# Structural Anti-Black Racism: a brief history of US institutions and what we can do about it

Grace McKenna June 12, 2020

Special thanks to Pablo Elvira and Holly Hajare who shared the slide decks that provide the basis of this talk

#### Introduction

#### I. Some ground rules:

- Please keep an open mind and listen to each other
- Use "I" statements
- Acknowledge your privilege

#### II. Important definition:

- Racism: also referred to as white supremacy, as the pervasive, deeprooted, and longstanding exploitation, control and violence directed at People of Color, Native Americans, and Immigrants of Color that produce the benefits and entitlements that accrue to white people.
  - Interpersonal
  - Institutional
  - Structural

White supremacy was created by white people, it is not the job of BIPOC to dismantle white supremacy or educate white people.

#### **Outline**

- I. Racism in US government institutions
  - I. City/State/Federal governments
  - II. Police Departments
- II. Racism in US academic institutions
  - I. Chemistry Departments
- III. Immediate actions
  - I. As individuals
  - II. As a lab
- IV. How we can work on being anti-racist in our everyday lives

#### Racism in the US Government

- Timeline
  - 1619-1865: Slavery
  - 1865-1960s: Jim Crow and the transition to modern policing
  - 1934-1968: Redlining
  - 1960s-present: mass incarceration, the War on Drugs and failures in police reforms



## Early Slavery in the Colonies

- The first African slaves sold in the US arrived as captives on a ship from Angola in 1619
  - The trans-Atlantic slave trade introduced a system of forced labor that was commercialized, racialized, and inherited.
  - Some 12.5 million Africans were forced into the trans-Atlantic slave trade
  - 15% of all kidnapped Africans did not survive the journey across the Atlantic
- Virginia law enacted 1662: "All children borne in this country shall be held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother."

# Slavery in the United States post 1789

- The three-fifths clause in the constitutions ensured slave holders would maintain power at a federal level
  - held that three-fifths of the enslaved population was counted in determining a state's population and thus its congressional representation
  - In 1790, percentage of population of enslaved people in slave states ranged from 25-43%
- International slave trade was outlawed by the constitution until 1808 (20 years) leading to the development of the domestic slave trade
  - Over I million African-American were forced to migrate to the American South and forced to work on cotton and tobacco plantations

# Codification of White Supremacy

#### Slave Codes

- Movement restrictions
- Marriage restrictions
- Prohibitions on gathering
- Slave patrols
- Restrictions on trade and commerce by enslaved people
- Explicit exoneration of slave owners in killing enslaved people
- Instituted the formation of slave patrols
  - Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 required all citizens to aid in capturing fugitive enslaved Black people
- Anti-Literacy Laws
  - 7 states between 1740 and 1834 prohibiting the teaching of Black to read or write, punishable by fines, imprisonment, and whippings
- Dred Scott Case
  - Chief Justice Roger B. Taney: no Black person free or enslaved could petition the court because they were not "citizens within the meaning of the Constitution."

# Slavery in the United States post 1789

- Enslaved people were subject to abuse at the hands of white people
  - Forced labor
  - Separation from loved ones in the domestic slave trade
  - Brutal and inhumane treatment
- Enslaved people continually resisted, mounting rebellions on plantations and in urban centers and escaping captivity
- Slave patrols were instituted as the progenitors to modern police departments
  - First police group in USA: tasked with "enforcing discipline"
  - W.E.B. Du Bois: "The system of slavery demanded a special police force... They constituted the police patrol who could ride with the planters and now and then exercise unlimited force upon recalcitrant or runaway slaves"





### Civil War and Emancipation

- It slave states seceded from the Union in 1861 in an attempt to protect the institution of slavery
- The Emancipation Proclamation issued September 22, 1862 freed 3.5 million enslaved people in the Confederacy
  - An additional 500,000 enslaved people in Union states and territories were freed via other executive actions
- I3<sup>th</sup> Amendment
  - Section I: Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction

### Civil Rights Amendments

#### I4<sup>th</sup> Amendment

• Section I: All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

#### I5<sup>th</sup> Amendment

- Section I: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
- Both the I4<sup>th</sup> and I5<sup>th</sup> amendments went largely unenforced until the Civil Rights Act of I964/Voting Rights Act of I965

### Failures of Reconstruction: Jim Crow

- The system of slavery fed into two new systems to continue to oppression of Black people
  - Jim Crow Laws
  - Convict Leasing
- Jim Crow Laws provided the legal basis for segregation from 1877-1964
  - Upheld by the US Supreme Court in the Plessy v. Ferguson decision allowing a system of "separate but equal" services for Black and white people
  - Black people were disenfranchised by institution of poll taxes, literacy tests. Those who were not able to vote were also prohibited from sitting on juries. Black people were barred from offering testimony.
- From 1882-1968, 4,743 lynchings (3,959 Black individuals)
   occurred in the US as part of a sustained campaign of white
   terrorism against Black communities. (NAACP/EJI)

### Failures of Reconstruction: Convict Leasing

- Convict leasing was based on the stipulation in the I3<sup>th</sup>
  amendment that forced labor was legal in the case of
  "punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly
  convicted"
  - Systems began in many Antebellum Confederate states and lasted until the late 1920s
  - In Alabama alone by 1898, 73% of state revenues were the result of the convict leasing program
  - Prison populations also increased over these years, jumping by a factor of 10 to provide primarily Black people for forced labor

## Formation of Modern Police Systems

- Slave patrols were converted into police departments
- Protect middle-class and wealthy white Americans from "disruptive citizens"
- 1835:Texas Rangers founded to suppress Mexican communities in occupied land
  - Organization still exists today as a statewide investigation agency
- Police complicit in the lynchings of the Jim Crow era

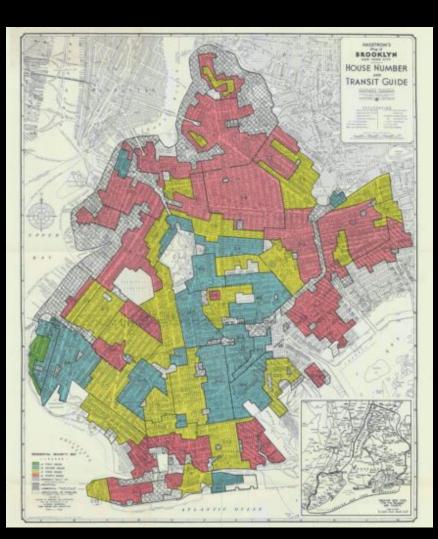


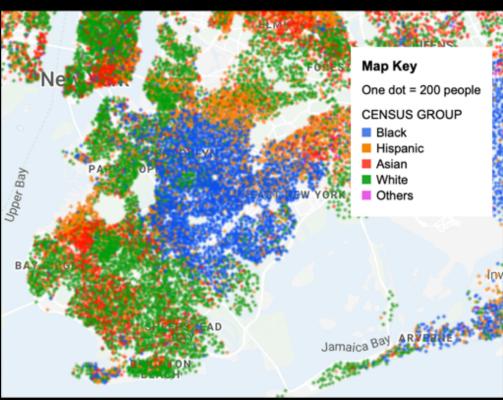


## Redlining

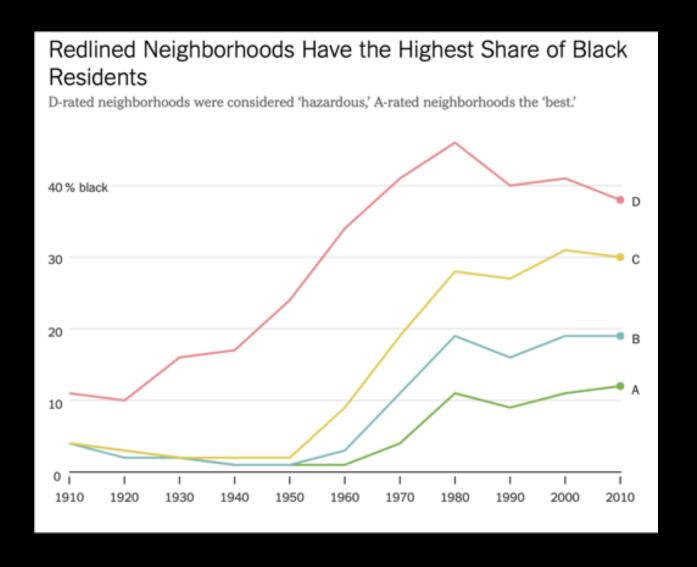
- The Federal Housing Administration (formed 1934) refused to insure mortgages near Black neighborhoods.
- Simultaneously the FHA was subsidizing the mass production of white suburbs
- The long term outcome of these policies in metropolitan areas
  has lead to stagnant inequality, because families are much less
  able to be upwardly mobile in segregated neighborhoods where
  opportunity is absent
- Most major cities remain highly segregated with racial maps today looking similar to those drawn by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in 1934
- Dramatic downstream impacts on enduring school segregation in the US even after reintegration efforts in the 1960s and 70s.

# Redlining



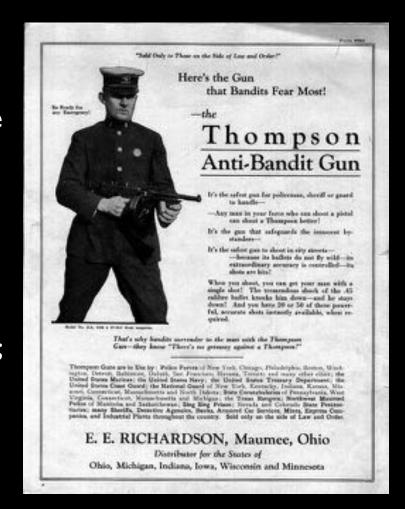


# Redlining



#### Militarization of the Police

- 1929:Wickersham Commission
  - Recommended more aggressive and extensive law enforcement to enforce compliance with prohibition laws
  - Law enforcement began to militarize more rapidly
- 1960s: Johnson administration response to Civil Rights movement
  - Police-community relations programs;
     seen as a mostly cosmetic failure
  - Bull Connor: "When the looting starts, the shooting starts"



## Civil Rights Movement Timeline

- 1954 Brown v. Board of Education
- 1955 Montgomery bus boycott
- 1957 Little Rock Nine
- 1957 Civil Rights Act of 1957
- 1961 Freedom Riders
- 1963 March on Washington
- 1964 Civil Rights Act of 1964
- 1965 Bloody Sunday, Selma, Alabama
- 1965 Voting Rights
- 1968 MLK assassinated
- 1968 Fair Housing Act





### Civil Rights Legislation 1957-1968

- Civil Rights Act of 1957
  - Allowed for federal prosecution of anyone who tried to prevent someone from voting
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - Banned segregation on the basis of race, religion, or national origin
  - Barred employers from discriminating on the basis of race, gender, religion, or national origin
  - Barred use of federal funds in discriminatory programs
- Voting Rights Act
  - Banned literacy tests
  - Installed federal election monitors in certain jurisdictions
- Fair Housing Act
  - Banned housing discrimination on the basis of race, gender, religion, or national origin

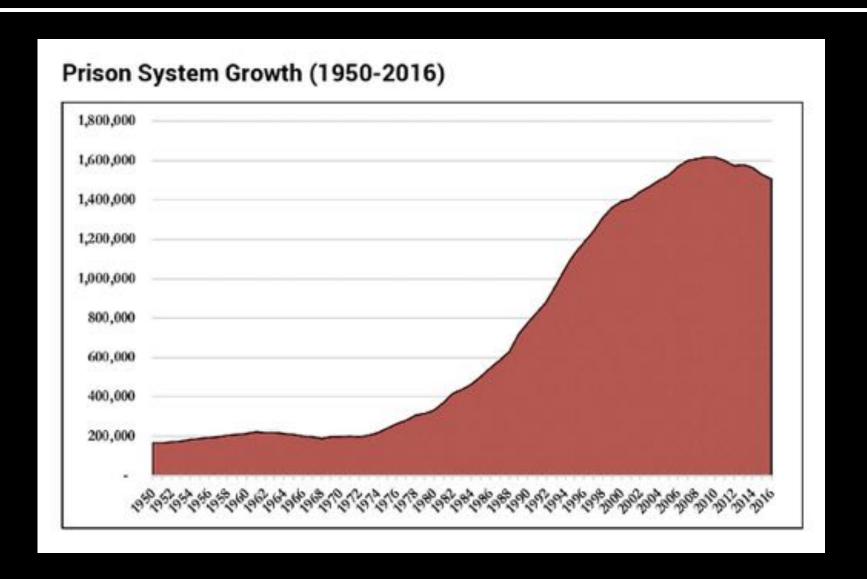
#### Civil Rights: State Sanctioned Harassment

- Civil rights activists commonly attacked by public and law enforcement
- FBI actively targeted groups they deemed "subversive"
  - Civil Rights activists/Black Panther Party/Nation of Islam members
  - Propaganda campaigns to smear leaders, forging documents, planting false media reports, harassment, wrongful imprisonment, violence and assassination
- Malcolm X (Nation of Islam leader) was kept under FBI surveillance from 1950 to his death
- Leaders of the Black Panther Party were assassinated by police (Fred Hampton) or wrongfully convicted
- Martin Luther King Jr. was jailed 25 times between 1956 and 1965, in 1964 the FBI mailed him threatening letters to try to get him to commit suicide.

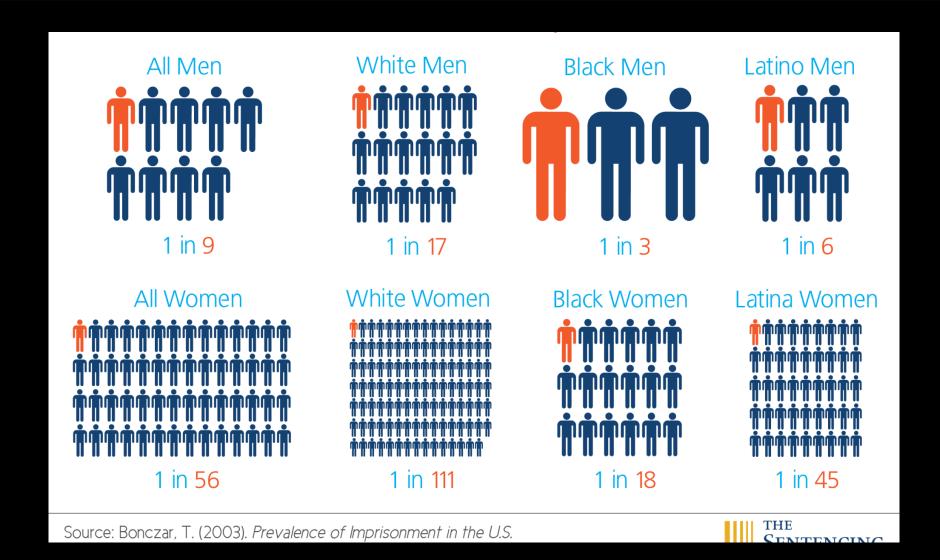
#### Mass Incarceration and the War on Drugs

- Richard Nixon declares "War on Drugs" in 1971
  - Prison populations jump from 300,000 to 2.3 million
- US has 5% of global population and 25% of world's prison population
- Racialized enforcement: both lead to 5 years in prison
  - 500 g powdered cocaine (prevalent w/ White people)
  - 5 g crack cocaine (prevalent w/ Black people)
- Communities of color heavily overpoliced creating a school-to-prison pipeline
- 80% of people in federal prison and 60% in state prison for drug charges are Black or Latinx
- 40% of total prison population is Black

#### Mass Incarceration and the War on Drugs



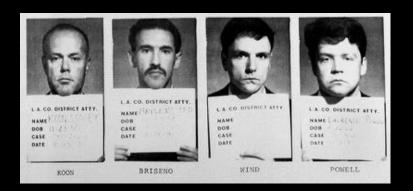
## Mass Incarceration and the War on Drugs



# Failed Police Reforms: Rodney King

- 1990s: Response to Rodney King
  - Consent decree established
  - Allows the attorney general to "investigate and sue to eliminate any pattern or practice of unconstitutional conduct by law enforcement officers"
- Agreement between LAPD and DOJ to promote police integrity
  - Management and supervisory measures to promote Civil Rights integrity
  - Review of critical incident procedures, documentation, and investigation
  - Program development for response to persons with mental illness
  - Community outreach and public information
  - In place from 2000 2013
- Seen as moderately successful by activists





#### Use of Consent Decrees

- Clinton Administration
  - LAPD consent decree: 2000 –2013
- Bush Administration
  - Refused to use the consent decree
- Obama Administration
  - Used consent decree extensively (Ferguson, Baltimore, Chicago)
  - Effects TBD
- Trump Administration
  - 2018: Jeff Sessions neutered consent decree
  - Consent decree must have an end date

## Contemporary Policing

- No consistent data is available on use of force by police complicating analyses of racial bias and/or reforming departments
- Studies show that young men of color are the most likely group to be stopped and interrogated by police
  - Even in areas with declining crime rates, stops have increased
- Over-policing common in neighborhoods that are majority BIPOC
- Black people are 21% more likely to have an interaction with police that involves the officer drawing a weapon than white people
- Today police in the US kill nearly 1,000 people a year
- Black Americans are killed at twice the rate of White Americans

# Contemporary Policing





# Contemporary Policing

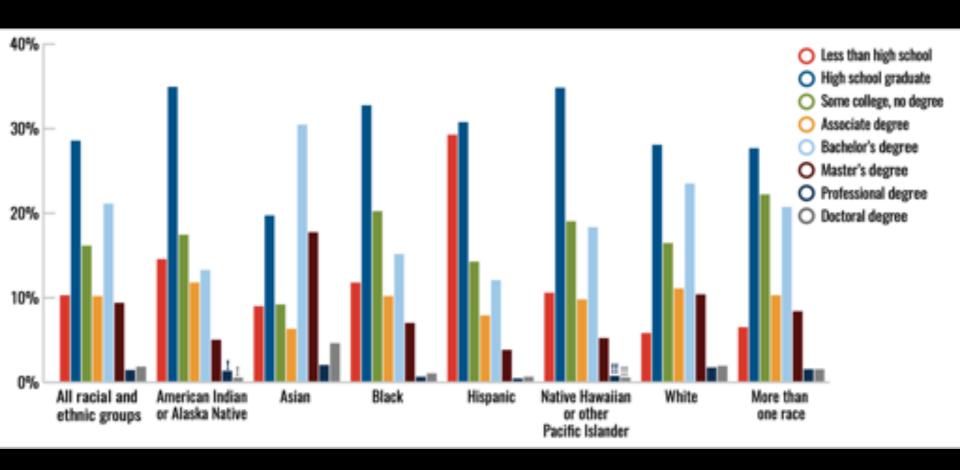
**EZELL** ERIC GARNER JOHN CRAWFORD MICHAEL BROWN FORD MICHELLE GEORGE CUSSEAUX DANTE PARKER LAQUAN MCDONALD - AKAI GURLEY - TAMIR RICE - RUMAIN BRISBON - JERAME REID MATTHEW AJIBADE - FRANK SMART - NATASHA MCKENNA - TONY ROBINSON - ANTHONY HILL HALL - PHILLIP WHITE - ERIC HARRIS - WALTER SCOTT - WILLIAM CHAPMAN II BRENDON GLENN - VICTOR MANUEL LAROSA - JONATHAN SANDERS GRAY JOSEPH MANN SALVADO ELLSWOOD ALBERT JOSEPH DAVIS - DARRIUS STEWART - BILLY RAY DAVIS SAMUEL DUBOSE SABBIE BRIAN KEITH DAY CHRISTIAN TAYLOR TROY ROBINSON ASSHAMS PHAROAH MANLEY - FELIX KUMI - KEITH HARRISON MCLEOD - JUNIOR PROSPER PATERSON BROWN - DOMINIC HUTCHINSON -ALONZO SMITH TYREE CRAWFORD INDIA KAGER MICHAEL LEE MARSHALL - JAMAR CLARK - RICHARD PERKINS - NATHANIEL HARRIS PICKETT BENNI LEE TIGNOR - MIGUEL ESPINAL - MICHAEL NOEL - KEVIN MATTHEWS - BETTIE JONES KEITH CHILDRESS JR. JANET WILSON ANTRONIE SCOTT - WENDELL CELESTINE - DAVID JOSEPH - CALIN ROQUEMORE - DYZHAWN PERKINS - CHRISTOPHER DAVIS - MARCO LOUD - PETER GAINES - TORREY ROBINSON - DARIUS - DEMARCUS SEMER - WILLIE TILLMAN ROBINSON - KEVIN HICKS - MARY TRUXILLO TERRILL THOMAS - SYLVILLE SMITH - ALTON STERLING - PHILANDO CASTILE - TERENCE CRUTCHER - PAUL O'NEAL - ALTERIA WOODS - JORDAN EDWARDS - AARON BAILEY RONELL FOSTER STEPHON CLARK PAMELA TURNER - DOMINIQUE CLAYTON - ATATIANA JEFFERSON - CHRISTOPHER WHITFIELD CHRISTOPHER MCCORVEY - ERIC REASON - MICHAEL LORENZO DEAN - BREONNA TAYLOR G G

#### Contemporary Racism in the US

- 400 years of institutional and structural racism significant disparities between Blacks and Whites in the US
- Racial wealth gap (2016)
  - Average wealth of White families \$171,000
  - Average wealth of Black families \$17,150
- Racial health gap
  - Life expectancy: White men 75 years/Black men 67 years, White women 80 years/Black women 74 years
  - Infant mortality rate for Black people twice that of White people
  - Black people are more likely to be uninsured and 31% report past due medical debt (v. 23% of White people)
- Racial education gap
  - Strong correlation between achievement gaps and racial socioeconomic disparities

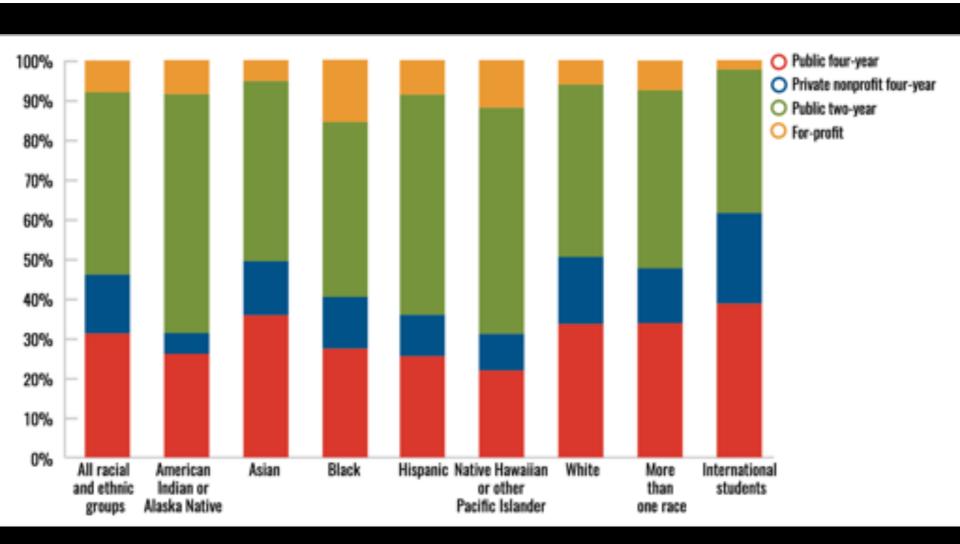
## Anti-Black Racism in Higher Education

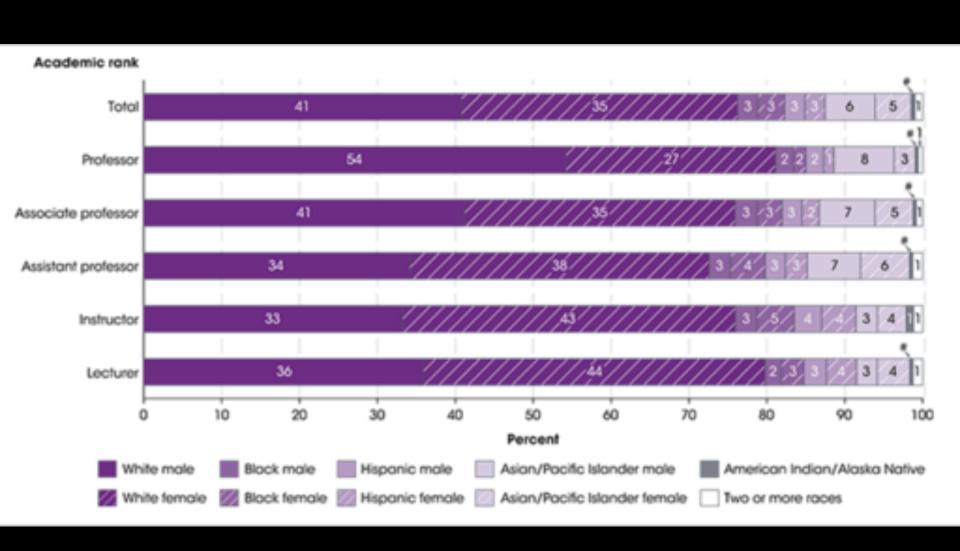
- Most elite universities in the Eastern United States were either funded by profits from slave related industries (Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, Yale) or built by enslaved people (Georgetown, UVA)
- Black people are underrepresented in the undergraduate classes of 4-year universities but more likely to attend for-profit institutions
- Black people are more likely to attend schools that have fewer resources and spend less money per student than their white counterparts
- Black people borrow a greater amount to attend colleges and universities than white counterparts
- After graduating Black people earn less than white counterparts with equivalent degrees



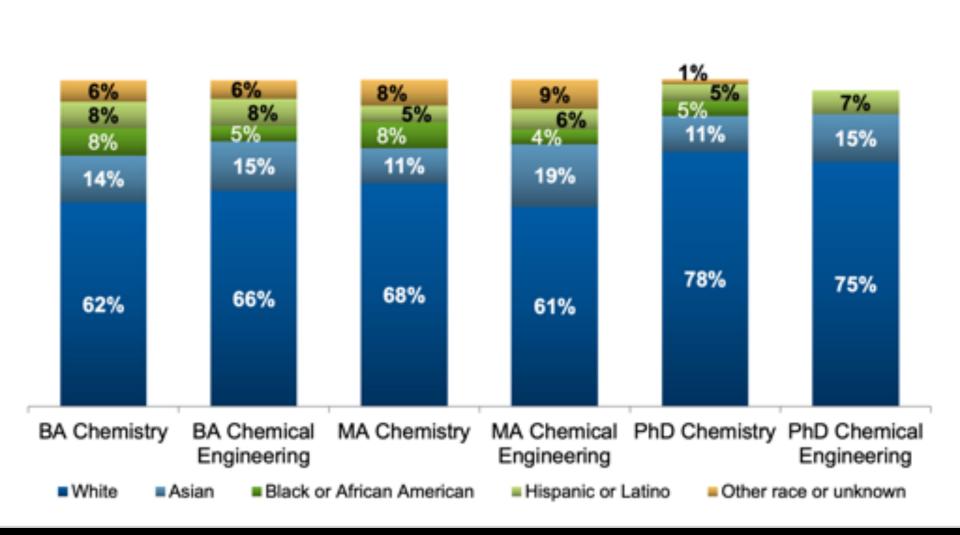
	Public Four-Year			Private Nonprofit Four-Year			For-Profit		
	% Who Borrowed	Average Amount Borrowed per Borrower	Median Amount Borrowed per Borrower	% Who Borrowed	Average Amount Borrowed per Borrower	Median Amount Borrowed per Borrower	% Who Borrowed	Average Amount Borrowed per Borrower	Median Amount Borrowed per Borrower
All racial and ethnic groups	45.5%	\$72,130	\$54,490	67.1%	\$74,590	\$50,000!	87.9%	\$120,110	\$129,795
Black	66.5%	\$111,486	\$107,602	86.0%	\$111,611	\$80,926!!	95.2%	\$128,359	\$133,965
White	62.7%	\$71,724	\$57,968	78.7%	\$57,568	\$34,217	86.0%	\$108,317	\$101,293

	High School Graduate or Equivalent	Associate Degree	Bachelor's Degree	Master's Degree	Professional Degree	Doctoral Degree
All racial and ethnic groups	\$29,100	\$39,493	\$52,000	\$64,809	\$95,000	\$84,049
American Indian or Alaska Native	\$24,331	\$32,404	\$41,316	\$50,690	\$67,948	\$61,842
Asian	\$25,089	\$37,308	\$57,495	\$81,104	\$101,380	\$92,735
Black	\$25,000	\$33,452	\$45,337	\$56,000	\$79,000	\$75,000
Hispanic	\$25,345	\$35,442	\$44,607	\$60,758	\$69,952	\$74,000
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	\$29,166	\$35,542	\$48,000	\$52,859	\$77,279	\$75,948
White	\$30,912	\$40,552	\$53,670	\$63,796	\$100,000	\$85,000
More than one race	\$27,000	\$36,455	\$50,000	\$61,823	\$80,000	\$78,063



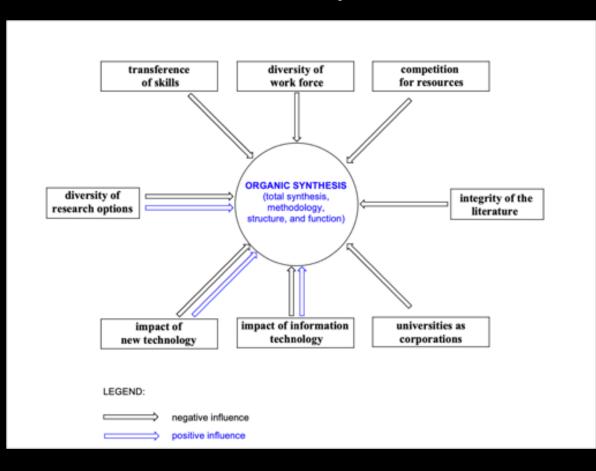


## Racial Disparities in Chemistry



# Recent Chemistry Scandals

#### Tomas Hudlicky in ACIE



#### David Collum



### MLK and the White Moderate

"First, I must confess that over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Councilor or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says: 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action'; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a 'more convenient season.' Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will." -MLK

If you are white and not actively working against the structures of white supremacy in your community and advocating for Black people you are complicit in their oppression.

We can each: donate.

### To help protesters:

- Bay Area Protest Fund
- Bay Area Anti-Repression Committee Bail Fund
- San Francisco National Lawyers Guild

### National organizations:

- Black Lives Matter
- NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- ACLU

#### GoFundMe fundraisers:

- George Floyd Memorial Fund
- Justice for Breonna Taylor
- I Run With Maud





We can each: sign petitions.

- Justice for George Floyd (change.org)
- Justice for George Floyd (whitehouse.gov)
- <u>Justice for Breonna Taylor</u> (change.org)
- #<u>lusticeforBre</u> (colorofchange.org)
- Justice for Ahmaud Arbery (runwithmaud.com)
- Justice for Ahmaud Arbery (NAACP)

We can each: make a call, send a text, and/or send an email.

- Check in on close Black family and friends—offer concrete support
- Contact non-Black friends and family to discuss racism, police brutality, and the importance of voting
- Contact local, state, and federal officials to demand justice for victims of police brutality and to demand policy changes
  - Police Reform and Abolition: Contact your local city council
  - Anti-lynching legislation is currently stalled in the US Senate
  - Police brutality legislation introduced in the Congress
  - <u>Contact Louisville Metro Council/Interim Police Chief</u> and demand arrest of the 3 officers who murdered Breonna Taylor

### Campaign Zero and 8toAbolition



To start off a call/email:

Hi/Dear [name of official],

(My name is [your name]).

I am calling to insist that [city] enact the following policy changes put forth by Campaign Zero or 8toAbolition. [List policy changes.]

[Insert additional details and/or demands, if desired.]

[Insert closing or sign off, if desired.]

We can each: educate ourselves

Listen to Black voices.

Watch, listen to, and read content on the Black experience and anti-racism. For example:

- I3<sup>th</sup> (Netflix)
- When They See Us (Netflix)
- Selma (YouTube/Amazon)
- Code Switch (NPR podcast)
- 1619 Project (NYT Magazine)



More extensive lists available <a href="here">here</a>, <a href="here">here</a>, and <a href="here">here</a>, and <a href="here">here</a>,



### We can each:

- Donate
- Make a call, send a text, or send an email
- Sign a petition
- Educate ourselves

Let's each try to do at least I of these action items by next group meting. We should lean on each other if we're nervous or need an accountability buddy.

### As a lab, we can:

- Craft a statement of our values (2 volunteers)
  - Share with incoming lab members during safety training
  - Post on lab website for prospective students/postdocs to read
  - Discuss and update once a year
    - Couple with a check-in: Are we doing better than last year? If not, why?
- Organize a lab donation to a Black STEM organization (I volunteer)
  - If everyone who is able to donate contributes \$1-\$10, we can make a small donation to Black Girls Code, for example
  - We can make this an annual tradition for Black History Month in February

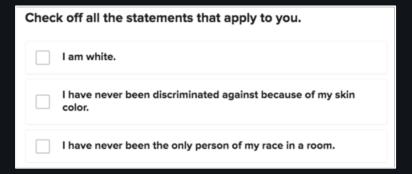


### As a lab, we can:

- Continue having discussions like this by incorporating social papers into our literature group meetings
- Support Black organizations on campus
  - Email NOBCChE to express our support and to ask how our lab can help (I volunteer)
  - Participate in Stuntin' on STEM, an SBSE-organized conference for Black high schoolers (I volunteer)
- Call on the department/university to make systemic changes
  - We should brainstorm a concrete action item (2 volunteers)
- Use our Twitter/Instagram platform to highlight Black scientists
  - Share papers by Black scientists on a regular basis (3+ volunteers)

Recognize and remind ourselves of our own privilege.

A great tool: <a href="https://www.buzzfeed.com/regajha/how-privileged-are-you">https://www.buzzfeed.com/regajha/how-privileged-are-you</a>



Schedule a time once a week/month to sit down and reflect on the things you were able to do because of your privilege.

Recognize our own biases and work to address & unlearn them.

- What stereotypes do we hold on to?
- When and where did we learn these biases? When do we find ourselves applying them?
- Do research to learn about examples/cases that counter our biases.
- Expand our circles: talk to more people who are different from us; diversify our consumption of media, entertainment, etc.

### Call each other out for making racist remarks/jokes.

- If we're nervous, we can practice what we're going to say with another labmate or friend.
- Share what we learn! If one of us finds out that a certain phrase or saying is racist,
   we should let each other know!

Listen to and validate the experiences of Black, indigenous, people of color (BIPOC).

When BIPOC tell us about racist encounters, we should NOT say things like:

- "It's no big deal. Just get over it."
- "You probably misunderstood what the other person was saying/doing."

We should say things like:

"I'm really sorry that happened to you. What can I do to help?"

### Amplify the voices of BIPOC (use our privilege).

- If BIPOC around you aren't being heard (if their ideas, questions, concerns are being ignored or dismissed), speak up on their behalf.
- In group meeting, present on and highlight research by BIPOC.

### Support BIPOC-owned businesses.

- Examples: bookstores, restaurants, clothing brands
- Black-owned restaurants in the Bay Area
- Restaurant spreadsheet



### Watch, listen to, and read content by BIPOC.

- Shows, movies, podcasts, music, books, news articles, etc.
- Think about the shows we watch.
  - Are BIPOC involved in directing, producing, etc.?
  - Are BIPOC represented as full characters (not minimized to stereotypes)? Is there culture portrayed respectfully?
  - How much screen time do the actors of colors get compared to the white actors?

### Example action item:

If we like late-night shows, we should check out Trevor Noah and Desus & Mero, not just Stephen Colbert, Jimmy Kimmel, etc.





Set up recurring donations (if we are able)

### Continue to have discussions in group meeting.

 Present a social paper as a part of literature group meetings, and include an action item (something everyone in the lab can do to help address/solve the issue being discussed)

### Intersectionality:

Race does not exist in a vacuum. All of our identities are intertwined.

Sex Sexual orientation Socioeconomic status

Gender Disability status Ethnicity

Nationality Education level Immigration/citizenship status

Age Medical status (HIV/AIDS) Religion

Black women, Black queer folks, and Black trans folks have been on the frontlines of education and activism for many issues, not just police brutality and systemic racism.

Tarana Burke, founder of Me Too Movement



### References/Resources

#### **Resources Lists:**

Black Lives Matter
Anti-Racism Resources
How to Dismantle Systemic Racism

#### Anti-racism:

8 Everyday Ways to Fight Racism Being Antiracist

#### **Unconscious Bias:**

<u>Strategies to Address Unconscious Bias</u>

<u>Can Science Help People Unlearn Their Unconscious Biases?</u>

### Media Representation:

Representation: Culture & Perception

Media Representations and Impact on the Lives of Black Men and Boys

Media Portrayals and Black Male Outcomes

#### Intersectionality:

Putting Intersectionality Into Practice What's Intersectionality?

# Summary

- Let's all select I action item and do it before next group meeting.
- For those of us who were able to volunteer for lab-based action items, let's get started on those!
- Let's all work together to incorporate more anti-racist behaviors into our everyday lives.