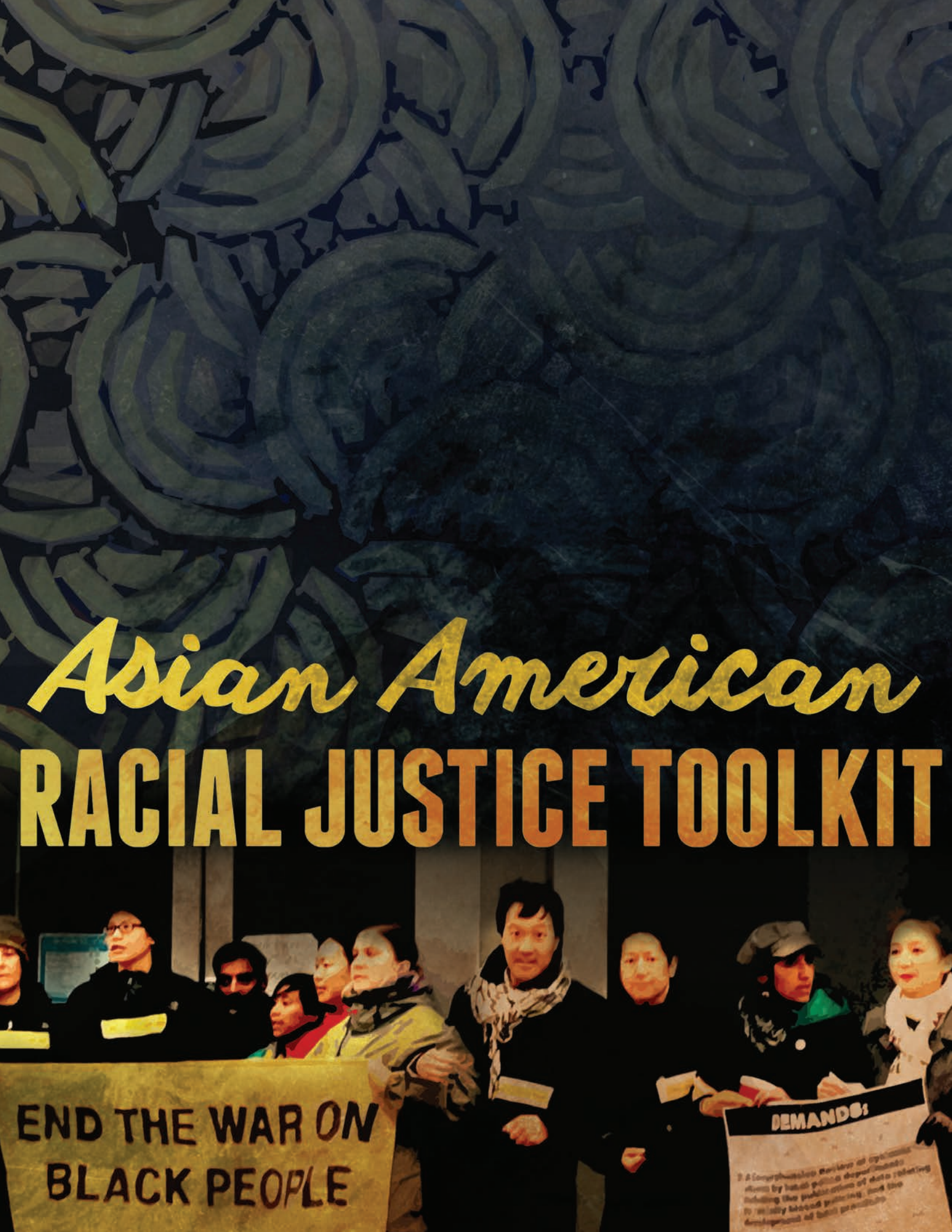
Asian American
RACIAL JUSTICE TOOLKIT



Asian American

RACIAL JUSTICE TOOLKIT



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This toolkit is a project of love from the grassroots, from and by Asian American communities. As Asian Americans, we believe that our liberation is tied to Black liberation and we continue to dream about a world where all of our people will be free. The toolkit would not have been possible without the following organizations and individuals:

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AAPIs for Civic Empowerment
1Love Movement
Asian Pacific Environmental Network
AYPAL: Building API Community Power
CAAAV: Organizing Asian Communities
Chinese Progressive Association SF
DRUM - South Asian Organizing Center
Filipino Advocates for Justice
Freedom, Inc.
Khmer Girls in Action
Korean American Resource & Cultural Center
Korean Resource Center
Mekong NYC
Providence Youth Student Movement
VAYLA New Orleans
VietLead

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We thank Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund, Rosenberg Foundation, Wallace Alexander Gerbode Foundation, The California Endowment, The California Wellness Foundation, Unbound Philanthropy for their generous support of this project. Special thanks to the Friends Doing Good giving circle, National CAPACD and Cathy Cha.

Thank you to the following racial justice organizers and fighters at the grassroots who have made this toolkit possible:

Alex T. Tom, Aiden Pham, Alvina Wong, Ashley Uyeda, Cathy Dang, Chhaya Chhoum, Christopher Cara, Dae Joong (DJ) Yoon, Fahd Ahmed, InHe Choi, Joshua Fisher Lee, Kabzuag Vaj, Khamarin Nhann, Lai Wa Wu, Lillian Galedo, Mia-lia Kiernan, Minh Thanh Nguyen, Nancy Nguyen, Naved Husain, Rachel Aceberos, Rishi Singh, Sarath Suong, Steven Dy, Naroen Chhin, Sandy Saeteurn

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WHO WILL WE BE?

BUILDING THE ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN A CHANGING AMERICA

"In the poetics of struggle and lived experience, in the utterances of ordinary folk, in the cultural products of social movements, in the reflections of activists, we discover the many different cognitive maps of the future, of the world not yet born."

– Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*

"Nationalism of one kind or another was the cause of most of the genocide of the twentieth century. Flags are bits of colored cloth that governments use first to shrink-wrap people's minds and then as ceremonial shrouds to bury the dead."

– Arundhati Roy, *War Talk*

America is lurching fitfully toward a new racial and political landscape where whites will no longer be the majority of the U.S. population by 2044. At the same time, the economic backslide of the white working-class that has steepened since the 1970s is providing fertile ground for a resurgent white nationalism uniting people around explicit bigotry. The growing success of rightwing appeals to xenophobia and racism demonstrates how central and durable white identity remains in American politics. As in eras past, demographic change and economic insecurity provide fertile ground for a political and cultural uprising by the white "everyman" seeking to stake and defend his rightful claim to America. How the changing U.S. populace responds to this uprising will determine the dangers and opportunities that lie ahead in 21st Century U.S. politics.

This raises questions for the racial justice movement: Will this century be less bloody than the last? How will we build our ranks to contest white nationalism and to offer alternatives?

In this volatile moment, racial justice advocates face an urgent mandate to inspire visions of a future America based on inclusion and interdependence, rather than on division and domination. This future requires building mass consciousness to see race not as the classification of human difference, but as a mythology created in service to broadly damaging systems of plunder and control. It requires engaging in rigorous political imagination and struggle to forge new ways of seeing our humanity in one another across race and national borders. Building this consciousness is as much a cultural project as it is a political one. As Brazilian educator Paulo Freire reminds us, "hope needs practice in order to become historical concreteness." It is in this spirit that we offer this toolkit, as a popular education resource to grow the ranks of those who can turn hope into reality.



Asian American communities are critical to the racial justice movement not because of demographics, but because of the nature of Asian American identity itself – always in flux and unstable, and as such, ripe for imagination and prone to being made and remade. Any attempt to define racial identity is like nailing jelly to a wall, but this is especially true for Asian Americans. The dominant storyline about the "model minority" is one of uplift and prosperity, but the reality is far more complicated.

Asian Americans are, put simply, a little bit of everything. We are at once racialized as terrorists, spelling bee champions, criminals, tech geniuses, sexual fetishes, dangerous interlopers, and robotic wage slaves. There are real differences among us of class, religion, immigration status, color, gender, sexuality, language, and political trajectories. This has been the case since the formation of the Asian American movement in the 1960s. Writing in 1974, activists Frank Chin, Shawn Wong, Lawson Inada, and Jeffery Chan declared: "Asian Americans are not one people but several." Because of this, Asian American organizers are forced to think deeply at any given moment about the common interests that will animate the most expansive and transformative Asian American politics.

The founders of the Asian American movement half a century ago understood that the very idea of an Asian or "Oriental" race was in itself racist, a figment of the white imagination. They coined the term "Asian American" as a negation of the term "Oriental" – which means, in the simplest of terms, the West's political and cultural *Other*. Asian American is not a fixed and essential identity, but a political coalition united through the experiences of exclusionary immigration and naturalization laws, restrictive marriage laws, labor exploitation, war, and mass incarceration.

The original mission of the Asian American movement was to contest the underlying forces behind those experiences – racism, capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism – by working across ethnic, racial, and national boundaries. Which ethnic groups were included within Asian America was less important to the movement than the shared interests it sought to address. Interracialism and pan-ethnic organizing were core tenets of movement leaders, who were committed to ending the oppression not just of people who looked like them, but perhaps more importantly, of those who didn't.

The interests animating the Asian American movement today are the same as they were 50 years ago – to end war, violence, poverty, racism, and xenophobia. The stakes are tangible and deep.

On Feb. 10, 2016, in just one example of the staggering levels of violence against Muslims, Sikhs, and South Asians facilitated by the War on Terror, 68-year-old Afghani

American, Abdul Jamil Kamawal, was found bludgeoned to death with a shovel by a white construction worker in Metzger, OR. Scholar-activist Dr. Jaideep Singh has rightly described today's anti-Muslim violence as the death of Islamophobia, and the rise of Islamo-racism in its place – more distinct, more violent, and more virulent.

In Southeast Asian communities, the effects of war, poverty, and criminalization have created a cycle of state and extrajudicial violence that spans generations and borders. Since the 1990s the U.S. government has issued 13,000 orders of deportation against Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Laotian refugees, whose very presence in America is the direct result of U.S. wars and illegal military operations.

At the time of this writing, 85 Bangladeshi asylum seekers have been deported and dozens more face imminent deportation by the U.S. government, back to the life-threatening partisan violence they fled in Bangladesh. This follows the nine months to two years that they spent in immigration detention centers throughout the U.S. South subjected to solitary confinement, intrusive strip searches, and inadequate medical care.

For millions of low-income Asian immigrants living in Chinatowns and other ethnic enclaves in cities like New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, poor public housing conditions, evictions, dangerous working conditions, and massive wage theft create an endless struggle against poverty and exploitation.

These are just a few examples of the subjugation and state violence that growing numbers of Asian Americans face. In comparison to 50 years ago, there are also new challenges to building an Asian American movement. As a result of U.S. immigration and foreign policies since WWII, Asian Americans today come from widely varying political, social, and economic conditions. In 1970, there were 1.5 million Asian Americans, mainly working-class Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans. Today the population has surpassed 18 million and includes dozens of ethnic groups and languages, and a mixture of high-skilled professionals and low-wage workers. While the most vulnerable segments of the Asian American population are living in crisis, others are seeking to assimilate to middle-class white culture, and are often succeeding.

One of the strategic problems that this toolkit seeks to address is the need to move beyond the politics of inclusion and representation, to address the structural roots of racism. Demographic change is being driven by non-Black people of color – primarily mixed-race people, Asians, and Latinos who for the most part, have not yet found their own language to connect race and white supremacy to the conditions of their lives. This leaves our communities vulnerable to racial wedge issues, and requires us to have courageous conversations about what anti-Black racism is and how it works.

As an argument for inclusion, we often hear non-Black people say that the racial justice movement must "move beyond the black-white binary." This disregards the deadly everyday violence against Black life that the binary has wrought, unabated for centuries. This toolkit highlights that reality, while presenting the black-white binary not as a narrow container for the experiences of Black people, but as a central schema of life in the United States.

America's founding fathers created blackness and whiteness to distinguish those who were deserving of freedom and democratic rights from those who were not. Since the



Virginia slave codes of the 17th Century, this distinction has been codified into law and enforced by violence to paper over the contradictions between slavery and genocide on the one hand, and principles of democracy and freedom on the other. The black-white binary will not vanish with demographic change because it is the basis for the U.S. economy and political structure in which we all live.

To understand white supremacy is to understand the making of America and the dizzying array of racial myths that have been crafted and deployed about the many in service to the few. It requires questioning the belief that America's racial sins were aberrations, stains on U.S. history that have long been overcome by progress. The modules in this toolkit are a means for recognizing that slavery and Indigenous genocide were in fact the central means for forming the U.S. nation-state, and that race was the cultural folklore needed to justify them. That folklore is the outcome of political strategies that have built the cities and towns in which we live, the modern police force, the U.S. military, the Constitution, the stock market, the media, academic institutions – in short, the organization of modern American life. It is also the outcome of American empire, the manifestation of racial strategies abroad that have shaped the modern world and the very presence of Asians in the United States.

Throughout history, Asians have entered into the folklore of race in various ways – as despised foreigners used to justify chattel slavery, as exploitable foreign labor used to justify abolition, as targets of U.S. military aggression alongside Indigenous peoples, as model minorities used to discipline Black freedom movements, and as terrorists used to justify surveillance and war. All of these entry points and the myths that accompanied them have been driven by elite U.S. economic and geopolitical interests.

Interracial linkages abound, but are often obscured. The history of the word "gook", for example, is commonly understood as a racial slur against Asian people. Few Americans know that "gook" has also been used to dehumanize others throughout the world. The U.S. military has used it to justify the murders not only of the people of Korea, the Philippines, and Vietnam, but also of oppressed people in Algeria, Haiti, and Nicaragua.This is the promise of the Asian American movement – that it is by definition expansive and aspirational, reaching for a world beyond the confines of race and nation, and embracing the freedom dreams of all oppressed people.

This toolkit represents the work and thinking of 15 grassroots organizations with Asian American bases living in the most precarious margins of power: low-income tenants, youth, undocumented immigrants, low-wage workers, refugees, women and girls, and queer and trans people. It reflects their experiences with criminalization, deportation, homophobia, xenophobia and Islamo-racism, war, gender violence, poverty, and worker exploitation. All of the modules are designed to begin with people's lived experiences, and to build structural awareness of why those experiences are happening, and how they are tied to the oppression of others. By highlighting the role of people's resistance both past and present, the toolkit also seeks to build hope and a commitment to political struggle. In these perilous times, it is an intervention by today's Asian American activists to restore our collective humanity across our differences through a practice of deep democracy, by looking first to history, and then to one another, to build a vigilant and expansive love for the people.



PART 1: RACIAL JUSTICE TRAININGS

TRAINING SUMMARIES

This section is comprised of 15 trainings in workshop format, all less than two hours long and mostly geared towards 10 or less people. Each workshop can be taken individually and most workshops do not require prior information from other workshops.

101. CORE TRAININGS

Name	Goals	Key Concepts
Asian American Identities	Understand the roots of "Asian American" identity and solidarity Expand our knowledge of Asian American movement history Reflect on our shared stories as Asian Americans today	Asian American
Power and Oppression	Understand how power and systems of oppression affect us, and why they exist. Understand how our personal experiences are connected to systems of oppression. Expand our knowledge of how organizing can be used to fight against oppression.	Power, oppression, 3 I's (institutional, interpersonal, internalized).
Model Minority Myth	Learn about the model minority myth and its origins in immigration policies, capitalism, and anti-black racism. Reflect on how the model minority myth hurts Asian communities and other communities of color. Identify ways that we can take ownership of this myth and take action against the anti-black logic of model minority politics.	Model minority myth, stereotype, anti-black racism



Name	Goals	Key Concepts
Roots of Race	Learn about the different types of racism, and how racism affects our communities and everyday lives. Deepen our analysis of how institutional racism affects communities of color.	Racism - Institutional, Interpersonal, Internalized, Microaggressions
White Supremacy	Understand the history of white supremacy and its role in the construction of the U.S. Discuss our experiences with white supremacy, race and racism Reflect on how white supremacy plays out today through the prison system, standards of beauty, and the model minority myth.	White supremacy, Colorism, Implicit Bias
For Black Lives	Understand how stereotypes and beliefs about Black people maintain a culture of anti-blackness. Reflect on how anti-blackness divides us and prevents us from building power together. Lay the groundwork for effective allyship with Black communities that acknowledges privileges and shared oppressions	Slavery, Anti-blackness, Implicit bias
Gender & Sexuality	Understand the difference between sexual identity and gender expression Learn about the impact of heterosexism and homophobia in our communities Explore how we can fight for queer justice in Asian American communities	LGBTQQI, gender expression, gender identity, heterosexism, homophobia

Name	Goals	Key Concepts
Race & Im/ migration	Understand how national origin/race affect US immigration policy & immigration policy's roots in racism & white supremacy Review different paths to the U.S. that Asian immigrants and refugees have taken since 19th century Understand how war, imperialism, and white supremacy intertwine to create exploitative migration conditions	1965 Immigration Act, 1996 IIRIRA, asian migration, refugee, migration is human right
Race & Working Class Struggles	Understand the role that race plays in defining how workers and working class people live their lives Introduce Marx concept of alienation to think about why white vs. POC workers have different perceived interests Understand how white supremacy operates to divide and conquer workers	Alienation, White as a racial category. Assumes some knowledge of white supremacy
Intersectionality	Share personal reflections on identity and intersectionality Understand the importance of intersectionality in our campaigns and movements Think about ways to build inclusive and expansive communities.	Identity, Intersectionality

202. MOVING DEEPER

Name	Goals	Key Concepts
Making Race & Blackness in America	Understand race was created as a strategy to build wealth and power for an elite few. Understand white supremacy. See how slavery and blackness affects all people in the structure of the U.S. nation-state.	Race, blackness, whiteness, chattel slavery, settler colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, white supremacy.
The Culture of Anti-Blackness	Understand how anti-Black ideas serve to perpetuate and normalize structural racism. See how anti-blackness divides us and prevents us from building power together. Explore where negative ideas about Black people come from in the United States, and in our Asian countries of origin.	Race, blackness, chattel slavery, capitalism, colonialism, white supremacy, colorism, caste, hegemony. Assumes participation in prior workshop: Making Race and Blackness in America.
Colonialism, Migration, Imperialism	Explore our experiences with colonialism, imperialism, and migration. Learn about migration as an outcome of white supremacy, and the connections that exist across race and ethnicity in the structures of colonialism and imperialism. Consider how Asian American movement building can help to dismantle colonialism and imperialism.	White supremacy, race, Orientalism, settler colonialism, imperialism, war/militarism, migration. Assumes participation in prior workshop: Making Race and Blackness in America.

Name	Goals	Key Concepts
Heteropatriarchy, a Tool of White Supremacy	Understand heteropatriarchy and how it serves to uphold white supremacy. Understand transformative trans and queer movement building, how it goes beyond just inclusion, and why it is necessary for dismantling white supremacy.	Heteropatriarchy, gender, sex, sexual orientation, patriarchy, heterosexism. Assumes basic knowledge of: Race, white supremacy, imperialism, capitalism, settler colonialism
War at Home: Islamo-racism	Understand the roots of the rise of Islamo-racism in Orientalism, war, and imperialism, in the context of race and white supremacy, and how this is constructing a specific racial identity among those perceived to be Muslim. Be able to connect today's use of Islamo-racism to drum up white nationalism to other historical moments of xenophobia and nativism. Explore how Muslim, Arab, Sikh, and South Asian people are fighting Islamo-racism, and why it is critical to see those fights as key to dismantling white supremacy.	Islamo-racism, white nationalism. Assumes basic knowledge of: Race, white supremacy, Orientalism, imperialism, capitalism, settler colonialism.
Building at the Intersections	Understand identity and intersectionality. Look at current intersectional Asian American struggles. Think about ways to build inclusive and expansive communities.	Identity, stereotypes, intersectionality, race, gender, class

ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITIES

Credit: CPA, CFJ

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   10 mins
2. Unpacking "Asian American"
   40 mins
3. Whose Stories
   30 mins
4. Asian American Movement History
   30 mins
5. Closing and Evaluation
   10 mins

Goals

- Understand the roots of "Asian American" identity and solidarity
- Expand our knowledge of Asian American movement history
- Reflect on our shared stories as Asian Americans today

Key concepts: Asian American

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Unpacking "Asian American" butcher papers: 4 butcher papers with words at the top (1 page per word/phrase):
  - Asian
  - American
  - Asian American
  - "___(your group's ethnic identity)__"
- Projector, laptop, internet access to view YouTube videos
- Movement History Handouts
  - A large timeline in the form of a river, starting with 1970 and ending with 2035.
  - Blank "boat" shapes for people to write their key movement moments on
    (two per participant).
  - Cutouts of key movement & social justice events in (in the shape of rocks for negative events and in the shape of rafts for positive events to place in the river).
- Asian American Movement Timeline

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 10 MIN

Welcome and icebreaker.

Review the goals and agenda.

2. UNPACKING "ASIAN AMERICAN" - 40 MIN

Prep: Write the following prompts on butcher paper (each prompt on a different piece of paper) and post them around the room:

1. Asian
2. American
3. Asian American
4. "___(your group's ethnic identity)__"

Note: you can create more than one of these depending on how diverse your base is.

WORDS ON THE WALL (15 MIN)

Framing: This activity will give participants an opportunity to reflect on their own assumptions and experiences with Asian American identity.

Writing/Drawing (5 min):

Have each person take a marker and walk around to each butcher paper. They should write down the words, images, or thoughts about the titles on each butcher paper.

Debrief (5 min):

1. Take a moment and look at what people wrote on these butchers. What do you notice?
2. Which was the easiest butcher to fill out? Which was hardest? Why?
3. What similarities or differences did you notice between the other butchers and "Asian American"?
4. What does that tell us about the identity of "Asian American"?

Share Quote (5 min):

Writing in 1974, activists Frank Chin, Shawn Wong, Lawson Inada, and Jeffery Chan declared: *"Asian Americans are not one people but several."*

Ask:

- What did they mean by this quote?
- How does this affect how Asian Americans view ourselves today?
- How does this affect how other people view us?



Key Point (from framing essay):

Asian Americans are, put simply, a little bit of everything. We are at once racialized as terrorists, spelling bee champions, criminals, tech geniuses, sexual fetishes, dangerous interlopers, and robotic wage slaves. There are real differences among us of class, religion, immigration status, color, gender, sexuality, language, and political trajectories.

Because of this, Asian American organizers are forced to think deeply at any given moment about the common interests that will animate the most expansive and transformative Asian American politics.

I AM, I AM NOT (25 MIN)

Framing: This activity will allow participants reflect on their identity to highlight the complexity of "Asian American" and redefine what it means to be "American."

Free draw/write (7 min):

Have participants write words or draw images on a sheet of paper. One one side, write "I am not…" and fill in the statement with all the things that people assume about you because of your race or ethnicity.

On the other side of the paper, write "I am…" and fill in the statement with things that represent who you are, your complexities, the way you fit people's assumptions and the ways you don't.

Sharing (13 min):

Have each participant share all of their "I am not" and "I am" statements, and choose 1 statement from each side that they want to explain. Allow audience to ask any follow up questions. *Note - this should take 2 min per person. If you have a large group, allocate more time, or have people share in smaller groups of 5-6 people.*

Debrief - 5 min

- What were some themes you heard, or things that people shared that you really agreed with?
- What does this tell us about what it means to be Asian American?
- Why have people chosen to identify as "Asian American?" Why not just "Asian" or just "XXX/ethnicity"?

Key Points:

- History of Asian American term: The original Asian American movement came about through the civil rights movement. It was inspired by the Black Power movement and need for Asian American-born communities, who had historically had fought for their claim to citizenship, to build unity with the Black Power movement and Third World Liberation Front.

- It was grounded in an understanding that Asian American struggles were shaped by white supremacy, and shared interests with Black people and other people of color, and that our conditions here were the results of capitalism.
- Power of political identities: share the stick analogy - one stick alone can be broken easily, but a number of sticks bound together by shared values and vision cannot be broken (power in numbers, solidarity, etc.)
- Redefining or reclaiming what it means to be "American" as a nation:
- By 2020 children in America will be majority people of color
- By 2043 America will be a majority people of color nation

3. WHOSE STORIES - 30 MIN

Framing: In this activity participants will reflect on what it means to expand and redefine Asian American identity and politics.

Prep: Choose 2 of the videos below.

MARGIN AND CENTER (10 MIN):

- Refer to "Words on the Wall" posters - which ethnic groups do people think of when the media, or politicians talk about "Asian Americans?" Which ethnicities are at the center? Which are at the margins?
- Write participants' answers into a chart - "Center" and "Margins." *See example below - with # rankings based on population count in 2010 Census data.*
- Data from "Demographics of Asian Americans 2013" (PEW Research Center)[1]

Center	Margins
East Asian Chinese #1 Korean #5 Japanese #6 **Filipino #2**	**Southeast Asian** Vietnamese #4 Cambodian #8 Hmong #9 Thai #10 **South Asian** Indian #3 Pakistani #7

1 http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/04/04/asian-groups-in-the-u-s/

Debrief

- Why are East Asians at the center of the media/political idea of who Asian Americans are despite the diversity of the community?
  - History of being seen as a threat - Chinese exclusion act, Japanese internment
  - Global power - military and economic power of these countries
  - Language and immigration backgrounds
  - Class status
- Why do institutions (political system, media) want to keep us divided?
  - Refer back to the stick analogy from the end of 'I am not/I am" activity.

WATCH VIDEOS (~10 MIN)

Videos: (choose 2 - roughly 10 min)

Freedom Inc[2]: Poverty, racism, patriarchy (3:30)

SEAFN/1LoveMovement:[3] Our Survival – Roots of SE Asian experience (8:41)

DRUM[4]: Post-9/11 civil rights, global justice, migrant workers, immigration (13:16-17:44)

Debrief (10 min)

- What did you hear in these stories? What were people fighting for?
- What was similar or different to our "I Am Not…" "I Am…" statements?
  - What were they struggling against?
  - What were they fighting for?
- Pair Share or Freewrite:
  - How can we as XX (identity) continue to build a bigger WE of Asian Americans joining in collective struggle?
- Share back highlights

Key Points:

It takes work on multiple fronts to build a bigger WE. From engaging in reflection and learning (internal) to building relationships across organizations and individuals (interpersonal), to joint campaigns through strategic coalitions and long-term alliances (structural).

2 https://youtu.be/lFeiN_3J1iU
3 https://youtu.be/5ty1bq0Mr5w
4 https://youtu.be/yMuqb2uS6dQ?t=13m16s

4. ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT MOMENTS - 30 MIN

Prep: Select key events from the Asian American Movement Timeline and cut them out individually. Select a mix of positive and negative moments.

- Negative events (rock shapes)
- Positive moments (raft shapes)

Framing: in this activity participants will use the image of a river – to connect to a history of Asian American movement moments. Understanding our collective history gives us the context and inspiration for the work we are doing as an organization in this movement today.

PAIR/TRIAD SHARE (10 MIN)

Give each pair/triad:

- 2 blank boat-shape cutouts
- 1-2 key events in the Asian American Movement Timeline

In pairs/triads, give participants 10 minutes to share movement stories and talk with each other about what they know about the key movement events you gave them. Have them talk about how these events relate to their movement story (see prompt below):

Movement Story Questions (write the Q's on the board or on butcher paper):

1. Read your movement moment.
2. How does this connect to your own family's history? Where was your family living at that time? What were they struggling with?
3. When did you first feel like you were part of a larger movement for racial and social justice? What made you feel like you were part of a movement? What was going on in the world at that time?
4. OR- When did you first want to be part of larger movement for racial and social justice? What made you want to be part of the "movement"?

Report-backs (20 min):

- Have each participant write a short phrase to summarize their partner's "movement moment" and the year it happened on the blank boat shape.
- Have each pair come up and place the key events you gave them and their "movement moments" on the river and explain the events as they go. Other participants can add their knowledge as each pair comes up.

Key Points:

Acknowledge that there are many more "rafts" and "rocks" that we could list out (have people shout out a few). We wanted to paint a broad picture of our movement river that we are all connected to in this current moment.

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Head, Heart, Hands

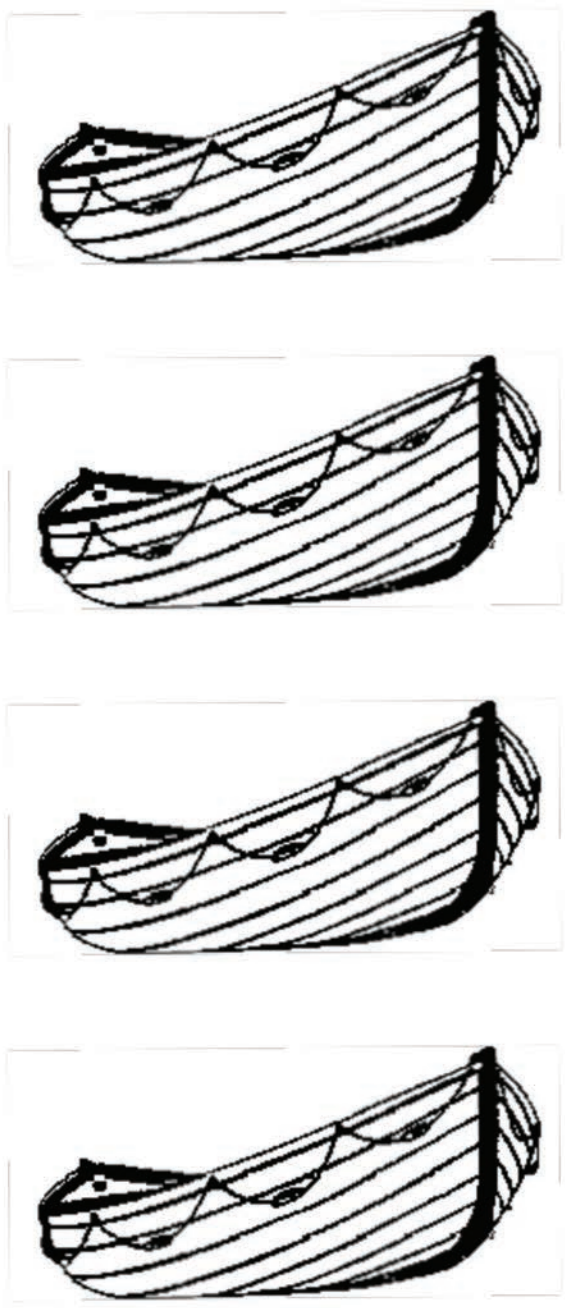
- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop

Parting Quote:

> *"So, transform yourself first… Because you are young and have dreams and want to do something meaningful, that in itself makes you our future and our hope. Keep expanding your horizon, decolonize your mind, and cross borders."*
>
> —Yuri Kochiyama

MOVEMENT HISTORY HANDOUTS



Boats - Individual “movement moments” from pair/triad share

MOVEMENT HISTORY HANDOUTS

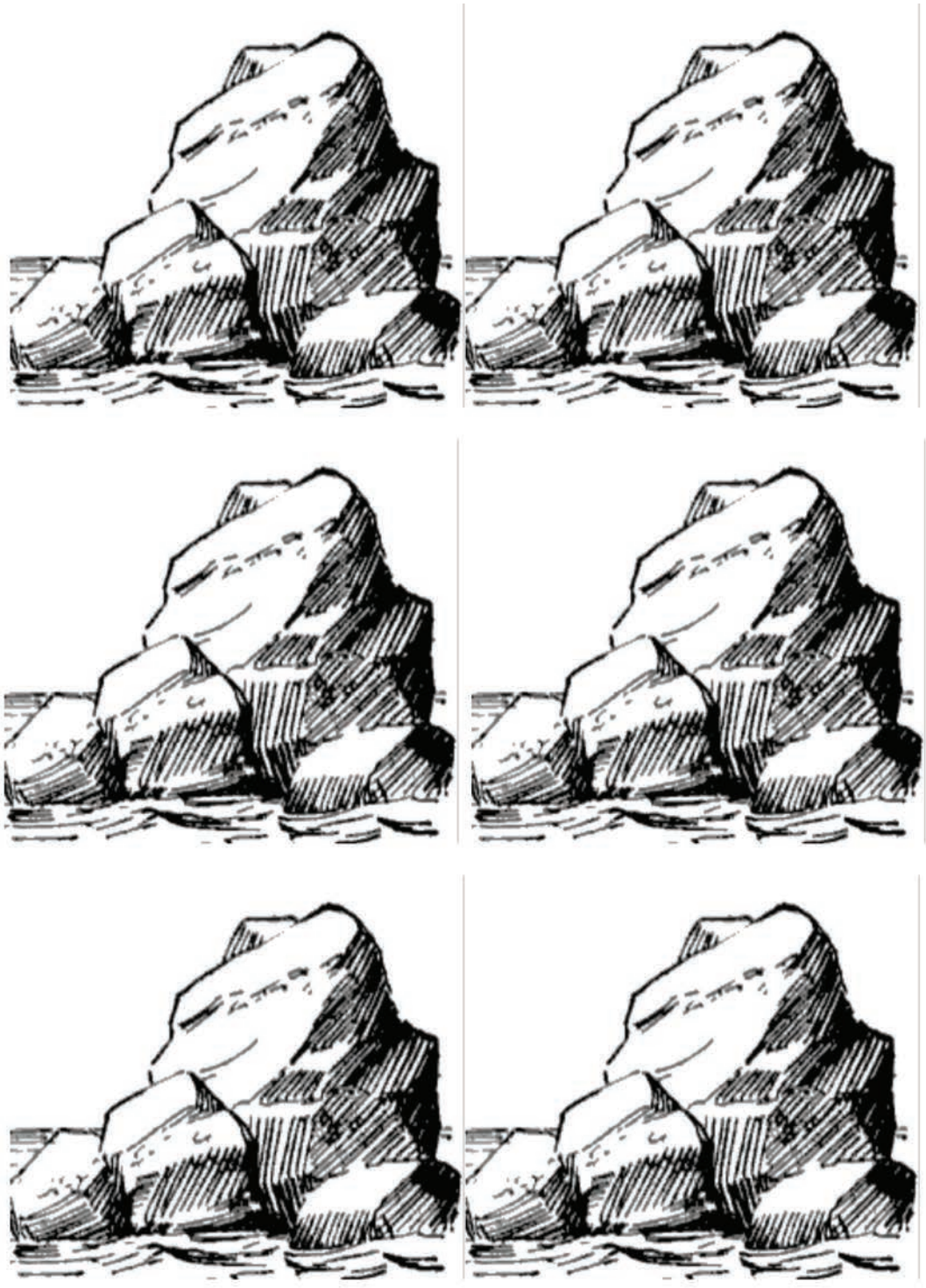







Label rafts with positive events from movement history timeline (enough to give at least 1 per pair/triad)

MOVEMENT HISTORY HANDOUTS



Label rocks with negative events from movement history timeline (enough to give at least 1 per pair/triad)

POWER AND OPPRESSION

Credit: FAJ AND AYPAL

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   10 mins
2. "To This Day…"
   30 min
3. The House We Live in
   45 min
4. Resistance & Resiliency
   25 min
5. Close Out
   10 min

Goals

- Understand how power and systems of oppression affect us, and why they exist.
- Understand how our personal experiences are connected to systems of oppression.
- Expand our knowledge of how organizing can be used to fight against oppression.

Key concepts: Power, oppression, 3 I's (institutional, interpersonal, internalized)

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Notepads and pens
- Flipchart paper and markers
- Laptop/projector to play poem/video
- Copies of case studies (choose 3) + instructions handout
- Image of House of I's from FAJ

Prep

Write 3 "I's" definitions/house on flipchart paper. Cut out three pieces from the "House We Live In" visual – the house, the people, and the broken heart.

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 10 MIN

Welcome and icebreaker.

Review the goals and agenda.

2. "TO THIS DAY…" – 30 MIN

Watch/listen to the poem, "To This Day…" by Shane Koyzcan[1]. (8 min)

He is a Canadian spoken word poet, writer, and member of the group Tons of Fun University known for writing about issues like bullying, cancer, death, and eating disorders. He is most famous for the anti-bullying poem To This Day which has over 18 million views.

Discuss the poem (22 min)

- Pair share (4 min)
  - What stood out for you from the poem? How did it make you feel? What did you connect with? What did it bring up for you?
- Group share (9 min):
  - Have a few groups share back (or all groups if you have time)
  - Draw our connections/themes between report backs.
  - Create space if people need to breathe/release heaviness
- Free write & discussion (9 min):
  - 3 min: Thinking about your own experiences, what advice would you give to your younger self in a moment of pain/hurt like the narrator in the poem described? (write this down)
    - Ask a few people to read what they wrote
  - To close this section, think of one person in your life that might need to hear this advice, and how you could share this with them.

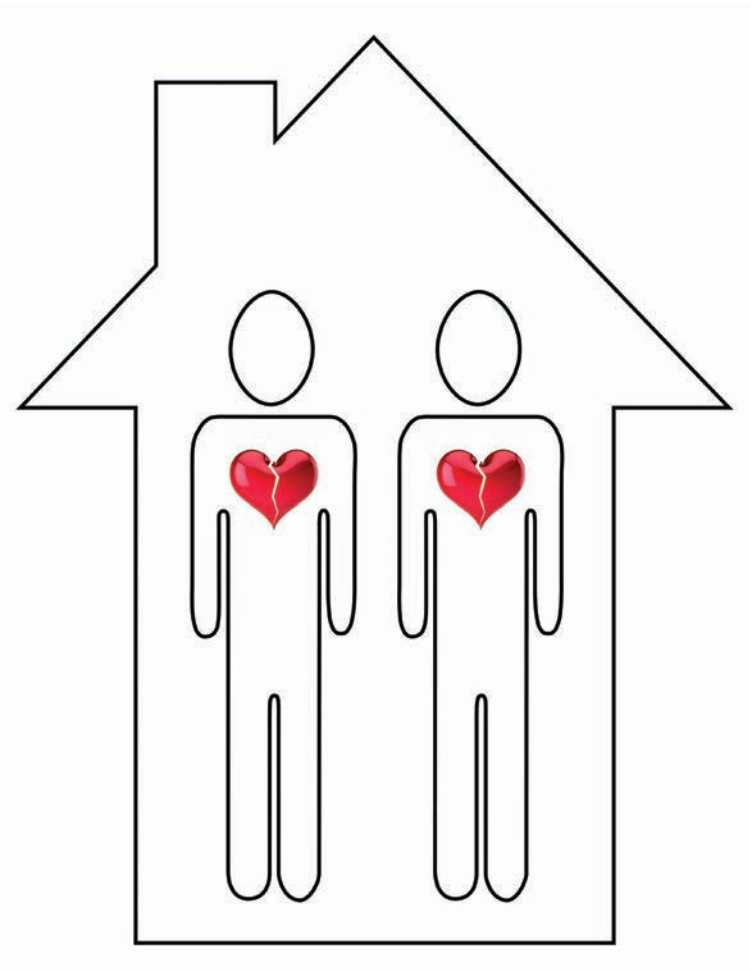
1 https://youtu.be/ltun92DfnPY

3. THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN – 45 MIN

ANALYZE THE POEM USING THE 3 I'S (15 MIN)

- Ask: How does this poem connect to our topic of power and oppression?
- Ask: What is oppression (choose from definitions below)?
  - It dehumanizes people, makes them feel less than human. It takes away our capacity to love and be loved (FAJ)
  - It is when a person or group of people use power and even cruelty to keep other people down and powerless. It is the act of using authority or power in an unjust way. (AYPAL)
  - The domination of one group of people for the benefit of another group of people. (CAAV)

Share visual with cut-outs, each cut-out goes inside of each other (the heart in the people the people in the house): ***This is the house we live in, this is the house oppression built***



OPPRESSION ENTERS IN OUR LIVES IN 3 DIFFERENT BUT RELATED WAYS:

- **Internalized Oppression (the heart):** Internalizing oppressive messages you see or hear in mass media, in national/state/local governments, or in such institutions as your church and family. You begin to believe, accept and live out stereotypes, lies and misinformation about yourself and your community.
  - What were examples of how the narrator internalized these systems of oppression?
  - What are other ways we see this showing up in others in our community?
    - Depression, cutting, suicide, substance abuse

Use the broken heart cut-out to represent Internalized Oppression.

- **Interpersonal Oppression (the people):** Internalizing systemic or institutional oppression, which, in turn, negatively affects your behavior towards others.
  - What were examples of the interpersonal oppression in the poem?
    - Push people to think of both overt actions and micro-aggressions, bias.

Use the house cut-out to represent Institutional Oppression.

- **Institutional Oppression (the house):** Unfair and unjust policies or laws passed by the government, schools, the judicial systems, military, and law enforcement. These institutions are used to protect the privileges of elites, or people in power, by withholding privileges enjoyed by the elite and/or basic civil rights from people who don't have access to institutional power and keeping less powerful people divided. These systems are enforced by mass media, police, schools, and family values
  - What systems did the poem mention?
    - Education
    - Child Protective Services
    - Marriage
    - Others?
  - How did these systems either help or hurt the main narrator?
  - How would it have been different if the narrator's race, class, or immigrant status were named? (what if this had been you?)
    - Shane Koyczan is Canadian - of French and First Nations descent

Use the house cut-out to represent Institutional Oppression.

- **Optional Topic: Privilege -** When a group has social, political, and economical advantages based on their identity. Often, the person who benefits doesn't realize their own privilege.
  - What types of privilege might any of the characters in the poem have benefited from?
  - What are examples of how an individual can benefit from their privileged identities, and also experience oppression based on other parts of their identity?

IMAGE THEATER ON 3 I'S (30 MIN)

Break into 3 groups. Each group will take one "I" (internalized, interpersonal, institutional) and create a group sculpture using only their bodies/faces to represent their term.

Create Image - 10 min

- Minimize the talking, and have people move into sculpting – trying things out, adjusting their positions, or other people's positions.
- Option: ask for a volunteer sculptor, and have the others be "clay" to be sculpted. With permission the sculptor shows people how to hold their body, what facial expressions to make, etc.
- Title: decide on a title for your image

Share and Reflect - 20 min

Each group takes a turn displaying their image (hold the image until the discussion is over).

- The audience guesses titles for the image
- The group shares their title
- Audience applauds, group releases the image (have people physically shake off the image/ move their bodies to release the energy/tension of the image)

Debrief

- Reactions?
- How did it feel to physically embody the "I's"?
- What was similar/different between each sculpture?
- Which was the easiest to express? Which was the hardest?

Key Points

- Most people think first of interpersonal oppression because it is often the most visible "Sticks and Stones" but the affects of internalized oppression on communities of color and immigrant communities often goes un-named.
- Institutional oppression is often the last thing that those in power want you to name – because instead of the villain being another person (or yourself), it is the very systems controlled by those in power.
- These institutions are often the targets of our organizing work because they affect masses of people, and also give the people in power their power.

4. RESISTING OPPRESSION – 25 MIN

Before the workshop - choose 3 case studies (see 7 attached)

Explain that with a deeper understanding of how oppression works, we can paint a fuller picture of how change happens – by working to end oppression on all 3 levels (bring back house metaphor)

Small Group Case Studies – 15 min

- Divide into 3 small groups (pass out 1 case study per group).
- Read the case study aloud and then fill out the chart
  - What were the "I's" they were fighting against? *If it's not named in the case study, put yourself in their shoes and think of what they may have faced in these 3 I's*

Share back – 10 min

Have each group share their case study and 1 row of their chart.

Debrief

- How did it feel to put yourself in the shoes of the people fighting for these changes?
- What felt similar or different to the work we are doing?
- Thinking back to the letter you wrote to your younger self at the end of the poem – is there any advice you gave yourself that you would give to people in your case study?

Key Points:

- The universality of struggle, which binds us together as a movement for justice
- The layers at which change must occur for liberation to be possible (the 3 I's)
  - Progress and victories are possible – knowing the history of our wins

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop

HANDOUT

RESISTING OPPRESSION – SMALL GROUP CASE STUDIES (15 MINS)

Read the case study aloud and then fill out the chart

- What were the "I's" they were fighting against? *If it's not named in the case study, put yourself in their shoes and think of what they may have faced in these 3 I's*

What interpersonal oppression might they have experienced? From who?	How could they fight against it?
What internalized oppression might they have been resisting?	How could they fight against it?
Name the institution they were targeting: How did that institution oppress the people?	How could they fight against it?

MARCH 1996 JESSICA MCCLINTOCK INC. CAMPAIGN

Jessica McClintock Inc.,a successful clothing designer company, hired Lucky Sewing to make all their clothing.

Problem:

- Lucky Sewing ended up filing for bankruptcy, leaving the company's twelve seamstresses with $15,000 of bad checks.
- Seamstresses worked 10-12 hours per day and 6-7 days a week with no benefits.
- Paid by piece (collar, sleeve, etc.), without regard to how long or how hard they have worked.
- Workplaces poorly lit and not enough ventilation in the building
- Workers cannot talk or stand during work, cannot use the restroom except during lunch

Action:

- The seamstresses who are all recent Chinese immigrants, sought advice and help from Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA).
- 4 years of organizing the community members,
- Building a coalition, increasing local activities, and connecting with at least 30 campuses over time.

Solution:

- A successful agreement was made where McClintock would donate money to establish a garment workers education fund for the former Lucky garment workers;
- Sponsor scholarships for students and garment workers;
- Providing garment workers with bilingual material to educate them on fair labor standards;
- Providing two toll-free numbers in English and Cantonese; and to be monitored by the Department of Labor.

IMMOKALEE WORKERS

Problem:

- Immokalee Workers Coalition is a grouping of low income Asian and Latino immigrant workers, who pick tomato in Florida.
- They're forced to work in unsafe conditions with very little pay.

Action:

- They staged a nationwide boycott on companies that used the tomatoes they picked such as Taco Bell, Burger King and others.
- They got support from labor leaders, students, church folks and other union workers to broaden their campaign.

Solution:

- On May 23, 2008 they celebrated a sweet victory for social justice.
- The Coalition for Immokalee Workers (CIW) reached an agreement with Burger King and announced that Burger King has agreed to improve wages and working conditions for the farm workers who harvest tomatoes for Burger King.

FEBRUARY 1943 NO-NO BOYS

Problem:

- In February of 1943, many Japanese people were being taken to internment camps because Japan was targeted as the enemy.
- They were asked questions about being loyal to the U.S. even though they were already U.S. citizens!
- One of the questions they asked were interrogated with were "are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?"

Action:

- The men who were asked refused to answer and participate in a military that oppressed their own people.
- Everyone over 17 years of age were forced to take the Loyalty oath.

Solution:

- Because the men refused to participate in the military recruitment and vow loyalty to a government who locked them up for just being Japanese, the loyalty oath at Tule lake was never finished, and about 3,000 people didn't even register (Kashima).
- This was an example of Asian Americans resisting military recruitment because of disagreement of how the government was treating their people.



MARCH 17, 1966 UNITED FARM WORKERS MOVEMENT

Problem:

- The Filipino workers in Delano were given very little wages for their tireless work picking grapes in the field and were forced to work in toxic conditions.
- The grape company managers would not pay attention at first because it was only the Filipino workers organizing.

Solutions:

- The strike was led by Filipino farm workers Larry Itliong and Philip Vera Cruz Filipino from Delano, CA. Later Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta and the Mexican labor leaders of the National Farm Workers Association came together to join forces.
- They would broaden their boycott of grapes Nationally which included students, church leaders, community members.

Action:

- It took several discussions and a lot of faith, but finally the Filipinos and Mexicans joined forces to fight one cause.
- On March 17, 1966 they set out on a march from Delano to Sacramento that initially only had 70 farm workers and volunteers.
- But by April 11, as they climbed the steps of the state Capitol, there were 10,000 supporters who had joined the in the cause. For months they spurred a national boycott that forced the grape growers to listen to the farm workers demands.(www.UFW.org)

HAWAIIAN SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENT

The Kingdom of Hawaii was once recognized as its own independent country.

Problem:

In 1893, a group of mostly white American businessmen, backed by the U.S. Marines, unlawfully took over Hawaii, imprisoned the Queen Lili'uokalani, and set up their own government.

Action:

The Hawaiians were unhappy and over the years they created organizations, they organized the people and fought back because they want Hawaii to be it's own nation.

Solution:

- As a result, in 1993, the U.S. Congress and President Clinton officially apologized for the overthrow of Hawaii, acknowledging that the overthrow was illegal.
- The movement still continues today.

SAMOA

Problem:

- New Zealand ruled over Samoa. New Zealand was accused of neglect after more than 1/5 of Western Samoans (8500) died during the influenza epidemic[2].
- An organized political movement called the Mau emerged. During a peaceful demonstration, the Chief and other unarmed Mau supporters were shot and killed (11 died, 50 wounded) by New Zealand troops.

Action:

- The Mau used civil disobedience to oppose New Zealands rule over them.
- They boycotted (didn't buy) imported products, refused to pay taxes formed their own "police force", picketed stores
- Village committees ceased to meet
- Government officials were ignored
- Births and deaths went unregistered.
- Coconuts went un-harvested, banana plantations neglected.

Solution:

- Samoa finally gained its independence in 1962.
- Four decades later, Helen Clark, Prime Minister of New Zealand, apologized for wrongs during the New Zealand rule.

2 http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/287805/influenza-pandemic-of-1918-19

THIRD WORLD LIBERATION STRIKE AT UC BERKELEY IN 1969

Problem:

- No classes and curriculum was offered taught about the struggles of third world peoples.
- Traditional classes/courses such as anthropology, history, English, ethnology, Asian Studies, Orientalism, etc..were all from a Eurocentric (European centered) perspective.
- Ethnic Studies was created to teach the stories, histories, struggles and triumphs of people of color on their own terms.

Action:

From 1968-1969, students of color at UC Berkeley joined forces to create the Third World Liberation Front, which championed for relevant ethnic studies, minority admissions, and rallied against institutional racism.

Solution:

The Third World Liberation Front also led the Third World Strike, which successfully won the formation of the Department of Ethnic Studies we see today at UC Berkeley and at campuses across the country.



MARCH 21, 1968-1972 THIRD WORLD LIBERATION STRIKE AT SF STATE

Problem:

- No classes and curriculum was offered taught about the struggles of third world peoples.
- Traditional classes/courses such as anthropology, history, English, ethnology, Asian Studies, Orientalism, etc..were all from a Eurocentric (European centered) perspective.
- Students were striking the Vietnam War, racial discrimination that was happening around the country and the students demanded an ethnic studies department, where students could learn about their own experiences.

Action:

The campus was shut down because the students were diligent and organized, and was labeled the longest strike for ethnic studies

Solution:

- On March 21, 1969, after months of strife, the strike officially comes to an end. The strikers established the School of Ethnic Studies and expanded the Black Studies Department.(www.sfstate.edu)
- Ethnic Studies was created to teach the stories, histories, struggles and triumphs of people of color on their own terms.

CAAAV EATING WELFARE CAMPAIGN, BRONX NEW YORK

Problem:

- In 1996, Mayor of New York Rudy Giuliani thought that all refugees from war torn countries like Cambodia, Vietnam were lazy and needed to work to get welfare.
- He called it "workfare," which forced those who received welfare to pick up trash in city parks and on sidewalks in order to receive welfare benefits.
- The problem was that many Southeast Asian families were dealing with mental health issues, family problems and language barriers, which made it almost impossible to get welfare because of the new requirements.

Solution:

- They needed to reverse this policy so Southeast Asians came together to dismantle stereotypes about people on welfare.
- For community members, it was impossible to talk to someone in the city because there was no language access for the refugee families; CAAAV therefore began to fight for language access policies.

Action:

- CAAAV, the youth organizing group out of Bronx New York, did a survey gathering, conducted interviews and created a documentary to highlight the racism with the new law.
- Their campaign shed light on the stereotypes and racism with the new welfare policy in New York.

MODEL MINORITY MYTH

Credit: CPA

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   20 min
2. Archie Bunker's Neighborhood
   50 min
3. Model Minority Myth
   20 min
4. Model Minority Mutiny
   20 min
5. Closing and Evaluation
   10 min

Goals

- Learn about the model minority myth and its origins in immigration policies, capitalism, and anti-black racism.
- Reflect on how the model minority myth hurts Asian communities and other communities of color.
- Identify ways that we can take ownership of this myth and take action against the anti-black logic of model minority politics.

Key concepts: model minority, stereotype, anti-black racism

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Markers, tape
- Chart Paper
- Archie Bunker Activity Supplies
  - Tape
  - Pens or Markers
  - Bills (ten $100 bills, five $200 bills, five $500 bills)
  - Post its (with jobs written on them - 2 CEO, 2 manager, 2 assistant manager, two waiter/waitress, two cashier)

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 20 MIN

Welcome folks and let them know we'll be talking about Asian American Identities.

Review the goals and agenda.

Drawing Activity [10 min]

Pass out a sheet of paper and markers/pens to each participant [6 min].

- Start by drawing the struggles you experience in school or in life. Include struggles you have with your family's expectations of you in school/life.
- On the other side of the paper draw what society expects of you in the context of being an Asian/xxx(ethnicity) American. Keep in mind that these drawings will be shared.

Hang up their drawings for everyone to see. [4 min]

- Ask the group to please hang up your drawings for everyone to see. Then walk around the room and see what others have drawn. Keep in mind what you see as we prepare for the next activity. You may talk to others about the drawings as you observe the drawings.

2. ARCHIE BUNKER'S NEIGHBORHOOD – 50 MIN

Materials: Archie Bunker's Neighborhood Exercise sheet

Explain we will now move on to our next activity, Archie Bunker's neighborhood. Please count off in 4's. Now go to your respective group numbers. (Facilitator note: be careful not to be too oppressive, and check the temperature of the room in case of need to intervene)

Refer to "Archie Bunker Neighborhood Exercise" sheet for detailed instructions.

Basic outline (30 min):

- The sections of the room are taped off.
- The facilitators will be the police and mayor.
- There will be 4 different communities. Don't let people know what communities they are. Each group has number. Depending on their label, they get different amount of $$ and land. Police officer and mayor treat each group differently.

Announce that was the end of the game. Let's gather back into a larger group to debrief the activity. We will start by defining what a stereotype is.

Debrief (20 min)

Define what a stereotype is: a widely held but oversimplified idea of a particular type of person or group. Racial stereotypes uphold white supremacy--they impact and support institutional policies, shape interpersonal interactions, and are often internalized by people of color in different ways.

With the people in your originally assigned groups, discuss the following (10 min):

- What community do you think you are and why do you think you are that community?
- How did the activity make you feel?
- What did the tape represent? The lining up? The money? Area 5?
- How did it relate to the drawing you made earlier? How do you think it relates to the struggles of each of the communities?
- How were the different groups pitted against each other? What way was the "Asian" group used to justify violence & discrimination?

Report backs (8 min)

Here is the breakdown of the groups:

1. White
2. "Model" Asians (smart, wealthy, hardworking, docile/submissive)
3. Invisibilized Asians (any Asians that do not fall into the "model" category)
4. Black

Possible Responses/Takeaway:

What community do you think you are and why do you think you are that community?

1. We are the white community because…
    - we got to cut the line
    - we had the largest space
    - we received the best jobs and highest salaries
2. We are the "model" Asians because…
    - we had some amount of space
    - we were somewhat well off
    - we received promotions
    - we were used to compare with group 4 (black community)
3. We are the invisibilized Asians
    - we had little space
    - we had trouble getting higher ranked jobs
    - we were not as heavily policed
4. We are the black community
    - our community had little space
    - we were often targeted by the police
    - we were put down and were often compared to group 2
    - we got minimum wage jobs

Group Debrief (12 min)

- How did the activity make you feel?
  - angry because group one had a clear advantage
  - unfair because we were treated differently
  - shocked at some of the struggles
- What did the tape represent? The lining up? The money? Area 5?
  - tape - separation of community and shows how much property whites own
  - line - whites always got to cut the line, showing their privilege
  - money - whites had the highest paying jobs and exposes how people of color have low incomes
- How did it relate to the drawing you made earlier? How do you think it relates to the struggles of each of the communities?
  - The expectation of Asians are to work hard, get good grades, and eventually a high paying job. It assumes that Asians are well off. But here, it shows the privileges that white folks have, and that while certain Asian communities are successful, it is not representative of all Asians.
- How were the different groups pitted against each other? What way was the "Asian" group used to justify violence & discrimination?
  - Group 4 (Black) was often compared to group 2 ("model" Asian). When group 4 members were arrested, the police justified it by comparing them to group 2 and stating group 2 was following the rules. Group 4 was denied job promotion because they did not work as hard as group 2.

Model Minority Myth Guiding Questions:

- Who/what are the benefits of the Model Minority Myth? What is the cost of believing in Model Minority? (follow up) Why is Model Minority stereotype harmful?
  - Draw out how this stereotype harms the Asian American community and other communities.
- In which instances have "successes" occurred at the expense of other ethnic and racial groups?
- What are some examples of ways in which Asians are pitted against other communities of color and each other!?

Key Points:

- There exists a stereotype that generalizes Asian Americans by depicting them as the perfect example of minority communities. Many people think that Asian Americans are well off and exemplify the perfect minority community, but this is a myth.
- The assumption is that this stereotype has always existed but it's a recent stereotype. it marks Asian Americans as racial groups as distinct from whites and lauded as assimilated, upwardly mobile, political indifferent, and definitively not Black.

Model Minority Definition

The cultural expectation placed on Asian Americans as a group that each individual will be:

- smart (i.e., "naturally good at math, science, and technology")
- wealthy
- hard-working, self-reliant, living "the American dream"
- docile and submissive, obedient and uncomplaining

3. MODEL MINORITY MYTH (20 MINS)

Materials: Stereotypes of Asian Americans Slides

TALKING POINTS FOR POWERPOINT SLIDESHOW	
WWII: ROLE OF LABOR & ANTI-COMMUNIST SENTIMENT	
SLIDE 1	Chinese labor & Chinese exclusion act, yellow peril/ perpetual foreigner
SLIDE 2	Internment of the Japanese Americans during World War II where Japanese Americans were taken away from their homes and put in concentration camps here in the United States; no indication that any particular individual who were interned had committed any kind of espionage.
SLIDE 3	Anti-communist sentiments & McCarthyism: lies on the so-called China theft of nuclear technology from the U.S. with ulterior motives, in an attempt to defame China and undermine China's relations. But the U.S. also needed to forge ties with Asian nations (for war and economy in WWII) as well as Asian Americans domestically for war (Chinese – non-Japanese in WWII, and non-Chinese in Red Scare of 1950s); This prompted "liberals" to argue for looser racial restrictions, thus "model minority" narrative.
1960S: IMMIGRATION AND DOMESTIC CONTEXT	
SLIDE 4	Model Minority Myth implied that Asian Americans were able to rise to "honorary white" status through assimilation, hard work and intelligence, and was widely used to put down and dismiss other communities of color; especially Black folks and Black political resistance, by creating a "good" and "bad" minority communities – which then encouraged racial superiority and inferiority dynamics.
SLIDE 5	The term Model Minority emerged in the 60s at the height of the Civil Rights Movement as a wedge and tool for white supremacy to pit Asian American communities against other communities of color.

continued next page

1970S & 80S: BACKLASH FROM POLITICAL RIGHT	
SLIDE 6	In the Southeast Asian communities, 35-40% of Hmong, Laotian and Cambodian populations do not finish high school. From 2007 – 2010, AAPIs had the highest share of long term unemployment of any racial group.
SLIDE 7	By the 1970s and 80s, the political right continued to backlash against civil rights and created "post-racial" theory, which resulted in massive money taken out of social services and huge money going into prison incarceration and security police. To continue justify these changes, ideas like the Model Minority Myth were repeated and reproduced. On the one hand, Asian Americans hold the highest median income and education levels of any communities of color but by saying there is a racial basis for this erases the ways the government used white supremacy, racism, migration and domestic policies to support their own capitalist economic needs (needed more knowledge workers, service workers while increasing cheap labor domestically and abroad).
SLIDE 7	AAPI communities have stood strong with each other and with other communities of color!

Key Points:

1. To debunk the MMM we must understand its structural roots in immigration and domestic policies that have aligned with shifting national attitudes.
2. We must challenge our own right to our "success," critique our privileges, and own our responsibility for the use of the MMM to divide communities of color.

4. MODEL MINORITY MUTINY (20 MIN)

Materials: "Cracking the Codes" video

Define Model Minority Mutiny:

Challenging Asian Americans to stand up, speak out, and take action against the anti-Black logic of model minority politics.

Discuss in pairs/triads (10 min):

- How can Asian Americans stand in solidarity with other minorities to fight for justice?
- What does being an ally look like to you?

Report-backs (5 min)

- Do a go-around of ideas, asking each group to share 1 idea until all are written (take notes on butcher)
  - Turn to the person next to you and make a commitment - what is one step you can take towards challenging the model minority myth.
- Pair Share (2 min)

"Cracking the Codes" video (4 min)

Here is an example of what might allyship look like - show "Cracking the Codes: Joy DeGury "A Trip to the Grocery Store"[1] video.

Key Points:

- Anti-black racism exists in our families and communities. Sometimes, our families or friends may make these comments. But it is important that we fight against this racism because communities of color are interconnected.
- When there exists a "model" minority, it must mean that there is a "bad" minority. Asians are used as a tool to further anti-blackness. This is why we have to stand in solidarity with other communities of color to debunk the model minority myth.

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop

1 https://youtu.be/Wf9QBnPK6Yg

ARCHIE BUNKER'S NEIGHBORHOOD EXERCISE SHEET

Materials:

- Tape
- Pens or Markers
- Bills (ten $100 bills, five $200 bills, five $500 bills)
- Post its (with jobs written on them - 2 ceo post its, 2 assistant manager, 2 manager, two waiter/waitress, two cashier)

Ask people to count off in 4's. No one is in group 5 at the start of the game.

- To begin, areas of the room will be taped off and labelled with numbers, but the participants are not to know what each area represents.
  1. White
  2. "Model" Asians
  3. Invisibilized Asians
  4. Black
  5. Prison

- Distribute wealth:

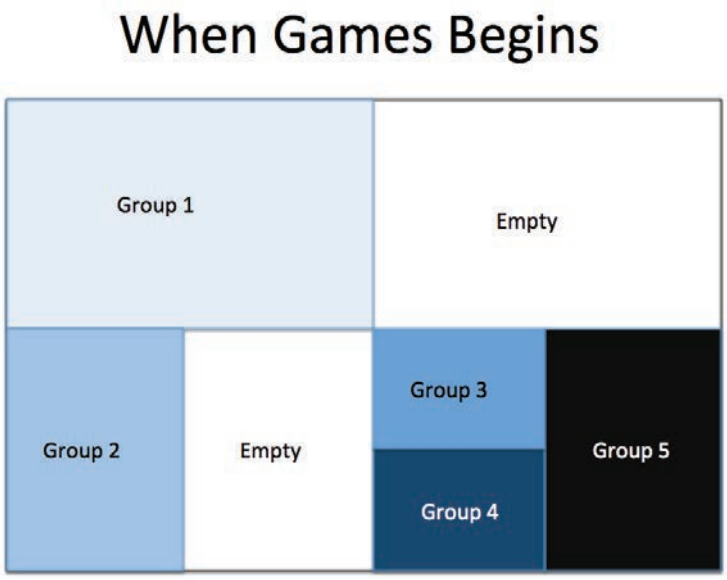
Section 1 - $500

Section 2 - $300

Section 3 - $100

Section 4 - $100

- The facilitator(s) will play the role of the mayor and police.
- Key factors in how mayor and police act is that there's only tacit discrimination, and not blatant. When different groups communicate between each other, if they're doing it in a rebellious way then we'd crack down on them, arresting and forgiving based on their privilege status. If they refuse to wear their identity cards, same thing. Avoid physical violence.



ROUND 1: COMMUNITY EXPANSION

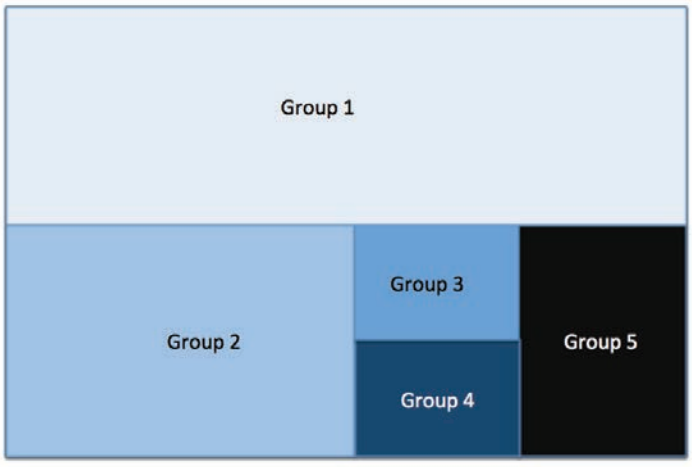
Narrate: *Each of the sections of the room represent a different community. Please go to your assigned communities. You are to stay within your community and not leave. Your goal is to build and improve your community.*

Narrate: *You all feel want to expand and grow your community. Many of you do not have enough space to thrive. With your community, come up with a statement that will convince the mayor to allow to you to expand your community.*

- Give 2-3 minutes for the group to discussion. Then have each group send 1 representative up and form a line in front of the mayor with their requests. The mayor will allow group 4 to cut the line and hear their request first. Then the mayor listens to the other requests according to who is next in line.
  - To group 1: Oh, you need more space? Yeah, it looks a bit crowded where you all are. Is a third of the room enough? No? You can have half the room.
  - To group 2: You are so hardworking, so of course, you deserve more space. We will double your space.
  - To group 3: Why do you need more space? You already have so much room and your community is flourishing.
  - To group 4: You want more room? If you worked hard like group 2, you can get more room. But if you really space, you can go on ahead to Area 5. That's where you should belong anyway. [Send person to Area 5 and they are not allowed to leave]

At the end of this, group 4 will have doubled their space and now their community takes up half the room. Group 3 also doubles in room, taking up a quarter of the room. The other communities remain unchanged.

After Round 1



ROUND 2: NIGHT PATROL

Narrate: *It is now nighttime and the police are in patrol to make sure you are all in line with the law - to remain within the community.*

The police walks through each of the communities.

- To group 1: I don't even need to look over this area. There is definitely going to be no trouble here.
- To group 2: This area of people are obeying their rules as usual.
- To group 3: Some of the members are almost stepping out of their boundaries, but it is fine. What trouble can they cause?
- To group 4: Hey [points to one of the people], you are stepping out of your boundary. This is a violation of the law. You must pay a $100 fine. Next time I catch you again, I will send you over there [points to Area 5]. Optional phrases: "This is a lawful order. Step back inside!", "Stop resisting!"

ROUND 3: FINDING JOBS

Narrate: *Members from your community want to find jobs to support their families and themselves. The possible jobs offered at the moment, in order of descending salaries, are CEO of a tech company, manager of a consumer goods company, waiter/waitress at a dim sum restaurant, cashier at a fast food restaurant. Discuss what jobs you would want and why, and send the two representatives up for jobs.*

[3 min later] Narrate: *Line up in front of me to get your jobs. It is first come first serve.*

- Again, let group 1 cut the line and get first pick.

- To group 1: What job would you like? I think both of you are fit to be CEOs of the tech company. [hands them CEO post it]
- To group 2: We have manager positions open at the consumer good company, but I don't know if you can handle being the manager. However, we do have an assistant manager position that we can offer you. [hands them assistant manager post it]
- To group 3: Huh? Whaaaat aaare yoooou saaaying? I can't understand you. Speak English please or go take English classes. Since your English is so bad, it seems like you will be a waiter/waitress for the dim sum restaurant. [hands them waiter/waitress post it]
- To group 4: Oh, and for you. You must be a high school or college dropout. Do you even have a diploma? One of you can work as cashier for McDonalds and the other one at Burger King. Are you not happy? You should at least be happy I gave you a job. [hands them cashier post it]

ROUND 4: NIGHT PATROL II

Narrate: *It is now nighttime again and the police are in patrol to make sure you are all in line with the law - to remain within the community.*

- The police walks through each of the communities.
- To group 1: No trouble here.
- To group 2: The people are obeying their rules as usual.
- To group 3: You don't seem to be troublemakers either.
- To group 4: Hey [points to the person from last night], you are stepping out of your boundary again. Look at group 2, they have very little space, but they know how to follow the rules. This is a violation of the law and you are under arrest. Follow me to Area 5. [brings person to Area 5].

ROUND 5: SALARIES

Narrate: *A month has passed and it is time to give you salaries. Please send one person from each area to obtain the salaries.*

- Again, group 1 gets paid first.
- To group 1: You are the boss of your own company. How much money did you earn for yourselves? $1000? [Hands them $1000]
- To group 2: Here is $200 for being an assistant manager.
- To group 3: Here is $100 for waiting at the restaurants.
- To group 4: Here is $100 for being a cashier.

ROUND 6: PROMOTION

Narrate: *It is another month and you would like raises to your job positions or your salaries. Please come up with a convincing argument for why you deserve higher pay or promotion.*

- Again, Group 1 gets to cut the line.
- To group 1: You need more investment in your company to help expand it? Sure, we will throw a few thousand dollars in to it.
- To group 2: You have been working pretty hard, but I guess I can promote you to be from assistant manager to manager. Your salary will go up by $50.
- To group 3: Huh? I still can't understand you. Have you been taking English classes? You have been here for a few months and you still cannot understand English? Come back whenyou fix up on the language.
- To group 4: Unfortunately, cashier is the only position available right now. And you see, there is no need to increase your wage. We are abiding by the law and paying you the minimum wage. What more do you want? Besides, look at Group 2. They worked hard and look at them. They are assistant managers now.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Credit: CFJ, GSA Network, Communities United Against Violence (CUAV)

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   10 min
2. What We Know
   20 min
3. What We Want to Know
   20 min
4. Homophobia & Transphobia in our Communities
   40 min
5. Fighting for Queer Justice
   20 min
6. Closing and Evaluation
   10 min

Goals

- Understand the difference between sexual identity and gender expression
- Learn about the impact of homophobia and transphobia in our communities
- Explore how we can fight for queer justice in Asian American communities

Key concepts: LGBTQQI, gender expression, gender identity, heterosexism, homophobia, transphobia

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Markers, tape
- Chart Paper
- Small group skit handouts
- Laptop/projector for videos

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 10 MIN

Welcome and icebreaker.

Review the goals and agenda.

Facilitators should self-acknowledge their roles as allies in presenting, or their roles as part of the LGBTQQI community.

2. WHAT WE KNOW - 20 MIN

Words on the Wall (5 min)

Choose 5-7 terms from the list below. Write each word at the top of a butcher paper (one word per paper). Set up butcher papers around the room. Give each person a marker, and share these instructions:

- What are the words, images, or what you've heard or been told about these terms? Please write or draw on each butcher paper. This is a silent activity (you can play music).

LGBTQQI TERMS

1. **BISEXUAL** (adj) a person emotionally, physically, and/or sexually attracted to male/men and females/women
2. **GAY** (adj) (1) a term used to describe individuals who are primarily emotionally, physically, and/or sexually attracted to members of the same sex and/or gender. More commonly used when referring to males/men-identified ppl who are attracted to males/men-identified ppl, but can be applied to females/women-identified ppl as well. (2) An umbrella term used to refer to the queer community as a whole, or as an individual identity label for anyone who does not identify as heterosexual.
3. **INTERSEX** (noun) Generally applied to individuals born with ambiguous genitalia (an outdated term would be Hermaphrodite). In the past, most intersexed individuals have had surgery shortly after birth in an attempt to give them an "identifiable" gender. There is now much discussion about this practice, but little has changed. Parents often feel forced to make a quick decision with little information. Most intersexed persons are raised as females.
4. **LESBIAN** (noun) A women who is both sexually and emotionally attracted to women.
5. **QUEER** (noun) An umbrella term, used by some to refer to themselves, the LGBTIQQ. Often viewed as a political statement as well as an identity or label. Some of those who use the term feel it is more inclusive. Caution: Some LGBTQ individuals dislike this word and view it as a derogatory.
6. **QUESTIONING** (verb, adjective) – an individual who is unsure about or is exploring their own sexual orientation or gender identity.
7. **PANSEXUAL/OMNISEXUAL:** (adj) a person who experiences sexual, romantic, physical, and/or spiritual attraction for members of all gender identities/expressions

8. **BIOLOGICAL SEX** (noun) a medical term used to refer to the chromosomal, hormonal and anatomical characteristics that are used to classify an individual as female or male or intersex. Often referred to as simply "sex," "physical sex," "anatomical sex," or specifically as "sex assigned [or designated] at birth.
9. **CISGENDER** – (adj; pronounced "siss-jendur") a person whose gender identity and biological sex assigned at birth align (e.g., man and male-assigned). A simple way to think about it is if a person is not trans*, they are cisgender.
10. **GENDER IDENTITY** (noun) the internal perception of an one's gender, and how they label themselves, based on how much they align or don't align with what they understand their options for gender to be. Common identity labels include man, woman, genderqueer, trans, and more.
11. **GENDER EXPRESSION** (noun) External representation of one's gender identity, usually expressed through "masculine" or "feminine" behavior, clothing, haircut, voice or body characteristics. Typically, transgender people seek to make their gender expression match their gender identity, rather than their birth-assigned sex.
12. **GENDERQUEER** – (adj) a gender identity label often used by people who do not identify with the binary of man/woman; or as an umbrella term for many gender non-conforming or non-binary identities (e.g., agender, bigender, genderfluid).
13. **TRANSGENDER** (noun) A broad umbrella term for persons who have a self-image or gender identity not traditionally associated with their biological gender. Some transgender persons wish to change their anatomy to be more congruent with their self-perception, while others do not have such a desire. There is no absolute correlation between sexual orientation and transgender issues. A transgender person may identify as heterosexual, gay, lesbian or bisexual.

For more terms, see this list: http://itspronouncedmetrosexual.com/2013/01/a-comprehensive-list-of-lgbtq-term-definitions/

For a visual, see the Genderbread Person v2.0: http://itspronouncedmetrosexual.com/2012/03/the-genderbread-person-v2-0/

Debrief (10 min):

Review each butcher 1 at a time

- What do you notice about what people wrote/drew?
- What are the emotions that these words/images bring up?
- Where do we get these ideas/words/"facts"?
- Which words were hardest to "define?" Which did we know the least about? Why?

2. WHAT WE WANT TO KNOW - 20 MIN

Materials: Queer & Asian video

Watch "Queer & Asian: Complex Identities"[1] (8 min)

- 1:58 - 7:18 (Introduces speakers, family dynamics and coming out, barriers to self acceptance)
- 10:28 - 11:22 (complex identities, navigating queer and Asian identities)

Debrief (12 min)

- What were some of the family dynamics and coming out issues that the speakers faced?
  - How did their identity as Asian Americans play into that?
- What did they share about their journey toward self-acceptance?
  - Pair share - talk about a part of your identity that you have struggled to accept. How is that similar/different to these stories?
- What mainstream images or stories do we know about queer Asians?
  - Pair share - talk about parts of your identity that seem separate or hard to bring together. Have you ever felt like you had to choose one? Or felt less real/authentic because of the other?
- Are there queer/LGBTQQI people in your family or friends? What has been some of their stories or experiences about coming out, family, self-acceptance, or complex identities?

3. HOMOPHOBIA & TRANSPHOBIA IN OUR COMMUNITIES - 40 MIN

Materials: Small group skit handouts

Explain that now we are going to learn about some really difficult situations that many LGBTQQI folks and folks who were thought to be queer have lived through, and in some cases have lost their lives to the homophobia and transphobia that pervades our communities. Ask folks to be respectful and mindful to the stories that they receive – because these are in fact true stories.

Small Groups - 20 min

Break up participants into 3 small groups with 3-4 participants in each group. Assign each group one of the following stories. Participants will either do a skit or a news report.

- Each group should be allotted 10 minutes to read through and prep to present their stories to the entire group.

Group Presentations (skits) - 20 min

After groups perform skit, have students give a brief overview of what was going on and what happened in their story.

1 https://youtu.be/_SRUtwldx5I?t=1m58s

Debrief

Acknowledge that the stories were pretty intense. Now we're going to bring it back to the circle and share our reflections. [You should go through each story 1 by 1 briefly state the situation and pose the questions, ANY other questions you might have, or questions participants might have to the group below]

- **Story 1:** Highlight that being LGBTQQI identified is not a choice

1. What are some of the struggles do you see in story 1?
2. How would it feel to be X (character)? What emotions are they experiencing?
3. Can someone that is LGBTQQI identified be changed through corrective therapy or an "anti-gay" camp?
4. How would folks feel if you were sent to a camp to change your sexuality?

- **Story 2:** Highlight straight male privilege and racism

1. Why do you think the cops believed Dwayne Buckle when he said "killer lesbians" attacked him because he was a man?
2. Why do you think the media portrayed these 4 Black lesbian women as the aggressors, as "sapphires", and gangsters rather than women who were sexually assaulted by a man on a late night?
3. What impact do you think the sentencing of the four black lesbian women had on the queer people of color community?
4. How did homophobia work against these women in the media?

- **Story 3:** Highlight transphobia both interpersonal and institutional (medical system)

1. How did transphobia play out in this skit? (interpersonal and institutional)?
2. How does transphobia connect to our beliefs about gender as binary (man/woman)?
3. How does violence against trans people affect all of us (think about the message it sends about gender non-conformity, about the risks of being our authentic selves)?

5. QUEER JUSTICE - 20 MIN

Materials: the BRIDGE Project, a project of AAPIP.org, videos.

Show videos (4 min)

- Freedom Inc 0:15 - 0:44, social justice = queer justice
- Freedom Inc 2:30 - 3:26, our full selves now
- PrYSM 0:13 - 1:30, queer youth organizing
- NQAPIA 1:22 - 2:08, changing family perceptions

Reflections: draw or write (8 min)

- How are these organizations working for queer justice?
  - How can we fight homophobia and transphobia within ourselves and within our Asian American communities?
- What does queer justice look like for LGBTQQI people of color?

Report-Back (8 mins)

ID any next steps to take as an organization to advance queer justice in your personal lives, in your organization, and in your community.

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop

SMALL GROUP SKIT HANDOUTS

HOMOPHOBIA AND TRANSPHOBIA IN OUR COMMUNITIES #1

Instructions:

You have 10 minutes to prepare a skit or news report to share your story with the rest of the group.

Story 1:

Your family are refugees, and are extremely religious. You've been having a lot of trouble reconciling your sexuality given that your faith denounces homosexuality. Your parents openly denounce homosexuality with all the talk about Gay marriage they are adamantly against it. As a young gay man in the closet you feel like you have no one to talk to. You are constantly in fear of how your parents might react if they found out you were gay. So after careful thought you decide to talk your pastor about it. Shocked, your pastor then tells your parents. He recommends that you be sent to an anti-gay camp were they "correct" young folks from homosexuality with therapy. You plead with your parents to not send you away and insist that being gay is something you can't change. — You end up going to anti-gay camp.

Statistics on LGBT Youth

- 4 in 10 LGBT youth say the community in which they live is not accepting of LGBT people
- LGBT youth are twice as likely to as their straight peers to say they have been physically assulted, kicked, or shoved at school.
- 92% of LGBT youth say they hear negative messages about being LGBT. The top sources are schools the internet, and their peers.[2]
- Gay teens are 8x more likely to report having attempted suicide and 6x more likely to report high levels of depression
- Studies indicate that between 25% and 50% of homeless youth are LGBT and on the streets because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.
- About two-thirds of LGBT students reported having ever been sexually harassed (e.g., sexual remarks made, being touched inappropriately) in school in the past year.[3]

2 http://www.hrc.org/youth-report/view-and-share-statistics#.VzC1IWQrJFV
3 http://www.pflagnyc.org/safeschools/statistics

HOMOPHOBIA AND TRANSPHOBIA IN OUR COMMUNITIES #2

Instructions:

You have 10 minutes to prepare a skit or news report to share your story with the rest of the group.

Story 2:

You and girls decide to go out to the club Saturday night. After having a great night at the club on your way home a group of men make advances towards you and your girls. One in particular emerges from the crowd and starts walking towards you. He calls you man-haters and spouts homosexual slurs at you and other expletives, exclaiming that all you need is a man in your life. As he advances towards you he grabs your friend. All of you start to scream while the man's friends' stand idly by watching. One of you decides to defend yourself and your friends, and takes out a knife and stabs the man several times. A store clerk finally calls the cops. The cops arrive shortly and the man accuses all four of you of committing a hate crime against him because he was straight. All four of you are arrested and later are convicted of assault with a weapon. Your story was sensationalized all over the media. It was referred to "Attack of the Killer Lesbians" and "Violent lesbians gangs a growing problem". All four of you received sentences ranging from 3 ½ to 11 years.

True story: 2006 Greenwhich Village Assualt

One late night four black, self-identified lesbian women were walking home when a man by the name of Dwayne Buckle made sexual advances towards them. Buckle pointed at their crotch and said, "let me get some of that". The women replied, "no thank you, I'm not interested". When the women refused and kept on walking Buckle followed them. Following them, yelling more homophobic slurs. The women stopped and confronted Buckle. He grabbed one women and began to choke her. Patreese Johnson 20, produced knife and stabbed Buckle. All 4 women were convicted for assault ranging from 3 ½ years to 11 years. All women were between the ages of 19 and 25.

HOMOPHOBIA AND TRANSPHOBIA IN OUR COMMUNITIES #3

Instructions:

You have 10 minutes to prepare a skit or news report to share your story with the rest of the group.

Story 3:

You are a transgender Asian American woman. You came out a few years ago after nearly a decade of being in the closet about your gender identity. You changed your pronouns from he/him to she/her, began going out in feminine clothing, hair, and make-up. But more than anything you wish you could afford hormone replacement therapy, but as a low-wage restaurant worker, you don't have health care. You can't get on Medicaid either but even if you could, it is explicitly excluded from Medicaid coverage in 16 states. A few days ago when you were walking home with friends, you ran into a group of young men outside a police precinct. They yelled homophobic and transphobic slurs at you, then turned to violence and aggression. You were badly beaten, and friends rushed you to the hospital. At the hospital, despite your efforts to assert your gender identity, you were listed as male. You requested that only female medical personnel enter your room, but a male resident physician was assigned to care for you. He required that a female medical student accompany him, and never made eye contact with you. On leaving your room, the resident physician referred to you as a "she-male".

- 72 percent of victims of anti-LGBTQ homicide were transgender women, and 89 percent of victims were people of color.[4]
- Transgender people of color were 6 times more likely to experience physical violence from the police compared to White cisgender survivors and victims." Trans people in general were 7 times as likely "to experience physical violence when interacting with the police" than cisgender victims and survivors.[5]
- Transgender people are four times as likely to have a household income under $10,000 and twice as likely to be unemployed as most people in the U.S.
- Nearly a fifth of transgender people experience homelessness in their lifetimes.
- 90 percent report having been discriminated against or harassed while on the job.[6]

4 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/01/22/the-state-of-transgender-america-massive-discrimination-little-data/
5 http://www.bustle.com/articles/87452-5-shocking-facts-about-transgender-suicide-and-violence-that-you-need-to-know
6 http://www.bustle.com/articles/87452-5-shocking-facts-about-transgender-suicide-and-violence-that-you-need-to-know

MAKING GENDER & PATRIARCHY

Credit: KGA, CFJ

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   10 min
2. Deconstructing the Gender Binary
   35 min
3. Exploring Gender and Our Own Identities
   20 min
4. Sexism and Patriarchy in our Lives
   30 min
5. Being our Full Selves
   20 min
6. Closing and Evaluation
   5 min

Goals

- Break down the gender binary
- Understand the difference between sex, gender, and sexual orientation
- Understand patriarchy and how it affects all of us

Key concepts: Sex, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Gender Binary, Gender Norms, Gender Roles, Sexism, Patriarchy, Transphobia, Homophobia, Heterosexism

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Butchers, markers, tape
- Genderbread Handouts
- Laptop, projector, speakers
- Blue and pink post-its
- Butchers:
- Sex/gender/sexual orientation chart
- Definitions (as needed)

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 10 MIN

- Welcome folks and let them know we'll be talking about gender justice.
- Review the goals and agenda. Do an icebreaker if needed.
- Gender Pronouns (if this is not already an organizational practice, name it here):
  - Gender Pronouns are important in respecting, naming and recognizing peoples' gender identity. We will talk about the idea of "gender identity" later in the workshop, but in order to create a safe and inclusive space right now, we want to begin the session by asking folks what their gender pronouns are, as opposed to assuming.

2. DECONSTRUCTING THE GENDER BINARY - 20 MIN

Gender Boxes & the Binary – 10 min

Ask: Let's start with this question: what is the difference between sex and gender?

SEX

- Sex is biological, *what you've got.*
- Words associated with sex – male or female

GENDER

- Expectations, behaviors - *what you feel*
- Words most people associate with gender: masculine/feminine, girl/boy, man/woman

1. Based on what we already know about gender everyone is going to write down gender characteristics in these sticky notes.
2. Place two blank butchers on opposite sides of the room, one should be labeled Man/Boy and the other Woman/Girl (draw a border like the boxes below)
3. Break participants into two groups
4. Give one group pink post-its (Girl/Woman group) and markers
5. Give one group blue post-its (Boy/Man) and markers

- For group 1, you are going to think of all the things that are stereotypical for "girls and women," and group 2 you are going to think about all the things that are stereotypical for "boys and men." These characteristics should be stereotypical, things that we are told about how we should be or how we should act if we are a man or a woman. Write one per post it.
- Provide some examples if the group needs it
- Give people 5 minutes or less to think of characteristics and post them on the butcher
- Have volunteers read the butcher papers out loud.

Ask:

- *How do these expectations/roles make you feel?*
- *How do these expectations influence your decisions or actions?*
- *Where do we learn these expectations and who enforces them?*

We have just created Gender Boxes, and these boxes are the "norms" or standards that dictate how men and women should behave and act. The society in which we live in has very rigid views of what gender is, and these ideas are imposed on each and every one of us from before we are even born. When a woman is pregnant , what is one of the most common question she is asked? Boy or girl?

Does anyone know what gender binary means?

GENDER BINARY

The gender binary is the idea that there are only two genders (male and female) that correspond with a certain set of physical traits ("sex").

**Refer to their gender boxes for physical traits*

Ask:

- *Is there anyone in real life who fits perfectly into one of these gender boxes?*
- *What are the consequences of stepping out of the gender box?*
- *What names are you called? Write the names outside of the box (border area)*
- *How does this affect people's willingness to step outside of the box?*

Key Points:

- These roles/boxes influence how we act, and how other people act and treat us.
- Social messages suggest that people are either all the way in the box or all the way out of the box. But actually people are neither completely one or the other – we usually fall somewhere on a spectrum. Oppression like Homophobia and transphobia or the threat of that oppression is used to get us to conform.
- These roles/expectations/stereotypes limit our power – women are viewed as weaker, not as smart/competent, not taken seriously, whose place is in the home, and whose value lies in our looks/bodies – and many times results in us being the targets of violence and control.

Defining Patriarchy - 10 min

The system of oppression most related to gender is called patriarchy. We are going to quickly review some key terms and ideas about patriarchy and gender justice. Some ideas might be new, some you might know. Don't worry about remembering them all, we want you to just keep them in mind as a framework for our work together.

Ask: Who has heard the word patriarchy before? Where have you heard it?

PATRIARCHY is a system of oppression that centralizes power, wealth and privilege for men so that the social structure (i.e. government & institutions) social norms, culture, behavior devalues women, LGBTQI people and femininity.

- **Explain:** We like to imagine the system of patriarchy as a house, a house that's been around for thousands of years. A house can't stay up without a strong foundation and walls. [as you explain the walls, draw an image of a house on butcher paper, and label each wall] The four walls of this house are – Gender Roles, Transphobia, Sexism, and Homophobia/Heterosexism. Many times we think of them as separate, but they can all work together to hold up this roof. They interact with each other through laws, attitudes, how we treat each other. Over these two sessions, we are going to explore each of them, remembering their intersections and also how they are impacted by race, immigration status, class, etc. (***If there is time you can ask for examples from participants as you go through them)***

GENDER ROLES/EXPECTATIONS: the expected roles and behaviors assigned to individuals by society based on their sex (males and females).

TRANSPHOBIA: the fear of and/or hostility towards people who are transgender or who don't fit into traditional gender norms/roles because of their gender identity or gender presentation.

SEXISM: Individual and social beliefs and norms that claim men are superior to everyone else.

HOMOPHOBIA: Homophobia describes behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs that are oppressive to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and queer people.

HETEROSEXISM: The assumption that everyone is straight (or should be) and that this is the only "normal" right and moral way to be.

Ask: Let's do a go-around and have folks add to our house.

You can add a color, an object, an image and explain why [have staff or a volunteer quickly sketch these additions as you go-around]. For example, in the "Gender Roles" section of the house, everything would be blue or pink, no other colors, no other options - because that's what it feels like to have only 2 choices on how you can express your gender. Transphobia: bathrooms labeled men/women, etc. (note: have the facilitator write down ideas, so that the person sketching can take time to catch up without slowing down the go-around).

Ask: Look at our house. How would it feel to live here?

Get 1-2 responses

<u>Key Points:</u>

Living under a system of patriarchy affects all of us. It is upheld by these four walls, and plays out through fear and oppression.

3. EXPLORING GENDER & OUR OWN IDENTITIES – 20 MIN

Materials: Genderbread Handout[1]

For more background on Genderbread, listen to "Understanding the Complexities of Gender: Sam Killermann at TEDxUofIChicago"[2]

Let's review what we know (show chart below):

SEX	GENDER	SEXUAL ORIENTATION
Biological, Anatomical, What you've got	Expectations, behaviors What you feel	Who you love/attracted to
Male or Female Intersex	Masculine, Feminine, Girl/Woman, Boy/Man, (Gender Non Conforming, Gender Queer, Transgender)	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Pansexual

It is important to understand that sex and gender are two very different things. Generally people use the words sex and gender interchangeably because it is assumed that one determines the other and that there are only two options. However they are independent of each other and also exist along a spectrum, just like the gender norms. How we identify can also change over time.

In society, there is an assumption that one leads to the other, but in actuality these identities of ours are completely unrelated.

COMMON ASSUMPTION: Sex ➔ Gender ➔ Sexual Orientation

REALITY: Sex ≠ Gender ≠ Sexual Orientation

- Now we are going to take a moment to think about how sex, gender, and sexual orientation applies to ourselves, and how we identify and express ourselves.
- Does everyone know what a gingerbread cookie is? What's so great about a gingerbread cookie is that you can decorate or express them however you want. So each of you is going to create your own "Genderbread" – thinking about your own gender, sex, sexual orientation, and gender expression.
- Explain Activity with larger butcher paper using yourself as an example.
- Pass out Genderbread Handouts, and walk around and help.
- Ask for some volunteers to chart themselves on Genderbread on the wall, or ask them all to do it.

<u>Debrief:</u>

So how did folks feel doing this activity? What did you notice as you did it? Was there anything challenging?

1 http://itspronouncedmetrosexual.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Genderbread-2.1.jpg
2 https://youtu.be/NRcPXtqdKjE

Key Points:

- This activity shows how gender and sexuality are fluid, changes over time, with our age, and within our culture.
- Our gender, what people see and perceive us as, has been treated as a direct relationship to our sex. But it is fluid. And many are punished if they don't fit into it.
- Transphobia limits people from expressing their true selves. And if they do, they are more likely to be harassed, harmed, kept out of jobs, treated as mentally ill, and given very little access to power and wealth.

4. SEXISM AND PATRIARCHY IN OUR LIVES - 30 MIN

Real or Not Activity – 10 min

For this activity divide the ground with tape. On one side is REAL and on the other side is NOT. The middle can be not sure.

Instructions:

Everyone is going to have to stand up for this activity. I'm going to read statements and if you think it's **REAL** go to the **REAL** side of the tape. If you think it's **NOT REAL** go to the **NOT** side of the tape. If you don't know or are unsure you can stand in the middle on the tape.

- STATEMENT: Between 1929-1974 North Carolina sterilized over 7,000 people. **REAL.** The state of North Carolina deemed those people to be undesirable and unfit to reproduce. Majority of those people were African American women.
- STATEMENT: In 2013 woman hold 20% of the CEO positions in Fortune 1000 companies (which is a list of America's largest companies). **NOT,** women only comprise of only 4.5% of CEO positions in Fortune 1000 companies.
- STATEMENT: In 1968 a 19-year old black non-gender conforming individual was found murdered with multiple stab wounds in Chicago. **NOT.** This event is real but it happened more recently in 2012. Tiffany Gooden was only 19 years old.
- STATEMENT: The National Institute of Justice and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report that 1 out of 6 women have been victims of rape or attempted rape in their lifetime. **REAL**. The US Department of Justice reports 60% of rapes/sexual assaults are not reported to the police.
- STATEMENT: The National Association of Anorexia Nervosa and Associated Disorders reports up to 24 million Americans suffer from an eating disorder. **REAL.** Majority of the Americans that suffer from an eating disorder are women, however men are less likely than women to seek treatment.

- STATEMENT: Transgender people of color were 6 times more likely to experience physical violence from the police compared to White cisgender survivors and victims. **REAL.** 72 percent of victims of anti-LGBTQ homicide were transgender women, and 89 percent of victims were people of color.[3]

Have participants go back to their seats

Ask:

- *What was your reaction to those statements?*
- *Which ones hit you the hardest? Why?*
- *Who benefits from sexism and patriarchy?*

Key Points:

- Patriarchy is a system of oppression that is supported by sexism, gender norms (boxes) and homophobia/transphobia. It affects people of all genders. By privileging a narrow definition of men/masculinity and reinforcing gender norms, everyone is affected.
- Our experience with patriarchy has influenced the way we think and act with ourselves and with each other.

Affinity Groups - 20 min

- We will break into small groups by affinity - to talk about how patriarchy and transphobia has affected each of us. Break into groups:
- Those who identify as masculine/men/boys, those who identify as gender non-conforming/genderqueer/trans, and those who identify as feminine/women/girls.
- Give groups 15 minutes to discuss these questions (you do not have to talk about all the questions - choose amongst them):
  - What do you love about your gender identity?
  - What is hardest about your gender identity?
  - What are ways you've experienced or been impacted by gender norms (boxes)? By transphobia?
  - What are ways that you have internalized these norms and transphobia?
  - How have your other identities (race, class, immigration status, etc.) intersected with your gender identity?
  - When have you been in a safe space and felt seen as your full self?
  - What support do you need to be a better ally? How can you create a safe space here?
  - Share back
  - Choose 3 things from your conversation that you would like others to know and hear
  - Thank people for sharing

3 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2015/01/22/the-state-of-transgender-america-massive-discrimination-little-data/

5. OUR FULL SELVES – 20 MIN

Materials: computer and projector for videos

- What would a space look like where young people, children, who are gender-non-conforming, genderqueer, or transgender could be their full selves without fear?
  - Camp Aranu'tiq[4] (3:46)
  - Black Girl Dangerous Get Free Youth Program[5] (2:57)
- What would this space look like for you? How would you express your gender identity - to be your full self without fear?
- Create your "genderbread" camp/program/space (5 mins of drawing/writing)
  - Who would be there?
  - What would people be doing?
  - What would you see - describe it.
  - How would it feel?
- Get into groups of 3 and share (6 mins)
- How can we bring parts of your genderbread camps into our space?

6. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Evaluate: Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

4 https://vimeo.com/142297834
5 https://youtu.be/wpF0NL0NuRc

ROOTS OF RACE

Credit: KGA, CPA, AYPAL, CFJ

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   15 min
2. Naming It
   20 min
3. How Racism Plays Us
   45 min
4. A Closer Look
   30 min
5. Closing and Evaluation
   10 min

Goals

- Learn about the different types of racism, and how racism affects our communities and everyday lives.
- Deepen our analysis of how institutional racism affects communities of color.

Key concepts: Racism - Institutional, Interpersonal, Internalized, Microaggressions

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Roots of Race Images powerpoint
- Print out of "gook" and "model minority" images
- Racism people's theater - small groups stories and instructions
- Racism definitions sheet
- Facilitator background sheets for topics in "A Closer Look"
- "A Closer Look" small group instructions

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 15 MIN

Welcome folks and let them know we'll be talking about the roots of racism in the U.S.

Review the goals and agenda.

Pair share – 4 min:

- When was the first time you realized you were ____ (race/ethnicity)?
- What happened? How did you feel?

Report-back – 4 min:

- Ask for 2-3 volunteers to share out highlights from their pair share.
- Look for similarities or differences - how race becomes real to you through your interactions with other people or institutions.

2. NAMING IT - 20 MIN

Pass out 7 pennies (or other object) per person. Have people sit in a circle on the floor.

Facilitator: Close your eyes and follow the directions as you hear the following statements:

- Toss a penny in the middle if you've heard jokes told about members of your racial or ethnic group.
- Toss a penny in the middle if your parents or elders have been ignored or spoken down to by someone in authority.
- Toss a penny in the middle if you have been stopped or harassed by the cops because of the way you look.
- Toss a penny in the middle if people have made assumptions about how smart you are based on your race or ethnicity.
- Toss a penny in the middle if you have had someone walk up to you assuming that you don't speak English.
- Toss a penny in the middle if you see a lack of accurate or diverse representation of people from your race or ethnicity on television.
- Toss a penny in the middle if you have been asked, "Where are you from?"...."Where are you really from?" by someone wanting to know your ethnic background.
- Open your eyes. Look at the pile of coins/objects. These represent our collective experience of how folks are treated here in the U.S.

Pair Share – 4 min:

What was your reaction to those statements we just read? Were any true for you? In that moment, how did it make you feel? How do you feel now?

Ask: Anyone want to share what they talked about?

These statements, however common they feel, are called microaggressions. (Share the definition out loud, or write up on butcher paper)

> *"Commonplace daily indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate negative racial insults toward people of color."*
>
> – "Implicit Bias and Microaggressions: the Macro Impact of Small Acts by Professor David Wing Sue[1]

Here is an example from his talk (have a participant read this):

> *"It gets so tiring, you know. It sucks you dry. People don't trust you. From the moment I [African American male] wake up, I know stepping out the door, that it will be the same, day after day. The bus can be packed but no one will sit next to you...I guess that may be a good thing because you always get more room, no one crowds you. You get served last... when they serve you, they have this phony smile and just want to get rid of you...you have to show more ID to cash a check, you turn on the TV and there you always see someone like you, being handcuffed and jailed. They look like you and sometimes you begin to think it is you! You are a plague! You try to hold it in, but sometimes you lose it. Explaining doesn't help. They don't want to hear. (Sue, 20150, p. 87)*

Ask: What do you notice about this story? How does it connect to microaggressions?

Key Point:

Microaggressions can be everyday intentional or unintentional exchanges, which are a very real part of how we experience racism today. The collective impact of these has very real effect on our lives.

Facilitator's note:

- At the heart of the "unintentional" is Implicit Bias: the attitudes or stereotypes that affect our understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner[2].
- For more examples (images) show: "21 Racial Microaggressions You Hear on a Daily Basis"[3] by BuzzFeed

1 https://youtu.be/Nrw6Bf5weTM
2 http://www.aft.org/ae/winter2015-2016/staats
3 https://www.buzzfeed.com/hnigatu/racial-microagressions-you-hear-on-a-daily-basis

3. HOW RACISM PLAYS US - 45 MIN

Materials: "Roots of Race Images" powerpoint

Background - 5 min

Show images of Vietnam "gook" poster and Model Minority news clipping.

Ask: What do these two images say about Asians? What are the stereotypes they are playing into? How did they change over time?

Ask: What is racism? Can someone describe it to me?

RACISM: a system of advantage based on race, where each race is assigned a value, and is backed up by people and institutions with power.

POWER + PREJUDICE = RACISM

Say: Race is a social construct, which means it is cultural idea that allows societies to group and privilege some people above others.

- Reality: there is only a .02% difference in our DNA and more variation within our racial groups than between groups. But the idea that certain races are superior or better continue to be pervasive in society because of Racism.

Ask: Which race is given the highest value?

- In US society Whites are given the highest value over people of color. When we say people of color we're talking about all the non-white people who originally come from Third World countries, including African Americans, Latinos, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Middle Eastern people, as well as the indigenous people of this continent.
- The higher value White people attach to "Whiteness" allows them to maintain power over other racial groups.
- Therefore, racism in the U.S. is often referred to as "White Supremacy."

Ask: How can we tell?

- Media, cultural standards of beauty, heads of companies, history books.

Say: Although the definition of Racism seems pretty simple, racism itself is a complicated thing.

- Malcolm X was once quoted as saying: "Racism is like a Cadillac … they make a new model every year." What do you think this means?

- He was referring to the fact that Racism is not simply one or two obvious acts of oppression: segregation, police brutality, etc.
- Instead, Racism takes on many different modes and styles. In order to illustrate the how racism affects us, we're going to use "People's Theater."
- The difference from regular theater is that you all will be the actors, the directors, and the narrators. Before we get into our performance groups, let's do a quick warm-up exercise.

Warm-up - 5 min

- Warm-up (A) Face & Body-stretching: Stretch the face muscles by making a face. Swing the arms and shake out the body. Go-around and follow.
- Warm-up (B) Body-moving: Trainer tells a story and everyone performs what is being said.
  - Example story: One day I went walking through the forest. ~ It was very hot, and I began to sweat. ~ After two hours, I became hungry and needed to rest. ~ I found a big, shady tree to rest against. ~ When I looked up, I saw this big, shady tree was full of apples. ~ I stretched up to reach for an apple. ~ Then I tried jumping for an apple. ~ Finally, I got one! ~ Then, I took a bite of the apple. ~ How does it taste? Is it sweet or sour? ~ Is there a worm in it?

Small Group Prep - 10 min

- Break participants into 3 teams by counting off by threes.
- Assign each team one of the scenarios on Handout 1.
- Explain that they will be reading their scenarios and then they will prepare to perform their scenario.
- Each team should pick a narrator who will read the scenario out loud and actors who will perform the roles with as little speaking as possible.
- After 10 minutes of prep time, have each group perform and discuss the questions after each performance.

HANDOUT 1

Hand out 3 different scenarios:

- First Scenario: example of Interpersonal Racism
- Second Scenario: example of Internalized Racism
- Third Scenario: example of Institutional Racism

Note: The scenarios that are handed out will not be listed with the heading "Internalized Racism, etc." Only the facilitator will know beforehand what each scenario refers to.

People's Theater – 15 min

After each team has had a chance to narrate and perform their scenario, ask the following questions. Butcher up the groups answers for each of the three scenarios on a separate sheet of butcher paper:

1. Who or what is the target of Racism in this scenario?
2. Who or what is perpetrating ('doing') the Racism in this scenario?
3. How or where did the person 'doing' the Racism learn to do it?

After the group has answered the questions for each scenario, write the type of racism each refers to at the top of each of corresponding butcher:

- Butcher Paper #1: Interpersonal Racism
- Butcher Paper #2: Internalized Racism
- Butcher Paper #3: Institutional Racism

Definitions Review – 10 min

HANDOUT 2

Hand out the sheets with the definitions each of the 3 different kinds of Racism. Have volunteers read the definitions.

RACISM	
Internalized	Is when knowing or not, someone has negative ideas about themselves and their race or culture. When someone feels that their race or culture is bad or not as good as the white culture/race and these negative images come from racist ideas and images put out in society (example: color/complexion, hair, eyes, facial features, language etc)
Interpersonal	Is when someone has negative ideas, like prejudice, about another race or culture not their own which is acted out in behaviors, attitudes, beliefs toward another racial group.
Institutional	Is policies and practices institutions create in order to benefit white people at the expense of people of color.

Ask: Where do these forms of racism come from? Let's look at the answers you gave to the earlier question: How or where did the person 'doing' the Racism learn to do it?

- Some possible answers: Family, School, and the Media

Say: These things you identified are Institutions: Any place in which goods, funds, services, ideas, and policies are produced, learned, exchanged, and put into practice.

Examples of Institutions:

- Courts and Congress: Where laws are created
- Corporations: Where products are produced for mass consumption
- Schools and Universities: Where official/dominant knowledge is produced for the general public.
- Media: Where images, stories, and characters are created for mass consumption.

Institutions serve 3 functions in society:

- Cultural- pass down ideas, morals, justification for standards of behavior
- Economic: distribute goods and resources
- Political: enforce the ideals and standards of behavior for the protection of society.

Say: If Racism is like a Cadillac, then Institutions are the factories where racism – or racist practices and policies – are produced, learned, exchanged, and put into practice.

4. A CLOSER LOOK - 35 MIN

We are going to take a closer look at how institutional racism has affected our lives, and what we can do to transform it.

Small Groups - 20 min:

There are three small groups - each person can choose the topic they are most interested in:

- Housing
- Education
- Justice System

You will have 20 minutes to answer questions in your small group and create 2 images. We just finished our Reader's Theater, so you're warmed up. This time you will create a single image using only your bodies and faces to convey your ideas - no words, almost like a scene that's frozen in a movie.

- The first image is the **REAL** - the ways that this institution carries out racism today.
- The second image is the **IDEAL** - what would it look like if there was justice in this institution?

Small group questions (see handout & background info for facilitators):

- How does this institution (housing, education, or the justice system) affect people of color compared to white people?
- How does this affect the conditions or opportunities people of color have in their lives?
- How have these institutions impacted you or your friends/family - positively/negatively?
- What would justice for all look like in this institution? How would we know that things have gotten better?

Report Backs & Discussion - 10 min:

- Have each group share their "real" and their "ideal" image
- For each image, have the actors hold the image while the audience answers these questions:
  - What do you notice?
  - What do the characters in the scene want? What does the "institution" want?
  - What are they doing (or are about to do) that moves them towards that desire?
- Allow the group to unfreeze, and add any additional details
- Summarize any similar themes you noticed between the groups

Key Points:

All of these issues and oppressions are deeply interconnected and linked. Like a chain, each link is connected and dependent on the other. For example, if you live in a poor neighborhood, your schools are poor you you'll have less resources, and more than likely there will be a lot more violence and police in your community. Because all these issues and oppression are linked we have to take an approach that addresses all of them to fight for justice.

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Acknowledge the weight of the topic - play Ben Harper's version of Maya Angelou's poem, "Still I Rise"[4]

Evaluate: Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

4 https://youtu.be/XLEvR3cevN8

SCENARIOS FOR PEOPLE'S THEATER

GROUP 1

Instructions: Read through your team's scenario on this sheet. Pick a narrator and several people to act out the roles in the scenario. During your performance, the narrator will read the scenario out loud while the actors perform their roles. Try to use as much body language and as little speaking as possible in your performance. You can use props, too, if you want.

Scenario 1:

Robert's family is originally from Vietnam. But they've been in the United States for over 20 years. Robert was the first one in his family to be born in the United States. He speaks some Vietnamese, but not a lot because his parents want him to grow up American. Although Robert knows that his family faced discrimination as new immigrants when they first came to the US, he's proud that they overcame their struggles. The Gutierrez family, who are new immigrants from El Salvador, recently moved into Robert's neighborhood. Robert is resentful. He was angry when they celebrated the new year with a block party last week. Nothing was in English, the food was weird, and the music was loud and obnoxious. Robert felt that the whole scene was uncivilized. He and some friends started to disrupt and even vandalize at the celebration. They spray painted 'This is America!' on one of the neighbor's cars.

Discussion Questions:

- Who or what is the target of Racism in each scenario?
- Who or what is perpetrating ('doing') the Racism in each scenario?
- How or where did the person 'doing' the Racism in each scenario learn to do it

SCENARIOS FOR PEOPLE'S THEATER

GROUP 2

Instructions: Read through your team's scenario on this sheet. Pick a narrator and several people to act out the roles in the scenario. During your performance, the narrator will read the scenario out loud while the actors perform their roles. Try to use as much body language and as little speaking as possible in your performance. You can use props, too, if you want.

Scenario 3:

Sok is a fifteen year-old Cambodian student. She attends a school that has very few Cambodian students, but mostly white students and a handful of Latino and East Asian students. Sok has the lightest skin in her family, and her parents have always treated her best because of it. But when she goes to high school and sees all these white faces, she begins to understand what light-skinned really means. Sok feels like the "dark" one for the first time in her life. She even decides to use some skin-lightening cream (skin bleach) and she never goes to the beach, because her mother says it will make her "too dark." She doesn't spend much time making friends with other students of color at school. She's feels good when her white friends start calling her "Sara" and tell her she doesn't really seem Asian to them.

Discussion Questions:

- Who or what is the target of Racism in each scenario?
- Who or what is perpetrating ('doing') the Racism in each scenario?
- How or where did the person 'doing' the Racism in each scenario learn to do it

SCENARIOS FOR PEOPLE'S THEATER

GROUP 3

Instructions: Read through your team's scenario on this sheet. Pick a narrator and several people to act out the roles in the scenario. During your performance, the narrator will read the scenario out loud while the actors perform their roles. Try to use as much body language and as little speaking as possible in your performance. You can use props, too, if you want.

Scenario 4:

Mychal Bell and his friends go to a predominately white school in Jena, Louisiana. Even though we live in a society that is diverse and integrated Mychal Bell and his friends had to ask for permission to sit under the "white" tree on their campus. The next day, when the students went to school, the white students hung three nooses from the tree. When the boys returned they protested the light punishment (a 3-day suspension for what school officials called a "silly prank") for the noose-hangers, and the Jena District Attorney Reed Walters came to school and threatened the boys, telling them he could "take [their] lives away with a stroke of [his] pen." Tensions mounted all around the city (with the population of 3000 people), and several cases of off campus violence and threats against the black students went barely punished or unpunished. But when a white student got beaten up after taunting one of the boys, everything changed. The DA Walters charged Mychal Bell and friends with second-degree attempted murder for this school-yard fight. Bails were set between $78,000 and $135,000. In June, Mychal Bell, 17, was convicted in an adult court by an all white jury for aggravated second-degree battery and conspiracy (which carries a maximum sentence of 22 years). On September 14th, an appeals court judge reversed the conviction on the grounds that Mychal shouldn't have been tried as an adult. However, the DA says he'll appeal the decision, and he still plans to try the other five young men.

Adapted from: http://www.colorofchange.org/jena/dayofaction/JenaFlyer_v4.pdf

Discussion Questions:

- Who or what is the target of Racism in each scenario?
- Who or what is perpetrating ('doing') the Racism in each scenario?
- How or where did the person 'doing' the Racism in each scenario learn to do it

DEFINITIONS OF RACISM

Interpersonal Racism is when someone has negative ideas, like prejudices, about another race or culture not their own. All types of people have these type of attitudes, but these attitudes are most obvious in the White dominated society we live in.

Internalized Racism is when either knowing it or not, someone has negative ideas about themselves and their race or culture. These negative images come from racist ideas and images put out in society claiming that White people are superior. Basically, this is someone who feels that their race or culture is bad or at least not as good as the White culture and race.

Institutional Racism is the policies (laws) and practices that institutions create in order to benefit White people at the expense of people of color. The outcomes of these policies and practices always have negative effects on people of color. IR is different from interpersonal or internalized racism because it does not just affect one person, but rather large groups of people at once. The flipside of Institutional Racism is White Privilege, the fact that White people have social advantages in things like getting jobs, getting into college, and running government and businesses. In order to understand why inequality still exists in our society we have to look at the different institutions that exist and how they function. Institutions include organizations, their practices, laws, historical, and contemporary policies. Society is made up of institutions. Institutional Racism is defined by how institutions create, perpetuate and support racism. Institutional racism is the most profound and ingrained type of racism that exists.

FACILITATOR - BACKGROUND INFO: HOUSING

Context: Residential Segregation didn't happen by accident. The US Federal Government took many steps to channel resources and opportunities to whites and away from nonwhites, resulting in an enormous wealth gap that persists today.

In 1993, 86% of suburban whites still lived in places with a Black population of less than 1%. The 2000 Census showed that whites are still more likely to be segregated than any other group. Today, 71% of whites own their own home, compare to 44% of African American. Black and Latino mortgage applicants are 60% more likely than similarly qualified white to be turned down for loans. As housing gets more expensive and wealth gets passed down from generation to generation, the legacy of past discrimination persists, giving whites and nonwhites vastly different life chances.

1930's-1940's Spurred Growth

Beginning in the 1930s and 1940s, the federal government created programs that subsidized low-cost loans, opening up home ownership to millions of average Americans for the first time. However, at the same time, government underwriters introduced a national appraisal system, tying property value and loan eligibility to race. Consequently, all-white communities received the highest ratings and benefited from low-cost, government-backed loans, while

minority and mixed neighborhoods received the lowest ratings and were denied these loans. Of the $120 billion worth of new housing subsidized by the government between 1934 and 1962, less than 2 percent went to nonwhite families. Nonwhites were locked out of home ownership just as most white Americans were finally getting in.

1949 National Housing Act

The housing market available to most nonwhites was rental and later, public housing in segregated urban centers. Government-sponsored urban redevelopment programs destroyed more housing than they built. Ninety percent of all housing destroyed by urban renewal was not replaced; two-thirds of those displaced were Black or Latino. As urban renewal projects destroyed taxable properties, the burden for maintaining social services was shifted onto fewer and fewer residents – encouraging white flight and making the poor poorer. As the economy and housing boomed during the 50-60's more and whiter homeowners moved to the suburbs. Federal and state tax dollars subsidized the construction and development of municipal services for suburbs, in turn fueling commercial investment. Freeways in major cities connected white suburbs to central business districts, but they were often built through core areas of black settlement. Many urban black areas lost their neighborhood shopping districts and successful small businesses as a result. By the 1960s, many businesses began moving jobs from cities to suburbs, further concentrating wealth and needed tax dollars away from urban areas.

1974 Section 8 Rental Assistance Program

Section 8 Housing is a government funded program that provides vouchers to low-income people to help pay for about 70 percent of rent and utilities in any privately owned rental housing unit where the landlord is willing to accept the certificate. Once Section 8 was approved there was already a waiting list for people who needed vouchers. There is still a waiting list for people who need vouchers. Even with the high demand for low-income housing, Government economic developers are not building housing for these populations. Housing that is available is located in poorer communities, where a majority of people are people of color.

BACKGROUND INFO: EDUCATION

1776 Two Tiered Education System

President Thomas Jefferson proposed a two tiered education system. One was for the educated; the other was for the Laboring. Under this education system wealthy whites who owned land and were business owners were educated to become factory owners, while poor whites were educated to become workers in these factories. This two-tiered education system ensured that there would always be a pool of obedient and efficient workers to work in factories.

1990's-current Challenges to Affirmative Action in Higher Education

Harvard Crimson article: Supporting Affirmative Action as Asian Americans

Asian-Americans face a disadvantage when compared to white students, not other students of color, when applying to institutions of higher education. And, within the Asian American population, there is a higher probability of acceptance for lower-class Asian Americans, which hints that underrepresented Asian ethnicities who also tend to come from lower-income families still benefit from affirmative action.

We stand in solidarity with black and Latinx students who so frequently bear the brunt of criticism for policies such as affirmative action. We as Asian-Americans cannot buy into the rhetoric of college admissions as a zero-sum game among minority students. The United States is quickly becoming a country with a majority-minority population, but white students still comprise over 60 percent of the college student population.

http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/5/27/supporting-harvard-affirmative-action/

1994-current - Zero Tolerance

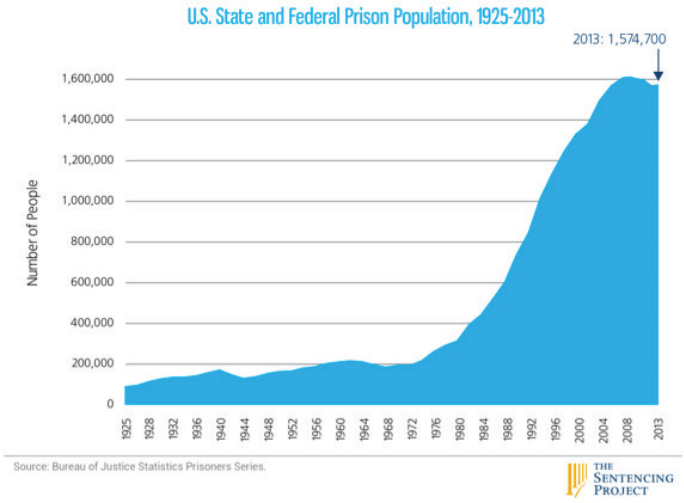
The zero-tolerance approach to school discipline originated from the federal Gun Free Schools Act of 1994, which mandated that schools expel students found with firearms or lose federal funding. As this law has been implemented locally, zero-tolerance policies have varied considerably from district to district, and many districts have frequently extended zero-tolerance beyond any federal definitions in existence.

Two basic case types for the use of zero-tolerance that have raised controversies: 1) legitimate offenses that have been punished with overzealous severity, and 2) those involving "look-a-like" items such as toys or objects that are not weapons but were interpreted as weapons (like nail clippers), that have received severe punishments. The use of zero-tolerance in drug offenses also extends beyond any federal legislation. Overall, there is little evidence supporting the effectiveness of zero-tolerance policies. Several studies that indicate that minority students are actually less prone to serious offenses related to drugs, alcohol, vandalism, etc. and more likely to receive harsher punishments for milder, more general problems such as insubordination, class disruptiveness, loitering, etc.

http://www.dignityinschools.org/content/history-and-critique-effectiveness-zero-tolerance-discipline

FACILITATOR - BACKGROUND INFO: PRISONS

Context: The US leads the world in putting our own people into jail and prison. The New York Times reported in 2008 that the US has five percent of the world's population but a quarter of the world's prisoners, over 2.3 million people behind bars, dwarfing other nations. The US rate of incarceration is five to eight times higher than other highly developed countries and black males are the largest percentage of inmates according to ABC News. The US Bureau of Justice Statistics concludes that the chance of a black male born in 2001 of going to jail is 32% or 1 in three. Latino males have a 17% chance and white males have a 6% chance. Thus black boys are five times and Latino boys nearly three times as likely as white boys to go to jail.



1986 & 1988 Crack vs. Cocaine Sentencing

The 1986 and 1988 Anti-Drug Abuse Acts established excessive mandatory penalties for crack cocaine that were the harshest ever adopted for low-level drug offenses and created drastically different penalty structures for crack cocaine compared to powder cocaine, which are pharmacologically identical substances. The sentencing for those found with either on them were not prosecuted the same way. People caught with crack cocaine — who are often Black and poor — are treated 100 times more harshly than those caught with powder cocaine, a more expensive substance that generally white communities use. A mandatory minimum sentencing of 5 years was given to a person with 5 grams of crack, while the same sentence was given to someone with 500 grams of powder cocaine.



Additional Prison Stats

- The number of women in prison increased by 646% between 1980 and 2010 – nearly 1.5 times faster than the rate of men. Including women in local jails, more than 205,000 women are now incarcerated. More than 75% of all reported staff sexual misconduct involves women victimized by male correctional staff.
- In 2010, Black women were incarcerated at nearly 3 times the rate of white women. Hispanic women were incarcerated at 1.6 times the rate of white women.
- The incarceration rate of Native Americans is 38% higher than the national rate. (The US Commission on Civil Rights)
- In 2006 in Oakland, CA, several API groups had very high arrest rates, including Samoans (who had the highest arrest rate of any racial/ethnic group in the city, 140 per 1,000), Cambodians (63 per 1,000), Laotians (52 per 1,000) and Vietnamese (28 per 1,000). ("Widening the Lens on Boys and Men of Color")
- In California, one study found that 64.6 percent of the Asian and Pacific Islander prisoners were made up of immigrants and refugees.
- People convicted of two broad categories of nonviolent crimes -- drugs and immigration – make up over 60 percent of the U.S. prison population.

SMALL GROUP INSTRUCTIONS: A CLOSER LOOK

You will have 20 minutes to answer the questions below in your small group and create 2 images for your report back.

Small group questions:

- How does this institution (housing, education, or the justice system) affect people of color compared to white people?
- How does this affect the conditions or opportunities people of color have in their lives?
- How have these institutions impacted you or your friends/family - positively/negatively?
- What would justice for all look like in this institution? How would we know that things have gotten better?

IMAGES (FOR REPORTBACK)

We just finished our Reader's Theater, so you're warmed up. This time you will create a single image using only your bodies and faces to convey your ideas - no words. Almost like a scene that's frozen in a movie.

- The first image is the REAL - the ways that this institution carries out racism today. Be sure to have at least 1 person be the "institution" as a character.
- The second image is the IDEAL - what would it look like if there was justice in this institution? Be sure to have at least 1 person be the "institution" as

HANDOUT

What do these images say about Asians?

What are the stereotypes they are playing into?

How did these stereotypes change over time?







WHITE SUPREMACY

Credit: DRUM, KGA, AYPAL

Agenda

1. Welcome & Activity
   15 min
2. Histories of White Supremacy
   45 min
3. How White Supremacy Has Played Out in Our Lives
   50 min
4. Closing and Evaluation
   10 min

Goals

- Understand the history of white supremacy and its role in the construction of the U.S.
- Discuss our experiences with white supremacy, race and racism
- Reflect on how white supremacy plays out today through the prison system, standards of beauty, and the model minority myth.

Key concepts: white supremacy, colorism

Time:

2 hours

Materials needed

- Copies of Histories of White Supremacy Images (ppt)
- Copies of Histories of White Supremacy handouts
- Copies of small group handouts
- Paper
- Markers, tape, butcher paper

1. WELCOME & ACTIVITY – 20 MIN

Welcome folks.

Review the goals and agenda.

- "Name Origins" – Participants share the story behind their name: 1) how it came to be, 2) what it represents to their family (why they chose it), and 3) what they know about how and why their family came to the U.S.
- Record the answers to "why their family came to the U.S." on butcher. Let people know that today we will be talking about some of these reasons - within a bigger framing of "White Supremacy."

2. HISTORIES OF WHITE SUPREMACY - 40 MIN

Materials: Histories of White Supremacy images (ppt), Copies of Handouts: Histories of White Supremacy (4 groups)

Let's start at the beginning..

- How did the great nation of the United States of America come to be where we are today?
- What are some of the key parts of our nation's creation story?
  - Columbus "discovered" it
  - Freedom loving pilgrims settled it, and won independence from England
  - Survived a civil war that united the country and ended slavery
  - Expanded westward - manifest destiny to become the enormous, rich country we are today

The other side of the story says….

Small Group Discussion – 20 min

Divide into 4 small groups. Give each group the printouts of their slide images, and their questions. Groups will have 20 minutes to discuss, then share back.

Report-backs - 10 min

- Share their images (pass them around, post them up on the wall)
- Share the "white supremacy" story & group image sculpture
- Share "our" story & group image sculpture
- Ask any clarifying questions from the audience/facilitators

Define White Supremacy – 10 min

- How did this all happen? What's at the root of this history?
- The ongoing pattern of oppression shows us it's more than a few bad apples, a few racist people making decisions.
- White Supremacy. What do you think of when I say the word White? What about "Supremacy"? Put it together and what do you get?

WHITE SUPREMACY (choose one of these definitions - or combine):

- System of practices and beliefs that whiteness, white people, and white race are inherently superior to other races, and that white people are given power, and privileges over people of other races (KGA).
- Superiority of whites and domination or elimination of other peoples. A system – resources and power: through laws, ideas, media, opportunities, education, policing, labor. Divide-and-conquer: Pitting our communities against each other (AYPAL).
- White supremacy: the system of oppression we all live under created through histories of slavery, genocide, labor exploitation, war. It assumes and teaches white people a sense of superiority, power, and entitlement over people of color (CPA).

Breakdown words in the definition (Based on KGA's definition)

- **System:** group of institutions, social relations, and cultural norms that are working together
- **Power:** the ability to control circumstances
- **Privileges:** unearned advantages or benefits enjoyed by and individual or group

Key Points:

- Everyone is affected by white supremacy, because it is built into the systems and institutions that shape our lives in the United States and– because of U.S. imperialism – the lives of peoples all over the world.
- White supremacy isn't just economic. It uses **culture** – religion, literature, art, science, and the media – to make it "common sense" to sort humanity into different categories (white, Black, Oriental/Asian, Indian, Latino/Hispanic, etc.). And to maintain its power it pits people of color against each other, like we saw in our opening activity.

3. HOW HAS WHITE SUPREMACY PLAYED OUT IN OUR LIVES? - 50 MIN

Materials: Copies of Handout: How Has White Supremacy Played Out in Our Lives?

Choose three examples and share the explanation:

MASS INCARCERATION – America has the highest number of people in prison. It has 5% of world population, but 25% of world prison population. Prison stats.

After Civil War, slavery was abolished except in prison. Specifically, the Thirteenth Amendment states: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States.

COLORISM & STANDARDS OF BEAUTY - In the African-American community, this traditionally played out via the "paper bag" test. Those lighter than the standard paper lunch bag were allowed entry into fraternities, sororities and other realms of black upper class life, while dark-skinned blacks were excluded.

MODEL MINORITY MYTH - The expectation of Asians to work hard, get good grades, and eventually a high paying job. It assumes that Asians are well off. But it masks the privileges that white folks have, and pits Asians against other people of color groups. Despite that while certain Asian communities are successful, it is not representative of all Asians.

COLONIZATION - This was a practice that was extremely common during the 1800-1900's. It is a policy & practice of nations taking control of another country, occupying it with settlers and exploiting its resources. Most often this is done through force, violence, or war. Culture is taken away (practices, language) to keep people from knowing who they are.

PART 1: DIVING IN (WORLD CAFE) - 20 MIN

Prep: one facilitator prepped on a topic will stay at that station for the full time.

Allow participants to choose which of these stations they want to explore:

- Mass Incarceration/Prisons
- Colorism and Standards of Beauty
- Model Minority Myth
- Colonization
  - At each table/station there will be a facilitator who will share some statistics, and guide a discussion.
  - Participants should engage in dialogue and/or draw on the butcher
  - After 10 minutes participants can switch groups, or can choose to stay if they want to.
  - Each person will have time to explore 2 of the stations.

PART 2: CREATING - 20 MIN

- One of the ways that white supremacy maintains its power is through culture - and one way that we can challenge it is through creating our own images, stories, and art forms.
- We are going to do that through a Free Space - an adaptation of Open Space meeting format. Participants decide what they want to talk about, what they want to share and how they want to express themselves.
- Ask for volunteers to lead an art-form (ex: dance, poetry, storytelling, drawing) to create a response to any of the topics from today (genocide, slavery, colonialism, incarceration, colorism, model minority, racism, etc.).
- Each volunteer should write their art form & topic on a sign and hold it up.
- Have the remaining participants choose a group to start with, and review the guiding principles:
  - Whoever comes belongs there.
    - Ex: If you feel that you can't sing but someone is hosting a singing group, feel free to go.
  - The Bumble Bee
    - Feel free to bounce from group to group like the bumble bee
    - Bumble bees pollinate. Someone who jumps from a group to another may bring a new idea to it that creates something great.
  - When It Starts It's the Right Time
    - The agenda will have time limits but if you wish to stay at your group then stay.
  - Whatever Happen Is The Only Thing That Could Have.
    - Don't worry about the end goal, let it flow.
- At the 10 min mark, let folks know time is half up, if they want to bumblebee to another group - ask group leaders to raise up their signs again (people can bumblebee at any point in the activity).

PART 3: SHOWCASE - 10 MIN

Have each group come up and showcase what they developed.
Ask them to share an explanation if necessary

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop

> *"Until the Story of the hunt is told by the Lion, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter."*
>
> - African Proverb

HANDOUT: HISTORIES OF WHITE SUPREMACY

GROUP 1: INDIGENOUS GENOCIDE

Each group will have printouts of their slide images, and their questions. You will have 20 minutes to discuss, then share back 2 images/human sculptures.

#1) INDIGENOUS GENOCIDE: How was America founded? Was this empty land before then? Who lived here? What happened to them? Did the European settlers come with visas? Did they ask permission? Were they "legal"?

- Genocide of 20 to 200 million people.
- Said God had chosen white people. And indigenous people were not humans.
- Took children away from Indigenous communities to take away language, culture, traditions

Questions:

- How did white people justify their actions? What story did they tell themselves? Their kids about this?
- What is our version of the story?
- What was the effect of their actions (short and long-term)?

Create a group image sculpture that goes with each story (2 images - their story, our story).

HANDOUT: HISTORIES OF WHITE SUPREMACY

GROUP 2: SLAVERY

Each group will have printouts of their slide images, and their questions. You will have 20 minutes to discuss, then share back 2 images/huma sculptures.

#2) SLAVERY: How did America become the richest country in the world?

- Kidnapped black people from all over Africa and sold them as slaves (12.5 million)
- American capitalist economy was built on the blood and sweat of Black people
- During slavery, laws banned black people from learning to read or write
- Families were torn apart and sold off separated from each other

Questions:

- How did white people justify their actions? What story did they tell themselves? Their kids about this?
- What is our version of the story?
- What was the effect of their actions (short and long-term)?

Create a group image sculpture that goes with each story (2 images - their story, our story).

HANDOUT: HISTORIES OF WHITE SUPREMACY

GROUP 3: WAR AND LAND SEIZURE

Each group will have printouts of their slide images, and their questions. You will have 20 minutes to discuss, then share back 2 images/huma sculptures.

#3) WAR & LAND SEIZURE: How did the U.S. continue the expansion of its empire to reach the Pacific?

- The US used military force to take almost half of Mexico by war between 1845-53, today's Southwest from Texas through California..
- In 1893 the U.S. troops took part in a conspiracy led by a small group of wealthy businessmen and sugar plantation owners to overthrow the monarchy of Hawaii.
- In 1898 the US takeover of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Cuba by war against Spain.
- All of this gave them access to mineral wealth, agricultural wealth, trade routes with Asia, and cheap sources of labor to build railroads across the country.

Questions:

- How did white people justify their actions? What story did they tell themselves? Their kids about this?
- What is our version of the story?
- What was the effect of their actions (short and longterm)?

Create a group image sculpture that goes with each story (2 images - their story, our story).

HANDOUT: HISTORIES OF WHITE SUPREMACY

GROUP 4: COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

Each group will have printouts of their slide images, and their questions. You will have 20 minutes to discuss, then share back 2 images/huma sculptures.

#4) COLONIALISM & IMPERIALISM: How many of us are immigrants or from immigrant families? How many of us come from poor countries? Why did we leave our home countries? Racist domination was not only in America.

- Almost all of the world was colonized by European or American powers
- Same system of hierarchy in our countries – Rulers and rich people are whiter; Poor people are darker and indigenous
- Destroyed our societies and we have been forced to leave our homes
- But also made laws to prevent us from coming here, or made laws to exploit us as workers here. Chinese Exclusion Act kept Chinese people out of this country for 83 years. Asian Exclusion Act kept Arabs, South Asians, and other Asians out for 40 years. Bracero programs exploited and then deported Mexican workers. Bracero + Asian Exclusion
- This system that forces people to migrate continues to this day through Wars, Free Trade Agreements, Worker exploitation, Economic Policies, etc. & Imperialism.

Questions:

- How did white people justify their actions? What story did they tell themselves? Their kids about this?
- What is our version of the story?
- What was the effect of their actions (short and longterm)?

Create a group image sculpture that goes with each story (2 images - their story, our story).

HANDOUT: HOW HAS WHITE SUPREMACY PLAYED OUT IN OUR LIVES?

Materials:

Butcher paper in center of table (so all participants can reach/draw on it). Write the topic of your small group in large writing at the center of the page.

Markers (enough for all participants)

Small Group Instructions:

You will have 20 minutes in small groups. Participants will be given the option to explore another topic after 10 minutes, so be sure to welcome new people when they show up.

SAY: we will have an open conversation about our topic. Your role is to participate both by sharing out loud and by writing or drawing on our butcher paper. This paper will be the collective notes/memory of our conversation.

- If you go to a new group, start by reading/looking at their butcher paper to get caught up on what was already shared.
- Read your topic's summary again.

Questions - as a go-around, allow people to pass if they want to. Remind people to share out loud, and write or draw - people can write or draw even if someone else is talking - think of it as collective notes.

- Any questions or things people want to add (after reading description paragraph)?
- What do you think of when you think of this topic?
- What images come to mind?
- How does this issue affect you or your family?
- How does this story affect communities of color? Immigrants? Low-income folks?
- What's their story on this issue (from a white supremacy/racist perspective?)
- What's our story on this issue?
- Whose story is winning? Why?
- What can we do to shift our story to the winning side?

#1: MASS INCARCERATION – America has the highest number of people in prison. 5% of world population, but 25% of world prison population. After Civil War, slavery was abolished except in prison. Specifically, the Thirteenth Amendment states: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States. A black male born in 2001 of going to jail is 32% or 1 in three. Latino males have a 17% chance and white males have a 6% chance.

#2: COLORISM & STANDARDS OF BEAUTY - In the African-American community, this traditionally played out via the "paper bag" test. Those lighter than the standard paper lunch bag were allowed entry into fraternities, sororities and other realms of black upper class life, while dark-skinned blacks were excluded.

#3: MODEL MINORITY MYTH - The expectation of Asians to work hard, get good grades, and eventually a high paying job. It assumes that Asians are well off. But it masks the privileges that white folks have, and pits Asians against other people of color groups. Despite that while certain Asian communities are successful, it is not representative of all Asians.

#4: COLONIZATION - This was a practice that was extremely common during the 1800-1900's. It is a policy & practice of nations taking control of another country, occupying it with settlers and exploiting its resources. Most often this is done through force, violence, or war. Culture is taken away (practices, language) to keep people from knowing who they are.

SMALL GROUP #1 HANDOUT: MASS INCARCERATION

Small Group Instructions:

You will have 20 minutes in small groups. Participants will be given the option to explore another topic after 10 minutes, so be sure to welcome new people when they show up.

1. SAY: we will have an open conversation about our topic. Your role is to participate both by sharing out loud and by writing or drawing on our butcher paper. This paper will be the collective notes/memory of our conversation.

Note: If you go to a new group, start by reading/looking at their butcher paper to get caught up on what was already shared.

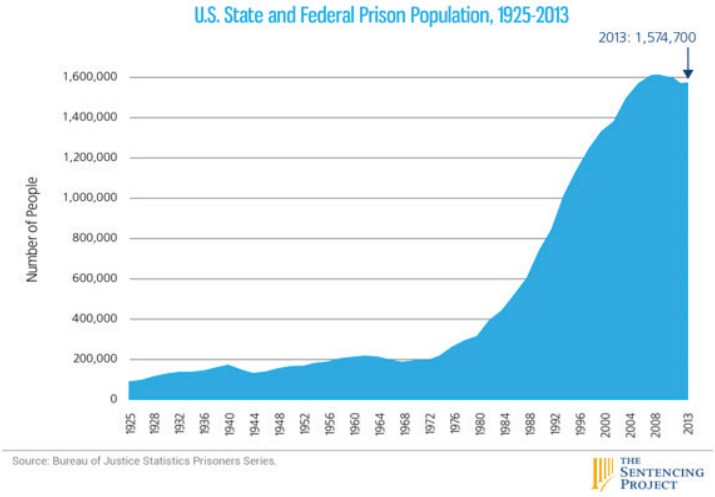
2. Read your topic's summary again & any additional info you want to share from the handout sheet.

3. Questions - as a go-around, allow people to pass if they want to. Remind people to share out loud, and write or draw - people can write or draw even if someone else is talking - think of it as collective notes.

- Any questions or things people want to add (after reading description paragraph)?
- What do you think of when you think of this topic?
- What images come to mind?
- How does this issue affect you or your family?
- How does this story affect communities of color? Immigrants? Low-income folks?
- What's their story on this issue (from a white supremacy/racist perspective?)
- What's our story on this issue?
- Whose story is winning? Why?
- What can we do to shift our story to the winning side?

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HANDOUT: MASS INCARCERATION P.2



- According to the Bureau of Justice, 1 in every 3 Black males born today can expect to go to prison at some point in their lives, compared with 1 in every 6 Latino males, and 1 in every 17 white males, if current incarceration trends continue.
- The number of ***women*** in prison increased by 646% between 1980 and 2010 – nearly 1.5 times faster than the rate of men. Including women in local jails, more than 205,000 women are now incarcerated. More than 75% of all reported staff sexual misconduct involves women victimized by male correctional staff.
- In 2010, Black women were incarcerated at nearly 3 times the rate of white women. Hispanic women were incarcerated at 1.6 times the rate of white women.
- The incarceration rate of Native Americans is 38% higher than the national rate. (The US Commission on Civil Rights)
- There is not a ton of data on Asian and Pacific Islander communities. But in 2006 in Oakland, CA, several API groups had very high arrest rates, including Samoans (who had the highest arrest rate of any racial/ethnic group in the city, 140 per 1,000), Cambodians (63 per 1,000), Laotians (52 per 1,000) and Vietnamese (28 per 1,000). ("Widening the Lens on Boys and Men of Color")
- In California, one study found that 64.6 percent of the Asian and Pacific Islander prisoners were made up of immigrants and refugees.
- People convicted of two broad categories of nonviolent crimes -- drugs and immigration – make up over 60 percent of the U.S. prison population.
- Research shows that social and economic opportunities, not prisons, have the most meaningful impact on whether people commit crimes.

SMALL GROUP #2 HANDOUT: COLORISM & RACISM

Small Group Instructions:

You will have 20 minutes in small groups. Participants will be given the option to explore another topic after 10 minutes, so be sure to welcome new people when they show up.

1. SAY: we will have an open conversation about our topic. Your role is to participate both by sharing out loud and by writing or drawing on our butcher paper. This paper will be the collective notes/memory of our conversation.

If you go to a new group, start by reading/looking at their butcher paper to get caught up on what was already shared.

2. Read your topic's summary again & any additional info you want to share from the handout sheet.

3. Questions - as a go-around, allow people to pass if they want to. Remind people to share out loud, and write or draw - people can write or draw even if someone else is talking - think of it as collective notes.

- Do you see colorism play out in the our (Ethnic) community? How?
- What comments do you hear about color/darkness from your family?
- Have you ever stopped yourself from staying in the sun because you didn't want to get dark (or been told by someone)?
- Have you ever thought about using a product to whiten your skin?
- Have you ever been embarrassed or ashamed of your skin color? What made you feel this way?
- Have you ever wished you were a race other than your own ethnicity?
- What would change if you were? What would you gain? What would you lose?
- How does this story affect communities of color? Immigrants? Low-income folks?
- What's their story on this issue (from a white supremacy/racist perspective?)
- What's our story on this issue?
- Whose story is winning? Why?
- What can we do to shift our story to the winning side?

#2: COLORISM & STANDARDS OF BEAUTY - In the African-American community, this traditionally played out via the "paper bag" test. Those lighter than the standard paper lunch bag were allowed entry into fraternities, sororities and other realms of black upper class life, while dark-skinned blacks were excluded.

Summary:

Racism impacts standards of beauty. When standards of beauty don't include traits that reflect what our communities look like we can internalize this and start to believe that we must look like someone else in order to be beautiful. We give privilege to people who are lighter skinned – like thinking that they are more beautiful than people with dark skin.

SMALL GROUP #3 HANDOUT: MODEL MINORITY

Small Group Instructions:

You will have 20 minutes in small groups. Participants will be given the option to explore another topic after 10 minutes, so be sure to welcome new people when they show up.

1. SAY: we will have an open conversation about our topic. Your role is to participate both by sharing out loud and by writing or drawing on our butcher paper. This paper will be the collective notes/memory of our conversation.

Note: If you go to a new group, start by reading/looking at their butcher paper to get caught up on what was already shared.

2. Read your topic's summary again & any additional info you want to share from the handout sheet.

3. Questions - as a go-around, allow people to pass if they want to. Remind people to share out loud, and write or draw - people can write or draw even if someone else is talking - think of it as collective notes.

- Any questions or things people want to add (after reading description paragraph)?
- What do you think of when you think of this topic?
- What images come to mind?
- How does this issue affect you or your family?
- How does this story affect communities of color? Immigrants? Low-income folks?
- What's their story on this issue (from a white supremacy/racist perspective?)
- What's our story on this issue?
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#3: MODEL MINORITY MYTH - The expectation of Asians to work hard, get good grades, and eventually a high paying job. It assumes that Asians are well off. But it masks the privileges that white folks have, and pits Asians against other people of color groups. Despite that while certain Asian communities are successful, it is not representative of all Asians.

- The term emerged in the 1960s at the height of civil rights as a wedge and tool for white supremacy to pit AA against other communities of color and against each other! Why? in an attempt to quash racial/class solidarity from civil rights movement
  - 1. It implied Asian Americans were able to rise to "honorary white" status through assimilation, hard work and intelligence, and was widely used to put down and dismiss other communities of color, especially Black folks and Black political resistance, by creating a "good" and "bad Minority- black, latino, native folks"- encouraging racial superiority and inferiority
  - 2. They used to discredit civil rights solidarity that existed- blinded people from our political past, makes invisible our current solidarity and struggles of resistance and political collaboration with other groups, and encourages anti-black sentiments.

SMALL GROUP #4 HANDOUT: COLONIZATION

Small Group Instructions:

You will have 20 minutes in small groups. Participants will be given the option to explore another topic after 10 minutes, so be sure to welcome new people when they show up.

1. SAY: we will have an open conversation about our topic. Your role is to participate both by sharing out loud and by writing or drawing on our butcher paper. This paper will be the collective notes/memory of our conversation.

Note: If you go to a new group, start by reading/looking at their butcher paper to get caught up on what was already shared.

2. Read your topic's summary again & any additional info you want to share from the handout sheet.

3. Questions - as a go-around, allow people to pass if they want to. Remind people to share out loud, and write or draw - people can write or draw even if someone else is talking - think of it as collective notes.

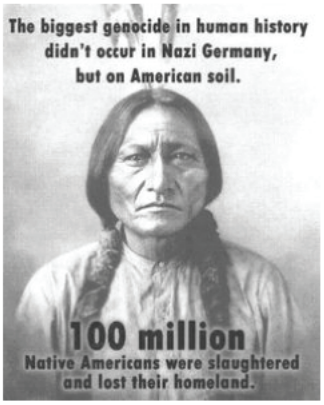
- Any questions or things people want to add (after reading description paragraph)?
- What do you think of when you think of this topic?
- What images come to mind?
- How does this issue affect you or your family?
- How does this story affect communities of color? Immigrants? Low-income folks?
- What's their story on this issue (from a white supremacy/racist perspective?)
- What's our story on this issue?
- Whose story is winning? Why?
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#4: COLONIZATION - This was a practice that was extremely common during the 1800-1900's. It is a policy & practice of nations taking control of another country, occupying it with settlers and exploiting its resources. Most often this is done through force, violence, or war. Culture is taken away (practices, language) to keep people from knowing who they are.

- Almost all of the world was colonized by European or American powers
- Same system of hierarchy in our countries – Rulers and rich people are whiter; Poor people are darker and indigenous Our rulers vs our people
- Destroyed our societies and we have been forced to leave our homes
- But also made laws to prevent us from coming here, or made laws to exploit us as workers here. Chinese Exclusion Act kept Chinese people out of this country for 83 years. Asian Exclusion Act kept Arabs, South Asians, and other Asians out for 40 years. Bracero programs exploited and then deported Mexican workers. Bracero + Asian Exclusion
- This system that forces people to migrate continues to this day through Wars, Free Trade Agreements, Worker exploitation, Economic Policies, etc. & Imperialism.

1)Indigenous Genocide

100 million Native Americans killed



1

Stereotyped as Savages

"The tribes of Indians inhabiting this country were fierce savages, whose occupations was war, and whose subsistence was drawn chiefly from the forest...Chief Justice John Marshall



2

Indian Boarding Schools

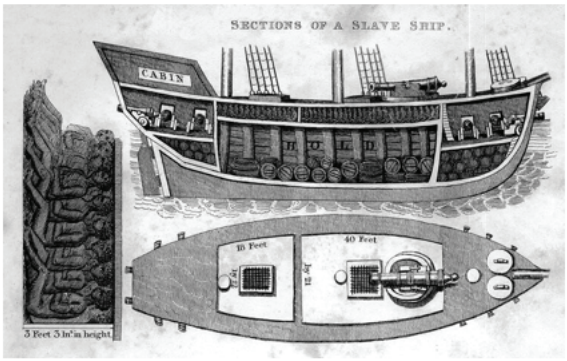




3

2) Slavery - Slave Ships

12.5 million Africans captured and shipped to the New World.



4

The Scourged Back

Gordan ran for 80 miles to join the Union Forces in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in March 1863. This famous photo of the welts on his badly "scourged back" was taken while he was being fitted for a uniform.



5

Families Torn Apart



6

3) War and Land Seizure - Mexico

The U.S. used military force to take almost half of Mexico by war, today's Southwest from Texas through California.



7

Overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy





8

War Against Spain

US takeover of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Cuba.

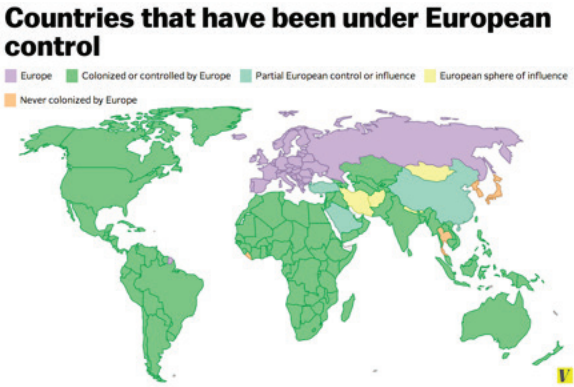


9

4) Colonialism and Imperialism

Almost all of the world was colonized by European or American powers (all except for orange countries/regions)





10

Forced Migration



Vietnamese Refugees, 1978



Rohingya Refugees, 2015

11

Laws to Exclude or Exploit

Chinese Exclusion Act, Asian Exclusion Act, Bracero Program



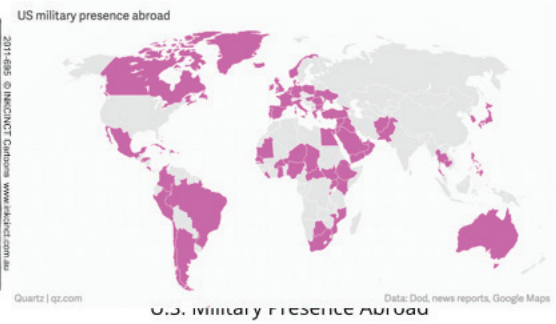


12

Colonialism and Imperialism Continues



Free Trade Deals



U.S. Military Presence Abroad

13



FOR BLACK LIVES

Credit: QSANN, CAAV, APEN, CFJ

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   15 min
2. Our Experiences of Racism
   20 min
3. Looking Within
   20 min
4. Anti-Blackness & The U.S.
   30 min
5. Interrupting Anti-Blackness
   20 min
6. Closing and Evaluation
   10 min

Goals

- Understand how stereotypes and beliefs about Black people maintain a culture of anti-blackness.
- Reflect on how anti-blackness divides us and prevents us from building power together.
- Lay the groundwork for effective allyship with Black communities that acknowledges privileges and shared oppressions

Key concepts: slavery, anti-blackness, implicit bias

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Butcher paper, markers, tape
- Case studies (1 pagers + small group questions)
- Image slideshow
- Asians4BlackLives Principles[1]
- Laptop and projector
- Blank paper

1 https://a4bl.wordpress.com/who-we-are/

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 15 MIN

Welcome folks, do introductions.

- Explain that we live in a time where a Black woman, man, or child is killed every 28 hours by a cop or vigilante.

  > *We understand that racist police violence is but one manifestation of the ongoing war on Black people. Mass incarceration, gentrification, unequal pay, mass unemployment, and inaccessible housing, education, land, fresh food, water, and healthcare are some of the other manifestations. In standing with Black people in this struggle, we are therefore standing not only against racist police violence but against all war tactics. We know that our own struggles for freedom and liberation have been deeply influenced by Black American struggles that preceded us. Black communities have paid dearly for resisting their own oppression, and in doing so, they have also paved the way for our resistances.* [1]

- There is a long history of anti-Black racism in Asian American communities. We need to talk honestly about our own beliefs about Black people, and the ways we benefit from anti-Black racism in our lives, and the ways we can interrupt this system of oppression.
- Review the goals and agenda.
- Review community agreements to emphasize creating a space for people to be honest, vulnerable, and safe together.

2. OUR EXPERIENCES OF RACISM – 20 MIN

Drawing Exercise - 7 min

Explain that we're going to ground this conversation in our own personal experiences of racism: both experiencing and perpetuating racism. To start, ask participants to draw their response to the following prompts:

1. Think about a time when you experienced racism in your own life. What was this experience? What was your response? If you haven't experienced racism, why may that be?
2. Think about a time when you perpetuated racism? What was this experience? What was it like? Think of the everyday moments (microaggressions) of your verbal, nonverbal and environmental exchanges that communicate a negative message to someone based on their race.
   - Option: Substitute the opening question for a more direct reflection on anti-blackness: "Think about a time when you perpetuated racism against black people."

1 Excerpts from Asians4BlackLives Protocols and Principles, Bay Area CA, January 2015

Debrief - 13 min

- Ask for a few people to share. Make sure to ask for examples of both experiencing and perpetuating racism.
  - If participants are highlighting only experiencing racism, speak to that. Ask participants why it's easier to talk about experiencing racism than perpetuating it.

Key Points

- Explain the importance of talking about Asian anti-Blackness in this particular historical moment. You can use the talking points below:
  - The movements around #BlackLivesMatter, in response to Michael Brown's murder in Ferguson and Eric Garner's in Staten Island, have reinvigorated a national conversation around race. As Asians, we have a complicated racial position in the U.S.: our communities experience racism, but also often perpetuate racism, especially against Black communities in the U.S.
  - Many of us have experienced racism as a daily part of life. However, we rarely create space to do our own work - to think about the ways in which we actually perpetuate racism, specifically against Black communities.

3. LOOKING WITHIN - 20 MIN

- Explain that we're going to start from the beginning with our first introductions to Blackness and Black people. We need to understand the source of our anti-Black racism in order to challenge it. Guide discussion using the following questions:

- At Birth:
  - Ask: What do we know about racism when we are first brought into the world?
  - Nothing! All of our socialization around race is learned. We are going to work on unpacking that learning.

- First Socialization: pair share, then report back
  - Pair Share (3 min): What's the first thing you remember learning about or experiencing with people of African descent?
    - What was this like?
    - What messages did you receive?
  - Report backs: Lift up common themes, write them down on a butcher paper
    - Option: have people write them up on half sheets anonymously (large enough to read from a distance) then post up and read silently. Ask for common themes.

- Reinforcement:
  - Ask: How is this first socialization reinforced through culture and institutions?
    - Where did we learn it?
    - From who?
    - Examples can include: media, family gatherings, school, textbooks, etc.
  - Ask: Why didn't you ignore these messages?

- Present day:
  - Ask: How is anti-Blackness currently being reinforced in our communities?
    - Think of current events in the media, family gatherings, school, etc.
  - Ask: As a non-black person, how does this make you feel?
    - How do Asian Americans benefit from anti-Blackness? Does it make you feel good/powerful/safe? How/why?
  - Ask: As a black person, how does this make you feel?

Key Point: Unconscious Bias:

- We live in a country built on anti-Blackness. It's part of the formation of this country, our laws, our economy, our "justice" system, our media, and education system.
- We have often been used as part of a "divide-and-conquer" strategy. We need to recognize how we contribute to that anti-Blackness in order to confront it.
- Explain the visual cycle: symbolic attitudes we are all exposed to (such as darker skin is bad) lead to unconscious bias.
- That leads to stereotypes (such as black youth are criminals) and that can lead to discrimination (such as suspending black students more often than others students doing the same behavior, arrest rates, housing discrimination, job discrimination).
- Those small things add up: **Unconscious Bias** is a mental process where negative generalizations and attitudes toward people or groups of people based on what they look like, how they speak, and where they come from.
- Unconscious Bias is unconscious because it's woven into the very fabric of our everyday lives. Often times while we can recognize when others are biased, it is often difficult to recognize when we ourselves are behaving with bias.
- For more info: 5 min video on the implicit bias test[2]

3. ANTI-BLACKNESS & THE U.S. – 30 MINS

Material: For Black Lives images (ppt)

Slideshow & Debrief - 5 min

- Play image slide show

Debrief

- Why did we choose these X images?
- What is the connection between slavery, police brutality, incarceration, transgender violence?

2 https://youtu.be/cykcpqSpVZo

Stations - 20 min

Divide into 4 groups, and rotate through the stations (6 min at each station). Prep 1 facilitator to stay with each station and present a summary of the info, and ask 1 discussion question.

The stations:

- From Slavery
- After-life of Slavery
- Police Brutality
- Transgender Violence

Debrief - 5 min

- Have 1 person share back their answer the question at the station they visited last.

Key Points:

> *"Racism is a combination of prejudice, discrimination, violence, and institutions that reproduce racial inequality and injustice, regardless of intent. Our schools, neighborhoods, and criminal-punishment system actively privilege whites at the expense of people of color, even when the rules governing these systems are racially "neutral." Anti-blackness entails all this and more. It is not simply about hating or penalizing black people. It is about the debasement of black humanity, utter indifference to black suffering, and the denial of black people's right to exist."*
>
> - (Jeffries)

3. INTERRUPTING ANTI-BLACKNESS - 25 MIN

Materials: Projector and laptop, A4BL Principles

Framing:

> *"Solidarity does not assume that our struggles are the same struggles, or that our pain is the same pain, or that our hope is for the same future. Solidarity involves commitment, and work, as well as the recognition that even if we do not have the same feelings, or the same lives, or the same bodies, we do live on common ground."*[3]

- The questions we must answer as Asian Americans are
  - What does solidarity premised on respecting our differences look like?
  - How can we, non-Black people of color, show our solidarity with Black folks and Black bodies that are continually under threats of violence in ways that we will never know or experience?

3 Sara Ahmed: Australian and British academic working at the intersection of feminist theory, queer theory, critical race theory and postcolonialism

- Review 2 ways in which Asian Americans are interrupting anti-blackness.
- Watch: Freedom Inc's work - Organizing with Black and Hmong communities (3:31)[4]
  - What did you notice from this video?
  - How does it connect with experiences you have had here?
  - What can we take away from Freedom Inc's work related to Black-Asian solidarity?
- Read: #Asians4BlackLives Principle. Have people do a go-around to read principles.
  - What did you notice? What stood out to you?
  - What's something you hadn't thought about before?
  - Why did this group of people believe it was so critical to create this statement?

Debrief - 15 min

- How do the struggles experienced by Black folks connect to struggles you or your family have experienced?
- How are they different? What privileges/security do Asian Americans have that Black folks do not?

- Share quote:

  "Community must not mean a shedding of our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist."

  - – Audre Lorde[3]

- What does solidarity premised on respecting our differences look like?
- How can we, non-Black people of color, show our solidarity with Black folks and Black bodies that are continually under threats of violence in ways that we will never know or experience?

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop

4 https://youtu.be/lFeiN_3J1iU

FROM SLAVERY

Stations - 15 mins

Facilitator Instructions:

Groups will rotate through the stations (5 mins at each station). Each group will visit 3 out of the 4 stations. Present a summary of the info, and ask 1 discussion question.

- In the early-to-mid-17th Century in Virginia, Black and white servants rebelled and ran away together. The racial categories of ***black*** and ***white*** didn't yet exist. People's identities were mostly defined by their class status (nobility, aristocracy, artisan, servant) or religion. And poor whites didn't yet have the kind of privileges that they would have ***after*** the slave status of Black people become hereditary.
  - Through a series of laws that started in Virginia and then spread throughout the colonies, racial slavery came to replace indentured servitude starting in the late 17th Century.
  - This was the treatment of enslaved people as the ***chattel*** (personal property) of the owner, to be bought and sold as commodities. In the United States, this was what led to the racial categories of black and white, to justify the treatment of Black people as ***property.***

Question:

Why did race slavery replace indentured servitude? What purpose did it serve?

- Profit for white elites & Control of labor
  - Large tobacco and cotton plantations required intense and massive labor – making slavery hereditary made labor cheaper (plantation owners owned laborers over generations)
- Divide and conquer
  - They feared a class uprising of European and African indentured servants so poor whites were offered opportunities for land, and blacks were enslaved. By 1760, white plantation owners were outnumbered by non-whites. In the Carolinas 25,000 whites faced 40,000 Black slaves and 60,000 indigenous peoples.[5]

Key Points:

- The shift from indentured workers to chattel slavery would create lasting and brutal forms of exclusion through cultural, political, and economic structures targeting Black people specifically, but also affecting life for all Americans, for centuries to come.

5 http://collectiveliberation.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/What_Is_White_Supremacy_Martinez.pdf

AFTER-LIFE OF SLAVERY

SAIDIYA HARTMAN (RADICAL BLACK FEMINIST, AFRO-PESSIMIST)

Stations - 15 mins

Facilitator Instructions:

Groups will rotate through the stations (5 mins at each station). Each group will visit 3 out of the 4 stations. Present a summary of the info, and ask 1 discussion question.

- Anti-Blackness laid the groundwork for race relations in America, and is the framework by which we participate in white supremacy. The Black body, or the slave, continues to be dehumanized and devalued.
  - Origins of police in US: Slave patrols protecting elite, white property
  - "The Second Amendment was Ratified to Preserve Slavery": patrol militias in the southern states[6]
    - "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

- Question: Is slavery illegal in the U.S? Why?
  - 13th Amendment: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."
    - Incarceration of Black communities as means to continue forced labor after 13th Amendment
    - Multi-billion dollar industry, laborers not entitled to minimum wage, products sold by whole foods, victoria's secret, mcdonald's, etc.
    - War on Drugs begun in 1970s and usage of "law and order/ tough on crime" rhetoric as a way to repress gains for Black communities from Civil Rights movement (the "New Jim Crow")
  - Understanding of Black bodies as property continues to this day -w e see riot-shaming (property is more important than Black life) and the constant appropriation of Black culture by non-Black people of color and white people

6 http://truth-out.org/news/item/13890-the-second-amendment-was-ratified-to-preserve-slavery

POLICE BRUTALITY [7]

Stations - 15 mins

Facilitator Instructions:

Groups will rotate through the stations (5 mins at each station). Each group will visit 3 out of the 4 stations. Present a summary of the info, and ask 1 discussion question.

- In this country, a Black woman, man, or child is killed every 28 hours by a cop or vigilante. Prisons are overflowing with black bodies disproportionately locked up.
  - In May, the ***Washington Post*** analyzed the 385 fatal police shootings in the United States that had occurred so far in 2015. The ***Post*** noted its number, which came out to two officer-involved shooting deaths per day, was more than twice the rate that the government had recorded over the past decade[8].
  - That same report found blacks to be killed at three times the rate of whites or other minorities.
  - Another ***Washington Post*** investigation from August found that black men — who constitute 6% of the nation's population — account for 40% of the 60 unarmed people who had been fatally shot by police by that time[9].

- Question: How is police brutality connected to slavery and anti-blackness?
  - This country was built on the dehumanization of people of color–the genocide of the Native American, the enslavement and mass murder of the African.

7 http://mic.com/articles/129981/10-police-brutality-statistics-that-are-absolutely-shocking#.XRf6V8jjY
8 https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/fatal-police-shootings-in-2015-approaching-400-nationwide/2015/05/30/d322256a-058e-11e5-a428-c984eb077d4e_story.html
9 http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/national/2015/08/08/black-and-unarmed/

TRANSGENDER VIOLENCE [10]

Stations - 15 mins

Facilitator Instructions:

Groups will rotate through the stations (5 mins at each station). Each group will visit 3 out of the 4 stations. Present a summary of the info, and ask 1 discussion question.

- During the first two months of this year, transgender women of color were murdered at a rate of almost one per week in the United States.
  - Black and African-American people were particularly overrepresented in the transgender hate crime rates: over half of reported hate murders had Black or African-American victims, even though Black and African American people made up only 15% of total survivors and victims of hate crimes overall.
  - Nearly half of black transgender people reported having attempted suicide.
  - Thirty-eight percent (38%) of Black transgender people who had interacted with the police reported harassment, 14% reported physical assault, and 6% reported sexual assault.

- Question: Why do you think black transgender people experience even higher levels of trauma and racism?[11]
  - The combination of anti-transgender bias with anti-blackness means that transgender Black people are experiencing multiple systems of oppression.

10 http://nbjc.org/sites/default/files/trans-adjustment-web.pdf
11 http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2015/06/transgender-women-disproportionately-targeted-violent-hate-crimes

PRINCIPLES FOR ASIAN COMMUNITIES SHOWING UP IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT

Asians4BlackLives, Bay Area, California January 2015

PRINCIPLES: Why we believe in doing this work

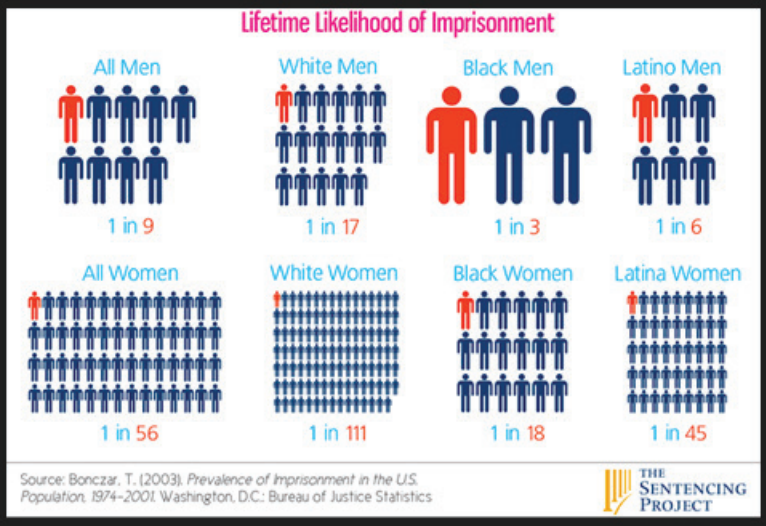
- We acknowledge that we, as Asians, have often been used as part of a "divide-and-conquer" strategy to uphold white supremacy. We refuse to be used as tools to uphold a racist and violent system.
- Many of our communities have faced state repression and capitalist violence in our homelands and many Asian Americans are particularly vulnerable to state violence (including refugees, those targeted by surveillance and profiling, those who are undocumented, and those who are Sikh or Muslim) including police violence. We recognize that we are targeted differently than Black people and we also recognize the relationship between racist, militarized police forces waging wars on Black people, and imperialist forces waging wars in our homelands. We are determined to resist both.
- We understand that racist police violence is but one manifestation of the ongoing war on Black people. Mass incarceration, gentrification, unequal pay, mass unemployment, and inaccessible housing, education, land, fresh food, water, and healthcare are some of the other manifestations. In standing with Black people in this struggle, we are therefore standing not only against racist police violence but against all war tactics.
- While much of the discourse has centered on violence against Black men and boys, we also mark here, and remember the brutalities against Black women and in particular transwomen. We share the call for and commitment to the liberation of all Black people.
- We know that our own struggles for freedom and liberation have been deeply influenced by Black American struggles that preceded us. Black communities have paid dearly for resisting their own oppression, and in doing so, they have also paved the way for our resistances. The time has come for our resistance to be in solidarity with theirs.
- We remember that we have always had leaders like Yuri Kochiyama, Grace Lee Boggs, Kartar Dhillon, and others in our community who have resisted anti-Black racism and leveraged their relative privilege to stand in struggle with Black communities. We remember the importance of humility as we aspire to follow in their footsteps, committed to advancing their visions in ways relevant to our times.



Slavery



Police Brutality



Mass Incarceration



Transgender Hate Crimes

RACE & WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES

Credit: DRUM

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   10 min
2. Trivia Time! workers, workers, workers
   30 min
3. Work & Ourselves: Alienation
   40 min
4. White Supremacy Divides the Working Class
   40 min
5. Closing & Evaluation
   15 min

Goals

- Understand the role that race plays in defining how workers and working class people live their lives
- Introduce Marx's or Marxist concept of alienation to think about why white vs. people of color workers have different perceived interests
- Understand how white supremacy operates to divide and conquer workers

Key Concepts: Alienation, white as a racial category (assumes some knowledge of white supremacy)

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Blank paper for individual drawings
- Quotes & Cartoon Sheet
- Trivia Game Instructions & Sheets
- Projector for video
- Optional: trivia game music!

Prep

4 butcher papers: quotes & cartoons, takeaways

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER - 10 MIN

Welcome participants. Review the goals and agenda.

Drawing exercise:

Think of a job you have had or someone close to you has had. On a piece of paper, draw a line down the middle. On the left side, draw an image of something that was good about that job. On the right side, draw an image of something that was challenging or bad about that job.

Pair share:

What did you draw and why?

2. TRIVIA TIME! WORKERS, WORKERS, WORKERS - 30 MIN

Materials: Trivia Game Instructions & Sheets

- Divide the participants into two teams, with maximum 5 people per team. Have teams select a team name. Play some game show music!
- Explain the instructions:
  - Welcome to our Trivia Time! Workers, workers, workers. First, our teams will get to introduce themselves to each other, and then we'll get started!
  - After the introductions, we will have three rounds together. The first two rounds will be a quiz rounds, and the last will be a lightning round.
  - During the quiz rounds, each team will get a sheet with questions and will have 5 minutes to answer all of the questions to the best of their abilities. To score, teams will switch answer sheets with the other team and each team will score the other team.
  - During the last lightning round, the Game Master will ask questions and the first team to raise their fist will be able to answer.
- Have the teams sitting facing each other with the game-master in-between. When the teams are ready with their names, have each team introduce themselves and their team names.

Round 1 and 2 Quiz (5 min):

Pass out the first quizzes and start the timer.

Scoring (5 min):

Have the teams trade quiz sheets and the game master will read the answers. Each team will score the opposing team's answers. Tally points.

Round 3 Lightning (5 min):

Each team must raise a fist if they have the answer to the question. Read the question - if the team doesn't answer within the first 5 second, allow the other team to answer. Tally points.

- Give a prize to the winning team and have both teams shake hands.

3. WORK & OURSELVES: ALIENATION - 40 MIN

Small Group Story Share - How work defines us - 10 min

- Split into small groups of 3-4 people. Share your drawings from the beginning of the workshop with each other. In your group, ask one person to share
  - What do your parents or caregivers do for a living? (can be same or different from your drawing)
  - How does that person feel about their job? What do you think they like about it? What do you think they dislike?
  - Do you think that is what that person wanted to do with their lives? What other things could have been doing with their time if they did not have to work?
  - For entire group - does this resonate with you? Are there people in your life that feel similarly?
- Have the groups do report-backs, focused on reflecting on small group question 3 from above.

"On Alienation" Karl Marx Video - 10 min

Materials needed: Marxist terms definitions and projector for video

- We are going to watch a short video and discuss Marx's theory of "alienation". Who's heard of Karl Marx before? Introduce Marx briefly:
  - Marx was a German thinker, scholar, and revolutionary socialist. He lived in the 19th century during a very different time in the world, especially for workers! He is most well known for writing "The Communist Manifesto" and his ideas have influenced many thinkers from across the world since his time.
  - He had some very interesting ideas about society, economics, and politics beyond capitalism, and although he is a very important thinker, he's certainly not the only one! But today we will be talking about one of his ideas, something he called "alienation".
  - What's cool about Marx is that he talks about economic ideas - like capitalism, profit - in relation to who we are as human being / our humanity. But what does that mean?

Marxist Terms Definitions - 5 min:

We are going to watch a short video that explains alienation, but first we want to review some words that will come up during the video. Review the definitions on the butcher paper - have someone read it aloud and give examples.

Show Video[1] - 5 min:

- Can someone describe what they saw in the video?
- Do we need to watch it again?

1 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZ4VzhIuKCQ

Discuss - 10 min:

How would you describe alienation in your own words? How do you think immigrant, refugee, and communities of color experience alienation as workers?

Key Points:

- Alienation is something that all of us experience under capitalism - most of us will never "own" all of the product of our work (this can include making profit off it or getting credit for it)
- Working class people, even though they're exploited, because of alienation experience many barriers to organizing for justice or power by dividing workers or causing workers not to step up in leadership. Alienation can divide workers along race, along immigration status, and in many different ways.

4. WHITE SUPREMACY DIVIDES THE WORKING CLASS - 40 MIN

Introduction - 5 min

We've talked a little about what it is like to be a worker. But do you think all workers are the same? The video ended with a Marx quote "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains!" However, in today's world, even though workers are abused and alienated on their jobs all the time - very few workers organize together to spontaneously to fight their bosses. So we want to think a little bit about why this might be the case.

Someone else who did some thinking about this is a person named W.E.B. Du Bois:

- Du Bois is one of the US's most important scholar activists to talk about race and labor. He lived at the turn of the 20th century, and became a civil rights activist who fought against Jim Crow and for the independence of African colonies from European imperialists.
- During Du Bois's time, during World War II, there were many communists and socialists who were thinking about how the American working class might rise up to defeat capitalism's growth. However, these white people often had no analysis about how the US economy, built on slavery, divided the working class along gender and racial lines in their lives. These divisions are how white supremacy upholds its power.
- Du Bois specifically wrote about how being white and the idea of whiteness made white workers feel superior to black workers - so that even if they were all being oppressed by the same boss, their racism held them back from being organized with black workers to gain power against bosses.
- Another person we are going to read - David Roediger - is a white scholar who writes today, from a Marxist framework, about racial identity and specifically about the construction of whiteness. He is a professor of history at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Before we look at Du Bois & Roediger some more though, let's discuss - what does it mean to be white and how might that be important?

Small Group Discussions - 15 min

Break into 3 small groups, with each group around one quote/cartoon that is posted on the walls in different parts of the room. Give each group the discussion questions below and have them discuss for 15 minutes each. Ask the groups to do report-backs on the discussion either through a drawing or a skit.

- Discuss Questions for "The Great Fear of the Period" cartoon
  - What do you see in this cartoon? What do you think they're trying to portray?
    - Note the clothes and facial features of the people depicted
  - At the time of this cartoon, many Eastern Europeans and others - including people of Irish, Jewish, Slavic, Polish, Armenian, etc - were not considered "real" white people. However, by the middle of the 20th century, many of these groups had self-aligned their interests with white supremacy and were considered white. Why do you think this might have happened?

Discussion Questions for Du Bois quote

- When the institution of chattel slavery was ended in 1865, after the Civil War, the US began to rebuild itself in an era called "Reconstruction". Du Bois is talking about this time - in which there was also a big economic transition toward industrial capitalism away from small farm agricultural economy (hence: free slave labor on farms/ plantations). After slavery was abolished, millions of former black slaves had to re-construct their lives.
- How does Du Bois talk about how black and white labor relating to each other?
- Who is Du Bois referring to when he says the "majority of the world's laborers"?
- Can you summarize what Du Bois was saying in your own words?

Discussion Questions for Roediger quote

- What questions came up? Reflections?
- Pretend for a moment you are a domestic worker that can pass as "white". What benefits do you think she might get by virtue of 'not being black'?
- In our system of capitalism, where White Supremacy operates, who ultimately benefits from the racial divisions of workers?

Report-backs - 15 min

- Each group has 5 minutes to report-back on their answers, either through a drawing or a skit.

Review key takeaways - 5 min:

- White as a racial category has an expansive history in the US and has changed over time - who is considered white, and what benefits they gain from being considered white.
- This is particularly important in understand why workers are divided by race, through the power of white supremacy.

5. CLOSING & EVALUATION - 15 MIN

What's possible? - 10 min

Ask participants to take out their piece of paper from the beginning of the session again. On the back, they should do one more drawing. Imagine that you have everything you need to be successful as a person – what do you want to do for work later in your life? What other things would you want to do besides work?

- Share your drawings and explain.

Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop.

QUOTES & CARTOON SHEET

"The upward moving of white labor was betrayed into wars for profit based on color caste. Democracy died save in the hearts of black folk.

Indeed, the plight of the white working class throughout the world today is directly traceable to Negro slavery in America, on which modern commerce and industry was founded, and which persisted to threaten free labor until it was partially overthrown in 1863. The resulting color caste founded and retained by capitalism was adopted, forwarded and approved by white labor, and resulted in subordination of colored labor to white profits the world over. Thus the majority of the world's laborers, by the insistence of white labor, became the basis of a system of industry which ruined democracy and showed its perfect fruit in World War and Depression.[1]"

Excerpt From: Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt), 1868-1963. "Black reconstruction; an essay toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880."

White labor does not just receive and resist racist ideas but embraces, adopts and, at times, murderously acts upon those ideas. The problem is not just that the white working class is at critical junctures manipulated into racism, but that it comes to think of itself and its interests as white.... .... Still more important is the idea that the pleasures of whiteness could function as a 'wage' for white workers. That is, status and privileges conferred by race could be used to make up for alienating and exploitative class relationships, North and South. White workers could, and did, define and accept their class position by fashioning identities as 'not slaves' and as 'not Blacks'.

Excerpt from: Roediger, David R., 1991 "The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class"

1 Historical context: In 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, mostly abolishing slavery in the U.S. The period after the Civil War, 1865-77 is called the Reconstruction – referring to the Reconstruction of the South & Southern economy post-slavery.

19th century political cartoon depicting two people of Irish and Chinese descent:



TRIVIA TIME! WORKERS, WORKERS, WORKERS

Instructions, Quiz Handouts, Answer Keys

- Divide the participants into two teams, with maximum 5 people per team. Have teams select a team name. Play some game show music!

Explain the instructions:

- Welcome to our Trivia Time! Workers, workers, workers. First, our teams will get to introduce themselves to each other, and then we'll get started!
- After the introductions, we will have three rounds together. The first two rounds will be a quiz rounds, and the last will be a lightning round.
- During the quiz rounds, each team will get a sheet with questions and will have 5 minutes to answer all of the questions to the best of their abilities. To score, teams will switch answer sheets with the other team and each team will score the other team.
- During the last lightning round, the Game Master will ask questions and the first team to raise their fist will be able to answer.

Have the teams sitting facing each other with the game-master in-between. When the teams are ready with their names, have each team introduce themselves and their team names.

Round 1 and 2 Quiz (5 mins):

Pass out the first quizzes and start the timer.

Scoring (5 mins):

Have the teams trade quiz sheets and the game master will read the answers. Each team will score the opposing team's answers. Tally points.

Round 3 Lightning (5 mins):

Each team must raise a fist if they have the answer to the question. Read the question - if the team doesn't answer within the first 5 second, allow the other team to answer. Tally points.

Rules:

- 2 points for each question
- 10 points per round
- On last lightening round, there are only two questions but they are each worth 5 points!

QUIZ 1

(5 questions)

From which countries did plantation owner settlers in the 19th century recruit workers?

- Colombia
- Japan
- Thailand
- Argentina
- China
- Philippines
- Portugal

What were early stereotypes of Irish immigrants to the US in the 19th century?

Which Filipin@ leaders were involved in the Delano grape strike of 1965 in California?

What is the only law that has been passed in the US that specifically prevented one ethnic group from immigrating to the U.S.? Why was it passed?

What did the racial slur "coon" refer to?

QUIZ 1 ANSWER SHEET

QUESTION	ANSWER
From which countries did plantation owner settlers in the 19th century recruit workers? • Colombia • Japan • Thailand • Argentina • China • Philippines • Portugal	Japan China Philippines Portugal
What were early stereotypes of Irish immigrants to the US in the 19th century?	• That they were savage and lazy • Untrustworthy as Catholics (most European settlers were Protestants) • They were part of a darker "Celtic race" • Compared to apes and black people • They were working poor - lived in urban slums, as domestic servants and in transportation
Which Filipin@ leaders were involved in the Delano grape strike of 1965 in California?	• Philip Vera Cruz • Larry Itliong • With the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), later United Farm Workers
What is the only law that has been passed in the US that specifically prevented one ethnic group from immigrating to the U.S.? Why was it passed?	• Chinese Exclusion Act 1882 • Racism against Chinese during the Gold Rush period • Perception that Chinese workers undercut white workers' wages - especially in mining, other low wage industries
What did the racial slur "coon" refer to?	• Before 1948: a white country person, like pretty slick coon • Around 1990s: white entertainers portrayed, in blackface, free Black folks from the North • Similar to how language around class separated white workers out as "not slaves", blackface performances helped 1) confirm the whiteness of performers & reminded them of whiteness 2) affirm that Black culture & people existed only to entertain white people

QUIZ 2

(5 questions)

What's the minimum wage in _(insert your city/area)_?
Who was beaten to death with a baseball bat by two white men in 1982, after being accused of being a Japanese person responsible for the displacement of autoworker jobs?
What is wage theft? What are some common labor law violations that low-wage workers might face?
The technology industry is one professional job sector where Asian Americans are very well represented. What is the ratio of executive positions of Asian vs. White employees in tech? (as in, what is the racial percentage of their executives in tech) - 57% White & 36% Asian - 73% White & 15% Asian - 46% White & 20% Asian - 33% White & 35% Asian
How many Asian and Pacific Islander workers were in unions in 2010? - 1 out of 50 - 1 out of 20 - 1 out of 70 - 1 out of 10

QUIZ 2 ANSWER SHEET

QUESTIONS	ANSWERS
What's the minimum wage in _(insert your city/area)_?	Will vary by region. You can use: http://www.epi.org/minimum-wage-tracker/ You can also make this multiple choice!
Who was beaten to death with a baseball bat by two white men in 1982, after being accused of being a Japanese person responsible for the displacement of autoworker jobs?	Vincent Chin
What is wage theft? What are some common labor law violations that low-wage workers might face?	• Wage theft is an illegal practice of not paying workers for all of their work. • Common labor law violations that low wage workers face include: not being paid minimum wage, not being paid overtime, having to work off the clock, not getting rest and meal breaks, not getting paid sick leave
The technology industry is one professional job sector where Asian Americans are very well represented. What is the ratio of executive positions of Asian vs. White employees in tech? • 57% White & 36% Asian • 73% White & 15% Asian • 46% White & 20% Asian • 33% White & 35% Asian	• In the general tech workforce, Whites make up 41% and Asians 50% of professional jobs (non-managerial) • In executive positions, • 57% White & 36% Asian • https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/reports/hightech/
How many Asian and Pacific Islander workers were in unions in 2010? • 1 out of 50 • 1 out of 20 • 1 out of 70 • 1 out of 10	One out of every 20 U.S. union workers

LIGHTNING ROUND QUESTIONS

What is "Ban the Box" and which community does it affect the most?	"Ban the Box" are policies or advocacy campaigns that ask employers to remove the question/check box "Have you been convicted by a court?" from applications for employment, housing, public benefits, insurance, and other services. These questions have meant lifelong discrimination and exclusion because of past arrest/convictions. These past arrest/convictions mostly affect African American communities because of mass incarceration systems that jail or imprison Black people more than any other racial group. Black folks make up 40% of the prison and jail population. http://www.prisonerswithchildren.org/our-projects/allofus-or-none/ban-the-box-campaign/ http://www.nelp.org/publication/ban-the-box-fair-chance-hiring-state-and-local-guide/
In 2014, over a hundred immigrant, monolingual-Chinese speaking low-wage restaurant workers came together to organize their workplace. Through organizing, they eventually won $4 million dollars in back pay, fully paid health-care, time off for family visits, and a worker compliance committee. What restaurant did these workers work at and where?	Yank Sing in San Francisco

RACE & IM/MIGRATION

Credit: DRUM

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   5 min
2. Our Immigrant Selves
   5 min
3. U.S. Immigration Past and Present (skits)
   30 min
4. This Changes Everything
   25 min
5. Our Stories (videos)
   25 min
6. Migration is a Human Right!
   5 min
7. Closing & Evaluation
   10 min

Goals

- Understand how national origin/race affect US immigration policy & immigration policy's roots in racism & white supremacy
- Review different paths to the U.S. that Asian immigrants and refugees have taken since 19th century
- Understand how war, imperialism, and white supremacy intertwine to create exploitative migration conditions

Key Concepts: 1965 Immigration Act, 1996 IIRIRA, Asian migration, refugee, migration is human right

Time

1 hr 45 min

Materials needed

- Signs, Videos & images
- Improv Skit handouts
- Projector / screen to show videos

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER - 10 MIN

- Pass out sticky notes. Ask participants to respond to this question, one answer per sticky note, using as many as they want to use. When they're done, post them on the wall.
  - Why do you think people immigrate?
- Have people go around and look at the answers and discuss themes.

2. OUR IMMIGRANT SELVES - 15 MIN

Stand in a circle together. Step into the circle if this statement is true for you. After the statement is complete, ask everyone to step back into the circle before the next statement:

- My grandparents were farmers or peasants, somewhere not in the U.S.
  - I did not grow up with my grandparents or have never lived close to them.
- I have trouble communicating with my parents.
- My parents do not often speak about their childhoods or growing up.
- My parents were refugees.
- My family has had to flee from war or violence.
  - I was not born near where I live right now.
- I was not born in this country.

Debrief:

Any reflections on the exercise?

3. U.S. IMMIGRATION PAST AND PRESENT - 30 MIN

Materials: Signs with immigration dates (can print or make own based on sample)

Improv Skits – 20 min

Materials: US Immigration Past Present Improv Skit Stories

The difference from regular theater is that you all will be the actors, the directors, and the narrators. Before we get into our performance groups, let's do a quick warm-up exercise.

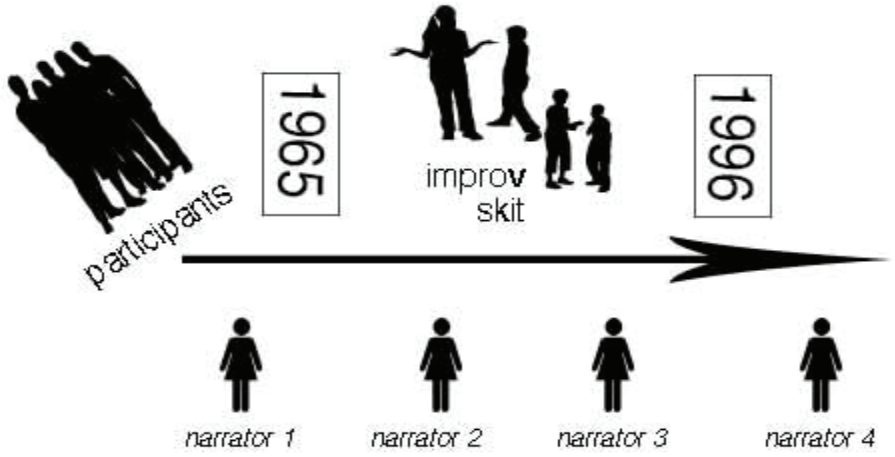
Warm up – 5 min

- Warm-up (A) Face & Body-stretching: Stretch the face muscles by making a face. Swing the arms and shake out the body. Go-around and follow.
- Warm-up (B) Body-moving: Trainer tells a story and everyone performs what is being said.

- Example story: One day I went walking through the forest. ~ It was very hot, and I began to sweat. ~ After two hours, I became hungry and needed to rest. ~ I found a big, shady tree to rest against. ~ When I looked up, I saw this big, shady tree was full of apples. ~ I stretched up to reach for an apple. ~ Then I tried jumping for an apple. ~ Finally, I got one! ~ Then, I took a bite of the apple. ~ How does it taste? Is it sweet or sour? ~ Is there a worm in it?

- Put two papers with dates 1965 and 1996 spaced evenly on the floor. We're going to do some skits together, and follow along this timeline through three major periods – before 1965, between 1965 and 1996, and after 1996. Recruit four people to narrative the stories, everyone else will be doing improv skits as the narrator speaks to illustrate the story. Ask the narrators to stand in their stations along the timeline, and hand out the stories to each of them. The facilitator will cue each narrator, and as the narrator tells the story, the rest of the participants should make an improv skit together to illustrate the story. Stories can be repeated twice. Do this four times.

(sample layout of exercise)



Discussion - 10 min:

- What did you notice from the stories? What were some differences between the three time periods?
- How did conditions in their home countries influence their migration? How did U.S. foreign policy - the U.S. government wars, anti-communist policies - affect their immigration decisions?
- Many people come to the U.S. to work - hoping to make a better living than they did in their home countries. We also know that capitalism depends on a lot of workers being available, or in other words a lot of cheap labor, in order to function the way that it does to make money. Do you see this in the stories we just heard?

4. THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING (1965 & BORDERS) - 25 MIN

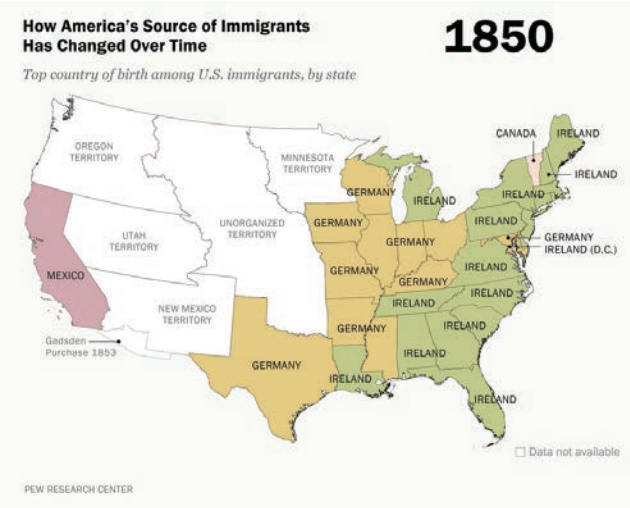
Materials: projector & slideshow

To understand how white supremacy and U.S. ideas about race have affected immigration policies here, we want to review two things - the 1965 Immigration Act and the U.S. Mexico border militarization.

- Before 1965, the laws that decided who could come and stay in the U.S. were explicitly racist. As one person said:

  > *"The law was just unbelievable in its clarity of racism," says Stephen Klineberg, a sociologist at Rice University. "It declared that Northern Europeans are a superior subspecies of the white race. The Nordics were superior to the Alpines, who in turn were superior to the Mediterraneans, and all of them were superior to the Jews and the Asians."*[1]

- To show just how dramatic the changes were, this is a map from the Pew Research Center comparing where immigrants to the U.S. came from before the 1965 act and afterwards:[2]



- What else was happening in 1965 that you think might have influenced the new immigration law?
  - Civil Rights movement

The funny thing was, that when President Johnson signed the Immigration Act in 1965, neither he nor did any of the political elites at the time realize how much everything would change. Before this immigration act, immigration to the US worked like this: each country in the world had a certain number of people they could send to the US to immigrate, and this number differed by country, based on 2% of the total number of people of that nationality that were already in America in 1890. People from Asia were largely banned, and

1 http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5391395
2 http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/10/07/a-shift-from-germany-to-mexico-for-americas-immigrants/ft_15-09-28_immigationmapsgif/

the Act heavily favored immigrants from Northern European countries (which made up 86% of immigrants). By 1965, Pres. Johnson only wanted to take away the overtly racist national origin categories that had existed for so long, did not anticipate that the demographics of the U.S. would change forever.

However, despite the gains made, there are still many systems in place to ensure that white supremacy retains its power. One example is the U.S. Mexico border.

Did you know that the U.S.-Mexico border is one of the world's most militarized borders, even though the two countries are not at war? There's over 650 miles of fencing, and billions of dollars spent to patrol, with deadly military weapons and arms, that border.

More Facts:

- U.S. Border Patrol was founded in 1915 as the "Mounted Guard of Chinese Inspectors", created to persecute Chinese undocumented immigrants after they were banned by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Many Chinese immigrants then went to Cuba, South America, and Mexico instead and settled - or crossed illegally[3].
- It was in 1994 - the same year that NAFTA, the Mexico-US free trade agreement was signed - that the first border control strategy was implemented by the U.S. federal government.
- After 9/11, immigration (of brown people) became clearly linked with terrorism - whereas before, it was mostly a labor or legal issue. Shortly thereafter, the federal immigration agency was re-organized into the "Department of Homeland Security". This officially made immigration procedures enforcement and terrorism issues for the government[4]. This is despite the fact that you are more likely to be fatally crushed by furniture than be killed by a terrorist[5]!

Small group discussion - 15 min:

- If you had to imagine a stereotype of an immigrant, what would they look like? Where would they be from? How do you think their race influences their immigration experience?
- Why do you think the U.S.-Mexico border is so militarized but the U.S.-Canada border is not?
- What did you notice about the map? How do you think the changes in where immigrants came to the US from (Europe v. rest of world) over the years changed the way people perceive immigrants?

If there's time, do report-backs from the conversations.

3 https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-borders/history
4 http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2011/09/08/after-911-immigration-became-about-homeland-security-attacks-shifted-the-conversation-heavily-toward-terrorism-and-enforcement
5 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/11/23/youre-more-likely-to-be-fatally-crushed-by-furniture-than-killed-by-a-terrorist/

5. OUR STORIES - 25 MIN

Materials: projector & slideshow

Now we want to bring it back home, and talk a little about our current experiences as immigrants and refugees. First, we want to watch these videos and then talk about our own stories.

- Noel's story from NQAPIA[6] (3:30)
- SEAFN Series: Our Survival[7] (until 5:08)

Pair Share – 15 min:

- (for each person) How did your family come to the US? What brought them here and what made them leave?
- Is there anything similar or different between your stories and the ones in the videos?
- What's one takeaway you have from the videos?

6. MIGRATION IS A HUMAN RIGHT! - 5 MIN

Materials: projector & slideshow

We've gone over a lot of information - and a lot of stories - about how our people come (came?) to be here and why. Before we close, we're going to watch one last video about imaging the world we want - where migration is a human right.

- Watch "The Migrant Manifesto by Musa Okwonga" (3:41)[8]

7. CLOSING & EVALUATION - 10 MINS

Head, Heart, Hands

- Head: Something you learned
- Heart: Something you felt
- Hands: Something you want to take action on

Evaluate the workshop.

More Resources:

http://www.nqapia.org/wpp/programs-campaigns/uncovering-our-stories/

https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC9F1Difk8szmdd2ZX4FOQNw

6 http://www.nqapia.org/wpp/noel-bordador/
7 https://youtu.be/5ty1bq0Mr5w
8 https://youtu.be/y19CbyE41vo

U.S. IMMIGRATION PAST AND PRESENT - IMPROV SKIT STORIES

Story 1 before 1965

My name is Adrian and I live in a camp next to the plantation that I work at in Hawai'i. There are people from many different types of workers who live here - Filipinos, Portuguese, Japanese, and Koreans - and we are all separated by language and race. I came from the Philippines, from Ilocano because after the typhoon destroyed much of my village, there was no work for all the young men. It is 1901, and after the Spanish-American War the Philippines became a colony of the United States - which means we can easily migrate, and they promised us free passage and jobs when we arrived.

We did not get what was promised. All days in the field, the haole, they hound us to cut cut the sugar cane. I hope to see my family again one day, but I am not sure, I have lived here by myself for so long now.

Story 2 & 3 between 1965-96

- My name is Pahoua and I grew up in a refugee camp in Thailand in 1975. My family, like many Hmong families, was forced to flee after the C.I.A. suddenly withdrew from Laos after it had recruited Hmong men for its Secret War. My parents fled to the eastern jungles of Laos by foot, walking for days, fearful of Communist troops that were killing anyone they thought was a U.S. sympathizer.
  I was born in a Thai refugee camp, where my family stayed for years until they were granted entry to the U.S. My family struggled to grow up in Minnesota, with 15 people, working multiple jobs to make ends meet.
- My name is Dong and I came to the U.S. in 1995 from Hong Kong when I was 35, with my wife. My wife is Chinese and we were sponsored by her sister who lived in New York, so we went to join my sister-in-law when we first arrived. Like many immigrants, we left because we were afraid of how the Chinese communist government might change things once they took over in 1997. We had comfortable, middle class life in Hong Kong and were both fluent in both English and Cantonese.
  When we arrived in New York, however, we did not know many people so it was difficult to find the same jobs we had before we left. The first few years, I worked as a janitor, although in Hong Kong I had been a business manager. Eventually, however, I found work with an overseas firm that hired me as a manager. Eleven years after I first arrived, I finally got my green card.

Story 4 after 1996

- My name is Priya and I came to the U.S. for graduate studies in 2004 on a long flight. After receiving my Computer Science degree, I then got a job at Technology Corporation, which sponsored by H1B visa. My family is well-off in India, but I wanted more opportunities and am excited to start a new life here.
  Sometimes, though, I feel depressed. Although I graduated at the top of my class, I am making far less than many of my white, male, U.S.-born co-workers at my firm. I am afraid to speak out too much, because I might lose my chances at a green card.

1965

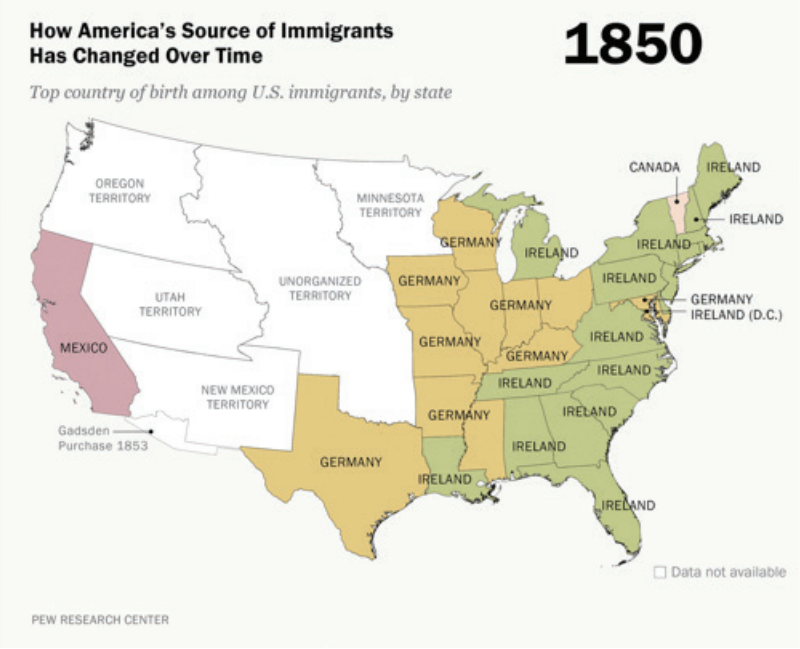
The Immigration and Naturalization Act (Hart-Celler)

abolished an earlier quota system based on national origin and established a new immigration policy based on reuniting immigrant families and attracting skilled labor to the United States. Over the next four decades, the policies put into effect in 1965 would greatly change the demographic makeup of the American population, as immigrants entering the United States under the new legislation came increasingly from countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as opposed to Europe.

1996

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA)

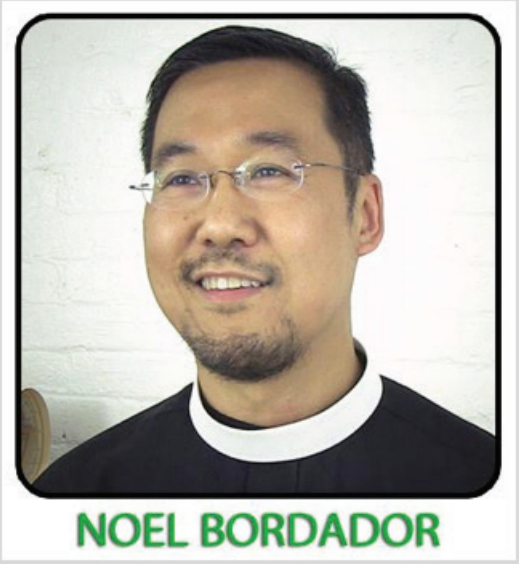
Along with AEDPA, expanded the deportation system and greatly increased the ways in which the criminal justice system interacts with the immigration system. The result of these laws is our current reality, where immigration is often criminalized and undocumented immigrants are regularly incarcerated for minor criminal offenses.


How America's Source of Immigrants Has Changed Over Time
1850
Top country of birth among U.S. immigrants, by state
OREGON TERRITORY
MINNESOTA TERRITORY
UTAH TERRITORY
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY
MEXICO
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
Gadsden Purchase 1853
CANADA
IRELAND
GERMANY
IRELAND (D.C.)
Data not available
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

UNCOVERING OUR STORIES:

Asian Americans are the fastest growing minority group in the nation, largely due to immigration. The National Queer Asian Pacific Islander Alliance (NQAPIA) — a federation of LGBT Asian American, South Asian, Southeast Asian, and Pacific Islander (AAPI) organizations — has advocated for the rights of LGBT immigrants and aims to lift the voices of those who have often been overlooked. These are our stories. We hope they illustrate the great need for immigration reform and the various ways in which immigration laws directly impact the everyday lives of LGBT people. NQAPIA seeks:

o legalization of undocumented immigrants
o expanded visa programs for students and workers (both low-wage and professional)
o legal protections to guard against racial profiling, detentions, and deportations
o fewer restrictions in applying for political asylum
o protection of family immigration, including extending family-sponsorship





SEAFN Campaign Series:

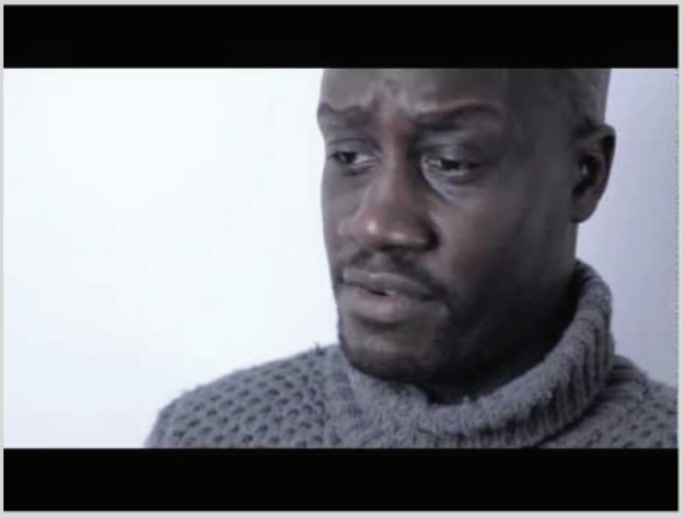
Our Survival

Our Southeast Asian American community has been fighting deportation for almost 2 decades, since the 1996 US immgration laws passed and since 2002 when Cambodia signed the repatriation agreement with the US. We have hustled and struggled with determination and love to overturn policies that target our community members with past criminal convictions, and their families, for separation.

This year, 2015, marks 40 years since Southeast Asian communities began being resettled in the US after being displaced from our home countries. It is in this year that we rise up as a UNITED Southeast Asian community and demand an end to further displacement of our people through deportation. In this 40th year, the Southeast



The Migrant Manifesto *by* Musa Okwonga



INTERSECTIONALITY

Credit: CFJ, CAAV

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   10 min
2. Reflecting on Identity
   45 min
3. Identities and Stereotypes
   30 min
4. Applying our Analysis
   30 min
5. Closing and Evaluation
   10 min

Goals

- Share personal reflections on identity and intersectionality
- Understand the importance of intersectionality in our campaigns and movements
- Think about ways to build inclusive and expansive communities.

Key concepts: identity, intersectionality

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Identity signs printed and posted around the room
- Chart Circles
- Markers, tape
- Chart Paper
- Case studies - handout
- How Strong Beats My Heart - handout
- Laptop/projector for videos

1. WELCOME & ICEBREAKER – 10 MIN

Welcome and icebreaker.

Review the goals and agenda.

2. IDENTITY QUESTIONS - 45 MIN

Instructions - 5 min

- Print and post the signs attached at the end of the workshop curriculum (add or delete based on your groups' demographics).
  - Race/Ethnicity
  - Gender
  - Age
  - Sexual Orientation
  - Class
  - Immigration Status
- SAY: The purpose of this activity is for us to discuss the complexity of our identities. For this activity I need everyone to stand up in the middle of the room. I am going to read a statement and everyone should stand next to the sign that they best identify with based on the statement (Read the signs aloud and see if anyone needs clarification).
- Throughout the activity you should follow instructions WITHOUT TALKING, and it's ok to be undecided, but just choose an identity to discuss. After you choose a sign, you will have 3 minutes to talk to others in the group about the reasons for your choice. Are there any questions?

Statements - 30 min

- 1. I feel most drawn/connected to this part of my identity. (Allow people to move, then ask Q below)
  - If you feel accepted by others within this identity, please raise your hand.
  - Please talk with the people who chose the same sign about the reasons for your choice. If you're the only one who chose that sign, join others for the discussion. (3 mins)
  - [Invite 2-3 share-outs]
- 2. I have experienced the most personal struggles/changes around this part of my identity. (Allow people to move, then ask Q below)
  - If you feel that you are now at a good place around this part of your identity, please raise your hand.
  - Please talk with the others who chose the same sign about the struggles/changes. If you're the only one who chose that sign, join others for the discussion (3 min).
  - [Invite 2-3 share-outs]

- 3. It is easiest for me to talk about this part of my identity. (Allow people to move, then ask Q below)
  - If you talk about this part of your identity easily with those who don't share the identity, please raise your hand.
  - Please talk with the others who chose the same sign about the reasons for your choice. If you're the only one who chose that sign, join others for the discussion (3 min).
  - [Invite 2-3 share-outs]
- 4. I feel least comfortable with this part of my identity. (Allow people to move, then ask Q below)
  - If you receive support from others in this group when they know that you are feeling uncomfortable, please raise your hand.
  - Please talk with the others who chose the same sign about your discomfort. If you're the only one who chose that sign, join others for the discussion (3 min).
  - [Invite 2-3 share-outs]
- 5. This part of my identity has the greatest effect on how people treat me. (Allow people to move, then ask Q below)
  - If you think this is the most important part of your identity, please raise your hand.
  - Please talk with the others who chose the same sign about how you are treated based on this part of your identity. If you're the only one who chose that sign, join others for the discussion (3 min).
  - [Invite 2-3 share-outs]
- 6. This part of my identity most affects the role that I play in this group's dynamics. (Allow people to move, then ask Q below)
  - If you feel that this identity gives you power in the group dynamics, please raise your hand.
  - Please talk with the others who chose the same sign about how this part of your identity affects your role in the group. If you're the only one who chose that sign, join others for the discussion (3 min).
  - [Invite 2-3 share-outs]
- 7. This part of my identity gives me the most personal happiness. (Allow people to move, then ask Q below)
  - If you feel comfortable openly sharing that with people outside of this room, please raise your hand.
  - Please talk with the others who chose the same sign about the reasons for your choice. If you're the only one who chose that sign, join others for the discussion (3 min).
  - [Invite 2-3 share-outs]

<u>Talking Circle Debrief (10 min)</u>

- SAY: Now we are going to get into a circle and discuss what just happened, to clarify any questions people might have and better understand the way that our identity affects our interactions in society.

- The way we are going to do it is by sharing our experiences and listening to the experiences of other folks. Only one person can talk at the time, we will be passing "(X object)" around. The person that has (X object) in his/her hands is the one that has the right to speak or pass the object.

Questions for discussion:

- What did you notice about yourself or others as we did this activity?
- How did it feel to have to choose just one sign?
- Which question was the easiest to answer? Which was the hardest? WHY?
- How did identities complicate each other or work together?
- Identities have certain characteristics: Visible vs. invisible; "born with it" vs. not; How did this affect your choices?

Key Points:

The idea behind this activity was to have people reflect on their identities, to talk about exclusion, feelings of "authenticity." In doing social justice work, we need to keep in mind that we are not trying to create a hierarchy of oppression – saying that someone's experience is worse off than another's but that we are trying to understand the personal aspects of how intersecting oppression and "isms" affect people so that we can understand our motivations for creating change.

3. IDENTITIES CIRCLES - 30 MIN

Say: We just talked about identity - which is how you see yourself. We also need to talk about how others see you. For some people, their understanding of your identity may be a stereotype - a widely held, oversimplified generalization about a group of people.

Exercise - 15 min:

- Have each participant write down one way that they identify (woman, queer Asian, etc.) on a piece of paper. Write it large enough for others to see it. Find other people who are holding the same sign (if needed, have people choose a different identity so everyone is in a group).
- In each groups have participants write down their identity on chart paper (with a circle drawn on it) and fill the circle with ways that they are oppressed based on this identity AND ways that they resist or fight that oppression (facilitators: help groups think about oppression in these categories - internalized, interpersonal, institutional).

Discussion - 15 min:

- Have each group share their circle, and post them up on the wall so they are touching/overlapping.
- Choosing one circle, ask: If we undid all of the things in this circle, would there be more justice for (insert group)? Example: If choosing "race", ask if ending oppression in that circle would create justice for women of color?

- Can anyone here relate to more than one of these circles? How?
- What are some of the ways that an understanding of our identities as connected or intersecting can help us in our work of promoting justice?

Key Points:

Intersectionality holds that the systems of oppression within society, such as racism, sexism, homophobia, and others, do not act independently of one another; instead, these forms of oppression interrelate, can work together creating a system of oppression that reflects the "intersection" of multiple forms of discrimination.

> *"There's no such thing as a single-issue struggle, because we don't live single-issue lives"- Audre Lorde. An understanding of Intersectionality allows us to understand movement solidarity from a very personal perspective. Just as we cannot slice you apart to see only your race or just your gender, in our movement for social justice we recognize the importance of fighting on multiple issues fronts - and supporting each other across identities.*

3. APPLYING OUR ANALYSIS - 30 MIN

What often happens is that if we do not think about intersectionality, we fail to think about the situation of those who are multiply marginalized. While those who suffer oppression most are not recognized, those who have greater privilege have their issues addressed.

Video - 5 min

Let's watch a few video clips on how organizations are doing their work from a point of intersectionality that honors our full selves:

- PrYSM[1]: (up to 1:25)
- Freedom Inc[2]: (up to 1:35, then 2:30-3:37)

Case Study – 15 min

Split participants into three groups. Each group will be given a story about oppression as experienced by a group.

- Case Study:
  - What particular group/s are fighting for justice in your example?
  - What problems does this group/s run into systematically (in the courts, legislators, the media)?
  - How can an understanding of intersectionality help us think about what real justice would like in each of these cases?

1 https://youtu.be/yRFsan5M6Rk
2 https://youtu.be/FAJihrhX_eQ

Our Work:

- What particular group/s are we fighting for in our organization?
- What problems are we trying to address?
- How can an understanding of intersectionality make our campaign work stronger? More inclusive?

- Discuss the answers to Q3 from the "Our Work" questions their group discussed (10 min).
  - How can an understanding of intersectionality make our campaign work stronger? More inclusive?
    - Identify themes
    - Look for areas of agreement
    - Flag possible next steps or conversations to bring an intersectional

Key Points:

- Oppression or exclusion can be based on the interaction of multiple factors rather than just one. Yet conventional approaches to social problems are often organized as though these risk factors are mutually exclusive and separable. As a consequence, many interventions and policies fail to capture the interactive effects of race, gender, sexuality, class, etc. and marginalize the needs of those who are multiply affected by them.
- But we all have multiple identities – we are more complicated than our ethnicities or nationalities. Intersectionality is important because it gives space for our complexity, for our full humanity.

5. CLOSE OUT – 10 MIN

- Pass out "How Strong Beats My Heart" and allow people 5 minutes to answer the prompts. Have them pair share their commitments.
- Evaluate the workshop

What is one commitment you can make to yourself - to share and honor your full self?

What is one commitment you can make to our organization - to help us honor each other's and our community's full selves?

CASE #1 INSTRUCTIONS:

- Read your case study aloud, then answer the questions below (15 min)

In 1976, a group of black women sued the General Motors (GM) car company for discriminating against black women when it came to employment. The women argued that as a group they were the last to be hired and the first to be fired, and were discriminated against on the basis of race and gender. At the GM Company, women were permitted to work front office jobs, but they were white women. Blacks were permitted to work industrial jobs, but they were Black men. In Degraffenreid v. General Motors, the trial court was not convinced that the Black female plaintiffs could prove that GM had engaged in gender discrimination since obviously not all women were excluded, nor could they prove race discrimination because not all African Americans were excluded. Clearly something had happened to these plaintiffs, but the existing categories of discrimination did not recognize the particular discrimination Black women faced. There was race discrimination and gender discrimination, but no category of discrimination based on race and gender simultaneously. The case was then dismissed.

Case Study:

- What particular group/s are fighting for justice in your example?
  - What problems does this group/s run into systematically (in the courts, legislators, the media)?
  - How can an understanding of intersectionality help us think about what real justice would like in each of these cases?

Our Work:

- What particular group/s are we fighting for in our organization?
- What problems are we trying to address?
- How can an understanding of intersectionality make our campaign work stronger? More inclusive?

CASE #2 INSTRUCTIONS

- Read your case study aloud, then answer the questions below (15 mins)

In January 2013, the U.S. House of Representatives failed to reauthorize (put into law) again the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), which first passed in 1994 and has been reauthorized twice since then, increases federal penalties for domestic violence and provides funding for groups and services that aid victims of domestic abuse. VAWA was unable to pass because certain male Republican members of the House opposed specific aspects of the legislation that provided protection for Native Americans, immigrants, and LGBT victims.

- About 40% of Native women will face domestic abuse. While local tribal authorities might sometimes be able to take action against domestic abuse, if the abuser is a non-Native American (and more than 50% of Native women are married to non-Native American men), tribal authorities are able to do very little since they do not have jurisdiction over non-tribe members. VAWA would have allowed tribal authorities to prosecute non-Natives for domestic abuse cases on Native reservations.
- Undocumented immigrants face challenges reporting or escaping from domestic abuse because undocumented immigrants are afraid of being deported. The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), which first passed in 1994 and has been reauthorized twice since then, increased federal penalties for domestic violence and provided funding for groups and services that aid victims of domestic abuse. VAWA would allow undocumented abuse victims to apply for visas to give them permanent residency status.
- VAWA would have mandated that providers of grants aiding domestic abuse victims not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation.
- While claiming to support women's rights, some male Republican House members opposed these parts of the VAWA act and prevented the House from voting to pass it.

<u>Case Study</u>

- What particular group/s are fighting for justice in your example?
- What problems does this group/s run into systematically (in the courts, legislators, the media)?
- How can an understanding of intersectionality help us think about what real justice would like in each of these cases?

<u>Our Work:</u>

- What particular group/s are we fighting for in our organization?
- What problems are we trying to address?
- How can an understanding of intersectionality make our campaign work stronger? More inclusive?

CASE #3 INSTRUCTIONS

- Read your case study aloud, then answer the questions below (15 min)

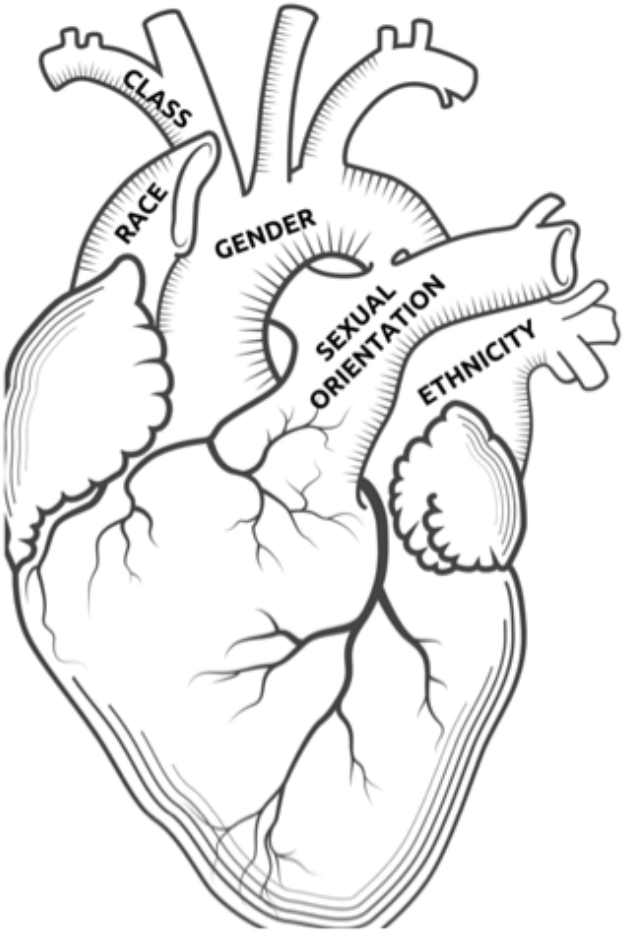
During the Elections in 2008, the majority of voters in California voted to pass Proposition 8, which would have amended the state constitution to declare that "only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in the state of California." Many in the gay community were understandably outraged at the passage of Prop 8, but decided to channel their anger by voicing their anger against Black people, who according to some reports had voted 70 percent in favor of the Proposition. Despite the fact that many other demographics of people had also voted highly in favor of Proposition 8 (i.e. the elderly, Republicans, conservatives, Protestants, Catholics, gun owners, etc.), much of the TV and internet media speaking out against Prop 8 specifically blamed Black people. At marriage equality rally in Los Angeles, black attendees were subject to racial slurs such as the N-word and lumped together as all being homophobic. All of this happened without recognition of the fact that the LGBT community is comprised of Black people as well. However, the Black LGBT community does not often get the same visibility in the mainstream as white LGBT individuals.

Case Study

- What particular group/s are fighting for justice in your example?
- What problems does this group/s run into systematically (in the courts, legislators, the media)?
- How can an understanding of intersectionality help us think about what real justice would like in each of these cases?

Our Work:

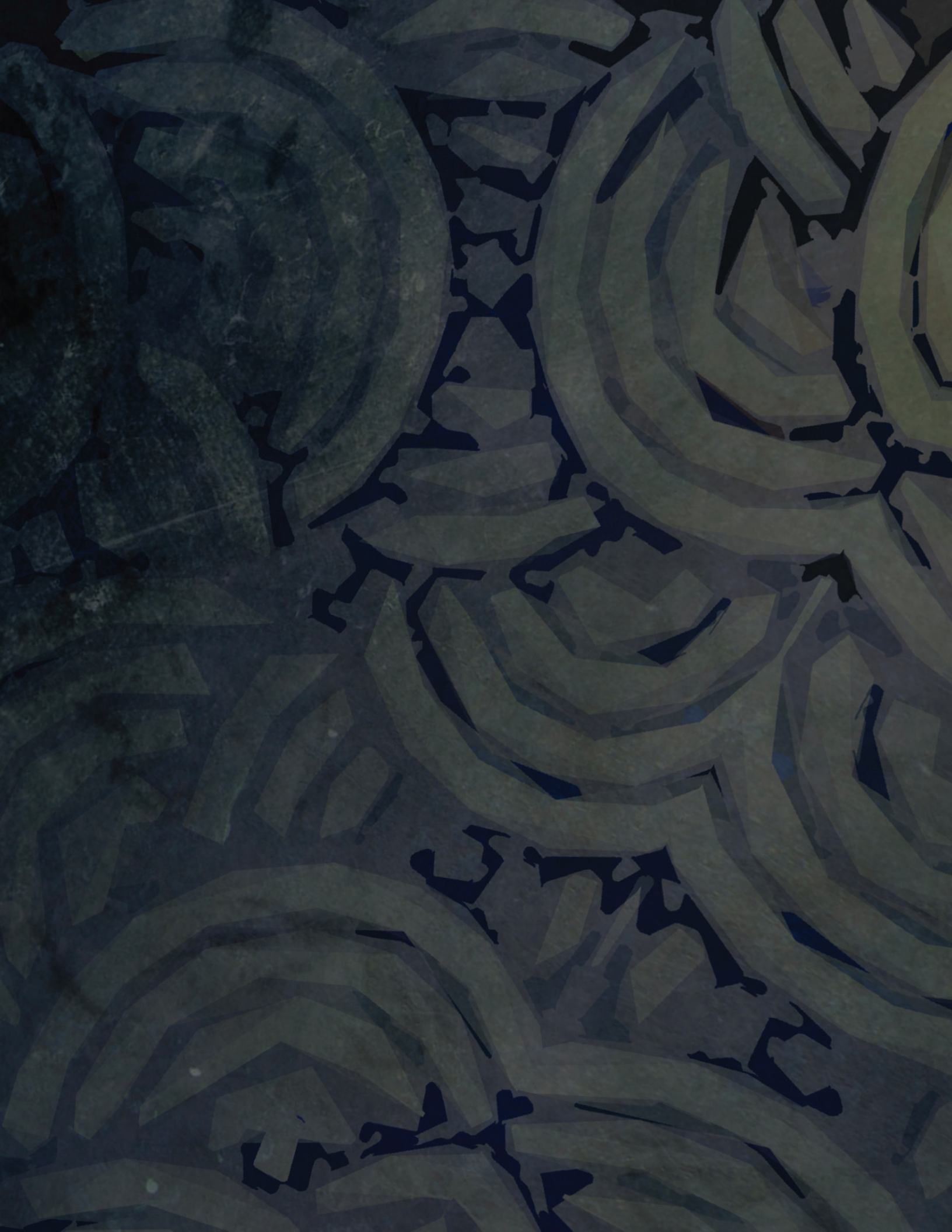
- What particular group/s are we fighting for in our organization?
- What problems are we trying to address?
- How can an understanding of intersectionality make our campaign work stronger? More inclusive?



HOW STRONG BEATS MY HEART?

Sharing our full humanity

Many cultures see the heart as the center of our the body, where our feelings, spirits, emotions, and compassion live. Let's use the image of our hearts to think about different parts of who we are. How do all of these parts of us allow us to connect with others?





WE ARE PERFECT, WHOLE, AND COMPLETE

MAKING RACE AND BLACKNESS IN AMERICA

Credit: CFJ, CAAV

Agenda:

1. Welcome & Opening
   5 min
2. Skit
   20 min
3. Gallery walk
   20 min
4. Race & white supremacy
   40 min
5. Examples of the structure of anti-blackness
   60 min
6. Close Out: Web of Solidarity
   15 min

Goals:

- Understand race was created as a strategy to build wealth and power for an elite few.
- Understand white supremacy.
- See how slavery and blackness affects all people in the structure of the U.S. nation-state.

Key concepts: Race, blackness, whiteness, chattel slavery, settler colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, white supremacy.

Time:

2 hours (for less than 10 people)

Prep/materials needed:

- Signs for actors with characters' names/identities printed
- Images of whiteness, slavery/capitalism, genocide/settler colonialism, war/imperialism
- Projector and laptop with slides and videos on white supremacy and race
- Printed handouts of Indentured Labor write up
- Printed facilitator notes
- Ball of string

1. WELCOME & OPENING – 5 MIN

Say that today we're going to learn about white supremacy, and focus on slavery and the black-white binary as one key part of white supremacy. White supremacy has brutally dehumanized us and divided us from each other. We are going to look at some hard stuff, but remember that all oppressed people have always resisted. White supremacy can't change the fact that we are each perfect, whole, and complete in our humanity. Our work as racial justice activists is to create a world and a society that reflects and honors that.

2. SKIT – 20 MINS

- Explain that we're going to act out a scene to help us think about how slavery and blackness came to be. We need three volunteer actors for this skit.
- Hand out the scripts to the three volunteers and give them 5 minutes to read and prepare. While they are preparing, ask the group to do a "free write" about what they know about slavery and blackness. Ask them also to think about where they learned what they know.
- When the actors are ready, ask a volunteer to read (slide projected on a screen):
- It's the Virginia colony in the early 17th Century. At this time, African slaves and indentured servants from England still stood on similar ground. They worked side-by-side in terrible conditions. If they broke their contracts, they were equally harshly punished. At the end of their contracts, they were free to leave. Slavery wasn't hereditary, and skin color didn't determine if you were a slave or not – yet. The first Virginia colonists didn't think of themselves as "white"; they saw themselves as Christians, Englishmen, or in terms of social class. But blackness and whiteness would come to determine who was slave and who was free.
- Sam, Richard, and Catherine are escaping the plantation because of the cruel working conditions. Their contracts are not yet up, so if they are caught, they know they'll be punished. They're sitting around a fire, talking.
- Actors (have each actor hold a piece of paper with their character visibly written on it):
  - Sam, indentured servant from England
  - Richard, African slave
  - Catherine, African slave

SKIT SCRIPT

Richard: We have to keep moving. We can't get caught!

Sam: Yeah, I'm never going back to that place. But those plantation owners are looking for us, and they're taking all the land from the Indians. Where can we go?

Catherine: We should go to the Indians. They might take us in…

Sam: Yeah! They hate those rich plantation owners as much as we do!

Richard: That's a great idea. I just want to plant and grow food and raise a family in peace.

Sam: Yeah, and if the Indians wanna fight to get their land back, I'll join 'em!

Richard: Hxey… I heard something about courts starting to punish us differently from you guys from England. They're trying to divide us, keep us from rebelling together. They're even talking about punishing us Africans for running away by making us slaves FOR LIFE. But giving you guys some land and other privileges…

Catherine: And I heard them talking about changing the law so our children will be BORN slaves. I know women who've been raped by their masters. How could they do that to us, and then punish our children?

Sam: That's crazy! They can't do that! That's terrible. We're in the same situation, and they treat us like animals. We have to fight back together! …But, um… maybe I should head back. I mean, if what you're saying is true, they'll punish me, but maybe eventually I can get my own land and be okay…



Debrief: (see slides)

- This is obviously simplified, but what did you notice about this story?
- Did it make you think about anything that's happening now?
- Can you think of a time when you were in Sam's situation?
  - Say: In the early-to-mid-17th Century in Virginia, the racial categories of black and white didn't exist yet, and European and African servants rebelled and ran away together. People's identities were mostly defined by their religion or class status (nobility, aristocracy, artisan, servant). Indentured Europeans didn't have the kind of privileges that they would have after the slave status of Black people became hereditary. Starting in the 17th Century, through a series of laws in Virginia that later spread throughout the colonies, race slavery came to replace indentured servitude. Slave owners passed these laws, called slave codes, because they were stressed out by attacks by indigenous people who were defending their territory against settlers, and by the fear of a class uprising by European and African indentured servants.

Define chattel slavery (show slide): the treatment of enslaved people as the chattel (personal property) of the owner, to be bought and sold as commodities. In America, this was why the racial categories of black and white were created, to justify the treatment of Black people as property.

- Say that in contrast, at the end of their contracts, indentured Europeans were given freedom and privileges like land and guns. The shift from indentured workers to chattel slavery was cheaper and seen as a way to control labor unrest. Over centuries it would create lasting and brutal forms of exclusion through cultural, political, and economic structures targeting Black people specifically, but affecting life for all Americans. The most damaging thing about the construction of race lies in how it shapes the way we see ourselves and each other. Here's a quote that illustrates how that works in white identity:

  "The two great divisions of society are not the rich and the poor, but white and black, and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper class, and are respected and treated as equals."

  – U.S. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, 1849

3. GALLERY WALK – 20 MIN

Ask people to take 15 min to walk around and look at the images on the walls. Let them know there are many, many other examples; these are just a few examples of whiteness, slavery, settler colonialism, and imperialism.

Brief discussion - 5 min:

- What did you notice about the images? Did anything surprise you?
- How has slavery affected Black people?
- How has the dehumanization of Asians served the interests of the U.S. nation-state? What about the dehumanization of Indigenous people?

4. RACE & WHITE SUPREMACY – 40 MIN

Materials: Video and projector

Slideshow presentation – 20 min

Discussion – 20 min

- Are there any questions? Does this make sense to you?
- What examples can you think of today for each leg of the stool – slavery, genocide, and war? Who does the example affect? Who does it benefit? Who does it harm?

5.THE STRUCTURE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS: WHAT HAPPENED AFTER SLAVERY? – 60 MIN

- Explain that now we will look more closely at the enduring structure of anti-blackness.

CRIMINALIZATION: CONVICT LEASING, BLACK CODES, VAGRANCY STATUTES

We're going to start with criminalization, looking at what happened to Black people right after slavery ended.

- Select 2-3 short videos to watch as a full group (10 min):
  - http://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/black-codes/
  - http://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/convict-leasing/
  - http://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/classrooms/civics-social-justice/

Discussion - 10 min

- How did these historical acts maintain control over Black people after slavery?
- How does this relate to the criminal justice system today? Who gets seen as criminal?

Incarceration rates - 5 min

[Show slides] Share information on criminalization[1]. It's important to realize that the idea of Black people as criminals is used to justify increased policing and incarceration ***and*** that these systems affect people across race. In fact, Blacks continue to be disproportionately represented in the prison system, even though rates of incarceration for Black people, both men and women, are declining. Incarceration rates for whites are increasing. Incarceration rates are rising especially for white and Hispanic women.

WHAT DO ASIANS HAVE TO DO WITH SLAVERY? INDENTURED LABOR[2]

- [Show slides] Now let's look at another example of the structure of anti-blackness, in labor exploitation. Optional video: https://youtu.be/ROT69WD767g (0:22 - 3:07)
- Ask for volunteers to read from the handout below, out loud (15 min, one person per paragraph).

Migrant Worker Exploitation Then

- The "coolie trade" refers to the importation of Asian contract laborers (especially Chinese and Indians) under force or deception during the 19th century. It emerged during the gradual abolition of slavery in the early 19th century, and coolies were exploited as substitutes for slave labor.
- Many of the Chinese exported from China during the 1850s and 1860s were either tricked into signing contracts to be coolie laborers or kidnapped and forced into the coolie trade against their will. Most went to labor as slave replacements in Peru or the southern United States. The rise in the Chinese coolie labor trade of the 1850s-1880s was inextricably linked to the increasing demand for cheap labor in the wake of anti-slavery legislation in the United States. With newly established U.S. trade relations with China, U.S. merchants were able to access and profit from one of the largest pools of labor on the planet.
- From 1834 to the end of the WWI, Britain transported about 2 million Indian indentured workers to 19 colonies including Fiji, Mauritius, Ceylon, Trinidad, Guyana, Malaysia, Uganda, Kenya and South Africa. As a result, today Indo-Caribbeans form a majority in Guyana, a plurality in Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname, and a substantial minority in Jamaica, Grenada, Barbados, and other Caribbean islands. While Indian coolies were mainly transported inside British colonies, 250,000 to 500,000 Chinese coolies were imported from 1847-1874 to various British, French, Dutch and Spanish colonies in the Americas, Africa and Southeast Asia. Conditions on the ships were similar to those on slave ships. Coolies lacked sufficient food and medical care, worked long hours, and suffered physical torture. They worked on sugar, cotton and tea plantations, as well as rail construction projects.
- In an interview he gave to ***Fiji Sun***, Hausildar, an ex-indentured worker remembered: "We were whipped for small mistakes. If you woke up late, i.e. later than 3am, you got whipped. No matter what happened, whether there was rain or thunder you had to work - we were here to work and work we had to do, otherwise we were abused and beaten up."

1 http://sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/The-Changing-Racial-Dynamics-of-Womens-Incarceration.pdf
2 https://cla.umn.edu/ihrc/news-events/other/coolie-trade-19th-century, http://www.striking-women.org/module/map-major-south-asian-migration-flows/indentured-labour-south-asia-1834-1917

Migrant Worker Exploitation Now[3]

In 21st century America, slavery remains woven into the fabric of our daily lives. On any given day, the tomatoes in the sandwiches we eat or the oranges in the juice we drink may have been picked by workers in involuntary servitude. Captive workers are held against their will by their employers through threats and, all too often, the actual use of violence.

[See slides on guestworkers] Led by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, here are a few recent cases of slavery prosecutions in the agricultural industry in the U.S. South.

More examples if needed:

- U.S. vs. Flores: In 1997, Miguel Flores and Sebastian Gomez were convicted of slavery, extortion, firearms and other charges. Flores and Gomez had a workforce of over 400 men and women in Florida and South Carolina, harvesting vegetables and citrus. The workers, mostly indigenous Mexicans and Guatemalans, were forced to work 10-12 hour days, 6 days per week, for as little as $20 per week, under the constant watch of armed guards. Those who attempted escape were assaulted, pistol-whipped, and even shot.
- U.S. vs. Ronald Evans: In 2007, Ron Evans was convicted of drug conspiracy, financial re-structuring, and witness tampering charges, among others. Operating in Florida and North Carolina, Evans recruited homeless people from shelters across the Southeast with promises of good jobs and housing. At Palatka, FL and Newton Grove, NC area labor camps, Evans deducted rent, food, crack cocaine and alcohol from workers' pay, holding them "perpetually indebted" in what the DOJ called "a form of servitude morally and legally reprehensible." Evans worked for grower Frank Johns, who was 2004 Chairman of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, the powerful lobbying arm of the Florida agricultural industry.
- US vs. Bontemps: In July 2010, Cabioch Bontemps, Carline Ceneus, and Willy Edouard were indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy to commit forced labor. DOJ officials accuse the three of holding over 50 guestworkers from Haiti against their will in the bean fields of Alachua County, Florida. Bontemps allegedly raped one of the workers and threatened her if she were to report it. The employers held the workers' passports and visas, and forced them to work in fields recently sprayed with harsh pesticides, causing permanent scarring. The DOJ dropped the charges in January 2012.

Discussion - 15 min

- Remember that the logic of slavery says that Black people do not own their own bodies and labor, which are instead someone else's property to be used for profit. How did that logic of slavery affect Asians in the coolie trade as slavery was ending?
- Who is being affected today by the dehumanizing thinking behind slavery, the belief that some people should be hyper-exploited for their labor, for someone else's profit?
- Can you think of other examples of this?

Wrap Up - 5 min

- Lani Guinier and other Black scholars have compared Black people to canaries in a coalmine. Miners used to carry caged canaries down into the mineshafts. If dangerous

3 Coalition of Immokalee Workers

gases like carbon monoxide killed the canary, it would be a warning to leave the tunnels immediately. What happens to Black people is a warning of what can happen to any person in the brutal structure of white supremacy, and it is that whole structure that must change. #BlackLivesMatter co-founder Alicia Garza writes [show slide]:

- "#BlackLivesMatter doesn't mean your life isn't important – it means that Black lives, which are seen as without value within White supremacy, are important to your liberation. Given the disproportionate impact state violence has on Black lives, we understand that when Black people in this country get free, the benefits will be wide reaching and transformative for society as a whole. When we are able to end hyper-criminalization and sexualization of Black people and end the poverty, control, and surveillance of Black people, every single person in this world has a better shot at getting and staying free. When Black people get free, everybody gets free. This is why we call on Black people and our allies to take up the call that Black lives matter. We're not saying Black lives are more important than other lives, or that other lives are not criminalized and oppressed in various ways. We remain in active solidarity with all oppressed people who are fighting for their liberation and we know that our destinies are intertwined."[4]

Teaching points:

The system of slavery was designed to control Black people specifically. But it affected white elites who profited, indentured white servants who earned certain privileges but still ended up subservient to white elites, Asian "coolies" were brought in as slavery was ending to replace free Black labor, and Indigenous peoples who lost their land and lives to make way for a slave economy. Likewise, its legacy now is affecting people in the prison system and in low-wage labor. This is what we mean by the structure of anti-blackness.

CLOSE OUT: WEB OF SOLIDARITY[5] – 15 MIN

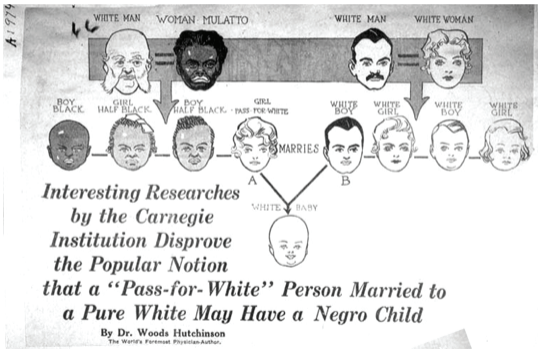
Do a 5-minute energizer exercise.

- Ask everyone to form a circle. Remind the group that we started the day saying that even though white supremacy has brutally dehumanized us and divided us from each other, we are all perfect, whole, and complete in our humanity. We each depend on one another. We're going to close with building a "web of solidarity" to express our appreciation for each other, and to show our commitment to building a strong racial justice movement together.
- Pick up the ball of string. Start by holding onto the end of the string and throwing the ball of string to another person. Say one thing that you appreciate about that person. They should then hold the piece of string, and throw the ball of string to another person in the group, repeating the process. Repeat until everyone in the group has received the ball of string.
- As you finish, ask everyone to look at the web they created. Explain that it represents all of the connections that make us strong together. The strength of the web depends on all of us. We can't let go of anyone.

4 http://www.thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/
5 BRIDGE: A Popular Education Resource for Immigrant & Refugee Organizers, National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights

1. WE ARE PERFECT, WHOLE, COMPLETE

MAKING RACE AND BLACKNESS IN AMERICA



SKIT: RACE IN THE VIRGINIA COLONY

It's the Virginia colony in the early 17th Century. At this time, African slaves and indentured servants from England still stood on similar ground. They worked side-by-side in terrible conditions. If they broke their contracts, they were equally harshly punished. At the end of their contracts, they were free to leave. Slavery wasn't hereditary, and skin color didn't determine if you were a slave or not – yet. The first Virginia colonists didn't think of themselves as "white"; they saw themselves as Christians, Englishmen, or in terms of social class. But blackness and whiteness would come to determine who was slave and who was free.

Sam, Richard, and Catherine are escaping the plantation because of the cruel working conditions. Their contracts are not yet up, so if they are caught, they know they'll be punished. They're sitting around a fire, talking.

Actors:
- Sam, indentured servant from England
- Richard, enslaved African man
- Catherine, enslaved African woman

DEBRIEF THE SKIT

- This is obviously simplified, but what did you notice about this story?
- Did it make you think about anything that's happening now?
- Can you think of a time when you were in a situation similar to any of the characters in this skit?

DEFINITION: CHATTEL SLAVERY

- The treatment of enslaved people as the chattel (personal property) of the owner, to be bought and sold as commodities.
- In the United States, the racial categories of "black" and "white" were created to justify the treatment of Black people as property and to exploit their bodies and labor for profit.

QUOTE: ON WHITENESS

"...the two great divisions of society are not the rich and poor, but white and black; and all the former, the poor as well as the rich, belong to the upper class, and are respected and treated as equals, if honest and industrious; and hence have a position and pride of character of which neither poverty nor misfortune can deprive them."

— U.S. SENATOR JOHN C. CALHOUN OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1849

GALLERY WALK SLIDES

Print and place on walls:

- What is this thing called white?
- Slavery and blackness
- Settler colonialism
- Imperialism and war

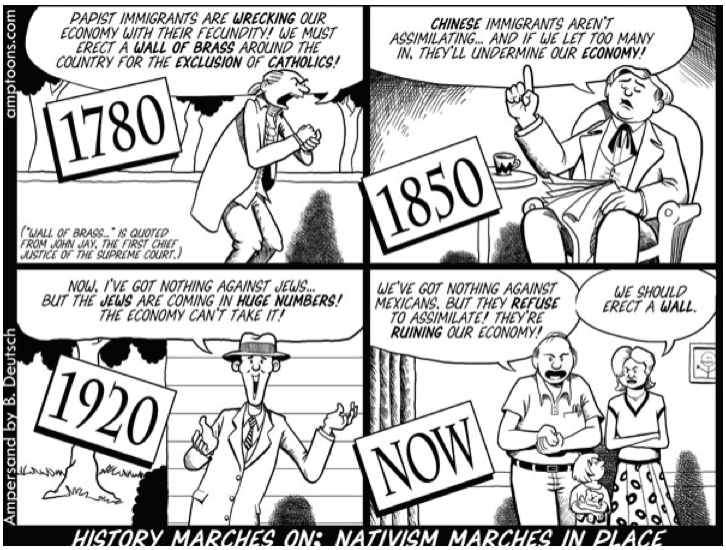


The critical examination of whiteness... involves the effort to break through the illusion that whiteness is natural, biological, normal, and not crying out for explanation.

— DAVID ROEDIGER



"Uncle Sam's Lodging House," from 1882, was produced by Everett (last name unknown), a caricature artist. See more at: https://news.virginia.edu/content/first-year-uva-seminar-probes-shifting-identity-whiteness-america#sthash.u5pDGXZN.dpuf



This Thing Called White

The term white emerged as a classification of people during the 1700s in the British colonies of North America. Europeans were immigrating to "the New World" for many reasons, some seeking prosperity while many people were escaping persecution, particularly religious and ethnic conflict. As Europeans arrived in America, groups such as Germans, Dutch, English, French etc. were brought into close proximity, most of them for the first time.

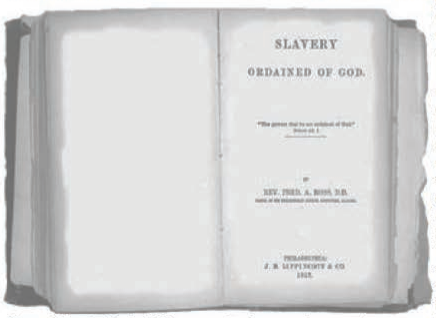
In the colonies, the European settlers in power were under considerable stress, attempting to maintain control of their African Slaves and their white indentured servants, while trying to protect themselves from the perceived threat from Native Americans. At this time, poor white indentured servants were building alliances and relationships with African slaves due to their similar state of oppression.

"Whiteness is a constantly shifting boundary separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being white."

The term white was defined as anyone without a drop on African or Indian blood. The category white was created as a political construct that was used as an organizing tool to unite Europeans in order to consolidate strength, increasing their ability to maintain control and dominance over the Native Americans and African slaves, which in many places outnumbered Europeans. "Whiteness is a constantly shifting boundary separating those who are entitled to have certain privileges from those whose exploitation and vulnerability to violence is justified by their not being white."[16]

Religion and Race

During the reformation (16th Century [1500s] & 17th Century [1600s]), a key question among Christian religious hierarchy was whether Blacks and "Indians" had souls and/or were human. In this time period, Europeans were exposed more frequently to Africans and the indigenous people of North and South America, and the church vacillated between opinions. The Catholic and the Protestant churches arrived at different answers to the question at different times, which created significant differences between the two systems of slavery. The Catholic Church was the first to admit Blacks and Indians had souls, which meant in many Catholic colonies it was against the law to kill a slave without reason. The Protestant-Calvinist Church wanted to separate and distinguish themselves from Catholicism, and therefore was much slower in recognizing the humanity of Africans and Indians.


SLAVERY
ORDAINED OF GOD.

Slavery Ordained of God – 1857 – an example of many articles using religion to justify slavery

With the increasing importance of slavery, religion was used as a means to justify racist divisions, classifying people of color as 'pagan and soulless'. However, "As substantial numbers of people of color were converted to Christianity, and as religion itself lost much of its power as a legitimizing agent, justifications for the brutality of slavery changed." The slave-based economy in the south necessitated a racist exploitative system, which led to the development of biological, zoological and botanical theories to 'explain human difference and to justify slavery.'[1]

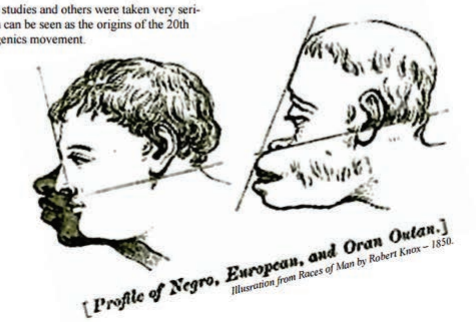
MEDICINE

In 1850, Robert Knox in The Races of Man: A Fragment took popular prejudices and formed them into "scientific conviction" that race and intelligence are linked and hereditary. Robert Knox was a famous English anatomist. Knox concluded that people of color were intellectually inferior, not because of brain size but rather because of brain texture and lack of nerve endings. Later it was found that his conclusion was based on the autopsy of only one man of color.

Knox's studies and others were taken very seriously, which can be seen as the origins of the 20th Century Eugenics movement.

The Races of Man: a Fragment. By Robert Knox

All we know is that since the beginning of history, the dark races have been the slaves of those lighter skinned. What is that due to? 'I feel disposed to think that there must be a physical and consequentially, a psychological inferiority in the dark races generally.' This is perhaps not due to lack of size in the brain but rather a lack of quality in it.[1]



[Profile of Negro, European, and Oran Outan.]
Illustration from Races of Man by Robert Knox – 1850.

SCIENCE AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR RACISM:

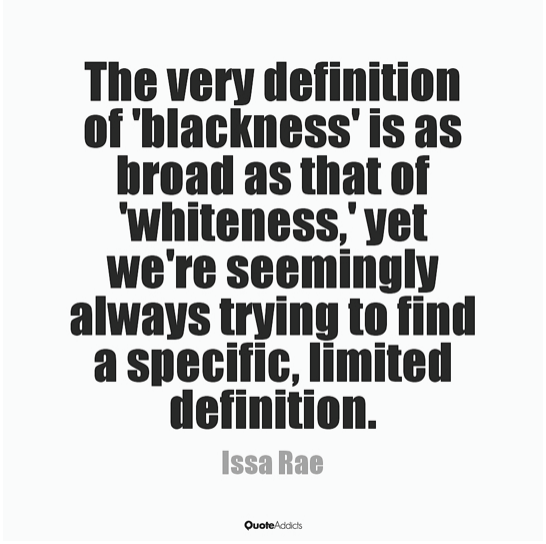
During the 19th century, Darwin published On the Origin of the Species (1859), his book documenting the process of evolution. Darwin believed in a natural order to the development of species; the weak die off and the strong survive. Although evolutionary theory is not racist, philosophers and social scientists, used Darwin's theory in pseudo-scientific ways to justify genocide and racism. This thinking was later called "Social Darwinism" and had brutal implications.

In 1838 JC Prichard, a famous anthropologist, lectured on the "Extinction of Human Races" He said it was obvious that "the savage races" could not be saved. It was the law of nature.[3]

In 1864, W. Winwood Reade, an esteemed member of both London's geographical and anthropological societies published his book called Savage Africa. He ended the book with a prediction on the future of the black race.

"England and France will rule Africa. Africans will dig the ditches and water the deserts. It will be hard work and the Africans will probably become extinct. "We must learn to look at the result with composure. It illustrates the beneficent law of nature, that the weak must be devoured by the strong." [4]

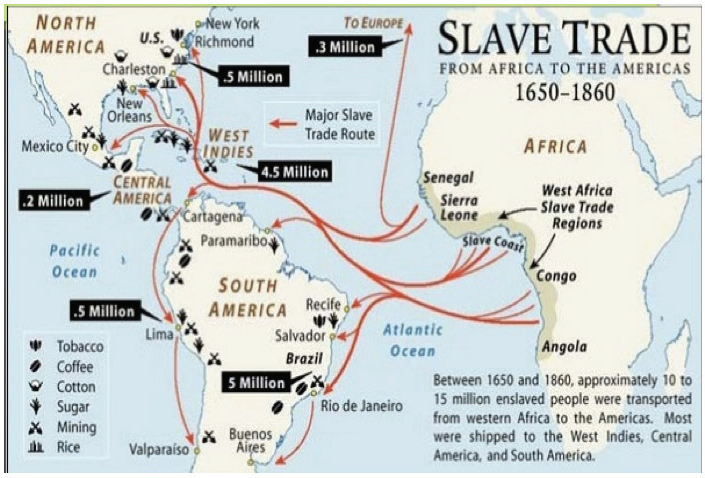
It should be noted that there were many examples of this type of thinking. Prichard and Reade were all highly regarded thinkers. Around the world, native peoples in Africa, Asia and the Americas were dying and disappearing. The predominant scholars didn't think this was due to the unlawful seizure of land, which undermined their lives, culture and means of survival, while spreading disease and death. This genocide was "justified" by the laws of nature, i.e. survival of the fittest. European and European American colonization of native land throughout the world in this period created the very real consequence of extermination. This provided motivation for allegedly "scientific research", which in turn provided exterminators with an alibi by declaring the extermination naturally inevitable.[5]



SLAVERY AND BLACKNESS

"In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties... or you would not have that other class which leads progress... Our slaves are black, of another and inferior race... Our slaves do not vote. We give them no political power."

– U.S. SENATOR JAMES HENRY HAMMOND, 1858, "COTTON IS KING" SPEECH



THE VIRGINIA SLAVE CODES OF 1705

"All servants imported and brought into the Country... who were not Christians in their native Country... shall be accounted and be slaves. All Negro, mulatto and Indian slaves within this dominion... shall be held to be real estate. If any slave resist his master... correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction... the master shall be free of all punishment... as if such accident never happened."

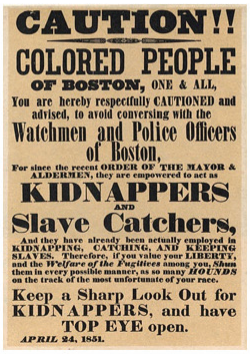
The Virginia Slave Code served as a model for other colonies. It said that slaves could not leave the plantation without permission; slaves found guilty of murder or rape would be hanged; for robbing or any other major offense the slave would receive 60lashes and be placed in stocks where his or her ears would be cut off; and that for minor offenses like associating with whites, slaves would be whipped, branded, or maimed. A slave owner seeking to break the most rebellious slaves could now do so knowing any punishment he inflicted, including death, would not result in even the slightest reprimand.

This law was created to establish a greater level of control over the slave population and served to segregate whites from Blacks, making them distinct groups and preventing them from uniting, a huge fear among the Virginia aristocracy.

GILDER LEHRMAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, WIKIPEDIA

FUGITIVE SLAVE CLAUSE, 1787

The Founding Fathers were careful not to use the word "slave" or "slavery" in the U.S. Constitution, but included a fugitive slave clause requiring the return of runaway slaves to their owners. Slave patrols began in South Carolina in 1704 and spread throughout the colonies. Congress passed additional Fugitive Slave Laws in 1793 and 1850.



CAUTION!!

COLORED PEOPLE

OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,

You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the

Watchmen and Police Officers of Boston,

For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR & ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as

KIDNAPPERS AND Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the Welfare of the Fugitives among you, Shun them in every possible manner, as so many HOUNDS on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for KIDNAPPERS, and have TOP EYE open.

APRIL 24, 1851.



A slave named Peter, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, April 2, 1863. Photo courtesy the National Archives / Getty Images.

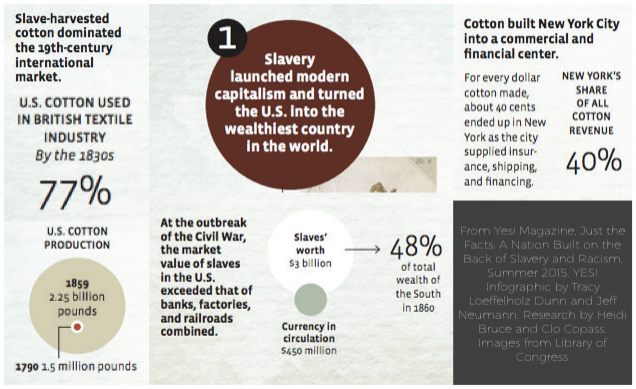
"The slaves are terribly lacerated with whips, paddles, etc.; red pepper and salt are rubbed into their mangled flesh; hot brine and turpentine are poured into their gashes; and innumerable other tortures inflicted upon them."

AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS, THEODORE WELD. AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 1839.



CONVICT LEASING The southern economy relied on intense physical labor to harvest cash crops like cotton. After slavery ended, white planters had a labor shortage, and passed Black Codes restricting Black people's rights to own property, conduct business, buy or lease land, and move freely through public spaces. Nine southern states updated their vagrancy laws in 1865–1866. Of these, eight allowed convict leasing, a system where state prisons hire out convicts for labor. This created incentives to arrest Black men, and supply them as convicts to local governments and planters as workers. This was the precursor to today's massive prison system.

SLAVERY BUILT THE U.S. ECONOMY



BLACK LIFE AFTER SLAVERY





From 1834 to the end of the WWI, Britain transported about 2 million Indian indentured workers to 19 colonies including Fiji, Mauritius, Ceylon, Trinidad, Guyana, Malaysia, Uganda, Kenya and South Africa. Conditions on the ships were similar to those on slave ships. – Striking Women

BRACERO PROGRAM: 1942

1942, in response to claims of a wartime labor shortage by many growers, the United States establishes the Bracero Program, which brings Mexican farm laborers to work on, short-term, primarily agricultural labor contracts. This coincides with crop shortages and job scarcity in Mexico. From 1942 to 1964, 4.6 million contracts are signed, making it the largest U.S. contract labor program. Despite regulations, workers face exploitation and extreme racial hostility.

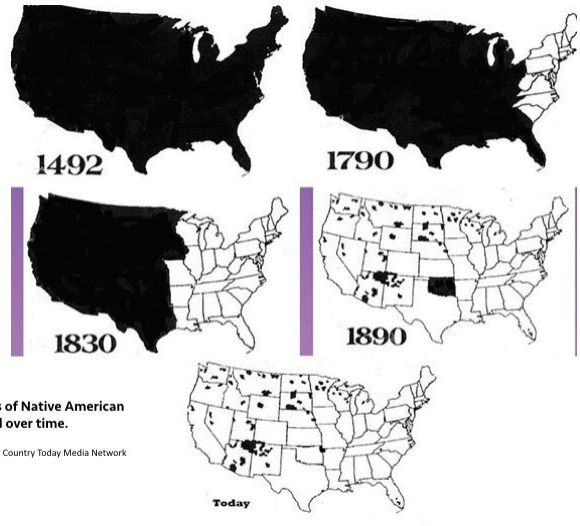


On arrival, U.S. officials took Braceros to processing centers, searched them for weapons, marijuana or other contraband, and sprayed them with DDT, a dangerous insecticide that is now banned. The photographer, Leonard Nadel, captioned this photograph: "Much in the same manner and feeling used in handling livestock, upon crossing over the bridge from Mexico at Hidalgo, Texas, the men are herded into groups of 100 through a makeshift booth sprayed with DDT." Leonard Nadel, 1956, National Museum of American History.

SETTLER COLONIALISM

"The objective of settler colonialism is always the acquisition of indigenous territories and resources, which means the native must be eliminated. This can be accomplished in overt ways including biological warfare and military domination but also in more subtle ways; for example, through national policies of assimilation."

- DINA GILIO-WHITAKER, COLVILLE CONFEDERATED TRIBES



Loss of Native American land over time.

Indian Country Today Media Network

TRAIL OF TEARS: 1830-1850

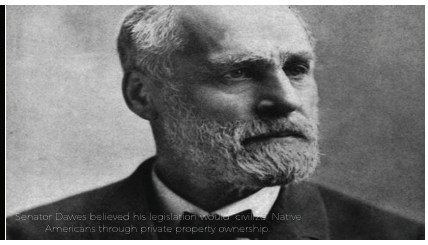


A series of forced relocations of
nations following passage of the
of 1830.

Native Americans on the Trail of
exposure, disease, and starvation
died before reaching their dest

The removal included member
Muscogee, Seminole, Chickasaw
nations from their ancestral hor
Southeastern United States to a
Mississippi River that that U.S. g
as Indian Territory. The phrase "T
from a description of the remov
Nation in 1831.





Senator Dawes believed his legislation would "civilize" Native Americans through private property ownership.

THE DAWES ACT: 1887

Authorizes the President of the United States to divide Native American tribal lands into plots for individual Native Americans, and to sell "excess" land to white settlers. Between 1888 and 1934, about 90 million acres of land were transferred from Native American tribes to non-Native people.



A delegation of Arapaho and Cheyenne leaders met with the U.S. military on Sept. 28, 1864, at Camp Weld, Colo., to seek peace on the plains east of Denver, almost two months before the Sand Creek Massacre. Denver Public Library, Western History Collection.

SAND CREEK MASSACRE: 1864

1864, John Chivington leads an unprovoked attack by 700 men of the Colorado Cavalry on displaced and incarcerated Cheyennes and Arapahos at the U.S. military reservation of Sand Creek, killing and mutilating 105 women and children and 28 men, and taking their body parts as trophies.



Student body assembled on the Carlisle Indian School Grounds. Photo courtesy of Carlisle-www.army.mil

CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL: 1879

1879, Carlisle Indian Industrial School established by Captain Richard Henry Pratt in Pennsylvania. It would become the model for other off-reservation boarding schools that brutally punished Indigenous children for speaking their languages or practicing their religions, creating generations of traumatized people.



Chief Big Foot (Spotted Elk) lies lifeless in the snow near Wounded Knee Creek following the Wounded Knee Massacre on December 29, 1890. Indian Country Today Media Network

WOUNDED KNEE, 1890

Wounded Knee Massacre, in which U.S. troops surround Chief Spotted Elk (Big Foot) and some 350 unarmed, starving Minneconjou Sioux refugees on the banks of Wounded Knee Creek. General Nelson A. Miles commands troops to apprehend Big Foot and his followers. In the gunfire that ensues, 300 Lakota are massacred, and 20 soldiers are killed by "friendly fire".



Arthur Vivian Watkins (December 18, 1886 – September 1, 1973) was a Republican U.S. Senator from Utah between 1947 and 1959. He was the major proponent of terminating federal recognition of American Indian tribes.

TERMINATION ERA BEGINS, 1953

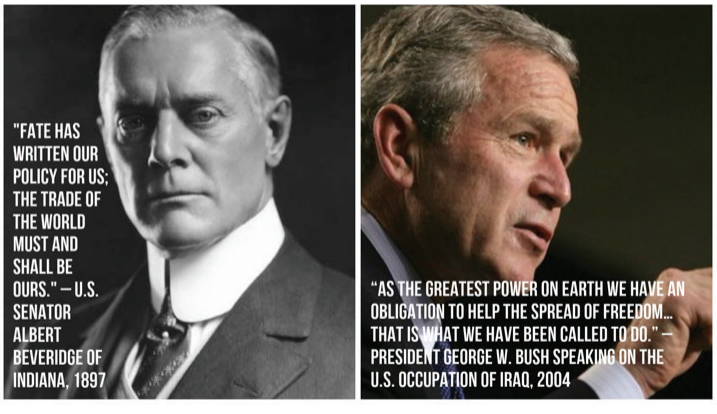
Congress adopts a policy of tribal termination. By 1964, 109 tribes are terminated and federal responsibility and jurisdiction are turned over to state governments. Some 2.5 million acres of trust land is removed from protected status. Lands are sold to non-Indians and tribes lose federal recognition by the U.S. government. Since termination ended, 78 tribes have been recognized again by the U.S. government; 24 tribes are now considered extinct; 10 have state but not federal recognition; and 31 are landless.

HTTP://NATIVEAMERICANNETROOTS.NET/

IMPERIALISM AND WAR







US Soldiers pose with Filipino Moro dead after the First Battle of Bud Dajo, March 7, 1906, Jolo, Philippines. Wikimedia Commons



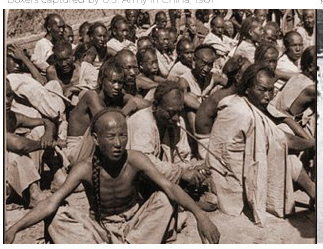


PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR, 1898

"...of the six hundred Moros not one was left alive... The enemy numbered six hundred-including women and children-and we abolished them utterly, leaving not even a baby alive to cry for its dead mother. This is incomparably the greatest victory that was ever achieved by the Christian soldiers of the United States."

- MARK TWAIN

Boxers captured by U.S. Army in China, 1901



1911-1941: The US builds up its military presence in the country to a force of 5000 troops and a fleet of 44 vessels patrolling China's coast and rivers.



U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN CHINA: 1894-1949

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, emboldened by the Philippine-American War and seeking new markets beyond its borders, the United States increased its presence in Asia. It forced an "Open Door" policy that allowed it unfettered trade with China, competing with other nations from Europe vying for control over China.





U.S. BOMBING OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI, 1945

On August 6, 1945, during World War II, an American B-29 bomber dropped the world's first deployed atomic bomb over Hiroshima in Japan. The explosion wiped out 90% of the city and immediately killed 80,000 people; tens of thousands more would later die of radiation exposure. U.S. intelligence agencies were fully aware of Japan's search for ways to honorably surrender months before President Truman gave the fateful order to incinerate Hiroshima. A second atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki three days later.





COLD WAR INTERVENTIONS: 1950S

1950: America enters into the Korean War when the North Korean army invades South Korea. The U.S. had been occupying the South, while the USSR occupied the North. The millions of people who died included 2 million Korean civilians killed through bombings, massacres, and other forms of violence.

1953: The CIA overthrows democratically elected Prime Minister of Iran, Mohammad Mosaddeghin, citing the threat of communism, and gaining a share in Iran's oil production for U.S. companies.



THE AMERICAN WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: 1960-1975

During the Vietnam War, in transmitting President Richard Nixon's orders for a "massive" bombing of Cambodia in 1969, Henry Kissinger said, "Anything that flies on everything that moves". Between 1965 and 1973, the U.S. dropped 2.7 million tons of explosives on Cambodia. From 1964 to 1973, it dropped more than 2 million tons of ordnance on Laos. In total, the tonnage of U.S. bombs over Southeast Asia was three times more than all bombs dropped during WWII.





1990-1991 PERSIAN GULF WAR

Fearing the loss of control over oil in the Middle East after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, U.S. and allied forces attacked Iraq. Some estimate up to 35,000 Iraqi solders were killed, compared to 146 U.S. soldiers. Afterward, President George H. Bush said before the corporate-funded American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all." Between 1990 and 1997, there were over 30 U.S. military interventions.



A man watches a U.S. border patrol helicopter from a fence at the border between Mexico and the United States, in Ciudad Juarez March 8, 2012. Picture taken March 8, 2012. REUTERS/JOSE LUIS GONZALEZ

1965 IMMIGRATION ACT

1965 The Hart-Celler Act, intended to purge racial restrictions in immigration law, particularly against Asians, Africans, and southern and eastern Europeans, abolishes the national origins quota system and replaces it with a new system that prioritizes family reunification and professional migration. It leads to a dramatic rise in authorized immigrants from Asia, but also dramatically increases unauthorized immigration from Latin America, since previously there had been no numerical limits on immigration in the western Hemisphere, including Mexico, Latin America or the Caribbean.



2000S: THE WAR ON TERROR

After the al-Qaeda attack on the World Trade Center on Sept. 11, 2001, President George W. Bush declared: "Our 'war on terror' begins with al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated." The list of countries that the U.S. has bombed, invaded, or occupied since then include Afghanistan, the Philippines, Somalia, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, and Yemen. So far the War on Terror has cost U.S. taxpayers $1.7 trillion.



THE DEHUMANIZATION OF ASIANS IN U.S. MEDIA & CULTURE: A FEW EXAMPLES

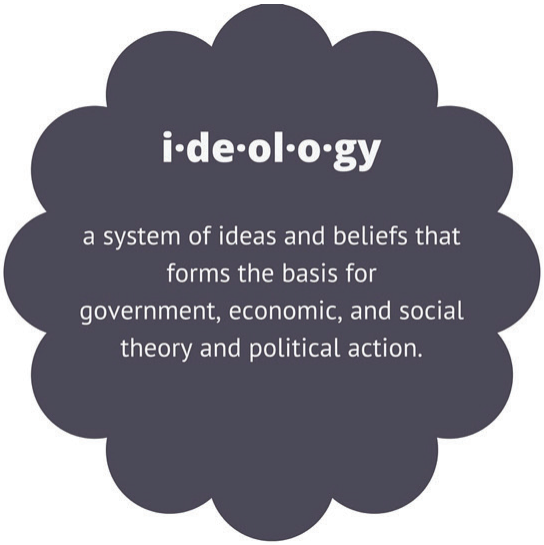
DEBRIEF GALLERY WALK

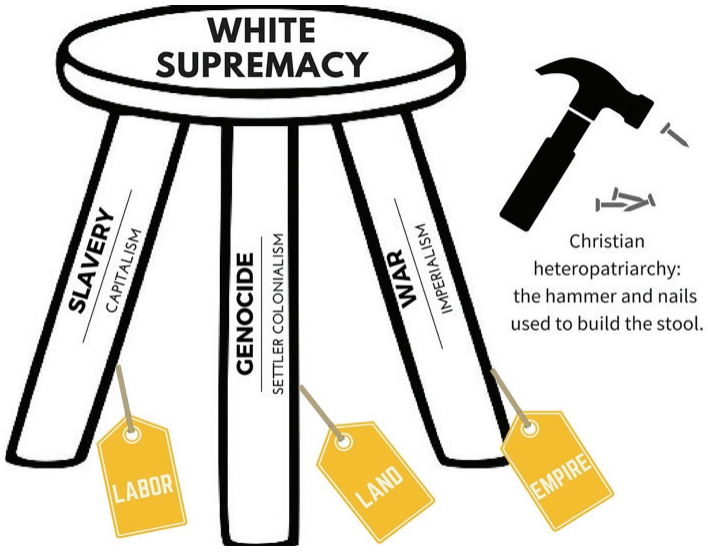
- **What did you notice about the images? Did anything surprise you?**
- **How has slavery affected Black people over time? Whose interests did it serve?**
- **How has the dehumanization of Asians served the interests of the U.S. nation-state?**
- **What about the dehumanization of Indigenous people?**

PRESENTATION: RACE & WHITE SUPREMACY

Key concepts:

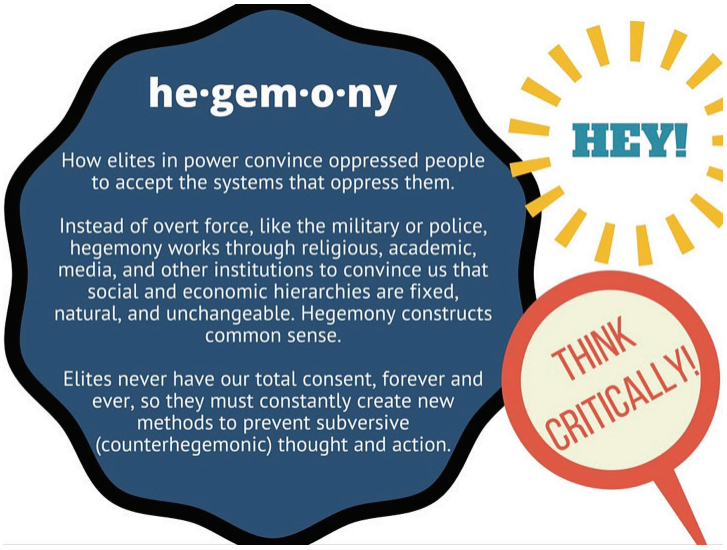
- Ideology
- Hegemony
- White supremacy
- Heteropatriarchy
- American Dream
- Race
- Racism





Hetero | patriarchy:

- ✓ the logic of male domination enforced and normalized through coercion and violence
- ✓ relies on a male/female gender binary
- ✓ imposes heterosexual ("straight") relationships as the basis for families and society
- ✓ a strategy for social, political, and economic control
- ✓ makes hierarchies in capitalism (owner/worker), settler colonialism (settler/indigenous), and imperialism (nation/enemy) appear natural



DEFINITION: WHAT IS RACE?

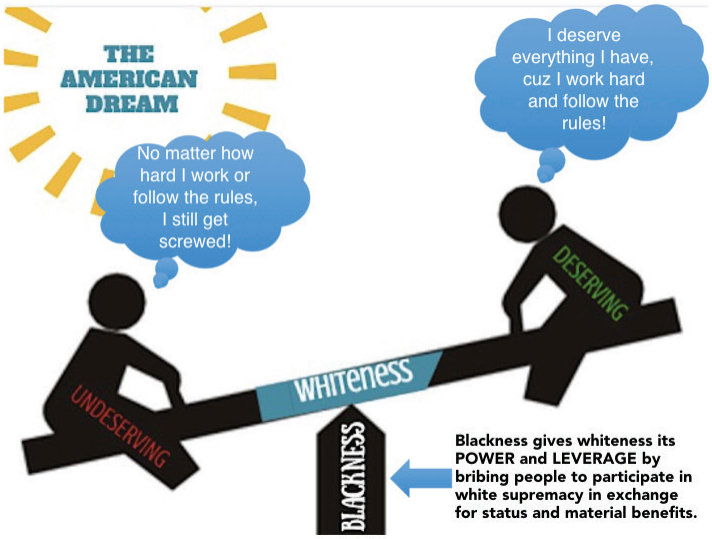
- The outcome of political strategies by European elites to build and maintain wealth and power during the formation of the United States
- A mythology that sorts humanity into false categories to explain who is deserving v. undeserving of freedom, prosperity, and rights, that was used to justify slavery, which drove settler colonialism and imperialism
- A strategy to "resolve" the contradiction between slavery/capitalism (freedom for some) and democracy (freedom for all) by saying certain people's freedom requires other people's enslavement, while making the division between free/slave seem "natural"
- A changing set of boundaries that intersect with dominant norms of gender, class, sexuality, ability, nationality, religion, and other kinds of identities to build and maintain wealth and power for a few, at the expense of the many

DEFINITION: WHAT IS RACISM?

"Racism, specifically, is the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death."

"Capitalism requires inequality and racism enshrines it."

— RUTH W.GILMORE, AUTHOR OF GOLDEN GULAG: PRISONS, SURPLUS, CRISIS, AND OPPOSITION IN GLOBALIZING CALIFORNIA



QUESTIONS:

- **Any questions? Does this make sense to you?**
- **What current examples can you think of for how the people in power today get control of land, labor, and resources?**

THE STRUCTURE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS

Watch these short videos to learn what happened after slavery.

- http://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/black-codes/
- http://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/convict-leasing/
- http://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/classrooms/civics-social-justice/

DISCUSSION

- How did these historical acts maintain control over Black people after slavery ended?
- How does this relate to the criminal justice system today?

SLAVERY'S AFTERLIFE: CRIMINALIZATION

The idea of Black people as criminals has been used to justify increased policing and incarceration, including a massive increase since the '90s. These systems affect Black communities most severely, and also affect people of all races.

Data for Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Native Hawai'ians, and Native Americans are not well collected, and are lumped into the category "Other". What we know:

- 118,100 "Others" in state and federal prisons in 2013
- AAPI prisoner population grew by 250% in the '90s
- 72.6% of "Others" released from state prisons in 2005 arrested for new crime within three years.
- Since 1998, 15,000 Southeast Asians from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam have received final orders of deportation. Southeast Asians are three to four times more likely to be deported for old convictions, compared to other immigrant communities.

WOMEN'S INCARCERATION RATES RISING

Incarceration rates for women overall are rising. Black women are three times more likely to be in prison than white women. However, the white female prison population is growing at a faster rate.

Imprisonment Rates by Gender, Race, and Ethnicity per 100,000: 2000 vs. 2014

		2000	2014	% Change
White	Women	34	53	**56% increase**
	Men	449	465	**4% increase**
African American	Women	205	109	47% decrease
	Men	3,457	2,724	21% decrease
Hispanic	Women	60	64	**7% increase**
	Men	1,220	1,091	11% decrease

Source: *Prisoners Series*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

U.S. GUESTWORKERS: RULES OF THE GAME

1. **Trapped in debt**. Desperate for work, guestworkers plunge their families deep into debt to pay recruitment fees and visa costs, believing recruiters' promises of the American dream.
2. **Lured by false promises**. When they arrive in the U.S., they learn that the promises were false. Instead of green cards, decent work, fair pay, and the American dream, employers subject guestworkers to deplorable living and working conditions.
3. **Live and work under the employer's complete control**. Workers live in labor camps, often on company property. Their movements to and from work are controlled, and they are subjected to surveillance by their employers.
4. **Tied to a single employer**. Guestworkers are bound by law to one boss, and cannot work for anyone else. If they leave that employer for any reason—even to escape exploitation and forced labor—they lose their legal status, and can be arrested and deported.
5. **Face retaliation for organizing**. When workers organize to access their rights, employers retaliate. Workers face termination—and deportation into virtual debt servitude in their home countries.

NATIONAL GUESTWORKER ALLIANCE

SLAVERY'S AFTERLIFE: LABOR EXPLOITATION

U.S. vs. Lee: Michael Lee harvested for orange growers in the Fort Pierce, FL area. In 2001, Lee was convicted of a slavery conspiracy charge. He pled guilty to using crack cocaine, threats, and violence to enslave his workers. Lee held his workers in forced labor, recruiting homeless US citizens for his operation, creating a company store debt through loans for rent, food, cigarettes, and cocaine. He abducted and beat one of his workers to prevent him from leaving his employ.

SLAVERY'S AFTERLIFE: LABOR EXPLOITATION

US vs. Global Horizons: In September 2010, staff of guestworker recruiting giant Global Horizons were charged with operating a forced labor ring in 13 states, including Florida. Global Horizons CEO Mordechai Orian and six others were accused of holding 600 guestworkers from Thailand against their will in what prosecutors called "the largest human trafficking case in US history." FBI Special Agent Tom Simon described the case as "a classic bait-and-switch... They were telling the Thai workers one thing to lure them here. Then when they got here, their passports were taken away and they were held in forced servitude working in these farms."

DISCUSSION

- Remember that the logic of slavery says that Black people do not own their own bodies and labor. They are someone else's property to be used for profit. How did that logic affect Asians in the coolie trade?
- Who is being affected today by the dehumanizing thinking behind slavery, the belief that some people should be hyper-exploited for someone else's profit?
- Can you think of other examples of this?



THE LOGIC OF BLACK LIBERATION

"#BlackLivesMatter doesn't mean your life isn't important – it means that Black lives, which are seen as without value within white supremacy, are important to your liberation. Given the disproportionate impact state violence has on Black lives, we understand that when Black people in this country get free, the benefits will be wide reaching and transformative for society as a whole. When we are able to end hyper-criminalization and sexualization of Black people and end the poverty, control, and surveillance of Black people, every single person in this world has a better shot at getting and staying free. When Black people get free, everybody gets free."

ALICIA GARZA, CO-FOUNDER, #BLACKLIVESMATTER

THE CULTURE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS

TOGETHER WE WIN

Agenda

1. Opening: Challenging Hegemony
   15 min
2. Naming It
   60 min
3. Caste, Colorism, and Colonialism
   25 min
4. Closing: Together We Win, White Supremacy Loses
   20 min

Goals

- Understand how anti-Black ideas serve to perpetuate and normalize structural racism.
- See how anti-blackness divides us and prevents us from building power together.
- Explore where negative ideas about Black people come from in the United States, and in our Asian countries of origin.

Key concepts: Race, blackness, chattel slavery, capitalism, colonialism, white supremacy, colorism, caste, hegemony. Assumes participation in prior workshop: Making Race and Blackness in America.

Time

2 hours (10 people or less)

Materials needed

- Notepads and pens
- Projector and laptop with slides and video.
- Printed article: http://thegrio.com/2015/02/16/food-stamp-fraud-black-welfare-queen-myth/
- Flipchart paper and markers

OPENING: CHALLENGING HEGEMONY – 15 MIN

Welcome the group and explain that today we are going to talk about one aspect of racism: how it requires a constant message throughout society that whiteness is superior, and blackness is a source of harm and danger. We're going to talk honestly about anti-blackness in society, in our families, and in our communities; where those ideas come from; and how they affect all of us.

Ask folks to close their eyes and…

- Think of a Black person in the United States. Where do they live? What is their gender? Their age? Their skin color? What clothes are they're wearing? What kind of body do they have? What is their facial expression? What are they doing?
- Now think about an Asian person. Ask yourself the same questions. Where do they live? What is their gender? Their age? Their skin color? What clothes are they're wearing? What kind of body do they have? What is their facial expression? What are they doing?

Ask the group to open their eyes. In popcorn style, as folks if it was challenging not to think at all about mainstream negative ideas about Black people. Ask if anyone even thought of mainstream negative ideas about Asians. Where do our racial beliefs come from? What influences how we think about race, gender, class, ability, etc.?

Share the definition of **hegemony** (show slide):

- Hegemony is how those in power convince oppressed people to accept the systems that oppress them. Instead of overt force, like the military or police, elites in power use their control of religious, educational and media institutions to convince us that social and economic hierarchies are fixed, natural, and unchangeable. Hegemony creates accepted dominant thinking, or "common sense". Because elites never have our total consent forever and ever, they have to constantly create new methods for preventing subversive (counterhegemonic) thought and action.[1]

Say that hegemony is basically all the ways that white supremacy convinces us to buy into the hierarchies it creates, to believe that they're normal. Because of hegemony, we have to actively work against accepting racial hierarchies as natural and fixed. This is a constant process, and requires us to be compassionate and loving with one another as we work to free ourselves from hegemonic thinking. Throughout this workshop, we ask everyone to support that process by being honest and open, asking questions, and striving to understand one another.

1 Dines, Gail; Humez, Jean. eds., Gender, Race and Class in Media: A Text Reader

NAMING IT – 60 MIN

- Hand out article[2] on the Black welfare queen myth and ask group to take 10 min to read it.
- Have a short discussion:
  - What negative idea about Black people does the article address?
  - Where does the idea of the "welfare queen" come from?
  - What purpose did it serve according to the article?
  - Had you heard of the Southern Strategy before?
- Optional: short 1.5-min video of Lee Atwater interview: https://youtu.be/X_8E3ENrKrQ
- Break up into three groups. Ask each group to take 20 min to discuss the following:
  - What were the first ideas about Black people that you remember hearing/seeing?
  - Where did you first hear it? What effect did it have on you?
  - Do you know where that idea comes from?
  - Have you ever had conversations with people in your family or community to challenge or question their anti-Black stereotypes and beliefs? If so, what was hard about it? Were you able to change their minds?
- Come back to the full group and ask folks to share (flipchart answers, 20 min):
  - What were some of the negative ideas about Black people that you talked about?
  - How did these ideas affect you?
  - Where do these ideas come from? What purpose do they serve? Who do they benefit, and who do they hurt?
  - Were there any lessons learned about talking to our family or community members about anti-Blackness?

CASTE, COLORISM, AND COLONIALISM – 25 MIN

- Say that anti-Blackness is a global phenomenon, because white supremacy is global. Through colonization, ideas about Black people have been exported to various parts of the world from Europe and the United States. Remember that the racial category of "Black" was created to support the logic of slavery, the idea that Black people were property, and that their bodies and labor were to be owned and used for profit. Black as a racial category created a color line between who deserved freedom and who didn't.
- Show slides and ask people to read the following definitions:
  - Colorism: a system of advantage and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one's skin. The practices of colorism tend to favor lighter skin over darker skin as indicated by how closely a person's appearance resembles a white phenotype, including hair texture, eye color, and facial features. Education and income also affect perceptions of who is considered dark or light skinned. Colorism operates both within and across racial and ethnic groups.

2 http://thegrio.com/2015/02/16/food-stamp-fraud-black-welfare-queen-myth

- Caste: a system of color and class in India where high caste people oppress, exploit, and abuse low caste people because of religious rules. There are thousands of castes but the lowest caste is called Dalits and the highest caste is called Brahmins. Dalits in India live at the very bottom of the social and economic system. Dalits and tribal people make up most of the poor in India and are abused, killed, and discriminated against daily.

Discuss:

- How have you seen colorism work in the United States?
- Are there examples of colorism in your ethnic community or country of origin? In other Asian or Asian American communities?
- What is the relationship between colorism and colonialism?
- How does colorism get perpetuated among Asian Americans?

TOGETHER WE WIN, WHITE SUPREMACY LOSES – 20 MIN

- Explain that we live in a time in America when people are increasingly pitted against one another. Give examples specific to your organizing context – e.g., in workplace organizing, immigrant rights work, etc. This makes it harder for all of us to win justice. White supremacy will win as long as we are divided from one another. Separately, we are led to follow our narrow interests and find ourselves fighting just to avoid being the bottom of the power pyramid. It's the pyramid that must change.
- Show slide with Ruth W. Gilmore's definition of racism: "the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death."[3]
- As long as some groups are more vulnerable to violence and death than others, we will never be able to achieve racial justice and realize our full collective humanity. When talking about anti-blackness, it's critical to remember that solidarity is not "me for you" but "we for us."
- Let's finish our work today by breaking up into three groups. Each group should pick one anti-Black idea from the flip chart we made earlier, and create a message that interrupts and changes that idea for a particular Asian American audience (e.g., your parents, queer Filipinx youth, Hmong refugees, etc.). The new message can be a billboard, a meme, a song, a poem, a dance, a tweet, a group action, etc.—something that delivers a fast, strong message to your people—family, friends, community.
- Bring message back to group and share it (sing it, act it out, show drawing, etc.).

3 Credit Dr. Ruth Wilson Gilmore

2. THE CULTURE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS

Together, we win.



SMALL GROUPS

- What were the first ideas about Black people that you remember hearing or seeing?
- Where did you hear it? How did it affect you?
- Where does that idea come from?
- Have you ever talked with people in your family or community about their anti-Black stereotypes and ideas? If so, are there any lessons you can share?

DEFINITION: COLORISM

A system of advantage and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one's skin. The practices of colorism tend to favor lighter skin over darker skin as indicated by how closely a person's appearance resembles a white phenotype, including hair texture, eye color, and facial features. Education and income also affect perceptions of who is considered dark or light skinned. Colorism operates both within and across racial and ethnic groups.

QUOTES ON COLORISM

- "It's unearned... The darker the skin color, the less you are seen in terms of your worth or your value, and even your contribution."

  — SOUTHEAST ASIAN INTERVIEWEE

- "Within most Asian cultures, there's a culture in terms of the whiteness of your skin being deemed more attractive and desirable than less white... Then when you come to the U.S., it very much fits into the Black/white paradigm."

  — EAST ASIAN INTERVIEWEE

- "It's all these layers that complicate things... There's a hierarchy of money, education, family status, color, the national origin. All those things matter."

  — SOUTH ASIAN INTERVIEWEE

SOURCE: LEFT OR RIGHT OF THE COLOR LINE? ASIAN AMERICANS AND THE RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT, CHANGELAB, 2012

DEFINITION: CASTE

A system of color and class in India where high-caste people oppress, exploit, and abuse low-caste people because of religious rules. There are thousands of castes, but the lowest caste is called Dalits, and the highest caste is called Brahmins. Dalits in India live at the very bottom of the social and economic system. Dalits and tribal people make up most of the poor in India and are abused, killed, and discriminated against daily.

DISCUSSION

- How have you seen colorism work?
- Are there examples of colorism in your ethnic community or country of origin? In other Asian or Asian American communities?
- What's the relationship between colorism and colonialism?
- How does colorism get perpetuated?

COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM, AND MIGRATION

Agenda

1. Welcome & Icebreaker
   10 min
2. Telling Our Stories
   60 min
3. Why Do People Migrate? What's Race Got to Do With It?
   35 min
4. Wrap up: evaluation, check out
   15 min

Goals

- Explore our experiences with colonialism, imperialism, and migration.
- Learn about migration as an outcome of white supremacy, and the connections that exist across race and ethnicity in the structures of colonialism and imperialism.
- Consider how Asian American movement building can help to dismantle colonialism and imperialism.

Key concepts: White supremacy, race, Orientalism, settler colonialism, imperialism, war/militarism, migration. Assumes participation in prior workshop: Making Race and Blackness in America.

Time

2 hours

Materials needed

- Flipchart paper, easel, and markers
- Blank paper and pens/crayons
- Projector and laptop with slides and videos

1. WELCOME & OPENING – 10 MIN

- [Show slide of Carlos Bulosan] Let everyone know that the workshop title is from Carlos Bulosan's America Is In the Heart. Bulosan was a poet born in the Philippines to a farming family who were being exploited by wealthy landowners. He moved to the United States in 1930 when the Philippines was still a colony of the United States. He was 17. He worked as a farmworker, a dishwasher, and in other low-wage jobs up and down the West Coast, where he experienced racism and harsh working conditions.
- In honor of Carlos Bulosan, who was a migrant worker and a subject of U.S. empire, we're going to think about our own migration histories and experiences with colonization, and how that relates to the experiences of Black and Indigenous peoples.

2. TELLING OUR STORIES – 60 MIN

Definition of Terms - 20 min

First let's define some terms [show slides][1]. These definitions aren't set in stone, but are designed to provide us with shared working definitions for today's conversations.

- Colonialism is a practice of domination through the conquest of one people by another. In the United States, the practice of colonialism has involved foreign people (Europeans) moving to and permanently settling in a new territory (the Americas), and removing that territory's indigenous peoples in order to form a new settler nation-state (the United States). It's useful to use the term settler colonialism to describe the United States.
- Imperialism also involves political and economic control, but through the expansion of a nation's power beyond its borders to control other peoples abroad. Imperialism can take the form of settlement, direct rule, or indirect systems of control.
- Colonialism is often used to describe the European settlement of North America, Australia, New Zealand, Algeria, and Brazil, places that were controlled by sizeable populations of European settlers. Imperialism often describes cases where a foreign government rules without significant settlement, like the scramble for Africa in the late 19th Century and U.S. domination of the Philippines and Puerto Rico.
- Migration is the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state. It encompasses any kind of movement of people, whatever the causes – war and conflict, poverty, environmental disaster, trafficking, displacement by development projects, social or political persecution, family reunification, etc.
- Orientalism is a European tradition of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over "the Orient" – an imagined realm that is the opposite of the West, representing the West's "Other"[2]. Orientalist thinking shaped U.S. imperialism, but U.S. colonization of Asia really took off after the development of U.S. military and financial capacities through settler colonization and slavery. The practice of land theft and indigenous genocide that intensified during the 19th Century built up the U.S. military capacity that was then turned to Asia from the mid-1800s to the present. In addition, surplus industrial and agricultural production after the Civil War drove the United States to seek out new markets abroad.

1 Kohn, Margaret, "Colonialism", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/colonialism/

2 Edward Said

- U.S. militarism, the valorization of military life and values, the prioritizing of armed readiness, and the legitimacy of armed force as a way to resolve conflict, began its modern turn with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt's ambitions in 1898 to engage in imperial wars outside of North America. This set into motion the conquest of Cuba, Guam and the Philippines. It reached a high point with the emergence of the military-industrial complex after WWII, and has defined global relations today through a state of constant war, the most bloated military budget in history, and the matter-of-fact saturation of civilian life with military values.[3]

Discussion:

- Do these definitions make sense to you?
- Have you heard these terms used before in conversations about race and white supremacy?

Telling Our Stories - 30 mins

Let folks know that we're going to take the next half hour to talk about our own families' migration stories. Acknowledge that this can bring up a lot of painful emotions, and there's no pressure to tell your story if you don't feel able to share right now. Set up a fishbowl conversation with five chairs. During the conversation, anyone outside the fishbowl can tap anyone in the fishbowl to switch places with that person. Let folks know that there's no facilitator; the objective is to have a conversation with each other. Do encourage people to respond to the question and the prompts.

- [Put question and prompts up on projector]

The question: When did your family leave their home country? Why did they leave, what was going on in their lives?

- Prompts:
  - Who had power in your family's home country?
  - What kind of government was in place? Was another country influencing or controlling the government?
  - Was your family able to make a living?
  - Did they have access to education? What about healthcare or housing?
  - What kind of conditions did they/you experience upon arriving in the United States?
  - Who told you these stories? How do you know your history?

Debrief:

Come back to the full group and debrief for 10 mins. Again acknowledge that these stories can be painful. If there's a need for a mood check, do a quick centering exercise together.

- Ask people how they're feeling.
- Was anything surprising?
- How has colonialism or imperialism affected us? (Flipchart responses)

3 Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, "Militarism", Keywords for Asian American Studies

WHY DO PEOPLE MIGRATE? WHAT'S RACE GOT TO DO WITH IT? – 35 MIN

- Remind folks that earlier we talked about Orientalism, how Europeans and later white Americans have imagined non-Europeans and non-whites as "Others" to justify colonialism and imperialism.
- Put up slide on scientific racism (Carolus Linnaeus). Explain that Europeans who embraced liberal ideas like democracy, individual freedom, and self-determination had to find a way to justify slavery, indigenous genocide, and imperialism. They came up with explanations that used science to dehumanize certain races of people. They used Christianity to question whether Black people, Indigenous people, and Asians had souls or were "civilized."
- These justifications led to forced migrations not just of Asians and other people from outside U.S. borders, but also of people within the United States, like indigenous peoples and African Americans.
  - Watch video: Trail of Tears https://youtu.be/1Q5Z4UUitdU (< 3 min)
  - Watch video: Great Migration http://www.teachertube.com/video/the-great-migration-375882 (4 min)

Discussion:

- What did you know about the Trail of Tears and the Great Migration before?
- Is there anything about these stories that you can relate to, given your own family's history and experiences?
- Why do you think we tend to talk about migration only in terms of immigration? How does that limit our understanding of white supremacy and why people migrate?

CLOSING – 15 MIN

- Ask everyone to take 8 min draw a picture, or come up with a meme or a slogan, reflecting how Asian Americans could work with other people across race to build a multiracial movement to end racism, colonialism, and imperialism.
- Have everyone take one minute to explain his or her picture to the group.

Close Out:

- We started this workshop talking about Carlos Bulosan. He lived a hard life as a subject of U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines, and thought life in the United States would be better. But he only found more exploitation and racism, and saw that his experiences were connected to the struggles of other people of color. He became a labor activist and a powerful poet and writer.
- Bulosan's legacy inspired later Filipino activists to fight for an end to U.S. imperialism and deadly dictatorships in the Philippines, for ending the trafficking of Filipino women, for ending the exploitation and of Filipino domestic workers all over the world, and for building with other people of color for collective liberation.



WORKING DEFINITIONS

Colonialism is a practice of domination through the conquest of one people by another. In the United States, colonialism has involved foreign people (Europeans) moving to and permanently settling in a new territory (the Americas), and removing that territory's Indigenous peoples in order to form a new settler nation-state: the United States. This is why we use the term **settler colonialism** to describe the United States.

WORKING DEFINITIONS

Imperialism also involves political and economic control, but through the expansion of a nation's power beyond its borders to control other peoples abroad. Imperialism can take the form of settlement, direct rule, or indirect systems of control.



WORKING DEFINITIONS

Migration is the movement of a person or people either across an international border, or within a state. It includes any kind of movement of people, whatever the causes – war and conflict, poverty, environmental disaster, trafficking, displacement by development projects, social or political persecution, family reunification, etc.

WORKING DEFINITIONS

Orientalism is a European tradition of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over "the Orient" – an imagined realm that is the opposite of the West, the West's "Other". Orientalist thinking shaped U.S. imperialism, but U.S. colonization of Asia really took off after the development of U.S. military and financial capacities through settler colonization and slavery.

The practice of land theft and indigenous genocide that intensified during the 19th Century built up the U.S. military capacity that was then turned to Asia and other parts of the world from the mid-1800s to the present. In addition, surplus industrial and agricultural production after the Civil War drove the United States to seek out new markets abroad.

WORKING DEFINITIONS

U.S. militarism is the valorization of military life and values, the prioritizing of armed readiness, and the legitimacy of armed force as a way to resolve conflict.

It began its modern turn with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt's ambitions in 1898 to engage in imperial wars outside of North America. This set into motion the conquest of Cuba, Guam and the Philippines. It reached a high point with the emergence of the military-industrial complex after WWII, and has defined global relations today through a state of constant war, the most bloated military budget in history, and the matter-of-fact saturation of civilian life with military values.

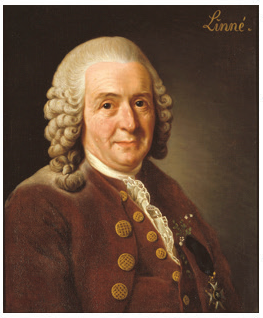
- VERNADETTE VICUÑA GONZALEZ, "MILITARISM", KEYWORDS FOR ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES

TELLING OUR STORIES

When did your family leave their home country?

Why did they leave, what was going on in their lives?

SCIENTIFIC RACISM & IMPERIALISM



CAROLUS LINNAEUS, 1707-1778

- Linneaeus was a Swedish botanist and physician who created the first formal human racial classification scheme. It included four varieties of Homo sapiens based on physical and cultural descriptions favoring Europeans.
- Americanus were "reddish, choleric, and erect; hair black... wide nostrils... obstinate, merry, free... regulated by customs." Asiaticus were "melancholy, stiff; hair black, dark eyes... severe, haughty, avaricious... ruled by opinions." Africanus were "black, phlegmatic... hair black, frizzled... nose flat; lips tumid; women without shame, they lactate profusely; crafty, indolent, negligent... governed by caprice." Finally, Europeaeus were "white, sanguine, muscular... eyes blue; gentle... inventive... governed by laws."
- Major influence on18th Century European "explorers" and on ideas of race in the United States.

WHY DO PEOPLE MIGRATE? WHAT'S RACE GOT TO DO WITH IT?

Post-Video Discussion:

- What did you know about the Trail of Tears and the Great Migration before?
- Is there anything about these stories that you can relate to, given your own family's history and experiences?
- Why do you think we tend to talk about migration only in terms of immigration? How does that limit our understanding of white supremacy and why people migrate?



WAR AT HOME: THE RISE OF ISLAMO-RACISM

Agenda

1. Welcome & Opening
   5 min
2. What's the difference between Islamophobia and Islamo-racism?
   35 min
3. The war at home: Who does Islamo-racism affect?
   30 min
4. Resisting Islamo-racism
   30 min
5. Evaluation & Close Out
   20 min

Goals

- Understand the roots of the rise of Islamo-racism in Orientalism, war, and imperialism, in the context of race and white supremacy, and how this is constructing a specific racial identity among those perceived to be Muslim.
- Be able to connect today's use of Islamo-racism to drum up white nationalism to other historical moments of xenophobia and nativism.
- Explore how Muslim, Arab, Sikh, and South Asian people are fighting Islamo-racism, and why it is critical to see those fights as key to dismantling white supremacy.

Key concepts: Islamo-racism, white nationalism.
Assumes basic knowledge of: Race, white supremacy, Orientalism, imperialism, capitalism, settler colonialism.

Time

2 hours (for 10 people or less)

Prep/materials needed

- Projector, laptop, and screen for slides and video (see all images in separate set of slides)
- Flipchart paper and markers
- Sheets of blank paper, pens
- Printed handouts
- Post-It notes

WELCOME & OPENING – 5 MINS

Explain that we are living at a time of unprecedented attack and hostility toward Muslims and those perceived to be Muslims in the United States. This workshop will explore the concept of Islamo-racism (which we will define) and its roots in white supremacy. We will look at who it's affecting and how, and learn about how people are resisting.

What is Islamo-racism?[1] – 35 mins

Ask:

- Has anyone heard the term "Islamo-racism" before?
- What other terms have you heard to describe anti-Muslim sentiment? (Islamophobia)
- How would you define Islamophobia?
- Put up the slide and distribute the handout on Islamo-racism, and ask volunteers to read one paragraph each aloud.

Discuss:

- What's driving some Americans to embrace Islamo-racism?
- Why are some Americans feeling anxious about demographic change?
- Do you see anti-Muslim racism in your own community? What does it look like?
- Does this form of racism remind you of anything that you or your own family experiences?

The war at home: Who does Islamo-racism affect and how?[2] – 30 min

- Hand out 2 sheets of paper & something to draw with (pens, markers or crayons).
  - **Let folks know that in this section, we will think about specific situations of discrimination and violence. If violence has a very real presence in our lives, this might trigger anxiety, anger, grief, or other strong feelings. Ask everyone to take care of themselves and of each other, and if you need to step out or talk to one of us facilitators, we are here to support you.**
- Tell participants to close their eyes, and take three deep breaths together. Now think of an interaction they've had with police, teachers, welfare caseworkers, etc. when they felt they didn't have any power. When they felt like they were at war. What happened? Why didn't you have power? What did it feel like? Now, open your eyes and draw… (You could also do this exercise as a writing exercise, or you could have the group make collages from magazine cutouts.)

1 "The Death of Islamophobia: The Rise of Islamo-racism" by Dr. Jaideep Singh. http://www.racefiles.com/2016/02/23/the-death-of-islamophobia-the-rise-of-islamo-racism/

2 Adapted from the School of Unity and Liberation (SOUL), The War at Home, from the Global Justice Training Manual. http://www.schoolofunityandliberation.org/soul_sec/resources/re-free_training.html#_gjm

- Break participants up into three groups. Tell each group to take 15 minutes to read and discuss a short scenario based on something that actually happened as a result of Islamo-racism. At the end of the discussion, participants should each take five minutes to draw a picture based on the scenario you discussed on a separate piece of paper, and then come back to the full group.

SCENARIO 1

You and your family are from Pakistan. You came to the United States 16 years ago when you were only two years old. You always assumed you were a U.S. citizen because you have lived here practically all your life. You are about to graduate from high school and go to community college. One night while your family is sleeping, you hear a loud knock on the door. Then, eight armed ICE agents knock down your family's door and rush in shouting. Your entire family wakes up confused and scared. The immigration agents grab you and take you with them. When you protest, they hit you so you fall unconscious. When you wake up, you are in jail. You can't get any information about where you are or why you are there. You don't know what is happening or when you will see your family. You ask to talk to a lawyer but no lawyer comes. Your family can't get any information about where you are being held either.

This situation happened to over 1,200 immigrants who were disappeared and detained by ICE after 9/11. Most of them are detained because of minor immigration violations (things like overstaying their visas) and many don't have access to lawyers or other basic rights.

SCENARIO 2

You and your family are a Black family living in New York City. One morning, while everyone was getting ready to go to work and school, you hear a noise outside your apartment. Before you can say anything your door is kicked in. All of a sudden there was a loud bang like an explosion and the whole apartment shook. Then you saw 12 intruders rush into your apartment and tackle your 57-year-old mother to the ground...Within minutes your entire family was handcuffed to chairs. The 12 intruders rifled through all of your belongings apparently looking for something. You look over at your mom and she's not doing so well. She keeps saying her chest hurts. You are scared. You yell at the intruders to untie your mom but they don't listen. There's nothing you can do. Within two hours, your mother is dead from a heart attack. Only then do you find out that the intruders were the New York City Police Department, that they were looking for terrorist and drug activity, and that they got the wrong apartment.

A version of this story actually happened to Alberta Spruill a Black woman who worked for the City of New York on May 16, 2003.



SCENARIO 3

You are a 13-year-old student in the 8th Grade at Shiloh Middle School in Gwinnett County, Georgia. You and your family are Muslim and from Somalia. Yesterday, your teacher stopped you and asked what you had in your backpack. You were confused. What did she mean? You didn't say anything for a moment, and then she asked you if you were carrying a bomb. She asked you to step into the hallway and said it was a joke. But you were angry at being so disrespected, and especially with all the violence and anti-Muslim talk you're hearing on television. You're a good student. You wear a hijab and you know this can make you a target. You told your mom about what happened, and you felt bad to worry her because she is always tired from working as a truck driver and also running the grocery store. But you go to school to learn, and now you wonder how your teachers really see you.

This is based on a real incident that happened to the daughter of Abdirizak Aden in December of 2015, shortly after the San Bernadino terrorist attack. There were 53 recorded attacks against Muslims just during that month, including death threats, physical assaults, vandalism at mosques, and shootings. In Ohio, a 7th grader threatened to shoot a Muslim schoolmate, calling him a "towel head" and a "terrorist."

- After everyone draws their second picture, ask everyone to put both of their pictures up on the wall, and come back to the full group:
- Ask participants: How do you feel right now? What are you thinking about?
- Have each person describe both of their pictures in one word.
- Ask folks as a group to discuss the differences between the two pictures they drew.

<u>Resisting Islamo-racism – 30 min</u>

- Watch 3-minute video: <u>http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-35154938</u>
- Explain that many young Muslims, and those perceived to be Muslim, are organizing against Islamo-racism and against all forms of racism. There are natural connections with the struggle for Black liberation. Explain that Nixon's War on Drugs, which primarily targeted Black communities starting in the early '70s, paved the way for the War on Terror. This creates an opportunity for solidarity among those who are profiled as threats to national security in the War on Terror, and those who are profiled as criminals in the War on Drugs.
- Put up slide, and have folks read out loud these examples of other attacks during just a two-week period after San Bernardino:
  - A Muslim woman wearing a hijab said a man cut her off and threw stones at her car while she was driving away from a mosque in New Tampa, FL
  - A woman yelled anti-Islamic slurs and threw hot coffee at a group of Muslims praying in a park in Alameda, California.
  - A man started yelling at workers in a Manhattan restaurant, asking if they were Muslims. He slapped one worker and later returned to smash a glass partition at the restaurant with a chair.

- A pig's head was found outside the Al-Aqsa Islamic Society in Philadelphia. Surveillance video shows someone throwing the pig's head at the mosque from a red pickup truck.
- A man was charged with arson after he allegedly set fire to a Somali restaurant in Grand Forks, ND. The fire came just a few days after Nazi symbols and the phrase "go home" were found painted on the restaurant.
- A Muslim family in Plano, Texas, said they had the windows on their home smashed two days in a row—just 6 weeks after they moved to the area
- Presidential candidate Donald Trump calls for a ban on all Muslims traveling to the US and for surveillance of mosques.

Discuss:

- Who else has been attacked in these ways for their religion, clothes, or skin color, or for being stereotyped as a threat? Has anything like this happened to you?
- Why does this happen?
- What makes one person or one group more American than another person or group? How can a person or group "prove" they are American and not a threat?
- What freedoms should all people have?

Evaluation & Close Out – 20 min

- Give everyone a post-it note. Ask each person to answer this question: What one commitment could your organization make to challenge Islamo-racism, based on what you learned today and what basic freedoms you think everyone should have?
- Each participant read their Post-It to the group and put it up on the wall. Have a short discussion about similar themes and a vision for fighting Islamo-racism.

WHAT IS ISLAMO-RACISM?

Islamo-racism describes the structured governmental control, surveillance, entrapment, guilt by association, incarceration, deportation, violence, and death that Muslims face in the United States today based on the melding of racial and religious bias. Scholar Dr. Jaideep Singh has suggested **Islamo-racism** as a more accurate term than **Islamophobia** to describe the escalation and specificity of anti-Muslim violence that has been committed both by the state and by civilians particularly since 9/11 and the War on Terror. He writes:

> *"Like other configurations of U.S. racism, Islamo-racism encompasses a distinctive imagery incubated from historic stereotypes. It is anchored by the ominous figure of the bearded, dark-skinned, turban-wearing terrorist, a misrepresentation long accepted by most Americans. But this collection of Orientalist imaginings is also peopled by shrouded, oppressed women, and pre-modern fanatics guided by archaic religious strictures. These prejudice-laden conceptions shape decisively, for most Americans, their impressions of Muslims and Islam."*

- Islamo-racism is the outgrowth of a Eurocentric and Orientalist global power structure that creates and recreates a perceived Islamic threat, first by imposing and intensifying unequal economic, political, social, and cultural relations in which the Christian Anglo-Saxon West is superior to the Muslim "Other"; and then by justifying acts of violence against Muslim people. These processes take place through various state institutions (like the military, the Department of Homeland Security, etc.), the media, rightwing institutions, political speech, and more. The effect is to construct a false idea of Muslims as a monolithic people whose values are in opposition to those of other major faiths, who are barbaric and irrational, and who embrace a violent political ideology and agenda that perpetually threatens the West.
- Islamo-racism serves a purpose. As Jill Garvey of the Center for New Community (CNC) says:

  > *"Muslim communities have become the easiest targets of anti-immigrant groups who believe that they can rely on Islamophobia to trigger negative public attitudes towards all immigrants in general… There is a long-term benefit that [these far-right movements] see in terms of continuing the mainstream racialization of Islam."*

- The CNC, which tracks organized bigotry, finds that amid demographic change, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim organizations work together to advance state legislative strategies that spark racially charged debates about threats to American values. Driven by rightwing conservatives, anti-mosque campaigns, anti-immigrant rhetoric, and anti-Sharia laws together reflect coordinated efforts to incite and exploit anxiety and rage among white Americans, who fear losing their "rightful" claim to U.S. culture and identity.[3]
- The ginned up fears of Muslim terrorists are unfounded. As The Washington Post reports, since 9/11, Americans have been no more likely to die at the hands of Muslim terrorists than to be crushed to death by unstable televisions and furniture.[4]

3 Iyer, Deepa. We Too Sing America: South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh Immigrants Shape Our Multiracial Future. New York: The New Press, 2015.

4 By Andrew Shaver, "You're more likely to be fatally crushed by furniture than killed by a terrorist", The Washington Post, November 23, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/11/23/youre-more-likely-to-be-fatally-crushed-by-furniture-than-killed-by-a-terrorist/

4. WAR AT HOME: THE RISE OF ISLAMO-RACISM



Candlelight vigil one year after the 2012 white supremacist shooting at the Sikh Gurdwara in Oak Creek Wisconsin. Light Brigading, via Flickr. Licensed under Creative Commons. Photo cropped.

WORKING DEFINITION

Islamo-racism is the structured governmental control, surveillance, entrapment, guilt by association, incarceration, deportation, violence, and death that Muslims face in the United States today based on the melding of racial and religious bias.

DISCUSSION

- What's driving some Americans to embrace Islamo-racism?
- Why are some Americans feeling anxious about demographic change?
- Do you see anti-Muslim racism in your own community? What does it look like?
- Does this form of racism remind you of anything that you or your own family experiences?

SCENARIO #1

You and your family are from Pakistan. You came to the United States 16 years ago when you were only two years old. You always assumed you were a U.S. citizen because you have lived here practically all your life. You are about to graduate from high school and go to community college. One night while your family is sleeping, you hear a loud knock on the door. Then, eight armed ICE agents knock down your family's door and rush in shouting. Your entire family wakes up confused and scared. The immigration agents grab you and take you with them. When you protest, they hit you so you fall unconscious. When you wake up, you are in jail. You can't get any information about where you are or why you are there. You don't know what is happening or when you will see your family. You ask to talk to a lawyer but no lawyer comes. Your family can't get any information about where you are being held either.

SCENARIO #2

You and your family are a Black family living in New York City. One morning, while everyone was getting ready to go to work and school, you hear a noise outside your apartment. Before you can say anything your door is kicked in. All of a sudden there was a loud bang like an explosion and the whole apartment shook. Then you saw 12 intruders rush into your apartment and tackle your 57-year-old mother to the ground...Within minutes your entire family was handcuffed to chairs. The 12 intruders rifled through all of your belongings apparently looking for something. You look over at your mom and she's not doing so well. She keeps saying her chest hurts. You are scared. You yell at the intruders to untie your mom but they don't listen. There's nothing you can do. Within two hours, your mother is dead from a heart attack. Only then do you find out that the intruders were the New York City Police Department, that they were looking for terrorist and drug activity, and that they got the wrong apartment.

SCENARIO #3

You are a 13-year-old student in the 8th Grade at Shiloh Middle School in Gwinnett County, Georgia. You and your family are Muslim and from Somalia. Yesterday, your teacher stopped you and asked what you had in your backpack. You were confused. What did she mean? You didn't say anything for a moment, and then she asked you if you were carrying a bomb. She asked you to step into the hallway and said it was a joke. But you were angry at being so disrespected, and especially with all the violence and anti-Muslim talk you're hearing on television. You're a good student. You wear a hijab and you know this can make you a target. You told your mom about what happened, and you felt bad to worry her because she is always tired from working as a truck driver and also running the grocery store. But you go to school to learn, and now you wonder how your teachers really see you.

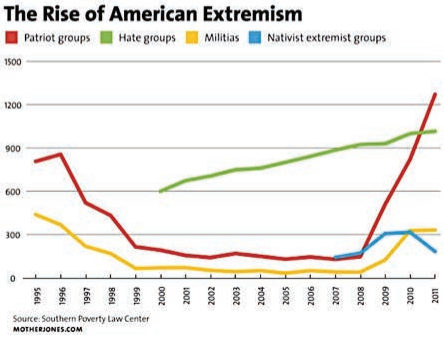
IN A TWO-WEEK PERIOD IN 2015...

- A Muslim woman wearing a hijab said a man cut her off and threw stones at her car while she was driving away from a mosque in New Tampa, FL.
- A woman yelled anti-Islamic slurs and threw hot coffee at a group of Muslims praying in a park in Alameda, California.
- A man started yelling a workers in a Manhattan restaurant, asking if they were Muslims. He slapped one worker and later returned to smash a glass partition at the restaurant with a chair.
- A pig's head was found outside the Al-Aqsa Islamic Society in Philadelphia. Surveillance video shows someone throwing the pig's head at the mosque from a red pickup truck.
- A man was charged with arson after he allegedly set fire to a Somali restaurant in Grand Forks, ND. The fire came just a few days after Nazi symbols and the phrase "go home" were found painted on the restaurant.
- A Muslim family in Plano, Texas, said they had the windows on their home smashed two days in a row—just 6 weeks after they moved to the area.
- Presidential candidate Donald Trump calls for a ban on all Muslims traveling to the US and for surveillance of mosques.

DISCUSSION

- Who else has been attacked in these ways for their religion, clothes, or skin color, or for being stereotyped as a threat? Has anything like this happened to you?
- Why does this happen?
- What makes one person or one group more American than another person or group? How can a person or group "prove" they are American and not a threat?
- What freedoms should all people have?

WHITE SUPREMACY: THE REAL TERRORIST THREAT



Since 9/11, rightwing anti-government and racist terrorist attacks have killed twice as many Americans than Muslim jihadists.



PART 2: OUR ORGANIZATIONS IN RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT MOMENTS

CONTRIBUTOR CURRICULUMS

Since Trayvon Martin's killing in 2012, to Michael Brown's death by police shooting in 2014 which led to the Ferguson uprising, our organizations have been on the forefront of addressing racial justice issues in Asian communities in the era of the Black Lives Matter movement. This is an offering of key activities or moments where our communities have stood up in racial justice movement moments. We hope it helps all of us who work with Asian American communities build towards a greater racial justice vision.

All our lives, men with guns.
Chased, in the womb, in the arms
Of our parents.

Our parents
Chased, all our lives,
By men with guns.

In the womb, in our parent's arms
We've run
Chased by men with guns

— Bao Phi, "8 (9)"[1]

1 In memory of Fong Lee, and for the Lee family and the Justice for Fong Lee committee. In 2006, Minneapolis Police Officer Jason Andersen shot and killed Fong Lee, a 19-year-old Hmong American. Andersen was awarded a Medal of Valor, though the Lee family and community members allege that Fong Lee was unarmed and police planted the gun found on the scene. During a foot chase in North Minneapolis, Andersen shot at Lee nine times, one bullet missing, the other eight hitting Fong Lee as he ran and as he lay dying on the ground.



The Struggle for a New World

Asian American Organizing and the Urgency of Now

On April 4, 1967, 3,000 people gathered at Riverside Church in New York City to hear Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. deliver a speech condemning the Vietnam War. King's antiwar position was politically risky. It drew sharp criticism from both Blacks and whites, yet he declared that his conscience left him no choice. King denounced the war on moral and economic grounds, drawing a clear connection between U.S. imperialism and domestic racism, bound by greed, and presenting this as nothing less than a blueprint for "violent co-annihilation." The speech was a blistering indictment of white supremacy and a painstaking argument for uniting against "the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism." King called for a revolution of values, powered by an all-encompassing and forceful love. "Tomorrow is today," he declared. "We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now… Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter, but beautiful, struggle for a new world."

These prophetic words, spoken nearly 50 years ago, reflect the spirit and goals of our work as grassroots Asian American organizations, to transform the world through principled love and struggle. We work with people living in the nexus of racism, militarism, and capitalism to dismantle the "giant triplets" that King so reviled and whose threat to humanity has only grown. Our organizing is the continuation of the Asian American movement that was born just one year after King's speech and forged in the crucible of the centuries-long struggle for Black freedom.

Revolutionary projects in the United States in the late 1960s were profoundly shaped by international struggles, both by anticolonial movements throughout the Global South and by the backlash against them. The domestic backlash hinged on racial myths, most notably the fabrication of Black criminality and the War on Drugs, which ended up devastating racial justice and antiwar movements. It also hinged on a potent new fable about Asian Americans. The model minority myth was not simply a stereotype; it was an ideological intervention led by U.S. elites, a Cold War strategy of political containment. By "proving" meritocracy using selective stories of Asian American hard work and success, the myth served to inhibit revolutionary impulses among poor and working-class Asian Americans, to counter

Soviet criticism of U.S. racism, to exceptionalize America as a global model of freedom and democracy, and to criminalize Black insurgency. Even as Asian Americans were organizing resistance alongside Black and Brown people, this damaging racial folklore was taking hold through both the media and political rhetoric. Asian faces came to signify the American Dream, obscuring and justifying militarized police crackdowns at home and U.S. wars abroad, normalizing white supremacy from Detroit to Cambodia to Wounded Knee.

In a world structured by greed and violence and justified through racial folklore, grassroots organizing is where the truth lives and breathes. The "giant triplets" that have only grown more powerful since the 1960s make grassroots organizing ever more urgent, to transform structures and to dismantle racial myths. Systems and structures are ultimately built, supported, condoned, or challenged by humanity. In order to imagine and build alternatives, we must change how we see ourselves and our relationships to one another on a mass scale. This is what grassroots organizing does. Rather than describe or represent the grievances of the oppressed, organizing prioritizes the full human development of oppressed people through shared struggle with each other within membership-based organizations.

We embrace transformational organizing, which means that there is no separation, no pecking order between us, as organizers, and our bases. One is not the "target" of the other. We move, assuming responsibilities for building our organizations and the movement, together. Our bases include workers, youth, low-income tenants, undocumented people, immigrants, refugees, queer and trans people, gender non-conforming people, women, deported and formerly incarcerated people. We prioritize the participation of our members and leaders in decision-making. We promote collective solutions, challenging our people to take action with others rather than waiting for someone else to solve their problems. We focus on systematic and institutional change, encouraging people to take risks and to build relationships.

Our work is not new. Many of our organizations go back decades – to the formation of the Asian American movement in the '60s, to the fight against anti-Asian violence in the '80s, to the crisis of the War on Terror and related deportations in the 2000s. Asian American movement building has never stopped, but the context has changed dramatically over the last 50 years. In particular, since 2000, organizing in Southeast Asian refugee communities has emerged by necessity out of poverty, gang violence, criminalization, and deportation.

1LoveMovement, which formed in Philadelphia in 2010, says of its development: "What began as a campaign to release loved ones from the prison and deportation systems grew into a grassroots movement building organization." The organization explicitly prioritizing love as a central means for organizing: "There is no division in love, just straight up addition. Love is a revolutionary power."

That power fuels our work. As Sarath Suong, PrYSM's executive director, explains: "Taking some time to talk to a gangster who is about to have baby, and psyching him up for it, is just as important as trying to convince him to come to a rally. That's when you care about people, when they are not numbers or opportunities to get grant money, but rather real people who wake up in the morning and live life."

In addition to the deportation crisis in Southeast Asian communities, Muslim, Arab, Sikh, and South Asian communities since 9/11 have dealt with an unending, violent, and



intensifying barrage of anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim bigotry, perpetrated both by the state and by civilians. Current political rhetoric calling for a ban on all Muslims seeking entry to the United States has outraged many Americans. Organizations like Desis Rising Up and Moving (DRUM), based in New York City, are forced to remind the public that such policies and practices already exist. "The reality is that the current administration has been implementing those policies already for keeping those immigrants out and setting higher standards for both South Asian immigrants and Muslim immigrants," explains DRUM Executive Director Fahd Ahmed. "From our perspective, it's actually the practice of such policies which set the tone for anti-Muslim or anti-immigrant sentiments to rise. Because it provides a stamp of legitimacy to that sort of bigotry."

Grassroots organizing is where experiences of violence, racial profiling, poverty, detention, and deportation are transformed into mutual care and collective strength, through organized resistance. It is key to dismantling the folklore that holds structural racism in place, and to imagining new structures based on human solidarity and interdependence. Grassroots organizing builds the capacity not only to resist one's own oppression, but also to act in solidarity against the oppression of others. The Southeast Asian Freedom Network (SEAFN), which includes seven grassroots organizations around the country, issued a statement amid the numerous killings of unarmed Black people and the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement in late 2014, saying:

As Black communities charge genocide, war and state violence… by the forces that are meant to protect them, we know deeply the meaning of these very words and experiences, as we carry the weight and history of mass human rights violations against our people from one side of the world to the other… Let us see that the struggle of Black communities against police and state violence directly impacts our community's survival, as we face that violence as well.Many of our organizations sent solidarity delegations to Ferguson in the days and weeks following the killing of 18-year-old Michael Brown by Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson on Aug. 9, 2014. Some of us are active in #Asians4BlackLives groups that have emerged since then. Because of our proximity to and relationships with Black and Brown communities, we are also often pushing larger existing Asian American organizations and networks to invest more deeply in racial justice work.

This toolkit reflects our analysis of the interconnectedness of issues and constituencies within the structures of white supremacy. In addition to workshop modules, we offer some of our experiences and lessons learned in working to dismantle structural racism. We know that this is long-term work and requires transformational organizing to make racial justice a reality. As organizers, we start with how our members experience racism in their daily lives, and have seen firsthand the power of building intellectual connections between mass incarceration and deportation, between human trafficking and labor exploitation, and between gentrification and the criminalization of youth. Demographic change and an economy that has failed the 99% continue to drive white racial anxiety, bigotry and xenophobia. In response, we continue to anchor our politics in the material conditions of our lives, consolidating our bases and building shared commitments toward a movement for broad-scale liberation.

The importance of Asian American grassroots organizing lies in the urgency of building the ranks of people across race who are engaged in the long-term struggle toward a different future, toward freedom and democracy for all of humanity.

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1LOVE MOVEMENT

1LOVE MOVEMENT WORKSHOP TEMPLATE

CRIMINAL LEGAL AND PRISON SYSTEMS

Time: 1.5 hours

Materials: White Sheet Paper, Markers, Projector, Projector Screen, Speakers

Participants: 20

Introductions: Go rounds with an icebreaker question

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Needs: Crimimmigration Historical Timeline printed and posted on wall

Process: Timeline Activity - Participants stand in a line in front of the timeline and read through the panels together, in whatever language they feel most comfortable. Then come back together in a circle and do reflections:

- What do you think about all this information?
- Did anything surprise you?
- Did anything remind you of the issues we are dealing with today?
- Is there anything you would add?
- What do you think this means for the work we do today?

CURRENT CONTEXT: PROBLEMS AND ACTION

Needs: Slideshow: Mass incarceration in PA

<u>Discussion</u>

- What does it look like today?
- Does anyone remember how many people are in state prisons in Pennsylvania today?
  - PA seniors in prison 1980 and today
  - PA budget 1980 and today
  - In 1980, there were 8 state prisons. How many do you think there are today?
  - Slide: 26 prisons today / map of prison expansion / Phoenix I and II

Do you think crime has been rising or falling in the past few years?

- Slide: crime falling nationwide, many states are also reducing prison population
- But not PA…. at bottom of the list for prison growth while crime drops

How did we get here? If crime has gone down, why do you think the prison population has been rising so much in PA?

- Plea deals
- Sentencing
- War on Drugs
- Abuse of prisoners
- Act 33
- Police/ICE Collaboration
- Parole
- What can we do? DISCUSSION

Visioning

Needs: Paper, markers, pens

Process: Break out into groups that will then come up with their own vision of what we want "Instead of Prisons", come back to full groups and present what each group envisioned

- What would you build instead of prisons? What could $685 million do in your communities?
- In small groups, make lists of what people would like to see investment in instead of prisons
- Individually, draw/write one thing

APEN: ASIAN PACIFIC ENVIRONMENTAL NETWORK





ON JULY 24, 2013, APEN held a discussion about Trayvon Martin's killing during its APEN Academy training sessions. The APEN Academy is APEN's annual leadership development intensive where members deepen their political consciousness and strengthen their leadership skills. The academy discusses the systems of oppression which our organizing aims to address. It also provides an opportunity for our members to learn and practice organizing and leadership skills like public speaking, facilitation, advocacy, grassroots fundraising and outreaching. Richmond and Oakland APEN members learn together and share experiences as monolingual immigrant and refugee tenants, workers, seniors and community college youth. We bring our bases together to learn from each other and exchange ideas cross culturally and intergenerationally. The academy is also an opportunity where we can collaborate with other organizations to broaden the understanding of our members and begin to envision and define what solidarity means for them. We facilitate these academies as a commitment to building a movement of movements full of transformational organizers who are able to articulate the issues they face while building community to fight back and create new solutions.

This workshop was a part of our series of deepening our understanding of movement building and cross cultural solidarity within the Asian immigrant and refugee community. As the timing of the workshop also came at the verdict of Trayvon Martin, organizers of the APEN academy quickly adapted the workshop to look within our community and beyond to define and discuss what solidarity with other communities and other movements can look like. We questioned the barriers towards building unity and created space for our members to speak with each other around our roles as Asian immigrants, refugees and Americans in bringing about transformative racial justice. Speaking from experiences, candidly posing questions and challenges and sharing different perspectives provided a rich conversation where everyone's voice was equally valued and it was also clear which path we must take to bring about change.

APEN ACADEMY – JULY 24, 2013

Purpose

To build relationship and connection with Chinese Progressive Association, which also organizes in immigrant Asian communities

Outcomes

- To define transformative organizing and provide a space for reflection
- To discuss the Trayvon Martin verdict
- To share information about APEN and CPA's work

TIME	AGENDA	MATERIALS
5 min	**Opening** Welcome and Review Agenda Review ground rules	Butchers: • Goals, Agenda • Ground rules
15 min	**Icebreaker: Everybody's a Picasso** On an index card with string for a necklace, write your name in the center. • In the right top corner, draw where you are from. • In the right bottom corner, draw a hobby you have. • In the left top corner, draw something that makes you happy • In the left bottom corner, draw why you are part of APEN/CPA. Find another person and share about your painting.	• butcher what should be where on the card • index cards • string (40)

continued next page

15 min	**Review Transformative Organizing** APEN and CPA want to build power for our communities through Transformative Organizing – where we are fighting systems that currently only serve a privileged few and creating new models for justice, fairness, and equity. • Organizing is a tactic –Community organizing has as much potential to build radical consciousness and fight for progressive change as it does to maintain the status quo and further the interests of the wealthy and oppressive class. Can somebody give me an example of when organizing has been used to further the interests of the wealthy? (e.g. Chevron giving money to community groups, Tea Party) • Look at first definition of Transformative Organizing: Transformative organizing transforms the system itself and is in revolutionary opposition to the power structures of colonialism, patriarchy, white supremacy and capitalism in its current form, which is imperialism. – What does this mean? What's an example of what this looks like? • Transformative organizing transforms the consciousness of people who participate in the process of building organizations, struggles, and movements. • Transformative organizing transforms the organizers themselves as they stand up to the Right, reach out to the people, and take on the system. Do you have an example of how you've been transformed by the organizing work?	Handout on definitions (from original)
30 min	**Discussion on Trayvon Martin Verdict** Both APEN and CPA are fighting against white supremacy as a core part of our work. Who can tell me more about what happened in the Trayvon Martin case last week? • break into small (language) groups to read through handout • come back in big group to discuss questions at the end of the handout	• translated abbreviated article • butcher paper for notes
50 min	**Exchange with CPA Eva Lowe Fellows** Each group presents for 10-15 minutes Then Q&A Breakout groups by language (Mien, Khmu, Cantonese, Mandarin, English) • What is the role of APIs in racial justice organizing? • How do we better organize and develop leadership in API communities? • How do we build multi-racial alliances with other communities of color against white supremacy?	
5 min	**Closing & Evaluation**	

THE HANDOUT: TRAYVON'S STORY

Excerpts from Mia McKenzie's (award-winning writer and creator of Black Girl Dangerous online blog) "You Mad Yet? On the Murder of Trayvon Martin and the Question of Tipping Points" and Asam Ahmad's (writer, poet, community organizer) "We are NOT all Trayvon: Challenging Anti-Black Racism in POC Communities"

- On Saturday, July 13, 2013, George Zimmerman was acquitted of all charges in the murder of Trayvon Martin. Or, put another way, white supremacy allowed a man to stalk and murder an unarmed black teenager and walk away. The judicial system didn't fail. The judicial system did precisely what it was designed to do. Are we mad enough yet?
- This country was built on the dehumanization of people of color--the genocide of the Native American, the enslavement and mass murder of the African. ***This is what we do***. So, the question isn't ***why***. The question isn't ***how***, in 2013, this is still possible.
- It's not going to stop. In this country, a black woman, man, or child is killed every 28 hours by a cop or vigilante. Prisons are overflowing with black bodies disproportionately locked up. A year ago, Marissa Alexander was sentenced to 20 years in prison for firing warning shots into the air to protect herself from an abusive husband.
- There is a long history of anti-Black racism in South Asian communities, in Arab communities, in East Asian communities. Anti-Black racism is a global phenomenon. We need to be talking about this and the ways we benefit from anti-Black racism in our lives. This is not to say that anti-Black racism manifests in the same way in all of these communities, or to ignore the ways in which colonialism, imperialism and White supremacy structure differential hierarchies of race. But it is to note the pervasiveness of anti-Black racism all over the world, and all the different levels of privilege and oppression.
- As Sara Ahmed1 reminds us, "Solidarity does not assume that our struggles are the same struggles, or that our pain is the same pain, or that our hope is for the same future. Solidarity involves commitment, and work, as well as the recognition that even if we do not have the same feelings, or the same lives, or the same bodies, we do live on common ground."
- The question is, are we mad enough yet? And if so, what are we prepared to do about it? What does solidarity premised on respecting our differences look like? How can we, non-Black people of color, show our solidarity with Black folks and Black bodies that are continually under threats of violence in ways that we will never know or experience? In what ways do we benefit from anti-black racism and colorism2?

> *"Community must not mean a shedding of our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist."*
>
> – Audre Lorde

摘自於 米婭.麥肯齊（獲獎作家和“黑妹危險”博客的創造者）“你憤怒嗎？馬丁的謀殺案和問題的引爆點“ 和 阿薩姆.艾哈邁德（作家，詩人，社區組織員）”我們不是馬丁：挑戰反黑種族主義在有色人種社區中“

- 在2013年7月13日，槍殺青少年馬丁(Trayvon Martin)的成年男子辛默曼(George Zimmerman)獲判無罪釋放。換句話來說，白人至上主義容許這個男人謀殺一名手無寸鐵的黑人少年而不被懲罰。現有的司法系統沒有失敗。現有的白人至上主義的司法系統做到了它當初被設計做的事情。我們受夠了沒有？

- 這個國家是建立在將有色人種 非人化對待，例如當初的印第安人種族滅絕和奴役，還有當初大規模殺害非洲人。這就是這個國家的作為。所以，問題不在於為什麼，問題不在於如何。 問題是在於在2013年的今天，這仍然是可能的。

- 在這個會將有色人種 非人化對待的國家，每28個小時裡，就有一個黑人婦女，男人， 或者是小孩，被警察或者是治安維持會人員殺害。被关押在监狱里的黑人和被判死刑的黑人比例明显高于白人。一年前，黑人婦女瑪麗莎·亞歷山大被判處20年徒刑，因為她為了保護自己而向空中鳴槍來警告她那有虐待狂的丈夫。儘管她是因為自衛而開槍，儘管她並沒有傷害到任何人。

- 在南亞社區，阿拉伯社區，和東亞社區都有很悠長的反黑種族主義歷史。我們需要談論反黑種族主義和我們從中得到的受益。反黑種族主義是一個全球性的現象。 但是這不代表反黑種族主義以同樣的方式出現在所有的社區裡，也不代表我們要忽略殖民主義，帝國主義和白人至上所結構出不同層次的種族。不過，要注意的是普遍性反黑種族主義遍佈世界各地，給予不同膚色的人不同級別特權和壓迫。

- 正如 薩拉·艾哈邁德 的提醒，“團結在一起並不代表我們的鬥爭是相同的鬥爭，或者假設我們的經歷的苦難是一樣的苦難，或者說我們渴望的未來是相同的未來。團結在一起包括了每個人承諾和付出，以及認可，即使我們沒有相同的感受，相同的生活，或相同的機構，我們都生活同一個天空下。”
- 如今的問題是，我們受夠了嗎？如果是的話，我們準備好怎麼去反抗這些不公平的對待了嗎？儘管我們每個人都有不相同的地方， 但是如果我們能團結在一起， 你能想像得到我們群眾的力量嗎？非黑人膚色的我們永遠不會知道或者是體驗到黑色人種長期生活在暴力與危險當中的驚恐。 我們要如何去表達我們和他們是在同一條線上呢？ 我們在哪些方面受益於反黑種族主義和膚色歧視？

“融合在一個社區裡不是要遮住我們的不相同，也不是要裝作我們的不相同是不存在的。” – Audre Lorde[3]

1. 薩拉·艾哈邁德： 從事與澳大利亞和英國的學術工作理論，集中批判種族理論，後殖民主義，女性主義理論。
2. 膚色歧視：有色人種偏見和歧視的一種形式，根據皮膚顏色，其中最白的皮膚的人民在社會/金融界的地位最高，其次是棕色皮膚，最後是黑皮膚的人在社會階層的底部
3. Audre Lorde：加勒比裔，黑人，女同性戀，母親，詩人，作家，女權主義者和民權活動家– Audre Lorde[3]

AYPAL: BUILDING API COMMUNITY POWER

WHITE SUPREMACY & RACISM WORKSHOP

Prep: Butcher: Goals, Frontload, Agenda, Processing Questions

Materials Needed:

- Butchers/Markers
- Signs for the Skits
- Signs that indicate different races for each station. (White, Asian, Latino, Middle Eastern, Black)
- Printout 36 copies of the definitions

Agenda at-a-glance

- Check In [20 min]
- Icebreaker [10 min]
- Frontload [5 min]
- Agenda Review [5 min]
- Activity 1a Definitions [30 min]
- Activity 1b Examples of Racism through Skits [30 min]
- Activity 2 Racism Stations [45 min]
- Energizer [5 min]
- Reflection Questions [10 min]
- Closing [2 min]

Check In (20 min):

What is one time someone thought they were better than you?

Icebreaker (10 min)

Frontload (5 min)

Facilitator: Tell them to follow the directions as they hear the following statements:

- Raise your hand if you've heard jokes told about members of your racial or ethnic group.
- Raise your hand if your parents or elders have had experiences with racism and discrimination.
- Raise your hand if your have been stopped or harassed by the cops because of the way you look.
- Raise your hand if people have made assumptions about how smart you are based on your race or ethnicity.
- Raise your hand if you have had someone walk up to you assuming that you don't speak English.
- Raise your hand if you see good representation of people from your race or ethnicity on television.
- Raise your hand if you see people who look like you on T.V.
- Raise your hand if you have heard people in your family blame other people of color for the problems that your community faces.
- These are a few examples of how folks are treated here in the U.S., and today we're gonna dig deeper into the issue of racism in order to explain why and how things are the way they are.

Agenda Review (5 min)

- To learn about the different types of racism, and how racism affects our communities and everyday lives
- To learn how people have fought back against the racism they have experienced and how to be a racial justice advocate with AYPAL (break down the term)

Outcomes

By the end of this workshop, the youth should be able to:

- Explain the difference between racism (institutional oppression) and prejudice (interpersonal racism).
- Define (in their own words) the different forms of racism: structural, institutional, interpersonal, internalized forms of racism – and be able to explain how they are interconnected and play out in society.
- Define other terms related to racism such as privilege and white supremacy
- Remember the different solutions youth can take on to fight back against the different forms of racism.
- Explain how racism is connected to AYPAL's focus area.

Facilitator:

Review the Agenda for the Day

ACTIVITY 1A: DEFINITIONS (20 - 30 MIN)

7 min stations

3 min games and rotating between definitions stations

Materials needed:

- 4 copies of the following for each station:
- Pictures for Rotation #1 (power, racism, prejudice, oppression)
- Pictures for Rotation #2 (3 types of racism)
- Pictures for Rotation #3 (privilege and white supremacy
- Tape
- Pens / markers
- Definition Handouts for youth (optional)]
- For the barnyard babble game – 4 sets of post-its for each group with 4 different types of animals on them (chicken, cat, dog, cow)

Put the interns into 4 groups (have each site represented in each group.

Directions:

The youth will be divided up into 3 Stations, which they will rotate. Staff will be assigned to each station to deeply breakdown each word.

Say: "Just to give a heads up you will be seeing images and graphics that may be very graphic so please be mindful that this is to provoke thinking and push your comfort zone."

- Review the pictures – ask them what they see going on in each picture or what they think each picture is.
- Go over the terms and definitions as they correspond to the pictures
- Agitate and give examples. Ask the youth for their own examples (they can pair-share and then report back to the rest of the small group).
- Make sure everyone in the breakout group participates. Have youth take turns giving examples
- The youth will be given a sheet of paper, which indicate these definitions for their copy to have.
- Rotate after 7 minutes at each station. Have one staff serve as time keeper for this activity.
- Remind interns that this is only an intro and we can't cover all the details and nuances, and only main ideas today,but we'll cover as year goes.
- Each station will do the same set of definitions all at the same time each round.
  - Station 1= privilege, prejudice, power
  - Station 2 = Oppression, racism, white supremacy
  - Station 3 = Internalized racism, institutional racism, interpersonal racism

WORDS	DEFINITIONS
PRIVILEGE	Privilege is when a group has special social, political, and economical advantage or rights that a person is born into or acquires during their lifetime. Talking Points & Examples: • Show CNN Video clip of Lavar Burton & Chris Hedges: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M-ckDJ3xTaE • Privilege is not available to everyone in society. • Privilege and power are closely related: Privilege usually gives a person or group power over others. Often, the person who benefits doesn't realize his or her privilege. • People usually have intersections of different privileges. For example being while male, etc. • Ask Participants: What privileges do men have over women? Rich people over poor people? Straight people over Queer people? White people over people of color?
PREJUDICE	It is an attitude or belief about another person or group based on stereotypes instead of an experience or reason. Talking Point & Examples: • Prejudice doesn't involve power, so someone who is Black can be prejudiced toward whites, but when whites are prejudiced against Black people, they have more power in our white supremacist system so that is racism). • Ask Participants: What are some prejudiced attitudes you've heard about women? Young people? Black people? Asian people?
POWER	The control or command over resources (land, money, authority, natural resources, etc.) and people. Talking points & Examples: • Groups and individuals both pursue and exert power. On an individual level, people find power within themselves in different ways. • Ask Participants: In your classroom, who has the power? In your family? On the streets? In the government? • How do people find power within themselves? How do people come together to gain power? Power can be contestable
OPPRESSION	The act of using authority or power in a unjust way. Keeping people down. • Oppression is a process that entrenches (keeps up) systems of inequality that gives power and privileges to members of one group of people at the expense of another. • Can you examples of oppressive situations? Any that you have experienced?
RACISM	Power + Prejudice = Racism. Beliefs, practices, and behaviors where one race uses their power against people of another race because of the color of their skin. Talking point: • Racism exposes people of color to premature death/more harm by different forms of institutional racism that prevent them from thriving as well as their whiter and wealthier counter-parts (death rates, prison rates, health problems, etc.) What are examples of racism?

continued next page

WHITE(NESS) SUPREMACY	The system that gives white people power and privilege by taking away rights and freedom from people of color. • Supremacy = Authority, Power, or being better than other people • Under this belief, white people are superior to people of color • Some see White Supremacy as a political ideology to keep white people dominant over other races. • Whiteness can be when people of color also are invested in the ideas and values of white supremacy. <u>Talking point:</u> • Internalized racism: embodying or valuing "whiteness" to uphold ideas of white supremacy can be done by anyone • language – speaking white vs black • food – "refined" when a Western chef adopts indigenous food • All people, including people of color, invest in parts of whiteness to survive in Western society • White supremacy is a system, blaming or hating on white people as individuals does not solve the structural problem.
INTERNALIZED RACISM	This happens when those who are the targets of oppression experience institutional + interpersonal racism start to believe the prejudices about their own ethnicity or race. As a result they believe that they deserve the oppression they experience. <u>Talking points:</u> It can normalize these ideas about ourselves, our families, our culture. What are examples of internalized oppression? Have you experienced any?
INTER-PERSONAL RACISM	When a person (or group of people) abuses/harasses someone based on prejudiced ideas about that person's race. <u>Talking points:</u> • For example a landlord refused to rent an apartment to someone because of his/her race. • Include nuanced points – like clutching your purse when a black man enters the elevator What are examples?
INSTITUTIONAL RACISM	Historically society gives privilege and power to one racial group at the expense of other groups through the use of institutions like language (English), media, education, religion, laws, economics, etc. <u>Talking points:</u> • even institutions controlled by majority people of color can implement policies that are harmful to comm. of color • even Obama can enforce institutional racism like deportation What are some other examples of institutional racism? How are interpersonal and institutional racism different?

REFLECTION QUESTIONS ON WHITE SUPREMACY AND WHITE PRIVILEGE

Facilitator:

Give scenarios of white privilege

- When a white person and a person of color walk into a store, how are they treated differently by the sales clerks? Show clips from "What would you do?"
- When looking for a doctor, a counselor, a lawyer, (etc.) who might people choose – a white person or a person of color?
- When a teacher or a counselor is looking at a white student, what may he assume about the student? When looking at a student of color with the same skills and grades, what might he assume that's different than how he sees the white student?

Facilitator:

Give examples of how white supremacy works – what it looks like, how it affects people.

- Processing questions:
  - What are some examples of white supremacy that you see around you? (in which laws or people have tried to keep white people in positions of power or wealth)
  - Why do you think people are white supremacists? How do they benefit?
    - They stay in positions of power, they can accumulate more wealth, they create a strong network of other white people who can help each other maintain their power and wealth, their self-worth is justified, they feel more powerful and good about themselves when they can feel superior to others.
  - Why should we know about white privilege? How does being aware of white privilege help?
    - Roots are in a system of legalized discrimination that has existed throughout history
    - White people have had more benefits and privileges than non-whites
    - Unions used to be white-only
    - Many laws around education and jobs made it (and still make it) so that white people get into the best jobs and schools.
    - Immigration laws discriminate against people from poorer countries (quotas set for China, Mexico, Philippines) while encouraging immigration from countries with less recent immigration like European countries under the "Diversity Visa" (although this is complicated and allow more immigration from African countries too). European and more educated immigrants are more desirable over immigrants of color and poorer immigrants with no "skills"
- People of color vs. the police state
- We need to be aware of white privilege because the American Dream of 'if you work hard, it will pay off' is false.
- A lot of people of color that work hard don't necessarily get rich.
- On the other hand. Many successful white people had a lot of support and privileges that have helped them get to the high positions where they are today.

- Think of George W. Bush being president but being a horrible student at Yale. He had the help of his rich president father George H. W. Bush to help with that.
- Cubans in Florida vs Puerto Rican immigrants in NY?
- We need to create laws and programs in society that help people who have experienced discrimination, and recognize that racial discrimination stops people from being successful in life. We used to have Affirmative Action laws that tried to increase diversity in the workplace or colleges, but many of those laws have been taken away because many whites (and some Asians) thought it was discrimination against them, even though the intent was to balance out the diversity.

ACTIVITY 1B: EXAMPLES OF RACISM THROUGH STAFF SKITTAGE (30 MIN)

- The staff will perform 6 short skits that depict one of the 3 types of racism.
- One staff will be the narrator for the whole activity
- You will each have cards that say INTERNALIZED, INTERPERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL RACISM.
- After each skit, the youth will think for 10 seconds and then put up the sign that they think the skit belongs to (of the 3 racism types) – They can also pair-share before they give the answer.
- Frontload that they should not look at their neighbor because their neighbor may be wrong!
- Also let them know that they may be asked to give the reason why they put each skit under each racism category, so they should be prepared to give reasons.

Before you get into the game: Review the definitions of the 3 types of racism, have youth say them in their own words. Have them also compare the differences.

- As staff, choose a few youth to give the reason why they put it under which category, how it relates to the definition.
- Afterwards, break down the answer and process with the youth.
- Just to frontload, that we will be acting and touching on some sensitive issues. Just to keep in mind that it's part of the learning. We want to push your comfort level.

**** Staff must be serious when acting so that we don't make light of very serious situations.*

**** Staff should also try to practice and memorize their skits so they can do them without looking at the script.*

STAFF SKITS ANSWER GUIDE

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM EXAMPLES:

Law Enforcement training: (SKIT #1)

- Narrator: Police officers go through Cadet training on how to engage youth of color in certain situations. They are taught to work with communities in a different way.
- Materials: Sign that said White Officer trainee AND white Officer Trainer
- White Officer Trainer: Alright, so this training will touch on real life scenarios that you might encounter in Oakland streets. Let's say you got some thugs with baggy jeans and white T's hanging in the corner of . You know they got drugs and in a gang because they're in a group of 6
- White Trainee: Alright you hoodlums put your hands on the wall. Everyone spread them. Do you got any drugs?
- White Officer Trainer: What did he do wrong? You have to put more force in your voice and pump fear in their heart. If there are 6 or more you know they're in a gang. Pull out your weapon and you have to say in a voice of authority. "everyone put your hands up or all of y'all will be arrested." I know you all are in a gang and have drugs. You have to try to make them crack because you know they're guilty. All them dumbass' are guilty.

Housing (SKIT #5)

- Immigration law, prohibiting undocumented people from getting public services or getting drivers license
- Queer

Materials: need labels : "Asian Man", "White guy", a giant deed to a house with racist wording.

- Narrator: "Back in the day, some neighborhoods such as North Oakland and cities such as San Leandro would not allow people of color to buy houses in those areas meant "for white folks ONLY to live"
- (Asian man sees a for sale sign and goes over to the real estate office to see if he can buy it.)
- Asian Guy: (knocks on imaginary office door)
- White guy: (Looking down at the desk and talking in a chipper voice) "Hello, Columbus Realty, how may I provide you with excellent service today?" He looks up and goes "Ohhh…" (Disappointed it's an Asian man).
- Asian Guy: "Hi, I was interested in buying the 3 bedroom house on 2255 College Avenue in North Oakland for me and my family."
- White guy: "Sorry, you can't buy that house, that neighborhood isn't for people like you. Why don't you go find a place on like Jackson and 7th St. in Chinatown?" (he pulls out the deed for the house)
- Narrator: "Even today, some deeds to some houses still say things like "No one of Mongol (Asian) or Negro (Black) descent shall ever be allowed to own this property".

INTERNALIZED RACISM EXAMPLES:

Home (SKIT #4)

- Mom: Aye, Jenny, can you help clean up after your Dad and Brother!!!
- Jenny: I got hella homework!
- Mom: You got time! Come help now!
- Jenny: How come I always have to help!?
- Mom: Don't talk back, just be a good daughter! Why can't you just be like your big sister! She's always listens to me when I ask.
- Jenny: Fine. But I still have homework to do!
- Mom: I know! I know!
- Jenny: Where do I start?
- Mom: Just wash dishes for now. We will clean the table after.
- Jenny: OK
- Mom: How is school? Will you be getting a 4.0?
- Jenny: Mom, I am trying, but school is really hard.
- Mom: No excuses! Your siblings did good, you should be able to do well too.
- Jenny thinks to herself in her head: "I hate when my she does this…why can't I just do me and not have her compare me to hella people. "
- Mom: Are you listening?! You better do good or you don't get to go the dance with friends.
- Jenny: I am not sure about prom yet. I don't have time to plan for my dress, I have AP classes to try and pass!
- Mom: Well, make sure you don't eat too much. You are getting fat.
- Jenny: Mom, I thought we were talking about my grades.
- Mom: Yeah, we were. How come you not like your sister!? You always go out, hang out too much, don't make time to be smarter! You getting dark too, stay out from the sun!
- Jenny turns to the audience and states: If it's not my school, it's the way I look. I can never be enough for her. I am not some celebrity or my sister!

Media Portrayal (SKIT #2)

You're watching T.V. in your living room

Materials: none

- You: Dang this show is the jam. The Hills and Secret Life of An American Teenager, that's my show. Look at her hair. I wish I was as good looking as all the cool actors and actress on that show. They are white, got all the money, and their gorgeous. {SIGH AND BREATHE DEEPLY)
- Narrator: As a result of the T.V. shows you watch, you begin to shop at Abercrombie & Fitch, get light colored contacts for your eyes, die your hair beach-blond, and use a lot of powder & foundation to make your skin like the white people you see on T.V. You also plan a trip to Laguna Beach

INTERPERSONAL RACISM EXAMPLES:

Immigration (SKIT #3)

Take out white, insert Black or Latino

Materials: none

Characters: 2 white men, one old Indian store owner.

Narrator: A man who immigrated to the US from India about 10 years ago owns a small grocery store in Oakland. One day while he's cleaning up the store…(man is sweeping the ground).

- White guy 1: "What the heck is this stuff on this shelf? I can't read this weird foreign writing on this can"
- White guy 2: "Hey look at the old store owner behind the counter. Doesn't he look like a terrorist Man all of them look alike and talk like this (blabber on…Hello, how can I help you?")". – Suddenly – "Whoops" (He drops a bottle on the ground and it shatters.
- Store owner: Hey, please watch what you're doing, you're breaking the bottles!"
- White guy 1: "You got a problem with this old man?" Starts shoving him around, knocks broom to the ground.
- White guy 2: "Why can't you speak English like us old man? GO back to your terrorist home country you don't belong here!"
- Store owner: "I'm from India! And I'm an American citizen! Stop this!"

(The store owner is severely harassed and beat up by the two white men in the store. Then they leave.)

War (SKIT #6)

You and your dad is driving down Coolidge Ave and you come to a stop near a freeway entrance

- Dad: Son look at these homeless black people. They're lazy, good for nothing fools that do nothing but beg for money all day. I don't feel sorry for them.
- You: But dad that's hella messed up we don't know what he's been through
- Dad: We can't be like that because Asian Immigrants are hard working and experience struggle in our homeland.
- You: But it's different here in the states.
- Dad: There are so many people that struggling back home and would give for the opportunities that these homeless black people have.
- Narrator: They roll up their windows and see there sign which reads "Iraq War Veteran" This country has turned its back on Veterans. Please Help.

ACTIVITY 2: RACISM STATIONS: (45 MIN)

Materials: A predetermined list of interns in 4 groups, same group as earlier

Tape, butcher paper, pens, markers…

MEDIA

- Computer with pictures of Racism for slideshow
- Processing Questions on butcher

EDUCATION

- Cut out strips of lines for skit
- Butcher paper of education facts

JUSTICE SYSTEM

- Butcher papers of reflection questions
- Butcher paper of crack vs. cocaine
- Butcher paper of Vincent chin (and Jena 6 case) – Drawings
- Butcher paper of justice facts
- Butcher paper of know your rights statements
- Labels with racial categories on them

EMPLOYMENT

- Brochures
- Paper, scissors, pens and tape for boxes
- Butcher paper of reflection questions
- Butcher paper of facts
- Labels with racial categories on them

Directions:

- The youth will be divided up into 3 groups (Media, Education, the Justice System). Each group will rotate through the 3 stations on institutional racism.
- A staff will be responsible for facilitating particular stations and there will be 1 time keeper / rotator. Lets make sure that we have different people leading the stations and different people being the time keeper from previous workshops.
- The station topics are: 1) Racism in the Media, 2) The Justice System, 3) Educational system and 4) the Work Place. Each group will be 15 minutes long
- Staff: make sure to pass out the different racial groups to each youth before the start of every round
- Please frontload that there is a purpose for passing out the different ethnicity and do not over act and poke fun at the stereotypes of the different ethnicities. Also, these scenarios could be very sensitive and are offensive. It's part of the learning process. We're going to try to push your understanding of how racism works.

STATION 1: THE MEDIA: SLIDE SHOW (AM)

Directions:

- This is the media station to show how media reinforces Racism through the media
- The Facilitator will have the laptop at this station and play a series of slides depicting current examples of Racism in the Media
- During Each Slide Show, the facilitator will read a couple of prompts to describe the picture.
- After each slide, have the youth describe the scene and ask them what they see in this picture and how is this an example of Racism?
- At the end Process with the youth

Processing Questions

- What was an image that stuck out to you from the pictures? Why?
- From constantly looking at these images in the media, how do you think these images keep racism going in our society?
- These images make people think that its o.k to poke fun and particular communities. What happens is that people start believing these racist ways of portraying communities of color as truth and make a generalization that all people act that same way. It keeps racism going in our society.
- We don't see our people on T.V. which give a message to our society that we do not exist and are not humans. If people think that a particular group are not humans then they could treat them in a disrespectful way.
- What are some ways we can combat racist behavior seen on T.V?
- To correct people that might use racist words they learned on T.V. support ethnic media that represents our people in a right way. Advocate for access to media; radio, T.V. internet. Fight for more shows that have accurate, realistic, complex, and humanized representations of people of color. Fight for more people of color on shows to fight common stereotypes. Use social media as a tool to voice our experiences – include examples (Angry Asian girl clip about how she speaks English so well)

STATION 3: THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Directions:

- Tell them that in this scenario, you as the facilitator will be acting in a certain way so that you can show how the criminal justice system affects people.
- In this scene, tell them that they are cruising around town with their friends in their mom's Previa Van when something happens.
- Randomly hand out colored dots to each participant to put on their shirt so that you know which race they are.
- Tell them to watch how you treat each of them.
- To start the skit, make them practice cruising around in a van as a group.

Scenario:

- Tell them that they are all hanging out, riding around town in the Toyota Previa. The white kids are cocaine dealers that sold their friends (the youth of color) some crack (a different and cheaper form of the same drug).
- Pull them over for a broken tail light (or too many youth in the car and not enough seat belts).
- Tell them that you want to see their license. When you look in the car, notice that there are youth of color in the car. Tell them to all get out of the car so that you can search their vehicle.
- Ask the white kids why they'd hang out with "those hoodlums".
- Drag the youth of color out of the car (gently) and "push them around" a little bit. Tell them to stand against the wall with their hands up. Say racist things to them about how they look like "gangsters" and "hoodlums" and are probably in a gang because they all look and dress alike.
- Only search the youth of color. (pat them down, ask them questions like "do you do dope or any drugs like that?", "are you high? By the looks of your eyes you look high!", or "you smell like you've been smoking weed…or is it crack!" Say racist things to them about how they look or how they're a bunch of drug dealers or gang bangers, but only to the youth of color.
- Tell them that you need to take all the youth downtown to the police station for more questioning. If they ask what they're being arrested for, say you don't have to tell them.

At the courthouse:

- Tell them that they are all being arrested for possessing crack (youth of color) and cocaine (white kids).
- Ask them how they plead.
  - IF WHITE AND GUILTY: Tell them they just look like an innocent kid that got messed up with the wrong crowd and that you know they just made a mistake. Give them 6 months of probation time.
  - IF WHITE AND INNOCENT. Find them innocent, say the same things of how they look like nice good kids, and then send them home.
  - IF POC AND GUILTY: Spit a bunch of racist things out at them and then find them guilty. Sentence them to 5 years in jail for being a drug dealer. Tell them they are the worst scum of the earth and deserve to be locked up.
  - IF POC AND INNOCENT: Spit a bunch of racist things at them, find them guilty, and sentence them to 8 years in jail.

Discuss the following facts on butcher:

- A 2002 study found that black or Latino drivers were three times more likely to be searched than white drivers.[23]
- Young white offenders are likely to receive lighter punishments than minorities in America.

- Black youth arrested for drug possession for the first time are incarcerated at a rate that is forty-eight times greater than the rate for white youth, even when all other factors surrounding the crime are identical.[24][25]
  - "Young White Offenders get lighter treatment," 2000. The Tennessean. April 26: 8A.
  - Human Rights Watch, 2000. Punishment and Prejudice: Racial Disparities in the War on Drugs. DC: May, Volume 12, No. 2.

Discussion Questions:

- What was racist or unfair about this court and juvenile justice situation?
  - People based on their ethnicity were treated differently and given a different sentence.
  - It is unfair because it's divided by the type of drug used, even though both drugs have the same effect.
- Draw illustrations to show the Story of Vincent Chin, who was beaten to death by a group of white Detroit auto workers who just lost their jobs. Before they beat him to death, they accused Chin, a Chinese American man, of being "a Jap" who "was taking away jobs from white workers".
- The two men plead guilty but the judge sentenced them to many hours of community service and 7 days jail time. They spent less than a day in jail. Good comparison to Oscar Grant and Trayvon Martin. Postiives include sparking a pan-Asian movement to fight racism experienced by Asians as a commonality since they're usually generalized into one lump.
- 3) Have you or someone you know ever been harassed by a police officer or been sentenced to a long time in jail due to the color of your skin?
- 4) Do you know your rights when cops pull you over or harass you? What could you have done in this case?

(Butcher the following statements)

- You can say "I do not consent to a search"
- You have the right to remain silent
- You have the right to speak to a lawyer
- You can ask "am I free to go?" if you are unsure if you're being arrested for something.

STATION 4: THE WORKPLACE

Directions:

Before the workshop, tape the ground to designate areas of the Forever 21 store where they will be working (front of the store, back of the store, storage room).

- Tell them that in this stage, they are going to get a job at the Forever 21 in San Francisco. Hand out labels that say a certain race on them
- They all have the same experience – All graduated from Oakland High with the same 3.5 GPA and are currently attending Laney College.
- Tell them to hand in their (imaginary) resumes. Treat them differently based on their race (Friendly, skeptical, or just neutral). When some youth of color (like black youth) come to apply, tell them "sorry there are no jobs available at this time!" (Give them a cleaning job later)
- Tell them that you reviewed their resumes, and that you're going to give them the best jobs that fit each of their skills and job experience.
- Give one White guy a manager position getting paid $15/hr.
- Give the other Asian people sales positions getting paid $9.50/hr.
- IF they are a youth of color (Black & Latino) and female: give them a sales job folding clothes, getting paid $7.50/hr.
- IF they are a youth of color and male: give them a stocking job in the back lifting heavy boxes at $7.50/hr.
- OR give youth of color cleaning jobs like mopping the floor and sweeping.
- Give one youth of color who is Asian an assistant manager position (he will be the "middleman") getting paid 10.00/hr.

- NEXT: Tell the workers to work and show them what to do. Tell them that if they work hard enough they will get a raise and maybe a promotion to a higher position.
  - People of color youth: the storage people make boxes and stack them in a pile. Give them paper to make 6 sided boxes with tape and scissors. Give them harsh directions and tell them to move faster.
  - White youth #1: The white person folds "clothing". (Give them AYPAL brochures to fold and put in a pile.)
  - White youth #2: The white manager sits back in his office and tells the Assistant manager to do his job yelling at the employees to work harder.
  - Assistant Manage (person of color): The Assistant manager stands and watches, and tells the workers to work faster and do their job (Tell them that they can say stuff if they want to).
- Tell the CO team member (white boss man) to say racist things about the employees, how they're lazy and not hardworking, that's why they're not hired as managers.

- The white boss should tell the assistant manager to tell the employees to work faster. After a while the white boss tells the assistant manager to be mean and threaten to fire them, or else he will lose his job if he doesn't. Make the assistant manager fire some of the youth for being "too lazy".
- After a while, stop the group and have a company meeting. At the meeting praise everyone for working hard but especially the manager and the white sales person and promote them to another managerial job at another store. Yet the people of color that do the behind the scenes work don't get any higher salary or a new position.

Processing Questions:

- What was unfair about the hiring practices of this company? How do people of color get treated differently from the white folks?
- Why do you think companies often make the Assistant Manager a person of color? What purpose do they serve with the workers? What race is their boss?
- As the middleman or middle person, they have to do all the dirty work of making the workers work. If the workers complain, they get angry at the assistant manager, not the CEO or white boss who is enforcing all the rules on the Assistant manager. It helps keep white managers and white store owners safe and on top in positions of power.

Give them the facts: [BUTCHER]

- When looking at job applications, employers have practiced institutional racism by rejecting job applicants by their names, areas of the city they live in, and claims of mistaken advertising (that the jobs advertised were filled).
- In one university study, it was found that many top company officials said they would not hire Blacks. When asked to assess the work ethic of white, Black and Latino employees by race, nearly forty percent of the employers ranked blacks dead last.
- The employers often described Blacks as "unskilled," "uneducated," "illiterate." "dishonest," "lacked initiative," "unmotivated," "involved with gangs and drugs," "did not understand work," "unstable," "lacked charm," "had no family values," and were "poor role models."
- In 2005, Abercrombie & Fitch clothing company was sued because they often hired people of color to work in the back of the store, while they hired white people to be working the floor at higher wages, and promoted white workers to higher positions in the company.
- Through Gonzalez v. Abercrombie & Fitch, Abercrombie had to pay Asian, Black and Latino workers for any job discrimination they experienced when working there.

Forever 21 facts

- How is this unfair? What assumptions do employers make about workers of color? How do these types of hiring practices affect white workers and workers of color – and their chances at success in life?
- Connect to white privilege, and white supremacy.

ACTIVITY 3: VIDEO ON HOW TO FIGHT BACK (20 MIN)

Energizer [5 min]

Go over ways to fight each type of racism. What it means to be an ally/ in solidarity with movements/issues other people of color experience

Talking point:

- Chicago school closure
- Arizona, etc

Ally – clip by Dr. Joy Degruy

Brainstorm in pairs/ small groups and assign section + report out ways to fight:

- Internalized racism: ex. Expose yourself to media, literature, images where people express pride in their culture, their dark skin, curly hair, monolid eyes, etc.
- Interpersonal racism: If someone says a joke or harrasses, step in, bring in an ally or friend to support, or mentor to support. Talk to someone about it and plan for next time
- Institutional racism: Trayvon's case, protest, make a statement, then fight the institution – NAACP suing in Civil court (check facts to be sure, etc.); education, we lobbied for LCFF
- How to face own internalized racism about self and other groups

Facilitator:

Go over the history of South Africa and Apartheid

- The racial segregation system of Apartheid in South Africa put people into racial groups (Black, white, coloued, and Indian). (The official policy was enforced between 1948 – 1994, but of course segregation was a big part of colonialism before that time).
- Land and homes were also segregated and were enforced by brutal force and removals by the police.
- The government segregated education, medical care, and other public services. Of course all the services for blacks were inferior to those of the whites.
- However, the South African people didn't give up – they organized their communities and fought back against the oppression that they were experiencing by their racist government.
- In the end, apartheid ended after protests forced the government to get into a series of negotiations (with the African National Congress) between 1990-1993.
- In 1994, the people voted in the general elections, and Nelson Mandela became President.

Show the video:

(Scenes 2, …the Toy-Toy scene, and the freedom scene)

Processing Questions:

- What happened in the first scene? What types of oppression did blacks face in South Africa under apartheid?
- How did black South Africans fight back and protest their racist mistreatment? What did they do to empower and organize the people?
- How did the white cops react to the protestors doing the Toy-Toy?
- Any other thoughts or feelings from watching this video that you'd like to share?

FINAL REFLECTION QUESTIONS: [20 MIN]

Small group discussion using the same groups.

Materials: tape up butcher papers on the walls.

- In your own words please describe the different types of definitions we learned today and give 1 example of each definition? Each pair of interns will be responsible for taking one
  - Prejudice
  - Power
  - Oppression
  - Interpersonal Racism
  - Internalized Racism
  - Institutionalized Racism
  - Privilege
  - White Supremacy
- Do any of you feel or have experienced racism at school, in the community at home?
- Why do you think Racism happens?
- It's a way for the people in power to control people of color. It is also used to divide communities and make them feel bad about themselves so won't come together and rise up against all the issues that people are facing.
- What are some ways we can fight back to prevent Racism from happening in AYPAL, at home, In our community?
- We could start with ourselves by stop using these words in our daiy lives. We could add to our community agreements of not using the N word. We could RESPECTFULLY check our friends if they use these words. "You can pose questions?" What did you mean when you said the "N" word. Work on campaigns to end racism from happening.
- Take some of the examples of racism that they have experienced
- Discuss ways they can combat the different types of racism they have experienced – what they can say, do, how to act.

Facilitator: Go over how AYPAL youth can take action on this issue

Closing [2 min]

Background information for staff on white privilege

In his 1935 Black Reconstruction in America, W. E. B. Du Bois first described the "psychological wages" of whiteness:

> *It must be remembered that the white group of laborers, while they received a low wage, were compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white. They were admitted freely with all classes of white people to public functions, public parks, and the best schools. The police were drawn from their ranks, and the courts, dependent on their votes, treated them with such leniency as to encourage lawlessness. Their vote selected public officials, and while this had small effect upon the economic situation, it had great effect upon their personal treatment and the deference shown them. White schoolhouses were the best in the community, and conspicuously placed, and they cost anywhere from twice to ten times as much per capita as the colored schools. The newspapers specialized on news that flattered the poor whites and almost utterly ignored the Negro except in crime and ridicule.*[8]

The theory of White privilege in America may be seen as having its roots in the system of legalized discrimination that existed for much of American history.[10] In her book Privilege Revealed: How Invisible Preference Undermines America Stephanie M. Wildman writes that many Americans who advocate a merit-based, race-free worldview do not acknowledge the systems of privilege which benefit them. For example, many Americans rely on a social and sometimes even financial inheritance from previous generations. This inheritance, unlikely to be forthcoming if one's ancestors were slaves, privileges whiteness, maleness, and heterosexuality.[11] In addition to legal rights, whites were sometimes afforded opportunities and benefits that were unavailable to others. For example, government subsidized white homeownership in the middle of the 20th century through the Federal Housing Administration, but not homeownership of other minorities.[12] Some social scientists suggest that the historical processes of suburbanization and decentralization are instances of white privilege that have contributed to contemporary patterns of environmental racism.[13]

CAAAV: ORGANIZING ASIAN COMMUNITIES

IMMIGRATION WORKSHOP 5.2.15

Total Time: ~ 150 min (2hrs 30 min)

GOALS:

- To create a safe space to explore our family's (and our own) identities as immigrants
- To connect our personal experiences of immigration to the larger historical picture
- How the Model Minority Myth (M^3) has influenced all of our personal stories

AGENDA	DESCRIPTION	MATERIALS
Intro (5 min)	• Check in • Name, PGP, check-in Q • If you're home alone for the whole day, what would your day look like? • Go over agenda & goals	Write agenda/ goals on board
Icebreaker (15 min)	Great Wind Blows	
Map Activity (60 min)	<u>Instructions:</u> • Make maps of our/our family's immigration history. • Talk about why our families left their countries and the struggles they have faced in America • Stereotypes of how other identified/labeled you • Folks and homeskillets can share a personal story • Hand out papers to folks. • Give them 10 minutes to work on their maps. Remind them that they can share why their families left their countries. • After time is up, pair share for about 10 minutes (20 minutes at this point) • Do a big group share for whoever wants to share their story and map. (10 min) • Talk about some patterns that we've noted after everyone finishes sharing (5-10 min)	• Paper • Markers • Pens/Pencils

continued next page

Break (10 min)	Take that break–it's good for the soul Snacks, food, chill, etc.	
Phase 2 (learning) (45 min)	**Opening Questions:** • What are some stereotypes about Asian-Americans? • Have you ever heard of "Tiger mom"? • What do you know about it? • What are some expectations that people have had for you based on your race/what are some assumptions made about you or your family? **Show images (4)** • What are some things you notice in these pictures? • Point: Magazines like Time and even memes have been created to highlight and continue to bring forth the model minority myth. Memes even poke fun at it What exactly is the model minority myth? Where did these myths originate? **Fact Cards around the Room (Station activity)** Maybe split folks up into groups of 2 or 3, depending on turnout. Have them go to the different stations and read/discuss the facts Then call back to big group and talk about what we saw. • Southeast Asian Americans drop out of high school at an alarming rate; nearly 40 percent of Hmong Americans, 38 percent of Laotian Americans, and 35 percent of Cambodian Americans fail to finish high school. • In a Gallup Poll, 30-31% of AAPIs surveyed reported incidents of employment discrimination, the largest of any group, with African Americans constituting the second largest at 26%. • AAPIs only filed about 2-3% of the total employment discrimination complaints received by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission against private employers • One in three AAPIs has limited English proficiency, while 50% of all AAPI students in higher education attend community colleges. Due to a persisting taboo around seeking help for mental illnesses, AAPIs also have a low utilization rate for mental health services among all minorities. **Big group discussion →** What were some things that you saw? Any memorable facts? Do any of them resonate with you? Sources: http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2014/2/13/harvard-model-minority/?page=1 https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/aapi/data/critical-issues http://college.usatoday.com/2014/10/15/students-reject-the-model-minority-myth/	• Print outs • Papers • Markers/pens • s for this possi
Close-out (15 min)	Go around and say one thing we learned today Updates, calendar Unity clap!	

http://saalt.org/policy-change/immigrant-rights/daca-stories/
http://saalt.org/policy-change/immigrant-rights/daca-stories/bupendra-bupen-ram/
http://saalt.org/policy-change/immigrant-rights/daca-stories/yves-gomes/
https://www.weareoneamerica.org/root-causes-migration-fact-sheet
http://www.weareoneamerica.org/root-causes-immigration-nafta
http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/6453/what-is-settler-colonialism

Split up into groups (groups of 3 or 4)

Different stations of information (25 min)

- Station 1: Bupen's story
- Station 2: Yves' story
- Station 3: NAFTA (economic policies pushing communities out)
- Station 4: Settler colonialism

BUPENDRA (BUPEN) RAM

How old were you when you came to the United States? Tell us a little about when you first realized that you were undocumented and what that meant for you.

I am ethnically Indian, and I was born in Fiji. I came to the U.S. when I was two years old when my family fled Fiji because of a political coup. We got a tourist visa to enter the U.S. Before we left, we met a man who was charging people $10,000 for an opportunity to get a green card as soon as we entered the U.S. Upon our arrival in the U.S., we were presented with a green card. By the time we realized it was a hoax, we had overstayed our tourist visa and had also lost our savings. Based on the circumstances under which we left Fiji, we applied for political asylum. My parents fought our case for years, encountering many fraudulent attorneys and others who took their money and promised results, to no end. They were granted asylum in 2010, but their lawyer failed to include me, making me undocumented.

The fact that I was undocumented hit me in middle school when I was required to take the PSAT. I asked my parents for my Social Security number in order to register for the exam and learned that I did not have one. I remember feeling very nervous going back to school. How would I explain that I didn't have a Social Security number? How would people react? The fear of people learning that I was undocumented haunted me throughout my adolescence. I was afraid of getting close to people for fear of what would happen once they learned I was undocumented, and whether that might create problems for my family. As a result, I felt very alone as a young adult.

YVES GOMES

How old were you when you came to the United States? Tell us a little about when you first realized that you were undocumented and what that meant for you.

I was a year and a half old when I came to the U.S. in 1994. I remember that throughout my childhood, my parents were fighting our asylum case. So, unlike a lot of other immigrant families who are "undocumented," my parents were allowed to work because they had applied for asylum. At least they were until 2006, when our asylum case was denied.

Growing up, I always thought I was American. My parents always told me, "Before you go to bed, pray to God that we get a green card," but I didn't know what that meant. Then, I remember walking into my house one beautiful day after school and seeing the look on my parents' faces. They looked dejected. They said, "Our case is denied, look what came in the

mail." Even then, I didn't really get it, until my parents had to give up their jobs. My mother could no longer be a professor at Northern Virginia Community College and work on her Ph.D. in Computer Science. She had to quit her job, stay home and volunteer. My dad could no longer be a server at the Hilton Crowne Plaza in D.C.; he had no choice but to work under the table in order for us to survive. I even remember one time that my dad asked my little brother if he could borrow money from his piggy bank. It was really hard for all of us.

Unfortunately, things did not get easier. In 2008, my father was stopped by the police on his way home from work because he had a blown tail light. After running his information through the system, they learned that he was undocumented. Though my father came home that night, a week later he was torn from us. August 9, 2008 was the last time I saw my father. ICE officers raided my family's home in Maryland and took my father to a detention center. He was deported back to Bangladesh that year. With the help of an attorney, my mother was allowed to stay another year to settle her affairs before she was also deported. However, she was required to wear a tracking device around her ankle as a condition of being allowed to remain in the U.S.

It was so upsetting to see my mother being treated like an animal with this device attached to her. When my mother was deported back to India in 2009, I felt a true sense of loss, knowing both my parents were gone. My brother and I could not even be comforted knowing that our parents were together because they were not. My family had been torn apart across three separate countries, with my mother in India, my father in Bangladesh and me and my brother in the U.S.

NAFTA

Roberto Ortega tried to make a living slaughtering pigs in Veracruz, Mexico. "In my town, Las Choapas, after I killed a pig, I would cut it up to sell the meat," he recalls. But in the late 1990s, after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) opened up Mexican markets to massive pork imports from US companies like Smithfield Foods, Ortega and other small-scale butchers in Mexico were devastated by the drop in prices. "Whatever I could do to make money, I did," Ortega explains. "But I could never make enough for us to survive." In 1999 he came to the United States, where he again slaughtered pigs for a living. This time, though, he did it as a worker in the world's largest pork slaughterhouse, in Tar Heel, North Carolina. http://www.thenation.com/authors/david-bacon

His new employer? Smithfield—the same company whose imports helped to drive small butchers like him out of business in Mexico.

David Ceja, another immigrant from Veracruz who wound up in Tar Heel, recalls, "Sometimes the price of a pig was enough to buy what we needed, but then it wasn't. Farm prices were always going down. We couldn't pay for electricity, so we'd just use candles. Everyone was hurting almost all the time."

Ceja remembers that his family had ten cows, as well as pigs and chickens, when he was growing up. Even then, he still had to work, and they sometimes went hungry. "But we could give milk to people who came asking for it. There were people even worse off than us," he recalls.

In 1999, when Ceja was 18, he left his family's farm in Martinez de la Torre, in northern Veracruz. His parents sold four cows and two hectares of land, and came up with enough money to get him to the border. There he found a coyote who took him across for $1,200. "I didn't really want to leave, but I felt I had to," he remembers. "I was afraid, but our need was so great."

He arrived in Texas, still owing for the passage. "I couldn't find work for three months. I was desperate," he says. He feared the consequences if he couldn't pay, and took whatever work he could find until he finally reached North Carolina. There friends helped him get a real job at Smithfield's Tar Heel packinghouse. "The boys I played with as a kid are all in the US," he says. "I'd see many of them working in the plant."

North Carolina became the number-one US destination for Veracruz's displaced farmers. Many got jobs at Smithfield, and some, like Ortega and Ceja, helped lead the sixteen-year fight that finally brought in a union there. But they paid a high price. Asserting their rights also made them the targets of harsh immigration enforcement and a growing wave of hostility toward Mexicans in the American South.

The experience of Veracruz migrants reveals a close connection between US investment and trade deals in Mexico and the displacement and migration of its people. For nearly two decades, Smithfield has used NAFTA and the forces it unleashed to become the world's largest packer and processor of hogs and pork. But the conditions in Veracruz that helped Smithfield make high profits plunged thousands of rural residents into poverty. Tens of thousands left Mexico, many eventually helping Smithfield's bottom line once again by working for low wages on its US meatpacking lines. "The free trade agreement was the cause of our problems," Ceja says.

SETTLER COLONIALISM

"Settler colonialism, as a "structure, not an event" operates through a "logic of elimination" that seeks to erase indigenous presence on a specific territory (settler colonialism's "irreducible element"). Settler colonialism "destroys in order to replace." The invasion of indigenous land seeks to permanently erase the indigenous presence on the land, in order to replace it with the new settler society and polity."

Almost every year, for the week of the Fourth of July, my family makes the twelve-hour drive from their homes in Michigan to what they call their "farm." The land has been in my family since the 1854 treaty between the Ojibwe and the United States created the Bad River Tribe Reservation on Lake Superior. My family has papers "proving" their rights to land that borders Bear Creek, but according to the treaty the US government retains ultimate ownership over the land and has leased it to Native Americans and their heirs "forever." As long as said heirs did not break any of the treaty's stipulations.

In the United States, settler colonialism has been so complete, and so successful, that the world has forgotten that South Africa, Australia and Israel are all reproductions, all approximations of the ongoing victory back home. I learned that upon return from the reservation people will ask if you "have seen Indians, what did they look like, and how many," as if you had been on a field trip or to a zoo.



Settler colonialism is criminalization: Drunks, drug addicts, and terrorists. It is minority scholarships given to those who have maybe been once to a reservation, but have the requisite blood quota to allow a university to claim diversity points. It is referring to settler ancestors as "immigrants" without a second thought or any ill intention. It is the American, and the Israeli, dream. It is the bliss of an untroubled mind.

Settler colonialism is an inherited silence where you know memories are supposed to be. It is knowing that these memories have been purposely excised due to pain and the hope for a better future, if only the next generation could just forget. It is finding papers, land allotments and photos of relatives who "look Indian" that you have never seen because they were in a locked suitcase for decades. It is watching these photos, wondering about the names of these people and knowing that even if you knew the names you would not know how to pronounce them or understand what meaning they were supposed to impart. It is understanding that these family documents and photos could belong to a museum, and that they would tell the twinned story of genocide and nation building.

Settler colonialism is uncertainty, looking for someone to share this uncertainty with and finding that the people around you are no longer interested in reflection and are perplexed that you have all of these questions. They are tired of all this past, all these half-truths and quarter memories. It is feeling denied, but not knowing what you were denied of and having no way of finding out. It is feeling guilty for having questions, wondering "Do I have the right to feel what I am feeling?" It is being haunted on a highway as the names of towns that carry the mark of vanquished peoples pass by too quickly to memorize or write down. It is the proliferation of division, between gringos, mixed bloods and Indians, and between Palestinian Israelis, Palestinians, Palestinian refugees and Palestinian citizens (and refugees) of first world countries. It is the seduction of passing as white, as straight, as a "good and moderate Palestinian," as not poor. It is a desire to be recognized as what others recognize as normal.

It is intending to apply for tribal membership, and planning the day you will visit the tribal offices. It is turning away from the entrance in ambivalence, stretched thin between anger and guilt. It is feeling unworthy of this history, and of this ongoing struggle. It is feeling small, insignificant, and diluted.

Settler colonialism is being unable to fill in the blanks. It is the history of a family welded together by natives and settlers. It is the logic of superiority, of primacy, of genocide. It is the colonization of memory and of events that come to be known as "History." It is visiting a reservation or a refugee camp and wondering how this could have been your life. It is being thankful that this is not your life, that this is only a visit or a passion, a choice to be here. It is realizing that this confidence in one's place has been bought with the logic and practice of settler colonialism. It is wanting answers to inquiries you cannot yet, and probably will never, articulate. It is seeking epiphany through writing and finding only the proliferation of questions, of doubts, and of histories. Like these questions, and more than anything, settler colonialism is ongoing.

CHINESE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION

CPA participated in a joint organizational exchange with Causa Justa Just Cause leaders to build solidarity and greater understanding between Chinese and Black grassroots leaders through people-to-people sharing of personal stories and experiences. Participants included CPA's workers committee, "network" leaders (activists) and our SRO outreach peer organizers - about 12 to 16 people. CPA had all monolingual Chinese immigrants, mostly women, and about half were unemployed.

This collaboration was a follow up to months of conversations contextualizing Black Lives Matter Movement with our leaders.

Many of our members have had very limited experiences with members of Black community (mostly negative), and there are still a lot of stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes in Chinese community. We know much tension exists between Chinese and Black community more broadly (i.e., displacement in Bayview, perceived affluence of Chinese community, crime, etc.). In order for us to build true solidarity we recognized we needed to build greater understanding between our communities of our histories and our different experiences under US capitalism and white supremacy. While we have done a lot of political education on history of racism and social movement history in US, nothing compares to building direct relationships and hearing from people's personal experiences, finding commonality, differences within our experiences and reflecting on what folks most wanted to know about one another's community and what they wanted other folks to know about themselves.

TIME	OUTCOMES	AGENDA
20 min	Purpose: • Allow leaders to process some thoughts before guest speakers • Surface the concept of anti-blackness Outcomes: • Leaders get to vocalize their experience • Highlight keep points of commonality across communities	Emphasize ground rules Framing: We've spent time in the past few months talking about the emerging movement that is BLM Acknowledge tensions between our communities, and the goal of today is to build real relationships and exchange our experiences How many people regularly interact with black people? In small groups share and write on post it: [Cut to two Qs] The last time you had a conversation with a Black person (if ever) One thing you'd like to know about the Black community and one thing you'd like them to know about us Summarize and draw out some points Historical context Black unemployment rate 11.4 vs. White 5.3 (show graphic of college grads) Foundation of anti-blackness? Show impact of racism across both communities ID some things to share about

continued next page

80 min	Purpose: • Build solidarity and understanding between Black and Chinese leaders • Space for direct sharing of experiences Outcomes: • Leaders gain some understanding of the challenges that the Black community faces • Dispel some stereotypes that communities have with each other	Opening and framing (5) We understand racism and unjust economic system work to keep our communities divided we've always worked hard to build solidarity and have been successful in winning victories together like: Prop 30, Campaign to end wage theft, Free MUNI for youth, etc Round of Introductions (5) Sharing Stories (15) A couple of CPA member reps share about their experiences and why they are involved in CPA CJJC reps share about their experiences and why they are involved in BPP CJJC Challenging Stereotypes (15) Acknowledge this is sensitive but important to be real that there are generalizations and stereotypes that exist that no community can be defined by a stereotype that we want to deepen our understanding. CPA members share what they want to know about black community experiences. CJJC members share what they want to know about Chinese community experience Opportunity for CPA members to share more / respond Main speakers (20): CJJC members/staff share experiences and what does "Black Lives Matter" mean to community Personal story and examples from community of how structural racism impacts access to education and employment. Personal story and examples of state violence and how police brutality/ harassment impact community. Questions and Discussion (15) Small group if conditions allow Solidarity next steps (Bayview march?)

Additional Resources:

- "Dear Brother" comic strips (English and Mandarin) by Kayan Cheung-Miaw: this comic examines what is sometimes the most difficult kind of organizing — organizing family members for Asian-Black Solidarity against police brutality. Through the story of a sister and brother, it thinks about many of the questions that recent events have raised for me: How are Asian American masculinities defined? Who benefits from systemic racial violence? What does solidarity between people of color look like? What are we doing to mentor the next generation? It is a call to action as well as an opening to re-imagine the future.
- "The Truth about Peter Liang" (English and Mandarin) by Kayan Cheung-Miaw: A comic about Akai Gurley and Peter Liang[1]

1 http://asians4peace.tumblr.com/post/143043481254/this-comic-features-the-mothers-o


Dear Brother,
© 2015 Ka Yan Cheung
On the occasions that I dream about you, you are still a little 8-year-old boy.
HeeHee
Don't move!
:click:
The playful boy who begs me to play video games with him. The boy who poses for me wearing grandpa's oversized glasses when I ask him to.
HA! HA!
NO! NO!
HA! HA!
This boy jumped in the photo when my friends and I are taking a group picture. This boy was willing to play "chicken" and "cheong fun"* with me. Do you remember?
*Rice noodle roll
HA! HA! HA!
Yummy chicken wings!
"Chicken" is the game where you are the chicken and I am the cook. I "cut" under your arms to get your chicken wings, cut under your chin for your chicken neck, and cut the bottoms of your feet for your chicken feet.
HAHA! HAHAHA!
This cheong fun is hard to cut!
"Cheong fun" is where you are the meat filling and the blanket is the rice noodle sheet. I roll you up in a blanket, then cut you into pieces with my hands.
STOP! HAHA! HA! HA! HA! IT TICKLES!

DRUM: SOUTH ASIAN ORGANIZING CENTER





ON JUNE OF 2015, DRUM hosted a Community Forum to confront white supremacy and anti-blackness in the South Asian Community. The idea to do a public workshop arose out of conversations and ideas form our Summer Organizing fellows who have been youth leaders at DRUM for many years. Our Summer Fellows/Leaders thought that we needed to have these conversations about anti-blackness in our communities and understand how white supremacy impacts us all to more people in our community and came up with the idea to do a public workshop/meeting that would allow for people in our community to be apart of the discussion/process. Our Summer Fellows/youth leaders organized and led the public workshop with Staff support.

About 150 people sat/stood through the workshops but we were able to engage over 300 people through our flying and poster boards. We had 5 simultaneous workshops being conducted. DRUM organizer and staff conducted the workshops in English, Bangla, and Urdu and our Ally organizations Ugnayan and New Immigrant Community Empowerment (NICE) conducted the workshop in Tagalog and Spanish respectively. Each workshop used the same agenda and poster boards (So we created 5 identical poster boards to go along with each workshop) so it was relatively the same workshop except for maybe the different discussions in each group. I would say the non English workshops may have been able to show the impact of White Supremacy in home countries to a greater extent due to the demographics in each (Older, newer immigrants, and or workers) while the English workshop may have been able to address the issues locally and nationally to a greater extent (Younger folks, people in the community, etc).

COMMUNITY FORUM AGENDA

CONFRONTING WHITE SUPREMACY & ANTI-BLACK RACISM IN OUR COMMUNITIES

(feel free to tailor the workshop as necessary for your respective audiences, but please do acknowledge DRUM)

Opening (15 min)

- Welcome & Intro & Context
- We gonna beat! Back! the racist attacks! We gonna BEAT BEAT BACK! THE RACIST ATTACKS! (5x)
- Breakout 5 groups: Bangla, English, Spanish, Tagalog, Urdu-Hindi

Workshop (60 min)

Context (5 min)

- What do know about what happened in Charleston?
- Who was the killer? What were his beliefs? What did he say?
- Who was the target? What is the role of the AME Church in Black history?
- It was the Mother Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church
- 9 People were killed. Read out their names.

Know Their Names

- What has been the media response? Politicians' response? Is this the same response if it was someone from our communities?
- Shooters Cartoon
- This is why we wanted to have this conversation within our communities

Histories of white supremacy (15 min)

- This incident in Charleston is not an isolated incident. It is a part of a long history of racism. Of White Supremacy.
- INDIGENOUS GENOCIDE: How was America founded? Was this empty land before then? Who lived here? What happened to them? Did the European settlers come with visas? Did they ask permission? Were they "legal"?
  - Genocide of 20 to 200 million people. Map of indigenous nations
  - Said God had chosen white people. And indigenous people were not humans.
  - Took children away from Indigenous communities to take away language, culture, traditions. Native Forced Schools
- SLAVERY: How did America become the richest country in the world?
  - Kidnapped black people from all over Africa and sold them as slaves. Slave ship map

- American economy was built on the blood and sweat of Black people. Scarred backs
- During slavery, laws banned black people from learning to read or write
- Families were torn apart and sold off separated from each other
- America fought a war to decide whether Black people should be slaves or not

- AFTER SLAVERY: Did the racism against black people end with slavery? Does it continue today? How?
  - After Civil War, when black communities started becoming successful and strong, the started Jim Crow Laws which prevented education, travel, voting, businesses
  - Lynchings were the public killings of Black men, women and children by white mobs who celebrated with picnics and parties. Especially targeted leaders of Black communities. Lynching image
  - Mass incarceration – America has the highest number of people in prison. 5% of world population, but 25% of world prison population. Prison stats
  - Police killings – Every 28 hours a Black man, woman or child is killed by the police or vigilantes. And rarely get punished. Faces of police killings
- COLONIALISM●IMPERIALISM: How many of us are immigrants or from immigrant families? How many of us come from poor countries? Why did we leave our home countries? Racist domination was not only in America.
  - Almost all of the world was colonized by European or American powers Colonization map
  - Same system of hierarchy in our countries – Rulers and rich people are whiter; Poor people are darker and indigenous. Our rulers vs our people
  - Destroyed our societies and we have been forced to leave our homes
  - But also made laws to prevent us from coming here, or made laws to exploit us as workers here. Chinese Exclusion Act kept Chinese people out of this country for 83 years. Asian Exclusion Act kept Arabs, South Asians, and other Asians out for 40 years. Bracero programs exploited and then deported Mexican workers. Bracero + Asian Exclusion
  - When our people first came here, they were welcomed by other oppressed communities
    - Bengali Harlem – NYC, New Orleans, Detroit, Bengali migrants married working-class African American & Puerto Rican women (working-class, marginalized communities).
    - Punjabi Sikh farmers in California – Punjabi Sikh/Mexican families, farmers, railroad workers, and factories
- This system that forces people to migrate continues to this day through Wars, Free Trade Agreements, Worker exploitation, Economic Policies, etc. ●Imperialism.
- Who made these laws against our communities? Who attacks our temples, mosques, and gurdwaras? Who are the people who stand with guns at the border to keep our people out of this country? Who occupied our homelands? Who exploits us as workers in our home countries and here?

- The same people who hate black people are the same people who hate immigrants, Latinos, women, gay and lesbian people, Muslims

Define white supremacy (10 min)

- Three parts:

1. Superiority of whites and domination or elimination of other peoples
2. A system – resources and power: through laws, ideas, media, opportunities, education, policing, labor
3. Divide-and-conquer: Pitting our communities against each other

Histories of Resistance (5 min)

- Indigenous resistance
- Slave uprisings
- Civil Rights – For Black people, but also fought against anti-immigrant laws. Many of us wouldn't be here, or have the rights we have, without Civil Rights victories.
- Labor movements
- Power movements: AIM, Black Panthers, Young Lords, Brown Berets, Yellow Peril
- Today, are we fighting back? Are we active for immigrant rights? Workers rights? Black Lives Matter? Against police killings?
- Are we fighting back in unity with others?

What is our role? (20 min)

We really only have three choices:

1. Become part of system of white supremacy

- Change our names
- Try to be more American than Americans
- Be more racist than racists
- Say, think, and act as if we are better than Black people
- EXAMPLES:
  - Nikki Haley – Governor of South Carolina
  - Bobby Jindal – Governor of Louisiana
  - Ted Cruz – Senator from Texas

RESULT: We will never be fully accepted

2. Only worry about ourselves

- Not be active in struggles - blinders
- Or only struggle for our own issues and our own communities

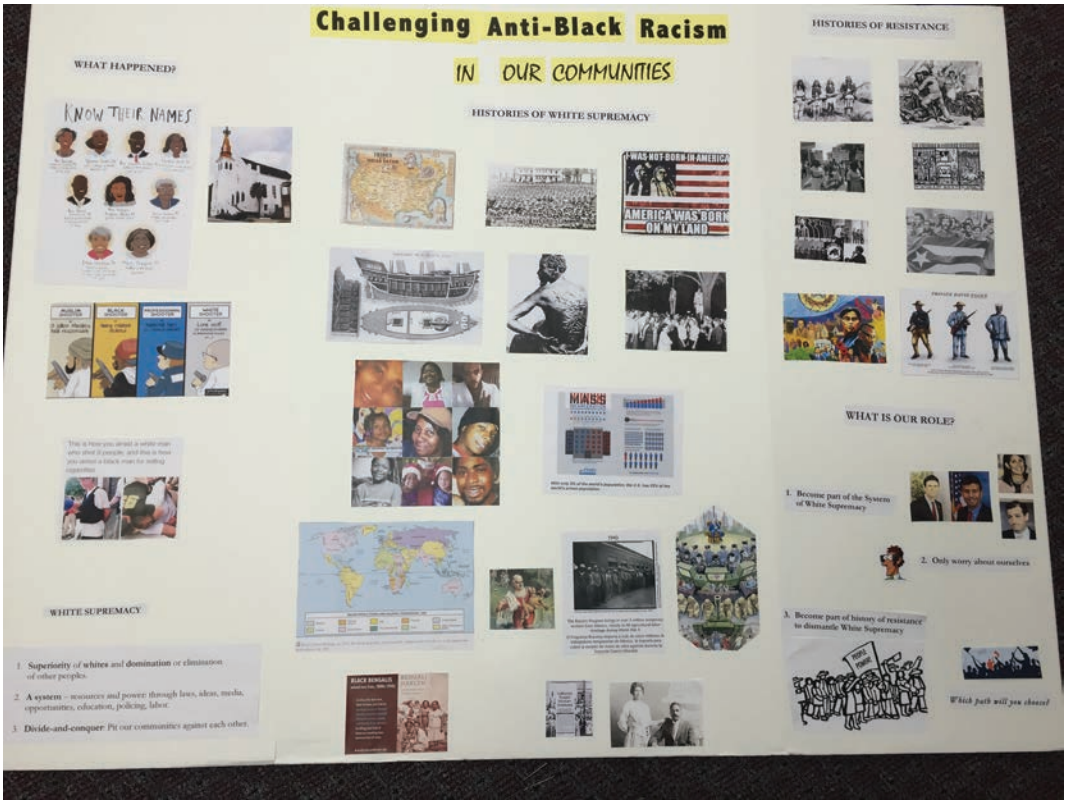
RESULT: Sooner or later we will also be attacked by system of white supremacy; and standing alone we will always lose

3. Become part of history of resistance to destroy white supremacy

- Join organizations or make your own
- Work in unity with other communities
- Fight for justice for ALL people
- Get rid of this system of racism and exploitation

RESULT: We will win freedom

Which path will we choose? Facilitated open discussion.



FILIPINO ADVOCATES FOR JUSTICE

IMMIGRATION HISTORY 101

To be used in conjunction with the BRIDGE CURRICULUM developed by the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR)

Objective:

- Learn and be able to share personal and family stories of migration
- Understand personal migration stories in context of U.S. immigration, labor, and racial justice history
- Examine how immigration policy has shaped the U.S. population/diversity by including or excluding immigrants based on their race, class, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, and ability
- Begin to understand the social, historical, and economic factors that cause migration—including forced migration and displacement
- Examine current immigrant rights issues from a historical perspective, and strategies for resistance
- Understand relationship between immigration and the emerging new American majority

Icebreaker: ICE Mafia (Rigged)

Play ICE Mafia telling the student that the same rule applies for mafia. But rig the game so that the you don't pass out a mafia card. Expose how the undocumented are impacted by enforcement programs.

Our Name, Our Stories Activity

- Start to connect students to their own immigration stories using their own narrative.
- Bridge Activity pg. 42

Overview of Immigration History and Slide Show

- Slide show
- Bridge Overview pg. 40

Immigration Timeline

- Share with students the history of immigration, pointing out laws and policies that impacted
- their family's first immigration to the US
- Bridge Timeline pg. 47
- Time Line pg. 75-111

Immigration Jeopardy

- Jeopardy Games
- Divide Students into 3 Groups
- Jeopardy questions from Bridge pg. 123

Guest Speaker to talk about issues undocumented immigrants face today

- Use issues to show students how the immigration system is broken
- Question Portion

Values Exercise

- Ask students to list the things they value on strips of paper and have them pick 5
- Show video of Deportation
- With each video take a strip of paper from the student
- Connect the things they value to the values of people in the video.

New American Majority

- Role of immigration in US changing demographics
- Increasing immigrants/refugee involvement in movement for racial justice / democratic process

Closing

- Another Look at Our Names, Our Stories (Bridge pg. 60)
- Reflect on the Workshop
- Talk about the importance of telling our stories

FREEDOM INC.



Freedom Inc. by Family Independence Initiative:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFeiN_3J1iU

At Freedom Inc., our community is our campaign and we know that a win for the Black community is a win for the Southeast Asian refugee community. We know that as we build with both Black and Southeast Asian movements in the same organizations, that there is work to be done in our communities and that especially as Southeast Asian folks it is our responsibility to do the work. As Southeast Asian refugee communities, we need to show up for Black communities and struggles but don't show out – we don't need to take up space. We need to also show up every day, we need to build family so that we don't have to do it during times of crisis. We need to stop demonizing, criticizing, and criminalizing how Black people are responding to this act of war against their people. As Southeast Asian refugees who are survivors of the secret U.S. war in our countries, we understand that people have the right to respond to war however they need to in order to survive. It is clear that these racist systems have declared war on Black folks and it is within their rights to respond how they see fit. We support their right to fight to survive.

As part of the Southeast Asian Freedom Network, we are committed to be on the right side of history to learn about the truth, not from a system of white supremacy that has waged war on our people, but rather from the people most impacted. Our principles are as follows:

- We are not the same
- We have not done a good job.
- We are committed to show up.
- Our liberation is tied to each other.
- Black peoples' lives are not respected in their basic human rights are violated.
- We are committed to raising the voices of Young, Queer, Black folks at the forefront of the work.

KHMER GIRLS IN ACTION

APIS 4 BLACK LIVES

GOALS:

- Help members understand the API community and the connection that API's have to the Civil Rights and BlackLivesMatter Movement
- Help strengthen member's understanding of Racism and what it plays in our lives.

TIME	ACTIVITY	DESCRIPTION	NOTES/ MATERIALS
3:30 – 3:40 10 min	Fishbowl Check-In Activity	Have members sit in a circle and introduce a talking piece. Go around a few times and give everyone a chance to share. How are you really feeling today? Or whatever question you want. If you were given 24 hours to live, what would you do? Have one person tell us a little more about themselves to us? What is something that you like to do that we wouldn't know about you when we first see you? Do this every week.	Make a list for members to rotate around for weekly sharing
3:40 – 3:50 10 min	Ice Breaker		
3:50 – 3:55 5 min	Community Agreements & Review Agenda	Review community agreements and review the agenda.	Community Agreements Butcher

continued next page

3:55 – 4:20 25 min	Pick a side Activity	Questions: • Do you think racism still exists in the US today? • Black, Latino and API communities have completely different struggles • When I step out of my house I feel safe • Police make our communities safer • Police only arrest/shoot people who are guilty of something • Regardless of your race or ethnicity we all have equal opportunities to be successful • There is nothing I can do to create a safer community for Black people Discussion: • What did you notice? • What do you think? • How do you feel? • Why do you think it is important to talk about this in YMEP? Historical perspective of APIs in the movement (Yuri Kochiya Connect why it is important for API communities to support #BlackLivesMatter or other anti-racism campaigns	• Paper with Yes and another with No on it. • Tape
15 min	Break		
4:35 – 5:05 30 min	How media shapes our idea about race	Give each member a piece of paper and a marker and tell them they are going to write or draw a response to the following prompt: • Think back to a movie or TV show you saw or a song you heard that featured a black man. What was he doing? What kind of person was he? How was he being portrayed? Give members a time to respond. When everyone is ready have them share back what they came up with. After everyone has shared have a debrief conversation: • What did you notice? • Are these portrayals accurate? Current situation: • Oscar Grant • Ezelle Ford • Emmit Till • Vincent Chin How is SOME of the media responding • Show the Upworthy: Grammy's • The system that instills & protects white supremacy wins again. Humanity loses...No justice. I pray for Mike Brown & his family. So sad. – Macklemore • The system enables young black men to be killed behind the mask of law - Kobe Bryant	• Paper • Markers • Camera

continued next page

		Review APIs for Black Lives Facebook media • BSS/MBK • Show the Oakland Responds to BlackLivesMatter • Show the APIs4BlackLives Facebook Page • Show some memes and actions that have been going on in Los Angeles and Internationally. • Talk about the action happening tonight with the Citizen Police Complaint Commission in Long Beach. Testimony gathering to hold the police accountable for their actions in Long Beach. • Have members write a message for #APIs4BlackLive #BLM #BlackLivesMatter and take photos to upload to KGA's FB page	• Laptop • Projector • Speakers Maybe?
5:05 – 5:15 10 mins	Announce-ments/ Reminders/ Closing	Announcements Transcripts Ask members about our need for transcripts and how it is important for us to get them in to start keeping track of their academic progress. Close out	

KOREAN RESOURCE CENTER

DEMOCRACY SCHOOLS CURRICULUM

SECTION: CONNECTING IMMIGRANT STRUGGLE WITH OTHER PEOPLES' STRUGGLES

Purpose:

To contextualize the current immigration struggle within peoples' struggles in the US.

Objectives:

- To review a timeline of peoples' struggles in the US.
- Be exposed to the history of the Civil Rights Movement: the tactics, leaders, and outcomes.
- To discuss black/brown struggles. (black/immigrant?)
- To broaden the discussion of peoples' struggles to include participants' home country experiences.
- Educate participants about how voting rights were won and to understand the current debate of the Voting Rights Act.

Topics:

- Timelines
- Civil Rights Movement
- Black and Brown relations
- International struggles base on participants' experiences

TOPIC	METHOD	TIME
Introduction	ICE breaker	15 min
Timeline of peoples' struggles in the United States and the world	Small group discussion	45 min
The Voting Rights Act: The fight yesterday and today	Slice picture presentation and group discussion	45 min
Black and Brown struggles. What are we fighting for?	The Fighting game	45 min

ACTIVITY: TO REVIEW A TIMELINE OF PEOPLES' STRUGGLES IN THE UNITED STATES AND AROUND THE WORLD.

Objective:

To review and interpret key events in peoples' struggles for justice and equality in this country. To connect immigrant rights struggle and other world struggles, these world struggle events will come from participants' own countries.

Time: 45 minutes

Materials: Copies of blown-up photos of moments of history and the corresponding story, Small group assignment handout

Facilitator Notes:
There are 10 different key historical events of the U.S. Each event is illustrated with: A graphic (a picture or drawing), the event's date (rounded), and a brief description of the event.

This list of 10 key historical event include:

- U.S. independence,
- U.S. emancipation of slaves (abolitionist movement),
- the beginning of the labor movement in the U.S.,
- Native American struggles event,
- welfare rights movement,
- citizenship schools during civil rights movement,
- bus boycott during civil rights movement (Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King),
- farm workers struggle (Cesar Chavez), and
- the recent mega marches of 2006 for comprehensive reform.

Then, facilitator asks participants to divide into small groups (4-5 people in each).

- Each group will receive one historical event. Since you have 10 events, you should not have more than 10 groups. If you have LESS than 10 groups, there is only one historical event you MUST always include. This event is the recent mega marches of 2006 for CIR. This event is key in this activity.
- So after groups are formed, distribute the events – 1 event per group.

Allow 15-20 minutes conversation

SMALL GROUP ACTIVITY

Instructions:

- Appoint a facilitator and a report back person.
- Pass the picture of the historical event or person around the group so that all can see it. Have one person read the explanation to the group. After groups are done reading about their event discuss the following three questions:
  - What beliefs do they think those people fought for?
  - What does it mean to us now?
  - Does your home country have a similar story?

You will have 15-20 minutes for discussion.

- Summarize your answers on butcher paper and to be ready to make a 2 minute presentation to share the event and answers to the 3 questions.

Large Group: After reconvening, each group should go forward and do a 2 minute presentation of their event and answers.

After all groups finish, facilitators should ask 2 or 3 participants to share their reaction to what they have seen and heard.

Summary Points:

- These struggles demonstrate shared values.
- When people have come together and built organizations and mobilized together they have made inspiring changes.
- The struggle for immigrant rights is connected to these struggles – through shared values, strategies for change, and a vision for an American that works for all peoples.
- People's struggles do change things for the better!

ACTIVITY: THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT: THE FIGHT YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Objective:

To educate participants about how voting rights were won and to understand the current debate around the renewal of the Voting Rights Act

Materials:

- Slide Show – or pictures blown up – or handout booklet of photos
- Voting Rights Fact Sheet
- Small Group activity sheet

Trainers Notes:

This session has four sections:

1. Short History of African American struggle to VOTE – read by 5 participants
2. Photo Essay of the Civil Rights Movement
3. Small Group Discussion
4. Large Group report back and discussion

Handout attached paragraphs and ask 5 participants to read a section:

- Before 1965 –African Americans and poor people were discouraged and in many cases discriminated against when they tried to exercise their right to vote.
- In 1867, after the Civil War, the 14 Amendment was added to the Constitution. It prohibits states from denying "equal protection of the laws" to U.S. citizens, which included the former slaves.

- In 1870, the 15th Amendment was added. It states that, citizens of the Unites States have the right to vote and that it can not be denied by the United States or by any State based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."
- Then states created barriers to accessing the right to vote.
  - Poll Tax – a fee paid 2 years in advance – excluded poor whites and African Americans – later deemed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court
  - Grandfather Clause – this exempted people and their heirs eligible to vote on Jan. 1, 1867, effectively granting Voting rights to poor and illiterate whites while excluding African Americans.
  - Literacy tests - People were forced to read and interpret sections of the Constitution of the United States. These rules were applied differently for Whites who were given simplified tests.
- 1965 Voting Rights Act stopped these practices. There were many marches and demonstrations that created the momentum for change.
- In 1992, section 203 was added and mandated that voting materials to be translated in languages in addition to English.

This photo essay tells the story of the struggle to gain equal access and protection of the law for United States citizens to exercise the right to vote.

Voting Rights Act

- Stopped literacy tests across the country
- Targeted states that had a track record of discrimination by having the Department of Justice oversee election practices.
- These targeted states couldn't change their voting laws without the Attorney General or the DC US District Court approving the change and ensuring it would not lead to further discrimination.
- If concerns were raised the Attorney General could appoint a federal examiner to review the qualifications of person who wanted to vote.
- This Federal examiner would also be able to monitor activities in the county.

The following table compares black voter registration rates with white voter registration rates in seven Southern States in 1965 and 1988: Voter Registration Rates (1965 vs. 1988)

Voter Registration Rates (1965 vs. 1988)

	March 1965			November 1988		
	Black	White	Gap	Black	White	Gap
Alabama	19.3	69.2	49.9	68.4	75.0	6.6
Georgia	27.4	62.6	35.2	56.8	63.9	7.1
Louisiana	31.6	80.5	48.9	77.1	75.1	-2.0
Mississippi	6.7	69.9	63.2	74.2	80.5	6.3
North Carolina	46.8	96.8	50.0	58.2	65.6	7.4
South Carolina	37.3	75.7	38.4	56.7	61.8	5.1
Virginia	38.3	61.1	22.8	63.8	68.5	4.7

Adapted from Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley and Richard G. Niemi. 1992. Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality. New York: Cambridge Press, at 23-24/

Facilitator – sets up Small Group Discussion:

- Appoint a facilitator and a report back person
- Discuss the following questions:
  - What did people in the civil rights movement value?
  - Why were so many people marching for voting rights?
  - Why do you think they were successful?
  - What is a parallel fight today?
  - Do we share values with the civil rights movement?

Report Back:

- What did the people marching for the Voting Rights Act value?
- Do we share those values today?

Facilitator – Update The Fight Today

Congress renewed the Voting Rights Act. Many of the same people that are fighting against legalization fought to weaken the voting rights act.

- Large Group Discussion: Is the Voting Rights Act relevant today?
- Summary Points:
  - The Civil Rights movement fundamentally changed American society.
  - It took many years of building strong organizations and mobilizing.
  - The Voting Rights Act was a victory that has meaning today.
  - There are those that would like to take back our right to vote.
  - They target immigrants as well as blacks.
  - We need to stand together to oppose this attack.
- Small Group Discussion:
  - Appoint a facilitator and a report back person
  - Discuss the following questions:
  - What did people in the civil rights movement value?
  - Why were so many people marching for voting rights?
  - Why do you think they were successful?
  - What is a parallel fight today?
  - Do we share values with the civil rights movement?

ACTIVITY: BLACK AND BROWN STRUGGLES. WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

Objectives:

- To have participants discuss recent tensions between black community and Latino community.
- To air misconceptions and prejudices that black community and Latino community have of each other.
- To better understand what these two communities have in common in terms of aspirations and problems, and to understand where these problems are coming from.

Time: 40 min.

Materials: 20 Fish with Sayings Paper clips Fishing polls

Facilitators notes:

Small group activity: The fishing exercise.

Facilitator will find 20 sheet of paper with a fish-shaped drawing.

- There will be a written "saying" on each fish. These "sayings" will highlight a misconception, a prejudice, or a problem.
- "Sayings" can be added or changed, based on your organization's own realities. But a basic list of "sayings" include: "They are lazy", "They come here and take our jobs", "Our kids do not learn in schools", "they need jobs", "We do not have health insurance", "The rent is too expensive", "they use welfare", "they have kids to use welfare", "Do not let your kids play with them", "they are illegal here", "we do hard work Americans won't do", "they get everything", "they have kids in jail", "they have everything", "I do not understand what they are saying", "why they come here?", "their kids are dropping out of schools"
- Each fish will have one of these "sayings" printed on one side.
- Each fish should have a paperclip hook attached to it, so it can be fished out.
- All fish should be placed on the room floor face-down, so participants do not see what the fish has printed on its side.
- Each participant should receive a fishing pole. This fishing pole can be made from sticks, strings and paperclips hooks.
- Each participant gets to fish!
- When a participant catches one, she or he reads it out loud and goes and tapes it near the signs on walls that read: "Latinos say.." or near the wall sign that read: "African Americans say..."
- If the group is only made up by Latino participants then facilitator and participants will explore their perceptions about what African Americans are saying. Latinos will know what they are saying.

After all fish were picked up, Facilitator reviews and asks participants:

- Is it true this group is saying this?
- What do we have to say about that?
- What do we need to respond?
- If we continue to say these things about each other, where are we going to get?
- Do we have better things to say and do about each other as communities living in America?

Summary Points:

- There are many stereotypes about ethnic groups
- We need to address these stereotypes to build solidarity
- We have more in common struggling to make a living we must work together to achieve the social, economic and racial justice.

SAYINGS

- They are lazy
- They come here & take our jobs
- Things were better without them
- They need jobs
- We do not have health insurance
- The rent is too expensive
- They have kids to use welfare
- They use welfare
- They are here illegally.
- We do the hard work that Americans won't do.
- Don't let your kids play with them.
- They get everything
- They have everything
- Why did they come here?
- They have kids in jail
- I don't understand what they are saying
- Our kids are dropping out of school
- Our kids get picked up by the police – for no good reason

MEKONG NYC



5 STEP POLICY ANALYSES

GOALS:

- To understand how policy analysis affects the Southeast Asian community we serve.
- To understand how to analyze the broader aspect of what policy impact.

POLICY ANALYSIS:

- Policy Analysis: is determining which policies will most achieve a given set of goals in light of the relations between the policies and the goal. There are always pros and cons of a policy, especially the impact of them towards a population or community.
- Advocacy: is the way we fight against all the different policies that impact the community negatively.
- The definition of advocacy is the act of speaking on the behalf of or in support of another person, place, or thing.
- The act of pleading or arguing in favor of something, such as a cause, idea, or policy; active support.
- An example of an advocacy is a non-profit organization that works to help women of domestic abuse who feel too afraid to speak for themselves.
- What would be some possible examples of a policy here in NYC?

LIST DOWN RESPONSE

Example: STOP & FRISK policy.

- The Stop-Question-and-Frisk program in New York City is a practice of the New York City Police Department by which police officers stop and question hundreds of thousands of pedestrians annually, and frisk them for weapons and other illegal imports.
- Ask the 3 question below and write out the answers given by the group.

Q1: Can we define the problem?	Q2: Do we know if the proposed solution is an effective solution?	Q3: How certain are we that the proposed solution is the desirable solution?	ANALYSIS
Yes	Certain	Uncertain	5 Step Policy Analysis

- For this workshop assume that you are one of the many Deputy Commissioners for the NYPD. In this role, you are responsible for the management of the department's many programs that impact different communities. Following the recent incidents, the NYPD has decided it needs to do something to protect the public's safety and welfare. They are worried about the rise of crime rate in the city.
- As the department's Head in charge, you are asked by the NYPD Commissioner to review this action and, as a proposal, consider whether a program/policy of Stop and Frisk will help lower the crime rate in NYC or whether it would not help.

The proposed policy:

The New York Police Department in light of recent public concerns related to public safety, proposed policy of Stop and Frisk will be enacted into communities with high rate of crimes.

- Your assignment is to conduct a five step policy analysis on this proposal. As required in one of the steps within the analysis you will compare and contrast this strategy to the following alternatives

  1: doing nothing

  2: stop anyone who looks like a threat

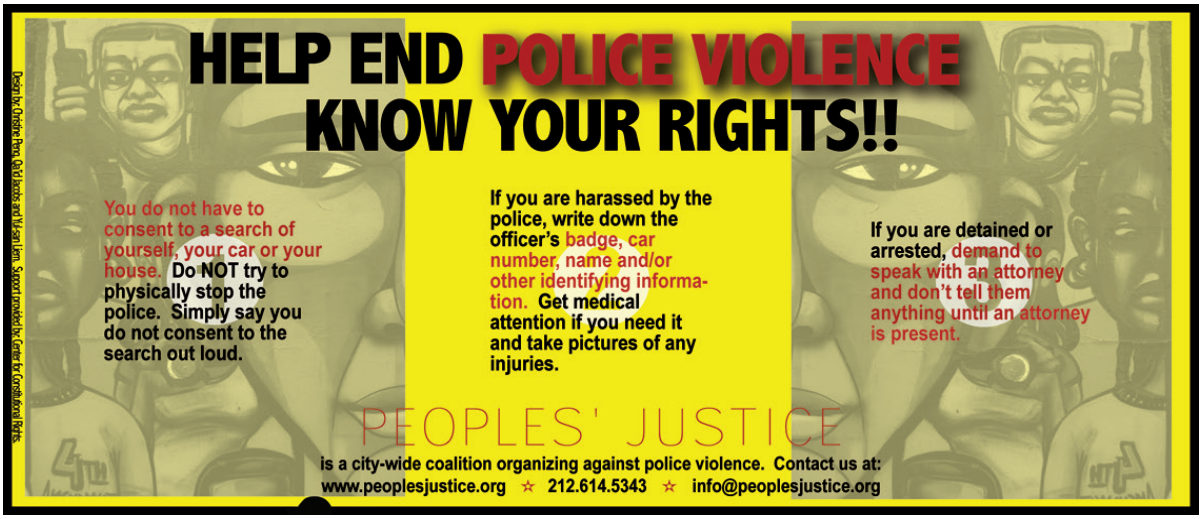
- Step 1: What are the proposed policy's key challenges: Identify and describe 3 potential problems that you think could occur with starting or running the Stop and Frisk program/policy.
- Step 2: Given the problems you identified in Step 1, do you think the Stop and Frisk program will ultimately be successful? Explain why you believe it will or will not work.
- Step 3: Compare the benefits of Stop and Frisk to another strategy/policy such as doing nothing and stopping anyone who looks like a threat. Why is the Stop and Frisk policy testing a better policy that either of the alternatives?
- Step 4: What would you measure to determine if the policy of Stop and Frisk was working. Describe what measurements and /or observations that you would make.
- Step 5: Conduct a research and find another policy that affected a community's well being? What was done to protect the public? How effective was / is it?

WHY IS ANY OF THIS IMPORTANT TO MEKONG'S WORK?

- Protect the Community campaign (PTC) resulted after community abuse from the Stop and Frisk program back in 2010.
- Community members who usually gather in our local parks were being harassed and abused after a series of community raids done by the NYPD.
- This led to community members being arrested and ticketed for trespassing and loiters in a public place. NYPD claims that folks were gambling and came to sell food illegally.
- Some of the stories from community members were hard to hear, some members got their money stolen from NYPD after just being paid from work, while an elderly member was taken into custody and left to walk all the way from the precinct to her home. It took her all day to walk home. About 10 community members were affect from this policy, let along other folks who did not what to cause any problems and just paid the fines.
- Mekong worked with Bronx Defenders to represent all the community members that were charged. We got all of the charges and fines dropped.
- This would then lead into engaging with Know your rights trainings and collaboration with Peoples Justice to do community murals and posters through the community. This would be part of the cop watch organizing efforts.

Some potential issues with Stop and Frisk policy:

- This is an issue that the public would be reluctant to following.
- Overuse or abuse of power through the NYPD.
- Racial profiling and criminalization of a specific race or ethnic background.
- This can lead into police beatings if taken too far.



PRSYM- PROVIDENCE YOUTH STUDENT MOVEMENT





RI PRIDE 2016 STATEMENT

Saturday, June 18th, 2016

Good afternoon Rhode Island Pride members, Rhode Island government officials, members of LGBTQIA communities, families, friends, and supporters.

Before we begin, we would like to acknowledge that we are standing, marching, parading, and celebrating on stolen Narragansett and Wampanoag lands. We honor the indigenous communities whose lands we are occupying. We also honor the Black and Brown communities who have experienced and continue to experience violence on this land.

We are members, coordinators, and family of the Providence Youth Student Movement, also known as PrYSM. PrYSM organizes at the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation by centering youth, women, queer, and people of color leadership in our campaigns, our organization, and our communities. PrYSM mobilizes queer Southeast Asian youth, families, and allies to build grassroots power and organize collectively for social justice. Our program, Queer and Trans Thursdays creates safe spaces for queer and trans* people of color to advocate for ourselves, support our communities, organize for political empowerment, and build community.

This year, Rhode Island Pride has named PrYSM "Honorary Marshals" for the 40th RI Pride Parade. In addition, RI Pride representatives, in conjunction with Mayor Elorza, support the over-policing and increased surveillance of RI Pride. According to Options Magazine, RI Pride

representatives met on Monday, June 13th, with Providence Police, Rhode Island State Police, the Providence Emergency Management Association, and local business owners, "to review [their] safety plan and coordinate [their] efforts and communication," after the Orlando mass anti-LGBTQ shooting. As a result of RI Pride and Mayor Elorza's blatant disregard of the trauma, histories, and experiences of LGBTQ people of color with state violence, PrYSM rejects the position of Honorary Marshal. PrYSM rejects RI Pride's tokenizing of communities of color. PrYSM rejects RI Pride.

In response to a tragedy where predominantly Latinx and other people of color were murdered, Rhode Island Pride defaulted to encouraging the police and other institutions that perpetuate violence against LGBTQ people of color to violate our communities. It is telling that RI Pride chose to work with local businesses and representatives of State Violence before communicating with the local and grassroots organizations that work to defend marginalized communities every day, and that RI Pride uses for its diversity shots in Pride propaganda.

The roots of Pride are embedded into a history of police violence. The Stonewall Uprising of 1969, and the courage of queer and trans* people of color fighting against police forces that continuously brutalized their communities catalyzed the first American Pride parades of 1970. Pride is a symbol of LGBTQIA communities' survival against forces of oppression, hatred, and destruction. We must recognize that the police and the oppression they sustain are simply extensions of the violence that took the lives of our queer siblings in Orlando, of our queer siblings overseas slaughtered by U.S. warfare, and our queer communities attacked by the same cops who claim solidarity with us during Pride then beat us once the rainbow flags are lowered.

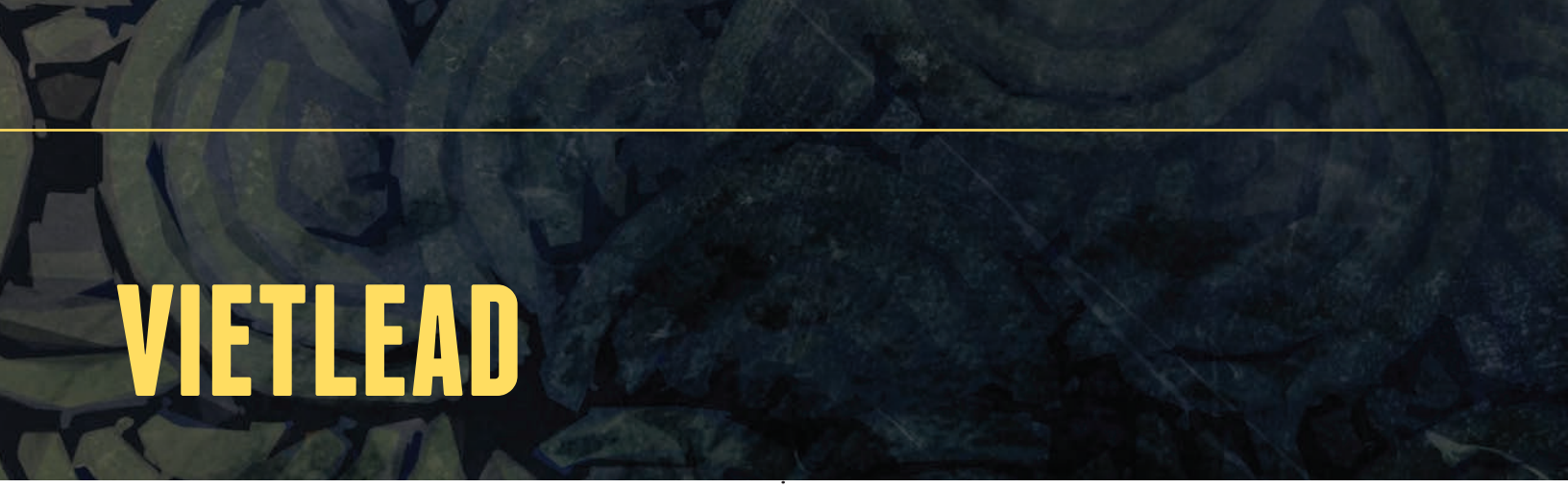
PrYSM has prioritized community safety since our inception, arising in response to gang violence that put the lives of Southeast Asian Youth at risk. PrYSM will be continuing our legacy of keeping marginalized communities safe and prioritizing the real NEEDS of communities of color. We will be boycotting Pride until RI Pride prioritizes queer and trans people of color.

We are calling for:

- Decreased police presence and surveillance of communities of color during RI Pride
- Financial and programmatic support of local grassroots organizations that seek to find alternatives to the police for community safety
- Rhode Island Pride must make public efforts to support LGBTQIA people facing or experiencing homelessness, to demonstrate support for our most endangered community members
- Rhode Island Pride must encourage other organizations to support the Community Safety Act, a city-wide ordinance that would protect the people of Providence against police misconduct.

PrYSM will be hosting an alternative Pride celebration later tonight at India Point Park from 6pm to 9pm. This celebration is for LGBTQIA-identified or allied people who would like a safe, welcoming, and free space to celebrate our survival and to heal from the violence against our community. If you would like to build community with us, you may speak to one of our coordinators or members to join.

For more information, contact Charles at cchhor@prysm.us or Helen at helen@prysm.us. Media responses: http://www.rifuture.org/prysm-statement-pride.html, http://www.rifuture.org/the-pulse-shooting-and-pride-through-a-different-prysm.html



VIETLEAD

"ON THE EDGE" & RACIAL WEDGE

SOUTHEAST ASIAN RESETTLEMENT AND ANTI-BLACKNESS IN PHILADELPHIA

Anti-Blackness

> *"Anti-Blackness is not simply the racist actions of a white man with a grudge nor is it only a structure of racist discrimination — anti-blackness is the paradigm that binds blackness and death together so much so that one cannot think of one without the other."*

- What do you think this means?

Nbpoc Anti-Blackness

- Anti-blackness does not allow black people to be human, but grants this privilege to non-black people of color (ex: Asian immigrants) because of their distance from blackness.
- In this way, NBPOC can perpetuate anti-blackness and can be used as a tool to carry out anti-blackness by whiteness (thus, a "wedge" between blackness and whiteness).

"NGAY RÌA" & CÁI NÊM CHỦNG TỘC

SỰ TÁI ĐỊNH CƯ ĐÔNG NAM Á VÀ ANTI-BLACKNESS TẠI PHILADELPHIA

Anti-Blackness

> *"Anti-blackness không chỉ đơn thuần là các hành động mang tính kỳ thị chủng tộc của một người đàn ông da trắng với một sự ác cảm, cũng không chỉ là một cấu trúc của sự phân biệt đối xử mang tính kỳ thị chủng tộc — anti-blackness là mô thức mà gộp chung sự đen và cái chết lại với nhau đến nỗi ta không thể nào hình dung về một trong hai thứ đó mà không nghĩ đến cái còn lại".*

- Theo các em thì cái này có nghĩa gì?

Anti-Blackness Từ Người Da Màu Không Phải Da Đen

- Anti-blackness không cho phép người da đen được là con người, nhưng trao đặc quyền này cho những người da màu không phải da đen (vd: di dân châu Á) bởi vì khoảng cách của họ từ sự đen.
- Qua cách này, NBPOC có thể duy trì anti-blackness và có thể được dùng như công cụ để giúp vận hành anti-blackness bởi sự trắng (do đó, như một cái "nêm" giữa sự đen và sự trắng).

Southeast Asia To Philly

- From 1975 to 1995 the Southeast Asian population of Philadelphia went from nonexistent to 20,000.
- Gentrification pushed many black folks out of their communities because they could no longer afford to pay rent.
- Resettlement agencies receiving government funding could pay this rent and resettle large communities of Southeast Asians in these vacant houses.

GENTRIFICATION AS INTERNAL COLONIALISM

"[I]nternal colonialism [is] a geographically-based pattern of subordination of a differentiated population, located within the dominant power or country. This subordination by a dominant power has the outcome of systematic group inequality expressed in the policies and practices of a variety of societal institutions, including systems of education, public safety (police, courts and prisons), health, employment, cultural production, and finance. This definition includes the subordinated population – the colonized – and the land on which they reside within a former settler colony or settler colony system."

- Robert Allen

"On The Edge"

Due to the resettlement patterns, Asian communities began forming in the boundary areas between white and black neighborhoods ("on the edge").

Từ Đna Đến Philly

- Từ 1975 đến 1995 dân số người Đông Nam Á tại Philadelphia tăng từ không đến 20.000.
- Sự quý tộc hoá đã đẩy nhiều người da đen khỏi cộng đồng của họ vì họ không còn khả năng trả tiền thuê nhà.
- Các cơ quan tái định cư nhận tiền từ chính phủ có thể trả khoản tiền thuê nhà này và tái định cư các cộng đồng Đông Nam Á lớn trong các khu nhà trống.

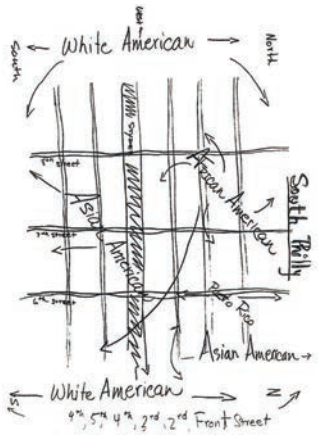
SỰ QUÝ TỘC HOÁ NHƯ LÀ CHỦ NGHĨA THỰC D N NỘI BỘ

"Chủ nghĩa thực dân nội bộ là một hình thức địa lý về sự phụ thuộc của một nhóm người khác biệt trong lòng một thế lực hay quốc gia thống trị. Sự phụ thuộc bởi thế lực thống trị này gây ra hậu quả là sự bất bình đẳng nhóm mang tính hệ thống thể hiện qua các chính sách và thực hành của một loạt các cơ quan đoàn thể xã hội, bao gồm hệ thống giáo dục, an ninh công cộng (cảnh sát, toà án, và nhà tù), sức khoẻ, việc làm, sản xuất văn hoá, và tài chính. Định nghĩa này bao gồm cả nhóm người phụ thuộc – những người bị đô hộ – và vùng đất mà trên đó họ cư ngụ trong lòng một thuộc địa định cư hay hệ thống thuộc địa định cư".

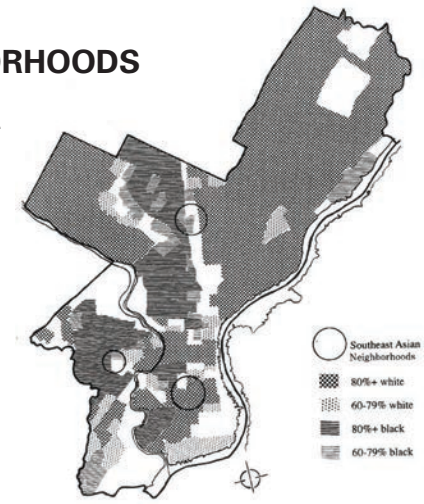
- Robert Allen

"Ngay Rìa"

Vì cách thức tái định cư, các cộng đồng châu Á bắt đầu thành hình trong các khu vực ranh giới giữa các khu dân cư da trắng và da đen ("ngay rìa").



SOUTHEAST ASIAN NEIGHBORHOODS
CÁC KHU DÂN CƯ ĐÔNG NAM Á



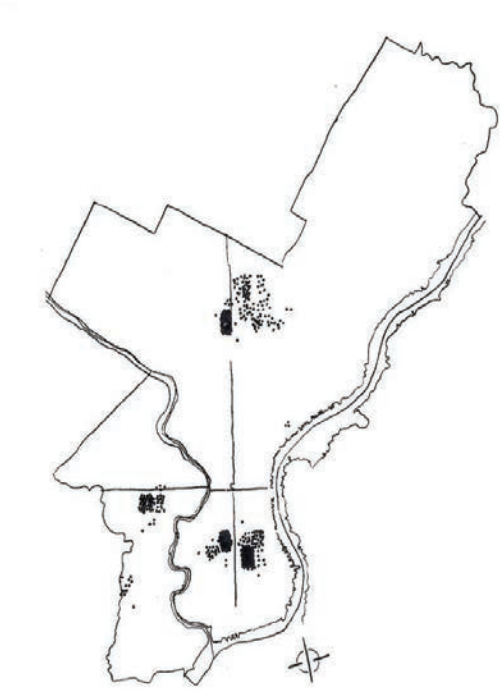


Figure 3

City of Philadelphia. One dot (•) represents 10 Cambodians or 10 Laotians.
(1990 Census Tract Data)

CAMBODIAN & LAO POPULATION
NHÓM NGƯỜI CAMPUCHIA VÀ LÀO

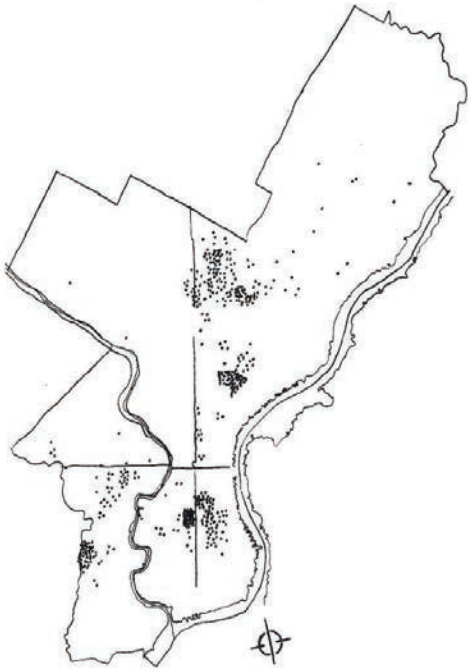


Figure 4

City of Philadelphia. One dot (•) represents 10 Vietnamese.
(1990 Census Tract Data)

VIETNAMESE POPULATION
NHÓM NGƯỜI VIỆT

Racial Wedge

- Tension formed between Southeast Asian communities and Black communities to fight for resources.
- Sometimes violence broke out– In 1988-89, Asians were 3-5% of population and were victims of 25-30% of interracial incidents.
- Black community members resented the privileges that refugees appeared to receive.

African Americans & The Vietnam War

- The Vietnam War was the first major combat deployment of a racially integrated military.
- Draft drew in disproportionate number of poor, undereducated, and urban men – who were likely to be black.
- Black men were 10% of army but accounted for 20% of combat-related deaths in Vietnam.
- Black men faced racism within army from fellow soldiers and many questioned their service for an anti-black, racist country.
- Upon return home, perceived that refugees received better treatment than black veterans who also suffered in the war.

Activity

- You will be given a couple quotes from Southeast Asian community members, Black community members, or resettlement agencies during the resettlement period.
- You have 20 minutes to read the quotes and prepare to draw a landscape of what is happening in each of the other two perspectives.
  - E.g., if you have a quote from the resettlement agency, you should draw the reactions from the black and Southeast Asian communities.
- You will have 5 minutes to share your landscape with the big group.

Cái Nêm Chủng Tộc

- Tình trạng căng thẳng hình thành giữa các cộng đồng ĐNA và các cộng đồng da đen nhằm cạnh tranh về vấn đề tài nguyên.
- Đôi khi bạo lực nổ ra – từ 1988-89, người châu Á là 3-5% tổng số dân và là nạn nhân của 25-30% tổng số vụ án xuyên chủng tộc.
- Các thành viên trong cộng đồng da đen tức giận về các đặc quyền mà các dân tị nạn có vẻ như nhận được.

Người Mỹ Gốc Phi Và Chiến Tranh Việt Nam

- Chiến tranh VN là lần triển khai chiến đấu quan trọng đầu tiên của một quân đội hoà nhập chủng tộc.
- Việc bắt buộc nhập ngũ ảnh hưởng đến một số lượng không cân bằng những người nam nghèo, ít có học thức, và cư ngụ trong thành phố – những người mà có khả năng rất cao là người da đen.
- Đàn ông da đen chiếm 10% quân đội nhưng cấu thành 20% những cái chết liên quan đến chiến đấu ở VN.
- Đàn ông da đen gặp phải sự kỳ thị trong quân đội từ những chiến binh khác và nhiều người chất vấn sự phục vụ của họ cho một đất nước anti-black và kỳ thị chủng tộc.
- Khi trở về nhà, họ cảm nhận là dân tị nạn được đối đãi tốt hơn các cự chiến binh da đen, những người mà cũng đã chịu khổ trong cuộc chiến.

Hoạt Động

- Các em sẽ được phát vài câu nói từ các thành viên trong cộng đồng Đông Nam Á, cộng đồng da đen, hay các cơ quan tái định cư từ thời kỳ tái định cư.
- Các em có 20 phút để đọc các câu nói này và chuẩn bị vẽ một quan cảnh miêu tả những gì đang xảy ra từ mỗi quan điểm khác.
  - Ví dụ, nếu các em có câu nói từ cơ quan tái định cư, các em nên vẽ phản ứng từ cộng đồng da đen và cộng đồng Đông Nam Á.
- Các em sẽ có 5 phút để chia sẻ bức vẽ của mình với nhóm lớn



PART 3: RESOURCES

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FACTSHEET

It is critical to know the facts about affirmative action in order to have productive conversations about it in Asian American communities. There are many misperceptions about affirmative action in higher education. Two of the main ones are that it imposes ***racial quotas*** and that it mandates unfair ***racial preferences***, creating advantages for Blacks and Latinos and producing disadvantages for whites and Asian Americans. This is simply untrue. Below are some facts and information on the most common myths about Asian Americans, affirmative action, and higher education.

FACT: *The idea that affirmative action unfairly hurts Asian Americans is a rightwing strategy to split the multiracial base of support for affirmative action, and to make opposition to affirmative action appear antiracist.*

Since the Republican Southern Strategy of the 1960s, the political right has repeatedly used "wedge strategies" exploiting bigotry and spreading misinformation in order to peel off key constituencies in progressive coalitions, especially on issues dealing with race, gender, and sexuality. Because it became less politically acceptable to be explicitly racist after the civil rights gains of the 1960s, the right typically frames opposition to affirmative action as an ***antiracist*** position, claiming that affirmative action is ***reverse*** racism that unfairly hurts whites. Similarly, when talking about Asian Americans and higher education, the right argues that affirmative action denies the civil rights of Asian Americans by blocking their rightful, earned access to elite colleges and universities.

These claims are a smokescreen for what is actually a white supremacist agenda to dismantle affirmative action. Leading opponents of affirmative action do not criticize the admission of legacy students. Legacy admissions are a longstanding practice by elite universities where children of alumni, who are predominantly wealthy and white, receive preferences in admissions. A study of 30 elite colleges found that primary legacy students (those whose parents are alumni) are 45% more likely to be admitted than non-legacy students. Another study showed that legacy status was equivalent in admissions value to

a 160-point gain on the SATs. The results can be seen on elite college campuses across the country. At Harvard, one-third of students offered admission are legacy students. The University of Pennsylvania and Brown also admit upwards of 33% of legacies, double their overall admissions rate. Princeton, which admits about 7% of all applicants, has at times admitted over 40% of legacy candidates. Elite public universities like the University of Michigan and the University of Virginia grant favor to legacy applicants.

If opponents of affirmative action were truly concerned about fairness, they would fight to end legacy admissions, which creates unfair advantages for the white and wealthy. Instead, anti-affirmative action advocates focus on the very small number of people of color – and specifically Black people – who are admitted as a result of affirmative action policies each year. The unspoken belief of rightwing strategists is that wealthy white people should not have to give up any of their advantages in higher education, and that everyone else, especially people of color, should have to fight each other for the leftovers.

***FACT:** Data shows that most Asian Americans support affirmative action, though that support is declining in particular ethnic subgroups.*

Studies show that the majority of Asian Americans support affirmative action despite claims to the contrary by affirmative action opponents. A Voter News Service/Los Angeles Times poll found that a majority of Asian Americans showed support for race-conscious admissions policies by rejecting Proposition 209 in California in 1996, a measure that prohibited public universities from considering race in admissions. The poll revealed that Asian American support for the measure was only in the range of 39% to 44%. Similarly, in Michigan in 2006, exit polls by the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) found that three out of four Asian American voters rejected Michigan's Proposal 2, a referendum seeking to ban race-conscious policies.

A multi-city survey of Asian Americans in 2000-2001 by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) found that 63.1% of Asian Americans indicated that affirmative action "is a good thing" as opposed to 5.7% who reported that it is a "bad thing" and 18.6% who reported that it "doesn't affect Asian Americans." Importantly, the survey found differences between Asian American ethnic sub-groups. Vietnamese were most likely to agree that affirmative action "is a good thing" (86.1%), while Indians were least likely to agree (though still a narrow majority at 52.5%). Such differences are consistent with studies showing that Asian Americans often differ along ethnic, generational, linguistic, and income lines when it comes to levels of assimilation, perceptions of opportunity, and attitudes toward social policy.

Most recently, a survey released in May 2016 by AAPI Data shows that a majority of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders continue to support affirmative action, including 60-70% of Filipino American, Japanese American, and Vietnamese Americans. However, support has decreased among Chinese Americans, from 63% in 2014 to 23% or 41% in 2016, depending on how the question is worded. This suggests that recent anti-

affirmative action messaging in Chinese American communities has impacted the views of Chinese American voters.

***MYTH:** Affirmative action imposes racial quotas, and makes race a determining factor in admissions.*

Quotas (limits on the number of people admitted from certain groups) as an approach to admissions died with the Supreme Court decision in ***Bakke vs. University of California*** in 1978, which declared the use of quotas unconstitutional in college admissions. However, the decision also affirmed that colleges and universities could continue using race as one of many factors in their selection processes. This "diversity rationale" would later be reaffirmed in the 2003 SCOTUS ruling in ***Grutter vs. Bollinger***.

Affirmative action policies at colleges and universities cannot make race the determining factor in admissions decisions, but race can be ***one of many*** factors in evaluating what an applicant might contribute to a campus environment. This is the current law of the land. Other factors that institutions consider, depending on institutional missions and goals, include:

- Legacy status (being the child of an alumnus/alumna and/or donor)
- Geographic location of home community and high school
- Special talents (e.g. athletic, musical, intellectual, etc.) that can contribute to institutional priorities
- Participation in academic preparation programs (e.g. Upward Bound, Talent Search, etc.)
- Test scores
- High school GPA

The University of California, for example, considers 14 criteria for undergraduate admissions.

***MYTH:** Schools that practice affirmative action grant special privileges to less qualified Black and Latino students over more qualified white and Asian American students.*

In a lawsuit filed on behalf of white college applicant Abigail Fisher against the University of Texas at Austin (UTA), Fisher claimed that affirmative action resulted in the unfair denial of her admission. However, Fisher was denied not because of affirmative action; she was simply not qualified. A brief filed by UTA showed that in 2008, the average SAT score for admitted students who were not ranked in the top 10% of their high school graduating class was 1285 out of 1600. Not only did Fisher not rank in the top 10% of her high school class, her academic profile was mediocre, with an 1180 SAT and 3.59 cumulative GPA. In fact, of the 47 applicants with lower SAT scores who were admitted that year, 42 were white. There were also 168 Black and Latino applicants with higher academic scores than Fisher who were rejected by UTA.

Some people think that any student on a college campus who isn't a white male was admitted without key qualifications because of affirmative action. Another common belief is that there is an "advantage" or even "racial privilege" in being Black, Latinx, Native



American, Pacific Islander, or Southeast Asian American when getting accepted into a selective college or university.

Being an under-represented minority applicant is not a racial privilege or advantage in terms of college access. Due to persistent racial segregation, these students are more likely than their peers to attend under-resourced K-12 schools. In 1954 the Supreme Court found racial segregation in public education to be unconstitutional in the case of Brown vs. Board of Education. However, segregation continued. In fact, public schools are now more racially segregated than they were in the 1970s. More than one-third of all Black and Latino students attend schools that are more than 90% non-white, and more than one-third of white students attend schools that are nearly all white. Moreover, school districts that are 90% or more white spend an average of $733 more on each student than districts that are 90% or more students of color. Attending an under-resourced school significantly limits one's college opportunities.

Again, as it currently stands, affirmative action means that race cannot be the decisive factor for any student, regardless of clear patterns of segregation and racial disparities in public education. All applicants must demonstrate potential for success at a given institution based on a range of factors.

When brokn down by ethnicity, it's clear that particular Asian American ethnic subgroups face social and economic disadvantages and remain underrepresented across the board at selective colleges and graduate programs. Blacks and Latinos are commonly believed to be the typical beneficiaries of diversity considerations, while Asian Americans are seen as "model minorities." In reality, education levels among certain Asian American ethnic groups are just about the same as Blacks and Latinos. For example, the percentage of Blacks and Latinos above the age of 25 who hold bachelor's degrees are 18% and 13% respectively, compared to 14% for Cambodian and Hmong communities, and 12% for Laotians. Disaggregated data reveals huge disparities, causing the model minority myth to fall apart.

Exposure to diversity is one of the most important parts of education. In a rapidly changing nation and world, no education is complete without the opportunity to interact with and to learn alongside people of different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. This is necessary in order to break down racial bigotry and to build the human capacity for understanding across difference.

***MYTH:** Applicants with perfect SAT or other test scores show strong academic merit and therefore should be admitted to any school they apply to.*

Why did UT Austin admit 47 applicants with lower SAT scores than Abigail Fisher into their 2008 freshman class? Why didn't it admit the 168 Black and Latinx applicants with higher scores? Why do Harvard, Princeton, and Yale reject students with perfect SAT scores? Because test scores are not strong measurements of academic merit.

Research shows that SAT scores only reliably predict about 5% of the variability in freshman year college GPA. Plus, class inequalities allow economically privileged students

to take advantage of expensive test prep classes to score higher on their SATs. The SAT has also been shown to be riddled with racial and cultural biases. This means that test scores are limited in what they reveal about any given applicant. It's no wonder that a growing list of colleges and universities have eliminated the use of test scores, or made them optional in undergraduate admissions processes.

At schools that continue to use tests, applicant scores are just one of many factors in evaluating college applicants and what they can offer to a campus learning environment. Some institutions could fill multiple classes with perfect test score applicants. However, they want students who have talents and skills beyond being good at multiple-choice tests. Because they only tell a small part of an applicant's story, test scores should never be the ultimate deciding factor in college admissions.

The struggle over affirmative action begs the question, what is merit? The answer is, "It depends." There are thousands of colleges and universities in the United States, and each one has its unique mission and values. Evaluating applications for admissions starts with deciding how an institution's values should shape the kind of student body it seeks. Schools that value academics, diversity, and principles of social justice and leadership must use diverse methods of evaluation, for there is no single test or metric for gauging a student's capacity in these respects.

***MYTH:** Affirmative action forces Asian Americans to give up spots to Blacks and Latinos.*

Under affirmative action, Asian Americans do not give up admissions spots to Blacks and Latinos; they compete for spots with students of all backgrounds. Opponents of affirmative action want us to believe that college admissions is a zero-sum game for people of color, with Asian Americans on one side and Blacks and Latinos on the other. This assumes that there is a fixed number of spots left for students of color after white students have been admitted. If this were true, it would mean that when an Asian American student applies to a university, she or he competes solely with Asian American, Black, Native American, and Latino candidates for the remaining spots.

This idea is in fact unconstitutional because it effectively creates a racial quota, or a cap on minority admissions, which is strictly prohibited by the Supreme Court. It would mean that white students were not in competition with Asian American, Black, Native American, or Latino students for admission into selective colleges. In a fair competitive admissions process, all applicants, regardless of race, would be in a single applicant pool, and then all of the factors that make each of them a good fit for the school would be evaluated, including their contribution to campus diversity.

Unfortunately, as it stands today, college admission is an unavoidably competitive process. However, for applicants of color, it should not be a race for the remainder of slots left after white student admissions. Under a fair policy, white students must compete for admission on a level playing field alongside students of color.

CASE STUDY: SCA 5 IN CALIFORNIA

- On Dec. 3, 2012, Senate Constitutional Amendment 5 (SCA 5) was introduced in the California Senate by Senator Edward Hernandez (Senate District 24) to undo certain effects of Proposition 209 (also deceptively called the CA Civil Rights Initiative), a state constitutional amendment passed by CA voters in 1996 that banned affirmative action in public employment, contracts, and education. Due to Prop 209, Hernandez said, "there has been a precipitous drop in the percentage of Latino, African American, and Native American students at California public universities, despite the fact that those same groups have seen steady increases in their percentages of college-eligible high school graduates." SCA 5 proposed to delete specific provisions pertaining to education, to re-allow race to be considered in higher education admissions.
- The California Senate passed SCA 5 in January 2014. However, in March, then Assembly Speaker, John Perez, an openly gay Democrat, referred the measure back to the Senate after receiving a letter written by three Asian American Senators: Ted Lieu, Carol Liu, and Leland Yee. The letter said:

  > *As lifelong advocates for the Asian-American and other communities, we would never support a policy that we believed would negatively impact our children… Given that many in the (Asian Pacific Islander) and other communities throughout the state feel that this legislation would prevent their children from attending the college of their choice, we have asked Senator Ed Hernandez to hold SCA 5 until he has had an opportunity to meet with affected communities and attempt to build a consensus.*

Senators Liu, Lieu, and Yee had voted for SCA 5 and then were inundated with letters and calls from constituents. This resulted in their decision to ask that the issue be referred back to the Senate for further review.

Proposition 209 passed in 2012 with 54.55% of the vote. It has survived several legal challenges, including two hearings before the CA Supreme Court (in 2000 and 2010). Another measure seeking to remedy Prop 209, SB 185, passed both chambers of the CA State Assembly in 2011, but was vetoed by Governor Jerry Brown. His rationale was that SB 185 wouldn't stand up in court.

The primary group that organized opposition to SCA 5 was the Chinese American 80-20 Political Action Committee and the 80-20 Initiative. This group organized opposition to the amendment mainly via social media platforms including weibo (a twitter-like social media site); WeChat (a Chinese mobile-based group messaging service); mittbs.com (a news forum), and Chinese online and print media. A Change.org Petition in Opposition to SCA 5 was circulated under the name Concerned Californians, and almost immediately garnered over 80,000 signatures. Tens of thousands more would sign, eventually ending in a victory with 116,363 signers.

The following Asian American organizations supported SCA 5:

- Asian Americans Advancing Justice | Asian Law Caucus
- UC Asian American & Pacific Islander Policy Multicampus Research Program (AAPI Policy MRP)
- National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education (CARE)
- Chinese for Affirmative Action
- The Civil Rights Project
- Asian Pacific Americans for Higher Education (APAHE)
- Southeast Asia Resource Center (SEARAC)
- Hmong Innovating Politics (HIP)

The following organizations support SCA 5, according to the Legislature's record.

- AFSCME
- American Association of University Women
- Association of California Healthcare Districts
- Bassett Teachers Association
- California Academy of Physician Assistants
- California Association for Nurse Practitioners
- California Black Chamber of Commerce
- California Black Health Network
- California Communities United Institute
- California Hospital Association
- California Medical Association
- California Nurses Association
- California Pan-Ethnic Health Network
- California Pharmacists Association
- California Primary Care Association
- California State Student Association
- California Teachers Association
- Equal Justice Society
- Equality California
- Health Access California
- Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area
- Medical Oncology Association of Southern California, Inc.
- People Improving Communities through Organizing
- Public Advocates
- The Greenlining Institute
- University of California Student Association
- Western Center on Law and Poverty

Opposing organization in the Legislature's record:

- American Civil Rights Coalition

Other organizations opposing SCA 5 are:

- American Civil Rights Institute
- Project on Fair Representation
- The Century Foundation
- The Center for Individual Rights
- Chinese American Federation (Representing about 100 Chinese American organizations)
- 80-20 National Asian American PAC
- The Committee of 100
- Asian Americans for Political Advancement PAC
- Backbone Foundation
- Chinese Alliance for Equality
- Chinese Americans for Progress and Equality
- Chinese United
- Chinese Young Professionals Networking
- Chinese-American Institute for Empowerment
- DFW Chinese Alliance
- On Leon Merchants Association of Miami
- Overseas Chinese Association of Miami
- Silicon Valley Chinese Association
- The Chinese Association of Science, Education and Culture of South Florida

- The Federation of Florida Chinese Associations
- The Great Philadelphia United Chinese American Chamber of Commerce
- The United Association of Chinese Alumni in Great Houston
- United Asian Americans for Activism
- United Chinese Associations of Eastern USA
- United Chinese Foundation
- The World Association of Chinese Elites
- Chinese-American Oceanic and Atmospheric Association
- 80-20 Asian American PAC Virginia-Maryland-DC Chapter
- USCCA (Univ. of Southern California, California Alumni Association)
- San Diego Asian American for Equality
- Indian American Forum for Political Education
- Chinese Americans for Progress & Equality
- Asian American Voters
- Joint Chinese University Alumni Association
- The Orange Club

<u>The text of the Concerned Californians' Change.org petition reads as follows:</u>

Dear California State Assembly Members,

1/30/2014 marked one of the darkest days in California's recent history of politics. On this day, the California Senate, controlled by the Democratic supermajority, approved Senate Constitution Amendment No. 5 (SCA 5), which would repeal provisions of Prop 209 and allow the State of California to deny an individual or group's rights to public education on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin.

To understand SCA 5, we have to remember what Prop. 209 is. In November 1996, Proposition 209 (also known as the California Civil Rights Initiative) amended the state constitution to prohibit state government institutions from discriminating against, or granting preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment , public education, or public contracting. In the 18 years that Prop 209 has been in effect, California has become the most diversified state in the US. Also, we fully support comprehensive measures having since been introduced to help students from disadvantaged families obtain higher education.

Now SCA 5 seeks to REMOVE any mentioning of "public education" in Prop. 209. The bill even wants to REMOVE University of California and public schools from the definition of State Government Institutions. This will unfairly roll back the clock to discriminate a student simply based on her/his race. If it succeeds, what will be next in its supporters' minds to be removed between other two areas (public employment and public contracting) in Prop. 209?

The 14th Amendment of the US Constitution clearly states that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws. The SCA 5 is racist and in violation of the US Constitution.

We hereby urge you to vote NO to SCA 5!

Another Change.org petition was circulated by the Silicon Valley Chinese Association to ask that the State "Establish a Bipartisan Committee to Investigate SCA 5 in a Transparent Way." The petition garnered 2,265 signatures. Leading with an image of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the petitions reads:

We write to urge you to establish a bipartisan committee to investigate SCA 5 in a transparent way.

As you know, SCA 5 is a constitutional amendment that would encourage racial discrimination in California's public education systems. Such State-sponsored discrimination will stir up racial hostilities in California.

SCA 5 was passed in the Senate strictly along the partisan line. No responsible citizen would like to see such a result—it is bad for California and America.

We appreciate the effort of our legislators that resulted in a joint statement regarding SCA 5 on March 17, 2014, which temporarily put SCA 5 on hold. We trust that this action embodied true political wisdom rather than short-term interest in votes.

The joint statement aimed "to have an honest and thoughtful conversation." Yet, it also stated that "a bicameral commission" would be formed and "the charge and membership of the commission [would] be determined by the Speaker and Senate President pro tem."

With all due respect, this proposed commission will unlikely be bipartisan, given the political reality within our state legislature. In fact, Senator Bob Huff (R) publicly commented that none of the Republican Senators had been invited to this commission, and any "meeting [would] likely be convened as a lopsided testimony in an attempt to lead the public to the conclusion that the concepts found in SCA 5 are good for California."

We are deeply concerned about this dire situation. We urge you to act as a responsible legislator for all Californians and establish a truly bipartisan committee—rather than a "bicameral commission"—to thoroughly investigate SCA 5 in a transparent way.

ANTI-AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ASIAN AMERICAN GROUPS

Asian American Coalition for Education: formed in 2014, and most recently brought together 132 Asian American groups (predominantly Chinese American) in a May 2016 joint complaint to the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice and the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education alleging discrimination against Asian American applicants at Yale University, Brown University and Dartmouth College. This was in the wake of a similar 2015 civil rights complaint against Harvard University. AACE uses much of the same language of civil rights and progressive social justice advocates – words like "equal rights", "diversity", "disadvantaged communities", etc.

80-20 Initiative: formed by Shien Biau "S.B." Woo

Sources: A Real Talk Primer on Affirmative Action, Fisher, College Admissions and Race by Dr. OiYan Poon, Assistant Professor of Higher Education at Loyola University Chicago; Asian Americans & Race-Conscious College Admissions: A Closer Look at the Supreme Court's Fisher v. Texas Case, Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Asian American Group Files Anti-Affirmative Action Complaint Against Yale, Dartmouth, Brown: What You Need To Know, Reappropriate, May 23, 2016; The Attitudes of Asian Americans Toward Affirmative Action, by Dr. Robert T. Teranishi, Associate Professor of Higher Education, New York University; The Misuse of Asian Americans in the Affirmative Action Debate, by Nancy Leong, UCLA Law Review, 2016; Does being a "legacy" increase your admission odds? by Dave Bergman, Co-Founder, College Transitions.

PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX FACTSHEET

ASIAN AMERICANS AND PRISONS

"My worst fear is being forgotten and dying alone in a prison cell…
If I had a message for our community, it's that we are still people…
Please don't forget about your lost sons and daughters."

– Felix Sitthivong, Clallam Bay Corrections Center

What is the PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (PIC)?

It's a term to describe the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to economic, social, and political problems. The PIC maintains the authority of people who get their power through racial, economic, and other systemic privileges by creating mass media images that stereotype people of color, poor people, queer people, immigrants, youth, etc. as criminal, delinquent or deviant. The PIC also maintains this power by earning huge profits for private companies that deal with prisons and police forces; helping to earn political gains for "tough on crime" politicians; increasing the influence of prison guard and police unions; and eliminating social and political dissent by people of color, poor people, immigrants, and others who demand self-determination and the reorganization of power in the United States.

What is criminalization?

Criminalization is the process that makes some actions illegal. Actions become crimes only after they are culturally or legally defined as crimes. What counts as crime changes over time, often because politicians manipulate public fears. For example, amid the radical social movements of the 1960s, both Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon ran presidential campaigns on "law and order" platforms, even though public polls showed that most Americans didn't see crime as a top concern and distinguished crime from the problems fueling social protest. Rightwing politicians like Goldwater and Nixon manipulated public opinion through the media and by their rhetoric, constructing a moral panic over crime that hinged on ideas of race. Liberals, too, advanced racial ideas about crime and poverty. President Lyndon B. Johnson warned of the "destructive rebellion against the fabric of society" that Black poverty created, and said, "A rioter with a Molotov cocktail in his hands is not fighting for civil rights any more than a Klansman with a sheet on his back and mask on his face. They are both more or less what the law declares them: lawbreakers, destroyers of constitutional rights and liberties and ultimately destroyers of a free America." To paraphrase scholar Naomi Murukawa, the United States did not racialize a crime problem; it criminalized a race problem.

Likewise, the criminalization of poverty includes controlling poor people through laws that make everything from public urination to sleeping in the park to participation in informal economies illegal and punishable. Criminalization is an important tool of the prison industrial complex, making it possible for police and courts to target specific actions and specific groups of people. It leads us to believe that everyone who breaks a law is a direct threat to society. Criminalization treats social, political, and economic problems as law enforcement problems, when in reality, watching, controlling and caging those who suffer most because of poverty or racism does not guarantee our safety and economic security. Criminalization is especially deadly for Black and Indigenous people. The numbers of per capita Native American deaths in police custody is roughly equal to those of Black people and nearly double the rates for Hispanics, and almost three times the rates for whites.

Are Asian Americans criminalized?

It is difficult to gain accurate data about Asian Americans in prison, or about Indigenous people including Alaska Natives, Native Americans, Native Hawai'ians, and Pacific Islanders, because they are all lumped into a group called "other". Among Asian Americans, it is often Southeast Asians who are criminalized, as well as other Asian Americans living in poverty, and Sikhs and South Asians targeted in the War on Terror. In the words of Oloth Insyxiengmay, a Lao American inmate at Stafford Creek Corrections Center, the criminalization of Southeast Asians is linked to the criminalization of Black and Brown people, and also to the model minority myth:

> *"Other more successful Asians didn't consider themselves as one of us, so help didn't appear to be offered, nor was help requested. We were the outsiders, the less successful Asians, the 'un-model minority'. There was an undertone of disdain and resentment between the different Asian groups. This sentiment was expressed and learned in the home. A history of tribalism, colonization, occupation, and conflict amongst the groups contributed to this attitude. From both points of view, a stance of 'us versus them' and 'our problem isn't their problem, their problem isn't our problem' seemed to exist. Furthermore, these 'well-to-do' Asians didn't live in the same neighborhoods we lived in, they didn't go to the same schools we went to. They were a distant thought, and wasn't considered a part of us. Whether it was gangs or otherwise, we embraced the attitude of, 'If nobody wasn't going to help us, we were going to help ourselves.' We just didn't have the resources to do so. Ironically, the criminalization that this produced mirrored that of the dominant minority groups (i.e., African American, Hispanic) in the community."*

What causes people to do harm?

There are many different kinds of harm, including interpersonal, institutional, physical, emotional, economic, environmental, legal, psychological, and sexual. There is no single answer to address the infinite ways in which we can do harm. However, criminalization is also a form of harm. Consider the words of Felix Sitthivong, reflecting on the harm that he did and on its roots and consequences:

> *"Throughout my life and incarceration I was always a young and stubborn person. Sometimes I still can be. I used to claim that I loved my*

neighborhood and that I would die or even kill for the few square blocks that I thought belonged to my set. How ignorant does that sound? How egotistical and narcissistic does one have to be in order to feel as though they have the right to die and put their family through all the grief, let alone take another life, for a few square blocks that we could barely afford to rent on? Own? Who truly owns a neighborhood? I've learned that nobody can ever own a neighborhood. It belongs to the people, and the people are the community. To genuinely say you love your neighborhood is to genuinely love your people and your neighbors. For the longest time, I never understood or even took the time to comprehend that concept. I now reminisce and am ashamed that I was what was wrong with the neighborhood that I thought I loved so dearly. My heart hurts and there's always a sense of regret when I look back at the person I used to be, and realize that the negative ways that I treated other people was just an internalized emotion that I felt towards myself. So much so that the victim in my case was a young man just like me... who grew up just like me... who had dreams and a family just like me... whose life got cut short because of ignorance and violence... just like me."

Do prisons reduce harm?

Many experts agree that prisons do not effectively reduce crime.[1] However, we should remember the definition of criminalization: a process that makes certain behaviors illegal. Crime is constructed for reasons that have little to do with safety or reducing harm, and more to do with politics. For this reason, there are many reasons to oppose prisons, apart from whether they reduce crime. Some of these reasons are: putting people in cages is immoral; getting rid of prisons is central to challenging white supremacy; and prisons are a form of violence, and are sites of violence.

What do prisons have to do with race?

The United States locks more human beings in cages than any other country in the world. The majority of those who are locked up are people of color. Black men are nearly six times as likely to be incarcerated as white men and Hispanic men are 2.3 times as likely. One in every 10 Black men in their thirties is in prison or jail on any given day. However, prisons also include growing numbers of white people. Even if the prison population reflected the demographics of the overall U.S. population, prisons would still be racial, in that they sort people between those who deserve power and self-determination, and those who don't. Remember that race is not biological or essential; it is constructed to sort humanity into "deserving" and "undeserving". For this reason, the word "race" is better understood as a verb, not a noun. Prisons ***race*** humanity.

Why are there so many people in prison?

In the 1980s, the United States launched the biggest prison-building spree in the history of the world. The United States is the world's leader in incarceration with 2.2 million people currently in the nation's prisons and jails — a 500% increase over the last 40 years. Changes in sentencing law and policy, not changes in crime rates, explain most of this increase.

1 See What Caused the Crime Decline? By Oliver Roeder, Lauren-Brooke Eisen, Julia Bowling, 2015

How do prisons affect our communities?

Prisons have broad and deep affects on our communities. They affect everyone in the United States by convincing us of the lie that we are safer because of prisons, and by using our tax dollars to fund prisons. The number of women in prison has been growing at nearly double the rate of men since 1985. Women in prison often have significant histories of physical and sexual abuse, high rates of HIV, and substance abuse problems. Women's imprisonment in female-led households forces children to suffer from their parent's absence and from the weakening of that family relationship. In addition, The United States is the only nation that sentences people to life without parole for crimes committed before the age of 18.

Read one Filipino American prisoner's story of how his incarceration has affected his family:

> *"My mother came to visit me when I first got locked up. I was 18 years old, facing the death penalty. So for the first 30 days, I had to be chained up from my arms to my legs. There was a glass between us too when she visited. When she saw me, she broke down sobbing and couldn't even stand. That was hard for me to see. They responded with a lot of support, love, and forgiveness. This is something they had to accept as a part their life, because at the end of the day, we're family and family should never be left behind no matter what happens."*
>
> — Billy Gumabon, Clallam Bay Corrections Center

Most prisons are PUBLIC.

Private prisons are growing, but only hold about 8 percent of the prison population and a barely measurable number of those in jails. The other 95 percent of prisoners are locked up in taxpayer funded, public prisons and jails. We should oppose both the privatization of prisons and the public funding of prisons.

What do prisons have to do with slavery?

As Angela Davis points out, the 13th Amendment abolished slavery except for convicts. The prison system, through Black Codes that criminalized Black people, and through convict leasing that forced prisoners to work for industries, recreated slavery after Emancipation. The end of slavery marked a profound change politically, economically, and culturally. As formerly enslaved Black people entered into U.S. political and economic life, and as angry whites staged a violent backlash, prisons were used to create the appearance of stability, and to rebuild the infrastructure of a devastated post-Civil War South. Similarly, the recent massive growth of prisons and the prison population since the 1980s is the state's response to profound changes in the economy through deindustrialization and globalization, which have rendered growing ranks of people unnecessary to the U.S. and global economy. Prisons are a way to manage these "surplus" people, and because of how the economy is structured, people of color bear the brunt of incarceration. As scholar and prison abolitionist Ruth Wilson Gilmore writes, "Put simply, capitalism requires inequality and racism enshrines it."

What do prisons have to do with settler colonization?

Tribal courts originated in 1824 with the formation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the War Department. Up to that time, Indigenous people had their own justice system beyond the reach of U.S. authorities. Pre-1824 tribal courts embodied a restorative approach that greatly differed from the punitive, adversarial system of the United States. Throughout the 19th

and 20th centuries, a host of laws and court decisions gradually eroded the judicial power of those Indigenous courts. This erosion took two forms. First, tribal authorities' power to prosecute has been limited to misdemeanors; felony cases are referred to federal jurisdiction. Second, the 1978 Supreme Court decision in Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe eliminated any tribal authority in criminal or civil matters where a non-Native person commits a crime on Native American land.

In addition, Indigenous scholars view reservations as "open-air prisons," spaces that in the early days were patrolled by white vigilantes to prevent Native people from "escaping." Boarding schools were yet another form of prison designed to control and contain Indigenous people as part of the U.S. colonial project. Just as police violence sparked the formation of the Black Panther Party, abuse in the prison system precipitated the formation of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the 1960s and 1970s.

What do prisons have to do with imperialism and war?

One skyrocketing area of incarceration is immigration detention, and private prison companies are responsible for 62 percent of the beds used by the Department of Homeland Security's Immigration and Customs Enforcement branch. Private firms like the Corrections Corporation of America and GEO Group operate nine out of 10 of the country's largest immigration detention centers. Both companies have lobbied the Department of Homeland Security on immigration policy, and are a powerful force in shaping the fate of refugees in the global War on Terror and undocumented migrants who leave their homes because of free trade agreements and violence due to the U.S.-supported drug war.

How can we dismantle the prison industrial complex?

> *"Be the voice that we need for API men and women locked up. Don't let us be forgotten or neglected."*
>
> – Michael "Big Mike" Maiava, Korean-Samoan American prisoner, Coyote Ridge Corrections Center

There are many efforts to dismantle the prison industrial complex, and we will not be able to do it overnight. One great resource to consider is a toolkit created by Critical Resistance, cited below. It is also important to know that Indigenous decolonization efforts have often fought to empower tribal courts that embody a restorative justice approach focused on healing and community building rather than on punishment. Today, many tribal courts sit in peacekeeping circles rather than vesting all authority in one judge seated on high. Fighting for ending the prison industrial complex should involve fighting for decolonization and the authority of tribal courts, which has been eroded by the U.S. government over centuries. It is also critical to organize with people who are currently and formerly incarcerated, and to create the conditions of community and deep humanity we need to dismantle the prison system.

Sources:

Holding Our Stories: From Incarceration to Healing in Asian American Communities, Formerly Incarcerated Group Healing Together, Washington State

A World Without Walls: The Critical Resistance Abolition Organizing Toolkit

Mass Incarceration Since 1492: Native American Encounters With Criminal Injustice, by James Kilgore, Truthout, Feb. 7, 2016

The Sentencing Project

HETEROPATRIARCHY & WHITE SUPREMACY

This guide is designed to generate discussions about the importance of addressing heteropatriarchy in our movement building work, beyond the politics of inclusion and representation. The stories and questions are intended to build analytical connections between heteropatriarchy and the logics of settler colonialism, slavery, and imperialism. This discussion guide assumes a basic understanding of heteropatriarchy, race, and white supremacy (see the modules in this toolkit). The whole discussion should take about two hours.

Trans & Queer Movement Building: What's It All About?

- Break up into two groups. Assign one of the first two handouts to each group. Have the groups take 15 min to read their articles, and then discuss for 15 min:
  - What does this article say about the connections between race, gender, and sexuality in white supremacy?
  - What violence does heteropatriarchy do (cause?) ?
- Each group should pick someone to report back to the full group. Reconvene after 30 min, and take 15 min for report backs.

1. Gender, Race, & Imperialism: The Case of Jennifer Laude

Distribute handout #3 and ask everyone to take 15 minutes to read the story. **Warn folks ahead of time about the violence and sexual explicitness in this story.** As a full group, take 20 min to discuss the questions below:



- What role did Jennifer's transgender identity play in her murder?
- Was Joseph Pemberton treated differently than other people who commit crimes in the Philippines? Why?
- What is the relationship between sex work, trafficking, and the economy in the Philippines?

2. The Current Landscape for Trans & Queer People1

Pass out handout #4. Break up into small groups. Assign each group two of the BIG PROBLEMS to explore from the chart. Ask each group to spend 15 min discussing:

1 Bassichis, Morgan, Alexander Lee, and Dean Spade. "Building an Abolitionist Trans and Queer Movement With Everything We've Got." Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex. Ed. Eric A. Stanley and Nat Smith. Oakland, CA: AK, 2011. 17-19.

- Examples of each of the two problems. Are there examples of how queer or trans people in your own family or community are affected by these problems?
- Do these problems also affect non-queer and non-trans people? How?
- What's the difference between the "official" solutions and the transformative approaches to these problems?

Come back to the full group, and watch this 5.5-minute video: https://vimeo.com/1530391812

Spend 20 min discussing as a full group:

- Why is inclusion and representation not enough to dismantle white supremacy?
- What issue are you working on, and what would a transformative approach be to that issue, one that leaves nobody behind?

2 Queer Dreams and Nonprofit Blues: Understanding the Nonprofit Industrial Complex, videos by Dean Spade and Hope Dector - http://sfonline.barnard.edu/navigating-neoliberalism-in-the-academy-nonprofits-and-beyond/dean-spade-hope-dector-queer-dreams-and-nonprofit-blues-understanding-the-npic/#sthash.I3lX0GtU.dpuf

HANDOUT #1

What does queer liberation have to do with racial justice?

Even before the Stonewall riots in 1969, there was a long history of policing of trans and queer communities in New York City, and of queer, trans, and gender-non-conforming survival and resistance. This was also true in cities beyond New York City. Few people today know about the Compton Cafeteria riot in San Francisco's Tenderloin district in 1966, when police cracked down on transgender activists who were fiercely resisting routine police harassment. This history is important for thinking about dismantling and creating alternatives to the police state. Especially low-income queer and trans people of color have directly intervened in police violence for decades, while also reimagining the idea of safety and what it truly requires.

The connection between queer justice and racial justice is not academic, but resides in the bodies and lives of trans and queer people who have been fighting police brutality for decades. In the early 1970s, activists of the gay liberation movement looked to the Black Panther Party in their call for an end to the "racist police force." They understood the police and the prison system to be fundamentally oppressive of racial, sexual, and gender minorities alike. On the one-year anniversary of Stonewall, they marched in front of New York City's Women's House of Detention, across the street from the Stonewall Bar, where Black Panther members Afeni Shakur and Joan Bird were incarcerated, and shouted, "Free Our Sisters! Free Ourselves!"

Many mainstream LGBT advocates have forgotten the revolutionary politics of Stonewall, and instead reference it to support narrow arguments for inclusion in marriage, the military, the market economy, and hate crimes legislation. Efforts to assimilate into mainstream society erase the history of queer liberation activists who understood viscerally the dangers of aligning with the police, and practiced alternatives for community safety and protection from harm through community building and transformational love.

— Paraphrased from "Reclaiming Our Lineage: Organized Queer, Gender-Nonconforming, and Transgender Resistance to Police Violence," by Che Gossett, Reina Gossett, and AJ Lewis

HANDOUT #2

What does fighting heteropatriarchy have to do with settler colonialism?

Indigenous feminist scholars Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill challenge mainstream feminism by breaking down the connections between heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism that reside in the bodies and lives of Indigenous women and female-identified people. They use the term heteropaternalism to describe how settler colonialism deploys heteropatriarchy – which says that the "father" is the central authority – as the norm for building citizen families and the nation-state. It insists on the gender binary, and casts those who are male as strong, capable, wise, and composed, and those who are female as weak, incompetent, naïve, and confused.

Heteropatriarchy serves settler colonialism by trying to disappear Indigenous peoples' complex structures of government and kinship, and to turn Indigenous peoples into settler state citizens. In Canada, the Indian Act of 1876 regulated Indigenous peoples' marriages to say that descent, property, and landholding would be passed down through men, even though most Indigenous societies were matrilineal. Boarding schools likewise tried to break family and community ties and to destroy the intergenerational transfer of identity, politics, and culture by removing Native children from their families. The process of "kill the Indian and save the man" has tried to instill Western gender roles, often resulting in sexual violence.

Settler nations' enforcement of "proper" gender roles has also tried to curb Indigenous peoples' claims to land. In Hawai'i, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 created a system requiring a threshold of 50 percent Native Hawaiian blood in order to lease (but never own) small plots of land called homesteads. This largely remains in effect today. Some Native Hawaiians now defend this blood-quantum system as the "traditional" standard, despite the fact that Native Hawaiian lineage has long been inclusive along both patrilineal and matrilineal lines, and never solely defined by blood. Native Hawaiian women face pressure to partner with certain Native Hawaiian men in order to produce children who could meet the 50 percent blood quantum, and are sometimes criticized for failing to "save the race" when they don't.

Native Hawaiian and other Indigenous women have long been fighting for decolonization within and beyond their own communities. For them, there is no separation between fighting heteropatriarchy and fighting settler colonialism.

— Paraphrased from "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy" by Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill

HANDOUT #3

The case of Jennifer Laude

Violence directed at transgender women, especially transgender women of color, is a global epidemic. The number of transgender women who are killed is rising exponentially, and advocacy organizations and law enforcement agencies estimate that the number of actual murders is much larger due to a lack of accurate and comprehensive reporting, and to the misgendering of trans people by police.

The word "intersectionality" has become popular in social justice movements. The violence that targets transgender women is a clear example of how race, class and gender collide. The murder of Jennifer Laude also adds another dimension: U.S. imperialism.

Jennifer Laude, a 26-year old Filipina trans woman, was murdered in October of 2014 in Olongapo, Phillippines by U.S. Marine Joseph Pemberton. Laude and Pemberton met in a nightclub and went to a nearby motel. Pemberton testified that when Jennifer was performing a sex act on him, he reached between her legs and felt a penis. He testified that he freaked out and strangled her, but did not kill her. Jennifer's body was found over the toilet where she had been strangled and drowned. Pemberton was found guilty of homicide instead of murder, because the court said that he acted out of "passion and obfuscation." He was sentenced to six to 12 years. The usual sentence for homicide in the Philippines is 20 to 40 years.

Because of U.S. imperialism, the murder of Jennifer Laude has ramifications beyond the "typical" criminal case. In 1999 the Philippines and United States signed the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), followed in 2014 by the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA). These agreements allow the U.S. government jurisdiction over U.S. military personnel accused and convicted of committing crimes in the Philippines. In the Laude case this means that the U.S. government decides where Pemberton serves his sentence and the physical conditions of his cell. Pemberton will not serve his sentence in the New Bilibid Prison, where 23,000 Filipino prisoners are incarcerated in a prison designed for 8,500 inmates. Instead he is in a newly painted cell with air conditioning (per order of the U.S. government) located in the Armed Forces of the Philippines Custodial Center. The U.S. government will also provide legal assistance in Pemberton's appeal of the sentence. Jennifer's mother, Julita Laude, said, "We already know he's a killer, and he still gets special treatment."

Local governments in the Philippines rely economically on the presence of the U.S. military. Olongapo City Councilor Aquilino Cortez Jr. reports that the city has lost an estimated 20 million pesos (about $425,000) as a result of the suspension of off-base leisure activity for U.S. military personnel in the area.

The presence of transgender sex workers in Olongapo exists in the broader context of sex trafficking and forced labor from the Philippines. An estimated one million Filipinos migrate abroad each year for work, and 10 million Filipinos currently live and work abroad. Many are subjected to forced labor in factories, at construction sites, on fishing vessels, on agricultural plantations, and as domestic workers in Asia and the Middle East. Filipina domestic servants

face rape and violent physical and sexual abuse. Women have been trafficked into the commercial sex industry in countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Japan, and in various Middle Eastern countries.

The Coalition Against Trafficking In Women – Asia Pacific's (CATW-AP) Executive Director, Jean Enriquez, said, "Getting justice is even harder if you are up against the most powerful country in the world; more so when victims are women who are commodified, objectified, discriminated in society. This hate crime against Jennifer is illustrative of the continuum of violence suffered by many women, including trans women."

Local and international organizations like Bayan and the Bayan Queer Caucus, NAFCON, the Gabriella Network, CATW-AP, and the U.S. Out of Asia-Pacific Coalition have organized protests in the Philippines and the United States. They demand the repeal of the VFA and are pressuring the Philippine Congress to pass anti-discrimination legislation to protect the LGBTQ community.

— Sources: Balitang America, Rappler, Wikipedia, CBS News Reports, Gabriella Network, Bayan, NY Times, BuzzFeed.

HANDOUT #4

BIG PROBLEMS	"OFFICIAL" SOLUTIONS	TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES
Queer and trans people, poor people, people of color, and immigrants have minimal access to quality healthcare	Legalize same' sex marriage to allow people with health benefits from their jobs to share with same-sex partners	Strengthen Medicaid and Medicare; win universal healthcare; fight for transgender health benefits; end deadly medical neglect of people in state custody
Queer and trans people experience regular and often fatal violence from partners, family members, community members, employers, law enforcement, and institutional officials	Pass hate crimes legislation to increase prison sentences and strengthen local and federal law enforcement; collect statistics on rates of violence; collaborate with local and federal law enforcement to prosecute hate violence and domestic violence	Build community relationships and infrastructure to support the healing and transformation of people who have been impacted by interpersonal and intergenerational violence; join with movements addressing root causes. of queer and trans premature death, including police violence, imprisonment, poverty, immigration policies, and lack of healthcare and housing
Queer and trans members of the military experience violence and discrimination	Eliminate bans on participation of gays and lesbians in US military	Join with war resisters, radical veterans, and young people to oppose military intervention, occupation, and war abroad and at home, and demand the reduction/ elimination of "defense" budgets
Queer and trans people are targeted by an unfair and punitive immigration system	Legalize same-sex marriage to allow same-sex international couples to apply for legal residency for the non-US-citizen spouse	End the use of immigration policy to criminalize people of color, exploit workers, and maintain the deadly wealth gap between the United States and the Global South; support current detainees and end ICE raids, deportations, and police collaboration

continued next page

BIG PROBLEMS	"OFFICIAL" SOLUTIONS	TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES
Queer and trans families are vulnerable to legal intervention and separation from the state, institutions, and/or non-queer people	Legalize same sex marriage to provide a route to "legalize" families with two parents of the same sex; pass laws banning adoption discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation	Join with struggles of queer/trans and non-queer/trans families of color, imprisoned parents and youth, Native families, poor families, military families, and people with disabilities to win community and family self-determination and the right to keep kids, parents, and other family members in their families and communities
Institutions fail to recognize family connections outside of heterosexual marriage in contexts like hospital visitation and inheritance	Legalize same-sex marriage to formally recognize same-sex partners in the eyes of the law	Change policies like hospital visitation to recognize a variety of family structures, not just opposite-sex and same-sex couples; abolish inheritance and demand radical redistribution of wealth and an end to poverty
Queer and trans people are disproportionately policed, arrested, and imprisoned, and face high rates of violence in state custody from officials as well as other imprisoned or detained people	Advocate for "cultural competency" training for law enforcement and the construction of queer and trans- specific and "gender-responsive" facilities; create written policies that say that queer and trans people are equal to other people in state custody; stay largely silent on the high rates of imprisonment in queer and trans communities, communities of and poor communities	Build ongoing, accountable relationships with and advocate for queer and trans people who are locked up to support their daily well-being, healing, leadership, and survival; build community networks of care to support people coming out of prison and jail; collaborate with other movements to address root causes of queer and trans imprisonment; work to abolish prisons, establish community support for people with disabilities and eliminate medical and psychiatric institutionalization, and provide permanent housing rather than shelter beds for all people without homes

MUSLIMS & ISLAM: THE FACTS

"My faith teaches me empathy for all and imposes a personal obligation to fight injustice and inequality in all its forms."

- Zehra Naqvi[1]

"The Muslim community and LGBT community are not separate… I am Muslim, I am queer and I exist."

– Sonj Basha[2]

"Black Muslims have been racialized since day one. We never stopped being Black."

– Kameelah Mu'Min Rashad[3]

What is Islam?[4]

Islam is the name of a religion, as Christianity and Judaism are names of religions. The Arabic word "Islam" is based on the root "slm," which means peace or surrender to God. Combining both translations results in the combined meaning "the state of peace through following God's guidance."

God's love for humanity is central to the Muslim faith. The Qur'an mentions God's compassion and mercy 192 times, as opposed to God's wrath, which is mentioned only 17 times. Two of God's main attributes are the "Compassionate" and the "Merciful." Both of these names denote God's love and care for all creation.

Islam's primary message is the continuation of the monotheistic, Abrahamic tradition's belief in one God. The three major dimensions of Islam include beliefs, ritual practices, and the goal and effort to improve one's character and actions. The last dimension focuses on good works and excellence in character in both one's spiritual relationship with God and one's everyday actions.

There are some 1.6 billion Muslims in the world today. Fifty countries have majority Muslim populations, with distinct histories and cultures. There are also sizeable Muslim minorities in many other countries, including the United States and virtually all the countries of Europe, living Islam in their own unique situations.

Islam, like all religions, does not live or speak apart from the people who practice it. There is no monolithic Islam, since, like any other religion, Islam exists only as it is understood and

1 What's It Like Being Muslim in America? By Zehra Naqvi, The Huffington Post, Nov. 16, 2015
2 Seattle LGBTQ leader: 'I am Muslim, I am queer and I exist', by Nina Shapiro, The Seattle Times, June 23, 2016
3 We Too Sing America: South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh Immigrants Shape Our Multiracial Future, by Deepa Iyer
4 Answers to these questions reflect the views of the U.S. Muslim scholars and advocates affiliated with the resources listed at the end of this FAQ. They do not, and could not, represent the views of all Muslims. In most cases, however, the views presented here are likely in accord with Islam as believed in, practiced, and lived by the majority of Muslims in the United States and worldwide.

practiced by people. As in other faith traditions, Muslim scholars have different positions and responses to the numerous questions and issues that have existed in various parts of the world over the past 1,400 years. Differences exist partly because of geographic, ethnic, cultural, and age differences among Muslims.

Does Islam teach the hatred of non-Muslims?

No, hatred or subjugation of people of other faiths violates the Islamic principles of respect for human dignity and for freedom of religion and conscience. Muslims understand the Qur'an explicitly to forbid the forcible imposition of religion when it states, "there is no compulsion in religion" (2:256) and describes religious pluralism as part of God's plan. The existence of old churches, temples, and synagogues throughout the Muslim world in places like Egypt, Turkey, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, India, and Bosnia, and the existence of minority religious populations in those areas, shows that this command was historically followed by many Muslim societies.

What is the main difference between Sunnis and Shi'as?

The majority of both Sunnis and Shi'as share the core beliefs of Islam—the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad—and adhere to the Five Pillars of Islam: Belief, Worship, Fasting, Almsgiving, and Pilgrimage.

The main differences between them today are their sources of knowledge and religious leadership. In addition to the Qur'an and hadith, the Shias and the many sects that comprise them rely on the rulings of their Imams and resulting variations in beliefs and practices.

Historically, the difference originated from the question of succession after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and is related to differing views about appropriate leadership for the Muslim community. Shi'as believe that succession to the spiritual and political rule of the Muslim community lies only with the family and certain descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Sunnis believe that the Muslim community was free to choose the most qualified person as ruler. Shi'as believe that God chose Muhammad's cousin Ali, who was married to his daughter Fatima, to be the Prophet Muhammad's successor, and that Muhammad formally announced this before his death. Shi'as also view Ali as the first in a line of Imams, or preeminent religious leaders, whom they regard as the spiritual and political successors to Muhammad. In contrast, Sunnis believe that Muhammad did not appoint any particular person as his spiritual or political successor.

What is hijab?

The Arabic word hijab literally means "curtain." When used to refer to dress, it either implies modest dress that includes a headscarf or refers only to a headscarf.

"Hijab" is often incorrectly used interchangeably with the terms burqa and niqab. "Hijab" is generally used to refer to a headscarf, "burqa" to a covering of the entire body including the face, while "niqab" refers to a face covering that conceals most of the face but exposes the eyes. Some Muslim women wear hijab while others do not, and expressions of hijab vary greatly by culture, individual taste, and conviction.

Some Muslim women accept an interpretation of the Qur'an established in the formative period of Islam that references Quranic verses and hadith (prophetic sayings) as obligating women to cover their hair and much of their body for the sake of modesty.

The wearing of hijab is, however, a matter of free choice by women in most of the Muslim world. Women who choose to wear it do so for a variety of reasons: as a sign of identity, as an act of devotion to their faith, or to indicate that they do not want to be judged by their physical characteristics. Likewise, some Muslim women understand modesty to require covering their whole body including their faces and therefore when in public wear a burqa (which covers the body and face) or niqab (a covering for the face that leaves the eyes exposed).

The Qur'an instructs both men and women to be modest, but how this is practiced varies greatly. One understanding of modest dress for men in some Muslim traditions requires them to cover from the navel to knee and to dress modestly in loose-fitting clothing. The traditional clothing worn by Muslim men in such places as South Asia, where they wear a loose shirt and pants, or in some Arab countries, where men wear what looks like a long dress (jalaba) and a headscarf (kuffiyah), differs little in the extent of covering from the traditional dress of Muslim women. While it is not as common to see this type of male dress in America, many Muslim men grow a beard and wear a head covering that resembles a skullcap, as do observant practitioners in some other religious traditions.

Are men and women equal in Islam?

Many Muslims in America and elsewhere advocate and demand complete equality between men and women. Women have held many positions of authority and leadership in the American Muslim community. In Muslim-majority countries, women work as physicians, businesswomen, engineers, and lawyers. Muslim women have been heads of state in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Turkey, Kosovo, and Pakistan. In other Muslim communities, depending on social, historical, and cultural conditions, the position of women is very different, and is not equal either in theory or practice due to oppressive patriarchal attitudes and practices.

There are 50 Muslim-majority countries in the world. They differ widely on women's rights, depending on a variety of factors, including political development, social and economic circumstances, and cultural views and practices; even within a single country, there may be considerable differences because of region (urban or rural), education, and even family circumstances. Religion may or may not play a significant role in the rights women have.

What is Sharia?

Sharia comes from an Arabic word meaning "path to the water." Sharia is often translated as "Islamic law," which is not wrong, but incomplete. Sharia is divine guidance that is drawn from the Qur'an and Sunnah (teachings and guidance of Prophet Muhammad) for the purpose of helping humanity to worship and draw close to God, and to live with love, kindness, and justice towards His Creation.

Sharia has five main objectives: to protect life, property, lineage, religion, and intellect. The overarching objective is to establish social justice, fairness, mercy, and security in societies.

Sharia rulings or religious commandments are similar to the Ten Commandments. Both claim divine authority, but require human interpretation, are religiously binding, and in that sense are "sacred law." Only some of them are social and, of these, only a very few intersect with government law.

What is the Islamic view on terrorism?

The vast majority of Muslims unequivocally condemn terrorism. Terrorism, defined as the use of violence and threats to intimidate, coerce, or exact retribution, especially for political purposes, flagrantly violates at least three interrelated Islamic principles: respect for life, right to due process, and individual responsibility. The principle of respect for life prohibits the targeting of innocent civilians, even during a state of war.

Why do extremists use the Qur'an to justify terrorism in the name of Islam?

Muslim extremists use the Qur'an the same way that Christian extremists such as the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations or Jewish extremists in Israel use the Bible: by taking phrases out of context, and developing interpretations that serve their agendas. We should oppose all forms of religious extremism, for the division and immense violence they wreak upon humanity.

It is also important to understand the role of U.S. imperialism in animating Muslim extremism. There is no justification for terrorist violence, but stopping it demands that we address its root causes. This must include the role of the United States in waging unjust wars and military operations, and in supporting repressive regimes in the Middle East and elsewhere. That factor is a central motivation for those attracted to extremist movements like ISIS that claim to act in the name of Islam. In particular, the U.S. role in providing unrestricted military aid that supports the illegal Israeli occupation of Palestinian land fuels anger against the United States and the west. The Israeli occupation has been condemned by human rights groups all over the world, including Jewish leaders and organizations, and has been found to be illegal by the United Nations. In the arena of foreign policy, we need to hold the U.S. government accountable to the principles of universal human rights as part of an overall strategy for peace and security.

What is jihad?

The Arabic term jihad literally means "striving." Jihad is often mistranslated as "holy war." While the word can refer to military action against an aggressor, this is by no means the only meaning of the term. Traditionally, Muslim sources distinguish between the "greater" and the "lesser" jihad. Muslim scholars describe the "greater jihad" as an internal struggle to avoid negative actions and to cultivate good character. The "lesser jihad" is the external striving for justice, in self-defense or against oppression. One can do this in one's heart, with one's tongue or pen, and, if these are ineffective, by forcibly trying to change an oppressive situation, as, for instance, the Allies in World War II went to war against the aggression of Hitler.

What is ISIS?

ISIS stands for the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, also called the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant or ISIL, and, more recently, just IS or Islamic State. The group is popularly known as Da'-ish in Arabic. Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, former Al-Qaeda member in Iraq, is credited with laying out ISIS' original ideology. Though killed by a U.S. airstrike in 2006, Zarqawi was the first to move the insurgency in Iraq from a struggle against U.S. troops to a Shia-Sunni war.

The demographics of ISIS are diverse; it has members of different ages, ethnicities,

and agendas. Former followers of Saddam Hussein's Baathist regime in Iraq make up a substantial portion of the organization. Following U.S. intervention, Baathist supporters who were not put in military prisons fled into hiding. When US troops withdrew, the weakness of the interim government left a power vacuum. This was an ideal setting for the creation of ISIS. Teaming up with former members of Al-Qaeda's Iraq branch, former Baathists created what became ISIS.

Led by Abu Ayyub Al-Masri, a former Al-Qaeda member, and Omar Al-Baghdadi, a former Baathist, a handful of small insurgent groups joined together to form the Islamic State in Iraq. There is much speculation over who the original leader was, but Al-Baghdadi was identified as the organization's public face. Both of these leaders were killed in an U.S.-Iraqi air strike in 2010.

In June 2014, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi proclaimed himself the Caliph. He is known as the invisible sheikh, commonly covering his face in order to create an alluring shroud of mystery. He is rumored to have several college degrees in Islamic studies. In February 2014 al-Qaeda cut all ties with the group, reportedly because of its brutality, and after a falling out between ISIS and another al-Qaeda-related Syrian opposition group, al-Nusra Front, but the Baathist roots within the Islamic State are very strong. Many former Saddam Hussein followers have been known to hold high positions in ISIS' regime and ISIS makes use of Baathist intelligence tactics. Today, ISIS has occupied large areas in Iraq and Syria, creating chaos, murdering and terrorizing thousands, and driving many more from their homes. The majority of ISIS' victims are Muslim.

Have American Muslim leaders spoken out against terrorism?

Yes. Many American Muslim leaders and organizations have repeatedly denounced extremist violence in the strongest possible terms. Of the many statements and actions taken by American Muslims to condemn and counter terrorism, the fatwa (religious ruling) from the Fiqh Council of North America (an Islamic juristic body) captures the views of the vast majority of American Muslims:

"Islam strictly condemns religious extremism and the use of violence against innocent lives. There is no justification in Islam for extremism or terrorism."

The Fiqh Council of North America's statement affirms the following Islamic principles:

"[1] All acts of terrorism, including those targeting the life and property of civilians, whether perpetrated by suicidal or any other form of attacks, are haram (forbidden) in Islam.

[2] It is haram (forbidden) for a Muslim to cooperate with any individual or group that is involved in any act of terrorism or prohibited violence.

[3] It is the civic and religious duty of Muslims to undertake full measures to protect the lives of all civilians, and ensure the security and well-being of fellow citizens."

Why is there so much hate against Muslims in the United States?

The Center for Race and Gender at UC Berkeley defines Islamophobia as "a contrived fear or prejudice fomented by the existing Eurocentric and Orientalist global power structure. It is directed at a perceived or real Muslim threat through the maintenance and extension of existing disparities in economic, political, social, and cultural relations, while rationalizing



the necessity to deploy violence as a tool to achieve "civilizational rehab" of the target communities (Muslim or otherwise). Islamophobia reintroduces and reaffirms a global racial structure through which resource distribution disparities are maintained and extended."

One of the reasons for the rise in anti-Muslim sentiment and violence is that there is an organized network of groups that work to build up that sentiment and violence.

Organized Islamophobia, by the numbers:

Number of groups that make up the U.S. Islamophobia network, according to a June 2016 report by the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the Center for Race and Gender at UC Berkeley

74

Number of these groups that make up the "inner core" whose primary purpose is to promote prejudice and hatred against Islam and Muslims

33

Amount of money these "inner core" groups had access to between 2008 and 2013

$205,838,077

Number of U.S. states with current anti-Islam laws

10

Number of anti-Islam incidents targeting mosques in 2015

78

Increase over the prior year

390%

Sources & Resources:

Islamic Networks Group https://ing.org/

Teaching Tolerance: A Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center http://www.tolerance.org/publication/american-muslims-united-states

Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative (Muslim ARC) http://www.muslimarc.org/

The Sikh Coalition http://www.sikhcoalition.org/resources/about-sikhs

Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF) http://saldef.org/

A Demographic Snapshot of South Asians in the United States, South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT)

Islam in America, PBS http://www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/feature/islam-in-america/

Confronting Fear: Islamophobia and its Impact in the U.S. 2013-2015, Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the Center for Race and Gender at UC Berkeley, June 20, 2016

OPEN LETTER

TO OUR SOUTHEAST ASIAN COMMUNITY ON BLACK SOLIDARITY

TO OUR LOVED SOUTHEAST ASIAN PEOPLE

WE HAVE BEEN WITNESS TO SEVERE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE BLACK COMMUNITY, AND WE HAVE HEALING AND ORGANIZING TO DO:

On Monday November 24th, a St. Louis County prosecutor announced that Mike Brown's killer will not be indicted. We are heartbroken with rage and sadness that another Black child was murdered in the street and no one will be held accountable. And again today, justice has been denied as the system chooses to hold no one accountable in the murder of Eric Garner by the NYPD. We cry for the families of Mike Brown and Eric Garner as they are forced to find peace through their own means and struggle. We are pained to our core that the community's truth is so violently and publicly stripped away through legal system processes that weren't built to honor our truth.

WE NEED TO DO OUR WORK OF CONNECTING OUR STRUGGLES TO THOSE OF OUR BLACK SISTERS, BROTHERS, AND KINFOLK:

On Monday, our world stopped. But for many in our community, it didn't. We know what it means for our lives to be taken by armed bodies of US government while no one pays attention, here and in our homelands. We know what it means to be forced to find peace with our trauma, and find justice on our own without solidarity from the outside world. We know what it means for the truth of our experience to be stripped from us by the system, and then have to live with our truth in the shadows and be invisible in our intergenerational trauma and pain. As Black communities charge genocide, war and state violence on their lives and futures by the forces that are meant to protect them, we know deeply the meaning of these very words and experiences as we carry the weight and history of mass human rights violations against our people from one side of the world to the other.

AS A SOUTHEAST ASIAN COMMUNITY, LET US REMEMBER OUR DEEP RESILIENCE AND COLLECTIVE HEALING THROUGH OUR OWN STRUGGLES, AND OFFER OURSELVES, OUR LOVE, AND OUR SOLIDARITY TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY:

Our solidarity work must begin with organizing and transforming ourselves, our families, and our loved ones by understanding how anti-black racism has impacted our own community. Let us feel the division and injustice that systemic colorism and anti-blackness has done to our community, as we are taught to value those of us who are light-skinned over those of us who are dark-skinned. Let us see that the struggle of Black communities against police and state violence directly impacts our community's survival as we face that violence as well. Let us be clear through this understanding that while our oppressions are connected, our



oppression is not the same. Black bodies are systemically and historically dehumanized in this country in ways we will never face. We must now also own our failure as a Southeast Asian community to be in solidarity with the Black community in times of crisis and movement. And we must do better, right now.

WE MUST READY OUR MINDS AND HEARTS FOR A BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT THAT ALL OF OUR LIVES DEPEND ON, BECAUSE OUR LIBERATION AS SOUTHEAST ASIANS MUST DEMAND THAT PEOPLE AND THE SYSTEM TRULY BELIEVE THAT BLACK LIVES MATTER:

Now is the time for us to show up and unveil the raw truth of our beings as Southeast Asian survivors and warriors, and bring it with our Black family. We will not remain calm. We will not believe that property is more valuable than life. We will not turn our heads as Black people are shot every 28 hours by police or vigilantes in this country. We will respect and follow the leadership of those most marginalized on the ground - Black youth, Black queer folk, Black trans folk, Black mothers, and Black sisters. We will be guided by those who have been in the streets for over 100 days using their voices and bodies to demand justice and dignity. It is no longer enough to watch. We will roll up our sleeves, hit the streets, and do our part to make the world stop.

In love,

Your family of the Southeast Asian Freedom Network (SEAFN)

Mekong NYC

Freedom, Inc.

Providence Youth Student Movement

1Love Movement

ManForward

SOY-Shades of Yellow

VAYLA New Orleans

For more information: https://www.facebook.com/SEAfreedomnetwork

ASIANS FOR BLACK LIVES PRINCIPLES AND PROTOCOLS

We are not an organization but we are organized. We are diverse group of Asian voices coming from the Philippines, Vietnam, India, China, Pakistan, Korea, Burma, Japan, and other nations, based in the Bay Area. We are mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers educators and organizers, students and teachers, artists and techies, dancers and workers, youth and elders. We are immigrant and U.S. born, we are queer and we are straight, we are many genders, we are families. From our many walks of life, we have come together in response to a call from BlackOut Collective, Black Brunch, and the Black Lives Matter Movement, to put forward these principles and protocols as a model for why and how we can as diverse Asian communities around the country and the world show up in solidarity with Black people in this struggle.

We understand that our liberation depends on the liberation of Black people, and echo the demands that have come out of Ferguson:

> *"We are striving for a world where we deal with harm in our communities through healing, love, and kinship. This means an end to state sponsored violence, including the excessive use of force by law enforcement. We are committed to an America that comes to terms with the trauma of its painful history and finds true reconciliation for it. Mass incarceration and the over criminalization of Black and Brown people must forever end, leaving in its place a culture that embraces our histories and stories. This means an end to racial bias and White supremacy in all its forms. Our dreams are directly linked with those resisting militarism, war, and state repression around the world. We will achieve this new beloved community hand in hand, step by step, in global solidarity with all people committed to lasting peace and full justice."*



PRINCIPLES: WHY WE BELIEVE IN DOING THIS WORK

- We acknowledge that we, as Asians, have often been used as part of a "divide-and-conquer" strategy to uphold white supremacy. We refuse to be used as tools to uphold a racist and violent system.
- Many of our communities have faced state repression and capitalist violence in our homelands and many Asian Americans are particularly vulnerable to state violence (including refugees, those targeted by surveillance and profiling, those who are undocumented, and those who are Sikh or Muslim) including police violence. We recognize that we are targeted differently than Black people and we also recognize the relationship between racist, militarized police forces waging wars on Black people, and imperialist forces waging wars in our homelands. We are determined to resist both.
- We understand that racist police violence is but one manifestation of the ongoing war on Black people. Mass incarceration, gentrification, unequal pay, mass unemployment, and inaccessible housing, education, land, fresh food, water, and healthcare are some of the other manifestations. In standing with Black people in this struggle, we are therefore standing not only against racist police violence but against all war tactics.
- While much of the discourse has centered on violence against Black men and boys, we also mark here, and remember the brutalities against Black women and in particular transwomen. We share the call for and commitment to the liberation of all Black people.
- We know that our own struggles for freedom and liberation have been deeply influenced by Black American struggles that preceded us. Black communities have paid dearly for resisting their own oppression, and in doing so, they have also paved the way for our resistances. The time has come for our resistance to be in solidarity with theirs.
- We remember that we have always had leaders like Yuri Kochiyama, Grace Lee Boggs, Kartar Dhillon, Lalit Gadhia, and others in our community who have resisted anti-Black racism and leveraged their relative privilege to stand in struggle with Black communities. We remember the importance of humility as we aspire to follow in their footsteps, committed to advancing their visions in ways relevant to our times.

PROTOCOLS: HOW WE BELIEVE IN DOING THIS WORK

- Embrace Frontline Leadership, Center Blackness
  - We understand that the path to liberation for all communities travels through the liberation of Black communities in America, and when Black people have justice and liberation, we all move one big step closer to real freedom. To us, solidarity encompasses understanding that we will never be truly free till Black people are free. We will keep our messages and slogans on the theme of Black Lives Matter, not All Lives Matter.
  - We are committed to centering frontline leadership, and in this struggle that means centering Black organizations locally and nationally linked to this movement. With this commitment, we also understand that Black leaders and movements are not monolithic and we recognize some Black-led groups are also in (trans)formation stages. We respect and appreciate the diversity in their voices, strategies, and tactics, We will stay accountable to these diverse priorities specifically in relation to goals, vision, message, tone and choreographing of actions. We will raise our voices with, not above, those of Black people in this movement.
- Organize Our People
  - We are committed to taking these messages home to our families and communities. We will continue to create spaces and tools for people who are not already politicized on this issue to be informed and mobilized; we will be resolute but kind in bringing our families along.
  - We will connect the momentum of this movement moment to the long term struggles of our own communities. We will not leave one behind for the other, as we understand their interdependence.
- Strive for a strategic diversity of tactics so all who want can play a role
  - We will use a creative diversity of tactics, including actions accessible to folks with disabilities, to elders and youth, to those undocumented and to those at risk in other seen and unseen ways, including those who are unable to chance arrest, and those without educational or economic privilege.
  - Even as we strive to create accessibility for all, we will prioritize centering the voices of those who have been historically marginalized - queer & trans* folks, womyn, people with disabilities, youth, etc.
- Build Trust & Practice Transparency
  - Our ability to organize together in this moment stems from building trust and cultivating nourishing relationships with each other. While the moment calls for agility and action, we are also invested in long-haul relationships for the many movement moments to come. We will practice transparency and accountability.

- Move Boldly and Swiftly: Take Risks, Make Mistakes, Share Lessons
  - While we are committed to following Black leadership, we will also take the initiative to mobilize our communities and take responsibility for organizing our people to show up in this moment. We will use all the diverse skills, resources, and cultural tools at our disposal.
  - We will take risks, try new experiments in our organizing, and not be afraid of making mistakes - while learning from mistakes that have already been made.
- Embody self care & humility, community accountability, collective healing
  - We will take care of ourselves individually and collectively as needed–we are here for the distance. We will care for ourselves and each other.
  - We remember that we were not born conscious of inequity, injustice, and intersecting oppressions. We will not be paralyzed by our desire to be perfect or healed from internalized oppression. We will call out actions that perpetuate oppression, while calling back in our folks with love.
  - We are committed to honesty and collective growth, even when it raises conflict. We will seek a mediation process when necessary to address and resolve internal conflict within our group

We are committed to this work and to the Black community for the long haul. While some of us have been engaged in Black liberation and anti-racist struggles for many years, some of us are newly learning about the particular ways in which anti-Black racism plays out in the systems and institutions of this country, and in our own communities. But all of us are here until the political, social, and cultural imagination of the world is radically transformed to something better than what we've inherited.

We submit these principles and protocols with humility and openness. We don't have it all figured out, but we are committed to taking a stand, and learning as we go. We will not wait to be perfect, because we believe the time is now and we would rather be held accountable for our mistakes than forgiven our inaction.

Asian American

RACIAL JUSTICE TOOLKIT

