty negotiated between Mexico and the United States included clauses to ensure the continued welfare of Mexicans who remained in the territories that became a part of the United States, Mexican welfare was usurped by Anglo Americans who continued to settle in these territories. Each territory developed and became populated in ways unique to that particular area and to the events and occurrences of that time period. However, economic subjugation of Mexicans, as well as ethnic and racial prejudice against them (Alvarez, 1985), was the common thread that ran through all of these territories.

The course of events that took place in the California territory is an example of how the shift in power and the manifestation of oppression throughout these territories occurred. In the California territory, the discovery of gold, which occurred the same year as the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, brought American settlers to this territory in mass. This great influx "assured their success at the ballot box, while drought, floods, the new legal system, and squatters all assisted to remove the Californios from their lands. This process of subordination involved overt conflict too, including lynchings and physical expulsion" (Moore, in McLemore & Romo, 1985 p. 10).

The residual war hostilities, the general feeling by American settlers of superiority, the quest for land through westward expansion, and the influx of American settlers as a result of moving west, placed the Mexicans residing within what would eventually become the contiguous United States in a clearly subordinate position. The culture and laws by which they lived as Mexicans were under siege as they became Americans of Mexican descent. Cultural ties and identity, although assaulted, lingered (Acuña, 1972; McLemore & Romo, 1985; Romo & Romo, 1985), but laws created within and for United States territories benefited Anglo settlers and further assured the subordinate position of Mexican Americans. Such laws, and the belief in the superiority of whites, provided the structure for treating Americans of Mexican descent as second class citizens. This was evident in the widespread phenomenon of whites gaining property ownership and Mexicans (as well as First Nation Peoples) losing property through legal means established by the U.S. government. For example, "by 1892, the federal government granted grazing privileges on public grasslands and forests to anyone but Chicanos" (Schaefer, 1988, p. 298). Over time, the institutional legalization of racism was firmly established for this group.

Chinese Oppressed

> We were 3 years with the railroad, and then went to the mines, where we made plenty of money in gold dust, but had a hard time, for many of the miners were wild men who carried revolvers and after drinking would come into our place to shoot and steal shirts, for which we had to pay. One of these men hit his head hard against a flat iron and all the miners came and broke up our laundry, chasing us out of town. They were going to hang us. We lost all our property…

> In all New York there are only thirty-four Chinese women, and it is impossible to get a Chinese woman out here unless one goes to China and marries her there, and then he must collect affidavits to prove that she really is his wife. That is in [the] case of a merchant. A laundryman can't bring his wife here under any circumstances, and even the women of the Chinese Ambassador's family had trouble getting in lately.
>
> Excerpts from *Biography of a Chinaman by Lee Chew (Lee, 1903)*

Like the other core groups that experienced legalized institutional oppression, so too did the Chinese. Drawn by the California Gold Rush and within the context of an extremely repressive imperial regime in China, large numbers of Chinese began immigrating to the United States in the 1840s. Many of these early immigrants came from a small district in southern China characterized by rocky barren land that was inadequate to sustain its residents (Sung, 1967). Their local economy was sustained by the adventurous few men who ventured out and became trade merchants in Hong Kong and other coastal ports. Through their business transactions with sea merchants, these trade merchants became aware of the opportunity to amass great wealth in the United States. Along with other Chinese, primarily from the Canton area, they sailed from Hong Kong to join the American Gold Rush in the American West (Sung, 1967; Tsai, 1986).

Like many other immigrant groups who voluntarily came to North America seeking a better life, the Chinese, as they began to arrive in larger numbers, were perceived as a threat to the status quo and the economic well-being of the established white residents. However, unlike early European immigrants who relatively easily could blend into the larger mainstream population of white residents, Chinese immigrants stood out as clearly different. They were easily identified by their distinct physical characteristics and their cultural practices, and, thus, became easy targets for scapegoating and discriminatory practices. As their numbers grew, legal and institutional constraints were implemented that resulted in restricted entry into the United States, exclusion from citizenship (including the rights and protections of U.S. citizens), economic hardship, and restricted rights and freedom. California, the major gateway for Chinese immigrants, took the lead in establishing restrictive laws aimed at excluding Chinese from immigration, eliminating Chinese from certain occupations, and punishing and harassing Chinese persons (Lyman, 1974). For example, California passed the Foreign Miners License Act (1850) which imposed a monthly fee on foreign-born miners. Because most foreign-born miners were Chinese, this law had the effect of driving Chinese from the mining camps and excluding them from the economic opportunities presented by mining (Tsai, 1983). When they left mining, many Chinese men remained in the United States with the intention of establishing themselves financially and then bringing over other family members. Many settled in San Francisco where they often engaged in carpentry, washing/ironing, and running restaurants. Numerous California laws intended to restrict Chinese persons from certain occupations were eventually ruled unconstitutional (Tsai, 1983).

Chinese men also were used as a marginal work force. So, to promote the wealth acquisition of white Americans, laws and attitudes about the Chinese were adapted to accommodate this need for labor. For example, during the 1850s and 1860s, Chinese immigration was encouraged because the Chinese men were considered very adaptable and docile workers who were willing to do whatever work was

undesirable to white men (Tsai, 1986). During the building of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s, there was a great need for workers willing to toil under dangerous and difficult conditions and the Chinese became the primary workforce for creating the western segments of the railroads. Chinese workers also did much of the work to transform swamps into the land that supports the city of San Francisco. By 1884, half of the agricultural workers in California were Chinese (Sung, 1967). However, despite being allowed into the US as marginal workers, Chinese persons were not given the legal rights and privileges of United States citizens.

With the widespread unemployment of whites during the depression that followed the Civil War, the Chinese became an easy and visible target for scapegoating. In ways that parallel the treatment of African Americans in the South, terrorism and violence were used as mechanisms to subordinate, control, and exclude the Chinese, particularly in the American West. Chinese were the targets of scapegoating by politicians, particularly in California where it was considered political death for a politician to support rather than condemn the Chinese (Lyman, 1974; Sung, 1967). In fact, it was police and politicians who incited many of the attacks on Chinese people. Similar to the lynching of blacks, it became virtually a sport for whites to stone, assault or murder a Chinese person. There were massacres and entire Chinese populations were driven out of some towns, including Seattle and Tacoma Washington (Lyman, 1974). Because of widespread anti-Chinese sentiment that was validated and institutionalized through the legal system, as the Chinese dispersed, they were confronted with overt prejudice and hatred wherever they went.

Despite widespread prejudice against the Chinese, when the United States needed to open up trade with China, it signed the Burlingame Treaty (1868) between United States and China which gave most favored nation status to the citizens of each nation living in the other country. Under this treaty, Chinese citizens residing in the U.S. were guaranteed freedom from religious persecution, the right of residence and travel, and the privilege to operate their own schools. In return, this treaty gave the US advantageous trade deals with China. However, anti-Chinese sentiment was so strong at that time that the racial and political climate in the U.S. kept the country from upholding its obligations to Chinese citizens in the United States. In 1879, the U.S. Congress passed a bill to prohibit Chinese immigration. President Hayes vetoed the bill because it violated the Burlingame Treaty, but, to placate the West, he negotiated the Treaty of 1880 which allowed the U.S. to limit Chinese immigration (Sung, 1967; Tsai, 1986). Then, Congress passed and President Chester Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) which suspended Chinese immigration for 10 years and required all Chinese workers currently in the U.S. to carry detailed identification papers. The Geary Act (1892) extended the Exclusion Act for ten more years and then the Scott Act (1902) extended it indefinitely. These laws effectively stripped Chinese persons of all rights in the United States. The expression, “not a Chinaman’s chance” originated around this time and reflected the general sentiment in the country (Sung, 1967). Despite being against the U.S. Constitution and in violation of existing treaties with China, these laws were declared constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court (Sung, 1967). Exclusion laws and restrictions were applied even to Chinese who had established communities for centuries in

Hawaii and the Philippines. Laws that specifically restricted the immigration of Chinese women, such as the Immigration Act of 1924, effectively prevented the establishment of a growing population of stable Chinese families living in the US. The exclusion laws specific to the Chinese remained for 60 years and were not repealed until the Magnuson Act (1943). In fact, the Chinese were the only racial or ethnic group ever specifically excluded from the U.S.A. by law.

Summary

The legalization and institutionalization of racism was an outgrowth of targeted laws and acts that specifically relegated the core groups to marginalized and discriminatory positions in the society. Land was illegally taken because of broken treaties and acts for First Nation People as well as Mexicans. Cheap labor was needed to till the soil and build portions of the transcontinental railroad. Africans were actually enslaved and Chinese immigrants were cheap labor. Such actions have been the cornerstone for institutionally inculcating racism in America, becoming ingrained aspects of all systems that operate and manage this country. Systemic oppressive scaffolding in combination with the institutional web continues to support the racism that finds its way into the lives of the core groups as well as the lives of new immigrants of color that reach these shores.

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Chapter 4
Immigration Through the Lens of Systemic Racism

> In the 1850s nativism became an open political movement. Still it remains a remarkable fact that, except for the Oriental Exclusion Act, there was no governmental response till after the First World War.
>
> from *A Nation of Immigrants*, by John F. Kennedy (1964)

Research on the dynamics and effects of immigration on American society dates back to the early efforts by United States sociologists, including W.E.B. Du Bois' "The Philadelphia Negro" (1899). This seminal study on urban life for African Americans yielded nuanced data on housing conditions, social class differences, and labor. Similar to other black thought leaders, Du Bois documents an increasing decline of employment opportunities for black urban dwellers. He noted that "foreigners outbid [blacks] at work, beat them on the streets and were enabled to do this by the prejudice against the Negro" (p. 31). The concern articulated by Du Bois about the impact of recent immigrants who were displacing blacks in the workforce supports how the social construction of differences between racial and ethnic groups was apparent then and remains a factor now. With Latinos[1] now the nation's largest ethnoracial minority, and in view of continued high rates of immigration from Asia, Latin America, and many other parts of the globe, sociologists and psychologists have been studying contemporary patterns of identity formation and change, social adaptation, and the broader societal effects of this "new immigration" (Anderson & Massey, 2004).

Immigration has become a focal point of heated national debates (Dillon, 2001; Fuentes, 2006; Munro, 2006; Smith & Edmonston, 1997; Toy, 2002). Immigrants are repeatedly associated with the declining economy, overpopulation, pollution, increased violence, depleted social resources (i.e., medical and educational), erosion

[1] The census category of Hispanic, Spanish origin and the more recently preferred Latino/a are umbrella terms that cover a diverse population of the subgroup. Within this population are now Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cubans, and Central and South American (Hess, Markson & Stein, 2000). In the authors attempt to develop an antiracism book with understanding of these terms we have chosen to identify these groups as Latino because this label is more preferential than the term Hispanic; this is an attempt to utilize terms that are embraced by the people and not just the language constructed by the federal government.

R. W. C. Tourse et al., *Systemic Racism in the United States*,
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of cultural values, and terrorism (Cowan, Martinez, & Mendiola, 1997; Munro, 2006). Immigrant individuals are often portrayed as criminal, poor, violent, and uneducated (Espanshade & Calhoun, 1993; Muller & Espenshade, 1985). Negative attitudes toward immigrants have begun to receive more attention from social psychologists (e.g., Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, Martnez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998) in research that has focused primarily on the roots and characteristics of such prejudice.

This chapter examines the institutional racial scaffolding built by whites in positions of power who have constructed differences between themselves and the core groups: First Nation/Indigenous People, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese. It defines immigration, examines the history of immigration in the United States through significant laws, and describes the context of immigration policies. This is followed by an analysis of systemic racism and immigration for the core groups. The chapter ends with a discussion of the contemporary anti-immigrant climate. It then points out that it is not the differences themselves that have led to subordination and systemic oppression, but the interpretation of prejudice in the form of immigration policies and court and legislative proceedings.

Immigration Defined

The term immigration has legal, political, social, and structural meanings. According to Martin and Midgley (1994), "The word 'immigrant' was coined around 1789 to describe an alien who voluntarily moved from one established society to another" (p. 21). According to Miriam Potocky-Tripodi (2002), "…[l]egally, anyone who is not a citizen of the United States is considered an alien. Aliens are further classified as immigrants and non-immigrants, and documented or undocumented" (p. 4).

Legal immigration refers to the process by which noncitizens are granted legal permanent residence or a "green card" by the federal government of the United States. Legal permanent residents have the rights to remain in the country indefinitely, to be gainfully employed, and to seek the benefits of U.S. citizenship through naturalization (Chang-Muy, 2009; Zong & Batalov, 2016). A distinction is made between legal immigrants who are new arrivees to the United States and those who are termed adjustees (i.e., their immigrant status was adjusted while they were in the United States) or asylees (i.e., those who claim that it is impossible to return to their native countries because of wars or political persecution) (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). The United States Internal Revenue Service (IRS) website provides further clarification:

> Immigrant [is] an alien who has been granted the right by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) to reside permanently in the United States and to work without restrictions in the United States. It is also known as a Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) (n.p.).

As noted above, definitions and categorizations of foreign-born persons are complex and can be confusing. In part, the confusion is due to the history of immigration in the United States that has resulted in the exclusion and exploitation of many immigrant groups.

History of Immigration in the United States

The United States is a nation of immigrants. Since the founding of the United States of America, some 60 million "immigrants" have come to this country (Martin & Midgley, 1994). The reasons prompting people to move vary widely, and not all so-called immigrants would necessarily identify themselves as such. In fact, the U.S. has changed its policy toward immigrants throughout its existence depending on economic, social, and political trends. The first wave of immigrants came to colonial America from England, France, Germany, and other northern European countries to flee political and religious intolerance as well as to seek financial opportunities. The existing Colonial populace greeted later arrivals of any race with open hostility and distrust. Regardless of their less than warm welcome, hopeful immigrants continued to pour into the United States.

Immigration policies designed to relieve perceived shortages of labor have been around for decades, and the idea of targeting immigration to needy parts of the economy is not new (Sumption, 2011). From the early nineteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth century, as the United States sought to expand both geographically and economically, government officials and business leaders recognized that immigrants could fill the need for cheap labor, so they encouraged the flow of these workers into the U.S. Between 1820 and 1930, the United States absorbed about 60% of the world's immigrants (Rowen, n.d.). In the following section, we discuss some of the more significant immigration policies that highlight the history of immigration.

Significant Laws

As growing numbers of immigrants continued to flow into the country, the existing citizenry often vigorously, sometimes violently, objected to their presence in the United States, perceiving them as "un-American," "alien," and "other." In response to this public sentiment, federal and state governments began to establish policies and laws that regulated immigration (see Table 4.1). Laws passed in the late 1880s introduced three elements into immigration policies: (1) restrictions based on personal characteristics, (2) restrictions based on national origin, and (3) protections of American labor. In turn, these elements influenced future policies on immigration (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002).

Increasing concern that immigrants were contributing to crime and poverty led to the first restrictive legislation, the Immigration Act of 1882, which excluded the admission of convicts, paupers, and those viewed as mentally ill. Proponents of the act believed that such individuals would be unemployed and therefore dependent upon public funds for financial support (Congress, 2009). In that same year, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, a law that limited immigration based on national origin. This act, which halted immigration from China and barred Chinese persons from becoming legal citizens, remained in force until 1943. In the mid-1800s, Chinese workers were actively recruited to the United States, but when the economic recession occurred in the 1880s, it was considered necessary to exclude them. In 1943, during World War II, because it needed China as a political ally, the United States changed its policy and again allowed Chinese workers to enter the country.

Table 4.1 Timeline of Immigration Legislation and Policies (adapted from Rowen, n.d.)

1790	The Naturalization Act of 1790, the country's first naturalization statute, states that unindentured white males must live in the U.S. for 2 years before becoming citizens
1795	The Naturalization Act of 1790 is amended and extends the residency requirement to 5 years
1798	With xenophobia on the rise, the residency requirement in the Naturalization Act of 1790 is lengthened again, to 14 years
1802	The residency requirement for citizenship is reduced to 5 years
1819	The Steerage Act requires that ship captains must submit manifests with information about immigrants onboard to the Collector of Customs, the Secretary of State, and Congress
1843	The American Republican party is formed in New York (it later becomes known as the Native American party) by citizens opposed to the increased number of immigrants in the U.S. The nativists, or members of the Know-Nothing Movement, seek to permit only native-born Americans to run for office and try to raise the residency requirement to 25 years
1868	Expatriation Act of 1868 states that "the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people." The act was intended to protect the rights of naturalized immigrants whose native countries did not recognize expatriation claims
1870	The Naturalization Act of 1870 allows "aliens of African nativity" and "persons of African descent" to become U.S. citizens
1875	The Page Act is the country's first exclusionary act. It bans criminals, prostitutes, and Chinese contract laborers from entering the U.S
1882	The Immigration Act imposes a $.50 tax on new arrivals and bans "convicts (except those convicted of political offenses), lunatics, idiots and persons likely to become public charges" from entering the U.S. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 bans "skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining" from entering the country for 10 years and denies Chinese immigrants a path to citizenship. Thousands of Chinese immigrants had worked on the construction of the Trans-Continental Railroad, and these workers were left unemployed when the project was complete. The high rate of unemployment and anti-Chinese sentiment led to passage of the law
1888	The Scott Act amends the Chinese Exclusion Act. It bans Chinese workers from re-entering the U.S. after they left
1891	Immigration Act of 1891 creates the Bureau of Immigration, which falls under the Treasury Department. The act also calls for the deportation of people who enter the country illegally and denies entry for polygamists, the mentally ill, and those with contagious diseases
1892	The Geary Act strengthens the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 by requiring Chinese laborers to carry a resident permit at all times. Failure to do so could result in deportation or a sentence to hard labor. It also extends for another 10 years the ban on Chinese becoming citizens Ellis Island opens. It serves as the primary immigration station of the U.S. between 1892 and 1954, processing some 12 million immigrants
1903	Anarchist Exclusion Act denies anarchists, other political extremists, beggars, and epileptics entry into the U.S. This is the first time individuals are banned from the U.S. based on political beliefs
1906	The Naturalization Act of 1906 creates the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and places it under the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department. The act also requires immigrants to learn English before they can become citizens

(continued)

Table 4.1 (continued)

1907	The Immigration Act of 1907 broadens the categories of people banned from immigrating to the U.S. The list of those excluded include "imbeciles," "feeble-minded" people, those with physical or mental disabilities that prevent them from working, tuberculosis victims, children who enter the U.S. without parents, and those who committed crimes of "moral turpitude" The "Gentleman's Agreement" between the U.S. and Japan ends the immigration of Japanese workers Expatriation Act of 1907 that says women must adopt the citizenship of their husbands. Thus, women who marry foreigners lose their U.S. citizenship unless their husbands become citizens
1917	Immigration Act of 1917, also called Asiatic Barred Zone Act, further restricts immigration, particularly of people from a large part of Asia and the Pacific Islands. The act also bars homosexuals, "idiots," "feeble-minded persons," "criminals," "insane persons," alcoholics, and other categories. In addition, the act sets a literacy standard for immigrants age 16 and older. They must be able to read a 40-word selection in their native language
1921	The Emergency Quota Law of 1921 limits the number of immigrants entering the U.S. each year to 350,000 and implements a nationality quota. Immigration from any country is capped at 3% of the population of that nationality based on the 1910 census. The law reduces immigration from eastern and southern Europe while favoring immigrants from Northern Europe
1922	Married Women's Act of 1922, also known as the "Cable Act," repeals the provision of the Expatriation Act of 1907 that revoked the citizenship of women who married foreigners
1924	The National Origins Act reduces the number of immigrants entering the U.S. each year to 165,000 and the nationality quota set forth in the Quota Law of 1921 is cut to 2% of the population of that nationality based on the 1890 census. The quota system did not apply to immigrants from the western hemisphere The U.S. Border Patrol is created
1929	The National Origins Act again reduces the annual cap on the number of immigrants allowed to enter the U.S., this time to 150,000. The 2% quota is linked to 1920 census data, thereby further limiting the number of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe
1940	The Alien Registration Act (Smith Act) requires all immigrants age 14 and up to register with the government and be fingerprinted. The act also bans individuals considered "subversives" from immigrating
1942	Because so many American men are fighting in World War II, the U.S. faced a shortage of farm workers and begins hiring Mexican workers in what was known as the bracero program. About five million Mexican workers participate in the program
1943	The Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act allows Chinese workers to immigrate to the U.S., but with an annual quota of 105
1946	The Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act is broadened to cover Filipinos and Indians, essentially repealing the Immigration Act of 1917
1948	The Displaced Persons Act allows up to 200,000 refugees displaced by World War II to enter the U.S.
1950	Internal Security Act allows the deportation of any immigrants who were ever members of the Communist Party

(continued)

Table 4.1 (continued)

1952	Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (the McCarran-Walter Act) consolidates earlier immigration legislation into one law and eliminates race as a basis of exclusion. However, race continues to be a factor because the quota system remains in place, except for immigrants from the western hemisphere. Immigration from any country is capped at 1/6th of 1% of the population of that nationality based on the 1920 census
1965	The Immigration Act of 1965 removes nationality quotas, but limits annual immigration from the eastern hemisphere to 170,000, with a limit of 20,000 immigrants per country. It also, for the first time, caps annual immigration from the western hemisphere at 120,000, but there is no limit by country. The Act also establishes a preference system for family members of U.S. citizens
1966	Cuban Adjustment Act allows Cubans to apply for permanent resident status after residing in the U.S. for 2 years
1975	The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 resettles about 200,000 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees in the U.S. and gives them a special parole status. The program was extended to Laotians in 1976
1978	The immigration caps outlined in the 1965 Immigration Act are replaced with an overall annual limit of 290,000
1980	The Refugee Act defines refugee as a person who flees his or her country "on account of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion." Refugees are considered a different category than immigrants. The president and Congress are granted the authority to establish an annual ceiling on the number of refugees allowed into the U.S. The act also lowers the annual limit of immigrants from 290,000 to 270,000
1986	The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) allows immigrants who entered the U.S. before Jan. 1, 1982, to apply for legal status but required them to pay fines, fees, and back taxes. It also gives the same rights to immigrants who worked in agricultural jobs for 90 days before May 1982. About three million immigrants gained legal status through the law. The act also requires employers to verify work status of all new hires and there are fines for those who hire undocumented workers
1990	The Immigration Act of 1990 sets an annual ceiling of 700,000 immigrants for 3 years, and 675,000 thereafter
1996	The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act broadens the definition of "aggravated felony" and increases the number of crimes classified as such so immigrants could be deported for a wider range of crimes. The law is applied retroactively. The act also increases the number of Border Patrol agents and establishes an "expedited removal" procedure to deport immigrants without a formal hearing The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act sharply cuts legal permanent residents' eligibility for many public-assistance benefits, including food stamps, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), and Medicaid
2005	The REAL ID Act of 2005 requires states to verify a person's immigration status or citizenship before issuing licenses, expands restrictions on refugees requesting asylum, and limits the habeas corpus rights of immigrants
2014	On November 20, 2014, President Obama takes executive action to delay the deportation of some five million illegal immigrants. Under the new policy people who are parents of U.S. citizens or legal residents can receive deportation deferrals and authorization to work legally if they have been in the U.S. for more than 5 years and pass background checks. This action also removed the age restrictions and increased the deferral period in the 2012 Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which allowed people brought to the U.S. as children to apply for deportation deferrals and work permits

The 1800s and early 1900s marked a second wave of immigrants, first from northern and western Europe, then from southern and eastern Europe. Immigrants from various European areas flowed into the United States to meet the increased labor demands that accompanied expanding industrialization and urbanization. During this period there was growing sentiment that immigrants were poor, criminal, or taking jobs from United States born workers. Anti-immigrant attitudes spurred the passage of the Immigration Act of 1917 which excluded individuals who were illiterate (who were more likely from southern and eastern Europe) and precipitated further restricted admission of Asian immigrants (Chang-Muy, 2009). The United States further strengthened its anti-immigration policies with passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which restricted Europeans to 150,000 per year and established a national origin quota system based on the 1890 census. Because most immigrants from southern and eastern Europe did not arrive until after 1890, this provision had an effect similar to that of the 1917 Immigration act; it excluded illiterates and favored admission from northern and western Europe.

After World War II, the Displaced Persons Act (1948), the Refugee Relief Act (1953), and the Refugee Escape Act (1957) were passed to provide for those who were displaced by war or who were escapees from communist regimes (Potocky-Tripodi, as cited in Congress, 2009). Ultimately, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 sought to unite existing laws. This law established a modified quota system that continued to favor northern and western Europeans, who were felt to be more easily assimilated into American society (Potocky-Tripodi, as cited in Congress, 2009). The quota system gave preference to those with higher education and skills, as well as those who had relatives in the United States. In summary, during the first 200 years of United States history, the country changed from having an open immigration policy to more restrictive policies that tended to follow the ebbs and flows in its economic, political, and social spheres.

The Immigration and Nationality Act amended in 1965 marked the beginning of contemporary immigration legislation (Chang-Muy, 2009; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). This law abolished the national quota system and established a system of preference based on family relationships and employment. Following its passage, there was a shift in the pattern of immigration, with an increase in immigration from Asia and Latin America, and a decrease from Europe (see Fig. 4.1).

Concern over the increase in undocumented immigrants led to the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). Provisions of this legislation included increased fines for violation of immigration laws, increased border control, and the granting of amnesty to those who had lived continuously in the United States since 1982. In response to growing apprehension that even legal immigrants might be using public benefits, Congress passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) which established new provisions that resulted in the deportation of many individuals (Frogman, 1997). Prior to IIRIRA, immigrants who were issued an order of deportation had the right to appeal the order through judicial review. The new provision, however, removed this right for several classes of immigrants, such as persons convicted of aggravated felony offenses, drug

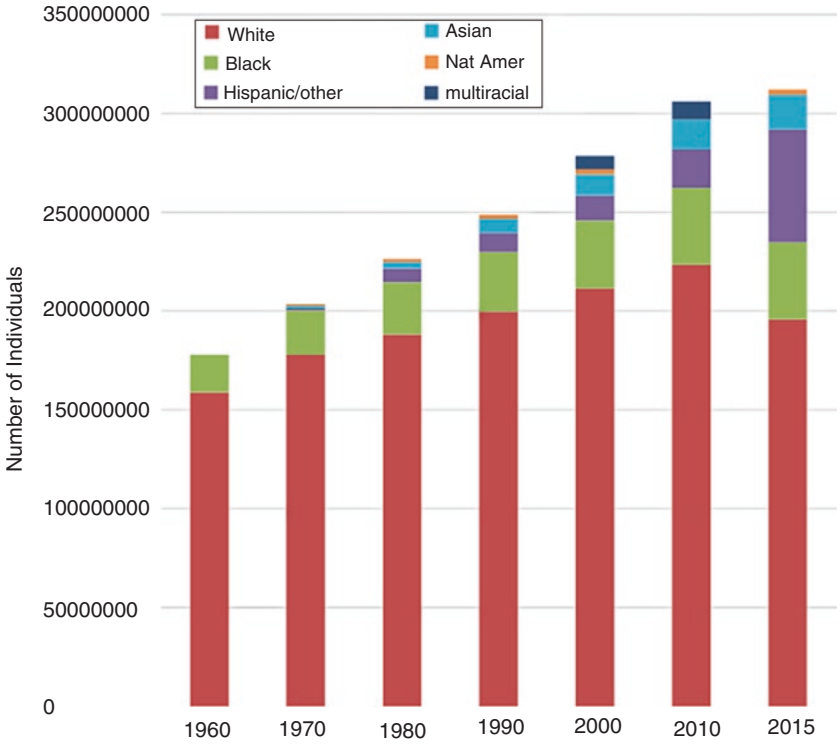

Fig. 4.1 Size of US population by race/Hispanic ethnicity from 1960 to 2015 (Source: U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-b)

offenses, domestic violence, and stalking; persons convicted of child abuse, neglect, or abandonment; and persons with violations against immigration law and misdemeanors such as shoplifting and drunk driving. This act also retroactively increased restrictions on undocumented immigrants. Thus, an immigrant who committed an offense long ago became subject to immediate deportation despite residing lawfully in the United States for many years following the conviction (Drachman & Paulino, 2004).

In the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the U.S. government implemented a series of critical, and sometimes controversial, immigration policy measures to respond to future threats of terrorism. The most significant was the passage of the United and Strengthening America by providing Appropriate Tools required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (Patriot Act, 2002B). This law cedes to the United States Justice Department broad surveillance and detention powers over persons suspected of terrorism. Under the Act, a "noncitizen" can be detained for 7 days without being charged with an immigration violation, and is subjected to mandatory detention while removal proceedings are pending. Since the 9/11 terrorist attack, immigration policy has been viewed principally through the lens of national security, a development that has given rise to major new border security and law enforcement initiatives, heightened visa controls and screening of international travelers and would-be immigrants, the collection

and storage of information in vast new interoperable databases used by law enforcement and intelligence agencies, and the use of state and local law enforcement as force multipliers in immigration enforcement (Chishti & Bergeron, 2011). For example, during the first weeks of recently elected President Trump's administration, he signed an executive order on banning entry from a number of predominately Muslim countries. It created chaos at U.S. airports and sparked a number of successful legal challenges; ultimately, it was blocked by the federal appeals court. In the March 6, 2017 revised ban, Iraq was removed from the list; however, visa processing was suspended for citizens of Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Syria, and Libya as the administration attempted to strengthen vetting procedures (Pierce, 2017).

Contemporary Immigrants

Currently, immigrants gain legal status in several ways. One of the most common ways of receiving legal status in the United States is through family-sponsored immigrant visas, which are granted to individuals who seek to become citizens or residents of the United States through family sponsors who are U.S. citizens or legal residents (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). Another avenue to legal status is commonly referred to as the "brain drain" method (McAllester, 2012). U.S. immigration policies allow for legal immigrant status to be granted to those who are deemed to be "persons of extraordinary ability" or to those who have advanced training or skills in occupations that are important for the U.S. labor market (e.g., engineers, nurses). Companies or agencies can sponsor such individuals in gaining legal immigrant status. In 2012, approximately 143,000 out of 420,000 permanent resident documents were granted for "employment-based" reasons (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005; Zong & Batalova, 2015). It is very common for employment-based immigrants to bring their immediate family members with them to the United States. In fact, in 2012, 54% (or 78,080) of those who entered under the employment-preference category were not the principal applicant, but were actually the spouse or child of the principal applicant (Auclair & Batalova, 2013).

There also are additional ways to obtain legal resident status. One of the more recent developments in immigration policy was designed to create more equal opportunities for individuals from various countries to legally move to the United States. Each year, the Diversity Lottery Program makes 55,000 immigrant visas available for a fee to people who come from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States (Zong & Batalova, 2015). Refugees and asylum seekers also have a path to legal residence. The 105,528 refugees and 45,086 asylees who adjusted to Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status in 2012 comprised 15% of all lawful permanent immigrants. The number and percentage of refugees and asylees who adjusted to LPR status varied significantly between 2003 and 2013, from a low of 6% (44,764) in 2003 to a high of 17% (216,454) in 2006.

Both legal and illegal immigration have been an important impetus for the United States achieving its high levels of productivity and prosperity (Hipsman & Meissner, 2013). Thousands of immigrants have contributed to the economic transformation

required for a global economy, including more than 14 million people (legal and illegal) during the 1990s and 16 million during the period from 2000 to 2010. The significant contributions of immigrants over the long term underscore the contradictions between policy and reality.

Context of Immigration Policies

Push and Pull

The push–pull theory, first articulated by Lee (1966), proposes that migrants[2] are often pushed from their country of origin by economic hardship, or by political and social oppression, and are pulled to the country of destination by hopes of better economic opportunities and political or religious freedom. Push factors include political, economic, natural, and cultural forces that can come in many forms, including political upheaval, severe economic circumstances, natural disasters, limited educational opportunities, and social problems such as ethnic persecutions or discriminatory practices against individuals or groups. Political forces that push and pull people to relocate include political stability/instability, war, persecution, violation/protection of human rights, immigration policies of the country of origin or destination, and the availability of organized assistance for the move and settlement in the new country (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). Economic factors that impel people to move include differences between their country of origin and destination in standard of living, job opportunities, working conditions, unemployment rates, and wages. Cultural factors that push and pull people include the ethnic and religious composition of the population and the predominate languages spoken in the two countries. When there is total destruction of one's homeland by natural disaster or war, the push factors can become so strong that people have no choice but to leave their country of origin.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism, a term initially used to describe multinational companies, was broadened in the 1990s to include individuals who remain financially and socially connected to their countries of origin. Basch, Schiller, and Blanc (1994) defined it as

> the process by which immigrants through their daily life activities forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, often sending money to their home country to alleviate financial hardships faced by family who remain home. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders (p. 6).

[2] A migrant is considered a person who moves from place to place for work. We are using the term interchangeably with immigrant.

Vertovec (1999), more succinctly, indicates that "transnationalism broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people across borders or nation states" (p. 447). Thus, many immigrant communities do not delink themselves from their home countries; instead they retain and nourish their linkages to their countries of origin (Congress, 2009). Such immigrants have significant ties to their home countries and often send large portions of their earnings back to their country of origin to support their family members who remain there. This practice supports the economy of those countries.

Transnationals include many people who can never geographically return home and who are the product of forced migration due to economic reasons or who seek refuge because they fear persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, social group, or political opinion (Congress, 2009). Transnationalism can leave family members separated from each other for long periods of time, even permanently. Families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely "family," even across national borders, have been labeled as transnational families (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Transnational families can be very different depending on their race, class, and geographic origin. For example, upper and middleclass families may choose to divide themselves across borders in order to pursue career or educational opportunities, while poor families, often with roots in developing countries from the southern hemisphere, may separate as a means of finding work that pays a living wage (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Understanding the push and pull forces and the phenomenon of transnationalism provides additional depth of understanding about contemporary immigration practices and experiences in the U.S.

The Nature of Systemic Racism and Immigration for the Core Groups

In various ways and to varying degrees, immigration patterns and laws (see Table 4.1) have affected the lives of members of the four core racial groups described in Chap. 3: First Nation/Indigenous Peoples, Mexicans, Africans, and Chinese. The following section highlights the historical experiences of the four core groups through the lens of immigration policies that serve as the foundation of racial scaffolding. Understanding their experiences provides contextualization for the historical inequality and marginalization based on skin color or race. This social construction of difference, and the resultant regard of non-white portions of the population as inhuman, deviant, or disadvantaged, underlies the systemic racism that determines how power, privilege, and wealth are distributed in the United States.

First Nation/Indigenous People

> I used to refer to myself as 'Native American,' but over time I have learned more about colonization and the colonial terms that came with the assimilation process which continues today. We are original people of this so-called USA, therefore we should be acknowledged as such, but also to ourselves as indigenous, as the indigenous backgrounds we identify with; indigenous, or Native of our own territories.
>
> *Blackhorse,* 2015

Throughout the existence of the United States, the dominant white population has used nativist and racist beliefs to support exclusion, exploitation, and restriction, and this has helped to create the ideology of modern racism. First Nation/Indigenous Peoples were the first to experience such behavior. Although they, along with Mexicans in the Southwest and far west were the original authentic dwellers, they came to experience unprecedented exploitation (see for example Gregory & Sanjek, 1994; Luhman, 2002). They quickly were defined as biologically and morally inferior. The "inferiority" presented a challenge to the "civilized" newcomers in doing God's work while usurping the land of the authentic owners (Hess, Markson, & Stein, 2000). These ethnocentric assumptions followed the westward flow of white settlers who continually displaced the native tribes and absorbed their lands on the basis of treaties not enforced, a phenomenon known as "internal colonialism" (Bachman, 1991 p. 469). Although these native dwellers were not immigrants, they experienced "push" forces somewhat similar to those experienced by many immigrants who were escaping oppressive regimes. They were forced to migrate to accommodate the will and needs of white European immigrants. Entire tribes were forcibly relocated to reservations in sparsely populated areas with few natural resources (Brown, 1970). Structural systems (judicial and legislative) established in America became the justification for the destruction of First Nation/Indigenous People (Drinnon, 1990). An example of the exclusion, exploitation, and restrictions placed on First Nation/Indigenous Peoples is illustrated by them being granted rights to be citizens of the *land that was originally theirs*. The nativist and racist ideas of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century allowed restrictions to be placed on the recognition of First Nation/Indigenous Peoples as U.S. citizens, whether by birth or naturalization[3] (Takagi, 1989). It was not until 1924 that the Indian Citizenship Act allowed citizenship to First Nation/Indigenous People (Luhman, 2002). The laws and systemic structures devised by those in power (Europeans) belatedly granted a people who originally existed on this land what should have been theirs all along—citizenship.

In 2010, the population of First Nation/Indigenous People including those of more than one race approximated 5.2 million or 2% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census, 2010). The Census counted 56% as American Indian and Alaska Native only, and about 44% as American Indian and Alaska Native in combination with one or more other races.

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[3] Naturalization is the legal act or process by which a noncitizen in a country may acquire citizenship or nationality of that country. It may be done by a statute, without any effort on the part of the individual, or it may involve an application and approval by legal authorities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

Mexicans

The experience of Mexican immigrants in the United States actually began with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, but was especially propelled by the U.S. expansionist wars of the nineteenth century, namely, the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) and the Spanish-American War (1898) (Kilty & Haymes, 2000). Since the Treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War in 1848 and ceded most of what is now the American Southwest to the United States, Mexicans in the U.S.—whether born within or outside its borders—have been affected in various ways by the exclusionary and restrictive nature of its immigration laws and policies. Mexican migrant farm laborers were actually welcomed in the early years of the twentieth century. Then, when the economic tides turned during the Great Depression years, the forces of systemic racism strengthened and Mexicans were systematically rounded up and deported. In fact, in the American Southwest which was home to many Mexican laborers who were native-born U.S. citizens, even U.S. citizens were deported by local and state governments under the assumption that they were Mexican by birth (Meier & Ribera, 1993; Schaefer, 1993).

Yet, as Reimers (1998) notes, the economy alone was not responsible. Racism was a powerful force and came to be expressed in public policy, including the most restrictive immigration law to that point, the National Origins Act of 1924. This law took effect several years before the Great Depression and "not only barred further entries from most countries, but did so on explicitly racial considerations" (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, pp. 162–163).

Policies of the U.S. Census Bureau also have affected the status and treatment of Mexican Americans. Although people of Spanish origin predate most others of European descent in what is now the United States, the definition of Spanish origin and Hispanic has been changed from one census to another (Kilty & Haymes, 2000) and the "official" count of Hispanics was quite small until recently. In 1930 Mexican Americans were identified as a separate racial category but this designation disappeared 10 years later when they were identified as part of the white population (Kilty & Haymes, 2000).

The impact of public policy on Latinos is not merely a function of specific immigration law, but is felt in other areas as well, where noncitizens who are Latino were targeted. For example, the Supreme Court case of *Plyler v Doe* illustrates exclusion by states and localities to avoid compliance with the public education law (American Immigration Council, 2012).

> In 1975, the Texas Legislature authorized local school districts to deny enrollment in public schools to foreign-born children who were not "legally admitted" to the United States. Two years later, the Tyler Independent School District adopted a policy requiring foreign-born students to pay tuition if they were not "legally admitted." Under the school district's policy, children were considered "legally admitted" if (1) they possessed documentation showing that they were legally present in the United States, or (2) federal immigration authorities confirmed they were in the process of securing such documentation.
>
> Shortly thereafter, a group of students from Mexico who could not establish that they were "legally admitted" brought a class action lawsuit challenging the policy. The district court, after making extensive findings of fact, held that the policy violated the Constitution and was also "preempted" by federal immigration law. A federal appeals court upheld the injunction, although its decision rested on constitutional rather than preemption grounds. The school district then filed a petition with the Supreme Court, which granted the case for review. (n. p.).

The above case is critical to immigration policy because the court recognized that access to public education is crucial to prevent establishment of a permanent underclass of undocumented immigrants in the United States and to ensure that immigrants are productive participants in U.S. society. Ultimately, the Court cites Brown vs. Board of Education to acknowledge that denying immigrant children a basic education would "deny them the ability to live within the structure of our civic institutions, and foreclose any realistic possibility that they will contribute in even the smallest way to the progress of our Nation" (Romero, 2012).

Although more than 16 million Mexicans migrated to the United States from 1965 to 2015 in one of the longest mass migrations in modern history (Krogstad, 2016), there was a downturn after 2008. In fact, during the Great Recession between 2009 and 2014, there was a net outflow of Mexican nationals; that is, more left than came to the United States. Transnationalism was a driving force in this outflow. According to the 2014 Mexican Nation Survey of Demographic Dynamics, approximately one million Mexican immigrants and their United States born children moved from the U.S. to Mexico between 2009 and 2014, and 61% said they had done so to reunite with family or to start a family This outward migration was attributed to the increase in anti-Mexican sentiments (see Krogstad, 2016).

Immigration laws targeting Mexicans have bolstered the racial scaffolding that now affects all Latinos in the United States. Latinos who come from South and Central America often are confused with Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The island of Puerto Rico is a United States Commonwealth, and the populous can flow throughout the U.S. at will. In contrast, Latinos from South and Central America are subject to immigration laws; push factors in their homelands have forced many to come to the U.S. illegally, although many try to come through the legal immigration system. In 2013, Mexican immigrants accounted for 28% of the immigrant population in the United States and another 24% of the immigrant population originated from other Latin American countries (see Pew Research, 2015).

Africans

The transatlantic slave trade beginning in the seventeenth century brought hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans to the Americas. Of all the enslaved Africans brought to the Americas, approximately 10% were sold to North American colonies, the remainder going to Latin American and Caribbean countries (Luhman, 2002; Schaefer, 1993). Many present day African Americans are descendants of this first group of Africans to inhabit America. Their ancestors were forced here either as indentured servants or slaves and were kept from openly retaining their African heritage. Voluntary immigration for this group was not an option. Today, descendants of this group see themselves as Americans of African ancestry (this group is also known as African Americans). Centuries of established systemic laws and structures deterred their freedom and eliminated their ability to maintain a connection to their ancestral lands in Africa.

Significant voluntary immigration from Africa and the Caribbean is a relatively new trend and African and Caribbean immigrants are a growing segment of the U.S. population (Anderson, 2017). There were 1.8 million African immigrants living in the U.S. in 2013, up from 881,000 in 2000 and a substantial increase from 1970, when the U.S.A. was home to only 80,000 foreign-born Africans. African immigrants accounted for 4.4% of the immigrant population in 2013, up from 0.8% in 1970. Compared to other major groups who arrived in the U.S. from 2000 to 2013, Africans had the fastest growth rate, increasing by 41% during that period (Anderson, 2017).

According to the Pew Report, half of recent black immigrants have arrived from the Caribbean (Anderson, 2015). The largest source is Jamaica, with 682,000, followed by Haiti, with 586,000. Jamaican immigrants make up 18% of the black population in the United States; those from Haiti represent about 15% of the U.S. black population. These statistics indicate that about 8% of black immigrants originate from South or Central America (Anderson, 2015). It is important to note that there are many differences that exist between these groups of immigrants and they self-identify based on their country of origin.

In contrast to the descendants of U.S. slaves, blacks currently coming to the country from the continent of Africa and from the Caribbean are able to retain their cultural, tribal, and national identities. They consider themselves to be Africans or Caribbeans living in America, and not "African Americans." However, although their history of arrival in the U.S. is different from African Americans, Africans and Caribbean blacks living in the U.S. are confronted with the same oppressive system of institutionalized racism.

Chinese

Chinese began to immigrate to the United States in 1820 and their numbers increased dramatically during the California gold rush. They were one of the first non-white immigrant groups to come to the United States voluntarily and today they constitute the largest proportion (23%) of Asian Americans (Pew Research, n.d.). Early immigrants from China were largely male laborers, and laws curtailing Chinese immigration began in the late 1880s. Chinese men were recruited to work on the transcontinental railroad during the 1860s, but were restricted by laws that prevented them from becoming citizens or sending for their wives or marrying Americans. Consequently, these early Chinese immigrants resided mostly in all male communities in the West of the United States.

Chinese migration to the United States is a history of two parts. The first wave was from the 1850s to 1880s. A second wave occurred from the late 1970s to the present, following normalization of U.S.-Chinese relations as well as changes to U.S. and Chinese migration and immigration policies. Restrictive immigration laws were revised in 1965, and after that many Chinese men were finally granted citizenship and allowed to bring family members to the U.S.

Currently, Chinese persons are aggregated in the overall racial category labeled as "Asian." Since 1997, the Federal Government (see U.S. Census, n.d.a; n.d.b) has defined Asian American to include persons having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent. In general, Asians consist of Chinese, Filipino, East Indians, Vietnamese, Koreans, Japanese, Hmong, and other smaller groups (see Pew Research Center, 2013). Although these groups all are of Asian descent, Spickard (2007) suggests that the identity "Asian American" emerged in the 1960s to bring together Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans. Similar to other core groups discussed, Asians are not a monolithic population and there has been a great deal of advocacy on the part of these various groups to identify themselves as separate populations.

During the era of Chinese Exclusion, the federal court and the Supreme Court, as well as Congress, modified their understanding of how Chinese people were categorized. For example, after initially considering "Chinese" to be a designation of national origin or national citizenship, Congress definitively adopted a racial understanding, such that "Chinese" refers to any person of Chinese ancestry—a form of bloodline categorization. This is exemplified in the 1854 case of George W. Hall who was convicted of murder based primarily on the testimony of three Chinese witnesses. Hall appealed his conviction, asking that it be overturned because, he claimed, the Chinese witnesses should have been prohibited from testifying under the 1850 California law that barred an "Indian or Negro" from testifying against "a White person." The Superior Court to which he appealed agreed. The judges asserted that "the Chinese are a race of people whom nature marks as inferior, and who are incapable of progress or intellectual development beyond a certain point" (People v. Hall, n.d.).

Although it was persons emigrating from China who were the intended focus of many immigration restrictions, the designation of "Chinese" gradually was expanded to include persons from Asia, in general. The case of The People vs. Hall, n.d. clearly illustrates how race has become a socially constructed category for people of Asian descent that sets them apart from European immigrants (Rothenberg, 2000, p. 24). The broader racial category of "Asian" was created piecemeal as the ascription of foreignness to the racialized Chinese body gradually was extended to include other Asian groups (Takagi, 1989). The racialization of all persons of Asian ancestry was formalized in the 1924 Immigration Act, which prohibited the immigration of "aliens ineligible for citizenship," a euphemism for all people of Asian descent. The adoption of this racialized conception of Asians provided justification for them to be viewed as undesirable and "other," and made them targets of the entrenched system of institutionalized racism in the United States of America. States imposed a number of race-based restrictions that were applied to Asians, including alien land laws that prohibited ownership of certain real property by aliens ineligible for citizenship, racial segregation in education, and restrictions on interracial marriage. The federal government imposed race-based restrictions on immigration and naturalization (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). Together, these official acts joined with private violence to consolidate the socially constructed racial category of

"Asian." Chinese immigrants are now the third-largest foreign-born group in the United States, after Mexicans and East Indians, numbering more than two million and comprising 5% of the overall immigrant population in 2013 (Hooper & Batlova, 2015). Similar to what has happened with the composition of other racialized immigrant groups in the U.S. the countries of origin of Asian immigrants have shifted over time in response to the occurrence of wars, natural disasters, and other events.

Immigration Trends

Although this book highlights four core groups, there are many immigrants who also are assigned to these racialized categories by American society. Thus, many individuals who genealogically are not members of one of these four groups also experience oppression based on the entrenched system of institutional racism in the United States. As the numbers of immigrants entering from various parts of the globe have shifted, the scaffolding of institutionalized racism has adapted and morphed to incorporate them into the society's system of institutionalized racial oppression.

Of course, during its early years, the population of the U.S. was largely foreign born. However, the U.S. did not start collecting immigration statistics until 1850. Since then, the percentage of the U.S. population who are immigrants has fluctuated between a high of 14.7% in 1910 and a low of 4.7% in 1970 (see *U.S. Immigrant Population and Share over Time, 1850-Present*, n.d.).

Over the past half century, the U.S. population has shifted in terms of race/ethnicity and region of birth. The country has experienced a recent decline in the number of whites in the U.S. population and an increase in number of non-whites, largely Latinos and Asians (Fig. 4.1). Over this same period, there has been growth in the proportion of the U.S. population that is foreign born (see Fig. 4.2). Immigration data from 1960 to 2014 show not only an overall growth in the number of permanent legal residents (Fig. 4.2), but a shift in where these immigrants are coming from (Fig. 4.3).

Due to the shifting patterns of immigration in the late twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century, immigrants have become a growing percentage of the U.S. population. In 1960, immigrants constituted 5.5% of the population, and they grew to be 13% of the population by 2010 (see Fig. 4.2). Before 1980, the vast majority of immigrants living in the United States came from Europe. Since then, there has been a slow decline in the numbers of immigrants coming from Europe and there have been very dramatic proportional increases in the numbers of U.S. residents who were born in Asia, South America, Central America, and the Caribbean. Although their numbers are much smaller, there also has been notable growth in the number of immigrants coming from Africa. All of these immigration trends have contributed to the dramatic growth in the non-white population in the U.S. (see Fig. 4.1).

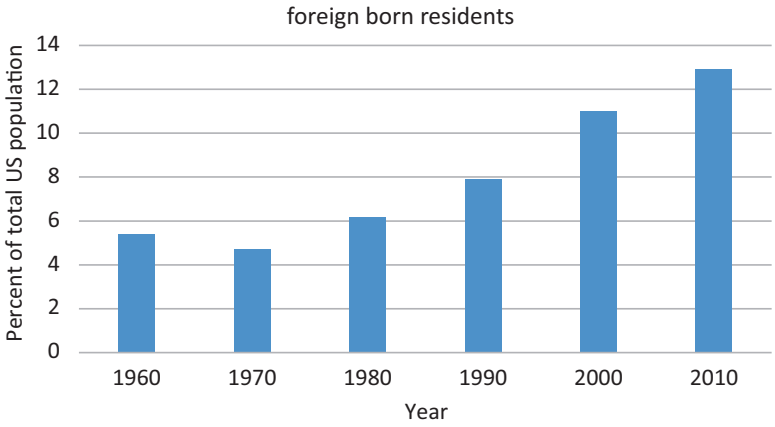

Fig. 4.2 Percent of US residents who are foreign born from 1960 to 2010 (Source: U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.-a)

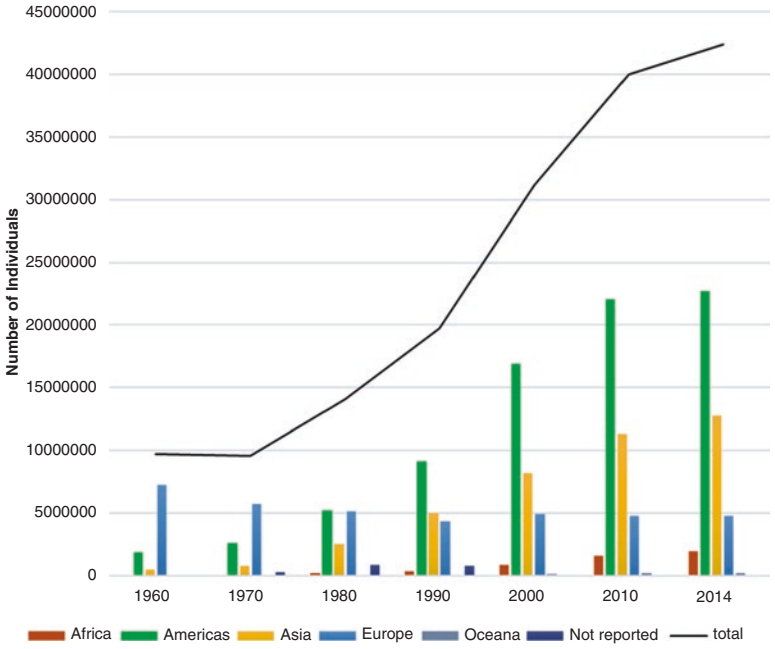

Fig. 4.3 Total inflow of new legal permanent residents in the USA from 1960 to 2014 and their distribution by region of the world in which they were born (Source: US Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, n.d.)

Summary

The United States often is referred to as a "nation of immigrants." While much of the political discussion surrounding immigration in the U.S. focuses on the 11–11.5 million unauthorized immigrants residing across the nation, border security, and highly contested state-level immigration legislation, it is easy to forget that the majority of the country's immigrants are lawful permanent residents and U.S. citizens. As of January 2011, an estimated 13.1 million green card holders resided in the United States, about 8.5 million of whom were eligible to naturalize as citizens (Russell & Batalova, 2012).

Unfortunately, the changing pattern of immigration has coincided with a surge of nativism and exclusionary efforts in the United States. The contemporary anti-immigrant climate, however, is nothing new; it has long historical roots. Scholars of immigration have noted that sociopolitical contexts shape opportunities for the inclusion of immigrants and their offspring (Dillon, 2001; Fuentes, 2006; Munro, 2006; Smith & Edmonston, 1997; Toy, 2002). Historically, policies that either support or stigmatize immigrants have constituted an important facet of the social context of reception (Chang-Muy, 2009). Kilty and Haymes (2000). Fears and anxieties about who "belongs here" and what the American self-image ought to be have cropped up throughout the history of the United States. At various points, such fears have led to restriction and exclusion of First Nation Peoples and immigrants, beginning with Mexicans, Africans, and Chinese.

When new immigrants come into the U.S., they find themselves entering a country that has an entrenched system of institutionalized discrimination based on the social construction of race. Consequently, these new arrivals are assigned to various racial categories, as defined in U.S. society, and they find themselves treated in accordance with those designations. They, in turn, are forced to adapt to these assigned identities as they adjust to a new country and become part of the U.S. population. Thus, although the history of the core groups (First Nation/Indigenous Peoples, African, Mexican, and Chinese) in America is not their history, they too become the heirs to those histories. They are unable to escape from also being the targets of oppression because of their racialized status and the scaffolding that supports entrenched racism in the United States.

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Chapter 5
The Infrastructure of Racism: The Psychic Dimensions

Racial scaffolding plays a large part in the development of the psyche for all Americans, either as the socially dominant group or as the socially subordinate groups. It helps to construct the mind-set that establishes who a person is. Racial scaffolding, as identified in Chap. 1, involves resource distributions within many societal structures, which make up the scaffolding poles and rungs. The poles: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence, are held in place in the scaffolding by the rungs: colonialism, capitalism, class and legal structures, distribution of privileges and benefits, and intellectual thought and scientific theories. Further rung support is provided by the amorphous and ever-changing presence of privileges, dominance, and stereotypes as well other discriminatory practices. One's sense of being has a lot to process while traversing and scaling racial scaffolding that results in a person's psychic functioning. This chapter will discuss the psyche, examining racial internalization that leads to racial identity/sense of self. In addition, the differences between ethnic and racial identity and models toward racial acceptance will be discussed.

The American Psyche: Racial Internalization in Context

The social construction of race has played a profound part in the development of racism by means of race ranking, as well as the psychological belief system that relates to race and race ranking. Prior to the 1400s, ideology that involved ranking racial groups, skin color, and culture were not indelibly connected. A need for race consciousness emerged because of European world expansion that included resource exploitation, colonization or conquest, and enforced movement from one country to another (Sanjek, 1994). The several means of European expansion required scientific justification that embraced the belief that other racial groups because of phenotypic characteristics (such as hair, nose, lips, and pigmentation) were biologically/physically inferior. This scientific justification provided a psychological rationale

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for suggesting that "human nature" was different (Marger, 2003; Omi & Winant, 2004, p. 16). Skewed ranking prevailed, which gave credence for broadening European dominion, rationalizing bigotry, and disparaging the physical features of other racial groups in the process. This race construction became not just a social phenomenon, but also an internalized psychological phenomenon.

This psychological perspective of race continued to be accepted, more so than not, in Europe and America through the beginning decades of the twentieth century (Marger, 2003). In the United States this racial point of view reinforced and justified all forms of enslavement (labor and internment) and westward expansion (broken treaties and seizure of land through gunpowder and military might). Such a belief structure and associated actions therefore reinforce the internalized thought processes of the psyche—the false sense of superiority of whites and the false belief in the inferiority of people of color.

This racist thinking still influences beliefs and attitudes in this country which, consciously or unconsciously, are internalized into the psyche for people of all races. Racist internalization has different standpoints, meanings, and outcomes for whites and for people of color. Internalization has also evolved independently and uniquely for people within a particular group based on that group's culture and heritage, as well as familial construction and individual personality structure. For whites, the accepted social and systemic operational systems are a normative gold standard and are rarely considered differently. Groups of color are vigilant and hyper-alert to events that impact them directly or indirectly. Having this awareness does not however prevent them from internalizing unswerving spurious information and untruths that reflect the dominant white perspective. Internalization of racism influences one's racial identity. In America this identity is synonymous with the development of a sense of self.

Racial Identity: Sense of Self

Racial *group membership* is a core aspect of identity development in the United States because of this country's emphasis on racial markers as preliminary credentials for access to reward and targeting for punishment (Helms, 1995). Although race may be phenotypic, it is socially constructed based on racial classification. For example, persons are assigned to different races based upon superficial characteristics but the heart of racial formation is a social, not a biological process. Identity, therefore, depends on social interaction. In fact, as suggested by Janet Helms (1994), the process by which identity development occurs is similar across all racial groups although the particulars may differ depending on the sociopolitical status of the group. Having made this point, across and within groups, individual distinct racial identity/sense of self formations emerge.

Racial identity, as related to *an individual's* sense of self, is the psychological internalization of perspectives that are based on social and environmental cues that infiltrate a person's thought processes. This means racial identity internalization

begins early in one's life. These social and environmental cues are based on various cultural dimensions (e.g., familial, nativist perspective, political dynamics, American historical development [race based], and economic structures) that mold our attitudes and beliefs, becoming a part of the "self" formation and establishing who we are. A sense of self reflects as well the interplay of the environment with conscious and unconscious thought processes. It is the essence of life as interpreted by any one person—the struggle between the objective and the subjective nature of being (Baldwin Jr., 1987; Stewart, 1976). People of color and whites, particularly children, may incorporate many of the values and beliefs of the dominant white culture, including the spurious fact that whites are better. Such beliefs are reinforced by stereotypes, omissions, distortions, and privileges that stress white superiority.

White Internalization

White evolution of the self in America involves being dominant over other races. This "self" can impart various forms of race bias. Yamato (2004) defined forms of racism as *aware/blatant* (e.g., a Caucasian man on a plane attacks a baby of color for crying, calling the parent and infant racially loaded derogatory names); *aware/covert* (e.g., changing state voting policies under the guise of upgrading voting policies but in fact such changes directly affect people of color and other marginalized groups from being able to register to vote); *unaware/unintentional* (e.g., a Mexican American individual is the first person at a store counter, whites come after, and the counter clerk asks who is next, even though it was obvious who was next); and *unaware/self-righteous* (e.g., whites believing that their mores, values and heritage are the principal customs—these norms are right—and they are astonished and miffed when their values and cultural perspectives are questioned or not accepted). These forms indicate the many ways that racism can manifest itself based on the internalized repertoire of an individual from the dominant racial group. Geographic segregation, marginalizing, and presuming and assuming intellectual and humanoid deficits of people who are racially different (Jaimes, 1994; Knowles & Prewitt, 1969; Omi & Winant, 2004; Sanjek, 1994; Stampp, 1956) may also be elements of the internalized repertoire. Often because there is a sense of conscious or unconscious superiority and righteousness of the self, discussions, questions, or actions by whites that speculate about the attributes of other races may have intended or unintended racial tones, for instance, wanting to feel or discuss "black" hair; asking a person of color if their presence on a job was related to affirmative action and not related to intelligence and skill; or explaining the obvious to people of color, which suggests people of color are intellectually inferior and do not understand. The intensity and degree of the racial internalization from the dominant group depends, for example, on the context of their life: family, region, societal distancing from people of color and the degree and level of pejorative belief in the societal structure. Abrams and Moio (2009) explicate a similar focus when they discuss the main tenets of Critical Race Theory and indicate that people of color are looked at differently at different

times within the "dominant social discourse and…[by]…people in power…depending on historic, social, or economic need" (p. 251). It is important therefore for whites to become aware of this differential racialization and "take responsibility for the implications of [their] racial identity and behavior" (Hardy & Laszloffy in McGoldrick & Hardy, 2008, p. 235) so that unintended affronts based on an unconscious sense of superiority, a sense of rightful position, and a limited world view of other racial groups are overcome.

People of Color Internalization

Simpson and Yinger (1974) aptly suggest that "built into the personality systems and group structures of minorities are some of the consequences of past discrimination" (p. 169). Internalization of societal views by subordinate racial groups can bring about a limited perspective of the self and of their capacity to be creative, provide positive images of the self, and be sensitive to their needs and the needs of others. According to Yamato (2004), racial groups who are not white have been so subjugated "spiritually, emotionally, and physically" that belief in the self may reflect the view of the oppressor. It is believed moreover that debased and confused meanings, implicit or explicit, continue the sense of being inferior and powerless. Moraga (2004) suggests, however, that those oppressed often forget the humiliations and limitations they have suffered for "to remember may mean giving up whatever privileges [they] have managed to squeeze out of this society by virtue of…race…" (p. 31). Such insight is important to have, but we contend that all members within a group of color do not forget, do not acquiesce to feeling spiritually, emotionally, and physically downtrodden, but most often have acquired a sense of self through strengths of family and community to overcome or offset the overt and covert past and contemporary assaults to their person. Racial groups other than white have strong cultural ties to their unique heritages that further speak to the strengths they bring to the present. These various cultures and heritages have assisted them in resisting and overcoming the devalued context in which they live in the United States and support their strengths. Take for example the following scenario.

> A well-dressed black developer has just left an important meeting with city officials where he was able to obtain a development site in the downtown area of the city. He was very pleased and feeling exhilarated at having accomplished something that had previously eluded developers of color. As he crossed the street, a disheveled white man crossed from the other side of the street. They met mid-stream in the street. When their eyes met, the black man smiled and nodded a hello. The white man's remark, looking the black man directly in the eyes was "you still a nigger." The two continued on their separate journeys. The black man shook his head noting that not too much had changed. The scowl and comment from the white man suggested that too much had changed.

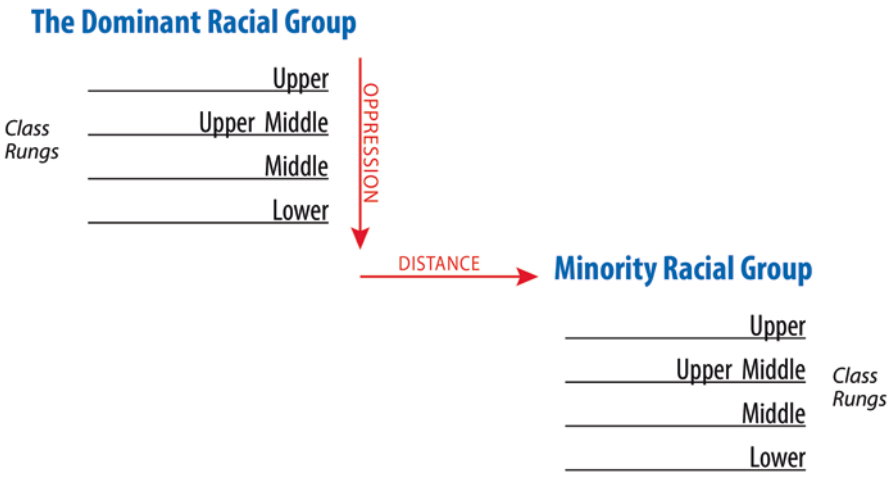

Fig. 5.1 An internalized racial process: putting people of color in their place (adapted from Tourse, 1984)

No matter how high on the economic ladder groups of color rise, they tend to be perceived as not equal psychologically and socially to their white counterparts because of the assorted forms of oppression and distancing (see Fig. 5.1) that can occur. This distancing and oppression (from micro aggression to geographic and interpersonal isolation to incarceration) influence the perception of self for whites and people of color.

The American psyche is cloaked in racial bias and this bias continues to assert its dominance and continues to reveal itself as it did with the disheveled white man. This man used his psychological sense of power and privilege to distance himself from and to try to oppress the black man. The white man's sense of self—the internalized scaffolding, whether conscious or unconscious, intimates he is superior and better than other racial groups in all respects. Although they should be equal as humans—psychologically and socially—the internalized presence of racism continues to oppress and distance subordinate groups and elevate the dominant group. In the case of America, the dominant group is white.

In the instance of the black developer, he possessed a well intact confident sense of self. The developer possessed the mental and social strength gained from his upbringing and heritage, and was able to process these two different racialization events: a) the first opportunity to develop a downtown site and b) what occurred with the disheveled white man. One situation was bittersweet for it was too long in coming (400 years in fact of racial scaffolding) and the other blatantly reiterated the negative persona of America. Both situations reflected the overlay of racism in American society based on the scaffolding that keeps racism in place. The continuous processing to navigate psychological and social inequities is an automatic circumstance for people of color, and the "[i]nternal meanings and feelings [that] result from racist beliefs, attitudes and values supported by individual, cultural and institutional systems in our society" (Hamilton-Mason, 2004, p. 316) are instinctively and naturally processed for survival.

The Influence of Discrimination on Internalization

There are many discriminatory acts that impact and sway whites and people of color. These acts can have limited or profound repercussions on an individual based on familial guidance and societal influences. Here are three discriminatory acts discussed in relation to an internal sense of self based on race: privilege, dominance/power, and stereotypes.

Privilege

Privilege has been discussed by many from various perspectives; for example: inequality (Swenson, 1998); inequality and professional education (Longres & Scanlon, 2001; Walls et al., 2009); social class (Kivel, 2004); and white privilege (McIntosh, 2008). The central theme in all cases is that privilege benefits a particular group at the expense of others. In the context of race, privilege is an exclusive system of benefits or advantages unconsciously or knowingly experienced by members of the dominant white group. Individual and institutional privileges for whites provide inferred power, presumptive benefits, and a sense of being that is evident on cultural, structural, and societal levels.

People of color have a sense of privilege as well, but it does not emanate from institutional or societal power. Their sense of privilege emanates from positions in their communities, home life, and sometimes from their professional status. Race prevents there from being a more global sense of privilege and for most people of color, the understanding of their societal presence assists in understanding the need for humility in attaining and having privilege positions. Perspectives therefore for whites and people of color as to what is a given in life are different. Let us look again at the black developer scenario with a focus on privilege.

After leaving his meeting, the black developer exuded with pride, having accomplished what had not occurred previously—a person of color getting the opportunity to develop a downtown site. For a white developer this would have been just an ordinary coup—getting the okay to develop a downtown parcel of land. His sense of noblesse oblige is the norm—a conventional right, competing with other white developers—someone white would win—a standardized privilege. For the black developer, this was a first, an honor, and a privilege not taken for granted—this was not the norm. A situation for which he should have had a right, but racism that permeates the American society prevented this from being a right—a group of color norm.

Although groups of color have an opportunity to feel privilege through being honored, treated special, given opportunities and rights in their immediate environs, it is difficult, if not impossible for them to have privilege sustainability based on race in the broader society. This conscious racial position of "self" helps people of color develop an understanding of what constitutes a healthy and unhealthy sense of privilege. Psychological changes therefore in beliefs and attitudes of "the self"

through privilege attainment can be transformative for better or for worse. For most whites that sense of privilege is a given, for most people of color it is an opportunity. In any case, it is a gradual and intricate process (scaffold through individual, interpersonal, institutional, structural) and difficult for all.

Dominance/Power

Power speaks to privilege and privilege is a form of power. When race is in the equation in the United States, it speaks to the power structure that is dominated by whites. This dimension of racism is a systemic means to socially and structurally hold sway over people of color by verbal and/or physical assault, or through the establishment of laws that maintain the status quo and the control of economic resources for those in power (Tourse, 2016). Whites in addition, often disqualify the experiences of racial groups (Akamatsu, 2008), which assists with reinforcing white superiority and thereby reinforcing the inferiority of other racial groups. It denies the reality of people of color and reaffirms the biased realities of most whites.

Racial internalization happens for those who are dominant in this country (whites) as well as for those considered subordinate (people of color). The irony is however that as whites maintain conscious or unconscious power over other color groups through societal and structural dominance, they also oppress themselves by limiting their perspectives or world view, constricting their involvement with other racial groups, and denying or suppressing global possibilities through oppressing creativity of other racial groups. Hamilton-Mason (2004) explicates a similar position on dominance when she states "…all racial…minority groups in the United States share experiences of oppression as a result of living in the dominant White American culture" (p. 319). People of color reject oppressive situations but, because structural power is dominated by whites, they might, as the old cliché states, "'win the battle' at times but 'lose the war'."

A sense of dominance and power is intricately intertwined with the sense of self. The racial limitations placed by the dominant group therefore are perceived by them to be the reality of the subordinate group-self. Since the Civil Rights Era of the 1960s and subsequent liberation movements (e.g., **A**merican **I**ndian **M**ovement), this subordinate perception is gradually changing but those in superordinate or racial power positions are often ill-at-ease in accepting *intellectual parity*, in coming to terms with all groups having *equal privileges* and *benefits*, and in *sharing power*, for they would rather maintain social, economic, and structural power in its current form—systemic inequality as the norm. Social values and cues are also slowly changing; for instance, younger generations in the dominant group are more apt to interact with a person or persons of color than older generations, and therefore have a more relaxed and shared consciousness than previous generations. Conscious identification of the self, the racial self, assists one's "being" in understanding the self in relation to other racial groups, diffusing slowly for any racial group feelings of superiority or inferiority.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes further reinforce the assumptive positions of whites being dominant, deserving (consciously or unconsciously), privileges, rights and benefits accorded based on being superior. Within this racially dominated system, a sense of self, privilege, and dominance embrace and support demeaning stereotypes that often represent groups of color, for instance, that men of color are dangerous, that most do not want to work, refuting the intelligence of people of color through spurious research; or being overly solicitous to prove whites are not racist. Stereotypes can be complex (based on personal or social perceptions of characteristics as well as traits deemed odd or different) and usually provide intricate meanings and interpretations that are simplified through generalizations and labels. These generalizations and labels of stereotypes can lead to subversive depictions of a group (Sethi, 2004). As Dovidio, Major, and Crocker (2000) indicate, these situational events also are accepted or deemed unacceptable based on their interface with history. A group's traits can be viewed as inherent in the makeup of that group, but such traits for people of color can be based on stereotypes. The dominant group, therefore, has no need to see other racial groups any differently and, thus, no change is needed (Marden, Meyer, & Engel, 1992) to demystify stereotypes. These stereotypes are indiscernible to the internal self of the dominant group. Stereotypes on the societal level that maintain racial imbalance are quite evident, for instance, in the media, sports, education, and advertising. Let us use advertising as the exemplar. In post-emancipation, United States advertising assisted in the creation of what Du Bois identified as "double-consciousness," seeing the self as others see you (Paynter, Hautaniemi, & Muller, 1994), thus marginalizing blacks as the other by marketing only or developing products geared toward whites. This was also a backdoor means of stereotyping for other groups of color. Such advertising helped to lay the groundwork for base and demeaning beliefs by whites that other racial groups were less than. People of color could only find "the self," a sense of privilege, and a semblance of power through products that reflected a white sense of being. They were considered to be undeserving of social equality, but their financial resources for products advertised were welcomed. When people of color were used in advertisements in post-emancipation, their use was that of caricature: beastly, buffoon, and child-like (see Faulkner & Henderson, 2000; Riggs, 1987). It was only in the last quarter of the twentieth century, sometime after the Civil Rights Movement that there began to be more of a presence of groups of color in advertising. The intent may not be to stereotype, but ingrained internalized racist constructs are reflected in many well-meaning advertisements then and now. Often advertisements reflect subliminal stereotypes that say: less than, buffoonery, and incompetence. For whites, such advertisements do not reflect poorly on them for they are seen generally as on top, sensible, and competent. For people of color, such advertisements reinforce the pre- and post-emancipation, as well as the Jim Crow and post-civil rights eras depiction of them and stigmatize them further—"either literal[ly] or figutive[ly]" (Robbins, Chatterjee, Canda, 2012, p. 306). Such depictions help to internalize and

reinforce warped perceptions of racial groups and become norms honed by past and contemporary popular culture representations as well as in the news and social media. Inculcation of superiority, privileges, dominance/power within the norms of society, fostered by stereotypes, assists with internalizing attitudes and beliefs that have continued to support racial discrimination or racism—racial scaffolding continues. The dominant and subordinate lenses reflect even greater diverse perspectives when the multifaceted nature of culture becomes a part of the "self" equation. The sway of negative or positive culture influences significantly, the internalized self, especially when compounded by ethnic identity.

Ethnic Identity Versus Racial Identity

Ethnic identity is a subset of race and is often inaccurately confused with racial identity. One's ethnic identity is related to national ancestry (Luhman, 2002; Schriver, 2004; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). It relates to cultural phenomena that a particular group embrace and language is usually a connecting link. Unlike racial identity, it is not based on trying to categorize a group to oppress them and maintain superiority, but is, as Helms (1994) states, "self-defined and maintained because it 'feels good,' rather than because it is necessarily imposed by powerful others" (pp. 293–294). It is how a person feels internally toward their external environs (Schriver, 2004)—ethnic identity is dynamic and flexible. An individual can belong to more than one ethnic group, such as Italian and Irish and favor and practice the heritage of one of these cultural groups over the other. People have, therefore, the ability to self-define their ethnicity (Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

Racial identity in America was formulated based on a black and white racial paradigm. Identifying a person by race has been quite controversial. Biological and intellectual scientific discussions have long existed to determine the identity structure of humankind. Biological constructs addressed the genetic structure (genotype) and physical characteristics (phenotype) of race. The psychological sciences analyzed intelligence based on genetically determined aberrance in racial groups that could not be explained by environmental factors (see, for example, Brammer, 2004; Sanjek, 1994; Schaefer, 1998; Schriver, 2004; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). The research that came from these sciences placed individuals of African descent genetically, physically, and intellectually in an inferior position. All other non-white races were viewed higher on the biological, physical, and intellectual spectrum, but not at the same level as whites. The foundation of this ideological mind-set was grounded in "hierarchy and domination" (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Schriver, 2004). Most scientists today (for example, anthropologists, evolutionary biologists, and sociologists) have determined that identity based on race is more related to culture and social structures such as economics and politics, and not on the fallacies of "pure race," feature distinctions, and intellectual inferiority (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Spickard, as quoted in Schriver (2004), indicates that race,

> is by no means only negative, however. From the point of view of subordinate peoples, race [and thus, one's racial identity] can be a positive tool, a source of belonging, mutual help, and self-esteem. Racial categories…identify a set of people with whom to share a sense of identity and common experience…. It is to share a sense of peoplehood that helps locate individuals psychologically, and also provides the basis of common political action. Race, this socially constructed identity, can be a powerful tool, either for oppression or for group self-actualization (p. 24).

According to Bonilla-Silva (2014), this sense of racial identity cohesiveness is gradually eroding. He suggests that the white-nonwhite order, which includes the black-white paradigm, is changing into a more intricate dynamic order. He indicates the new order is that of white, honorary white, and the collective black, allowing people to make different choices about their identity and race. Even though the historical ideological order has long been refuted, and Bonilla-Silva's order perspective represents a new way of looking at people of color, the systemic elements of race continue to pigeonhole racial identity within the confines of the status quo.

The primary difference between racial identity and ethnic identity is, more succinctly, related to the following: Racial identity is (a) based on a sociopolitical model of oppression; (b) based on socially constructed definitions of race; and (c) concerned with how individuals approach the effects of disenfranchisement of others, and embrace attitudes toward theirs and other racial groups. On the other hand, ethnicity has significant meaning that also assists with a person's sense of belonging. Ethnic identity therefore (a) concerns one's attachment to, sense of belonging to and identification with a national group or, subgroup of the national group within the context of culture/heritage; (b) does not have a theoretical emphasis on oppression/racism; and (c) may include the prejudices and cultural pressures that ethnic individuals experience when their way of life comes in conflict with those of the dominant group (see Akiba & Coll, 2004; Luhman, 2002; Lum, 2000).

Racial identity is a discernable and identifiable marker for people of color in the United States (e.g., Mexican, First Nation, African, Asian). It is used to identify a racial group's belief in the goodness of the self. Ethnic identity in the United States for whites is often not symbolic in nature and rarely does one hear whites indicating they are Swedish, British, or Mediterranean Americans (Akiba & Coll, 2004). For European Americans the significant marker is socially constructed as being white.

Theories of Racial Identity and Two Racial Identity Models: Moving Toward Racial Acceptance from Within the Self

Racial identity theory helps to explain the emotions experienced by whites as well as people of color (Hamilton-Mason, 2001). Such emotions begin initially as interactions between individuals in response to particular overtly or covertly expressed racial events. These events serve as catalysts for racial identity expression and can be internal or external. These events can also be subjective and are not necessarily visible for others to react to or to interpret.

A sense of self becomes more differentiated when mores, values, and culture, as well as familial attitudes and beliefs, become a part of the "self" structure. When people are made aware of differences based on negative views within the American culture (the difference in this case is race) then the specter of racism prevails within the culture—but differently for whites and people of color.

Theories of the psychological development of racial identity for visible racial or ethnic and non-white immigrant populations have existed in the literature for some time (Cross, 1971, 1991; Helms, 1986, 1990, 1995). Racial identity theorists (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1985; Tatum, 2013) have indicated that racial identity is a dynamic process that evolves and changes over time. In many ways their conversion can be viewed as initially having concrete explanations of racial identity, to increasingly sophisticated explanations with more depth and complexity. In the late 1970s and 1980s, scholars began to extend black racial identity stage theories to other groups. Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1998) introduced a minority identity development model that was applicable to all people of color. Later, Sue and Sue (1990) extended the minority identity model and defined it as racial/cultural identity development. These theorists have acknowledged that racial identity also depends on the context and situation in which it is being assessed. Identity models offer a way to comprehend the psychosocial complexity associated with racial identity issues. Models of racial identity also argue that an individual's sense of connection to a particular group varies with respect to his or her psychological identification with that group. We also suggest that each group of color has its own identity formation, but what each group shares are similar patterns of ethnic, racial, or cultural oppression. Each group moreover, has its own complexities based on their cultural mores, their own historical experiences and treatment, as well as role definition by the dominant group.

The first racial identity development model to explain black American identity was created by William Cross (1971, 1978). He presented a five-stage model of racial identity development in which each stage was characterized by self-concept issues concerning race. Each self-concept was proposed as having in each stage different implications for a person's feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. When Cross first wrote about "nigrescence" in the early 1970s, he referred to the identity change process as a "Negro to Black conversion experience" (Cross, 1991, p. 189). Whether talking about the new Negro in the 1920s, the Negro to black metamorphosis in the 1970s, or the search for Afrocentricity in the 1990s, the five stages of black identity development remain the same (Cross, 1995).

Helms (1995), an associate of Cross, expanded on his black identity model and in the 1990s articulated two racial identity theories based on black identity and white identity. Helms' black identity model is also transferable to other groups of color. The next section demonstrates how racial acceptance may evolve for people of color and whites based on Helms' models. These models demonstrate how each group might move toward racial acceptance of others from within the self.

A People of Color Identity Model

There are five racial identity statuses for people of color as articulated in Helms' (1995) Racial Identity Theory (RIT). These statuses are Conformity (PreEncounter), Dissonance (Encounter), Immersion/Emersion, Internalization, and Integrative Awareness (Autonomy). Statuses are defined as the dynamic cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes that govern a person's interpretation of racial information in interpersonal environments. In the following descriptions, we present case examples that are aggregates of experiences.

Conformity is the first status. Here the person of color has absorbed many beliefs and values of the dominate culture and in the process devalues their own group and has an allegiance to white standards of merit. Through the negative internalization of stereotypes about people of color that are outside of his or her awareness, the individual seeks to assimilate and become accepted by whites and actively or passively distances him/herself from their like group of color such as African American, First Nation, Chinese, and Mexican. Franz Fanon (1967) termed this process "identification with the oppressor" (p. 73). As an example, a Chinese man may not be accepting of a lawyer to assist him in his lawsuit because the lawyer is Chinese and not white.

Dissonance, the second status, suggests that during this phase there is an ambivalence and confusion about one's own socioracial group commitment and sense of self. A change is precipitated by an event or series of events that forces the individual to acknowledge the effect of racism in their life. More often, there are instances of social rejection by white friends and colleagues. This stage can last quite a long time. In a racist society, African Americans and other people of color, especially Latinos, Asians Americans, and some First Nation peoples, are bombarded by racial affronts and indignities, regardless of whether or not they are directly involved in interaction with whites (Carter, 1995). A fictional African American graduate student shares her reaction to a novella about an African American woman

> my first feeling was annoyance when the author wished for 'dark skin and dreads' and I wondered if that was all that she saw in Detroit or if that was the first picture that came to mind when she thought of being black. I told myself to calm down and continue reading. I felt myself nodding in agreement because I too have desperately wished that I could blend into my surroundings since I have moved to New England. I am tired of being greeted at my practicum on the North Shore as "Oh, you're black. You must not be from around here" Or "You're black! My Gosh you didn't sound black on the phone!" or "You go to an ivy league school? Are you on scholarship?" I have never been more painfully aware of my race or more ashamed.

Immersion/Emersion, the third status, is characterized by the paradoxical desire to surround oneself with visible symbols of one's racial identity. There is also an active avoidance of symbols of whiteness as the individual experiences aspects of their own history and culture with the support of peers from their own background (Helms & Cook, 1999).

In the following example, a fictional Korean woman, who idealized her particular heritage was asked what stood out about her racial/ethnic group. In responding, she tended to minimize white individuals. She also tended to use her respective own-group external standards to self-define as well as her own-group commitment/loyalty as core values to guide her. She came to this country as a youth with well-developed affiliations to her culture. When confronted with the stark realities of racism here she experienced shock and surprise.

> But, when I came here I felt almost segregated almost like I had to be with Asians. I sort of chose to do that. I don't know if it was a conscious decision or not, but I haven't really associated with that many other groups for me to form opinions or views on them. Which is really interesting.

Internalization, and Integrative Awareness Statuses/Autonomy are the fourth and fifth statuses. Cross and Helms differed somewhat on collapsing these two statuses. Cross (1991) stated that there are few differences between these two statuses. The two main themes of internalization are the process of adopting (1) a positive personal identity and (2) a socially relevant identity. However, a distinction between the two stages is that Commitment reflects a behavioral style characterized by social activism. Individuals in the fifth stage have generally found ways to translate their personal sense of identity into a consistent commitment for the concerns of the group. Helms (1986) amended Cross's model to suggest that each stage should be considered as a distinct "world view," which means that individuals use cognitive templates to organize [racial] information about themselves, other people, and institutions. Helms' model is also commonly assumed to be a strong stage model, although she intended her stages to be permeable (Helms, 1986). Consequently, Helms (1995) reformulated her model to address some of the dilemmas that occur when a strong stage model is used to conceptualize racial identity development by replacing the term "stages" with "statuses." The attempt was not to change the essential meaning of the concepts underlying either term. As was true with racial identity stages, racial identity statuses are assumed to permit increasingly more complex management of racial material. The statuses are assumed to mature sequentially, but are expressed according to the level of dominance within the individual's personality structure. Betty, who is a fictional African American, comments on her family of origin's historical legacy of achievement despite the odds of slavery. She states,

> I think it means that we have a distinct history of being in this country. I know that my ancestors were all slaves when they came here. They were slaves! I don't know how they were tied up, but I know they were all straight up slaves. So that means we came here under intense circumstances. My mom, my grandmother, was able to work and keep my mother in school and so that means that I was able to accomplish getting my masters. It's like a heritage that these people before me laid a foundation.

White Racial Identity Model

Helms' model for white racial identity development posits that racism and racialized experiences are a significant aspect of being EuroAmerican (Helms & Cook, 1999; Van Soest & Garcia, 2003). This highlights how whites are socialized into perceiving their merit and illustrates how movement through a developmental status involves recognition of how, through privilege, one has participated in oppressive practices. Moving through these statuses, however, provides an awareness process that assists whites to become more sensitive to other racial groups and helps them to work toward eliminating the systemic racism that reigns in America.

According to Helms (1995), there are six ego statuses in the abandonment of racism and evolving to an anti-racist identity. The first status, *Contact*, exists when the person is satisfied with the racial status quo and is oblivious to racism and one's participation in it. If racial factors influence life decisions, they do so in a simplistic fashion.

> Two black women (one fair skinned and the other dark-skinned) were in the check-out line of a grocery store in the dark-skinned woman's neighborhood. First the fair skinned woman paid for her items with a check without difficulty. The dark-skinned woman was next and also paid with a check. She however, had to wait until the cashier verified that her name did not appear in the "bad check book." Since the two women were together, the difference in treatment to them was obvious. It was clear that the white store clerk was oblivious to her response based on skin color, which influenced her decision on the differential treatment (Butler 2013).

Disintegration, the second status, involves disorientation and anxiety provoked by racial moral dilemmas that force one to choose between one's own group loyalty and humanism. A person at this stage may be stymied by life situations that arouse racial dilemmas.

> A particularly poignant and memorable discussion transpired between some women of color and a white woman. The women of color eloquently re-tell their personal narratives about race, culture and class as they encounter and struggle with America's worldview in varied contexts and settings. At the same time white privilege is exemplified as the white woman is somewhat agitated and persists in saying that she did not know she had a culture, she did not know she was special or had benefited from systemic dominance. The white woman is bewildered in hearing this conversation, and does not know whether to stand up for whites or support her associates of color.

Reintegration, status three, is seen as an idealization of one's socioracial group, and possible denigration and intolerance for other groups. Racial factors may strongly influence life decisions. For instance,

> a white man was angry that when he went to retrieve his car from a parking garage, he had to wait in the pay line until "those" in front paid. According to him, he should have been allowed in front of the various men and women who happened to be people of color.

Pseudo-independence is the fourth status, and exemplifies a person moving toward dealing with their own socioracial group and deceptive tolerance of other groups. A person may make life decisions to "help" other racial groups. For example, a person who is white might have a strong feeling about a person of color not having adequate housing based on skewed housing laws, but would be outraged if a person of color lived next door.

Immersion/Emersion, status five, suggests a person may search for an understanding of the personal meaning of racism and the ways by which one benefits and also a redefinition of whiteness. Life choices may incorporate racial activism. Taking part in national marches for social justice is an example.

Autonomy is status six. At this stage the person has a positive socioracial group commitment, uses internal standards for self-definition, and has a capacity to relinquish the privileges of racism. This person tries to avoid life options that require participation in racial oppression. A quote shared by a woman about her Racial Identity journey explicates this status:

> I learned racism in much more subtle, hidden, and indirect ways. What stands out to me more is how "ordinary," in that white "Ozzie and Harriet-with-an-Italian-flair" kind of way, that my upbringing was in regards to racism. Most profound is the recurring theme of my preoccupation with unraveling the continual contradictions— the verbal messages about equality contrasted with the overwhelming whiteness of my world (De Rosa, 2001 p. 5).

Here, the person understands a need to move her life in the direction toward equality and parity.

In summary, what is presented in this chapter is an overview of a much more intricate understanding and discussion of the American psyche. Trying to decipher the psychic dimension of racism is multilayered, complex, and entangled with social systemic and individual perceptions. When all the past and contemporary intricacies of identity are upheld by scaffolding, the country at hand, in this case the United States of America, either constructs scaffolding rung intersections that work for all people, or constructs scaffolding rung intersections that bring about collisions of norms, values, and the acceptance of the other. Scaling oppressive scaffolding requires perseverance, a good sense of self, and a belief that justice will prevail.

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Chapter 6
The Infrastructure of Racism: The Institutional Dimensions

> Income feeds your stomach, but assets change your head. That is, you really do act differently when you have a cushion of assets so that you can strategize around important opportunities in life. When you are living from paycheck to paycheck you just think about how you're making the next day or the next week or the next month happen. But, when you have a set of resources that allow you to think about your future in a positive way, you can strategize about the future, create and take advantage of opportunity. Otherwise you stay in the present.
>
> Melvin Oliver, co-author of *Black Wealth, White Wealth* (2006)

The form of racism that transcends the individual level and is imbedded in the infrastructure of American society has variously been termed institutional racism (Barbarin, 1970; Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Griffith, Childs, Eng, & Jeffries, 2007; Knowles & Prewitt, 1969; Miller & Garran, 2007; Queralt, 1996), structural racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Lawrence & Keleher, 2004; Powell, 2007; Walter et al., 2016; Wiececk & Hamilton, 2014), and systemic racism (Feagin, 2006). Institutional racism, first explicated by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), is a societal phenomenon based on social forces that go beyond the individual and that are part of the very fabric and structures of the society. The strength of racism in the United States society is sustained by more than the prejudices and discriminatory actions of individuals. It has become entrenched in the very institutions of the society. To be more explicit, *institutional racism* is composed of societal, governmental, educational, and political structures interacting within and between one another that become a systemic force for maintaining the scaffolding of racism. Institutional racism, therefore, creates sustains structural and systemic racial elements. Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) noted that this form of racism "originates in the operation of the established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation" (p. 4). Consistent with leading authors on this topic (see Better, 2002 and Knowles & Prewitt, 1969), we offer the following definition:

> *Institutional racism* is a societal phenomenon that preserves the power and privilege of whites as a group through a combination of organizational and institutional patterns, structures, procedures, practices and policies that have the effect of systematically and consistently penalizing, disadvantaging and exploiting individuals who are not members of the white group.

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This chapter will discuss and provide examples of structural and systemic elements of the infrastructure of racism. It also will discuss the depth of institutional racism by examining its operation at the structural levels of the individual, the organization, and the society.

Invisibility of Structural Racism

The structural and systemic elements of institutional racism are not readily apparent to all individuals in the society in which it operates because the rungs and the poles of the scaffolding tend to be invisible to the benefactors of white privilege. Individuals are able to perpetuate structural racism by merely conforming to the laws and regulations of the society and thus, this form of racism can operate without being blatant. The great African American historian W.E.B Du Bois (1903) used the metaphor of "a veil" to describe the barrier that exists between the races and that prevents whites from having a clear or accurate view of blacks and their experience in the society. Because structural racism relies on practices and behaviors that are viewed as "normal" in the society, it can occur even when the perpetrator has no discriminatory intent. On their face, the practices that perpetuate structural racism may not appear discriminatory and often are perceived as "race-neutral." Because the racially discriminatory effects of structural racism can be inconsistent with one's personal experience, these effects can be virtually invisible to those who benefit from white privilege. When racial disparities are noticed, they often are attributed to character and lifestyle weaknesses of members of the disadvantaged group, such as laziness, family dysfunction, and so forth, rather than understood to be the result of systemic structural racism in the society. Thus, the benefactors of racism "blame the victim" (see Ryan, 1976). However, "despite its systemic nature, institutional racism depends on the presence of individual racists acting daily in order to continue" (Andersen & Collins, 2004, p. 96). In fact, race neutral, color blind, melting pot approaches to racial integration presume assimilation to the dominant culture that supports white privilege. Structural racism operates as an invisible component of society because institutional and individual privileges granted to whites are perceived as the norm. Because it has penetrated the very structures of the society, it is normative in the society, and the individual and collective practices and behaviors that support it are viewed as "normal." However, it must be emphasized that "normal" does not mean acceptable, fair or just. The institutional invisibility of people of color is most evident in the racial scaffolding of the societal structures that keep the country functioning. The persistence of racial disparities attests to the systemic nature of racism in the United States. Let us look at poverty as the exemplar.

Racially Disparate Outcomes Are Systemic

Poverty is an important indicator that illuminates the extent of racial disparity in the United States. Conventional definitions of poverty are based on the federal poverty level, which compares pretax cash income with the poverty threshold. This figure is adjusted for the annual cost of living and varies according to family size. The official poverty level for a family of four in 2014 was $23,850 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2014). The usefulness of this figure, however, is limited because it is not adjusted for differences in cost of living by geographic location. Moreover, such figures miss the impoverished families who are living in urban regions where housing costs are so high that, despite having incomes above the poverty line, they cannot afford the most basic necessities, such as housing, health insurance, day care, and clothing. Further, due to the low minimum wage, even full-time employment does not guarantee that a family will not live in poverty. In 1996, 58% of the 7.4 million Americans living in households with annual incomes below the official poverty line were employed full-time (Newman, 1999). Since that time, poverty has increased dramatically. According to a report by the National Low Income Housing Coalition (2016):

> In 2016, the national Housing Wage is $20.30 [per hour] for a two-bedroom rental unit and $16.35 [per hour] for a one-bedroom rental unit. A worker earning the federal minimum wage of $7.25 per hour would need to work 2.8 full time jobs, or approximately 112 hours per week for all 52 weeks of the year, in order to afford a two-bedroom apartment at HUD's Fair Market Rent (FMR). If this worker slept for eight hours per night, he or she would have no remaining time during the week for anything other than working and sleeping. (p. 1)

The rates of poverty in the United States have changed throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. The late 1950s were marked by the highest rate of poverty since the Great Depression, with 22% of the population living in poverty (Ginsberg, 1994). Due to changes in social and economic conditions during the 1960s, including policies of the federally initiated War on Poverty, this high rate declined dramatically to 12.1% by 1969. After 1978, however, the poverty rate rose steadily, reaching 15.2% in 1983. By 2003, the rate of poverty among the general population had decreased to 12.5%, but the poverty rate for children had increased to 16.7% (The Green Book, 2004) and that rate jumped to 39% in 2007, and then to 44% in 2013 (National Center for Children in Poverty, 2014). Currently the percentage of children living in low-income families (both poor and near poor) has been increasing and the disparities by race are striking. In 2015, the rate of children living in extreme poverty ($12,500 for a family of four) was 6% for white children and about the same for Asian children (5%), but was double that rate for Hispanic children (12%) and three times that rate for black children (18%) and for Native American children (19%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a).

Differences in poverty rates in the United States vary considerably across race and ethnicity groups and are determined by employment status, as well as earnings from employment. In 2016 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017a), the civilian unemployment rate was 4.3% for whites, 3.6% for Asians, 5.8% for Hispanics/Latinos,

and 8.4% for blacks/African Americans. The per capita income in 2015 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a) was $32,910 for whites, $20,277 for blacks, $18,085 for American Indian/Alaska Natives, $34,399 for Asians, and $55,607 for Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders. Median annualized earnings for full-time workers in the last quarter of 2016 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017b) were $45,812 for whites, $35,100 for blacks, $53,144 for Asians, and $33,592 for Hispanics. There also is variation in the proportion of workers who are employed only part-time rather than full-time.

The racial wealth gap in the United States is even more striking. Wealth is the net value of assets held in bank accounts, investments, real estate, and so forth after deducting debts. Wealth is an important indicator of financial stability and well-being because it is what provides the cushion that helps families get through periods of personal financial set back that can occur because of job loss, disability, economic downturns, et cetera. In addition, wealth not only helps families maintain their quality of life during financially difficult times, it also can expand opportunities for the next generation by helping to pay for college, by providing a down payment for a first home, by buying a car, by capitalizing a business venture, or by leaving an inheritance for one's heirs.

Data from a recent national financial survey show that wealth disparities are sustained by forces that go beyond the lifestyle choices and actions of individuals (see Traub, Sullivan, Meschede, & Shapiro, 2017). In 2013, the average white adult who attended college had 7.2 times more wealth than the average black adult who attended college and 3.9 times more wealth than the average Latino adult who attended college. In that same year, the average white single parent had 2.2 times more wealth than the average black two-parent household and 1.9 times more wealth than the average two-parent Latino household. For households with a full-time worker, the average white household had 7.6 times more wealth than the average black household and 5.4 times more wealth than the average Latino household. Compared to the average black household at a similar income level, the average white household spent about twice as much on entertainment and 1.3 times as much overall. These findings indicate that racial disparities in wealth cannot be overcome by individual strategies and behaviors, such as attending college, raising children in a two-parent family, working full-time, or living a more frugal lifestyle.

Cumulative advantage (DiPrete & Eirich, 2006) is a process that magnifies small differences over time and over generations, leading to a widening gap between individuals and even between groups. The following example illustrates the cumulative impact of the wealth gap on the lives of two men in American society—one black, one white, who were college classmates and who also have other similarities in their backgrounds.

John is a middle-aged white man. In the 1800s, John's great great grandfather got a farm in Nebraska through the Homestead Act, a program that displaced indigenous people from their land and that was available only to whites. John's grandfather, a World War II veteran, got a Veterans Administration mortgage and went to college on the GI Bill, programs that black veterans could not take full advantage of because of legally sanctioned housing and education discrimination.

John's grandparents inherited the family farm and sold it to invest in a small business which grew to be very successful. John's parents both attended college and have professional careers, retirement accounts, and substantial assets accumulated through hard work as well as inheritance. Thanks to the accumulated wealth of earlier generations, as well as their own financial success, John's parents had the resources to pay for his college education. He did well in college, started working for his current employer right out of college, steadily worked his way up the corporate ladder, and now is a senior vice president. John and his wife saved steadily to buy their first home and his parents gave them half of the down payment. For the past 15 years, John and his wife have been saving for their children's education and have been contributing the maximum amount allowed into their retirement accounts. They look forward to retiring in their early sixties so that they can travel. John has worked hard to get to where he is financially. However, in addition to his hard work, much of his success is due to the public investment in his family that contributed to their accumulated wealth.

George is a middle-aged black man who was a classmate of John at the state university. In the 1800s, George's great great grandparents were slaves in Alabama. After emancipation, they were uneducated and had nothing. They worked for their former slave owner as sharecroppers and their children attended school intermittently. George's grandfather had great ambitions for himself and joined the military as a way to move up and away from life in the rural South. As a WWII veteran, he was unable to use his GI benefit to attend the state university because of Jim Crow segregation. George's grandfather attended a small black college and became a schoolteacher in a community near his childhood home. His pay as a teacher was very low but more than that of most of his neighbors. He and his wife, who was a domestic worker, scrimped and saved enough to eventually buy a small four-room house. They pushed their children to work hard in school because they believed in the importance of education as the key to upward mobility.

George's father attended a black college in the South and worked to pay his way through school. He saw that there were few career opportunities for him in the segregated South, so he left the South and moved to a small city in the Northeast. Finding a job as a college educated black man was not as easy as he thought it would be and he was unemployed for many months. Eventually, George's father got a job as a bus driver. George's mother was lucky enough to find a job as a low level clerk at a governmental agency. After many years of saving, they had enough money to buy a modest home. However, due to the real estate practice of redlining, they were steered away from the suburban neighborhood they preferred and could afford. George's parents ended up buying a home in a less desirable neighborhood in the city.

George attended the state university and paid his way with a combination of grants, loans, and working nights, weekends, and summers. He did well in college and started working for his current employer after looking for a job for a year. It took him 10 years to pay off his student loans. When his parents died, they left him their home and that is where he and his wife are raising their family. Although he has always per-

formed well, George stopped getting promotions after moving up to a middle manager position. For the past several years, he and his wife have been trying to save for their children's education. They have not had any extra money to add to their retirement accounts. They plan to work as long as they can, probably at least into their late 60s. When they retire, they plan to support themselves with a combination of social security and modest employer provided pensions and may decide to sell their house and move in with one of their children. Like John, George has worked hard to get to where he is financially. However, despite working just as hard as John, his upward mobility and accumulated wealth have been more limited. This is due to the cumulative impact of multidimensional institutionalized structural racism in the society.

These disparities are the result of systemic racism operating over generations.

Interlocking Institutional Web of Racism

These descriptions of John's and George's family backgrounds reveal only part of the story. The institutional web operating in the society (see Fig. 1.2), conceptualized as the "web of urban racism" by Baron (1969) and as the "web of institutional racism" by Miller and Garran (2007), also contributes to racial disparities. It suppresses upward mobility by constraining opportunities based on where one is situated in the hierarchical race/class institutional structure. For example, blacks and First Nation People living at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder in urban ghettoes or on reservations encounter tremendous interlocking obstacles that keep them ensnared at the lowest levels of society. Due to residential segregation, they disproportionately live in hyper-segregated communities where there are fewer personal and community resources than in predominantly white communities. They have more limited access to middle class jobs, quality education, banks, and goods and services at affordable prices. These limitations are compounded by inadequate or absent public transportation, by health hazards, by police profiling practices, by employment discrimination, and by disenfranchisement.

The passage of federal legislation in the 1960s that illegalized housing discrimination and employment discrimination came after four centuries of economic growth that had favored white families and white workers. This meant that by the time the society took corrective action to level the playing field in terms of race, whites were already far ahead in terms of accumulated wealth. Although the disparity would undoubtedly be even worse if this legislation had not been passed, the wealth gap has continued to widen since then. For example, over the 30 years from 1983 to 2013, instead of increasing at the same rate, as one might expect, the average wealth of white households increased by 84%, while the wealth of African American families increased by only 28% and the wealth of Latino families increased by 70%. At these rates of wealth accumulation, it would take the average African American family 228 years and the average Latino family 84 years to build the same wealth as the average white family today (Asante-Muhammed, Collins, Hoxie, & Nieves, 2016).

It should be noted that for First Nation Peoples, the impact is even more extreme. Their land and the natural resources on which they survived were taken from them and they were left with virtually nothing. Although some tribes are doing well in recent times and have created opportunities for economic survival (e.g., casinos and logging), many First Nation People still live in impoverished and disadvantaged circumstances. For example, 1 in 200 First Nation Peoples are homeless compared to 1 in 1000 white persons (Pindus et al., 2017). Over 20% of First Nation adults over age 25 have not completed high school and their unemployment rate is 12%—these are the highest rates of any racial group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a). Over 20% of First Nation Peoples lack health insurance, a rate that is nearly double that for African Americans and nearly 2.5 times the rate for whites (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). Also, high crime rates and lax law enforcement practices on reservations leave the residents as frequent victims of serious crimes (Williams, 2012).

In contrast, Asians are in the unique position of being designated as the "model minority." However, they are not exempt from being the targets of racism. This is exemplified in their being perpetually viewed as foreigners and by their own perceived need to "whiten" their résumés to be competitive in the labor market (Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016). There is an extreme concentration of Asian wealth at the very top of the socioeconomic ladder. Consequently, the common practice of reporting summary data for the whole racial group obscures the disproportionately high level of poverty as well as the extremely wide income and wealth gap among Asians (Lum, 2016; Weller & Thompson, 2016).

Within the larger society, the education sector serves the important function of developing human capital. Investments in education have the potential to expand the productivity of the whole society while also increasing the earning power of individual members of the society. The education sector, particularly the United States system of public primary and secondary education, is strongly influenced by the housing sector and the government sector. Public schools are supported by local public funding. Consequently, wealthier communities provide more resources for their schools compared to poorer communities. Racial segregation in housing, which is the norm in the United States, determines the racial composition of the children eligible to attend the public schools in a geographic area. The combined effects of persistent racial disparities in wealth and income and practices such as real estate redlining and "white flight" promote the establishment of hyper-segregated communities, particularly in urban areas. All of these interlocking institutional forces and interactions are systemic and structural and they ensnare individuals and groups in an institutional web that promotes ongoing racial inequalities (Baron, 1969; Miller & Garran, 2007; Wewiorski, 1995).

Explanatory Framework for Understanding Institutional Racism

The enduring outcomes of racial inequities in American society can be conceptualized using a systems framework (see Powell, 2007; Wewiorski, 1995). Using this conceptual framework, society can be understood as a large complex and dynamic structural system comprised of interacting and interlocking institutions that operate across all sectors of the society. These sectors are the major institutional domains in the society, such as legal, education, health care, housing, government, banking, human services, industry, military, transportation, religion, and so forth (see Fig. 1.2). This complex institutional web is constantly evolving and its ongoing structure is supported by racial scaffolding (see Fig. 1.1). The poles of the racial scaffolding—exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence—operate in various and evolving ways over time so that the power, privilege, and supremacy of whites as a group are promoted and sustained in the society. The multilevel dynamics and scaffolding make the system of racial oppression extremely stable, strong, and difficult to change. This racially biased system continually reinforces the position of disadvantage experienced by people of color relative to their more privileged white counterparts in the society. Their position of disadvantage is evidenced in numerous indicators of quality of life, such as employment and wealth (Asante-Muhammed et al., 2016; Austin, 2013a, 2013b; Traub et al., 2017), education (Jordan, 2014), housing (Pindus et al., 2017; The Urban Institute, 2013), and health (Gee & Ford, 2011; Griffith et al., 2007; James, Schwartz, & Berndt, 2009; Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2006). The perpetuation of inequitable outcomes for persons of color is virtually guaranteed because of established practices in the legal, financial, and government sectors that promote such outcomes as high rates of incarceration (see Alexander, 2012; The Sentencing Project, 2013) and voter disenfranchisement.

As outlined in Chap. 3, the U. S. has a long history of formal policies, laws, and regulations, as well as common practices, that have targeted the subordination of four core groups of people—First Nation Peoples, blacks, Mexicans, and Chinese—and that have preserved the privileged position of whites. The discriminatory impact of these laws, legislative acts, and codes is evidenced in racially disparate outcomes across all sectors of the society. Not only do these policies and regulations impact individual members of the racial groups in specific domains of their lives, they also have a cumulative and intergenerational impact on their station, circumstance, and place in its institutional structures (DiPrete & Eirich, 2006).

Systems theory is a useful explanatory framework for conceptualizing the structures and operation of institutional racism (see Powell, 2007; Wewiorski, 1995). General systems theory conceptualizes a real system as a dynamic whole, composed of interrelated and interacting parts, which is open to and interactive with its environment in such a way that it is continually evolving and changing (Bertalanffy, 1968). The conceptual elements of systems include the system-environment boundary, inputs, outputs, processes, hierarchical structure, and goal-directedness.

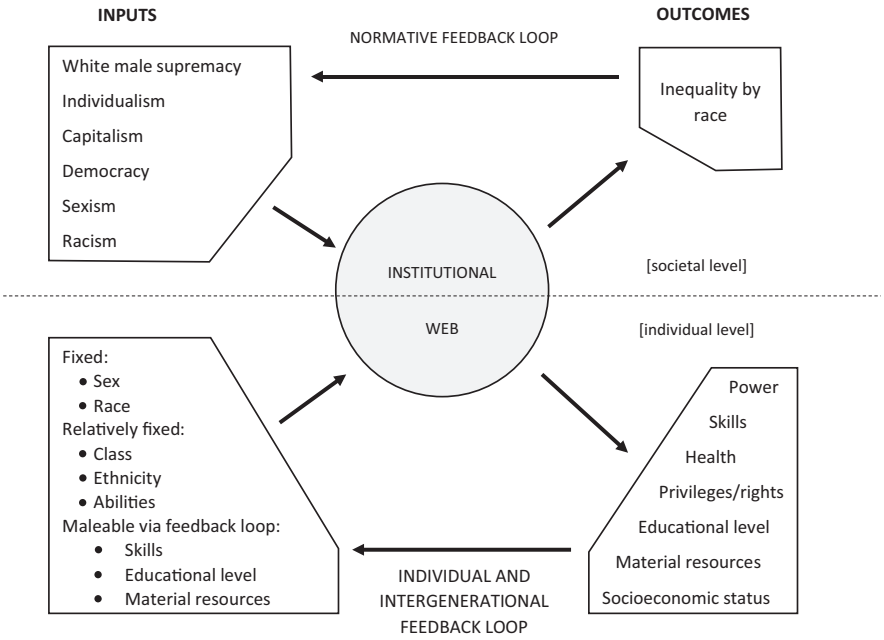

Fig. 6.1 Dynamics of Institutional Racism in American Society (adapted from Wewiorski, 1995)

According to Wewiorski (1995), institutional racism operates in a hierarchy on three structural levels: individual, organizational, and societal. Similarly, in their conceptual model termed "The Oppression Matrix," Hardiman and Jackson (1997) consider social oppression to be maintained and operationalized at three levels: individual, institutional, and social/cultural. The Hardiman and Jackson (1997) model also depicts the dynamic functioning of the individual, institutional, and social/cultural levels along three dimensions—context, psychosocial process, and application—all interacting to support and reinforce each other. Implicit bias, the unconscious process of holding negative attitudes and perceptions while simultaneously and consciously rejecting stereotypes and supporting anti-discrimination actions, is a factor that impacts all these levels.

Individual Level

At the level of the individual, the system inputs are individual attributes, attitudes, behaviors, and resources, such as gender, race, class, ethnicity, social network, native abilities, skills, educational level, and material resources (see Fig. 6.1). These inputs determine a person's social position in terms of privilege and power in the society. Consequently, one's individually determined level of privilege and power can be increased by having connections to a social network that includes persons of greater privilege and power, by obtaining a higher level of education, by developing

skills valued by the society, and/or by amassing material resources. As an example, the rare individual from a disadvantaged background who manages to graduate from an elite prestigious university or who rises to a top level in sports or entertainment is able to expand their social network to include persons of great privilege and power in the society and, in turn, this helps to elevate their own social status and to increase their access to privileges and opportunities. On the other hand, personal privilege and power tend to decline when ties are severed with persons of greater privilege and power, when skills are lost, or when material resources are lost. This expansion and contraction of personal privilege and power is somewhat moderated by the interactional effects of the fixed and relatively fixed attributes of gender, class, ethnicity and native ability, and, most importantly, race.

When individual factors other than race are equal, the dynamics of racism and the structure of the scaffolding that supports it operate to produce the disparate outcomes of whites and non-whites. Like in the above example of John and George, a middle class African-American who is equal to a middle class white person in gender, abilities, skills, educational level, and income will tend to have outcomes with regard to power, privilege, and socioeconomic status that are lower than those of their white counterparts. The housing and employment opportunities of the African-American will be somewhat more limited and their spouse is likely to have a lower income than the spouse of their white counterpart. Consider the disparate outcomes in the experience of two middle class women—one white, one black—who are single parents and who have similar levels of education and income. They each start with a very similar situation, but they end up with very different outcomes for their sons:

> Each woman has a son who attends a party with cousins while he is out of town visiting with relatives over spring break. Each young man goes to a party, gets drunk and then is involved in a hit and run accident. Each is taken into custody. By tapping into her own and her family's assets and social network connections, the white mother is able to hire a top notch lawyer and her son is released on a low bail. Ultimately no charges are brought against him and he returns to college after taking off a semester. In contrast, the black mother has no connections to high powered lawyers, her family members are unable to contribute financially, and she must make a substantial upfront payment to engage the services of an attorney who she can afford. She takes money out of her retirement account (and pays a penalty for early withdrawal) to raise money for her son's bail. Ultimately, her son is convicted of a felony charge and gets a suspended sentence. He is unable to return to college because he is no longer eligible for student loans and his scholarship is revoked.

Through the iterative process of generational feedback in this system, these disparate outcomes are the system outputs that become the next inputs for these mothers and their sons, and thus racial disparities are sustained. The institutional system leads to disparities for all the non-white groups. For example, even when First Nation Persons and whites are the same age and sex, have the same education level and marital status, reside in a city in the same state, and are similar on other characteristics, the First Nation Persons are 31% less likely to be employed (Austin, 2013b). Taken case by case, there, of course, will be individual non-whites who rank above whites, but the overall outcome is that whites outrank non-whites. This is the societal outcome of inequality by race (see Fig. 6.1). This inequality becomes established as a societal norm that sustains the ideology of racism.

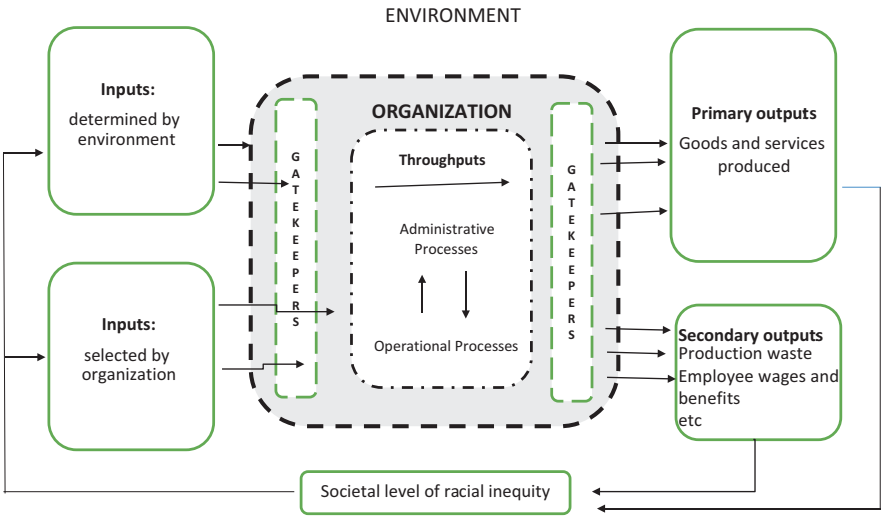

Fig. 6.2 Organization as an Open System in an Environmental Context of Institutionalized Racism (adapted from Wewiorski, 1995)

Organizational Level

Structural racism also operates at the organizational level (Rodriguez, 1987; Walter et al., 2016) and the dynamics of racism within organizations also have been described using a systems framework (see Griffith et al., 2007; Wewiorski, 1995) (see Fig. 6.2). An organization is commonly understood to be a group of individuals formed into a structure for the purpose of accomplishing some particular aim. Organizational inputs are primarily environmentally determined resources, such as personnel, technology, and finances. Thus, the level of resources available from the environment serves as a constraint on the organizational system. Resource limitations include manpower availability, the extent of theoretical, technical, scientific, and practical knowledge in the field of endeavor, and the level of financial support available from the environment.

In an environmental context of pervasive and institutionalized racism, strong forces are pushing the organization to absorb structural racism from its environment and to perpetuate that level of racism through its internal processes. However, to the extent that an organization is able to select its employees, its customers/clients, and its board members, and is able to control the distribution of its resources, it can exert some control over the level of racism within the organization. For example, consider a college that is trying to minimize its impact on the level of racism in society. Such a college will not passively accept inputs that reflect the level of institutional racism within its immediate environment or the broader society. It will give particular attention to race in the selection of students, faculty, and staff (its inputs) and also consider who gets scholarships, what courses are offered, who occupies positions at

various levels in the college hierarchy (throughputs), as well as who graduates and with what degrees, who publishes and on what topics, and how its programs and operation impact various groups in the surrounding community (outputs). Such a college will deliberately evaluate its inputs, throughputs, and outputs based on their potential for reducing the level of institutional racism within the college itself and within its environment. However, this example is an ideal, for implicit bias may constrain the college's efforts at the organizational level.

The organizational boundary is that part of the organization which interfaces with the environment to screen inputs, screen outputs, and buffer internal operating systems from the intrusion of environmental influences (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1974). Racial discrimination occurs when the boundary screening function, intentionally or unintentionally, creates a barrier to non-white entry into the system. For example, African-Americans or Mexican-Americans may be blocked from entering an organization when boundary gatekeepers attempt to bring in new organizational members who can be easily homogenized into an existing non-diverse organizational culture so that the organization will experience little conflict or disruption to the status quo. From this perspective, affirmative action recruitment is actually an organizational effort to expand non-white inclusion by making its boundaries more permeable to non-whites. This strategy intentionally increases the proportional inflow of non-whites from the environment through the organizational boundary and into the organizational system. Affirmative action efforts intentionally utilize the gatekeeping function of the organizational boundary to facilitate the entry of individuals who otherwise tend to be excluded from the organization. However, it should be noted that as more and more persons of color are brought into the organization, conflict within the organization will intensify (Allport, 1981).

Throughputs are also an important organizational component in the process of organizational racism. They establish the organization's overall stance with respect to non-white inclusion, sensitivity to race, and promotion of diversity. For example, in a hospital, production functions concerned with patient flow and treatment delivery may or may not be sensitive to issues of race. This sensitivity is manifest in the degree to which the hospital, as well as the staff within it, attend to a number of issues: the mixing and matching of patients and providers from different racial/cultural groups; the consideration of cultural values in treatment delivery; and the inclusion of persons of color in decision-making regarding organizational policies and services, for example, on the board of directors. Organizational climate, structure, and internal policies and practices are shaped by a number of forces and can vary in the degree to which they promote or minimize racism. Thus, a hospital aiming to minimize its level of organizational racism not only will attend to race in its boundary functions, it will modify its internal structures and processes in ways that promote non-white inclusion at all levels of the hierarchical structure and also will promote an equitable distribution of organizational resources by race in patient care, staff salaries, and so forth (see Wewiorski, 1995).

The extrinsic functions of the organizational system are its influences on its environment, that is, the institutional web of which it is a part. The extrinsic functions of organizations can be understood as influence vectors. When these forces support sustained or increased racial inequality, this is an example of "side-effect discrimi-

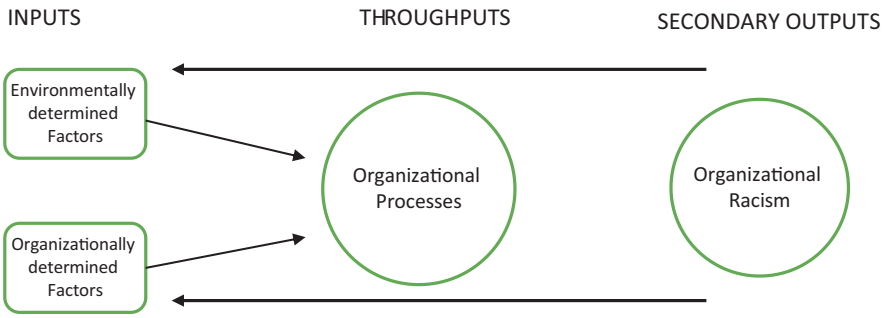

Fig. 6.3 Open Systems Model of Institutional Racism in an Organization (adapted from Wewiorski, 1995)

nation." For example, in a health care organization, the outcomes of treatment provided to patients (e.g., health status, level of functioning) are the primary organizational outputs. Secondary outputs are the by-products or unintended effects resulting from the provision of patient care. Thus, depending on the racial distribution of organizational members and the distribution by race of organizational resources, a health care organization may have the extrinsic function of reducing, maintaining, or promoting the level of institutional racism within its environment.

Although organizations have some degree of control over their level of organizational racism, that control is limited. This is clearly demonstrated in the case of a human services organization. Within the broader society, the human services sector serves the function of societal maintenance. Thus, the human service organization experiences strong external influences from the governmental/political sector. In general, such organizations are highly dependent on the governmental sector for financial support and experience considerable environmental constraint, especially in the areas of service delivery and staffing. Prevailing societal norms are translated into laws, policies, regulations, and institutional practices which, in turn, are translated into the structure and operation of the service organization. Thus, public policy tends to drive the entire human service delivery system.

The relationship between an organization and structural racism is an open systems process (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3). Environmentally determined (fixed) and organizationally determined (selected) inputs enter through the boundary-spanning units, are transformed through the internal organizational processes, and then flow out to the environment through boundary-spanning units. The boundary-spanning components (or gatekeepers) of the organizational system serve the critical function of screening and selecting the organizationally determined inputs and controlling the flow of outputs. Although the boundary-spanning component may be able to shield the organization somewhat from the intrusion of environmental forces, it is relatively pervious with respect to environmentally determined inputs. Thus, although the level of racism within an organization is determined, in part, by the organization itself, it also is determined, in large part, by factors over which the organization has little or no control.

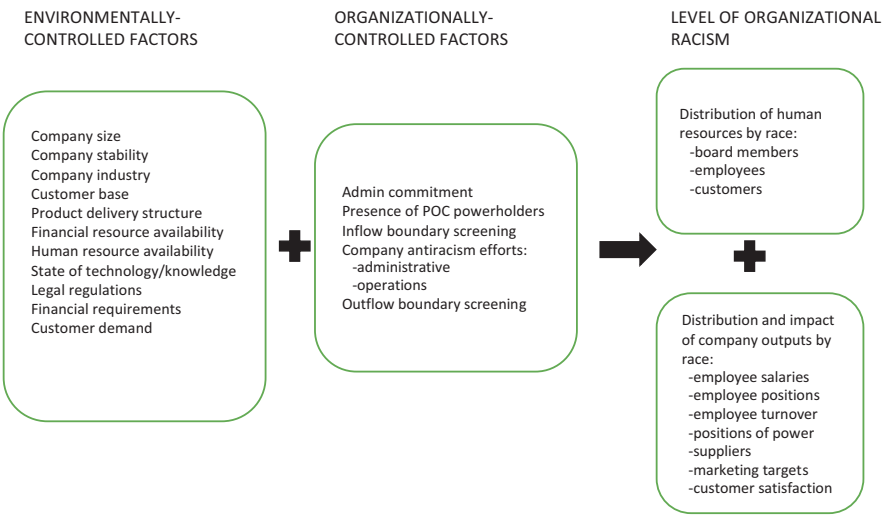

Fig. 6.4 Determinants of Organizational Racism (adapted from Wewiorski, 1995)

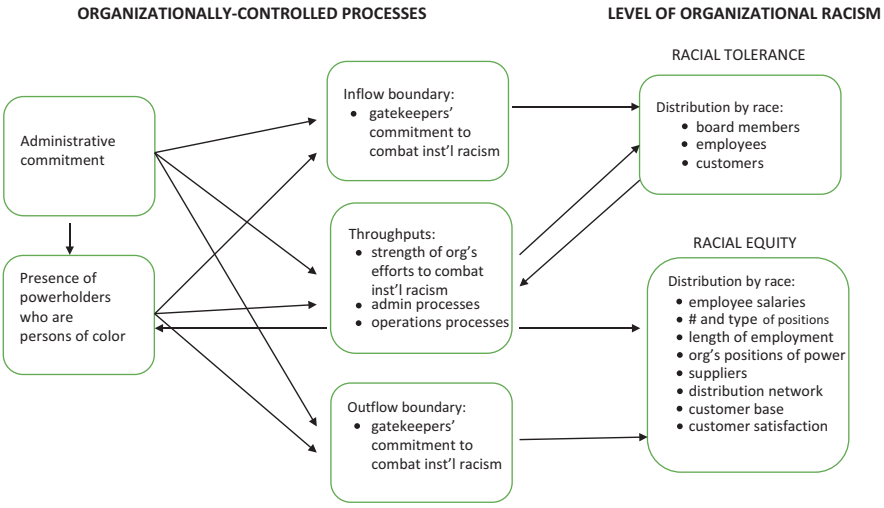

Fig. 6.5 Model of Organizational Processes that Affect Level of Organizational Racism (adapted from Wewiorski, 1995)

Using this framework, there are two dimensions of racism within the organization itself: (1) *racial equity*, and (2) *racial tolerance* (Wewiorski, 1995) (see Figs. 6.4 and 6.5). *Racial equity* is defined as the degree to which organizational products and services, organizational outcomes, organizational resources, and organizational power are distributed without regard to race. Indicators of racial equity are the allocation by race of product supply chains, product and sales distribution

networks, customers, service recipients, service outcomes, employee salaries, positions of power within the organization, and expenditures on goods and services. Racial equity is influenced by implicit bias. *Racial tolerance* is the degree to which non-whites participate in institutional membership and the degree to which whites are accepting of non-whites. The level of non-white inclusion throughout the organization and differences by race in the rates of employee turnover and retention are some indicators of an organization's level of racial tolerance.

These two dimensions of organizational racism are organizational outputs determined by a combination of environmentally controlled factors and organizationally controlled factors (see Fig. 6.4). Even apart from external environmental influences that operate to promote organizational racism, there are organizationally controlled factors that operate internally within the organization and that affect the organization's level of racial tolerance and level of racial equity (see Fig. 6.5). Variability in racial equity and racial tolerance can be readily observed among organizations, even among those with apparently similar missions, goals, and values. These organizational differences are determined by a combination of the environmental factors and organizational factors that are influential in promoting organizational racism.

When the resource limitations of an organization also involve "side-effect discrimination" from other societal sectors, a very potent force for the promotion of organizational racism can occur (see Wewiorski, 1995). The current push toward greater professionalization of the staffs of human service agencies provides one example of how side-effect discrimination from other sectors can affect an organization's level of racial tolerance and racial equity. Because the hiring of professionally trained staff is dependent on the availability of professionals being produced by educational institutions, professionalization has the effect of strengthening the influence of the educational sector on the human service sector. Consequently, educational institutions tend to control the size and racial composition of the applicant pool in the human service sector. The existence of numerous similar examples across all societal sectors helps to explain the potency of the systemic interlocking societal institutional web in sustaining organizational level racism.

Societal Level

At the societal level, organizational and institutional processes interact and solidify to form broad structural racism, the interwoven and entrenched structural institutional practices which perpetuate differential outcomes by race. Thus, through the operation of the institutional web and the feedback mechanisms of this large system, racism on the societal level becomes a self-perpetuating phenomenon (see Fig. 6.1). Individual, organizational, and societal inputs are fed into the interlocking web of societal institutions. Institutional sectors are interrelated and strongly influence each other and all of these societal sectors accept societal norms and ideological frames of reference as inputs. Thus, all of these societal sectors accept the

ideology of white male supremacy and privilege, as well as the other American ideologies. Where there are conflicting values and beliefs resulting from the different ideologies (e.g., democracy vs. capitalism vs. white male supremacy), there is tension in the system. This is a dynamically balanced societal system whose equilibrium is maintained through interlocking forces in the societal institutional web. These interlocking sectors, even without overtly racist policies, together form a strong racist system. From a systems perspective, the cumulative impact is such that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

Employment is an important component of the functioning of individuals and households. Consequently, racial disparities in employment contribute to racial disparities in quality of life. Examining organizational level racism in terms of employment demonstrates how societal level racism is manifest in the organization-level dimensions of *racial equity* and *racial tolerance*. Wiececk and Hamilton (2014) identify 12 ways in which institutional intersections and dynamics suppress the employment opportunities of persons of color and negatively impact their employment experiences. When these occur in combination, as often is the case, they form a very powerful force pushing to diminish organizational racial equity and racial tolerance.

1. *Information about job opportunities is disseminated primarily through social networks* (p. 1127). Because racial segregation is widespread in residential, educational, work, social, and religious aspects of daily life, and because whites, who are in the best position to know about job opportunities, have little if any interaction with persons of color in their daily lives, persons of color never hear about many job opportunities. This has the effect of diminishing the level of *racial tolerance* in the organization.
2. *Information about job opportunities is disseminated selectively* (p. 1127). Employers limit their applicant pool by advertising in media that has a predominantly white audience and by recruiting from predominantly white schools. This also limits the level of *racial tolerance* in the organization.
3. *Candidate requirements structurally discriminate when they are unrelated to necessary skills* (p. 1128). When job requirements include excessive qualifications in terms of education level or past work experience, applicants of color are at a disadvantage because they are more likely to lack these qualifications due to historical structural racism in education and in certain industries. This also pushes the organization toward a lower level of *racial tolerance*.
4. *Stereotypes about group characteristics affect perceptions of job candidates* (p. 1128). Because white privilege is the societal norm, this supports the conscious and unconscious biases about persons of color that influence the decisions made by job recruiters and by organizational personnel involved in the hiring process. This has the effect of diminishing the organization's level of *racial tolerance*.
5. *Once in the labor force, people of color experience discomfort and stress through the social relations they experience on the job* (p. 1129). Because whites enjoy excess privilege and power both in the organization and outside of

it, white privilege is considered normal and is not even recognized. Consequently, to remain employed, a worker of color may have to endure subtle micro-aggressions and even blatantly racist actions that the employer does not acknowledge and/or allows to continue unchecked. This affects the level of *racial equity* in the organization.

6. *Social networks constrain job performance* (p. 1130). Social networks within job settings also tend to be segregated and this affects employees of color by preventing them from benefitting from informal information sharing, mentoring relationships and other contacts with power brokers in this organization. This limits the ability of employees of color to perform to the best of their ability and further suppresses their promotion possibilities. This impacts the level of *racial equity* in the organization.
7. *Employers sometimes apply seemingly neutral workplace policies in a differential manner* (p. 1131). This is direct racial discrimination manifest by taking disciplinary action or otherwise holding an employee of color to a company policy or standard, but excusing similar infractions by white employees. Such differential treatment of employees is actually banned by employment civil rights laws. Such practices have an impact on the level of *racial equity* in the organization.
8. *Supervisors often exercise decision-making power based on subjective assessments* (p. 1131). Supervisors and managers tend to be predominantly white because of historical structural racism. Their individual level racism in the form of conscious and unconscious biases affects the salaries, bonuses, and promotions of their subordinate employees of color. This also affects the organization's level of *racial equity*.
9. *The seniority system can structurally recreate an organization's white workforce through lay-offs* (p. 1132). The apparently race neutral and seemingly fair policy of laying off employees based on job tenure disproportionately disadvantages persons of color because employees with the most seniority tend to be white. When there is an economic downturn and an organization needs to downsize, this approach has the effect of undoing whatever gains the organization has made in creating a more racially diverse workforce and returns the organization to having an overwhelmingly white workforce. Implementing such a policy has the effect of lowering the organization's level of *racial tolerance*.
10. *Job opportunities are often lost because of incarceration* (p. 1132). The legal/criminal justice sector of the society has a strong negative impact on the employment rates of persons of color. Because black and Latino males, in particular, are disproportionately incarcerated, they disproportionately are out of the workforce, they disproportionately do not develop work histories that qualify them for future employment opportunities, and they are disproportionately eliminated from consideration from many jobs because of explicit or implicit employer biases or because of outright disqualification due to having felony convictions. This is a factor in the external environment that affects the organization's level of *racial tolerance*.

11. *Lack of education credentials diminishes job opportunities* (p. 1133). Patterns of racial segregation in education are related to patterns of residential segregation and both of these factors result in unequal investment in education, and lead to differential rates of dropping out of school, high school graduation, admission to college, and the awarding of undergraduate and graduate degrees. Educational credentials determine the jobs for which one is considered qualified to even be considered a viable job candidate. This is another factor in the organization's external environment that affects its level of *racial tolerance*.
12. *Suburbanization puts jobs out of reach* (p. 1133). When businesses move out of cities and relocate to suburban industrial and office complexes, persons of color disproportionately lose job opportunities—they are more likely to live in segregated urban communities that have limited public transportation access to the suburbs, they are less likely to own reliable automobiles, and there are few thriving businesses in their own community. Such business decisions affect the level of *racial tolerance* in the organization.

Given the strength of the forces of structural racism, strong and committed administrative leadership is needed to combat and guard against the internal and external forces that push organizations and institutions toward lower levels of *racial equity* and *racial tolerance*. Walter et al. (2016) and Wewiorski (1995) identify administrative leadership as a key factor necessary to bring about organizational change that addresses the persistent and entrenched problem of structural racism. Such committed leadership is required because structural racism is linked to so many internal organizational dynamics, as well as to external institutional forces in the society at large.

Summary

When institutionalized racism is understood to be embedded in an open societal system, the rungs of the racial scaffolding are conceptualized as societal level inputs that contribute to the outcome of racial inequality in the society at large (see Fig. 6.1). This systems process produces inequalities at both the individual level and the group level. The institutional web (see Fig. 1.2) forms a strong interlocking system for the maintenance of the status quo, i.e., a society in which the social, political, and economic outcomes for non-whites are less favorable than those for whites. Each institutional sector has influence over the other sectors and, conversely, is influenced by them. For example, racial discrimination in the housing sector affects outcomes in education, industry, banking, and government, while racial discrimination in the banking sector affects outcomes in housing, education, and industry, and so forth. Thus, once institutionalized racism is established, it becomes very entrenched and extremely difficult to change. For change efforts to be effective, interventions not only must change a particular institutional sector, but they also must change other sectors or modify their influence, as well. In addition, the

degree of institutional change is always limited by those forces which operate to maintain homeostasis in the system. Thus, there tends to be a fluctuating pattern of change in which any reduction in racism is always somewhat counteracted by forces which operate to maintain the status quo.

Although change is not easily achieved, when major change does occur in one sector, this in turn can push other sectors in the same direction. Examples of this effect occurred after the emancipation proclamation, desegregation of the military, school desegregation, and passage of voting and civil rights legislation. In each instance, the change in one societal sector forced changes in other societal sectors and, consequently, reduced racism in the entire institutional web. Although racism is reduced, it is still very apparent in various institutions and systems that influence and impact the lives of all Americans. The impact on persons of color is particularly negative.

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Chapter 7
Intersectionality: The Linkage of Racism with Other Forms of Discrimination

Intersectionality is a concept that grew out of the work of black feminists in the United States (Tomlinson, 2013; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012) who asserted that gender and race are oppressive cultural subsets that interact and support one another. Some scholars outside the United States (as cited in Tomlinson, 2013) have critiqued intersectionality as a black feminist phenomenon, minimizing its merit. Their criticisms, however, overlook the black/white binary construct, the foundational basis for the development of intersectionality, which has now been broadened to include all subordinate racial groups, and individual distinguishing subsets, that must deal with the oppressive systems within the society.

The equality-of-oppression paradigm, according to Schiele (2007), "assumes that every source of oppression is equal to others in its severity, frequency, and production of human degradation" (p. 84). It has also been noted by other scholars, for example, Chavis and Hill (2009) and Viruell-Fuentes et al. (2012), although not referred to using that term. This view does not acknowledge racism as the dominant social bias in the United States and, thus, diminishes the importance of race in the oppressive systemic structure and overlapping social subsets faced by people of color. In this book, we acknowledge that racism is only one of the oppressive systems in the society, but reject the equality-of-oppression paradigm and assert that racism is the principal oppressive system. Historically, racism has superseded all other forms of oppression and marginalization in the United States. As we have previously discussed (see Chaps. 1 and 3), the United States was established by whites on a foundation of race-based inequality and this phenomenon still exists today on individual, organizational, and societal levels (see Chap. 6) that are supported by scaffolding rungs and poles (see Fig. 1.1). For example, the racialized institutionalization of slavery, particularly in the South, was supported by components of the *scaffolding* (such as exploitation, violence, and cultural imperialism) and was solidified using an intertwined web of laws, codes, and habits that connected every aspect of life for persons of African descent in the United States (Miller, 2007; Myrdal, 1944; Stampp, 1956) and subsequently for all people of color. The historical impact of legislative operations, norms, and values at the state

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and federal levels is reflected across the institutional sectors of society today, and these forces strengthen the links between differences in skin color and language and differences in privilege and power. Intersectionalities elucidate the invisibilities of the countless individuals within American society whose total identity is ignored (Crenshaw, 2015) and intersectionality recognizes that all oppressive groupings are "mutually [constructed] and work together to produce inequality" (Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012, p. 2100).

This chapter focuses on structural and institutional intersectionality. Racism, as an overarching form of oppression, is examined by using Critical Race Theory to understand societal institutions that interface with intersectionality. Our analysis of racism illuminates the intersection of social subsets, and discusses how racial oppression is related to power, cultural sway, colonization, and immigration. The intersectionality of various forms of oppression is further explicated by examining the interconnections between cultural subsets and identities and the forces of power, cultural sway, and colonialism.

Racism: The Overarching Form of Oppression

Oppression has been the galvanizing foundation for every scaffolding pole and rung that has built the American system. Oppression is the underpinning that solidifies, grounds, and exponentially gives significant weight to race and how it intersects on societal, structural, and personal levels within the United States. The social construction of race and its oppressive discriminating affiliate—racism—has been a profound presence in the development of the United States of America. In its formation, the country embraced race ranking and phenotypic racial classifications that encouraged a belief system that devalued people who are not white. Consequently, racism has permeated the structural and institutional identity of the society, the multiple overlapping cultural subsets that exist within the society, as well as the personal identities of those who inhabit the country.

Hardiman and Jackson (1997) and Hardiman, Jackson, and Griffin (2013) note a number of concepts that relate to oppression, such as culture, institutions, individual, consciousness, attitude, and behavior. Our analyses build on these concepts to explicate race and its intersection with other forms of oppression in relation to sociopolitical and economic factors and historical themes. These analyses acknowledge the continual construction of color and race as visible stigmas in contemporary society and the ongoing complex and confusing dialogue about race.

Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality

Foldy and Buckley (as noted in Walter et al., 2016) note that societal discussions about race do not take place in the United States. Such discussions are lacking because racism is not accepted as an appropriate issue for public discourse or private conversations

in "mixed company." Consequently, racism often is invisible to the common man or is so nuanced in its existence that it is not recognized (Paynter, Hautaniemi, & Muller, 1994). At times, even when it is blatantly apparent, because racism is so ingrained in the social/structural functions within society, it is ignored, deemed unfixable, or considered irrelevant. We argue that Critical Race theory (CRT) is particularly useful for understanding intersectionality and the complexity of the scaffolding of racism.

CRT (Crenshaw, 2011) examines the normative assumptions that assign privilege and preference based on race and racial politics. CRT recognizes intersectionality as a way of investigating multilevel and multiple systems of oppression. Central to CRT is the insistence that oppression is not a single ideology or occurrence but a fluid phenomenon rooted in power and control. This understanding is essential for resisting the ideology of colorblindness and race neutral policies (Crenshaw, 2011; Espino, 2012). Tactics used by proponents of CRT include: (a) voicing counter stories and identifying counter spaces that resist the stories told by the dominant group; (b) avoiding stereotypes about marginalized groups; and (c) supporting the social construction of stories of the marginalized (Jones, 2015). These actions are considered important because the societal/structural presence of racism seeps down to the person. Recently, black feminism has incorporated CRT as a way of examining the historical and intentional systems of oppression that inform laws and social policy.

An intersectional approach considers "simultaneous and mutually constitutive effects" (Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012, p. 2099) on societal/structural occurrences. Intersectionality *as a theory* explicates the ways in which various subsets interact on multiple levels to manifest themselves as inequality in society. Contemporary thought about intersectionality posits that classical models of *oppression* within society, such as oppression based on *race*/*ethnicity*, *gender*, *religion*, *nationality*, *sexual orientation*, *class*, or *disability,* do not act independently of one another; instead, these forms of oppression interrelate to create a system of oppression that reflects the "intersection" of multiple forms of, *discrimination* (Collins, 1990). Intersectionality builds on CRT by highlighting the multidimensionality of oppressions and recognizes that, although it is the most prominent, race alone does not account for the continual disempowerment of certain groups in the society.

Intersection of People and Societal Institutions

Racism within the institutional and structural systems of the United States operates as a paradox for individuals of color. Two or more perceptions coexist about people of color: they are looked upon suspiciously, profiled, and stigmatized publicly; *and* they are overlooked, minimized, and not seen. At the turn of the twentieth century W.E.B. Du Bois (1903) had the insight that the experiences of African Americans were veiled by white racism, that their lives were opaque, obscure, and meaningless to whites in mainstream America. This opaque veil, when examined today, hides the inequitable presence of African Americans as well as other non-white groups in society. Invisibility removes from view the presence of racial groups that are not

white, yet this invisibility is contradicted by profiling, and taking note of people of color in negative ways. Everything done by people of color is infiltrated by these conflicting forms of discrimination which are structured on power and privilege (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; McIntosh, 2008; Tourse, 2016). Personal identity, therefore, is created by perceptions of one's personal locations within a racist laden societal system.

Consider the example of a person who goes shopping in a boutique or department store. When the customer is a person of color, more often than not, they are discriminately followed by boutique personnel or a security guard. In contrast, when they are a white person, they generally freely browse through the store without undue scrutiny. In such scenarios, it is the person's racial place or location in society that influences the amount of scrutiny. The scrutiny tends to be further intensified when it is by a white store clerk or security guard who also has deep-seated conscious or unconscious fear or dislike of persons of color. Individual attitudes influence the degree of harassment elicited because of the customer's gender, age, health viability, appearance (presumption of class), and other social subsets. For example, a disheveled white youth might be perceived to be a drug addict who could attempt to steal merchandize and would, thus, receive more elevated scrutiny than a frail elderly African American woman.

One's locus of self or self-identity is constantly under siege by the intersections of socially constructed subsets and the perceptions of others within society. Bonilla-Silva (2014) asserts that "racial analysis [and the inherent intersections of a person is] beyond good and evil…it is akin to an analysis of people's character or morality" (p. 102). This nation's moral character has been formed by an oppressive persona that is highlighted by racial degradation of the "other." It is the structural and institutional practices of the society that, in the past and continuing today, influence life and location for people of color and assist in maintaining the status quo for the power elite. As previously noted, Du Bois (1903) articulated the concept of the "veil." Approximately 100 years later, McGoldrick (1994, 2008), McIntosh (1990, 2008), and Bonilla-Silva (2014) similarly noted that white privileges and benefits have come at the expense of people of color.

Racism and Its Intersection with Social Subsets

Racial group membership is a core aspect of identity development in the United States because of the country's continual emphasis on racial markers as preliminary credentials for access to reward and targeting for punishment (Helms, 1995). Although race may be phenotypic, it is socially constructed based on racial classification. To understand how the legacy of racism is reflected in the twenty-first century, it is necessary to give nuanced attention to the origins of the American census and to understand how the U.S. Census has categorized race and color. Beginning in 1790, data were collected using the first U.S. decennial census (see Chap. 4). Over time, the U.S. Census has created and changed racialized categories that it uses to identify U.S.

residents. The census has used race and color designations that have excluded First Nation/Indigenous peoples (Braveheart & Deschenie, 2006), dehumanized blacks (slaves counted as three-fifths of a person), divided the black race (mulattoes vs. Negroes) (Du Bois, 1903), reinforced invisibility of the Mexican race (Kilty & Vidal de Haymes, 2000), and expanded the racialization of Chinese persons to a category that includes Asians of all descent (Takagi, 1989). This is related to the issue of denying the distinction between various persons of color and their unique humanity. This has nothing to do with who they are and reinforces the ongoing oppressive processes of the racial scaffolding.

Scholars such as Du Bois (1903), Helms (1995), and Smedley and Smedley (2005) assert that race is not a biological construct that reflects innate differences, but a social construct that captures categories and classifications that served to justify colonialism, white supremacy, slavery, exploitation, and legalized forms of discrimination. Intersectionality is a framework that focuses attention on the degree to which all identities are multidimensional; intersectionality is a nexus of complex arguments about the social subsets (Tomlinson, 2013). Contemplating one's psychological relationship with a particular sociocultural identity can be daunting and make one unsure of who one is. All individuals have psychological relationships with social subsets, such as race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, immigrant or refugee status, socioeconomic class position, religious identification, education status, and others (Sue, Rasheed, & Rasheed, 2016). An intersectional perspective underscores the view that human lives cannot be reduced to a single subset, and any one social subset may be more important than others for understanding a particular individual's needs and experiences. Intersectionality does not promote an additive approach that considers the collective impact of gender, race, sexuality, age, and class to be the sum of their independent effects (Hankivsky, 2014). Instead, intersectionality conceptualizes social subsets as interacting with and constructing one another, creating unique social locations that vary according to time, space, and person. These intersections and their effects are what matters in an intersectional analysis. Intersectionality is also focused on understanding effects between and across various levels in society, including at macro levels (global and national institutions and policies/laws), at meso or intermediate levels (state and regional institutions and policies), and at micro levels (community, tribal, reservation, cultural as well as individual). This intersectional approach allows for sociohistorical (including personal history) and sociopolitical context of these identities and recognizes the unique experiences of the individual based on the intersection of all relevant group memberships (Sue et al., 2016). The following example published in the Huffington Post underscores the complex experiences of intersectionality.

> At 17, when Tamara told her mom of her decision to transition from male to female, she was swiftly kicked out of her home, forced to live on the streets and engage in sex work as a means for survival. Later, she developed an addiction to ecstasy, popping 5–10 a week. That is, in addition to smoking weed and drinking. She says her substance abuse was a coping mechanism to help get her though her harsh reality. Eventually, [Tamara] Williams discovered she was HIV-positive when she was 22 after a stint in rehab for her drug addiction. And in the midst of all this, for three years she was involved in an emotionally and physically abusive relationship with a transgender man, who she says never accepted her for who she was. He wanted someone who physically looked like Rihanna, and she just wanted to be loved. (Rosario, 2015, n.p.)

Viewed from an intersectional perspective, Trans, queer, and gender nonconforming people like Tamara face harassment and discrimination in all facets of their lives, and the combination of anti-trans bias and racism leads trans people of color to experience particularly harmful levels of discrimination. They[1] experienced a profound level of stigma related to their sociocultural identities. On the societal level, they were despised for being black, for being HIV+, and was ostracized in the community for not identifying with their gender and for being a sex worker. On the personal level, their partner was emotionally and physically abusive because Tamara did not reflect the image he desired. In their family, they were cast out for revealing their psychological identity as a woman. This example underscores the multidimensionality of oppression and recognizes that skin color singularly does not account for the enormous discrimination and targeting Tamara experienced. However, it is the overlay of their race that makes total oppressive experience so profound. Discrimination and harassment directed at transgender persons is prevalent in schools, workplaces, systems of policing, prisons, parole and probation, health care, and more.

The above example highlights transgender persons, a group that currently is in vogue for discrimination and oppression. However, it is important to understand that target groups are always shifting, generally based on political, economic, and social forces that are imbued with nuanced and sometimes blatant discriminatory laws and actions that have their greatest impact on persons of color. For example, immigration laws and the designation of who is deserving of citizen status also are racialized and socially constructed. Although the legal history of the U.S. establishes the identification and treatment of persons classified as alien, the current social construction of specific racialized, gendered, class, and other sociocultural-based identities as "illegal alien" is now reified in our public discourse, media and everyday practices of immigration policing and surveillance (Kilty & Vidal de Haymes, 2000).

For example, in its first days, the Trump administration released the wide-ranging Executive order 13769, titled *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States*. The order touches everything from construction of a wall at the US-Mexico border to deportations policy, resettlement program, and a halt to entry from seven majority-Muslim countries (Pierce & Meissner, 2017). Immediately, there were numerous protests and legal challenges concluding with a nationwide temporary restraining order issued on February 3, 2017 and upheld by the United States Court of Appeal. The order was widely criticized by members of society and the judicial system because it was seen as a Muslin ban and because of its human impact on travelers and visa holders (It was revised and reauthorized in early March 2017). More than 700 travelers were detained and up to 60,000 visas were provisionally revoked. The order's focus on immigration, the wall, and the ban clearly demonstrate how historical discriminatory and racist anti-immigration discourse can move to a new level by labeling and targeting socially constructed immigrant groups as "bad" persons.

[1] In our text, we use "they" or "them" or "their' rather than the singular pronoun because this is the pronoun convention currently preferred by members of the transgender community

At the same time, the Trump administration targeted the perceived undesirable criminal immigrant by promising to deport three million undocumented immigrants with criminal records. The concept of criminal records is broadly defined to include traffic violations as a reason to place individuals on deportation status under the Secured Communities program. Donald Trump's presidential campaign popularized an intersectional narrative that vilified all immigrants, specifically targeting Mexicans and Latinas/Latinos, and made little or no distinction between the socially and historically constructed ideal immigrant and undesired immigrants.

Oppression: The Foundation of Intersectional Racism

Oppression, as noted by Yamato (2004), is benign, malevolent, and unequal systemic institutional treatment which reflects dominance by one group over other groups. The dynamic large structural system of the American culture is *grounded* in a particular type of structure, racial oppression, which is the primary intersectional "essence of our individual and/or collective being" (Tourse, 2016, p. 88). Racial oppression intensifies with the intersections of the numerous subsets assigned to each individual person. Racial oppression influences and infiltrates all other societal constructs so that they also are culture laden, thus exacerbating and stimulating further oppressive interactions. Structural constructs, for instance, the economy or education, become more complex when they are the context for discriminatory acts based on prejudices and ideologies such as classism, elitism, homophobia, xenophobia, and so forth. Socially defined subsets, such as gender, ethnicity, religion, and others, elicit discriminatory acts. Consequently, power and its intersection with culture, as well as the colonial and immigration influences of the past and present, reinforce racial oppression.

Power

Oppression symbolizes dominance and power and also is enforced by dominance and power. Focusing on the level of the individual, Pinderhughes (1995) defines power as "the capacity to influence for one's own benefit the forces that affect one's life space and/or…the capacity to produce desired effects on others" (p. 133). Individual power also is reflected in the complex intersectionality that influences one's place in society. This level of power is internal, but represents the collective power that social subsets have on one's internal sense of self. More broadly, power also is having the ability to institute authority and to hold sway within the structural dominions and beliefs that dictate the directions of society (e.g., capitalism, religious ideologies, political ideologies), within the institutional structures of society (e.g., schools, corporations, social agencies, medical facilities) and within the intersection of social subsets (e.g., ethnicity, class, gender). These ideologies, institutions, and cultural constructs are part of the scaffolding that maintains oppressive racial discrimination.

The groups that are more dominant have more power over determining which human values, experiences, and interpretations are valid. Thus, a person can simultaneously experience both power and oppression in varying contexts, at varying times (Collins, 1990). For example, one may be a black college professor with high prestige and power in academia, but be arrested for "driving while black." The focus of intersectionality, therefore, is not just on domination or marginalization, but on the intersecting processes by which power, subordination, and inequality are produced, reproduced, and actively resisted. Intersectionality of power occurs vertically, as well.

Hopps and Pinderhughes (1999) propose five levels that reflect the presence of power in societal and cultural constructions and discuss how power is different on each of these levels. These levels are *individual*—mastery and competence; *interactive*—dominance and subordination; *group and family*—status, leadership, influence, and decision-making; *institutional*—authority; and *societal*—group status and political action. Although each level is singularly significant, power does not remain neatly identified on a given level. The tiers collapse and become intermingled and the transactions of the individual are where power *intersects* and makes meaning in their life and identity, both personally and interpersonally. The levels of power also intermingle within the societal and cultural constructions of America and its varied ethnic cultures.

For whites and people of color, these connecting tiers embed in them the specter of racism, which makes, to a greater or lesser degree, oppressive power a significant and distinct part of their lives. For whites, when interacting on any level with persons of color, their sense of power, as well as the privileges that accrue from that power, often are invisible (McGoldrick, 2008; McIntosh, 2008; Paynter et al., 1994; Shetterly, 2016). In contrast, for persons of color, their sense of power is more tenuous and often elusive (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; McGoldrick, 2008; Shetterly, 2016; Tourse, 2016), making it more difficult for them to make positive meaning and to gain deserved recognition in their lives. This is exemplified in the experience of the following fictional person:

> A young Latina just out of college has gained mastery and competence in her chosen field of nursing. In this program, all students were assigned to a study group for academic sharing, understanding, and support. While in her school study group however, she was shunned (subordinate) when she tried to interact with white classmates. When she did interact with the study group it was clear to her she was unwanted (status) by most in the group and her views were not given merit (influence and decision making). In speaking with her advisor (authority and dominance), who was white, she received little support and was told perhaps she was too sensitive. Upon graduating she received an offer from a local hospital because they needed someone who spoke Spanish (group status), and she was told when conversing with another nurse, that this was the hospital's way of meeting their quota (political action). This young woman did well in school despite the oppressive racial barriers she encountered. Her ability to maneuver through scaffolding infused with power and racist dynamics, and to reach her goal, was because of her perseverance and her family resilience. She still however, faced what lay ahead of her at the hospital where she was hired.

This young woman experienced powerlessness at the individual level as well as the institutional level. The relevant social subsets for her in this situation were race, ethnicity, professional status, and (perhaps) perceived immigration status. These levels of power and their myriad intersections represent the ways in which racial groups can find themselves in the best of circumstances or in the worst conditions. Overt or covert tactics on these levels can represent racial domination or subordination and/or influence.

Cultural Sway

Cultural sway is the intermingled and embedded intersection of power and culture, each of which are comprised of multidimensional elements (Tourse, 2016). For instance, the elements of culture include heritage, mores, and values; and the elements of power include rewards, privilege, status, and coercion. These elements, when connected based on racial and environmental spheres, form the complex institutional and structural societal constructs and social subsets that characterize cultural sway. Cultural sway can be positive or negative based on the multicultural beliefs and attitudes that interface in the societal, cultural, and personal arenas. When the focus is on race and its interface with discriminating social constructs and social subsets, cultural sway is negative.

An incident extracted from the biographical book *Hidden Figures* (Shetterly, 2016) provides an example of cultural sway encountered by the African American protagonist Katherine. Katherine worked at Langley Air Force Base where she computed numbers. She was unceremoniously given the opportunity to work in a different building where engineers did their calculations for space exploration. No one greeted her, she found a desk and seat, was about to speak to her desk mate when he walked away. Her processing of this situation, as reported in the book was as follows:

> Bemused, Katherine considered the engineer's sudden departure. The moment that passed between them could have been because she was black and he was white. But then again, it could have been because she was a woman and he was a man. Or maybe the moment was an interaction between a professional and a sub-professional, an engineer and a girl (p. 123).

Viewed through a cultural lens, this incident depicts several intersectional points and locations that suggest sway. At that time in the 1960s, the Jim Crow culture in Virginia where Langley is located blatantly asserted that whites were dominant and that "negroes" were subordinate. The structural societal power resided in the American cultural understanding that it was whites who were in the position of dominance. The engineer's behavior conveyed to Katherine a lack of respect; it indicated to her that she was invisible to him and that her presence was not welcomed. Katherine's processing of the situation further elucidates how power and culture dynamics were related to gender. In this time and place, it was the cultural norm that men wielded the power and that women were invisible, "thought less than," or spoke

only when spoken to. Katherine also considered whether this incident was based on the implied power differential between the man's position as a professional and her position as a "sub-professional" who had less sway in the culture of the workplace. Each of these processing points were imbued with negative cultural sway and collectively illustrate intersectional discrimination based on race, gender, status, and location that are firmly rooted in the societal and personal dynamics of institutionalized racism. How Katherine made meaning of this situation also speaks to how she located herself within the context of culturally loaded discrimination. Her reflective processing appears to have come from an inner strength that transcended the cultural sway that swirled around her and that intersected three of the social subsets with which she identified. As related in the book, her inner strength also helped her transcend the social structures such as economics, education, and housing locations in which she grew up and now had to reside. Despite apparent racial progress in American society, what Katherine encountered over 40 years ago still occurs today for persons of color as they maneuver contemporary American structural and cultural systems -- perhaps just not as blatant.

The connection of American race-based culture with the power it wields produces a negative "cultural sway" (see Tourse, 2016) that invades the personal identity and structural systems of individuals and groups. The oppression experienced by multiple groups suggests that multiple systems of inequality and their intersections need to be addressed (Chavis & Hill, 2009). The United States is a country of immigrants and therefore a country with multiple cultural intersections which often are dismissed, misunderstood, and/or devalued. When such cultural intersections are noticed, the cultural identities that are different from the "normal" white culture tend to be viewed as "added-on" (Chavis & Hill, 2009, p. 123) features that interface with the mainstream American culture—a culture trying to maintain the status quo through power and control exerted by the historically dominant group.

Colonization, Immigration, and Intersectionality

Intersectionality is an important concept for understanding the oppression experienced by national and cultural groups impacted by colonization and immigration. These cultural identities easily become invisible in the broader U.S. society. Immigrants often are assigned an identity that corresponds to one of the four core groups, particularly black, Chinese, or Mexican.

The intersection of immigration, transnationalism and capitalism determine the experiences of many individuals from other countries and territories. Colonialism, the policy of acquiring full or partial control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically, resulted in colonial settlers changing the character and society of those in the dominated nation or territory. Colonies of the United States always were influenced by interference in economic policy. The political and hierarchical power structures were dominated almost exclusively by a small number of aristocratic families. This largely urban oligarchy tended to be

white or light-skinned and valued its purported racial purity; these aristocrats intermarried and held tightly to their elite status (Hamilton-Mason, 2014). The colonial government was controlled by a small group of people that also controlled the economy, education, and health systems. These are factors that pushed waves of poor and middle-class families to migrate. When they arrived in the U.S., the social subset of race, as it is defined in this country, became part of a new identity for them. For example, although Haitians have a distinct ethnic, cultural linguistic heritage, their particular heritage tends to be invisible to whites in the U.S. who view them in terms of the four core groups. Because their most prominent and noticeable characteristic is their blackness, Haitians are identified as and treated as members of the "black" Core Group in the U.S. regardless of whatever status position they held in Haiti.

Postcolonial theory provides a lens through which to understand identity, gender, race, racism, "color," and ethnicity. More specifically, it underscores how knowledge of the world is generated under specific relations between those who have power and those who do not (Fanon, 1967). Franz Fanon analyzed the nature of colonialism and those subjugated by it. He describes colonialism as a source of violence rather than a violent reaction against resistors, which had been the common narrative (Fanon, 1963). He, in fact, was among the first to discuss the evolution of microagression and internalized oppression. Fanon (1967) asserts that an integral part of colonialism is the de-valorization of the history and culture of colonized people, that this leads to their negative self-perception and self-portrayal, and that the colonial process promotes a sense of inferiority among the colonized. A postcolonial analysis simultaneously accounts for the current and historical repercussions of oppressive forces, including sexism, racism, homophobia, and classism (Almeida, Dolan-Del Vecchio, & Parker, 2007). Such an analysis allows us to consistently attend to the diversity of backgrounds, including a community's experience of oppression and privilege, as a fundamental part of the liberation endeavor (Almeida et al., 2007, pp. 176–177).

Summary

The genesis of thought on intersectionality began in the 1990s. As noted by Crenshaw (2015), this pointing out of how race and gender are connected had a profound influence on people of color, particularly blacks. The theoretical concept of intersectionality became a way, over time, for connecting various ideas and interpretations; as well as a way of viewing life events related to multiple social identities (see for example, Chavis & Hill, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991; Doná, 2012; Shetterly, 2016; Tomlinson, 2013; Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012). It explicated the inequity in individual and familial place and status resulting from oppression and privilege that are common forces in the organizations and institutions of the United States.

Intersectional inequality is viewed most often through the lens of major social constructs (e.g., family, education, the economy) and the many social subsets (such as gender, class, ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation). These constructs and subsets reflect "an integration of shared but also variant intersections" (Tourse, 2016, p. 88) of heritages, mores, values, social and family traditions, and social norms and beliefs. The inequality of these intersections based on status and place then are transformed into biases such as classism, homophobia, xenophobia, and religious intolerance (see Fig. 6.1). These oppressive disparities become more complex and the intersections more profound when the construction of racism (which is rooted in the developmental history of the U.S.) infiltrates, overlaps, and dominates how oppression and privilege function and dictate the attitudes, behaviors and social directions that prevail in the United States.

Cultural constructs and social subsets have been absorbed into American society through colonialism, capitalism, class structure, legal structures, distribution of privileges and benefits, and prevailing intellectual thought and scientific theories. These are the rungs that form its racial scaffold (see Chap. 1). These rungs help to maintain the status quo and perpetuate the presence of racism as the principal construct by which America operates. The infused presence of intersectionality in these rungs promotes ongoing injustice and inequality and is cultivated further by the construct of racism.

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Chapter 8
Racism and Social Justice

> Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects me directly, affects all indirectly.
>
> Martin Luther King, 16, April 1963 *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*

Racism and social justice are inextricably linked in the U.S. Both are social constructions embedded in the development and function of this country. Yet, both also illuminate moral and legal inconsistencies in the development of the country's social structures and institutions. For example, the first ten amendments of the United States Constitution—the *Bill of Rights* (December 15, 1791)—spell out the various freedoms of the citizenry of the country. These include freedom of speech, religion, assembly, press, and so forth. However, at the time that these "Rights" were ratified, it was understood that they applied to only a segment of the total population. That is, they were granted to those of European ancestry, particularly White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and did not extend to persons viewed as "other." Thus, the four core groups focused on in this book: First Nation Peoples, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese, were not granted these rights. In fact, as social structures and institutions were developed in this new country, members of these four core groups were viewed as subordinate and "other" and laws and practices were instituted to maintain their status as subordinate and "alien." These societal structures and practices were based on racial ideology and this laid the foundation for broad institutionalized racism directed at all non-white groups in the United States. The differential treatment of those with privilege and rights and those viewed as "other" became manifest through racial scaffolding that supported and strengthened oppression by means of exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. This scaffolding promoted the construction of systems and structures that benefited whites and that still persist in contemporary times. In sum, the United States established a society which was morally and socially fair for whites, but this fairness was not extended to persons of color.

Movement toward justice requires challenge to the status quo by those who are oppressed. The authors' standpoint, consistent with Martin Luther King's quote at the beginning of this chapter, is that dominant and subordinate groups have a critical

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role to play in dismantling systemic racial scaffolding and in visioning a more socially just future. We recognize that social inequalities are driven by race. Thus, although the United States has seen some movement toward equal justice for all (e.g., treaties, abolitionist movement, the Civil War, The Civil Rights movement, American Indian Movement), this forward movement has always been impeded by the entrenched racial scaffolding that supports maintenance of the status quo (e.g., broken treaties, Jim Crow laws, Chinese immigration laws). As change toward justice occurs, it always is met with counter-resistance. Throughout history it can be seen that those who hold the power in a society do not freely relinquish their power—they resist. Thus, although amelioration of the racialized U.S. society has been occurring gradually for over 450 years, racial social parity is still elusive—the scaffolding remains in place. It morphs and adapts to the societal changes that occur.

Social Justice Defined

Social justice is a societal value based on the concepts of human rights and egalitarianism. From antiquity to contemporary times, elements of social justice have been part of the philosophical and religious discourse (e.g., Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Rawls). For example, according to Bhandari (1998), justice is, for Plato:

> at once a part of human virtue and the bond which joins man together in society. … Justice is an order and duty of the parts of the soul, it is to the soul as health is to the body. … Justice is not the right of the stronger but the effective harmony of the whole. All moral conceptions revolve about the good of the whole—individual as well as social. (p. 4)

Luigi Taparelli, a Jesuit priest, is credited with the origination of the term *social justice* in the 1840s (Burke, 2010). Since the time of the 1848 Italian revolutions, the term has been used to underscore the need for fair and just thought and action. In more recent times, John Rawls (2001) has scrutinized and studied the theoretical and philosophical beliefs about justice. His seminal work, *A Theory of Justice* (1971), elucidates a comprehensive conception of justice as fairness, which encapsulates what is considered important in human life, as well as the principles of personal virtue and character. The evolution in Rawls' thinking led to the distinction between (1) a comprehensive moral theory that addresses problems of justice and (2) the political conception of justice that is independent of any comprehensive theory (Vaggalis, 2017). The moral theory addresses the fairness of justice (equal fundamental freedoms and privileges) envisioned in a democratic society; and, the political conception analyzes justice from a political standpoint (e.g., respect for freedom of speech and assembly). This clarification in thinking was the substance of his second book *Political Liberalism* (see Rawls, 2005). He continued, in the twilight of his years, to refine his thinking on the concept of fairness and justice.

Social justice is essential for offsetting the various tangible and intangible systems that impact and influence our lives. Bell (1997) offers a contemporary vision of a just society. She states, "it is one in which the distribution of resources is equi-

table and all members of society [including the four core groups] are physically and psychologically safe and secure" (p. 3). The authors envision a society in which individuals are self-determining (able to develop their full capabilities) and interdependent (capable of interacting democratically with others).

Human Rights Perspective

Human rights are an overarching principle of social justice that provide a context for understanding specific types and manifestations of social justice. A human rights perspective provides an organizing framework for understanding how justice and injustice are conceptualized internationally and helps to focus our examination of social justice issues in the United States. From the perspective of human rights, social justice encompasses fulfillment of basic human needs and equitable sharing of material resources (United Nations, 1992, p. 16). Human rights are seen as essential in our nature and without them we could not live as human beings because they are integral to a life with dignity and respect. Basic rights include the protection of freedom, certainty of social justice, and assurance of social and international order needed to realize our rights and freedoms.

Since 1948, the United Nations has established a number of policies that support global and local human rights of peoples who have suffered various forms of oppression (Chang-Muy, 2009). Focus on these groups began with the International Declaration of Human Rights (adopted 1948) and continued with the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (adopted 1965), the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (adopted 1966), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted 1966), the Convention on all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (adopted 1979), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (adopted 1989). The evolution of these policies illustrates the social construction of attention to social injustice for varied groups or populations internationally and in the United States. These policies are nonbinding. However, they contribute to the external pressure and discourse for social change initiatives, thereby influencing societal interpretations of equality.

Racism in the U.S. has been internationally recognized as a pervasive human rights violation. In 2016, a United Nations' affiliated group based in Geneva, Switzerland, argued that the history of slavery in the United States justifies reparations for African Americans. The panel's recommendations, which are nonbinding, were made after a fact-finding mission in the United States in January 2016. The group of experts, which included leading human rights lawyers from around the world, presented its findings to the United Nations Human Rights Council, underscoring the persistent link between current injustices and the dark chapters of American history. Citing the prior year's incidents of police officers killing unarmed African American men, the panel warned against "impunity for state violence," which has created, in its words, a "human rights crisis" that "must be addressed as

a matter of urgency" (Tharoor, 2016, np). Tharoor wrote the following account of this meeting:

> In particular, the legacy of colonial history, enslavement, racial subordination and segregation, racial terrorism and racial inequality in the United States remains a serious challenge, as there has been no real commitment to reparations and to truth and reconciliation for people of African descent, the report stated. Contemporary police killings and the trauma that they create are reminiscent of the past racial terror of lynching. (2016, np).

Racism continues to be an enduring contradiction within the United States that the international community and the United Nations deem unjust. The high prevalence of violence against black males is being increasingly reported in the press. In December 2015, Kindy, Fisher, Tate, and Jenkins stated the following in a Washington Post article:

> Race remains the most volatile flash point in any accounting of police shootings. Although Black men make up only 6% of the U.S. population, they account for the 40% of unarmed men shot to death by police this year. (2015, np)

Consistent with this article, Wesley Lowery (2016) reported that an academic study found that police fatally shoot unarmed black males at disproportionate rates.

Social Justice and Racial Disparity

Social justice is an ideal condition in which all members of society have the same basic rights, protections, opportunities, obligations, and social benefits. Racism infiltrates all justice perspectives meting out injustice in the face of justice. The social construction of racism is based on the lack of fair treatment of the "other"—any person that is not white. For the purposes of this book, we focus on social justice as conceptualized by Jost and Kay (2010) who address prescriptive notions of social justice components. Their focus on social justice is particularly relevant for understanding racial disparities that result from systemic racism in the United States. Jost and Kay provide a comprehensive definition of social justice as a state of affairs that is comprised of three components: distributive, procedural, and interactional justice.

Distributive Justice

Distributive justice addresses how societal benefits and encumbrances are meted out vis-à-vis an approximate allocation principle or a lack of principle. This form of social justice was illustrated in great detail in Chap. 6. It has to do with the fair allocation of goods and services, as well as the distribution of opportunities, power, and respected social statuses in the society. Some of the policies and programs aimed at ensuring distributive justice include social security, the minimum wage,

affirmative action, free public education, and buildings designed for universal access. The principle of "separate but equal" was a social strategy that had the appearance of supporting distributive justice, but actually thwarted social justice because resources were not distributed equally to white schools and to Negro schools. As we already have discussed, whites have a privileged status in the U.S. and this promotes distributive injustice as evidenced by ongoing racial disparities. Thus, the U.S. continues to be a country in which the average white person is perpetually better off than the average person of color in terms of income, wealth, housing, education, employment, and health.

Procedural Justice

Procedural justice has to do with fairness in how people in the society resolve differences, conflicts, and grievances. It consists of rules, processes, and norms that regulate governmental as well as other forms of policymaking that preserve the fundamental rights, liberties, and entitlements of people—individually or collectively. In other words, it is about whether the same rules, procedures, and standards are applied fairly regardless of a person's station in life and particularly, based on the focus of this book—race. The most obvious violations of the principles of procedural justice occur in the criminal justice system. There is considerable evidence that whites and persons of color are treated differently in terms of apprehensions, arrests, bookings, charges brought, and sentencing (see Alexander, 2012; The Sentencing Project, 2013). Because of the inequities in procedural justice, it is common knowledge that communities of color have to develop behavioral norms that are protective against such violations. For example, it is common in black families that young black males are taught by their elders that when stopped by a law enforcement official to not make any quick movements, to keep their hands visible and away from their body, and always to speak in a polite and respectful manner.

Interactional Justice

Interactional justice relates to the fair, humane, dignified, and respectful treatment of people by authorities and other pertinent societal players, as well as the common man. It has to do with the everyday lived experiences between people in society. Interactional *injustice* with respect to race occurs when racial slurs and overtly racist behavior are directed at persons of color. It also occurs in more subtle ways such as slights, coded language, and micro-aggressions. Violations of interactional justice are what can lead persons of color to self-segregate in overwhelmingly white formal and informal organizations and groups or to avoid them entirely. There is some evidence that this type of injustice can lead to high turnover in some employment settings (Muzumdar, 2012).

In summary, these three types of justice are supported by a complex system of laws, common practices, and social structures that have evolved over time and that limit the extent to which persons of color experience freedom and equity in the United States. Since the dawn of this nation, power and resources have overwhelmingly remained in the hands of whites. First Nation Peoples were used as exploited allies or were enslaved in the founding of the U.S. Africans were brought to America as slaves, Mexican lands were invaded and traded, and Chinese were used as cheap labor. Although the systems supporting injustice evolved over time, the distribution of power has always been skewed to benefit those of European ancestry. This skewed distribution between Europeans and the core groups has served continuously to marginalize and oppress all people of color. Despite the apparent progress toward greater social justice as a result of the *Emancipation Proclamation*, justice continued to elude the core groups after the Civil War. Injustice was solidified in the Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896) decision which upheld state racial segregation laws under the doctrine of "separate but equal." This decision gave rise to Jim Crow laws that defined *distributive, procedural,* and *interactional* norms that galvanized injustice rather than justice. This inflexible system of laws that thwarted justice was kept in place until the Brown vs. Board of Education (1954) decision provided an entre to greater justice. Brown vs. Board was the antecedent to the civil rights movement, and other activist initiatives as well as laws toward justice, e.g., the voting rights laws; the women's, the American Indian, and the LGBTQ movements; Japanese reparations; and Title IX. This combination of events in history represents how the three forms of justice work together and are continually constrained by elements of the racial scaffolding in the United States.

Distributive, procedural, and interactional injustice are evident in the rungs and poles of the scaffolding (see Fig. 1.1) that hold the U.S. systems in place. The poles maintain racial inequities in the society. The poles—cultural imperialism, marginalization, powerlessness, exploitation, and violence—are specifically directed at maintaining racial inequality. The rungs of the scaffolding are elements of society aimed indirectly at supporting racial inequality, and act as a catalyst in the institutionalization of racism. These rungs—colonialism, capitalism, class structure, legal structures, distribution of privileges and benefits, and intellectual thought and scientific theories—incorporate the norms and practices that are entrenched in the society at large.

Core Groups Related to Recent Immigrants

Core Groups and Social Justice

Entrenched racism in the U.S. impacts the four core groups—First Nation Peoples, Africans, Mexicans, and Chinese—because of the uneven application of social justice. All three forms of social injustice—distributive, procedural, and interactional—drive the inequalities and disadvantages experienced by these racial groups relative to whites.

Poverty provides a profound example of distributive injustice that illuminates the enduring consequences of systemic racism interacting with factors influencing scaffolding. As we have described in detail in Chap. 6, persons of color are more likely than whites to live in poverty. While 11.6% of White Americans live in poverty, 25.8% of black Americans, 23.2% of Latino Americans, and 27% of Indigenous/First Nation people and Alaska Natives live in poverty (Macartney, Bishaw, & Fontenot, 2013). Chinese, however, have a different pattern of poverty. Among the Chinese, the high rate of poverty is within the subgroup of Chinese who are immigrants. Chinese immigrants, on average, tend to have higher incomes compared to the total foreign-born population and compared to the native-born population. However, using average income to compare Chinese with other groups masks the fact that there is a 19% rate of poverty among Chinese immigrants which is comparable to the poverty rate for all immigrants and slightly higher than the 15% poverty rate in the native-born population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

Members of the Core groups are more likely to live in areas of concentrated poverty. Such concentration exacerbates the effects of poverty and limits their opportunities to improve their financial circumstances. However, the Chinese differ from the other core groups in part because of their success in carving out a special place in the urban economy such that they control local businesses that are reinforced by discrimination and other segregating forces. For Chinese immigrants, these segregated communities provide the economic and cultural stability that serve as a springboard to upward mobility. Although the other core groups also have made similar efforts to establish economic self-sufficiency, they have been met with much stronger resistance from components of the racial scaffolding. For example, at various points in the past, blacks have developed thriving local economies, but these communities were eradicated through targeted violence by whites (see for example the Oklahoma Commission, 2001). Similarly, the thriving communities of First Nation Peoples were eradicated by white colonists through violence and massacres.

From this country's inception, there have been laws and institutions designed to establish procedural justice. However, their application has been uneven with respect to race with the result that whites maintain privileged status while others are marginalized. Procedural and interactional injustice supported by racial scaffolding is exemplified in the case of Wen Ho Lee.

> The New York Times published an article alleging that Wen Ho Lee was a spy at Los Alamos National Laboratory and had given U.S. nuclear secrets to China (Risen & Gerth, 1999). According to many press accounts the story reverberated on Capitol Hill, where Republican leaders focused on blaming the Clinton administration for ignoring a new cold war. The unnamed spy was described as "Chinese-American" and later identified as Wen Ho Lee. During the months that followed, no charges were brought. Agents from the FBI descended on Los Alamos, New Mexico, to prove what had become accepted fact among members of Congress and the public; that Wen Ho Lee had betrayed the country of which he was a naturalized citizen. Ultimately, he lost his job at Los Alamos and spent nearly a year in jail as a result of the government's suspicions, 58 of 59 felony charges against Lee were eventually dropped and he was released. The amount of personal and professional damage he endured as a result of the false allegations highlights the vulnerability that Chinese face as a result of this country's extreme fear and bias that remains toward this core group.

This case summary leads to another discussion of Lee. The following excerpt from an article in the Washington Post (Farhi, 2006) further illustrates how scaffolding and injustice intersect to maintain the status quo. When violations of justice in the form of systemic racism were made visible, the institutional systems used remunerations to protect themselves from complete disclosure and to hide the breeches of justice. Thus, the systems closed rank and scaffolding structures operated to preserve the status quo.

> Wen Ho Lee, the U.S. nuclear scientist once identified in news reports as the target of a spying investigation, will receive more than $1.6 million from the federal government and five media organizations, including The Washington Post, to settle allegations that government leaks violated his privacy…The United States will pay Lee $895,000 to drop his lawsuit, filed in 1999, which alleged that officials in the Clinton administration had disclosed to the news media that he was under investigation for spying for China while working at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico. In addition, the news organizations agreed to pay Lee $750,000. The major media, which included The Post, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, ABC News and the Associated Press, had been sued by Lee and none of their reporting was directly challenged. But all five agreed to the payment out of concern that their reporters would have to give Lee the names of their government sources, as courts had ordered (*n.p.).*

Members of all the core groups report experiencing interactional injustice in their daily lives. Due to the perception that Chinese persons are viewed as the model minority, their experiences with discrimination are not always reported in the media. Findings from a Pew (2012) research survey of Chinese Americans illuminate this group's experience of interactional injustice. This survey of Asian Americans asked questions about discrimination against their country of origin group (such as Chinese American, Filipino American, and so forth) as well as questions about personal experience with discrimination. Sixteen percent of Chinese American respondents said that discrimination against their country of origin group was a major problem, 48% said it was a minor problem, and 24% said discrimination was not a problem (Pew, 2012). Helen Zia, a Chinese American civil rights activist, states that suspicions of her community go beyond disloyalty. "From the beginnings of Chinese people being in the United States (in the nineteenth century), they were perceived as alien invaders that were here to take away everything we love about America" (Lipin, 2014).

Immigration

Race also is an important factor in the extent to which immigrants experience social injustice in the U.S. When new immigrants come into the country, they find themselves entering a nation that has an entrenched system of institutionalized scaffolding based on the social construction of race and the relative privilege of whites. As a result, new arrivals are assigned to various racial categories, as defined in U.S. society, and they find themselves treated in accordance with those designations. They, in turn, are forced to adapt to these assigned identities as they adjust to a new

country and become part of the U.S. population. Immigrants assigned to one of the core groups (First Nation/Indigenous Peoples, African, Mexican, and Chinese) become linked to histories that then are used to target them systemically and individually. Because of their racialized status and the scaffolding that supports entrenched racism in the United States, they are unable to escape from being the targets of oppression. The biological differences that exist between people of different racial groups, are less important than differences that are socially constructed. These socially constructed differences produce and perpetuate the unequal distribution of power and privilege. Viewing the processes in our own society that produce the social dimensions of racial difference underscores the way our society grapples with how to distribute wealth, power, and opportunities (Hamilton-Mason, 2001).

Procedural and interactional injustice experienced by the four core groups also extends to additional groups who are perceived as "other." For example, the intensified surveillance that followed 9/11 subjected individuals of Muslim descent to extreme scrutiny. Individuals who considered themselves to be upstanding citizens feared that making donations to their local mosque or that being singled out in an airport security line would cause them to be labeled as members of the Taliban or Al Qaeda (Benjamin, 2010). Across the United States, for Muslims who lived through 9/11, it became a top priority to establish their identity and be recognized as separate from terrorist extremists. In Pakistani and other South Asian communities in New York City, such as Midwood, the FBI went door-to-door invading people's homes, sparking fear in its residents (Tung, 2011). This fear that compelled people to stay in their homes led to a drop in Pakistani business. In September 2002, the Department of Homeland Security launched a system called NSEER (National Security Entry-Exist Registration System), which forced non-native male citizens over the age of 16 from 25 countries to register. Along with registering, these men were forced to submit fingerprints, photographs, and were subjected to lengthy interrogations. Eighty thousand men underwent this registration and thousands were subject to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention and interrogation (Tung, 2011).

By 2017, a number of anti-immigration policies had been introduced at the national, state, and local levels. Such policies created a hostile environment that stigmatized both foreign-born residents and U.S.-born residents along racial and ethnic lines. These factors were countered by Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) (Homeland Security, 2012), one of the most salient recent immigration policies to support immigrants. This policy, signed in 2012 during the Obama administration, gave "protected status" to immigrants who had arrived in the U.S. before age 16. DACA allowed them to remain in the U.S., work, obtain a driver's license, and study. More than 750,000 individuals registered and were vetted. DACA, however, did not offer them a pathway to citizenship. It just meant they would not be deported. During his presidential campaign, Donald J. Trump called DACA "illegal" and a violation of the constitution.

After Trump became president, many young people protected under DACA became fearful that they would be rounded up and deported. To support and protect these DACA students, 33 institutions of higher education nationwide declared

themselves to be "sanctuary campuses" (Sanchez, 2017, np). Some universities, such as the University of Pennsylvania, even had a history of enrolling undocumented students since before DACA. The case of Maria illustrates the conflicted feelings that such students have about their country of origin:

> Maria, 21, is one of them. She is a student at the University of Pennsylvania. Born in Mexico, Romero grew up in southern Texas. She was 9 years of age when her father had lost his job as a supervisor at a factory…. It shut down. They stayed in Texas. The children did not know what was going on until former President Obama signed the executive order DACA. I remember my sister and I didn't want to stay in San Antonio. My friends were all back in [Mexico]. (Sanchez, 2017, np)

DACA is widely endorsed by the American public as a policy that supports fairness and social justice. In a 2017 poll, Americans opposed an effort to repeal the DACA program for DREAMers by a greater than 2:1 margin, 58–28% (Pew Research, 2017). DACA is an example of a decision made by a single authority, former President Obama in 2012, to achieve a fair and just policy for youth brought to the U.S. as children. However, the strength of the rungs and poles of the racial scaffolding in American society, as well as the lack of checks and balances among the branches of the government, make this policy very vulnerable to being overturned, despite its support by a majority of the American people.

Intersectionality: Justice vs. Injustice

Mattaini (2001) notes that "… society [does not have] a strong history of treating all, especially those who are different [racially and ethnically] than ourselves (or who we feel compelled to see as different for our own comfort), with respect" (p. 18). This statement addresses the constructs of racism and intersectionality from the perspective of interactional justice. However, the issue of social justice with respect to race and intersectionality is much broader than that. Intersectionality also impacts distributive and procedural justice. However, the status quo that supports white male privilege leaves a blind spot to the structural and systemic disparities and injustices that prevail based on the overarching presence of race and the intersection of one's location(s) in various social subsets. Because people live in several socially defined locations, they experience the cumulative impact of race related justice or injustice as it intersects with other subset locations in their lives, such as gender, class, sexual orientation, and wellness (Young, 2013). These intersections are socially constructed realities and are so dynamic, forceful, and internalized that they have been accepted historically and are rarely if ever recognized as such. Johnson (2013) gives a poignant historical example of how race, social construction, as well as societal and structural norms intersect with the institutional and structural levels in America.

> In the 19th century …. U.S. law identified those having *any* African ancestry as black, a standard known as the "one-drop rule," which defined "white" as a state of absolute purity

> in relation to "black." Native American status, in contrast, required a *least* one-eighth Native American ancestry in order to qualify. Why the different standards? …. Native Americans could claim financial benefits from the federal government, making it to whites' advantage to make it hard for anyone to be considered Native American. Designating someone as black, however, took away power and denied the right to make claims against whites including white families of origin (p. 16).

Laws were enacted that supported these social constructions. These laws demonstrated how much control such structural and institutional connections had and how structural elements of the society were entwined with the identity of racial groups and the social subsets that helped to form their personal identities. How they were treated by the government had nothing to do with how First Nation individuals or Africans perceived or presented themselves. The federal laws identified dichotomous groups based on values and norms that benefitted and gave privileges to whites. This racial bigotry resulted in the insidious physical locations that were forced on these groups by local, state, and federal governments. There is this notion of "fairness" derived from values and norms of white supremacy that continues today. The racial categorizations of African Americans and First Nation Peoples are socially constructed realities and are so dynamic, forceful, and internalized that they have been accepted historically and are rarely if ever recognized as a manifestation of racism.

Oppression and social injustice are exemplified further in the intersection of race and gender for persons known as "two-spirits" in First Nation communities. Anguksuar, as cited in Balsam, Huang, Fieland, Simoni and Walters (2004), documents that "two-spirit is a relatively recent term, adopted in 1990 from the Northern Algonquin word *niizh manitoag*, meaning 'two-spirits'; it is meant to signify the embodiment of both feminine and masculine spirits within one person" (p. 127). This pan-Indian term is used contemporarily to connote diverse gender and sexual identities among First Nation and Indigenous people. Traditional indigenous values often included respect for sexual and gender diversity, and many two-spirit persons had sacred and ceremonial roles in their communities. Colonization and its imposition of compulsory Christian values and beliefs suppressed the acknowledgement and valuing of two-spirit persons in many Native communities (Balsam, Huang, Fieland, Simoni & Walters, 2004).

An intersectional analysis of violence reveals that Two-Spirit people may experience targeted violence because of a combination of racism, homophobia, transphobia and sexism, depending on their individual gender and sexual identity. Lehavot, Walters, and Simoni (2009) report that nearly one-third of LGBT Natives (29.4%) reported experiencing hate violence. Research with Native lesbian, bisexual, and Two-Spirit women reveals high prevalence of both sexual (85%) and physical (78%) assault (Lehavot, Walters, and Simoni, 2009). This is illustrated in the following case.

> On June 17, 2001, *Fred Martinez Jr.*, an openly two-spirit Navajo youth, was bludgeoned to death by a White male in Cortez, Colorado. Navajo locals claimed this was another

> example of over three decades of race-motivated homicidal hate crimes in which Navajo youths are targeted to be murdered as a rite of passage for White youths (Norrell, 2001).

> Martinez was Navajo and described himself as "two-spirited," a Native American term describing those who engender a male spirit and a female spirit. He was last seen the night of June 16, 2001, when he went to a Rodeo. Based on what officials pieced together, Martinez first met 18-year-old Farmington resident Shaun Murphy at a party on the night of the rodeo. Later, Murphy and a friend gave Martinez a ride as they were headed to a friend's apartment. The men dropped off Martinez before they reached the apartment, but later that night, Murphy and Martinez met again. Murphy pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and was sentenced to 40 years in jail. According to an anonymous tip, Murphy had bragged that he had "beat up a fag" that night (Cowan, 2011).

Such examples of violence directed at LGBTQ persons are all too common. When intersectionality is also a factor, that violence can be particularly brutal because it draws on more than one deep-seated fear/hate on the part of the perpetrator. Such was the case with Martinez. Because he was a member of two social subsets that are the target of discrimination and violence, he was particularly vulnerable to extreme acts of interactional injustice.

Summary

The discourse on distributive, procedural, and interactional justice has focused on fairness and equity. Many persons of color in America, however, do not experience justice, but, in fact, experience the opposite. Racism that permeates the fabric of the country prevents racial equality from being realized. Distributive, procedural, and interactional justice are inextricably linked and the lack of justice that predominates in this country's structures have been illustrated in actions throughout United States history.

Despite the long history of injustice for persons of color in the United States, there is reason to look toward the future with some hope. One ray of hope comes from State Senator Hank Sanders (2017) of Alabama who writes a monthly letter to his constituents entitled Senate Sketches. In his Senate Sketch, Number 1556, he addressed the need for social justice by reflecting on important events that speak to the moral arch of this country's history: The Constitution, the abolition movement, the civil rights movement, the American Indian movement, and Japanese reparations. He emphasized the words of Dr. Martin Luther King in his Selma-to-Montgomery March speech: "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice." This statement conveys a sense of hope about the future. It also implies that the battle for justice will extend over many years with periods of progress and periods of backsliding because bending the arc requires overcoming centuries of injustices for people of color. This is a daunting task but steps continue to be taken in this effort. It does not appear that the American people are willing to give up in their quest for "justice for all." The scaffolding that supports injustice remains, but steps continue to be taken toward realizing a socially just society.

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Chapter 9
Deconstruction of Racism

> Whiteness has privilege and power connected to it, no matter how poor you are. Of course the paradox is that even though whiteness is not real it is still true. I mean true as a force to be reckoned with. It is true because it has the power to make us believe it is real and to punish those who doubt its magic. Whiteness is slick and endlessly inventive. It is most effective when it makes itself invisible, when it appears neutral, human, American.
>
> Michael Eric Dyson, *Tears We Cannot Stop: A Sermon to White America*, 2017

> No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.
>
> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 1995

The struggle for social justice has been a force in the world for centuries. In the United States, that struggle often has focused on racism and issues of racial inequality. Throughout this book we have highlighted some of the major concepts that help to explain the persistence and pervasiveness of institutionalized racism in American society. These concepts include *social construction, oppression, institutional web, intersectionality, privilege, and the scaffolding* that maintains racial inequality and injustice. In this chapter, we describe and analyze two contemporary activist movements to illustrate the major concepts presented in this book and use them to deconstruct the elements of the scaffolding that support the ongoing operation of racism in the U.S. The authors' rationale for spotlighting these movements is consistent with our desire to illustrate grassroots or bottom up examples of anti-racism change. We also review models and movements that help explicate the synergy of activist movements throughout the history of this country. The dynamic activist movements and struggles worldwide demonstrate how inevitably the present is filtered through the past. Finally, we conclude with what all this portends for the future.

R. W. C. Tourse et al., *Systemic Racism in the United States*,
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Major Concepts

The major concepts presented in this book help to provide a comprehensive understanding of the depth, breadth, and persistence of racism in American society. Here we provide a brief review of these concepts and indicate where in the book they are first introduced. However, it should be noted that these concepts are discussed, directly and indirectly, throughout the book.

Social construction (see Chap. 1) of race is the creation of a social category based on subjective social cues derived from historical experience that then become legitimized and are believed to be objective reality. It is a foundational concept for understanding racism. When social constructions are linked to implicit biases that are unconscious thoughts and attitudes, they affect one's perception of reality. In the larger society, the dominant culture writes the narrative that defines the societal definition of reality. Because of the inherent biases in this "reality," this can result in misconceptions and misinterpretations, incomplete definitions of social problems, blaming the victim, and denying the experiences of the oppressed.

Oppression (see Chap. 1) is the long term, systematic, and institutionalized holding down of a segment of the human race. It is the opposite of equality, which is the cornerstone of justice in society. Oppression is the act of withholding from a person or group that which other people are able to have freely, thus marginalizing them by depriving them of the full measure of human rights, dignity, and equal opportunity. Oppression underpins all forms of discrimination. In the United States, racism is the most pronounced form of discrimination and oppression.

The institutional web (see Chap. 1) is the interlocking matrix of all the institutional sectors in the society that both influence and are influenced by each other with the effect that racism becomes very entrenched. It is based on oppressive behavior woven into the very infrastructures that maintain the integrity and continuity of this country. This systemic function is grounded in disempowerment. It involves vigorous attempts to maintain the status quo based on centuries of imbalance between the dominant group (whites) and the nondominant groups in America. Institutional sectors are structural systems, such as the governmental, educational, and health care systems, that influence each other and that, both alone and in combination, perpetuate racial oppression and differential outcomes by race.

Intersectionality (see Chap. 7) is the combination of multiple social identity subsets that denote one's identity in the society, for example, race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality, geography, age, ability, migration status, and religion. These social subsets reinforce the psychological self. Inequities do not result from the social devaluing of identity factors in isolation, but rather from the intersections of different parts of an individual's identity, power relations, and experience. Because America has a racialized culture in which non-white individuals are seen automatically as "the other," racial issues exacerbate the intersectional experiences of a person. Racial discrimination, therefore, becomes an overlay on other identity subsets. Racism further heightens and complicates institutional intersections on all levels. Interactional injustice becomes a profound dynamic in any person's or group's existence.

Privilege (see Chap. 2) is unearned advantage. It gives power that is often oppressive, ensuring advantages and benefits for some and minimizing advantages and benefits for others (Rothenberg, 2004). An individual with privilege has unearned benefits/entitlements because of having an identity that society considers desirable and that society reinforces as dominant through oppression. Privilege and oppression are well-maintained social systems that are reinforced by binary and normative hierarchies that categorize certain identities as superior (privileged) and their supposed opposites as inferior (oppressed) (e.g., male and female; straight and queer; cisgender and transgender). Privileges are the day-to-day interface and transactions with individuals and society that help people experience themselves in the center of their universe (Swigonski, 1999). At this core lies power, resources, and money, and simultaneously a sense of worth, value, and ability. Intentional or unintentional segregation from this center of the social structure relegates some individuals to the margins, who then have less access to social, political, economic, and additional resources.

Scaffolding (see Chap. 1) is the infrastructure of sociopolitical systems and tactics in the society that support and sustain racism. These elements are reinforced by the social construction of race and lead to mistreatment, degradation, marginalization, cultural domination, and brutality. This scaffolding is supported by exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. The rungs that strengthen the scaffolding (colonialism, capitalism, class structure, legal structures, the distribution of privileges and benefits, and prevailing intellectual thought and scientific theories) adapt and morph as the legal, social, economic, technological, and moral environment of the country changes. This scaffolding is blind to issues of equity and social justice and, thus, becomes the target of acts of resistance. As long as a race-structured society exists, resistance efforts will spontaneously emerge and individuals, groups, and movements will continually take actions intended to promote racial equity and racial justice.

Contemporary Examples of Resistance to Racism

Resistance movements develop from the grassroots level in reaction to how racial scaffolding is impacting the lives of individuals and groups in society. Resistance efforts reveal the force and strength of the scaffolding because they highlight the status quo as an interlocking societal system that supports the racial power differential and ongoing racial inequality. Throughout history, resistance movements have arisen as grassroots and collective efforts of oppressed people to combat the force and strength of racial scaffolding. In the following two examples of contemporary resistance movements, we examine their relationship to the elements of racial scaffolding in the United States. We begin with Black Lives Matter (BLM) because it is a diffuse and continually emerging movement that links to the activism, anti-racism, and organized protests in prior generations. Although there has been much discourse over separating BLM from The Civil Rights Movement of the

1960s, Black Lives Matter delineates its connection to 1960s civil rights activists, such as Fannie Lou Hamer, as well as other efforts during the hundreds of years of past civil rights struggle. The Standing Rock protest initiated by First Nation People is a more narrowly focused movement that has captured worldwide attention and support because its issues are so universal for oppressed peoples.

Black Lives Matter

For hundreds of years, since the time of the landing of the first slave ships on the shores of North America through the eras of slavery, lynchings, Jim Crow, mass incarceration, and other forms of oppression and degradation, persons of African descent in the United States have in various ways resisted and fought racial oppression. They have been combatting the complex, institutionalized, and ever-changing infrastructure that forms scaffolding to support persistent pervasive racism. This resistance has taken various forms and used various tactics based on the historical, political, cultural, and legal context of the times. Organized efforts have included, for example, slave uprisings, the "Underground Railroad," unionizing of the Pullman car porters, civil rights marches and demonstrations of the 1960s, and legal challenges brought by organizations, such as the NAACP, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and the Equal Justice Initiative. Less formal and more decentralized efforts have included runaway slaves, various forms of deception to undermine the power of slave masters, the great migration of blacks from the South to the North and West, the establishment of black enterprises and economies, and, more recently, the Black Lives Matter Movement.

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement began in 2013 following the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the murder of Trayvon Martin. George Zimmerman shot Trayvon Martin in the early months of 2012 and it was his unprovoked death and the subsequent exoneration of Zimmerman in the summer of 2012 that sparked the movement. Three young black women started using #BlackLivesMatter on social media as a call to action to protest this decision and, subsequently, spontaneous demonstrations took place across the country. The hashtag was quickly adopted by other like-minded young activists and soon there were numerous loosely formed groups that held demonstrations in reaction to the numerous and frequent police shootings of unarmed African Americans and the deaths of African Americans while in police custody. More than 30 local BLM chapters have now sprung up. They are a decentralized network of nonhierarchical local groups that communicate largely through social media. The vision of the Black Lives Matter movement coalesced in response to the sustained and increasingly visible violence against black communities in the U.S. and globally. A collective of more than 50 organizations in the United States representing thousands of black people came together to articulate their common vision and agenda (About Us, July 2015). The BLM movement focuses on all forms of racism in the society, particularly the social injustices experienced by African Americans, but it goes beyond the more narrow focus of some

past movements in that it embraces intersectionality. It specifically includes African Americans who have been on the margins of some past movements, such as those who are queer, transgender, female, disabled, undocumented, or have a history of incarceration. BLM also has joined with other protests that are relevant to their interests. For example, in September 2016, BLM joined in support of the Standing Rock protest and gave the following explanation:

> As there are many diverse manifestations of Blackness, and Black people are also displaced Indigenous peoples, we are clear that there is no Black liberation without Indigenous sovereignty. Environmental racism is not limited to pipelines on Indigenous land, because we know that the chemicals used for fracking and the materials used to build pipelines are also used in water containment and sanitation plants in Black communities like Flint, Michigan (Black Lives Matter Stands In Solidarity with Water Protectors at Standing Rock, 2017).

Because of their inclusiveness of intersectionality and their use of activist tactics that are diverse and not proscribed, BLM has been described as "not your grandfather's civil rights movement." Unlike many organizations within the civil rights movement of the 1960s, BLM is not connected with the Black church, which historically has provided significant institutional and moral support to the movement toward greater social justice. Because of its lack of identifiable leadership and loose structure, some veteran 1960s civil rights activists have criticized the BLM movement as disorganized and unfocused. However, others have been supportive. The group's focus on racial injustices, particularly at the hands of law enforcement officials, also has been criticized as racist and anti-police and has been countered with slogans, such as "all lives matter" and "blue lives matter."

The Black Lives Matter movement is focused specifically and directly on dismantling the scaffolding that supports ongoing institutionalized racism in the U.S. society. Their efforts highlight the rungs of the scaffolding (colonialism, capitalism, class structure, legal structures, the distribution of privileges and benefits, and intellectual thought and scientific theories) as key elements for maintaining a society in which non-whites are disadvantaged and oppressed. Furthermore, their actions aim to dismantle the poles that hold the scaffold together and which are the societal tactics that maintain the overall infrastructure of institutionalized racism.

Black Lives Matter is a moral and ethical demand calling for an end to the erasure of black lives and presence by systems of racist power anchored in a history of white supremacy. The movement puts this ethical demand into action by seeking to influence city, state, and federal policies through acts of protest and civil disobedience. In this current moment, both the idea and the movement are aligned against the notion that black experiences are irrelevant or negligible for organizing our collective view of civil society.

The Black Lives Matter movement highlights and confronts the social construction of race, racial oppression, white privilege, the interconnected institutional web, intersectionality, and the scaffolding that supports racism. The movement has focused attention on the prison-industrial complex and state violence as two powerful oppressors. While it is important to prosecute police for unjust brutalities, spokesperson Ramsey said: "We need to think about holding a system accountable, not just individual cops. Thinking 'oh we got a bad cop' takes the

focus off of the fact that part of the job of police forces now is to contain and control black communities, particularly black and brown youth. That's in the job description" (Warren, 2015). To address systemic racial discrimination in the justice system and our capitalist economy, Ransby argued, "We need more people working on the outside [of institutions such as government, nonprofits, et cetera] who are not just navigating the labyrinth of bureaucracy inside various kinds of structures" (Warren, 2015). The poles of the scaffolding are clear targets of BLM.

Powerlessness. Unarmed persons are completely powerless when confronted by armed police or other officials of the government. They are particularly vulnerable when the power and authority of such officials is affected by implicit bias or intentional racism. BLM aims to empower the disempowered.

Cultural Imperialism. It has become the cultural narrative among privileged whites that blacks, particularly young black males, are dangerous and a threat to one's safety. This perception is further supported by the process of implicit bias such that even those who purport to be without racial bias may unconsciously perceive blacks as threatening. Thus, shooting an unarmed young black male can be ruled as justified because of the perceived threat.

Marginalization. The devaluing of black lives is a central focus of BLM. The movement focuses on one of the most egregious acts of marginalization—the shooting and killing of unarmed blacks by police. In addition, there are whites who have tried to marginalize this movement by stressing "all lives matter" and "blue lives matter." These statements de-emphasize the salience of the annihilation of black lives and the value of blacks, as a group.

Violence. Death is the most extreme outcome of violence. BLM is highlighting the pattern of police violence that disproportionately results in the deaths of innocent blacks. With the advent of social media and cell phone video cameras, BLM has been able to document and publicize these actions which previously were easily denied or covered up and, in some instances, socially acceptable.

Exploitation. The United States has historically exploited blacks by taking their labor through enslavement and incarceration. Blacks have further been exploited by structural racism that systemically has established and maintained large income and wealth disparities between blacks and whites. The BLM is committed to combatting exploitation and disempowerment. They provide the following statement on their website:

> When we say Black Lives Matter, we are broadening the conversation around state violence to include all of the ways in which black people are intentionally left powerless at the hands of the state. We are talking about the ways in which Black lives are deprived of our basic human rights and dignity. (What Does #BlackLivesMatter Mean? 2017)

Standing Rock

First Nation Peoples on the continent of North America have been resisting restriction, oppression, and annihilation since the appearance of white settlers on their native lands hundreds of years ago. Over this long period, the racial

scaffolding structure that supports the dominance of whites in the society has been evolving and strengthening. This scaffolding has been such a sustained force for the suppression of indigenous people that they now number only 2.9 million people (American Indian or Alaska Native alone) and constitute only 0.9% of the U.S. population (Norris, Vine, & Hoeffel, 2012). The protest movement at Standing Rock, North Dakota, is a contemporary action of resistance that illuminates institutionalized racism as it operates through the rungs and poles of the scaffolding. Their movement evolved as follows:

> In 2016, members of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe organized a protest to prevent the installation of an oil pipeline through ancestral lands adjacent to their reservation. Federal and state regulators had approved a plan for Energy Transfer Partners, a large energy corporation, to dig under Lake Oahe to construct a segment of pipeline that could carry oil from North Dakota to Illinois. An earlier proposal to run the pipeline through Bismarck, 45 miles north of the reservation, had been rejected by the Army Corps of Engineers because of concerns that it could contaminate the municipal water supply. The concern of the Standing Rock people was that running the pipeline under Lake Oahe, a Missouri River reservoir that serves as the tribe's source of drinking water, would run the risk of contaminating the water supply for the reservation. The tribe set up small camps in the area as a peaceful protest. When the Army Corps of Engineers issued permits in July, 2016, the Standing Rock Sioux filed suit and were joined in their suit by other tribes. As the protest continued, the protest camps grew to thousands of tribal members, as well as other supporters who came from across the country. In August, 2016 local authorities began arresting protesters and eventually arrested more than 700 protesters. As the protest grew, it began to get broader media coverage. In September, a federal judge denied the petition to halt pipeline construction, but the Army, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the U.S. Interior Department halted construction under the lake by declaring that further review was required. The protesters remained and began preparing to stay for the winter. By the end of November 2016, authorities had turned violent and were using tear gas, rubber bullets and water sprays on protesters who they claimed were assaulting officers with rocks and burning logs at a blockade. Multiple protesters and at least one officer sustained injuries requiring medical attention. In January 2017, the Army Corps of Engineers launched a full environmental study of the impact of crossing the pipeline under Lake Oahe, but following the inauguration, President Trump signed executive actions to allow construction to proceed. By March 2017, the Army Corps of Engineers had halted their study and further appeals filed by the protesters to stop construction had been denied by the courts. In a company press release issued on June 1, 2017, Energy Transfer Partners announced that the Dakota Access Pipeline ("Dakota Access") and the Energy Transfer Crude Oil Pipeline ("ETCO"), collectively known as the "Bakken Pipeline," were in commercial service "transporting crude [oil] from North Dakota to multiple major U.S. markets in a more direct, cost-effective, safer and more environmentally responsible manner than either rail or truck." (Energy Transfer Partners, 2017)

This story is not yet over. This Sioux resistance with the government is ongoing and still unresolved. Although it is not yet known whether the forces of the institutional web and the racial scaffolding will prevail, the protest at Standing Rock and the events surrounding the protest provide a clear example of how the many elements of systemic racism operate together.

Powerlessness. The indigenous people were in a position of relative powerlessness compared to governmental entities and the capitalistic interests in land and oil. The tribe rejected their position of powerlessness by organizing a protest that entailed

legal challenges through the courts as well as setting up nonviolent resistance in the form of encampments on the land designated for excavation to build the pipeline. This was their ancestral land that had been taken away generations ago by the U.S. government.

Cultural Imperialism. Through the process of cultural imperialism, the U.S. has established a society with norms and practices that are in conflict with Native American values and beliefs. For example, Native American culture respects Mother Earth as the nurturer of all life. It values water because it is essential for life and, therefore, in need of protection. In contrast, the U.S. culture is established based on the view that land and water are property that can be owned and controlled by individuals and corporations. Thus, oil companies have the right to drill and to construct oil pipelines on land.

Marginalization. The Standing Rock Sioux were marginalized generations ago when they were forced to live on a reservation whose boundaries were defined by the U.S. government. The tribe's current 9000 members again were marginalized when their rights to clean water were viewed as less important than the rights to clean water by the 61,000 residents in nearby Bismarck who were 92% white.

Violence. Violence is a strategy used to maintain oppression. This strategy was effectively used to try to suppress the protest, disperse the protesters, and dissuade others from joining the protest. When the protesters continued to resist despite legal setbacks through the courts, law enforcement officials resorted to violence to break up the protest. Militia attacked protesters with tear gas and ultimately burned down the camp. One protester gave the following account:

> It was a shock to see the extreme retaliation against water protectors, many of whom were elders, women and children. The militarized landscape was difficult to fathom: surveillance was constant and obvious. SUVs and armored vehicles were parked over hilltops within our line of sight. Unmarked aircraft flew overhead 24/7. At night, floodlights threw blinding white light over the gently sloping hills (Harjo, 2017).

Exploitation. The United States has long exploited those groups that it devalues and marginalizes by taking the value of their labor or other resources. In this instance, the clean water necessary for health and, ultimately, life, is being taken. The decision to not risk the water supply of Bismark, but to risk the water supply of the reservation is a clear example of white supremacy in action.

The protest at Standing Rock and events surrounding it exemplify how the many elements of systemic racism operate together to oppress First Nation Peoples and to maintain the dominance of capitalism and white supremacy as key elements of the infrastructure of American society. Both the Standing Rock resistance movement and the Black Lives Matter Movement have encountered the combined strength of all the scaffolding elements that support and perpetuate racism in the society. As occurs with all resistance movements, they are countered by the force and strength of the scaffolding that is operating to reinforce a status quo characterized by power differentials and racial inequality.

Anti-Racism Movements and Models

Theoretical conceptualizations and models help us understand movements and other efforts to combat the interconnected factors that combine to create social injustice. There are many anti-racism actions and models, therefore, which involve social change. The authors believe that social justice is best exemplified through actions such as "challenging negative discrimination" and advocating for actions to rectify a history wrought with discrimination against marginalized groups. Violation of basic human rights—the criminalization of people of color, particularly young men of color, and the institutionalized and too often lethal violence perpetrated against them with seeming impunity—occur in our nation, and across the world. The events that were played out in the murder of Trayvon Martin in Sanford and Michael Brown in Ferguson are reminiscent of those from the civil rights era. They are dismaying evidence of the fact that, six decades after that era of struggle and hope, systemic racism continues to oppress communities of color and debase every member of our society. Freire (1974) warned that the experience of injustice cannot be encompassed in any theories which do not give the oppressed a voice. Embedded in all of these discussions about oppression are specific implications for anti-racism today. As stated by Ransby of BLM, today's movement "is so sharp in targeting state violence, to say 'we understand the linchpin of what controls our communities.' We're not asking for inclusion—we're critiquing one of the mechanisms of that containment and control" (Warren, 2015, n.p.).

What Is Anti-Racism?

At their core, the case examples of Black Lives Matter and Standing Rock illustrate anti-racism in action. In the most basic terms, anti-racism is defined as the policy or practice of opposing racism and promoting racial tolerance (antiracism, n.d.). However, this broad definition of anti-racism has limitations for understanding the many parameters that define the varied forms of opposition to racism. Anti-racism is the practice of identifying, challenging, and changing the values, structures, and behaviors that perpetuate systemic racism (Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat, 2015). Anti-racism is an active way of seeing and being in the world in order to transform it. As an approach that implements social justice, its goal is central to improving the quality of life or well-being in individuals, groups, and communities. According to Dominelli (2002), anti-racism needs to encompass all aspects of social life, including culture, institutions, legal and political systems, socioeconomic infrastructure and interpersonal relationships, as well as being able to work in a way that does not endorse any hierarchy of privilege or oppression.

Anti-racism confronts the power inequities between racialized people and non-racialized/white people. These power imbalances play out in the form of unearned privileges from which white people benefit and racialized people do not (McIntosh,

2004; Norris, Vine, and Hoeffel, 2012). Because racism occurs at all levels and spheres of society, it is promoted at each rung of the scaffolding, and adapts to the changing legal, social, economic, technological, and moral climate in the United States (see Chap. 1). Thus, anti-racism activism is also necessary in all levels and spheres of the society. It is not sufficient for active resistance to just happen "in the workplace," "in the classroom," or in selected aspects of life. This means that "as long as a race structured society exists, there will be the need for an effective ongoing struggle for racial equality" (Chisom & Washington, 1997, p. 19).

Movements

Anti-racism activism often is part of a social movement. However, historians and social scientists offer numerous complex and often times contradictory definitions of what constitutes a social movement. In the classical Marxism tradition, movements focused on the exploitation of the working class and were grounded in the struggles of organized labor to overthrow and/or to abandon the existing social order (Reid-Merritt, 2010). However, contemporary definitions of social movements are more inclusive of the collective struggle of community organizations and groups exercising varied forms of activism. Evans and Boyte (as cited in Reid-Merritt, 2010) suggest that "social movements are ways in which the dispossessed and powerless have again and again sought to revive and remember older notions of democratic participation, on one hand, and on the other give them new and deeper meanings and applications (p. 3)." There are a number of conceptual models that undergird anti-racism activism strategies.

Models

The many conceptual models that comprise the broader concept of anti-racism are useful for understanding contemporary anti-racism movements. Models that focus on depicting racism as socially constructed and placing it in historical and institutional context include the Civil Rights movement, Liberation Health (Belkin Martinez, 2015), Liberation Theology (Cone, 1990; Schneid & Vasko, 2014), Undoing Racism, Black Lives Matter (Chisom & Washington, 1997; Omi & Winant, 2004; Reid-Merritt, 2010), the web of institutional racism (Miller & Garran, 2008; Rozas & Miller, 2009), and critical race theory (Abrams & Moio, 2009). Most anti-racism models assert that white individuals in positions of power play a role in perpetuating institutionally racist practices (Abrams & Gibson, 2007; Chisom & Washington, 1997; Reid-Merritt, 2010). In contrast, the anti-racist praxis model states that race is a learned social construct more complicated than the black-white binary (Gnanadass, 2014). Other models build on these models and include a call for action. For example, the ally model asserts the importance of becoming an ally

of people of color and working toward ending oppression (Chisom & Washington, 1997; Deepak & Biggs, 2011; Gibson, 2014; McIntosh, 2004), whereas the web of resistance model calls for participation in ending systemic racism (Rozas & Miller, 2009). All models emphasize some form of resistance directed at deconstructing the rungs and poles of systemic racial scaffolding with the ultimate goal of eliminating oppression.

All of the models are focused on resistance. Resistance to racism involves formal and informal opposition to social institutions, policies, and practices that are experienced as oppressive. Oppressive systems are not definitive, but they have internal contradictions that propel human agency; thus, anti-racism activism emerges to subvert the imposed social order (Chisom & Washington, 1997; Freire, 1970; Giddings, 1984; Martín-Baró, 1996; Reid-Merritt, 2010). For example, in June 2015 the campaign to remove the flag and other Confederate icons from government buildings gained momentum in the aftermath of the racially motivated murder of nine black people at an historic church in Charleston, SC.

> Bree Newsome, a 30-year-old youth protest organizer from Charlotte, North Carolina, climbed the flagpole and took down the controversial symbol of the antebellum, slaveholding South, with the assistance of another activist. The act of civil disobedience inspired others to "start becoming active agents in their own change" (Yuhas, 2015).

As the above example illustrates, opposition does not have to be formal, or organized to qualify as resistance. One action can become a catalyst for other individuals or groups to spontaneously act (Hamilton-Mason, 2007). Where everyday resistance most departs from other forms of resistance is in its implicit disavowal of public and symbolic racism. Everyday resistance is only one form of anti-racism. As an individual or a group resists, either overtly or subtly, they contest the reproduction of inequality. The Civil Rights movement in the United States is an example of collective and individual actions emerging over a period of years.

Synergy of the Civil Rights Movements and Models

There is a synergy among civil rights movements across racial groups and over time. Below we trace the black civil rights movements as one example of this synergy. However, it needs to be noted and stressed that other racial groups also engaged in activist civil rights movements and that all of these movements are connected and have influenced each other. In addition to the African American civil rights movement, other well-known movements include the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the civil rights activism of Cesar Chavez to organize farm workers. Thus, the following brief historical overview of the African American civil rights movement offers insight into the major factors that shape all civil rights movements.

It is generally noted that the Civil Rights Movement began after World War II (Klarman, 2007; Reid-Merritt, 2010; Rothenberg, 2001) although some historians

have documented formal and informal resistance and the pursuit for equity beginning during the Reconstruction period immediately following Emancipation in 1865 (Du Bois, 1903; Franklin & Moss, 2000). The civil rights movement is an umbrella term used for the many varieties of activism during the period from 1946 to 1968 that were seeking full political, social, and economic rights for African Americans (Klarman, 2007). However, the civil rights struggle actually has been in place, both formally and informally, since the earliest struggles for justice by First Nation Peoples and Africans in the American colonies. In fact, efforts to improve the quality of life for African Americans are as old as the United States.

The black women's club movement is an example that civil rights movements did not suddenly appear in the twentieth century. Begun in the 1890s, it was spurred on by efforts to end lynching. In 1896, using the motto *Lifting as We Climb* (Giddings, 1984 p. 97), black women's clubs joined together to form the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) under the leadership of Mary Church Terrell. The philosophy of the members reflected the new realities of the late nineteenth century. In another example, in the1830s, Maria Stewart told black mothers it was their duty to "cultivate a pure heart" and a thirst for knowledge in their children. By nurturing these qualities, Stewart (1879) believed that "the hissing and reproach …. against us [the black race] will cease" (p. 31).

The 1954 Supreme Court Decision in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, often identified as the starting point of the modern day civil rights movement, ruled that separate could not possibly be equal (Rothenberg, 2001, Klarman, 2007). Although the abolishment of segregation was accomplished legally, the integration of public facilities actually occurred after a long series of anti-racism activism. This long battle included a series of organized actions, such as the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) court challenge to segregation, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) union organizing to challenge discrimination in organized labor, the Congress of Racial Equity (CORE) challenge to segregation in interstate bus travel, the Southern Christion Leadership Conference (SCLC) boycotts, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) voter registration drives, and the Freedom riders use of sit-ins to protest exclusion in public areas (i.e., lunch counters, water fountains, swimming pools). Thus, the Civil Rights Movement involved many different strategies and approaches including legal action, nonviolent civil disobedience, and black militancy. The above mentioned groups, as well as other social and civil rights organizers, used collective and individual activism to resist and incrementally dismantle aspects of the systemic scaffolding that promotes racism and thwarts social justice. In fact, some theorists articulate that the success of The Civil Rights Movement is best viewed through the lens of historical activism that occurred periodically but continuously in the African American community from the period of enslavement to the present (Du Bois, 1903; Franklin & Moss, 2000; Giddings, 1984; Reid-Merritt, 2010).

Movements that bring about societal change are always met with backlash. This counter-force is the strength of the scaffolding exerting itself to maintain the status quo. Thus, although slow but significant advances were made as a result of the Reconstruction era, the Great Migration, the Brown decision, as well as the civil

rights struggle of the 1960s, these advances for African Americans, as well as the other core groups, set in motion periods of intensified white opposition. Consequently, even when persons of the oppressed group (First Nation, African, Mexican, and Chinese) obtained power, they continued to be perceived as "the other" and often faced tactical maneuvers to stymie or devalue their positive contributions to society and to thwart their further progress. These tactics, along with established laws and policies, are part of the scaffolding that supports institutionalized racism in this country.

As the United States moves toward greater social and racial justice, it always retrenches and takes action to erode that progress. These actions can take many forms. Advances in social justice are curtailed. History is rewritten. Policies and laws created to ameliorate inequality and hundreds of years of violent and corrosive repression are characterized as reverse discrimination against hard-working whites. Such counter-actions explain how oppression of those perceived as "the other" is perpetuated and reinforced by institutional scaffolding. Because of this scaffolding based on the uniquely American social construction of race, continual resistance and opposition are necessary to keep making progress toward the American ideal of social justice for all. Telling the history of these resistance movements and models cannot be a linear discussion because there is an ongoing forward and backward process affected by the collective reactions of whites, as well as the society at large, whose counter-actions aim to contain and neutralize the victories of civil rights activists and movements. The more accurate narrative is one that tells of an ebb and flow of synergistic movements to combat oppression.

According to Nelson (2016), the Black Lives Matter movement extends the work of previous movements that challenged forms of oppression that act on black bodies with impunity. It should be understood as a movement that is connected to the anti-lynching campaign of Ida B. Wells, the reproductive justice demands of Fannie Lou Hamer, and the health activism of the Black Panther Party. Although 50 years have passed since the Black Panthers were active, the 2015 BLM conference was in many ways reminiscent of the earlier Black Panther movement that worked to counter oppressive forces of the larger society. #BlackLivesMatter, ultimately is a movement working to shift national and local conversations about race, class, gender, and inequality. Thus, although contemporary movements have had more visibility and a more expanded focus, influence, and impact than the earlier civil rights movements from which they evolved, all these movements focus on liberation through collective action originating at the grassroots level for influencing change.

The U.S. civil rights movements have provided models of activism for bringing about broad societal change. The many individual and collective actions aimed at dismantling racism in the United States, such as Black Power social activism, legal challenges in the courts, and sit-in protests organized by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), transformed not only the United States, but served as models that gave hope and inspiration to other struggling and oppressed populations throughout the world (Reid-Merritt, 2010). These models of activism provided templates for many other activist movements around the globe, such as Liberation Theology, Liberation Health in South America, and the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa.

Liberation Models

Liberation movements were influenced by activists around the world witnessing the effectiveness of the actions of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. For example, the liberation struggles against colonialism in African countries were inspired by civil rights activism in the U.S. As they took shape, each activist model was uniquely tailored to the particular struggle in which it emerged, but all these activist models were based on grassroots organizing and the struggle for liberation.

Martín-Baró's (1994) articulation of a psychology of liberation is reflected in the work about Pan-Africanism (Fanon, 1963, 1967), liberation psychology (Ani, 2004; Parham, 2002), and liberation theology (Cone, 1990). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire (1970) expanded on Martín-Baró's understanding of individual and social empowerment by sharing lessons learned from liberation movements in developing countries. It resonates well with the work of contemporary activism. According to the perspective articulated by Friere (1974), Martín-Baró (1994, 1996), and Montero (1990), the goal of liberation is achieved through critical analysis and a critical consciousness that the root causes of one's plight are dynamic systems in the larger society.

Psychology of liberation focuses on the collective rather than the individual and serves as a vehicle for the satisfaction of human needs (Bulhan, 1985). Accordingly, Martín-Baró (1994) emphasized that the first step of liberating structures is to address the social structures, followed by the personal or psychological ones that maintain a situation of moral oppression of the majority of people. Freedom can only be achieved through political and sociocultural activism. In summary, so much of what is important about Friere's (1970) conceptualizations is his emphasis on the following aspects of change: observing, analyzing, and responding to change in your environment and to ultimately achieve liberation. While communicating his salient message of liberation, Friere redefined his concept of consciousness, which he articulated as learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and taking actions against the oppressive forces of reality (Friere, 1970, p. 35). For Friere (1970), raising consciousness became a liberating force "which must be forged with, not for, the oppressed in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity" (p. 48). His model underscores the importance of the processes of seeing, analyzing, and acting which, in combination, are practices that help individuals, families, and communities understand the personal, cultural, and institutional factors that contribute to their problem and propel them to act to change these conditions and to liberate themselves from both internal and external oppressions (Belkin-Martinez, 2015). The critical underlying principles of civil rights, liberation health, and liberation theology shifted as each model adopted critiquing of their circumstances by understanding that they are confronted with systemic problems and are working to change them in their pursuit for equality through action.

Black liberation theology originated on July 31, 1966, when 51 black pastors bought an ad in the *New York Times* and demanded a more aggressive approach to

eradicating racism (Cone, 1990). Such themes of liberation and control were hailed in the colonial era and continued to echo in the contemporary African American church. Churches that focus on liberation strive to help individuals achieve what is necessary to attain the best quality of life. Theologians such as James Cone supported independence from white churches that failed to support the struggles of blacks against racism and oppression. They repeated the demands of the black power movement, but from the perspective of biblical narratives and scripture. The aim of Black Liberation Theology is to teach blacks to be both proud and Christian at the same time in their great efforts to exist in a white-controlled society (Fresh Air, 2008). Liberation theologists assert that there is, then, a desperate need for a black theology, a theology whose sole purpose is to apply the freeing power of the gospel to black people under white oppression.

Liberation theology refers to a theological perspective that originated among African American seminarians and scholars, and in some black churches in the United States and later in other parts of the world. It contextualizes Christianity in an attempt to help those of African descent overcome oppression. It especially focuses on the injustices committed against African Americans and black South Africans during segregation and apartheid, respectively (Bradley Hagerty, 2017). This model spans traditional and contemporary models of change.

Lessons Learned

#BlackLivesMatter and Standing Rock are contemporary examples of movements that complement and support each other. They are two of the countless formal and informal efforts that comprise the much broader ongoing civil rights struggle directed at dismantling the scaffolding that supports institutionalized racism in the United States. The above analysis of these two contemporary activist efforts and the review of the history and models of activism suggest some take away lessons about activism. The authors have extracted these learnings and translated them into a set of pointers that offer some guidance to current and future civil rights activists. They are as follows:

- Embrace the whole. Look at intersections and give them serious consideration in your efforts
- Learn from history. Understand what worked—when and why
- Be open to new ways of presenting issues
- Form alliances. Be open to working collaboratively with other efforts that are focused on causes that are different from that of your group
- Show fairness and be inclusive of differences within your group. Stay focused on the greater goal and not on personal glory
- Analyze and understand the environmental context—the larger societal system and the dynamics of the institutional web. Use this knowledge to plan actions that are strategic
- When possible and appropriate, use the system itself to further your cause

Summary

Institutional racism in the United States is supported by scaffolding comprised of multidimensional components that change and adapt, yet persist, over time. The myriad of social influences and barrage of perpetual structural elements in the society are what make racism an extremely complex and powerful force of oppression. Racism is perpetuated through an entrenched interlocking institutional web that operates at all levels of society and is based on the social construction of race. Racism fosters value differences that lead to inequitable treatment through policies and laws that interpret differences. These interpretations are socially constructed and intersect with various subsets of individual and group identity in ways that influence one's perception of reality.

We have examined the racial dynamics in American society throughout this book. But, what are the forces that keep the society moving forward toward a future in which there truly is "liberty and justice for all?" One way is through activism, a struggle for social justice that is directed at dismantling the poles and rungs of oppressive scaffolding. Civil rights movements are an example of activism. They attack the extremely stable social, political, economic, and cultural systems that perpetuate discrimination. Activist movements shake up the status quo, weaken the components of the scaffolding, and provide individuals and groups the impetus to continue moving forward toward equality and a more just society. Through their synergistic energy, these movements puncture protracted longstanding inequalities and move subordinated individuals and groups toward a more equitable existence with those who have more privilege in the society.

All resistance efforts can be categorized as anti-racism activism and they are interconnected over time and place and influence each other. Anti-racism actions can be formal or informal. They interact and coalesce in systemic ways directed at making societal changes that lead to the liberation of people who, because of their race, are the target of oppression. Even though they may be operating at different points in time and may be attacking different parts of the rungs and poles of the scaffolding, they all are focused on deconstructing the scaffolding. Anti-racism activism is the impetus that moves the society toward true equality and social justice. In this chapter, we have presented two examples that exemplify contemporary anti-racism movements that are connected to this long historical struggle.

This chapter is intended to provide some inspiration in the continuing struggle for greater racial equity and tolerance at all levels in the society: individual, organizational, and institutional. Although the task of challenging the status quo can be overwhelming and always is met with counter-resistance from the existing social order in society, anti-racism activists will continue to emerge in the future. It is a central human aspiration to live a life of dignity that is free from oppression. So, as we move into the future, we can anticipate that the form and shapes of the anti-racism movements will adapt to whatever is the current climate in the United States and the world. But, anti-racist activists and movements will continue to emerge to resist the forces and structures that perpetuate racism. Ultimately, it is not the

longevity or size of an individual movement that matters. What matters is the combined moral and social impact of the many small and large efforts over time. In the prophetic words of Martin Luther King, "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice" (Craig, 1964).

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