



# WORKING PAPER SERIES

CHANGING ORGANIZATIONAL RACISM  
A WORKSHOP FOR  
UNIVERSITY STAFF LEADERS

Mark Chesler and Cheryl Hyde

PCMA WORKING  
PAPER #14

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**The Program on Conflict Management Alternatives  
at The University of Michigan**

## THE PROGRAM ON CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ALTERNATIVES

The Program on Conflict Management Alternatives was established in January, 1986 by a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and additional funds from the University of Michigan. These basic grants were renewed in July, 1988 and again in July, 1991. The Program supports an agenda of research, application, and theory development. PCMA also establishes links among other university research and teaching efforts relevant to conflict management alternatives, and maintains liaison and collaboration with similar efforts in other Universities and Practitioner agencies. The Program staffers own work focuses explicitly on the relationship between social justice and social conflict, specifically: (a) the use of innovative settlement procedures and roles for disputants and third parties; (b) the institutionalization of innovative mechanisms and the adoption of organizational and community structures that permanently alter the way conflicts are managed; and (c) the fundamental differences and inequalities between parties that often create conflict and threaten its stable resolution.

We examine these issues primarily in United States' settings, in conflicts arising within and between families, organizations and communities, and between different racial, gender, and economic constituencies. These specific efforts are supported by a variety of research and action grants/contracts with governmental agencies, foundations, and private and public organizations/agencies.

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CHANGING ORGANIZATIONAL RACISM:  
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In the fall of 1986 and the winter-spring of 1987 the University of Michigan became aware of extensive racial discrimination and harassment on campus. A series of public incidents brought evidence of underlying and long-standing racism to the surface. Perhaps more important, vigorous student protest placed these issues on the University's agenda in a continuing manner, and made it both possible and necessary for the entire community to pay concerted attention to them.

Administrators, faculty, staff, and students responded and continue to respond to these issues in a variety of ways. This report describes one such response, a workshop aimed at preparing middle managers of student service offices to play a more effective role in changing patterns of organizational racism in the University.

We do not attempt here a comprehensive analysis of institutional racism in society or in higher educational organizations. Rather, we document (and briefly evaluate) one effort to increase individuals' skills in understanding, challenging and (hopefully) changing patterns of organizational racism. The repetition of incidents of harassment, and patterns of discrimination, at colleges and universities across the nation may well have opened the door for wider and more realistic discussions and programs aimed at changing organizational racism. In that context, it seems important for many persons and institutions committed to social change and racial justice to

share their plans and programs widely. Our hope is that awareness of this and other change efforts will convince us all that such work is feasible and valuable, and will lead to discussion of how we can participate in more effective efforts to end racism.

The inclusion of detailed examples of staff input and exercises also should make it possible for readers (individually or with others) to engage in a learning process, and in consequent action for change, while they review this material. Readers wishing to know more about this effort, or to discuss their reactions to it, are invited to call upon the authors directly.

## I. Introduction

Widespread public attention to racism at the University of Michigan initially centered on incidents arising in the student community, exemplified in the harassment of Black students, posters decrying the existence of minorities on campus, and radio talk shows and computer conferences utilizing obscene racist "humor". Thus, it was easy to focus an analysis of campus racism on student-student conflict, as examples of personal bigotry, as matters primarily caused by individual students, and of concern primarily to students and to those staff members connected with student services. Gradually, however, more members of the campus became aware of the ways in which the entire organization was involved in the promulgation of such incidents, and of the degree to which the University of Michigan's institutional culture and structure provided a context for continuing patterns of racial harassment and discrimination.\*

Recognition of the ways in which all of us - faculty, staff, administration and students - are enmeshed in these issues gave rise to concern about organizational and institutional racism. Thus, the focus shifted from personal acts of harassment or insensitivity, per se, to the institutional and cultural basis of racism on campus: in faculty hiring and promotion, in staff relations and morale, in the curriculum, in student recruitment

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\*What follows is a greatly abbreviated history. More substantial detail about these events and the University's responses can be found in a variety of campus publications and local commentary, some of which are identified in the References to this report.

and admissions, in the makeup of faculty and administrative leadership, in advising and counseling procedures, in the allocation of resources to minority concerns, etc.

Representatives of minority students on campus, United Coalition Against Racism, Black Student Union, Black Action Movement III, Council of Hispanics in Higher Education, galvanized public attention and concern to these issues with letters, protests and public demonstrations. In the midst of serious confrontations between these protesting student groups (and some faculty and staff) and the University's Executive Officers, the Reverend Jesse Jackson was invited onto the campus in a mediating role. He consulted with various student groups, helped students and the University President forge a series of agreements (some formal, some informal), and addressed a large interracial meeting of students, staff and faculty members. His presence also helped focus national attention on events at the University of Michigan. Statewide attention was escalated later, when Representative Morris Hood convened a state legislative committee hearing on these issues at the University. In a packed ballroom, many minority students, with occasional white speakers as well, articulated their pain, their anger, their concern, and their experience with racism at the University. These events added external pressure to the internal demand for change. The student groups' continuing analysis of organizational/institutional racism on campus, and their constant demand that serious attention be paid to these issues, maintained a high



level of concern at senior administrative levels and throughout the University.

Such incidents, and subsequent protests, were not unique to the University of Michigan\*. Many colleges and universities reported increased and more overt incidents of racial harassment, discrimination, and a generally intolerable racial climate. Attention to the organizational and institutional roots of these issues has been slower to develop, however. Although institutional racism is a fact of life in our society, and in our universities, its presence has only begun to be acknowledged.

During the spring-summer-fall of 1987 the University of Michigan made various attempts to address these issues of individual and organizational racism. They included special fund allocations, teach-ins, workshops, training programs, educational speeches and seminars, new hiring efforts, and the like. Some activities focused on students, others on staff, and still others on faculty and administrators. One such effort, a workshop on "Changing Organizational Racism", is described here. It was offered to 20 middle-level managers in various central and academic unit offices concerned with student services.

The concern about institutional racism, and a commitment to organizational change, can be acted upon in many ways. Without effective grassroots protest and pressure these issues may never

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\*See, for example, reports from investigators at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, University of California, and news coverage of incidents and patterns of racism at many other institutions. When Governor's State University sponsored a national teleconference on these issues in March, 1988, over 11,000 people at 176 colleges and universities linked up.

have surfaced; they certainly would not have received a high priority for action. The role of minority student groups was and is absolutely essential in this regard. But such pressure (and hopefully resultant concern/commitment) does not necessarily lead to positive institutional change. Strategic plannings of such change is essential, as is the development of an organizational infrastructure that can help implement well-designed organizational plans. Moreover, concerned/committed individuals also must have the skills to bring about such change. This workshop focused on the latter targets of increasing understanding and skills in changing organizational racism.

The authors of this report were the instructional staff for the workshop, Mark Chesler and Cheryl Hyde; they were aided by Hector Garza and Joseph Price as consultants. The content of this report continues as follows:

II. <u>Assumptions, Goals and Design for Changing Organizational Racism</u>	Page 7
III. <u>Workshop Sessions</u>	Page 20
A. Preparation: Session 1	
B. Identifying Personal and Organizational Racism: Session 2	
C. Planning Change in Organizational Racism: Session 3	
D. Reviewing Progress: Session 4	
E. Next steps: Session 5	
IV. <u>Evaluations</u>	Page 54
V. <u>Recommendations</u>	Page 59
VI. <u>References and Suggested Readings</u>	Page 66
<u>Appendix of Materials</u>	Page 68

## II. Assumptions, Goals, and Design for Changing Organizational Racism

The goal of this workshop was to prepare and support a group of staff leaders to help create organizational change relevant to racism at the University of Michigan. We explicitly elected not to focus upon patterns of individual racism, on "sensitivity" and "awareness," but to seek to counter the organizational/institutional policies and procedures that create and/or sustain racism in the life of the University and its various units, services, colleges. Moreover, we elected to work with people who could already commit themselves to such a goal. Thus, no attempt was made to recruit broadly in order to convert people from a racist to an anti-racist stance, or to convince the unconvinced that racism was a problem, and a serious problem at that. Finally, work on these goals proceeded in an active manner. We focussed on improving individuals understanding and skill in order to enable them to develop and implement plans for change, and on providing support for their efforts to alter organizational racism in their units and in the larger University.

### Assumptions about organizational change

This approach to change focuses on changing organizations, not individuals. However, it acknowledges a need for individual change as part of the process of organizational change. Unless changes occur in the organizational environment within which individuals act and interact (and seek rewards), individuals will find it very difficult to learn, let alone sustain, new behavior.

On the other hand, without new levels of understanding, skill and commitment at the individual level, new policies, procedures and structures are likely to be abstract and are easily misinterpreted or sabotaged (Berman, 1978; March & Simon, 1958; Rodgers & Bullock, 1972; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979). This is especially likely in an organization that operates with loose patterns of supervision and substantial local unit autonomy (Etzioni, 1961; Nadler, 1981) - certainly the case in a university. Moreover, the effort to increase individuals' skills in system diagnosis and analysis, in influencing others, in planning change, in gaining support and making allies, and in acting forcefully for change is in itself part of a process of individual empowerment. If successful, it may well generate additional pressure for organizational change, as well as the personpower and talent for putting planned changes into practice.

Although there is general agreement within the field of organizational change that a multilevel approach to organizational and individual change is necessary, there is considerable disagreement about the role of power in the change process. Some scholars and practitioners argue that the process of change is largely technical, and proceeds (or should proceed) from a base of organizational consensus about goals and means. In this view, power is maintained in the hands of senior officials, and their good will and skilled leadership is the primary path to change (Chin and Benne [1969] label this the "enlightenment" or "normative-reeducative" model of change, and Crowfoot and Chesler [1974] label this the "professional-

technical" approach). An opposing view emphasizes different realities of power, arguing that organizational elites utilize their power primarily to protect their own (and their allies') status and interests from challenge. The same power that rules organizational decisions supports the status quo (or only minor changes from that status quo): thus, if the status quo is to be altered the current power system in an organization must be altered. In this view, new sources, types or amounts of power must be generated through the mobilization of unserved or aggrieved constituencies, those interests and groups left out of the normal mechanisms of decision-making and implementation (Chin and Benne label this the "power-coercive" model of change, and Crowfoot and Chesler label it simply a "political" model).

Nowhere is the issue of power as a key element in organizational change as vital as in efforts to alter racism (and sexism and class discrimination). After all, racism is a system of power relationships. Since members of racial minorities usually are in low-power positions in organizations (as clients rather than providers, of lower rather than higher status, in staff rather than line leadership positions), it is their needs that are most often unmet or only partly met. As Bowser points out, even at the executive level, "roles for Blacks and other minorities...are parallel roles that most often give nominal status and appropriate incomes but no critical decision-making influence over the fate of the entire organization" (Bowser, 1979, p.176). Thus, for change to occur, the power of these minority group members, often coupled or coalitioned with

selected white allies, must be mobilized and applied. Without such mobilization, the powers of institutional racism (in culture and operation) are so "deeply entrenched in contemporary society that they are almost certainly ineradicable by good faith measures alone" (Beauchamp, 1977, p.85). The approach to organizational change that exemplifies this analysis combines some forms of traditional organizational development with assumptions and tactics rooted in the community organizing or social protest tradition of social and community change.

In all these approaches to organizational change, some form of person-retraining is seen as necessary in order to mobilize new forms of power or to enact and implement change. Clearly, concerns about racism make such retraining even more vital. Part of the cost of institutional racism in this society is White persons' ignorance of our own involvement in racially oppressive behaviors and institutional procedures, let alone our understanding of the life-styles and situations of people of color (Terry, 1981). To the extent that disenfranchised or oppressed Whites can be helped to understand the ways racism is contrary to their interests as well as to those of people of color, they may help create powerful coalitions for racial change. Most important, unlike programs of racial sensitivity training or awareness, the retraining called for in these models of organizational change do not start and stop at the individual level. Rather, individual change constantly is placed within the context of organizational and institutional operations, and tuned to the potential of acting for organizational changes. Chesler &

Delgado (1987) review a variety of formats that have been developed for conducting organizational change efforts that simultaneously seek to produce individual as well as organizational change, while others explicitly tackle the relationship between individual and organizational change. For instance, they describe 12 models of anti-racism training programs which have different implications and relevance for organizational change, depending upon the extent to which such programs attend to organizational issues such as: the announcement of clear and specific anti-racist policies, the involvement of legitimate and credible policy makers, the mobilization of supportive infrastructures, the alteration of the behaviors of front-line staff, and the utilization of alternative sources of persuasion and pressure. Programs which fail to utilize several of these components generally stay "stuck" at the level of individual "awareness" or "consciousness", at best; and even new levels of awareness are unlikely to be sustained or translated into new behavior in an unsupportive organizational environment. Programs which utilize several of these components are more likely to have impact on the organization.

Chesler and Delgado graphically illustrate these components, and their escalative relevance for organizational change, in the accompanying diagram (1987, p 198). Model 12, they argue, has a greater chance of creating organizational changes than earlier models; models 1 and 2, employing the fewest organizational components, are unlikely to eventuate in organizational change.





Ultimately such power and pressure must be applied for meaningful change to occur, because "unless the real and material life of the organization changes, we witness only token and truncated responses to the problem" (Chesler and Delgado, 1987, p.202).

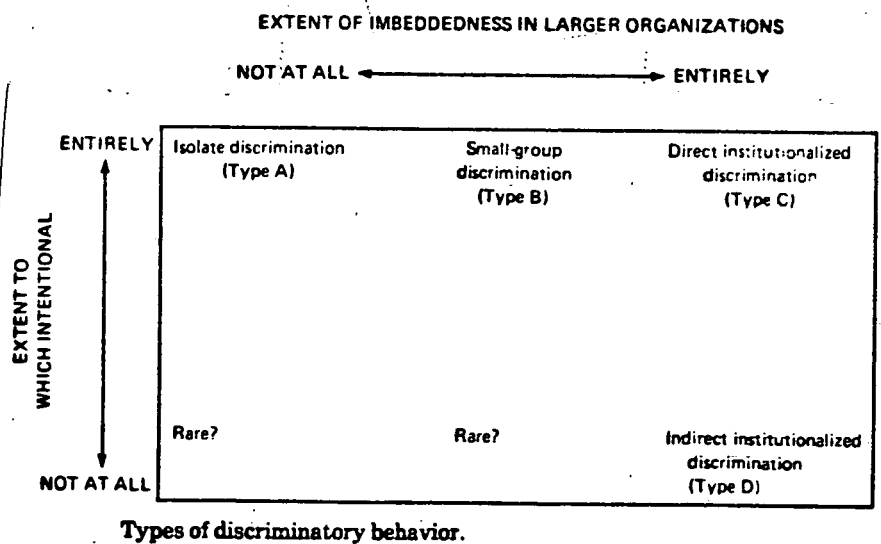
#### Assumptions about racism

Definitions of racism, and distinctions between individual and institutional forms of racism, have been approached, discussed and debated from various viewpoints. Different scholars and activists have their favored language and terms, stemming sometimes from common and sometimes from competing analyses. We cannot review this vast field here, but refer the reader (and did refer workshop participants) to several prior efforts to present and interpret alternative views (see References).

Early efforts to define and analyze racism focused on individual prejudice as an explanatory phenomenon, and targeted prejudiced or bigoted individuals (whether they were conscious of their prejudice or not) as the key to change. Later a more institutional focus gained support. Led by the work of Carmichael & Hamilton (1967), but drawing on older and more recent analyses as well, scholars and activists began to identify the operations of major institutions as key elements in maintaining racial privilege and oppression. Institutional racism, rooted in our political-economic system and sustained by our culture, includes "those established laws, customs and practices which systematically reflect and produce racial

inequalities in American society, whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racist intentions" (Jones, 1981, p.28). For some, the key lays even more clearly in the way major political economic institutions work to the material benefit of dominant white elites, elites who are the major beneficiaries of this system of racial separateness and stratification and who are therefore committed (consciously or not) to its maintenance.

Some of the best recent work comparing and applying these traditions of analysis and change to organizations and institutions has been done by Feagin and colleagues (Feagin & Feagin, 1986). Working with the following chart, they emphasize the especially potent roles of Direct Institutionalized Discrimination and Indirect Institutionalized Discrimination (1986, p. 28).



"Direct Institutionalized Discrimination refers to organizationally-prescribed or community-prescribed actions which have an intentionally differential and negative impact on members of subordinate groups...carried out...routinely by a large number

of individuals guided by the rules of a large scale organization" (1986, p.30). Examples would include deliberate efforts to track (or counsel) minority students into certain colleges and universities and into certain career paths, or to exclude minority content from the curriculum or social life of an institution. Of even greater subtlety, and therefore interest to those of us working within manifestly "liberal" and "non-discriminatory" organizations, is Indirect Institutionalized Discrimination. This category "refers to practices having a negative and differential impact on minorities and women even though the organizationally prescribed or community-prescribed norms or regulations guiding these actions were established, and are carried out, with no prejudice or no intent to harm laying immediately behind them. On their face and in their intent, the norms and resulting practices appear fair or at least neutral" (p.31). Examples would include denying minority members access to faculty positions because of their lack of "appropriate" credentials (which credentials were denied them because of prior discrimination), or because they lack some attributes of white males that are assumed to be relevant for certain positions but which, on examination, may not be. It also would include acts of omission, such as the failure to confront racism when it occurs; such failure subtly reinforces the continuation of discrimination.

#### Workshop goals and objectives

These assumptions about the nature of organizations and organizational change, and about organizational racism, provided

the basis for staff planning of the workshop. The specific objectives of the workshop were initially stated as helping participants to:

1. Develop diagnostic skills in identifying racism and in identifying appropriate and feasible targets of organizational change. This focus includes examination and analysis of different theories or explanations of the origins and operations of racism.
2. Increase skills in making organizational changes, including influencing supervisors, subordinates, peers, students, alumni, and others. This focus includes discussing and practicing tactics that challenge others, gain others' collaboration and reduce or negate resistance.
3. Design specific plans to counter racism in areas such as staffing (recruiting and hiring), interpersonal relations, managerial styles and procedures, employee support and advancement, organizational norms and structures, etc.
4. Gain personal and social support for taking the risks necessary to advocate for change, including developing networks within and between units.
5. Monitor (and document/evaluate) change over time.

These objectives originally were designed to be pursued in a series of three one-day sessions, spread over a three month period in the fall of 1987. Full day sessions were deemed necessary to provide participants with sufficient off-work time to think and plan coherently, and to develop bonds of collaboration and trust with other workshop participants. Workshop days were spread over a several month period in order to permit participants to gather new information, try out new ideas in their real-work situations, and consult with each other and with workshop leaders between sessions. A constant flow of activity between one's real workplace and the workshop context was seen as crucial to a learning process that could result in

the implementation of change in the workplace. For similar reasons, workshop activities were conducted on campus, in a minimally isolated environment, rather than off campus or at a distant residential setting.

A final element in the design was an early guarantee of confidentiality to all workshop sessions and conversations. This groundrule was seen as critical to participants' (and as it developed, staff's) ability and willingness to share details about their personal lives/thoughts and work situations without fear of tale-telling and retaliation from peers and supervisors not present in or accountable to the workshop setting. Thus, although this report presents an outline of the workshop content and process, and examples of staff presentations and participant responses, the latter's plans and comments have been edited or omitted in order to comply with this commitment.

Eighteen staff members participated on a regular basis in the workshop, representing student services offices in 5 different Colleges and 13 different administrative units within the University. They were informed of the workshop opportunity, and of the preliminary objectives and designs, in a letter distributed through the Academic Services Board. Although several more persons initially expressed an interest in participating, an upper limit on enrollment was maintained for several reasons: (1) to create a small enough group to permit full discussion of issues and the development of trust among participants; (2) to permit the "test" of various learning designs in a setting that provided opportunity for constant and

open feedback; (3) to permit rapid development of a workshop effort at minimal cost.

Fourteen of the eighteen participants are White and four are Black; eight are men and ten are women. Although all are managers and leaders of student service offices, they have markedly different situational or positional power and status.

Mark Chesler is a Professor of Sociology and Cheryl Hyde is a Doctoral Candidate in the Joint Program in Sociology and Social Work. Both of us are White. Both of us have considerable experience in developing and conducting workshops and change efforts around racism in organizations and communities. We have worked together as a team in a number of projects and activities over the past several years. The model of two White staff members has some obvious advantages and disadvantages. It demonstrates the possibility of Whites taking substantial responsibility for altering organizational racisms. It also places us in a unique position to challenge or confront other Whites, from our and their own in-group perspective. On the other hand, such a team makeup fails to provide a working model of interracial collaboration (although it does present a model of cross-gender and cross-status collaboration) and may fail to inspire trust and confidence among minority group participants. These issues have potential relevance for the workshop dynamics, and are discussed at various points in the report. Chesler and Hyde augmented their staff leadership roles by utilizing two other organizational consultants who are members of minority

groups: Dr. Joseph Price, a Black social scientist and educator, and Dr. Hector Garza, a Hispanic educational administrator.

The financial costs of this workshop were borne partly by a special allocation from the Office of, the Provost, and partly by a series of small allocations from the home units of participants. Time and energy costs of participation were borne by participants themselves, raising a problem of personal and organizational overload that we discuss in the sections on Evaluation and on Recommendations.

### III. Workshop Sessions.

#### Preparation: Session 1.

The first workshop session lasted two hours; it focused on the orientation and preparation of participants. At an informal lunch the goals, objectives and basic design of the workshop were presented and questions answered. Participants introduced themselves to one another by identifying the reasons they were interested in attending the workshop and the general outcomes (learning and workplace changes) they desired or anticipated. Such information was crucial to the staff's ability to design and redesign events and activities that would be relevant to these needs, and to participants' sense of collegueship and support with one another.

Participants were asked to prepare materials ("homework") that would identify examples of racism within their own units, and to bring these examples to the next workshop session. Examples could include instances of personal behavior by self or others, organizational operations, unit policies and procedures, etc. Each example was to be described briefly in writing in a format that could be shared with other participants.

#### Personal and Organizational Racism: Session 2.

The second workshop session lasted an entire day. Our primary concerns were to help participants identify organizational racism, to distinguish it from personal racism, and to help individuals explore the possibilities for change in their own work situations.



The schedule of activities for Session 2 was as follows:

9-10:00 Sharing examples and illustrations of racism in quartets  
 Why this example  
 Is it a clear example  
 Assumptions or definition of racism underlying  
 example  
 How does the University structure/culture  
 contribute to this example

10-10:30 Reports from quartet discussions  
 Highlight commonalities across examples  
 Record University "contributions"

Break

10:45-11:00 Lecture on different types/levels of racism

11:00-12:00 Lecture on diagnosing organizational racism  
 Organizational precesses/components  
 A "web" of organizational racism

Lunch (with people who shared similar examples of racism)

1:00-3:00 Racism awareness exercise  
 Personal response  
 Small group discussion of exercise  
 Total group discussion of common themes

3:00-4:30 Assessing personal skills/resources in  
 changing racism  
 Personal skill assessment  
 Personal assessment of support systems  
 Small group sharing of assessments

4:30-5:00 Creation of partnerships/teams to meet on  
 homework for next session  
 Evidence of racism in unit

The day began with the formation of quartets of participants, self-grouped in an attempt to create maximum contact with relative strangers. In these quartets participants were instructed to share their homework examples of racism. In particular, participants were asked to examine these examples critically in order to identify: (1) the assumptions about the nature and forms of racism that underlay any example; (2) the degree of commonality or difference in the types of examples

provided; and (3) the ways in which the larger structure and culture of the University contributed to the existence of these examples. At the conclusion of small group discussions a brief report was made by each group to the entire workshop.

Most of the examples shared at this time focused on things persons said or did to minority staff members or students. Despite the announced intent of the workshop (and of workshop participants) to focus on organizational racism, it did not appear that most participants were yet able to identify or focus upon examples at this level. This was not an unexpected result: indeed, it is typical of the way in which most people have been socialized to think about and analyze racism and race relations in the United States. It was the staff's intent to use these examples to foster discovery and discussion of quite different definitions or assumptions about racism. The ensuing discussion and lecture was designed to challenge this form of individual analysis, and to focus participants' attention on the organizational nature of the racism that existed in their units and throughout the larger university structure/culture.

Subsequent to this activity staff gave a brief lecture on different types of racism. In staff presentations and group discussions individual racism was distinguished from organizational racism, and both were distinguished from societal/cultural racism. Institutional racism was noted as a term that generally included both organizational and societal racism. At the individual level, attitudinal racism (prejudice) was distinguished from behavioral racism (discrimination), and

conscious (intentional) racism was distinguished from unconscious (unintentional) racism. Similarly, at the organizational level, symbolic racism (cultural or verbal or policy) was distinguished from material racism (structural or procedural or resources allocated). Overt and covert forms of racism also were distinguished. While these distinctions were made, we also examined and explained connections between these different forms of racism. Few of these distinctions are "pat", however, and different scholars or activists have shown preferences for different definitions and usages of these terms. Inasmuch as a struggle over the use and control of language to describe racism is often part of the struggle with racism itself, we thought it useful to clear the air and attempt common parlance and conceptualization. Various usages and definitions of these and other terms are available from the references included in this report (See especially Feagin & Feagin, 1986; Jones, 1981; Katz, 1978; USCCR, 1981).

In providing this input, the staff used as examples the specific instances of racism participants had brought with them as homework. Thus, overly abstract analysis was avoided, and staff and participants attempted to grapple with these concepts and frameworks in personal and organizationally concrete terms.

The next activity focused on the diagnosis of racism in organizations. A brief lecture identified some of the major components of all formal organizations, and discussed examples of the existence of racism in such components. For instance, if all organizations must somehow attract members, we can examine the

processes by which members are recruited and selected, as well as their distribution throughout the organization, for evidence of institutional racism - direct or indirect, covert or overt. In a university, such examination might include investigation of student recruitment and campus visitation procedures, use of test scores and letters of recommendation, criteria for weighting the quality of an applicant's high school or college, the racial composition of students, faculty and staff (at various status levels) and the like. Figure 1 presents an outline of this presentation, drawing participants' attention to the understanding of organizations as organizations, not merely as collections of individuals. Thus, we built into our language and conceptual framework for the remainder of the workshop such concepts as: organizational goals and values; membership patterns; social relationships; technologies for achieving goals; authority structures; roles and rewards; and boundary systems. Special care was taken to utilize examples of each of these elements from university settings.

After all these organizational elements were identified, we discussed ways in which they worked together to create a "web" of organizational discrimination (see Katz, 1978, p.75). Indeed, none of these elements stands alone; they interact with and complement one another in order to create and sustain patterns of racial advantage and disadvantage that constitute organizational inequity and injustice. For example, membership patterns do not arise or exist in the abstract; they are sustained and supported by organizational authorities and justified in terms of system

### Figure 1: Organizational Discrimination: Assessment/Analysis

In assessing and analyzing organizational operations with regard to the existence of discrimination, or the achievement of a multi-cultural environment, the following factors can be examined.

#### Goals and Values

- ...stated and unstated (assumed)

#### Membership

- ...criteria
- ...demographics
- ...locations in levels/tasks

#### Social Relationships

- ...communication patterns
- ...interaction networks
- ...status hierarchy

#### Technology for Achieving Goals

- ...pedagogy
- ...curriculum organization
- ...management systems

#### Authority

- ...who has it (formal and informal)
- ...how is it exercised

#### Norms and Rewards Regarding Behavior

- ...definitions of what's appropriate
- ..."payoff" criteria

#### Boundary Systems

- ...how people enter and leave
- ...relations with external markets/clients

Utilizing any and all of these factors, can we find any examples in our sub-units, units, or the larger university, of: (1) intentional discrimination; (2) discrimination by default (non-intentional); (3) well-intentioned but ineffective efforts to achieve a multi-cultural environment; (4) effective multi-cultural environments.

goals and values. The University's goals are codified into policies and enforced via norms for behavior and task performance; they are further solidified by rewards allocated to persons differentially on the basis of their adherence to these norms. Likewise, the University's typical curriculum and classroom pedagogy, its technology for providing instruction, reflects dominant norms and the real or operative (whether stated or unstated) goals and values of the organization.

Accompanying this discussion of organizational components, a general discussion focused on ways in which participants could gather evidence about racism in organizations such as the University, and in units such as those they represented. Formal and informal methods of gathering information and conducting studies were identified, including: paper and pencil questionnaires; face-to-face interviews of a standardized and formal character; informal conversations that are nonetheless focused on certain issues; unobtrusive observations of people, places and events; observation as part of participation in an event or situation, including a potential change effort; meetings with "expert" members of victimized groups (or of elites); self-examination or reflective inquiry into one's own feelings and attitudes, considering oneself as more or less representative of a class of persons; perusal of records such as meeting minutes, examination scores, salary levels, stated policies and procedures, course listings, etc.

During the lunch break, participants were asked to meet with others who had expressed definitions or examples of

organizational racism that were somewhat similar to their own. By sharing ideas and examples, we expected people would begin to identify others with whom they shared values and commitments, preparatory to working together or relying upon one another for help and advice in later sessions.

A personal racism awareness exercise was designed for the first portion of the afternoon. Even though, as noted in the introduction, personal or individual racism was not the major focus of this workshop, we assumed that some degree of clarification or confrontation of each person's understanding and views of racial matters was important. Individuals who are relatively clear on the history and nature of their own racial experience should find it easier to understand the issues others' are struggling with, and thus more able to direct or participate in organizational and institutional change. Figure 2 illustrates the inquiry format utilized in this session, wherein individuals were asked to think about their recognition of or experience with race and racism at three different points in their lives. After these forms were filled out, participants met with three other people, self-selected to create maximum race and gender diversity, to share their reflections. These discussions were very intense, and many participants reported quite revealing and intimate conversations with one another. Subsequent to these small group discussions, general themes arising from this task were presented to the entire group. The individual and small group discussions identified personal experiences, and the search

for general themes helped locate personal experiences in the context of institutional racism.

While there was considerable difference within the entire workshop in peoples' early experiences with race and racism, there was a remarkable degree of commonality in participants' discussions of their experiences at the University in the winter and spring of 1986-87. Participants discussed their prior knowledge of minority harassment, of inadequate service to these students, their inability to get support for needed change prior to 1987, and their intense pain at being "placed in the middle" between University administrators and concerned or protesting student groups when protests arose. Many participants reported being asked to do things that they felt "papered over" the University's real situation with regard to racism, in order to help create good press relations and/or to blunt protesting student groups. It is our observation that Black participants and some female participants expressed greater pain and anger regarding these issues than did most of the White males in the group. This reflects the general theme of how much more problematic racism is for the minority and lower status members of an organization. The role definition of student service personnel as "buffers" for the rest of the University, and the ways in which such personnel then feel compromised, was another potent theme throughout these discussions. It was but one more reflection of how organizational priorities and procedures constrain individuals' options, and perpetuate racism despite individuals' contrary values.



## Figure 2: Personal Attitudes Toward Racism \*

OBJECTIVE: To explore our personal experiences with racism and diversity and how these have influenced both our attitudes and our ability to cope with these issues.

## WORKSHEET

Identify and discuss three events, each at a different stage of your life, which have influenced your personal attitudes toward racism and diversity.

Phase I: (family of origin and school)

Phase II: (early work)

Phase III: (events of last winter/spring)

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\*This exercise had previously been utilized by Bailey Jackson and Edith Seashore, consultants to a brief workshop for the University's Executive Officers.

Individuals were then asked to rate their personal skills in working for change around issues of organizational racism. Figure 3 represents the format utilized for this task. Such self-reflection helped individuals think realistically about their own abilities, and about their learning agendas for the remainder of the workshop or for the long-term future.

In another effort to maintain a realistic perspective on the possibilities of change-making, individuals were asked to identify the actual and/or potential sources of support for their work on racism within the university and their local units. Figure 4 was used as a framework, and participants were asked to fill in each of those boxes with specific examples of people who did or could or would provide positive support for their work on this agenda. In those instances where the content of certain boxes was unknown, it was suggested that more information be gathered prior to the next session. The staff stressed the importance of each person being able to identify the persons from whom they might get support and assistance over the next several months. Making change on issues of racism is not easy and it often is not popular either; if it was it probably would have been done long ago. The potential of burnout, exhaustion and loneliness or isolation is high in such work, and it is important to stay in touch with one's supportive roots in family, friends, workplace and community in order to go forward confidently and coherently. By the same token, it is important to identify sources of negative support or resistance, and to plan how to buffer or counter these forces.

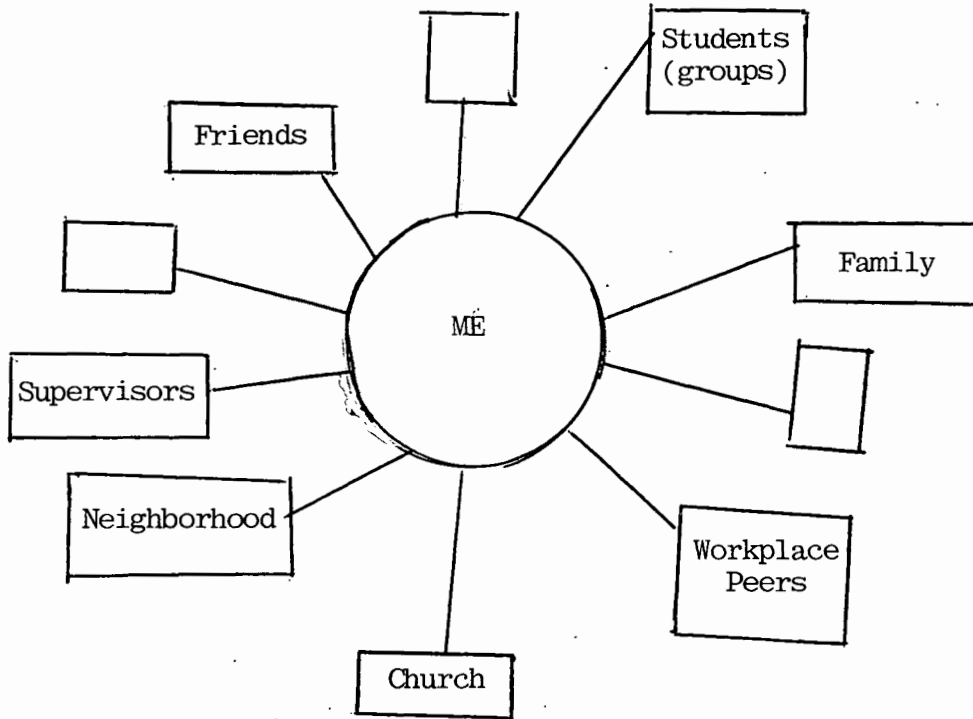
Figure 3: PERSONAL SKILLS/RESOURCES ASSESSMENT

What are some of the personal skills and resources you can (or wish to) bring to the effort to alter organizational racism?

Skills/Resources	I have this	I have some of this, but need more (e.g)	I do not have this
Knowledge of the issues here			
A clear social identity			
Ability to deal with people			
Can recognize racism easily			
Clarity about my values			
Energy			
Financial safety for risks			
Support from family/friends			
Support from co-workers			
Ability to confront others			
Ability to organize others			
Ability to speak in public			
Ability to lead discussion			
Connections to powerful people			
Willingness to risk loss of status/prestige			
Ability to write clear memos			
Internal emotional balance			
other			
other			

Figure 4

Sources of Support for my Involvement in  
Changing Organizational Racism



The final activity of this workshop session involved the creation of plans for the next session, and for "homework" that would be done prior to that time. Participants met with one other person, a "partner" or consultant for their own organizational change effort. Their first task, started within the workshop session, was to identify the kinds of evidence or information they needed about their own unit in order to better understand the examples of racism with which they began the day. As a result of the input and activities of this first session, some people had altered their understanding of racism and of the kinds of issues they wished to work on, and thus needed to generate completely different sets of evidence. Their second task was to gather such information or evidence prior to the next workshop session, three weeks hence, and to set a time to meet with their partner to support their data-gathering effort. Finally, participants were asked to organize that evidence on paper so that it could be shared with others at the next workshop session.

#### Planning to Change Organizational Racism: Session 3.

The principal agendas for the third workshop session were to help participants develop specific plans for creating change in their local units, and to advance their skill in planning and implementing change on an anti-racism agenda. Therefore, specific attention was given to the skills involved in planning and carrying out change efforts, and to analyzing their potential impact on the actual state of racial equity and justice. The agenda for Session 3 was as follows:

9-10:00 Small group discussion (with partners) of their homework (evidence of racism in unit)  
 Clarity of example and evidence  
 Statement of change goal based on example  
 Post each goal for entire group to see

10-12:00 Input on organizational racism  
 Discussion of examples  
 Review of organizational racism  
 Reading articles on organizational racism at the University

Lunch

1:30-3:00 Force field analysis as a tool for planning change  
 Identifying situational forces  
 Altering a force field  
 Planning specific change tactics

3-4:00 Personal assessment of the risks and support involved in changing organizational racism  
 Personal assessment of risk  
 Sharing assumed risks in small groups  
 Redo support charts

4-5:00 Use the force field analysis to plan (with partners or in unit teams) some action for change to be attempted prior to next session

Homework assigned at the prior session invited participants to bring with them some evidence of an issue of racism in their unit that was of priority-level concern. They also were to have discussed this issue, and the relevant evidence, with their workshop partner prior to the session. In fact, not all participants did this homework, nor did all meet with colleagues to talk about their units prior to Session 3. Therefore, the first activity of the morning duplicated the assignment, and participants met with their own partner, and another dyad, to share their evidence. Each member of these quartets was asked to listen carefully to the issue and evidence presented by every other member, reflecting upon its clarity, and believability.

After each member had had an opportunity to share and receive feedback on their priority issue and accompanying evidence, every participant created a statement of a goal for change from this issue-evidence. A goal is a statement of a desired end, and reformulates a "problem" into a "new and desired state of affairs". This goal statement, it was suggested, ought to be more than a reduction of the "problem", but a somewhat visionary presentation of a truly desirable situation, one involving some realization of racial justice or equity. Each group wrote members' goal statements on large newsprint at the end of their discussions; these goal sheets were posted and made available for public examination and reaction.

The staff then provided a brief lecture that reviewed prior work on the different meanings of personal and institutional racism, and urged participants to examine critically the extent to which their issues and goals were targeted at an organizational level. Indeed, some of the goal statements referred to increasing their own or colleagues' awareness and/or creating more harmonious interpersonal relations in unit offices. These goals did not appear to deal explicitly with organizational structures and procedures, and thus not likely to carry the continuing weight and power necessary to sustain change in racism and racial relations over time. Staff input urged participants to focus on "upstream" issues, on those aspects of the University's structure and their units' functioning that created (sometimes unconsciously and unintentionally) racist outcomes, rather than on the outcomes per se. For instance, one cannot

fundamentally alter racially oppressive admissions' statistics without challenging the assumption and criteria utilized for admissions; merely improving counselling effectiveness for students of color is less of an "upstream" focus than altering those racist living and learning conditions that create the need for counselling\*.

In order to assist participants' thinking about the "upstream" issues and the organizational level of racism, and therefore about organizational change efforts, several handouts were provided, and a reading break was taken. An Appendix to this report includes the relevant documents shared at this time: (1) an article in Agenda, by University of Michigan student and UCAR leader Barbara Ransby, in which she argues against forms of racial awareness training that distract people from a focus on organizational and institutional aspects of racism; (2) UCAR's original 13 demands to the University of Michigan and the 6-point agreement signed by UCAR and University officials; (3) the 6-point demands made by the Hispanic Student Association; (4) BAM III's 11 demands; and (5) the Original BAM statement and 12 demands of 1970, many of which were agreed to but not successfully implemented by the University in the intervening years. In addition to centering attention on organizational issues, these readings helped to re-ground participants in the

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\*Of course, one can and should go further upstream, to the core power structure and norms that create and sustain monocultural definitions of student or faculty excellence, but that agenda was even more difficult to pursue on a meaningful basis in this limited time frame. Such perspectives were presented and discussed briefly, but not followed up rigorously.



everyday pain and reality faced by Black and Hispanic students at the University of Michigan, and in the political struggle going on around us all - and including us.

Once participants had read these documents, they were asked to re-consider the goal statements posted on the newsprint sheets available to everyone. They were asked to consider the kind(s) and level(s) of racism represented in each goal statement, and whether it could be upgraded to an organizational or institutional level - or at least linked to change at an organizational level, and how it related to the various demands they had just read about. Everyone made written comments on each posted problem and goal statement, providing feedback to the originators on these aspects of their work and planning process. During the lunch break, participants were asked to rethink their own change goals in light of these criticisms and suggestions, coming back to the afternoon session with a revised version that more coherently and potently addressed racism in an organizational context. Participants noted their difficulty in staying focused at an organizational or institutional level, and the great temptation to return to problems of individual (and interpersonal) racism. Our prior socialization in thinking about racial injustice, aided by cultural mystification of the real and pervasive societal roots of privilege and oppression, create a complex re-learning agenda.

After lunch we focused on more specific techniques and aspects of the planning process. The first activity of the afternoon revolved around the technique of a force field analysis

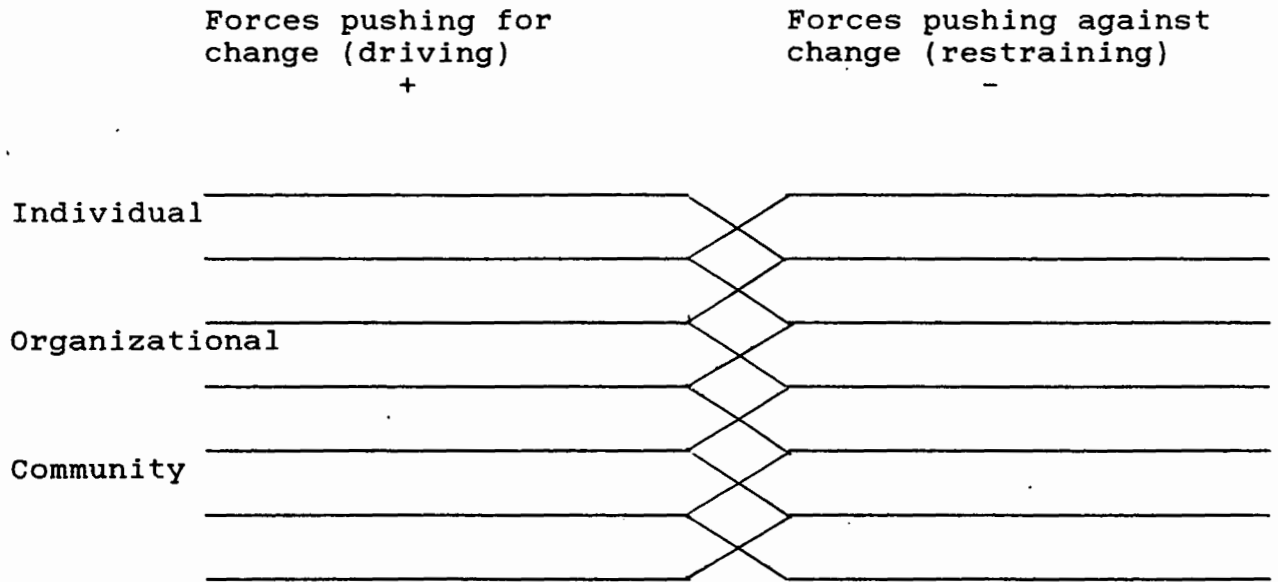
(FFA). The FFA permits a planner to identify, with regard to a relatively specific change goal, the factors in a situation which may promote achievement of that goal or inhibit progress toward it. It is, therefore, an excellent diagnostic tool in the change-planning process. Figure 5 presents the format for an FFA and the accompanying chart presents two examples of partially completed FFAs (taken from quite different workshops, Chesler et al, 1974 and Crowfoot et al, 1982). As Figure 5 indicates, participants listed their revised and reconsidered change goal at the top of the sheet, and then identified a specific portion of this goal that they could immediately begin to work on as their "change program or target". They then considered three kinds of "forces" in their environment that might have an impact on this change goal: (1) forces operating at an individual level, such as themselves, certain other persons, key supervisors or peers; (2) forces operating at an organizational level, such as the staffing mix in their unit, their unit's relationship with other units, University policies and procedures, resources available from special fund categories, historic patterns of organizational racism, and (3) community or societal forces, such as the racist culture or political-economic apparatus of the broader American society, pressures emanating from the state legislature or specific communities in the state of Michigan.

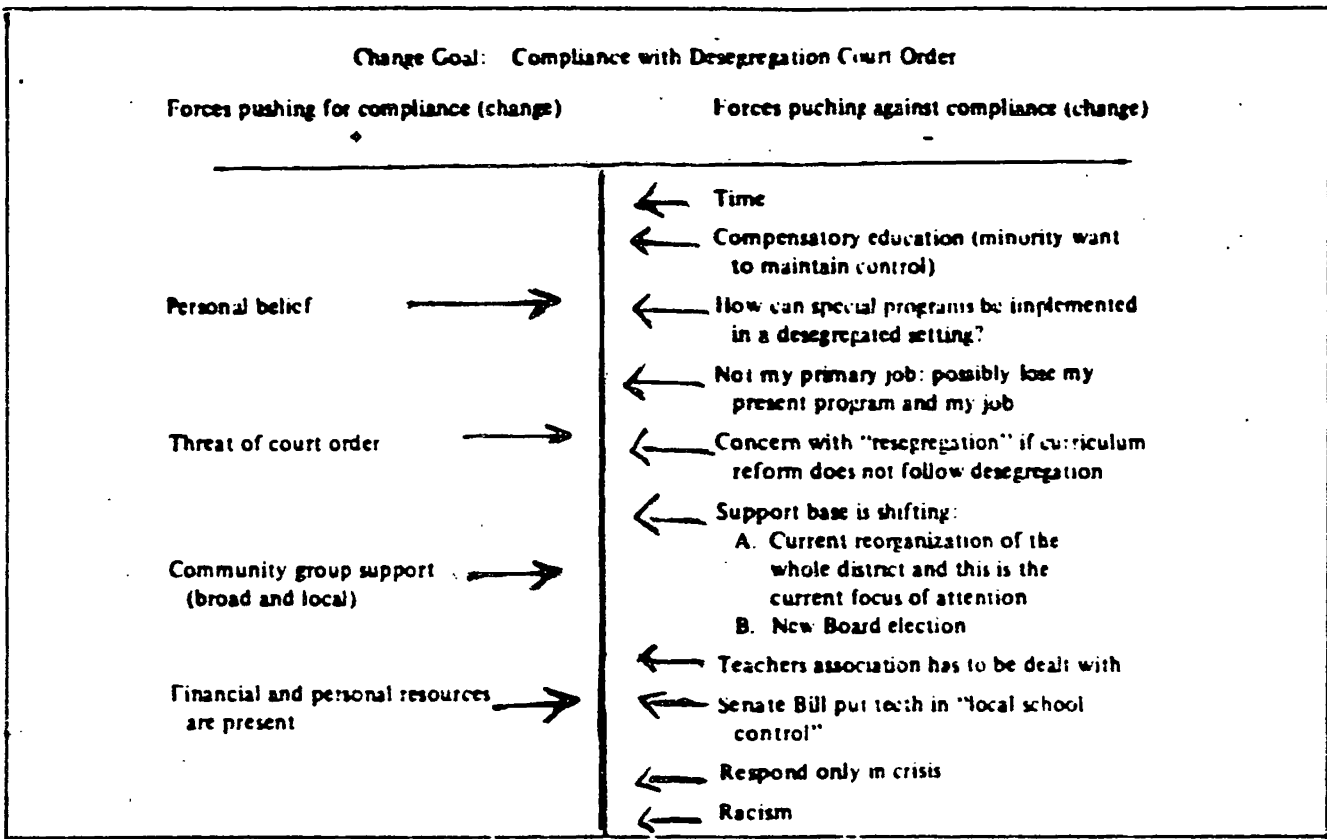
With this explanation in mind, participants returned to the quartets they worked in during the morning session and helped create each person's force field analysis. People were asked to be realistic and inclusive in their analyses, listing a wide

Figure 5: FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

Anti-racism concern: \_\_\_\_\_  
(goal for change)

Change program or target: \_\_\_\_\_





**Equity concern: Safety and Security**

**Change program: Place Parents as Safety Monitors on Buses**

Forces pushing for change

1. Some volunteers can be found
2. Bus drivers need help
3. Older students want to ride and supervise younger ones
4. Teachers support it
5. Principal likes the idea
6. The media report this has worked in other cities

Forces pushing against change

7. Insurance doesn't cover non-employees
8. No money to hire more people
9. Parents can't afford to volunteer
10. Bus drivers don't want visitors
11. Some parents have been attacked by youth on city buses
12. Principal feels community leaders of the program are too negative

range of both positive (encouraging or supportive) and negative (inhibiting or resisting) forces at each level. When these lists were judged to be relatively complete, participants were asked to rate the relative strength of each force listed on their diagram (as strong, moderate or weak).

The next activity involved discussion of the ways to plan change in this force field analysis, basically of altering the current alignment of forces to guide the way to a different situation. In such an effort, the FFA moves from a diagnostic instrument to a change-planning instrument. The staff outlined five different strategies for planning the alteration of a force field, and thus for change-making: (1) increasing the strength of positive forces; (2) decreasing the strength of negative forces; (3) obliterating a negative force; (4) adding an innovative positive force that did not exist (or was not conceived as existing) in the environment previously; and (5) transforming a negative force into a positive force. Of course, not every force listed on everyone's FFA is or will be amenable to change, but participants were asked to try to apply these change strategies.

The next level of specificity and concreteness in planning change was reached by taking a major force in the FFA and breaking it out as a separate subject of analysis. For instance, in the chart from Crowfoot et al, 1982 (lower example), a negative force affecting the possibility of utilizing parents as safety monitors on school busses is that "parents can't afford to be volunteers". This significant and important issue was developed as a change goal on its own, "Find ways to compensate

parents for volunteer activity as bus monitors". With that change goal at the top of another FFA, participants in that workshop brainstormed ways of finding such compensation or lessening the degree of investment parent volunteers would have to make. The advantage of this successive breakdown of the powerful forces in a FFA is that it slowly attains a high level of concrete and specific planning, and thus provides very clear and immediate guides for action. It is often a tedious process, but usually clarifies subtle assumptions and often unearths previously overlooked resources.

The next two activities focused on personalization of this planning process, and asked participants to examine the "risks" and "support needs and opportunities" that might be involved in their change efforts. All the rational planning and analysis conducted to this point will fail if the action suggested is perceived as too risky or as requiring people to operate alone and without support from others. The staff, therefore, discussed the issue of risk in attempting change, especially change around issues as politically and emotionally potent as organizational racism.

Risk was explored through the use of the self and situational assessment format illustrated in Figure 6. Participants listed their change goal (the same as that noted at the top of their FFAs) at the top of the Risk Assessment Chart, and then filled out that chart. They first specified what each of the risks in the chart meant in their own lives/situations, and then identified the degree to which they were willing (at

least at this point in time) to undertake each risk. This is an important self-assessment for each individual to undertake and to share with teammates or colleagues. First, it makes visible and public each person's commitments and limitations. Second, it permits an understanding (and hopefully appreciation) of others' political calculus, and the ways in which others can and cannot be counted upon in difficult situations. It is not important that everyone take every risk to the fullest extent in order to build an effective team; what is critical is that teammates understand what is and is not tolerable for each person, so that they know the ways in which they can depend upon one another and have realistic expectations for each others' behaviors. Some of the most common specific risks (within the categories in Figure 6) that people identified were:

Criticism from superiors for actions that might create "noise."

Concern that someone will repeat my criticism of colleagues or supervisors.

Fear of trying something and getting attacked by students of color for not doing it right.

Fear of making a "racist" mistake.

After identifying potential risks, participants tried to ascertain, often with the help of partners and colleagues, the extent to which each of these risks might occur in reality. This is a crucial step: we often overestimate the likelihood of some risks and underestimate others; thus, it is often helpful to have others' perceptions of risk categories. These risks were shared in small groups and then discussed briefly in the total workshop

Figure 6: Risk Assessment Chart

Change Goal: \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of risk involved	What am I committed to risking in this area	Likelihood of this risk actually occurring
Economic loss threat		
Physical Danger		
Loss of self-esteem		
Legal action		
Loss of political credibility		
Threat to career		
Loss of respect of friends		
Disapproval from supervisor		
Challenged for not doing enough		
Colleagues feel I've done too much		
Unclear about how to defend my definition of racism		
Other--		



setting. The workshop staff used the risks identified as further examples of the existence and power of organizational racism, arguing that the potential sanctions (formal or informal) that participants feared reflected dominant norms and authority structures (see Figure 1), and represented some of the ways in which the larger culture and structure of the University organization (and indeed the entire society) subtly maintained racism and inhibited efforts to alter racism.

The second activity in this sequence asked participants to return to the life-space support charts they created in an earlier session (see Figure 4) and to fill their charts out again, now with specific reference to the supports they could count upon (or could create anew and therefore count upon in the future) in undertaking the specific change-related actions identified in their FFA. This activity, like others, promoted a higher degree of specification and realism about the process of planning and carrying out organizational change around racism.

The final task of Session 3 was a homework assignment, one quite similar to that made after Session 2, but going beyond planning to now implementing action in home units. Participants were asked to further develop their FFAs during the next month, and to translate these change-planning documents into actual change efforts. Thus, people were now to try and implement a change effort around organizational racism in their local units or situations, and to be prepared to report upon it in the next session. In addition, they were urged to make use of personal meetings with the staff (in person or on the telephone), and to

feel free to call upon one another for support, advice, help in planning or assistance in carrying out a plan or an event. The benefits of such partnership, and the request that partners identify and commit to visiting and working with in the intervening month, were once again emphasized.

Reviewing Progress (and the lack thereof): Session 4.

The basic purpose of Session 4 was to provide opportunity for participants to review their progress in changing organizational racism at the University. It was originally designed as the final workshop session, but for reasons that are discussed below (and again in the evaluation segment), this session was shortened and an additional session added. In order to enrich the work conducted at this session two additional consultants joined the staff: Dr. Hector Garza and Dr. Joseph Price.

The agenda for the day was as follows:

- 9-10:00     Reports of homework  
                     What actions for change were attempted?
- 10-12:00    Discussion of "what got in the way"?  
                     Fill out and discuss Figure 7  
                     What does this discussion tell us about  
                             organizational racism at the University?
- Lunch
- 1-2:00        Review of individual plans  
                     How do these plans respond to the issues raised  
                             in materials in Appendix ?  
                     To what extent do plans alter organizational  
                             racism (rather than individual)?
- 3-4:00        What help do you need to make a difference?

The first activity of this session involved all participants sharing information about the change actions they had undertaken during the month of November. Participants who did not undertake such action reported on what they had planned to do, but had not yet done. Some of this information was available in written form and was elaborated upon verbally; others simply gave verbal reports. These reports served three purposes: (1) they brought everyone up to date on progress (or the lack thereof), (2) they placed additional peer pressure on laggards to develop and implement their plans, and (3) they informed the external consultants regarding the nature and focus of the workshop group.

It became clear quite quickly that many participants simply had not carried out the plans or promises that they had made! Reaction to this collective reality was mixed. Many participants expressed a sense of weariness; some wondered whether anything would ever change. Several Black participants openly questioned and challenged the commitment of their Black and their White colleagues.

Since inquiries prior to the workshop session had alerted the staff to this problem of non-action or non-implementation, we tried to help participants understand why they were stuck - in the context of a learning activity rather than simply as punishment for failure. The outline for discussion reflected in Figure 7 was passed out, and participants were asked to fill in the outline with comments explaining why they had not been able to move more quickly to alter racism in their units. The entries in Figure 8 represent a synthesis of this discussion.

Participants' responses to these questions themselves constitute a form of organizational analysis; they render visible and concrete many subtle and/or vague realities about organizations, and about the process of organizational change. Time and energy constraints, high risks, lack of support from supervisors and peers, unclarity or doubt about the commitments of organizational leaders, and concerns about personal lack of skills all are mentioned prominently. These problems are once again clarified in participants' statements about what kinds of things would (have) help(ed) them in their efforts to create organizational change, entered on the bottom of Figure 8\*.

The remaining portion of this session was spent in small group discussions with the external consultants. Discussions focussed on questions such as "Where did all the original commitment go?" "What action can you still realistically take?" "How can one not lose hope in the face of recent events at the University?" "What help do you now need to implement your plan?" Then the consultants reviewed and reported their own reactions to participants' change plans, their own understanding of key principles of changing organizational racism, and their support for people working on anti-racist agendas. This work was done in concrete ways, with a detailed focus on different individuals and their particular units and plans.

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\*This figure presents a concrete and potent image of how organizations (and especially some organizational leaders) frustrate anti-racism change efforts. With participants' permission, it was shared with the University's Provost and Deans/Directors, as a stimulus to their own organizational analysis and planning, and as a commentary on their own potential roles in facilitating or blocking the efforts of middle managers.

Figure 7: What Got in the Way?

Outline for Discussion

WHAT GOT IN THE WAY OF MOVING MORE QUICKLY  
OF MOVING TO ALTER ORGANIZATIONAL RACISM  
OF MOVING ON THE "UPSTREAM" PROBLEM

Time and energy constraints?

Risks too great?

Commitment to altering racism low?

Unclear about a worthwhile and workable goal?

Lack of skill in beginning change?

Lack of support for this work?

Frustrated by feeling that nothing will make a  
difference?

WHAT ELSE?

Figure 8: What Got in the Way - II  
 WHAT GOT IN THE WAY OF MOVING MORE QUICKLY?  
 OF MOVING TO ALTER ORGANIZATIONAL RACISM?  
 OF MOVING ON THE "UPSTREAM" PROBLEM?

Time and energy constraints?

Constant interruptions  
 Too much to do, with little time, resources or help  
 Cannot do my regular job and do anti-racism work  
 (something must give)  
 We, the committed, are being over-drained

Risks too great?

Intruding on others' turf  
 Threat to my job security/paycheck  
 Embarrass my unit by exposing problems  
 Fear of backlash from student - Black/White - caught between  
 student groups and between students and administration  
 Retaliation high (friends, money, promotion)

Commitment to altering racism low?

Lip service or real commitment from above  
 In a few months will anyone high up still care?  
 Easy to blame others, but I/we could do more  
 Where are the Faculty? Where are the Deans?

Unclear about a worthwhile and workable goal?

Some of these change proposals are not very worthwhile  
 Others' expectations/demands on us are too high  
 How do we prioritize all that needs to be done?

Lack of skill in beginning change?

Where do I exert influence to create change?

Lack of support for this work?

Inconsistent messages from superiors/peers  
 I/We are the only ones acting  
 No credit/incentive for doing good on this agenda

Frustrated by feeling that nothing will make a difference?

What we are doing isn't enough  
 Feel impotent/powerless  
 Feels like a University malaise

WHAT WOULD HELP?

- Need to deal with this as a serious issue requiring extra time/energy, cannot do it as an "add on" to a full job.
- Need a reward structure (and support) for people doing anti-racist programming (need leadership from above).
- Need more ideas about what to do that is worthwhile but not overwhelming.
- Need more people to actively share the load
- Need to have faculty directly involved in working with students on these issues.

As a result of dissatisfaction with progress made in local units, it was agreed to extend the workshop and meet again. Participants again committed themselves to undertake local change efforts, and to return for an additional session in two months.

Next Steps - Separately and Together: Session 5.

The primary concern in this final, half-day session was to review the workshop in general, to discuss events occurring at the University over the past several months, and to chart any future steps or activities members of the group might undertake, individually or together. This session occurred amidst renewed student protest concerning lack of positive movement at the University and lack of visible and positive leadership by University officials.

In reflecting back over the past several months, especially since the fourth session in early December, participants had four general reactions. The first was a recognition and report of some positive actions on the part of themselves and others in the University community. In this there was a sense of growth and of positive hope for the future; participants did not feel that major problems had been solved or that organized racism significantly had lessened, but they did report that more people were seriously thinking about these issues and actually trying to act differently. The second reaction was frustration and anger at the continuing evidence of racism - in public speech, in behavior and in non-action - by significant elements of the staff, faculty and administration of the University. In this

there was a sense of despair and futility with regard to any progress, and for the changes they might undertake within the prevailing context of "business as usual." The third general reaction was a growing concern about the degree of harassment, pain and non-responsiveness felt in the minority student (and staff and faculty) community. Workshop participants, most of whom had constant contact with members of the minority student community, feared that these students would eventually be "blamed" for the University's negative public image. They also suggested that increasing polarization of the community and alienation of the White student body would be a natural outgrowth of a lack of faculty leadership in challenging racism in classroom and curriculum. Thus, while they felt there was evidence of administrative leadership, albeit sometimes unreliable and by no means universal, they often asked for evidence of faculty concern. The fourth general reaction was one of frustration (and for some guilt) about their own lack of ability or energy or commitment to try the changes they had planned or hoped to undertake.

In discussing potential next steps in their own growth and work toward changing organizational racism, several workshop participants indicated that they were continuing to work on the projects they had started. It seemed quite clear that several change projects had been initiated, and that several of these showed promise of success - at least to date. Several others were still to be undertaken, and people expressed the hope that



they might be of further support and aid to colleagues who had not yet put their plans into practice.

A subgroup of the entire workshop (predominantly Black participants and White female participants) indicated a desire to present the results of their learnings and plans to various members of the University administration, to appraise them of their new or altered perspective and sense of what had to be different at a higher organizational level to support their initiatives for change. The possibility of writing a collective letter or seeking a collective audience was discussed, but the actual planning of such options was left to a follow-up meeting without the staff and outside the official workshop setting.

#### IV. Evaluations

Workshop participants generally were very positive about the learning process in which they had engaged, and felt they were better prepared to understand issues of organizational/ institutional racism and to combat it within their units. They were asked to list specific positive and negative aspects of the workshop; those elements mentioned most often included:

##### Positive aspects.

Open and honest dialogue  
 Trust developed among participants  
 A chance to evaluate one's own attitudes and knowledge and skills  
 Overcome a feeling of being alone in caring about racism  
 Learned skills in diagnosis and change-planning  
 Learned about organizational racism -what it is, how it works  
 Got in touch with the reality of racism on campus  
 Learned ways of confronting racism  
 Tried some new things in my unit

##### Negative aspects

Not everyone was open  
 It was hard to do a real change project  
 There were real time/energy limits on us, since everyone had full-time jobs to do too  
 Too many negative comments about the administration  
 Not enough analysis of the administration's resistance to change

Our own views, as staff members, roughly coincide with these perceptions. We felt open and honest dialogue had often occurred, but not all the time. In fact, although some Black participants did challenge some White participants regarding their real values and their commitments to change, other participants deliberately avoided confronting one another about their different views and suggestions. Our priority of dealing with organizational racism, as contrasted with individual prejudice and racism, led us to not pursue all these instances.

That may have been an error, however, since pursuit might well have been an opportunity for learning more about the impact of institutional racism on individuals, and eventually for increasing the level of trust and collaboration, or at least honesty, among workshop participants.

Several participants wavered in their degree of commitment to the workshop agenda, and indeed to work on racism itself. A few seldom did the "homework", did very little action-planning, and seemed "along for the ride". A few also left some sessions early, mostly to do their regular work. And the quality of some participants' projects was problematic - either because they remained focused on individual racism or because they were targeted at minimally potent organizational factors. To the extent that these limited initiatives are responses to felt risk, it is hard to fault individuals for their choices in an environment they perceive as hostile to their change concerns. Change in that environment, or at least in its openness and support for new initiatives, may have to precede middle manager efforts.

In our view, the interplay of racial, gender and power/status dynamics probably was involved in these differential response patterns. For instance, it appeared to us that substantial effort at local unit change of an organizational character, and indeed in workshop leadership (e.g. regarding the initiative of next steps), was taken by a group of Black males and females and White females. Another group, primarily of higher status White/males, but including Black males and White

females, did substantial planning, but undertook little demonstrable action focused on organizational racism (although it did appear that they worked on issues of personal racism). It is probably premature to draw such conclusions firmly as of the end of the last workshop session, since participants may have continued to innovate or plan changes at later points in the year. Or, perhaps their personal learnings had made a difference in the nature of debate and discussion within the Academic Services Board or their local units. We have not conducted systematic follow-up evaluations that would assess these observations.

Several participants expressed the view that it had been helpful to meet and talk with others concerned about altering racism at the University. Many of these staff members felt isolated in their units, as if they were fighting a lonely and losing battle against White denial, complacency, disinterest and resistance to change. The recognition that others cared deeply and were planning to take risks and make change, buttressed and re-energized participants.

Perhaps the most distressing aspect of the workshop was the real time/energy constraints participants experienced. For the most part people were committed to attending events, participating in them, and trying out ideas in their local units. Attendance generally was good: all 18 participants attended the preparatory session and Session 2; fourteen out of 18 attended Session 3, and 2 of those missing it were picked up in a makeup meeting with the staff; twelve of 18 attended session 4, and 4 of

those missing it were picked up in a makeup meeting; and 15 out of 18 attended session 5. In all, then, only 2 of the original 18 participants stopped coming to meetings on a regular basis. However, attending meetings and trying to create local unit change are two different matters. Some participants found it difficult, despite trying hard, to alter their daily work routines so they could be free to try out new ideas. This is one of the subtle workings of organizational racism, and exemplifies the way "normal" business operations frustrate the intelligent and well-intentioned efforts of people of good will. It also reflects a major failure of the workshop design.

It appeared to us that many people learned new ways of understanding and thinking about racism, especially about organizational racism, and about the realistic need for change in their units and in the University at large. These are important gains. However, a full and final evaluation of this workshop would not rest on participants' reports of their positive and negative reactions, nor on their changed perceptions, attitudes or even skills. It would focus eventually on whether participants designed and implemented (or tried to implement) programs that changed aspects of the organizational racism they identified in their units. We know that some participants did design such programs and put them into practice, some immediately and some 6-9 months after the workshop concluded. Since we have not collected information on the extent of such efforts, nor their precise nature and impact, this is a quite incomplete

evaluation. We certainly hope that some projects will begin to make a difference in some local units; only time will tell.

### V. Recommendations.

This section summarizes the major recommendations of participants and staff members. They appear to flow from the general perspective that the workshop was successful, but that it did not go far enough.

1. Many participants suggested that the workshop should be done again, perhaps with some changes. It could be offered to other members of the Academic Services Board. It could be offered to members of intact work teams or entire offices; this would ease the problem of one person trying to bring new ideas back to a entire unit. And it was suggested that it could be done with people of higher status than these workshop participants, people with the organizational power to make the organizational changes workshop participants were considering.

2. Several participants argued that more attention should have been paid to raising individuals' personal awareness of their own racism and how they are embedded in the structure and culture of the larger organization and society. In this way the issues of interracial and collegial trust and openness might have been confronted and worked through more successfully. The same probably is true for the examination of gender dynamics and of the power/status differences among individuals. Indeed, our original intention as staff members to avoid a focus on personal awareness may have

distracted us from dealing effectively with these concerns. A closely related concern was that as participants focused on making changes that they saw as important in their own units they sometimes strayed from the issues expressed by protesting student groups. The staff did try to keep the workshop grounded in the ongoing campus struggle, particularly with readings and commentary from campus leaders, but it might have been useful to connect participants' plans more directly with the issues raised by students, or with representatives of these groups, in person. However, the time available for either of these awareness-raising activities would have detracted from other objectives.

3. It would have been advisable for the workshop staff to have been multiracial. Although, as noted earlier, there are potential advantages to White leadership in such workshops, there are disadvantages as well. The staff's inability to model productive Black-White challenge and confrontation may have accounted for workshop participants' reluctance to pursue these issues with one another. Several authors have commented on these issues (see, for instance, Alderfer et al, 1980), and especially on the way a racially more diverse staff can facilitate racial caucuses and confrontations. The addition of two consultants who are minority group members was helpful in this regard, but it came late in the workshop schedule and they were additions,



not built-in and ongoing parts of the staff and the process. Another issue centering on the staff concerns the special utility and disutility of involving University personnel as staff. As internal University personnel, we were aware in special ways of local history and tradition, and personally familiar with some workshop participants. Also as internal personnel, we undoubtedly wore some of the blinders typical of people operating within this culture, and were at least somewhat subject to the risks and sanctions noted and discussed by the participants themselves. It is not clear to us that our internal status was on balance disadvantageous, but external consultants probably would have brought with them a quite different calculus on these matters. This obviously is a matter requiring greater thought.

4. There was a stated need for more sustained follow-up with individuals and partner-teams between workshop sessions. Such action would have encouraged or cajoled members to "do their homework", and would have provided a continuing supportive presence to people who, for various reasons, wavered in their energy or skill or commitment. In fact, the workshop staff did constantly invite people to personal meetings, but were seldom taken up on those invitations. It seems that beyond invitations, the staff could have originated visits to participants in their own units and provided more "at the elbow" assistance. One

recommendation from several persons suggested that this follow-up begin immediately, with attention to the continuing work of workshop participants themselves.

5. In any future attempt to duplicate or expand such a workshop, attention must be paid to the issues of time/energy availability. One suggestion was for sessions to be half-days rather than full days, but that would stretch out the concentrated time involved and lessen collegial interaction even further. Another suggestion was to conduct sessions as a retreat, pulling people even further away from their jobs. As it was, participants had to do their regular day's work whether or not they were in their office; thus they had to do two days work for each day they spent at a workshop session. Release time that is real, or extra compensation, or people who substitute at work, are other possibilities for dealing with this issue. It is, of course impossible to deal meaningfully with this issue without involving the rest of the University's administrative leadership in the process. Middle managers simply cannot be excused from their important roles without some impact on either their personal work load or the short-run operating efficiency of their units. Thus, the time/energy solutions would have required, and still do require, meaningful support from the Deans and Directors who supervised workshop participants. As noted earlier, the fact that a priority on meeting the demands of regular

organizational business demands detracts from the priority on planning and acting to change organizational racism is, in and of itself, evidence of the prevailing power of organizational racism. Only if changing organizational racism becomes sufficiently important to intrude upon and alter other ongoing priorities is there a realistic chance of success. Ongoing priorities may include regular admissions' procedures, regular hiring procedures, regular decision-making procedures, or regular time/energy demands of people committed to changing racism.

6. The workshop as constructed relied on the "good will" of participants to take the issues seriously, to identify important change projects, to work to challenge racism, etc. Most did. In our introductory discussion of efforts to change institutional racism, however, we noted just how shortsighted is reliance on such motives alone. Thus, some have argued that instead of simply changing the time/energy resource system, we could have arranged for more direct pressure for change to be placed on these middle level managers. Then perhaps they would have been "forced" to rearrange their schedules, stay in sessions, design high level projects, carry them out, etc. Where would such pressure have come from? Perhaps from more direct contact with protesting student groups. Perhaps from administrative demand that change be undertaken. These things did not happen; indeed, it is not clear that participants would

have volunteered for a workshop under these circumstances. But we do think that more support (and pressure) from above would have helped. In the terms spelled out in Chesler and Delgado's (1987, see p. 12 of this report) discussion of alternative training programs for organizational change, this workshop exemplified models 2-4, efforts to alter skills on an ongoing basis, with the support of powerful policy makers (although on the latter point there was disagreement among participants) and manipulation of the organizational infrastructure. Future efforts might adopt portions of model 6 - "support and normative pressure plus resources and modification of the reward structure" (p.199) - or models 11 and 12 - adding other members of the local community or external authorities. Obviously the addition of these power elements would have led to a very different workshop design. This discussion highlights the potential alternatives for future consideration, and is not an effort to delegitimize the present design or outcomes themselves. However, participants' comments about their own time limitations, and their continuing concern about support from superordinates (who have the power to reward them, to manipulate resources, and to expect their regular day's work in addition to learning/planning time) require attention.

7. One focus of future work could be joint or collective action by several or all workshop participants. The concentration on one's own individual projects did not take

full advantage of the collective power and skill of the group assembled. Moreover, it failed to translate the individual learning agendas and growth of workshop participants into a potent political force. Given concerns raised about the level of trust and openness that did prevail, however, it is not clear that joint projects or a collective political thrust would have been successful. Nevertheless, this remains an important option to be considered further.

8. Finally, it was suggested that this sort of workshop has the greatest payoff potential to the extent it is built in to the ongoing structure and culture of the University, to the job and role expectations of all staff members (and faculty and administration as well). Just as we know that anti-racism efforts will not succeed if they are seen as extras, such workshops will not be likely to succeed as arenas for preparing people for anti-racism work until that, too, is seen as "business as usual." Training efforts alone will not alter the institutional basis of organizational racism; neither will small projects undertaken by middle-managers. But they may be a useful complement to other efforts to challenge organizational racism.

We invite inquiry, dialogue and reaction to the issues raised in this report.

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#### Add Reading List from Workshop

\*Refers to items referenced in this report. Other entries, as well as some of those with astericks, were suggested to participants as background reading.

APPENDIX OF MATERIALS ON CAMPUS PROTEST DEMANDS & AGREEMENTS  
(See Agenda for Session 3)

1. Ransby article on "pushbutton solutions"
2. UCAR (United Coalition Against Racism) list of proposals
3. Statement from the Hispanic Student Association
4. Black Action Movement III demands
5. Summary of original BAM demands
6. Summary of University's 6-point agreement or Action Plan.



# University Goes for Pushbutton Solution

by Barbara Ransby

The impact of RAT programs historically has not been to further and enhance anti-racist struggles but to divert, dilute and subvert them, to "ease tensions," gloss over contradictions, and redefine problems so that their solutions fit.

Last year, the struggle against racism at U-M intensified sharply. In response to a series of blatantly racist incidents, students occupied the Administration building overnight, disrupted the Board of Regents meeting, and focused national media attention on the struggle at U-M. Consequently, the University was forced to respond. The response, however, has been geared more toward suppressing future protests than combatting racism. By defining the problem of racism as a problem of individual attitudes as opposed to a problem which is systemic and institutionalized, the University is, in effect, depoliticizing the anti-racist campus movement. This approach conveniently deflects blame from university officials and minimizes the fact that they have virtually ignored the anti-racist demands made by student activists last term. This overly simplistic, apolitical and ahistorical view of racism is dangerously misleading and undermines progressive anti-racist struggle.

sonal and often emotional exchanges between whites and Blacks.

As RAT evolved, it increasingly focused on white racist attitudes which were confronted in all-white workshops, by "expert" white facilitators. A popular RAT slogan is that "racism is a white problem." This slogan exposes the fact that RAT facilitators are concerned solely with racist attitudes as opposed to racist policies, practices and institutions. Such a statement has validity only if one is discussing the psychology of racism. If we talk about the material reality of racism in peoples' lives it is primarily a problem for people of color.

This personalized approach to racism was packaged and distributed widely by white Oklahoma professor Judy Katz in a 1976 book and subsequent training program. In 1978, RAT went international and a center was set up in Britain. Not surprisingly, RAT was adapted to British needs at a point when anti-racist struggle against the fascist National



Over the summer, the University has brought in several "professional" race relations consultants to conduct workshops on "unlearning racism" for students, staff and some faculty. These consultants, while their approaches vary, are connected to the Katzian philosophy of Racism Awareness Training (RAT), popularized over a decade ago.

The primary strategy for fighting racism advocated by RAT is for individuals to understand other cultures and their own prejudices against people who are different. Whites, who are the focus of the RAT technique, are asked to carefully explore and confront their personal biases as the best way of combating racism. Facilitators suggest they begin to do this by identifying how they themselves have been targets of discrimination as gays, people who are overweight, elderly, or from single parent homes.

RAT emerged in the late 1960's, on the heels of the Civil Rights and Black liberation movements of that same decade. It was coordinated by school administrators, social workers and government bureaucrats in urban centers where Black protests had been most intense. Not surprisingly, Detroit was one of those centers.

One of the most comprehensive RAT programs was set up by the U.S. military to "ease tensions" between Black and white G.I.'s. That program was put in place by the Defense Department essentially to "cool out" Black soldiers who were mounting increasingly militant protests against racism and discrimination within the military. The programs consisted of cultural awareness sessions including per-

Front, led by Black and Asian youth, was at its peak. The impact of RAT programs historically has not been to further and enhance anti-racist struggles but to divert, dilute and subvert them, to "ease tensions," gloss over contradictions, and redefine problems so that their solutions fit.

To the degree which RAT addresses racism as a political issue it suggests that racism is prejudice plus power. This formulation is problematic because it defines the primary foundation of racism as personal prejudice.

It is more plausible to think of American racism in reverse. It is the power to subjugate, enslave and exploit which is racism's foundation. Racist stereotypes, theories of racial inferiority, and even a pseudo-scientific definition of race itself, came largely as justification for the oppressive social relations that had already been created. As a former Black Panther leader once observed, "African people were not brought to America as 'negroes.' We were brought here as slaves." In other words, European colonists did not span the globe, implement an elaborate trade network and carefully construct the social and economic system of slavery simply because they did not "like" Africans. African slaves were brought to the Americas primarily as economic units to satisfy the insatiable labor needs of an expanding agricultural economy.

Racism is an exploitative set of relationships that oppresses some and benefits others. Racism divides poor people along racial lines, conveniently designates people of color as those who will be at

(see RAT, page 18)

## RAT

(from page 7)

the bottom of the social and economic pyramid of American capitalism, and provides visible and vulnerable scapegoats to blame for a whole array of social problems. For those who rule and profit from the current social order, racism is not accidental at all.

RAT facilitators essentially divorce racism from its political and historical context and characterize it as one big misunderstanding. RAT reduces racism from the level of the political to the level of the personal, suggesting that by changing attitudes, one by one, we will eventually, albeit gradually, change the world. This sounds appealing to many

Americans who fear confrontation, disruption and the disorder of mass protest. This approach implies that we can just sit down calmly and quietly and talk things out. The only problem is this personalized approach ignores the very basic question—Where do bad ideas come from anyway?

Changing the nature of education, reallocating material wealth, desegregating communities will do more to change ideas and, more importantly, improve the lives of people of color. Individual or group therapy sessions which deal with racism in the abstract for two hours only sends everyone back to their segregated lives, stratified institutions, and differing levels of privilege, feeling personally cleansed and absolved. RAT gives people a way to feel better about themselves without doing anything to change the racist reality all around them.

Yes, racist attitudes must be combated, but struggles based solely on countering attitudinal racism while leaving the entire racist apparatus of society unscathed is not only inadequate but counter productive. Programs such as RAT serve only to detract attention from the political movement to effect social change. Whites should instead learn to reject personal racism by joining in the anti-racist struggle and by accepting leadership from those who understand racism best, those who have been its principal victims—people of color. Moreover, racist personal attitudes are most likely to be challenged in the context of on-going relationships and struggle rather than a two or eight hour workshop which deals with the issue in the abstract. Racism has no push-button solutions.

## UCAR ANTI-RACIST PROPOSALS (1987)

1. Submit a specific plan to guarantee a substantial increase in Black student enrollment.
2. Establish an Office of Minority Affairs with an autonomous supervisory commission elected by the minority campus community.
3. Create a Financial Aid Appeals Board to make sure no student is forced out of the University because of economic discrimination.
4. Establish a mandatory workshop on racism and diversity for all incoming students.
5. Set up a program of orientation for minority students to meet and talk with already enrolled minority students and faculty to minimize feelings of isolation.
6. Institute a program of tuition waivers for all under-represented and economically disadvantaged minority students until the goals for minority enrollment are realized.
7. Create a Minority Student Lounge and Office in the Michigan Union where minority students can meet in a comfortable and supportive atmosphere on a regular basis.
8. Establish a required course on diversity and bigotry to be taken by all matriculated students before graduation from the University, with input from the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies.
9. Full observance of the Dr. Martin Luther King holiday including cancellation of classes and the closing of offices.
10. Honorary degree for S. African leader Nelson Mandela at May commencement.
11. Full, public, and immediate investigation of all reported incidents of racial harassment, and a mechanism set up, to facilitate the on-going reporting and documentation of such incidents.
12. The immediate removal of all those involved in incidents of racial harassment from University housing since they have demonstrated their inability to live an integrated setting.

Statement from the Hispanic Student Association

(1987)

1. The new Vice-Provost position must be filled by someone who is sympathetic to the needs and concerns of Hispanics and other racial and ethnic minorities.
  - a. A senior Hispanic position must exist within the Office of the Vice-Provost.
  - b. Hispanic faculty, staff, and students must be involved in the selection and hiring process for the new Vice-Provost and the senior Hispanic position in the Office of the Vice-Provost.
2. The Office of Affirmative Action must have a Hispanic Representative in a senior position.
3. The University must actively recruit and retain Hispanic staff, faculty, and students.
  - a. The Hispanic staff and faculty should be representative of the student body in terms of Hispanic-group identification (Puerto Rican/Boricua, Mexican-American/Chicano, South American, etc.).
  - b. The University must involve current Hispanic students, faculty, and staff in the selection and hiring of additional faculty and staff.
  - c. The position advancement and salary of all Hispanic and other racial and ethnic minorities must be reviewed, and adjusted where necessary to equal that of non-minority faculty. Hispanic and other racial and ethnic minority faculty, students, and staff must be part of the review process.
  - d. Hispanic and other racial and ethnic minority students, staff, and faculty must be represented in numbers proportional to their numbers in the national population.
4. The Latino Studies Program must be expanded with additional tenure-track faculty, and with support staff.
5. Hispanic and other racial and ethnic minority staff, students, and faculty must be on all committees, boards, and studies addressing the issues and concerns of minorities, such as the Presidential Advisory Committee.
6. The University must strengthen its financial commitment to cultural programming of Hispanic organizations and offices on campus, such as Hispanic Heritage Celebration, Puerto Rican Week, Hispanic Lecture Series, and Chicano History Week.

### Black Action Movement III Demands

1. We demand the establishment of a permanent and completely autonomous yearly budget of \$35,000 for the Black Student Union.

2. We demand the immediate endowment of \$150,000 for the William Monroe Trotter House to insure that the integrity of African-American culture will be preserved in spite of the vile climate of racism that persists at The University of Michigan.

3. We demand the University immediately grant tenure to all presently hired Black faculty, and develop an accelerated tenure program for all newly hired Black faculty. Furthermore, we demand an increase of Black faculty members, such that every department of the University has tenured Black professors.

4. We demand that the University's Board of Regents and administration adopt a plan that appoints Blacks as department chairpersons or heads of 30 percent of all academic departments of the University's schools and colleges.

5. We demand the immediate addition of a racial harassment clause in the University rules and regulations to punish institutionally those who perpetuate, motivate and participate in any type of racist activity.

6. (We demand) Full participation of the Black Student Union executive board in the formulation and implementation of any reform, program or policy that implicitly or explicitly affects the Black community of the Uni-

versity or our community at large.

7. We demand President Shapiro's \$1 million initiative to improve the recruitment and retention of Black students be extended to a \$5 million five-year initiative. At the end of the five-year period, the initiative will be evaluated and possibly extended indefinitely.

8. We demand the development of a permanent Black music program and Black affairs program at all University-owned, student-run stations. These programs shall be produced, programmed and operated by Black students.

9. We demand that all University publications cease degrading and insulting the integrity of Black people by the use of lower case "b" when referring to the Black race.

10. We demand the uncommitted ratification of UCAR's anti-racism proposals. (See March 9 Record, page 5.)

11. We demand total amnesty for all reprisals incurred by students during BAM III.

These demands were developed for Black students, by Black students, and represent the minimum changes that must be implemented to deter the malignant growth of racism at The University of Michigan. The powers that be should be forewarned that if our demands are not met, direct action against the University will be our only option.

## SUMMARY OF THE ORIGINAL BAA DEMANDS (1970)

- 1) Ten percent black enrollment by Fall, 1973;
- 2) Nine hundred new black students by Fall, 1971—450 freshmen, 150 transfers, 300 graduate students;
- 3) An adequate supportive services program including financial aid to finance black students' education;
- 4) Graduate and undergraduate recruiters (9) to recruit black students;
- 5) A referendum on the March Student Government Council ballot to have students vote on assessing themselves \$3.00 for one year for the Martin Luther King Scholarship Fund;
- 6) Tuition waivers for minority group students who are also residents of the state of Michigan;
- 7) The establishment of a Community-located Black Student Center;
- 8) All work of a permanent nature on the Black Studies program is to be halted until an effective input is fully developed by a Community-University forum;
- 9) The creation of a University-wide appeal board to rule on the adequacy of financial aid grants to students;
- 10) A revamping of the Parent's Confidential Statement;
- 11) There should be one recruiter for Chicano students to assure 50 Chicano students by Fall, 1970;
- 12) Black students are to be referred to as Black and not as Negro or anything else

These twelve points are a summary of the BAA demands. The proposal suggested by Mr. Fleming and approved by the Regents calls for spending only \$3,000,000 when the Executive Officers forecast that it would cost \$3,000,000 to meet the demands. Essentially, then, approving the expenditure of only \$3,000,000 would not be sufficient to finance ten percent black enrollment and the other basic programs which were demanded.

The Regents are suggesting to black students that they must pick and choose how to disperse the \$3,000,000 among the various programs. They have not fully answered any of the demands. They have refused to re-assess the ideological or the financial priorities of the University. Mr. Fleming has threatened black students: "We're on a collision course. . . headed for a catastrophe. . . you can't win!"

We cannot accept the proposal put forth by the Regents and Mr. Fleming. We must stand behind our original demands.

### Basic Elements of the Six-Point Plan of Action

#### Appointment of a vice provost with responsibility for minority affairs

The position formerly held by Niara Sudarkasa, associate vice president for academic affairs, will be elevated to vice provost level. The individual appointed to the position will have responsibility for the Office of Minority Affairs within the Office of the Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs and Provost.

An Advisory Committee, similar in function to the Budget Priorities Committee, will be established to support activities of the Office of Minority Affairs. Membership of the Committee will be representative of various campus minority constituencies.

#### Budget for Black Student Union

A permanent and autonomous budget will be provided to the Black Student Union (BSU), initially at a minimum level of \$35,000 per year, with appropriate increases over time to accomplish BSU's mission.

#### Grievance procedure for racial harassment, Black administrator in Affirmative Action Office

A grievance mechanism will be established to collect data on racial incidents within the University. An anti-racial harassment policy that specifies appropriate sanctions will be included as a component of University rules and regulations. In addition, a Black senior administrator will be appointed in the Affirmative Action Office.

#### Budget support for attracting, retaining Black faculty

Budgetary incentives will be provided to attract and retain Black faculty and administrators. A postdoctoral program will be developed to attract minorities, and a Black faculty development fund will be established to improve research and teaching.

Unit goals, a component of annual performance reviews of deans and directors, will be established to address

will be a component of the annual performance reviews of deans and directors.

The University is committed to discovering and addressing any salary inequities of Black and other faculty. The salary situation will be investigated on a continuing basis, with the Presidential Commission (see below) monitoring progress.

Standing Presidential Advisory Commission to be established  
A President's Standing Advisory Commission will be created that will include representatives from Black faculty, student and administrators' organizations and members of the community.

The aspiration of the University is to achieve representation of Blacks proportionate to their numbers in the population. In order to achieve this target, it will be necessary to establish appropriate individual goals and timetables within each area of the University.

### GENERAL COMMITMENT.

"The aspiration of the University is to achieve representation of Blacks and other minorities proportionate to their numbers in the population. In order to achieve this target, it will be necessary to establish appropriate goals and timetables within each area of the University."

#### 1. APPOINTMENT OF A VICE PROVOST WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR MINORITY AFFAIRS.

"The position formerly held by Niara Sudarkasa, associate vice president for academic affairs, will be elevated to the vice provost level. The individual appointed to the position will have responsibility for the Office of Minority Affairs within the Office of the Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs. An Advisory Committee, similar in function to the Budget Priorities Committee, will be established to support activities of the Office of Minority Affairs. Membership of the Committee will be representative of various campus minority constituencies."

#### 2. FUNDING FOR THE BLACK STUDENT UNION.

"A permanent and autonomous budget will be provided to the Black Student Union (BSU), initially at a minimum level of \$35,000 per year, with appropriate increases over time to accomplish BSU's mission."

#### 3. GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE FOR RACIAL HARASSMENT; BLACK ADMINISTRATOR IN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION OFFICE.

"A grievance mechanism will be established to collect data on racial incidents within the University. An anti-racial harassment policy that specifies appropriate sanctions will be included as a component of University rules and regulations. In addition, a Black senior administrator will be appointed in the Affirmative Action Office."

#### 4. BUDGET SUPPORT FOR ATTRACTING AND RETAINING BLACK FACULTY.

"Budgetary incentives will be provided to attract and retain Black faculty and administrators. A postdoctoral program will be developed to attract minorities, and a faculty development fund will be established to assist minority faculty career development."

#### 5. UNIT GOALS A COMPONENT OF ANNUAL REVIEWS; SALARY INEQUITIES TO BE ADDRESSED.

"Progress toward achievement of each unit's affirmative action goals will be a component of the annual performance reviews of deans and directors. The University is committed to discovering and addressing any salary inequities of Black and other faculty. The salary situation will be investigated on a continuing basis, with the Presidential Commission monitoring progress."

#### 6. STANDING PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY COMMISSION.

"A Presidential Advisory Commission will be created that will include representatives from Black faculty, student and administrators' organizations and members of the community."