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Critical Race Theory:
An Analysis of the School of Public Affairs
UP 209
Spring 2007

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Critical Race Theory and Public Affairs

Executive Summary

Critical Race Theory, which began as a movement of legal scholars, challenged the ways in which race and racial power were constructed and deployed by legal jurisprudence to maintain racial hierarchies within the American society. The work of CRT scholars within the last several decades inspired us to look at ways in which this rich academic scholarship can be applied to other fields in the social sciences. This project is intended to serve a primer for incorporating Critical Race Theory (CRT) into the three practitioner fields within the School of Public Affairs—Public Policy, Social Welfare and Urban Planning. As part of the final project requirement for the student-initiated course, Urban Planning 209: Critical Race Theory and Public Affairs, students from all three department, and students from the School of Education and School of Public Health, produced this report on integrating Critical Race Theory into our respective fields. Each discipline outlines their report according to the following objectives:

- Analysis of literature and theory that frames the mainstream discourses of our respective fields;
- Analysis of the academic curriculum within respective departments with relation to the production of knowledge and the reinforcement of the mainstream discourses that drive our respective fields. This discussion also includes analysis of the concentrations or specializations that help frame the practical application of the field;
- Analysis of the institutional framework of practitioner education at UCLA—student body, faculty, institutional support, etc.

Our report offers specific recommendations for each of our disciplines, centered on curriculum development, faculty, scholarship, and increasing student body diversity, with the goal of moving towards a more race-conscious academic experience within the practitioner fields.¹ This requires that we reflect and be critical of our disciplines within the institutional framework set forth by the School of Public Affairs (SPA).

Our respective programs incorporate limited analyses of race into their curricula. In these analyses, racism is understood as irrational, intentional acts. These acts are regarded as isolated incidents, where applied urban planning, public policy, or social welfare, negatively impacts people of color. These analyses do not acknowledge racism to be the result of structural, institutionalized inequalities that maintain and perpetuate racial hierarchies. Examples of racism are cast as anomalous deviations in otherwise racially neutral, well-functioning, well-intentioned systems.

Each of our programs contributes to the production of scholarship, the education of practitioners, and the creation of norms within our respective fields. The historical exclusion of people of color from our respective fields has resulted in our fields being defined by white values, culture, and norms. Our respective analyses document the role of race in privileging white perspectives and norms over those of other racial groups.

¹ This also includes the School of Education.

Some of the findings highlighted in the reports include:

- Socio-political contexts that created our practitioner fields, our programs, our scholarship and our curriculum;
- The racial hierarchies/ideologies that inform the norms and perspectives of our fields;
- Our curricula does not effectively address issues of race in our practitioner fields, nor do they attempt to incorporate a race-conscious pedagogy;
- Our curricula reinforces the status-quo in the institutions of our respective fields by not critically examining race, therefore perpetuating racial inequalities;
- There is a lack of professors of color in our departments, having serious implications for our academic experience as students and for the furthering of academic scholarship in the field;
- There is a lack of support for students who desire to apply a more race-conscious approach to their practice in the field.

The goal we have set forth in embarking on this extensive project is to establish a CRT specialization within our departments and seek to find ways in which CRT can be fully incorporated into all aspects of our curriculum.

We have set forth a series of recommendations:

- More diversity in student body, most importantly students who are interested in working around issues of racial justice;
- More diversity in faculty to increase CRT scholarship and provide additional mentorship to students of color;
- Hiring faculty who are sensitive to race and address our field with race-conscious perspectives and who have experience in mobilizing and organizing communities around issues of race, racial equity and racial power;
- Hire an interdepartmental faculty member who teaches in SPA and an ethnic centered discipline such as Asian American, African American or Chicano/Latino Studies;
- Race-conscious curricula in our disciplines;
- Support CRT scholarship in our respective fields for both students and faculty;
- Acknowledge the role of race already present in our disciplines, our classrooms, and our curriculum in an effort to change our own perceptions of race;
- Transform how race is performed and produced by students who learn it in our programs and reproduce it in practice in order for our respective fields to be race-conscious.

Critical Race Theory and Public Affairs

Introduction

This paper is intended to serve a primer for incorporating the Critical Race Theory (CRT) into the three practitioner fields within the School of Public Affairs (SPA)—Public Policy, Social Welfare and Urban Planning. As part of the final project requirement for the student-initiated course, Urban Planning 209: Critical Race Theory and Public Affairs, students from all three departments, and students from the School of Education and School of Public Health, compiled this report to formalize our objective to integrate CRT into our respective fields. The report is divided into three main sections:

- Analysis of literature and theory that frames the mainstream discourses of our respective fields;
- Analysis of the academic curriculum within respective departments with relation to the production of knowledge and the reinforcement of the mainstream discourses that drive our respective fields. This discussion also includes analysis of the concentrations or specializations that help frame the practical application of the field;
- Analysis of the institutional framework of practitioner education at UCLA—student body, faculty, institutional support, etc.

The course focused on the causes and symptoms of structural racism, racial hierarchies and its application within the three fields of SPA. We looked to the example set forth by legal education, particularly at the UCLA School of Law, which has a CRT specialization. CRT became part of a movement of left scholars, most of which were scholars of color, whose work challenged the ways which race and racial power were constructed and represented in American Legal Culture and most importantly, in American society as a whole.² In order to identify how CRT could provide commentary for the law within the context of American society, the basis of legal scholarship was based on several principles. First and foremost, it required an understanding of how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color has been created and maintained in the United States. Secondly, it requires an understanding of the “vexed bond” between law and racial power, most importantly, for the purpose of changing it. Thirdly, it rejected that the notion that scholarship could be neutral or objective. Thus, “counteraccounts,” or narratives, of our social reality is a essential tool not just to question our system of racial hierarchies, but to incorporate and validate the experiences of groups largely affected by racial subordination also as knowledge. Cheryl Harris, a key scholar of the movement, points out that CRT’s “engagement with the discourse of civil rights reform stemmed directly from our lived experiences as students and teachers in the nation’s law schools³”

The principle goal of this course is to begin looking at how CRT can be incorporated into our analysis of the current state of practitioner education within the three respective fields, whether it genuinely addresses how they reinforce a system of white supremacy, and how we as practitioners, specifically practitioners of color, can effectively work towards racial justice. This is by no means a comprehensive report addressing all the issues within practitioner education at the School of Public Affairs, however, this is reflective of our discussions, experiences,

² Kimberle Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (1996). *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, xiii

³ Crenshaw, et al., xix

concerns, and work we have completed so far as students. The objective is to at least begin a discussion around how some solutions can be incorporated to enhance our skills, our experiences and our academic curriculum. Nonetheless, our project challenges racial subordination. It is a project that invokes the ideals of respect, dignity, self-determination, equality, and justice. It aims to document how race *already* plays a significant role in the institutional life of the School of Public Affairs and makes a claim of entitlement to have a portion of institutional life defined by multiracial norms.

Background

There are several factors that led to the creation of our student-initiated course at the School of Public Affairs. While the Urban Planning curriculum provides students with the basic tenets of urban planning and the department boasts about its focus on social justice issues, students felt that available coursework did not equip them with the theory, knowledge, or skills on how to practice revolutionary planning and implement policies that created “social transformation,” as emphasized in radical planning theory. During the spring 2006 quarter, Urban Planning students coordinated a student-initiated course titled Revolutionary Planning. Students looked at best practices from a global perspective of revolutionary planning that can be applicable to address social inequities in the United States. While the majority of those enrolled were in Urban Planning, students from across the campus also enrolled. Most importantly, the class stressed how students desired a space to learn alternative planning practices. With the support of Professor Jackie Leavitt, who signed off as the professor and participant of the course, students were able to actively participate in determining their curricula. Students also wanted to ensure that a “tradition” of having student-initiated courses continued in order to create opportunities for students to learn theories and practices that are not covered in existing courses.

It is important to note that the majority of participants who worked on the first student-initiated course were students of color, many of whom are members of Planners of Color for Social Equity (PCSE). PCSE is an important supportive space that students of color in the Urban Planning Department. PCSE is a student-run organization and plans “coffee nights” every quarter to create a space for students to dialogue about planning issues pertinent to communities of color. In 2006, students began exploring the idea of coordinating a coffee night focusing on Critical Race Theory to explore what lessons could be learned from the law school to incorporate CRT into our disciplines and expand on the multi-disciplinary approach in SPA to strengthen our academic experience. The coffee night on CRT took place during the Winter 2007 quarter with over 40 participants in attendance. Saul Sarabia, Director of the Critical Race Studies (CRS) Program, with current students and alumni of the program discussed the social-political context that led to the formation of the specialization, how CRS has provided the intellectual and supportive space for students to do racial justice work, and the possibilities of expanding the work to other departments. The overwhelming interest and support from students, not just in Urban Planning, but across other disciplines at UCLA led to the formation of the CRT working group during the Winter Quarter.

At the initial stages of the working group, we began approaching professors regarding our interest in having a course for the Spring 2007 quarter. We ideally wanted a professor of color or for the Department of Urban Planning to help fund a professor from another department on campus to help teach the course. While some were supportive of our objective, others pointed out the difficulties of our demands. Funding was primarily identified as an issue as it has become

increasingly difficult for the School of Public Affairs to hire additional faculty and the fiscal year budget is finalized before the school year begins. Also, as we began doing our research for faculty, we came to the realization that there is no existing scholarship within Urban Planning that draws from CRT. While there are planning scholars such as Leonie Sandercock, who was once chair of the department, Jackie Leavitt, Marsha Ritzdorf, and June Manning Thomas, that write about alternative planning histories and include communities of color in the United States, a solid body of work does not exist.

When several of us spoke at a winter quarter faculty meeting regarding our concerns for wanting a course that specifically looked at issues around race and planning, the response we received was, “Well, we incorporate race into every class.” However, what we were trying to convey in our message was not simply to “talk about race,” but to distinctly look at how planning practice reinforces structural racism and how planners can play key role in not just identifying how planning has negatively impacted communities of color but how it can change that paradigm. Other students in the School of Public Affairs also began to raise concerns about how their curriculum was inadequately addressing issues of race when the very policies and practices utilized by their fields disproportionately affect people of color. For example, what we found most troubling is that the majority of practitioners in our fields are white and how the professionalization of our fields reinforced white supremacy, as white practitioners are working and making decisions that primarily affect people of color. We wanted a space where we could constructively provide solutions to the issues that we deeply cared about. Most importantly, we sought to encourage our departments to begin taking the necessary steps to providing a supportive academic environment for students of color. With the support of Professor Leo Estrada in the Department of Urban Planning, the working group was able to officially list the course and we had 22 students enrolled in the course.

How can CRT interject within the School of Public Affairs

Our project entails not just classroom dynamics, but many forms of explicit and implicit decision-making. Critical Race Theory has documented that people of different races will have disparate interpretations of the same situation. People of different races will have different perspectives on many issues: What public image of the university should be put forward—a white academy or a multi-ethnic, diverse learning community? How much money should be allocated towards advancing goals of racial diversity? Which research should be subsidized? What speech should be promoted? Which professors should be hired—a public finance professor or a community economic development professor? Which students should be accepted? What criteria should be used in assessing candidates? Which curriculum goals should be promoted? The list is endless.

On each of these topics, people of different races will have disparate interpretations. While it is dangerous to conflate identity status with identity politics, it is generally true that race plays a significant role in people’s perspectives. For example, at the university administration level, race is implicated in decisions about which departments to promote and fund. At the department level, race is implicated in decisions over which specializations should be developed, which areas of research should be cultivated, what faculty should be hired. At the classroom level, race plays a significant role in setting the tone and baseline expectations for classroom discussions. These expectations are expressed through the norms, values, and perspectives of the dominant race.

Critical Race Theory attempts to disrupt this dominant understanding of racism through certain methodological tools, particularly, through the use of narratives, i.e. stories, of racial subordination. Stories have the powerful ability to supplant the racial ideology of the dominant narrative, expressed in theory, research, norms, culture, and other aspects of institutional life. Other scholars make a departure from narratives as a descriptive tool used to document racial subordination, particularly through the use of social science research on social cognition and implicit bias. Operationalizing the findings of countless studies, which document the relevance of race at the psychological level, CRT implicates much of the avowed neutrality of the legal system and other systems.

Social science research highlights a distinction between conscious discrimination and unconscious discrimination. Implicit bias research shows that racial biases exist, even when we feel we have carefully guarded ourselves against such biases. The implication of this is that even when we are trying our very hardest to be fair and even-handed when it comes to perceiving people of different races, there are parts of our brains that are impacting our judgments, which are beyond our immediate control. These negative beliefs and attitudes have been referred to as the “Trojan horses of race⁴.” In faculty selection, student admissions, classroom dynamics, or any other aspect of academic institutional life, our implicit biases are always operating. The implications of implicit bias studies show that despite our most vigilant efforts *not* to be racially biased, race inevitably plays a role in how we perceive and interact with our social realities. When we believe we’re creating a race-neutral environment or making race-neutral decisions, we indubitably fail to do so. A white racial perspective does not exist separate from our respective programs, either in individuals or in society, and it is produced within each of our schools. By focusing on certain areas of research and by hiring certain faculty, a program legitimizes studying certain areas and excluding others, engages in a form of silencing by not studying communities of color, and continues a history of marginalization experienced by those communities.

Ignoring the role that our respective programs play in producing the norms in our respective fields denies the impact our programs have on maintaining the racial norms, values, and ideologies of our fields. In maintaining a certain set of norms, values, and ideologies, our respective programs partake in a process of reproducing race at the institutional, interpersonal, personal levels. Our institutions validate understanding urban planning, public policy, and social welfare from a white, middle-class perspective. Our institutions legitimize this perspective and implicitly teach students to validate this perspective at the exclusion of other perspectives. This may result in curriculum that validate status quo approaches to our fields, rather than critiquing underlying structures that permit the continued subordination of communities and people of color.

At times, critical analyses are developed within our programs; however, these analyses do not reflect race-conscious⁵ perspectives that acknowledge a pattern of structural, institutionalized racism, rather than isolated examples of otherwise well-functioning, well-intentioned systems. Race-based analyses are remarkably lacking in depth—their most damaging critique consists of claims that certain examples of applied urban planning, public policy, or social welfare negatively impact people of color and are typically cast as anomalous deviations in an otherwise racially neutral system. Policies that are deemed racist are perceived as deviations from the

⁴ Kang, Jerry (2005), “Trojan Horses of Race,” *Harvard Law Review*, 188: 1489-1593.

⁵ Race-consciousness acknowledges that a pattern of structural and institutionalized racism exists and is evident in all aspects of American society.

norm rather than expressions of it. The dominant explanation of what constitutes racism is narrowly defined as individual actions performed with the intention of negatively impacting people of a particular racial group. At best, certain actions that have the most egregiously unjust effects on people of a racial group are considered racist, even when no intentional actor can be identified. But these egregious acts are strictly the exception. The concept of racism is ideologically located within the liberal concept of individual agency. According to the dominant perspective, racism is not structural; it is not unconscious, it is not inherited unknowingly. It is something that can be identified and isolated. It is uncommon. It can be fixed by adherence to the liberal ideals of participatory democracy understood from the perspective of individual agency.

These explanations do little to address the current situation of racial subordination which has resulted from centuries of excluding people of color from such democratic models. This highlights an important point in regards to the distribution of power among racial groups on campus. Simply because white institutional actors do not understand that white norms dominate institutional structures does not diminish the claims of entitlement by people of color to our academic institutions. Rather, people of color independently base their claims to academic institutions on the right to self-determination, educational access, distributional justice, substantive inclusion, racial identity, and racial equality and on a history of racial subordination.

Our report offers specific recommendations for each of our disciplines, centered on curriculum development and institutional support, with the goal of moving towards a more race-conscious academic experience within the practitioner fields,⁶ with a CRT lens. We want to continue working with our respective departments in ensuring the implementation of CRT into our disciplines. Most importantly, we hope that our project inspires our colleagues to continue to be analytical, critical and proactive in ensuring that we receive the best education and support in our development as leaders within our fields and our communities.

⁶ This also includes the School of Education.

Critical Race Theory in the Department of Public Policy

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Critical Race Theory and Public Policy

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Critical Race Theory and Public Policy

Executive Summary

Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged in the mid-1970s to analyze critically the construction and deployment of race within American legal jurisprudence. As MPP students of color, we found that issues of racial equity, racial subordination, and the systematic oppression of people of color are not analyzed in a policy analysis context at UCLA's Department of Public Policy. Our report will apply CRT lessons and approaches to the field of public policy to show how race is often normalized and reproduced within the field.

Because our MPP program does not offer any method of analysis to understand race, MPP students, furthermore, are not prepared to catalyze institutional innovation or identify structural inequalities. By analyzing racialized identities in the MPP core curriculum, increasing the diversity at UCLA's Department of Public Policy, and making the faculty aware of the importance of race in developing public policies, students will be better prepared to implement and adopt race-conscious public policies that truly achieve racial justice and ensure a healthy democratic process. The goal of this report is thus to use the CRT approach to dismantle oppressive structural policies in society and fortify the Department of Public Policy's commitment to provide MPP students the tools needed to speak against racial injustices that disfigure our democratic systems, public policies, and social institutions.

We propose the following recommendations to increase diversity in the student body, to incorporate CRT in the core curriculum, and to make faculty more aware of the importance of race in pedagogy. These recommendations will help reframe how race is addressed and taught at UCLA's Department of Public Policy in an effort to make the tenets of CRT an intrinsic part of our program's teachings, scholarship, and curriculum.

Recommendations: Core Curriculum

- **Text:** Seek out and incorporate texts relevant to the field that incorporate the importance of race in throughout the public policy process.
- **Case Studies:** Use more case studies, which are able to not just take a critical look at policy but at racial policy and how the combination of elements involved in the experience of race in America all come together in events described.
- **Acknowledgement:** Explicitly acknowledge the role of race in the development of many of the issues and examples discussed in class.
- **Racial Policy Course:** Develop a course where students will have the opportunity to examine racial policy and critical race within the Department of Public Policy.

Recommendations: Faculty

- **Hiring:** Efforts should be made to recruit faculty of color during the two faculty hiring searches this year for the Department of Public Policy, one in International Policy, and one in Economics. Specifically, faculty of color with race-conscious research interests

should be pursued for these positions. Interested students should be incorporated into the faculty hiring process at earlier stages.

- **Hiring Inter-departmentally:** Efforts should be made to hire between departments, such as with Asian American Studies, or Critical Race Studies. An example of the merit in this inter-departmental hiring is Professor Kagawa-Singer who teaches for both Asian American Studies and Public Health.
- **Seminars:** The department should pursue cultural sensitivity seminars for incoming students and faculty staff development.
- **Interdepartmental interactions:** Many professors and faculty at UCLA are working in the realm of racial and ethnic specific policy programs, and choose not to work with this department. Faculty should make more of an effort seek and co-sponsor these ethnic specific policy efforts.

Recommendations: Diversity in Student Body

- **Staff:** Hire a Graduate Student Researcher to do diversity outreach for the department every year. The GSR position should start at the very beginning of the fall quarter, if not in the middle of the summer.
- **Recruitment:** Attend more than one diversity focused recruitment event.
- **Conference:** The diversity conference should be an annual event. The conference should be held in the fall quarter to maximize the conferences potential to increase the number of students of color applying to the program.
- **Goal:** Diversity in student body should be a goal of the department, and should be kept at least at 40 percent students of color. If it dips below this rate, further analysis and action should be taken to remediate the problem.
- **Fellowships:** The awarding of fellowships for the program are largely biased towards white students. The fellowship selection process should be examined. Using a holistic process should be used to ensure that funds are distributed are to the students who need it the most.
- **Alumni:** Research and conduct an analysis of UCLA's MPP alumni working in communities of colors. By figuring out what professional skills they need to work in racial disparity, equity and people of color issues, the department can adapt curriculum to make sure our students are better trained.

Introduction

We, the students of color in UCLA's Department of Public Policy, believe that issues of racial equity, racial subordination, and systematic oppression of people of color should be analyzed in a policy analysis context within the Master of Public Policy (MPP) curriculum. To better affect social justice, UCLA's School of Public Policy must take a critical approach to understand how white supremacy and institutionalized racism can in fact influence the implementation, development, and adoption of public policies. This policy report will draw upon the teachings of Critical Race Theory (CRT), a school of thought developed by legal scholars over the past 30 years, in an effort to apply its lessons to the field of public policy. In particular, our report will further address issues of diversity within both the student body and faculty as well as explore applications of Critical Race Theory to our MPP core curriculum. This policy report was written by five students from the MPP program in conjunction with other graduate students from UCLA's School of Public Affairs. Our recommendations will not only reframe how race is addressed in UCLA's School of Public Policy, but also push the School of Public Affairs to make Critical Race Theory an intrinsic part of its teachings and scholarship.

The Origins of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged in the mid-1970s to analyze critically the construction and deployment of race within American legal jurisprudence. This group of scholars believed that a conservative and procedural-based backlash to the civil rights era necessitated a cohesive legal response. One of its major goals is to analyze how the American legal system creates racial categories, assigns meaning to those categories, and prescribes conduct based on race, all through the vehicle of legal cases and disputes. A second goal is to identify and challenge the structural and institutionalized nature of racism in the U.S. By interrogating the methodology of dominant legal analysis, CRT theorists demonstrate that race exists despite professions of colorblindness. As a school of thought, CRT has collaborated with other disciplines, notably cognitive psychology, in utilizing implicit bias research in legal scholarship. CRT employs alternative methodologies, including the use of narrative, to challenge the dominant assumptions, values, and norms that otherwise become the "facts" in legal opinions. Such critiques are not limited to the law, and can be applied to other power regimes that organize society around race. The students of the Department of Public Policy are deeply committed to developing a critical racial lens for their learning and scholarship.

The Purpose of a Critical Race Approach in Public Policy

As people of color in the field of public policy, we are often told to internalize colorblind norms. MPP students sit in class and hear lectures that racial identity or racial differences do not exist when implementing, adopting, and creating public policies. At UCLA School of Public Policy, race is only a color to be analyzed through statistics or discussed within a colorblind perspective. Our policy school, like many others across the country, fails to understand race as meaningful concept that is attached to a legacy of slavery, Jim Crow laws and policies, stigmatization, discrimination, and prejudice. MPP students are not taught how race is tied to many socioeconomic factors, such as life expectancy, health, the number of years of education, and so on. Instead, our MPP program categorizes race with a fence. UCLA School of Public Policy teaches its students to conflate different meanings of race, as if it were a single category.

MPP students are not taught the various spheres of racial meanings, which include biological race, political race, historical race, or cultural race. If policymakers become more aware of racial differences or racial identity in our society, the fear is that it can inevitably polarize and lead to divisions—thus creating conflict and possibly, stigmatization or marginalization of people of color. When our MPP program can offer a method of analysis to understand race, MPP students, however, will be able to catalyze institutional innovation and to identify better structural inequalities and change those structures through race-conscious public policies.

By acknowledging racialized identities in the MPP core curriculum however, we stop ignoring the perils that many communities of color face in an effort to achieve racial justice and ensure a healthy democratic process. As students of color in UCLA's MPP program, we seek a meaningful discussion of race to bring about a social critique, reinforce democratic faith, and to improve the lives of others by signaling how even public policy is structured around white power, supremacy, and privilege. Policymakers and leaders will become invested in addressing race as a part of their policy agenda, and begin to understand how race influences the distribution and access of social resources in American society. Through a systematic program, UCLA MPP students can deconstruct white power to fully achieve social change, resist injustices, and mobilize communities to build a transformative policy response that better addresses societal or policy problems. From this vantage point, the issue is not to simply understand societal biases or to expose how public policies implicate white power to maintain the status quo. Our motivation for acknowledging race in our MPP curriculum is to excavate the relationship between public policy, racial power, racism, democracy, and white supremacy. In so doing, we want to show how race is produced and constructed within a policy framework, and, more generally, in American society as a whole. If we can discuss race in salient terms and understand how race functions in public policy, MPP students will then have the necessary tools needed to speak against racial injustices that disfigure our democratic systems, public policies, and social institutions.

Public policies, with its rules, practices, and assignments of prestige and power, are often constructed with words, silence, and stories of racial injustice. By writing and speaking against unfair and one-sided public policies, we can then make America fairer and accountable to its citizens. Indeed, using a critical race theory approach, we can challenge traditional paradigms or related discourse on economics, political theory, management, and organizational theory. Moreover, we can examine the effects of race and racism from the perspectives and experiences of people of color, and we can further provide a guide to dismantle oppressive structural and social policies that negatively affect people of color.

Public Policy Core Curriculum

MPP students all across the nation will be exposed to a public policy curriculum that draws on a variety of disciplines and fields. MPP students are typically taught economics, political science, quantitative analysis, management, and organizational theory. The capstone project is often some form of a master's thesis, an applied policy analysis project, or in some rare cases, like at the University of Chicago, no additional final project to graduate.

Many public policy schools have not developed a critical analysis to understand how race permeates within the public policy arena. Carnegie Mellon Heinz School offers a course called

Managing in a Multicultural Society that develops a conceptual framework for understanding intercultural interactions. Similarly, UCLA offers a course named *Issues in Cultural Policy* (that actually refers very little to multicultural societies). Still, this is only one course, it is not required of students to graduate, and many programs offer nothing like it. To our knowledge, no other highly ranked MPP program offers courses or discussions of Critical Race Theory in their readings, curriculum, or syllabi.

UCLA's MPP core curriculum does not explicitly prepare students to understand race and racial power or provide students the opportunity to explore a systematic study of race. The invisibility of race in our curriculum, readings, and syllabi reflects what pedagogical decisions are made by our faculty regarding what cases are taught, what issues are raised in class, and the framing of our classroom discussions. In so doing, UCLA School of Public Policy influences its MPP students to neutralize the effects of race in the field. Yet, paradoxically, race only becomes more salient, and its importance is further intensified, as MPP students are taught to understand and construct public policies using both private and public resources that are entrenched within white institutional structures and barriers. As California (and the nation) becomes increasingly multiracial (by the year 2025, African Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, and Latinos/as will constitute 70 percent of California's population), our curriculum needs to start applying a critical analysis about race to better prepare students to be effective leaders in public, private, and non-profit settings.

Some elements of the curriculum lend themselves more easily to the introduction of race-oriented analysis; however, in order to prepare properly students for all elements of public policy, the consideration of race must be present throughout their educational experience. Because all first-year students are required to enroll in the same fall quarter classes, the most important and effective place to locate a broad understanding of the role of race in public policy would be in the core curriculum taught in the beginning of the program. Given this, we examined the current presentation of race in first-year classes and the potential for improvement given the current structure.

PP 201 - Principles of Microeconomic Theory

Microeconomic theory rests on the idea of Pareto Optimality. In our microeconomic theory course, we learn that social planners should pursue a policy as long as it makes one person better off without making anyone else worse off. Additionally, we are taught that we arrive at fair distributions that are Pareto Optimal, as long as we can vary allocations without incurring additional costs. Students take away a basic understanding of how markets and firms operate, which rests on the idea that, theoretically, we can devise policies that maximize aggregate social welfare. Yet, the policy courses in microeconomics do not examine this further. Some students may believe that the reallocation of resources to the black community through social services, for example, entails compensating the wealthy who subsidize those services through taxes. On the other hand, students of color may believe that reallocation through social services compensates the black community for hundreds of years of slavery and oppression. Without giving students context for understanding the disparities that persist in society and acknowledging that white supremacy is imbedded in our economic system, students cannot interpret what is or what is not Pareto optimal leading to further reinforcement of current inequalities within public policies.

There is room for the incorporation of race within microeconomic modeling and theory. One way to use an economic framework to explore racial inequality is through the “lock-in model” developed by Daria Roithmayr, Professor of Law at the University of Southern California. Roithmayr’s lock-in model of inequality compares persistent racial inequality to persistent market monopoly power.⁷ She applies the lock-in model to problems such as law school admissions and residential segregation. It would be valuable for students to see how they can apply economic concepts to policy making using an article by Roithmayer.

In her article, *Locked In Segregation*, Roithmayr argues that residential segregation is an example of “lock-in racial monopoly.” She contends that:

During the days of Jim Crow, white racial cartels (e.g., homeowners' associations and real estate boards) engaged in anti-competitive conduct to exclude blacks and monopolize access to good neighborhoods. That early neighborhood advantage has now become locked-in via certain self-reinforcing neighborhood effects, namely through public school finance and neighborhood job referral networks. Because the (white) "rich get richer" in neighborhoods with good schools and good job networks, non-whites are relatively less able to move into more expensive white neighborhoods.⁸

The implication for policy is that race-neutral policies perpetuate white privilege and will never be able to facilitate racial equality. Given that race-neutral policies continue to perpetuate the status quo, students need to explore economic policies to break up these monopolies if we truly believe in equity and equal opportunity.

PUB PLC 203 – Statistical Methods of Policy Analysis

The courses on statistical methods for policy analysis give policy students the tools to understand the concepts behind statistical analysis and the ability to evaluate the validity of statistical studies. In learning how to evaluate the validity of statistical studies, we largely ignore critiques of the validity of data sets policy analysts use.

For example, the government helped construct racial categories by developing race and ethnicity reporting standards for federal statistics and administrative reporting.⁹ Often, racial categories such as “Asian” mask disparities. Pacific Islanders and people falling within other Asian subcategories like Cambodian refugees face very different barriers than Chinese and Japanese communities. The Office of Management and Budget’s report on racial classification by the federal government discusses the problems with classifications and presents options for new racial/ethnic categories.¹⁰ Raj Bhopal’s article on classification, *Ethnicity and Race as Epidemiological Variables: Centrality of Purpose and Context* goes deeper to explore the connections between classification and subordination. Raj Bhopal looks at how the racial and ethnic classification of people in statistical analysis reflects an inherently racist system.¹¹

⁷ Roithmayr, Daria. “Locked in Segregation”

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Office of Management and Budget. “Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity.” August 1995.

¹⁰ Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity, August 1995.

(<http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/race-ethnicity.html>)

¹¹ Bhopal, R. “Ethnicity and Race as Epidemiological Variables: Centrality of Purpose and Context.” In: Macbeth H, Shetty P. (eds.) *Health and Ethnicity*, Society for Human Biology. London: Taylor and Francis, 2001; 41: 21-40.

Besides the social construction of race, implicit bias also taints statistical research. When we see an individual, our brain automatically uses mapping rules to categorize that individual and racial meanings are activated. Categories, mapping rules, and meanings are constructed by society; they are not natural. Some racial meanings are cognitive beliefs while some come in the form of gut feelings. These “gut feelings” are implicit biases activated automatically, sometimes subconsciously. Psychological experiments that measure bias provide strong evidence that people do not reveal their true biases on surveys.¹²

Implicit bias threatens the construct validity of studies because subjects do not want to reveal their racial biases. Therefore, we cannot effectively measure bigotry through surveys. Subjects may give socially acceptable answers to survey questions rather than revealing a socially unacceptable bias. In addition, subjects may not realize they have biases that affect their interactions. Overt bigotry is generally socially unacceptable, but research on implicit bias tells us that not only are racial biases widely spread, but that these biases affect our actions.

The statistical methods course should bring up important concepts like the social construction of race or implicit bias that taint research studies so students are aware of the limitations of statistical studies. The awareness of implicit biases also brings up interesting theories on the persistence of racial inequality relevant to the study of public policy. These concepts will help students understand the persistence of inequality that so many of us want to eradicate.

PUB PLC 202 - American Political Institutions & Processes

Considering public policy without some consideration of the political institutions which shape and present these policies is inherently inadequate. As a result, our program introduces and remains committed to considerations of political processes and decision-making involved throughout the broader public policy process. The American Political Institution and Processes course is intended to “expose students to a variety of constitutionally conceived policy-making settings in which policy options are debated and evaluated, and public decisions are made, from legislatures to the courts to the ballot box.”¹³ Unfortunately, this course, in part due to its reliance on certain texts, fails to explore the implications of the status quo bias perpetuated by our political institutions.

One of the fundamental texts used to help students understand the relationship between public policy and politics is Deborah Stone’s *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. This thorough examination of how public policy analysis and public policy making are intrinsically intertwined is widely acclaimed both by those within the field and those with little knowledge of or consideration for the academic study. As a result, the text is widely used

¹² Developed by Dr. Mahzarin R. Banaji of Harvard, the Implicit Association Test “measures the relative strength of association between a target concept (e.g., race: African American and European American) and an attribute concept (e.g., evaluation: words with good meanings and words with bad meanings). The IAT is a response latency measure that rests on an assumption it shares with other measures of associative strength—that the more strongly two concepts have come to be associated with one another, the faster and more accurately they can be paired together.” Banaji, Mahzarin R. and Andrew Scott Baron. (2006) “The Development of Implicit Attitudes: Evidence of Race Evaluations from Ages 6 and 10 and Adulthood.” *Psychological Science* 17 (1), 53–58.

¹³ Mark Peterson, PP202 Course Syllabus

throughout public policy schools across the nation (setting a foundation for a generation of practitioners). Given this, with respect to potential impact on communities of color, it is important to examine the presentation and role of race within the text.

To Stone's credit, some evidence of realizing this potential for the examination of race is evident in several locations throughout the text. The chapter on equity contains a multi-viewpoint conversation about the pursuit of equity in relation to affirmative action.¹⁴ The problem with *Policy Paradox* comes in that these passages are located where one might expect them (where they are almost unavoidable in discussions of equity and rights), but the issue of race seems to disappear in other entire sections where a passage such as the one above might highlight potentially difficult concerns that a practitioner should be aware of. For instance, the discussion of the political defining process of what need is for a community in the "Security" chapter goes by without mention of historical practice of denying communities of color even fundamentally agreed upon needs due to political dilution. Also missing is any reference to the difficulty disadvantaged communities face in highlighting, advocating for, and obtaining needs facing politicians concerned with the security-efficiency tradeoff and unable to identify real but potentially difficult to quantify gains. Similar gaps in chapters concerning "Decisions" (discussing the rational-analytical model without consideration for the perpetuated seemingly irrational activities of racism) and "Facts" (a brief discussion of the framing of the facts in the Rodney King case without mentioning the role race in that framing of facts) highlight other potential gaps that could prove harmful to communities impacted by incomplete analysis learned here.¹⁵

Overall, Stone, more so than many if not most other public policy texts, is able to illuminate and address the role of race in the political nature of policymaking and analysis. Still, in what appears to be standard policy reservation to "overwhelm" a text with constant references to the role and implications of race in the process leaves the text with significant gaps in fully explaining the political nature it purports to explore. The presentation of the text in class also reflects this hesitancy to incorporate race within the inherently political nature of public policy.

In addition to Stone, we focus heavily on Kingdon's "garbage can model" of public policy making. This model consists of three streams: problem recognition, the formation and refining of policy proposals, and politics.¹⁶ When all three align, a short window of opportunity is opened to allow for the adoption of a policy. What is missing from this discussion is the acknowledgment that this model perpetuates white privilege. Problems are put on the agenda and policies are designed by, influenced, and decided upon by people far removed from communities of color. Our political system is designed to exclude those dispossessed of power and grant the greatest access to the privileged. Even when a crisis puts an issue like Hurricane Katrina on the agenda, the policy options are developed by people far removed from the problem and the lack of political will prevents just policies from being enacted. As a result, policies, particularly at the federal level, end up protecting white interests.

¹⁴ Stone, Deborah. *Policy Paradox*. New York: W.W.Norton and Co., 2002; (2), 36

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Kingdon, John W. "Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies." Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers Inc., 2003. (pg. 87)

In the same way, path dependency protects the status quo. The theory of path dependency says that policy directions are rigid because making change is often more costly than the status quo. The status quo for people of color is white subordination. Our history of continually redefining "otherness" in law and policy to exclude groups and people not deemed worthy of white privilege makes racial equality unlikely. The remedy this country has chosen for racial equality (the simple removal of legally sanctioned segregation) does not create equal opportunity for people of all races and ethnic backgrounds given the status quo. Path dependency ensures that laws and policies continue to protect white privilege. It is extremely important that as policy students we recognize that our political system and policies were designed to protect white privilege and that the nature of policy making ensures that the system perpetuates this privilege.

The case studies used in this course can facilitate a meaningful discussion on how our political system perpetuates privilege. The cases highlight interesting situations that involve the struggle of people of color, such as the "Florida English Initiative," "No Prisons In East L.A.," and "Japanese American Redress" cases. Yet, much is lost without a race lens. There is no discussion of white power and dominance when discussing the English-only initiatives. The criminalization of black and brown communities is not addressed; nor is the powerlessness of brown communities in a political system created to perpetuate white privilege when discussing "No Prisons in East L.A." Finally, we do not delve into the model minority myth or seriously discuss reparations for Black people during our discussion on Japanese American Redress. Students would take away much more from this course if we acknowledged the institutionalized racial hierarchies embedded in our political system that perpetuate white privilege and prevent a level playing field.

PUB PLC 206 - Political Economy of Policy Adoption and Implementation

The course on Political Economy of Policy Adoption and Implementation provides an analysis of how policy is designed and implemented. One of the main contentions presented in this course is that agencies are flawed by design. We learn there are four types of agencies:

- Flawed by Compromise
- Flawed by Neglect
- Captured by Policy Proponents
- Captured by Policy Opponents

Given that only 30 percent of legislation is implemented and that government agencies implement 98 percent of policies, it is important to understand the implication of flawed agencies implementing policies affecting people of color.

This course effectively uses case studies to highlight strategies used in communities of color to effect policy decisions. The *No Prisons in East L.A.* Case Study illustrated how a dynamic leader could mobilize a disempowered group to lobby against the construction of a prison. In the end the prison was not built in East L.A., but not because of community organizing and lobbying. It was a technicality that prevented the construction of the prison. This case presents the perfect opportunity to dissect the power structures that continue to subordinate disempowered communities of color. Specifically, this case should bring up white supremacy, and the subordination of communities of color.

Despite all the mobilization, the voice of people of color is not heard over the loud cries of white suburban communities. Politicians value the voices of white suburbanites over that of people of color from inner city ghettos. It is too easy to blame this on the low voter turnout and low campaign contributions. We should dig a little deeper to understand that disadvantaged communities of color have historically been shut out of the political process and therefore have responded rationally by not attempting to participate in it any longer since the costs of doing so outweigh the benefits. The way our democracy is set up perpetuates privilege. Politicians cater to the “haves” to win elections and make promises to help the “have-nots” that never materialize because it usually means the redistribution of resources from the “haves” to the “have-nots.”

The *Japanese American Redress* case does not prove otherwise. In this case privileged Japanese-Americans were able to use their power to receive reparations for Japanese internment during World War II. Yet, Americans are vigorously opposed to reparations for the descendants of slaves who then had to live under an apartheid system with separate and unequal facilities until the mid-seventies. Under this system of white supremacy, black people are not worthy of reparations after hundreds of years of subordination. No, they must pull themselves up by their bootstraps despite unequal opportunities.

In addition, this course highlights how the mission of a government agency is thwarted when it threatens white hegemony. The Office of Civil Rights, which handles discrimination cases, is a perfect example of an agency flawed by design and neglect. The agency was created to appease civil rights advocates but designed to be ineffective and allow the status quo to continue.

PUB PLC 298A - Applied Policy Analysis I

“Reasoned analysis is necessarily political. It always involves choices to include some things and exclude others and to view the world in a particular way when other visions are possible.” (Debra Stone)¹⁷

The Applied Policy Analysis course is supposed to train students to become effective policy analysts by teaching us the analytic path of policy analysis. The course description says that “public policy students should integrate, master, and have an understanding of the political and administrative environment within which such analysis takes place.” Yet this course fails to equip students with a race lens to enable us to effectively analyze policies affecting people of color. Public Policy prides itself on being an objective observer but fails to realize the harm a race neutral objective approach to policy analysis has on people of color.

The position of the policy analyst (observer) is one that provides the chance to examine the effectiveness, efficiency, and total impact of a proposed or enacted policy. The analysis provided can be pivotal in influencing the implementation, continuation, or elimination of a course of action. As a result, the objectivity of the observer (whether in the form of a legislative, budget, or program analyst) is often held to high standards. In practice, this often takes the highly popular, and perhaps well-intended, form of the race-neutral observer with the (assumed) fundamental colorblind approach to her craft. While this sounds great and is often done in pursuit of a truly noble goal of a policy analysis project (and perhaps a larger society) without

¹⁷ Stone, Debra. Policy Paradox.

subjective racial inferences, this approach is inherently problematic for objective and complete policy analysis.

The race-neutral observer justifies the exclusion of race within considerations as the objective practice; however, this largely ignores the reality of the broader policymaking process and the world within which the policy analyst is charged to work. The opening line of Eugene Bardach's *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis* (a cornerstone piece for many public policy programs and practitioners) states: "Policy analysis is a social and political activity."¹⁸ Few (if any in the face of large volumes of academic work and growing fields of study) would argue that race has not played and does not continue to play a pivotal role in America's social and political realms. Therefore, the policy analyst who assumes the position of a race-neutral observer in her analysis is immediately conducting inaccurate analysis.

Not acknowledging a potentially large influencer and/or indicator within the analysis leaves both the analyst and those who rely on her work disadvantaged in pursuit of accurate projections of effectiveness, efficiency, or another common policy goal. This again is problematic if only due to the environment in which the policy analyst operates and the number of factors that influence the success or failure of a policy. Essentially, if the observer operated in a society that was race-neutral before the policy was created, this approach would be accurate; however, this is largely not the case. One could imagine some policy within certain environments that may very well exist without a large racial component (though I would argue that there is still likely some presence if only from the absence of racial disparity in this environment). Still, given the history of our country and our relations with our own citizens as well as those in other countries, assuming a race-neutral approach ignores key elements necessary to complete a thorough policy analysis.

By not recognizing the presence of race in the settings that created the policy and in which the policy will be implemented, the analyst has potentially failed to gather relevant data and evidence, accurately project outcomes, or tell the full story. A health policy analyst for a city whose population is predominantly Latino could not conduct a thorough policy analysis of a program whose objective is overall child health outcomes without considering the constraints and circumstances of Latino populations whether they be difficulties or reservations in communicating with policymakers or higher incidences of childhood obesity and high blood pressure. Similarly, a crime policy analyst assessing the potential effectiveness of a crime crackdown program in a city with concentrated areas of Black residents cannot conduct a thorough analysis of a program without considering what disparate impact this might have on both victimization and social isolation within these communities and the political costs that might come with either.

This is not to say that incorporating race within either one of these scenarios would be easy (especially given the difficulty in quantifying or even qualifying some of this), but thorough, accurate analysis cannot take place without the acknowledgement of the people whose lives will perhaps be shaped by the analysis. With this in mind, it is worth examining the form that this policy analysis often takes and the major influencers on this form.

¹⁸ Bardach, Eugene. *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis*. (13)

A major influence on the form of policy analysis is Bardach's aforementioned *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis*. Bardach's text is a cornerstone for students, teachers, and some practitioners of public policy. While Bardach admits that the eightfold path laid out in detail in his text is more of a guiding path and a reminder of important elements of the analysis process, its use makes it a fundamental element of current practice for practitioners and those outside of the field. As a result, inclusion or exclusion of an issue or topic from this text is very important within the field and for the practice. Given this, it is worth considering how race is portrayed in the text and in the eight-fold path itself.

Throughout the text, race is mentioned sparingly. Race does appear, as it does in many policy texts, within short stories and examples concerning the steps and potential problems and solutions along this proposed path. This is, however, done with limited frequency and with very little depth given with regards to how race played a role in problem creation (essential with problem definition as the first step). This is the troubling aspect of this text that is often present when race and public policy interact. It isn't the case that one element or omission is altogether troubling; however, the comprehensive set of elements and omissions is problematic. The lack of central inclusion, the limitation of inclusion within examples, the lack of depth given to race-related examples, and the avoidance of language related to racial difference creates a racially unconscious text that is central to the study and practice of public policy.

Perhaps more importantly, given the use of the text in setting a format for individuals to conduct policy analysis, is the incorporation and consideration of race at the steps along the eightfold path. For the race-conscious observer, the potential for race to appear (and in some cases disappear) at each step along the way is apparent. For example, the first step, problem definition, appears problematic in terms of being able to identify, qualify, or potentially quantify the many race-related policy problems in America. Similarly, it might be difficult for the analyst who's identified and defined a race-related problem to identify feasible alternatives (and criteria to judge them on) to vast, perhaps government-supported or publicly popular, racist public policies. We could then imagine the difficulties the analyst might face in projecting the outcome of an attempt to change the publicly-supported or well-entrenched racist action. Finally, given the importance of the final two steps, deciding and telling your decision, we can envision communities of color whose decision-making power and political voice have been diluted for centuries encountering difficulties if able to reach this stage.

Again, none of these elements seem overwhelmingly problematic; especially considering that this text is careful in allowing for the inclusion of race if one really willed it so; however, the lack of explicit incorporation within the text is troubling. At its worst (admittedly extreme, but far from impossible), this prepares a generation of practitioners to conduct policy analysis with limited if any consideration for race. This also sends the signal to those facing race-related problems and concerned with policy analysis that the field is unfamiliar with, and perhaps unconcerned with, the problems that affect their lives. This is not what public policy schools or practitioners would like ideally, but practice based on this text will continue to produce these results. For UCLA, orienting the class that prepares students for their major project of the program using this text sets the stage for student projects that are unable to fully examine the impact of race in applied policy.

PUB PLC 209 - Management in the 21st Century

“As I sat in class listening to my professor and other classmates share their experiences and successes in negotiating, I could not help but think of the usage of the word negotiate, and how different my experience must have been,” says a student of color in the MPP program. “My professor discussed in detail how she negotiated the price of a new house and car. Another student talked about how she negotiated a great deal on a piece of jewelry she bought near Olvera Street. It was not that I did not want to contribute or that I had absolutely nothing to say. I am a good negotiator; it is just that the negotiations I conduct most often (nearly every day for some as a means of survival) do not produce the same immediate, material benefit. In fact, many of these negotiations involve the forfeiture of such a thing.

“I ‘negotiate’ with the world around me and potentially hostile environments every day. Within the department, this entails actions such being vague or creative in framing my work in order to meet accepted policy standards, choosing discussions and discussion partners carefully, avoiding certain people altogether, and gently pointing out egregious social violations to unwitting (ignorant) people who for the most part, I consider decent people and allies in my struggles. And I do this all with a smile because as hurtful and disappointing as this may be, I do the best I can and move forward with an incredible opportunity that no one where I’m from gets. Compared to that, negotiating for a lower price on a homemade bracelet seems easy enough that it really does not need to be discussed in class.”

The course on management provides students with “fundamental managerial building blocks.”¹⁹ The first part of the course focused on organizational context. Government bureaucracies face very different constraints than private bureaucracies. One of the major design flaws of government agencies is organizational adaptation. Given that most government agencies were designed when segregation was legally sanctioned and enforced, it would be interesting to explore the ability of government agencies to adapt to a post-segregation era. Were the same people that excluded people of color from accessing government services able to provide people of color with the same service after segregation was struck down? Was their reluctance to provide quality services to people of color passed on to new employees? Does the culture of agencies and businesses prevent people of color from advancing within them? This course should use a case study to explore these concepts.

Electives

Although a discussion of race should be integrated in all public policy courses, the department should offer elective courses that look specifically at race in public policy. No courses in Public Policy directly relate to race. Student interested in approaching their concentrations with a race lens must seek courses in other departments. Although many courses in public policy touch on race, they focus more on class without recognizing that these are inextricably linked. The material wealth of communities of color were determined by the

¹⁹ Amy Zegart, Course Syllabus. Public Policy 209: Management in the 21st Century.

suppression and exclusion of people of color to wealth building, such as federal home ownership programs and segregated and unequal schooling. In most of our specializations: education, health, transportation, non-profit, economic development, etc. race is the big elephant in the room that we simply gloss over. It is not enough to acknowledge that inequalities exist. Policy students should understand how and why those inequalities arose in order to understand why they still exist and how we can eliminate those inequalities. To get this training, policy students are often seeking elective courses outside of this department. They learn about racial inequalities and research in fields like public health or political science, and extrapolate it into public policy. The UCLA Department of Public Policy should be able to provide this resource for its own students.

Curriculum is most often driven by the faculty hired to teach the student body. With that in mind, we examine our department's faculty and the broader element of the hiring of faculty of color.

Recommendations: Core Curriculum

- **Text:** Seek out and incorporate texts relevant to the field that incorporate the importance of race in throughout the public policy process.
- **Case Studies:** Use more case studies, which are able to not just take a critical look at policy but at racial policy and how the combination of elements involved in the experience of race in America all come together in events described.
- **Acknowledgement:** Explicitly acknowledge the role of race in the development of many of the issues and examples discussed in class.
- **Racial Policy Course:** Develop a course where students will have the opportunity to examine racial policy and critical race within the Department of Public Policy.

Faculty of Color

The Role of Faculty in Defining Academic Institutions and Reproducing Race

Faculty is the backbone of an academic institution. Most academic campuses are mediated by a set of liberal understandings. Given the historical leadership and vision of Anglo-American scholars, these understandings, assumptions and values tend to be white, culturally. As a result, students of color who find themselves situated in these settings, understandably struggle to demonstrate merit based on a white cultural norm. This is true in the Public Policy Program. Students of color face difficulties in contributing to the academic values for the life of the institution, achieving academically, and building meaningful academic and peer relationships. A multi-cultural message, one that is inclusive of voices of color, has a distinctly positive impact on both the academic performances and the contributions made by students of color to their university. Therefore, a faculty body that embraces a race-based curricula would play a significant role in setting that (multi) cultural tone.

A more subtle reason for the value of faculty of color is that such scholars may develop different theory from their white counterparts, and may contest dominant assertions within their disciplines. In the law academy, predominantly faculty of color developed a body of scholarship identified as Critical Race Theory in part as a response to a lack of faculty scholarship regarding the law and race. These scholars viewed race as a subject area inadequately explored, and more importantly, mischaracterized, by white professors of law.

Professors of color, by being part of the academic institution, participate in the creation of university values, programs, and scholarship. Recruiting and retaining faculty of color is significant because it would 1) signal a departure from the history of exclusion of people of color from universities, 2) incorporate the norms, values, cultures, and ideals of people of color into those of the university, 3) manifest professors and students of color's entitlement to liberal academic institutions, and 4) create a multi-racial space for the exchange and communication of culture and ideas.

Professors of color, by virtue of their race, have a different set of experiences and perspectives. Professors of color, by being in the classroom, are able to validate the perspectives of students of color. White professors, by contrast, may exhibit an "antiminority mindset, selective indifference, and insensitivity"²⁰ when dealing with issues that implicate race. In the classroom, students easily feel the effect of racial stigma, when they speak up on 'race issues.' Because these topics are considered outside the institutional curricula, they become marginalized, when students "testify" to their own lived experiences.²¹ The normal dynamics of power that are implicated in a classroom setting are amplified by race. Students of color may not challenge white cultural perspectives articulated by white professors in the classroom, out of fear of "retaliation in the form of classroom hostility, bad grades, [and] poor recommendations."

In CRT, this 'work' has been described as managing or negotiating one's racial identity.²² Students of color must perform a palatable racial identity in class,²³ in addition to learning the material, which reflects an additional burden their white counterparts do not have to bear.

Narrative: A policy student recalls an incident where the professor was discussing the role of a specific community of color in facilitating policy change. The professor remarked that the community of color's organizing efforts had little to do with the policy change. The student of color in the classroom was immediately put on the defensive by such an introduction—and had to choose whether to defend the community's efforts or ignore the comment and focus on learning the principles the professor was teaching.

Professors of color can create an open space for students of color to contribute to the production of ideas, not previously possible when the academic setting was dominated by a white cultural

²⁰ Darryl Brown. "Racism and Race Relations in the University" *Virginia Law Review* 76, no. 2 (1990): 295-335.

²¹ Kimberle W. Crenshaw. "Foreward: Toward A Race-Conscious Pedagogy in Legal Education" *Southern California Review of Law and Women's Studies* 4 (1994) 33-52.

²² Devon W. Carbado. "Working Identity" *Cornell Law Review* 85 (2000) 1259-1308 (discussing lawyers of color in prestigious firms).

²³ Ibid. (members of outsider groups must perform additional work to make their identities palatable and their insider employers comfortable).

norm. Professors of color help to ensure that “[students of color’s] participation, their points of view . . . are [not] marginalized, devalued, made more difficult and less legitimate to express.”²⁴

A commitment to hiring professors of color is a commitment to equality, a broad principle which liberal academic institutions espouse. By having a significant number of faculty of color, universities show a racial sensitivity that corresponds to the “equal standing of . . . community members.”²⁵

Faculty play a significant role in defining the racial inclusiveness on campus, the legitimization of race-based perspectives and identities, and the commitment to racial equality on university campuses.

Hiring and Retention

The UCLA Public Policy Program has few faculty of color. The public policy program has one African American faculty member, one Latino faculty member, and no Asian American faculty members. In one of the most diverse cities in the world, the lack of faculty of color is unacceptable. A predominantly white-dominated public policy school, generating policy ideas and research for people of color and instructing a generation of policy makers is unacceptable as a project. Universities play a significant role in the generation of policy research, ideas, and innovations. The inclusion of faculty of color is a requirement if we are to believe in—in any meaningful sense—substantive inclusion and participatory democracy.

Liberal academic institutions justify the continued exclusion of faculty of color under merit-based, supposedly neutral, colorblind selection processes. Much work has been done by scholars to show that such selection *criteria* are not neutral, in fact, but are “chosen” by institutional actors to maintain a reliable status quo. Such criteria seek to identify the same qualities in faculty of color that the predominantly white faculty possesses.²⁶ Discussions of “merit [function] to conceal the contingent connection between institutional power and the things rated.”²⁷

The relationship between the academic institution and the candidate being evaluated is rarely something ever discussed outright. Formal and informal criteria exist to mediate this relationship. Discussions focus on merit, on research interests, on whether the candidate would ‘fit in’. Candidates of color are never rejected outright. Rather, a full and fair procedural review is guaranteed, but *on the terms* of the liberal academic institution. The central concern is: would this candidate challenge the personal and social meanings attributed to the academic institution from the perspective of the *current* faculty. Faculty candidates who appear different from current faculty present the possibility of challenging institutional power: such faculty might alter the character, culture, and research focuses of the institution, and might “[help] introduce a

²⁴ Darryl Brown. “Racism and Race Relations in the University” *Virginia Law Review* 76, no. 2 (1990): 295-335.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Richard Delgado. “Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative” *Michigan Law Review* 87, no. 8 (1989) 2411-2441. Any deviation from such criteria is not perceived as an equally valid evaluation of certain qualities over others (much in the same way the original criteria were determined) but rather as a lessening of standards.

²⁷ Ibid.

different prism and different criteria for selecting future candidates”²⁸ and for determining prestige.

When challenged by students, universities explain the low number of faculty of color by everything but an analysis of race. In fact, the dominant reasoning used in the faculty selection process appears entirely race-neutral. It is process oriented. Procedures were used to determine the selection criteria and to enforce the criteria. Candidates of all races, not just candidates of color, are given full and fair hearings on their qualifications. On occasion, the selection committee states it was overly understanding of racial considerations. For example, the candidate would not have made it so far had he or she been white. The decision makers resemble apologists for a system outside of their control rather than institutional actors who administer and are complicit in the perpetuation of its inequities.²⁹

Clearly, these explanations fail to address the systemic and cultural deficiencies of the hiring process. These explanations for the current numbers tend to emphasize certain ‘facts’ over others—that the pool of faculty of color is small, that faculty of color have many options to choose from, and that rash hiring decisions by academic institutions can lead to hiring and retention of faculty for nonacademic political reasons. None of these accounts are evaluated for their truthfulness. The size of the pool of faculty of color is not an objective fact, but rather a series of *decisions* made about what qualifications a candidate should have, in which subject areas to recruit candidates, where to advertise for candidates, who to encourage to apply, etc. These facts are rarely subjected to any scrutiny, but rather are accepted as true.

Faculty of color have also noted that selection criteria are often applied in a discriminate manner. Faculty of color (in the legal field) “perceive a ‘double standard’ under which they are assessed ‘more harshly,’ perhaps because white professors believe ‘only a superstar’ minority should be hired, promoted, or tenured” and not an ordinarily intelligent candidate of color.³⁰

Faculty selection committees also tend to assume a risk-averse posture when it comes to hiring: only candidates with proven track records of publishing are considered. This behavior on the part of selection committees ignores the fact that candidates of color often have had fewer advantages than their white peers and thus often have shorter publishing records early in their careers. Risk-averse behavior on the part of selection committees de-contextualizes a candidate’s publishing record and pretends to employ race-neutral selection criteria, while in actuality, such behavior favors white candidates.

If universities are to meaningfully pursue the goal of hiring and retaining a significant number of faculty of color, they will have to change their perspectives and behavior. Current faculty must be willing to recognize the need for research focused on communities of color from a race-conscious perspective and be willing to incorporate these research interests into the Department. Current faculty involved in the hiring process should recognize that seemingly race-neutral selection criteria create disproportionate barriers to hiring faculty of color. Merit

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Darryl Brown. “Racism and Race Relations in the University” *Virginia Law Review* 76, no. 2 (1990): 295-335 (citing Roy L. Brooks. “Anti-Minority Mindset in the Law School Personnel Process: Toward an Understanding of Racial Mindsets” *Journal of Law and Inequality* 5 (1987) 1-11).

should be redefined to incorporate standards that value the achievements of candidates of color. The Department should value candidates who have experience in working with communities of color, in both policy and advocacy arenas.

Current faculty should work with interested students to identify and hire diverse candidates. Students of color can provide alternative perspectives and assist in identifying candidates of color. Currently, several barriers limit student participation. By the time student involvement is solicited, decisions over programmatic needs, candidate qualifications, locations to advertise, and which applicants to interview, have already been made. Students do not enter the process until a short list of candidates has been made. Students of color are a resource not currently utilized by faculty in the hiring process.

In short, until the Department of Public Policy makes faculty diversity a priority, our low numbers of faculty of color will not improve. Such improvements will require current faculty members to acknowledge their positions of relative privilege and understand the benefits they receive from the exclusion of faculty of color. The Department of Public Policy is not culturally and racially neutral. White faculty members must reformulate their racial identities so that they are not threatened by the inclusion of non-white faculty members and scholarship within the Department. Honesty, openmindedness, and self examination will be necessary to build a multi-racial policy program.

Recommendations: Faculty

- **Hiring:** Efforts should be made to recruit faculty of color during the two faculty hiring searches this year for the Department of Public Policy, one in International Policy, and one in Economics. Specifically, faculty of color with race-conscious research interests should be pursued for these positions. Interested students should be incorporated into the faculty hiring process at earlier stages.
- **Hiring Inter-departmentally:** Efforts should be made to hire between departments, such as with Asian American Studies, or Critical Race Studies. An example of the merit in this inter-departmental hiring is Professor Kagawa-Singer who teaches for both Asian American Studies and Public Health.
- **Seminars:** The department should pursue cultural sensitivity seminars for incoming students and faculty staff development.
- **Interdepartmental interactions:** Many professors and faculty at UCLA are working in the realm of racial and ethnic specific policy programs, and choose not to work with this department. Faculty should make more of an effort seek and co-sponsor these ethnic specific policy efforts.

Critical Race and the Student Body

A diverse student body in a university setting leads to positive intellectual and social outcomes for students. It does not just expand opportunities for students of color, but enhances the educational experience for all students. A report published by Mitchell Chang, UCLA professor and expert on education equity, states, “educational effects of diversity might be more pronounced” in a graduate school setting where the populations are smaller and generally more diverse.³¹ If a diverse student body encourages positive interracial interactions, this could lead to positive effects on the quality of policymakers and analysts that UCLA’s Public Policy Department produces. Alumni of a program that promotes diversity and understanding will better be able to serve diverse communities.

This section of the report addresses the diversity of the student body in UCLA’s Public Policy program. We examine the diversity of the student body as well as the sustainability of diversity in our program.

Diversity of the Student Body

Running independently for the past ten years, the Master in Public Policy program’s first graduating class was in 1998, for a total of twelve MPP graduating classes. The diversity of our class is varied by years with a notable improvement in the diversity of the student body. Figure 1 shows the diversity demographics of our department by graduating class. As shown, the cohorts with the lowest rates of diversity in the program were the class of 2000 and the class of 2008.

Diversity in Recruitment

Professors, students and staff from UCLA’s MPP program participate in various

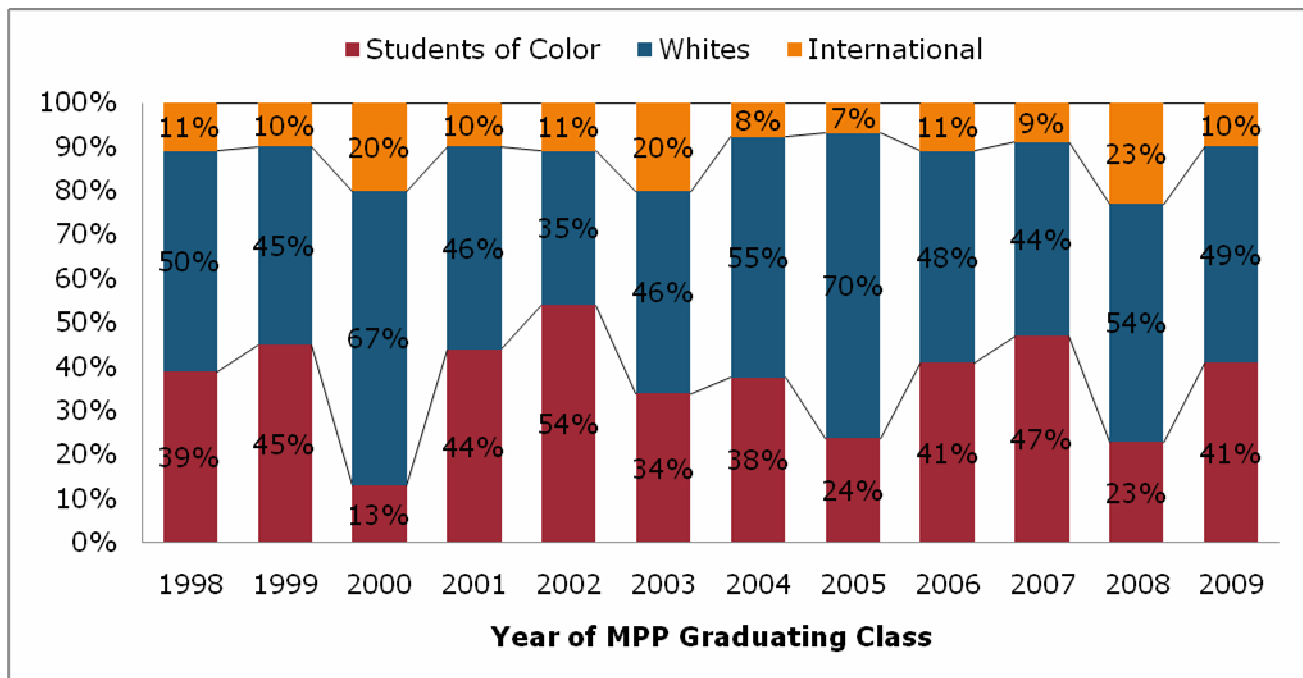


FIGURE 1: YEAR OF MPP GRADUATING CLASS

³¹Chang, Mitchell. "Does Racial Diversity Matter?: The Education Impact of a Racially Diverse Undergraduate Population." *Journal of College Student Development* (Jul/Aug 1999): 1-17.

recruitment fairs throughout the year, yet the program needs to do more to target students of color. Out of the fourteen total recruitment fairs attended, the CA Diversity Fair held in Oakland was the only diversity specific fair attended by UCLA representatives to recruit the 2009 class.

The department has taken additional steps to recruit more students of color. The department hires students to assist with recruitment almost every year. Though often times this position goes unpaid, this year three graduate student outreach coordinators were hired to work on diversity recruitment. The coordinators went to specific diversity focused college recruitment events, spoke to interested students, and put on a diversity conference. Additionally, the students specifically reached out to the UCLA community by speaking to classes and reaching out to diverse student organizations on UCLA's campus.

Diversity in Public Policy Conferences

The department has held two diversity conferences in the past twelve years, one in 2000 and another in 2007. The conferences have a big impact on the number of students who apply to the program, thus the 2000 conference influenced the Class of 2002, and the 2007 conference influenced the Class of 2009. As you can see from Figure 1, there was a notable increase in the student of color population for both of those years. We can infer that there is a positive correlation between diversity conferences and the diversity of the incoming class.

The conference in 2000 was a largely student led initiative and had ninety-six attendees. Overwhelmingly successful, six of the seven students admitted to the fall 2000 MPP Class (Class of 2002) who attended the conference accepted admissions.³² This year's conference was created in an effort to increase the diversity rate in the student body. The entire budget for the conference was fully approved and paid for by the Department. The daylong conference held Saturday, April 7th, 2007, was well attended by members of the Los Angeles and UCLA community. Six of the people attending the conference had been admitted to UCLA, and four out of six (66 percent) accepted fall admission. The evaluations for the 2007 diversity conference were favorable. On a scale of 1-5, the conference scored a 4.45 average on how useful the conference was to the participants, and a 4.24 on how successful it was in promoting diversity in public policy.

Not only were both conferences hugely successful in and of themselves, but they also helped increase the diversity of the program. The conference should be a yearly event hosted by the department. A targeted effort at recruiting students from communities of color is not only necessary to increase MPP's diversity, but also reflects positively on the department's commitment to racial equity.

Rate of Admission

There are several areas within the admissions process where we lose students of color. In particular, we can compare 1) the application rate (how many people of color are applying to UCLA MPP?); 2) the admissions rate (how many people of color are admitted into the program?); and 3) the enrollment rate (how does the enrollment rate compare to these other two rates?). We examine this issue by looking at this year's admission process for the incoming Class of 2009.

The number of people of color (POC) and white students that applied to the MPP program is comparable: 112 POCs applied this year and 115 whites applied. If we look at the rate

³²Additional information can be found in the report, "Conference Evaluation Summary" for the 2000 Leadership in Diversity Conference.

between those people of color that applied and those that were admitted, we see a rate of 56 percent whereas the rate for whites was 68 percent. Interestingly enough, the accepted rate of students equaled out with 41 percent of those admitted being POC and 49 percent accepted being white.

TABLE 1: TOTAL AND RATES OF ADMISSIONS

Class of 2009	International	POC	Whites	Total
Applied	52	112	115	279
% of applied	19%	40%	41%	
Admitted	20	63	78	161
% of admitted	12%	39%	48%	
Accepted	6	25	30	61
% of accepted	10%	41%	49%	
Admitted with Fellowship	2	21	40	63
% of admitted w/Fellowship	3%	33%	63%	
Accepted with Fellowship	0	7	16	23
% of accepted w/Fellowship	0%	30%	70%	

One of the biggest disparities to education access is in the distribution of fellowships. Here at UCLA, admissions and fellowship awards are restricted by Prop 209. At the same time, we know generally that standardized exams are often biased towards whites, and thus exams like the GREs are not a predictive measure of the success of people of color. Furthermore, we know that finance is more likely to be an issue for students of color. Fellowships at UCLA are awarded based on GRE and GPA scores, and thus, we see a great disparity between fellowship awards offered to white students and students of color. 61 students were accepted with a fellowship award, three percent international, 33 percent people of color, and 63 percent white.

In the end, only 23 people accepted the program with a fellowship- 30 percent of them were students of color (7) and 70 percent white students (16). This means that of the people of color that accepted our program, 28 percent have fellowships to help fund their education, whereas 53 percent of the white students have fellowships. This is even more shocking if we consider that typically in society, whites make more money and have a higher rate of

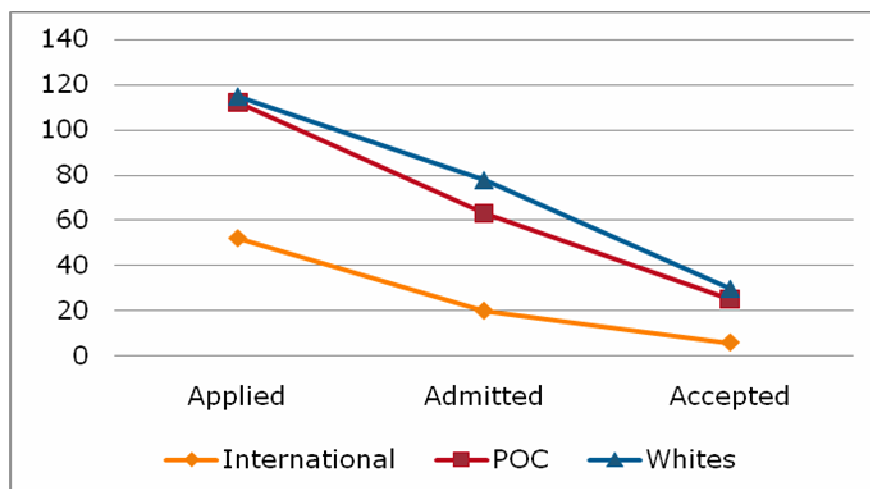


FIGURE 2: CLASS OF 2009 ADMISSION RATES

advancement in the professional world then do people of color and we are thus allowing students of color to graduate from this program with far more financial burdens than their white peers.

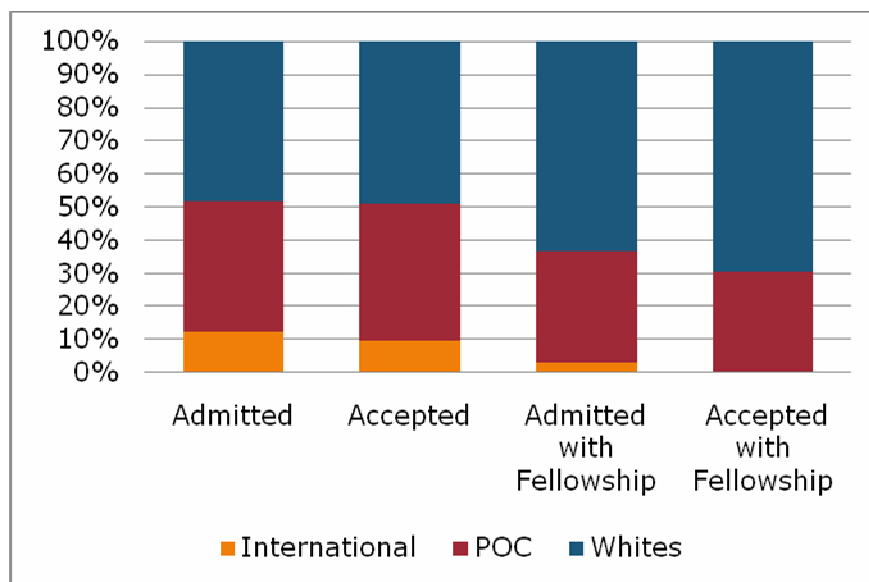


FIGURE 3: CLASS OF 2009 ADMISSION AND FELLOWSHIP RATES

If we look at the rate between those people of color that were admitted and those that enrolled, we see that 63 students of color were admitted and 25 students of color accepted— a rate of 40 percent.

The question that is left unanswered is, “If not UCLA, where are the people of color going to?” Of the 97 people that did not choose to go to UCLA, 58 mentioned what schools they were going to instead. The top campuses which UCLA-admits chose over UCLA were: UC Berkeley, USC, Harvard, University of Texas, University of Chicago, Duke, Columbia, Georgetown and Syracuse. Students of color chose UC Berkeley, University of Southern California, Harvard, and Georgetown over UCLA. More examination should be given into why students of color choose these campuses over our own.

Diversity of UCLA MPP Alumni

There is also a desperate need for a curriculum focused on critical race theory in public policy. More often the argument made for a diverse student body is reliant on the pipeline leadership model where schools are a training ground for more people of color with leadership skills in the public policy realm. An argument that is made less frequently is the need for a critical race focused skill set in the policy making world. UCLA MPP needs to have a critical race focused curriculum because alumni are going out in the professional policy world working on race-related issues. Many of our alumni, not just people of color, are working on policy issues in and for communities of color. They work in race/ethnic based organizations and are creating important policies that affect various communities of color.

Jamila Iris Edwards (MPP '03), a Project Administrator for Mason Tillman Associates, assists public agencies in their efforts to be socially responsible through affirmative action programs designed to help minorities, women, and small business owners. Another MPP '03

alumni, Joy Yang, a Research Associate for the UCLA Integrated Substance Abuse Programs, is researching racial disparities among cocaine-dependent sample of veterans. Recent graduate Sarah Jackson (JD/MPP '07) has just been hired to work in San Francisco at the Racial Justice and Region Equity Project. At the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, Kimiko Kelly (MPP '01) works on compiling demographics profiles of Asian and Pacific Islanders using US Census data. Rebeya Sen (PPP '02) was the Program Coordinator for South Asian Network working on domestic violence issues for South Asian women. And Veronica Melvin (MPP '01) is the Executive Director for Alliance for a Better Community, an organization promoting equity for Latinos in education, health, economic development, and civic participation throughout Los Angeles.

As you can see, the Public Policy program is turning out students who are committed to serving communities of color, yet the program does not prepare students to analyze policy issues using a race lens. That deficiency may seriously hinder their ability to effectively advocate for the communities they are trying to serve.

Recommendations: Diversity in Student Body

- **Staff:** Hire a Graduate Student Researcher to do diversity outreach for the department every year. The GSR position should start at the very beginning of the fall quarter, if not in the middle of the summer.
- **Recruitment:** Attend more than one diversity focused recruitment event.
- **Conference:** The diversity conference should be an annual event. The conference should be held in the fall quarter to maximize the conferences potential to increase the number of students of color applying to the program.
- **Goal:** Diversity in student body should be a goal of the department, and should be kept at least at 40 percent students of color. If it dips below this rate, further analysis and action should be taken to remediate the problem.
- **Fellowships:** The awarding of fellowships for the program are largely biased towards white students. The fellowship selection process should be examined. Using a holistic process should be used to ensure that funds are distributed are to the students who need it the most.
- **Alumni:** Research and conduct an analysis of UCLA's MPP alumni working in communities of colors. By figuring out what professional skills they need to work in racial disparity, equity and people of color issues, the department can adapt curriculum to make sure our students are better trained.

Critical Race Theory in the Department of Social Welfare

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Critical Race Theory and Social Welfare
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Critical Race Theory and Social Welfare

Executive Summary

The Purpose of the Project

The purpose of this project is to apply a critical race lens to the field of social welfare. Racism is prevalent in society and it is not adequately addressed in social work training. This paper will illuminate how social work pedagogy and practice create and sustain a racist status quo. Using a Critical Race Theory (CRT) perspective, we examine the origins of the field, the process of professionalization, and the MSW curriculum at UCLA. We include implications of our findings and offer recommendations for implementing CRT in the social work curriculum. We are challenging the program to be a vanguard in addressing how to break down racism at the institutional level.

Findings

The origins of social work have their roots within racism. However, the modern day narrative certainly does not acknowledge these racist origins and rather romanticizes the early mainstream social worker. Hence, confronting the racist ideological underpinnings and foundations of the field will provide necessary insights related to current theory and practice. Professionalization solidifies the oppressive practice of social work by legitimizing the field within a larger racist structure. The professionalization process preferences the advancement of the field over its professed mission of social justice by enhancing the professional standing of social workers at the expense of further oppressing people of color.

Our analysis reveals that the current structure and content of the MSW program does not challenge existing racial hierarchies and therefore perpetuates systems of inequality. Further, the curriculum as a whole lacks the critical race perspective necessary to provide the space for affecting social change. Multicultural approaches in social work, such as "cultural competency" and "cultural awareness," fail to critically interrogate sociopolitical and structural dimensions of inequality. This focus on interventions at the individual level does not address the interlocking forms of oppression that characterize contemporary social problems. Though we look at environments, race/racism continues to be presented as an individual issue in the micro curriculum. The macro curriculum does not take an in-depth look at the current structures that are in place nor does it analyze the racial hierarchy that created and sustains them.

It is imperative that we become more aware of our powerful roles as social workers, our participation in racialized social structures, and the effects that these have on clients. If we truly desire social change, then we must first be willing to critically look at ourselves and our field to uncover places where we might be doing more harm than good.

Recommendations

Based on our analysis, we offer several specific recommendations on how to incorporate CRT into the MSW curriculum. These recommendations address both short and long term goals and include the following:

1. Make CRT a part of every course, and use the authors of this proposal as a resource for implementation.
2. Address issues of race and racism from the start of the MSW program.
3. Create a specialization in Critical Race Theory within the Department of Social Welfare.
4. Include a class on radical social work that emphasizes organizational change and community organizing.

Introduction

The student authors of this analysis were initially drawn to this project due to a genuine belief that race and racism are not extensively addressed within the social welfare program at UCLA. Our specific intentions for taking this student-initiated course differed, ranging from interests in applying CRT to social work to feelings that the MSW curriculum marginalizes personal experiences and perspectives with respect to race. One student's experience within the MSW program reflects this sentiment:

As a minority I have experienced a social welfare graduate program that has overwhelmingly stifled and minimized my personal history and beliefs as a "racialized being." The program I find myself within, which is aimed at addressing the interests of all within society especially those marginalized, has ironically helped me to feel as an outsider. As I listen to my micro class lectures as they situate social problems within micro processes and the individual, and only discuss "race" in terms of how "dysfunction" plays out differently or how to "handle clients," I feel progressively alienated from class discussions. In macro classes as well, I have been quickly stifled, as I have challenged the social structure in which social workers are expected to work within. Being a minority, racism is a constant and stressful presence in my life. In general, I consistently find my ideas without a platform for discussion within the department and am typically consigned to participating in class exercises and assignments that do not account for my experiences as an oppressed minority.

- First year macro student

The harsh reality is that racism is still alive and thriving within society and since social work is part of society, it is not immune to a critique of racism. This paper will illuminate how social work pedagogy and practice creates and sustains a racist status quo. We acknowledge that this is a strong statement and for this reason, certain terms are clarified. There will be wide usage of terms such as "white supremacy" and "racist." However, contrary to popular conception of these terms as purposeful and overt, their usage throughout this analysis will often refer to the unconscious and subtler ways in which even the well-intentioned social worker oppresses people and communities of color. Further, this analysis posits that mainstream social work oppresses minorities because the more subtle forms of racism and white supremacy within the field are not understood or recognized. As Burgest presents, many social workers deny the core of minority problems as being non-white within white America because social workers themselves are products of white America and do not like to see themselves as accessories to racism.³³ It may be difficult for the reader, particularly the social work reader, to entertain the possibility that they support an oppressive status quo. However, they are not alone; race and racism are difficult to discuss for all, the authors included.

With this analysis, both the more implicit and explicit forms of racism within social work will be addressed. Three components will provide the basis for this critique: the origins of the field, the process of professionalization, and the curriculum. Through this examination, we start the difficult, yet necessary dialogue of racism and the complicity of social work with maintaining a racist status quo.

³³ David R. Burgest, "Racism in Everyday Speech and Social Work Jargon," *Social Work* (1973): 23.

Literature Review

In the next few pages we will provide a very brief review of the social work literature in relation to CRT and how these ideas are or are not incorporated in both practice and pedagogy. We chose to organize this literature review using a framework of CRT tenets that was highlighted in an article by Narda Razack and Donna Jeffery.³⁴ The tenets include: (1) liberalism, (2) intersectionality, (3) whiteness, power and privilege, (4) anti-racist discourse and (5) the value of storytelling.

Liberalism

While some literature specifically addresses the conception of liberalism within social work from a critical race theory perspective, most do not. To start the discussion, liberalism can be introduced as a belief system in which the individual is expected to take responsibility for his or her actions and simultaneously exercise self-restraint.³⁵ This conception of liberalism is useful in understanding its application within social work since the field and those speaking about the field generally present this notion through the idea of the individual, although differently with respect to issues such as power and personal responsibility.

Through a critical race theory lens, Razack and Jeffery critique social work liberalism through the field's emphasis on individualism and meritocracy.³⁶ In general, these theorists express how the liberal intervention of change through the individual by and large leaves an inequitable societal structure unanalyzed and unquestioned. Through social work principles such as "self-determination" and the "ecological framework, the field allows a power imbalance in favor of whites to remain."³⁷ They further assert that by social work practitioners adhering to their sense of liberalism, or their "universality," they consequently minimize racism and all of its contemporary forms by "tolerating or dismissing the realities of difference."³⁸ As a result, Razack and Jeffery advocate for social work's examination of its liberal inclination to focus on individuals rather than structural components of relationships. Lastly, both imply a particular need for white social workers to scrutinize their ability to claim "universality" and understand the privileged status they hold within a system of white supremacy. Similarly, Jeffery asserts that the liberalism of social work is exemplified through the modern, western moral subject possessing freedom and rationality of thought and action. From this position, the social worker's asserted neutrality and authority to control herself as well as her environment, or others, hides her "whiteness" and leaves her "unmarked and racially dominant."³⁹

In another perspective, Chris Clark begins an analysis of the moral character of social work by asserting that the field itself is an offspring of liberalism.⁴⁰ He proceeds to claim that

³⁴ Narda Razack and Donna Jeffery, "Critical Race Discourse and Tenets for Social Work," *Canadian Social Work Review*, 19, 2 (2002) Razack & Jeffery, 257.

³⁵ Murli Desai, *Ideologies and Social Work: Historical and Contemporary Analysis* (Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2002), 57.

³⁶ Razack and Jeffery, 262

³⁷ Razack and Jeffery, 263

³⁸ Razack and Jeffery, 263

³⁹ Donna Jeffery, "What Good is Anti-racist Social Work if You Can't Master It?: Exploring a Paradox in Anti-racist Social Work Education," *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 8, 4, (2005): 411.

⁴⁰ Chris Clark, "Moral Character in Social Work," *British Journal of Social Work*, 36 (2006): 75.

notions of liberalism with their emphasis upon individual ability are abstractions that never actually take place within practical expression “colored by local community and tradition.”⁴¹ Within this framework, it follows that social workers cannot actually practice the individualism they might espouse, since they are inevitably connected to a particular cultural and political context. Clark also asserts that the liberalistic tendency of social work values to remain neutral is a “sham” because “truthful engagement expressed in an authentic interpersonal relationship” inherently expresses the cultural values of the social worker that are characteristic of her particular historical context.⁴² Such a perspective is useful in understanding a critical race theory perspective on social work since it illustrates the interconnectedness of racial categories that are often presented in terms of pseudo-attachment and supposedly work independently.

From these few theorists and explorations of liberalism in relation to social work, the main component to keep in mind while traveling through the analysis of this paper is the power of the individual. Within a critical race theory framework the presumptions often made about the power of individuals to control their world and others within it is illuminated and becomes especially important when attempting to understand the dynamics of racism.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality refers to the intersection of various social positions such as race, class, gender and sexual identity, and how this interconnectedness creates different lived experiences. Intersectionality is particularly suited for social work training and practice. A number of feminist and legal scholars have recognized the importance of an intersectional approach to understanding multiple forms of oppression.⁴³ Patricia Hill Collins describes a “matrix of domination” made up of “interlocking oppressions” between macro systems of oppression as a way to understand the oppression that Black women face.⁴⁴ From a legal standpoint, Kimberlé Crenshaw has argued for the need to consider multiple dimensions of identity in determining cases of discrimination.⁴⁵ Conversely, this body of work also recognizes the problems with a nonintersectional approach. Angela Harris cautions against essentialism in seeking to describe or define the experiences of marginalized peoples. Characterizations of “race essentialism” or “gender essentialism”, where the use of “we” statements purport to speak for an entire, assumed monolithic group (i.e. the “Black experience” or “women’s experience”), are inaccurate and dangerous.⁴⁶ Together these works demonstrate the relevance of intersectionality to the field of social work.

Though written in a legal context, Crenshaw’s discussion of *structural intersectionality* has direct applications to social work.⁴⁷ She argues for the need to “account for multiple grounds

⁴¹ Clark, 76.

⁴² Clark, 76 & 79.

⁴³ Mari J. Matsuda, *Where is Your Body? And Other Essays on Race, Gender, and the Law*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996)

⁴⁴ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 221-238.

⁴⁵ Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989).

⁴⁶ Angela P. Harris, “Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory” in *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge, Second Edition*, Editors Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000: 262.)

⁴⁷ Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color” *Stanford Law Review*, 1991.

of identity when considering how the social world is constructed.” Without this framework social workers may ignore what Crenshaw terms “double subordination”. This refers to the situation where clients are at the intersection of multiple forms of subordination (i.e. women of color). Inadequate attention to this lived reality leads to policies and intervention strategies developed out of nonintersectional contexts, limiting the ability for appropriate intervention from social workers.

Scholars from within the field of social work emphasize the importance of intersectionality in teaching and practicing social work. Moosa-Mitha and Brown, social work professors at the University of Victoria, Canada, have argued for the use of radical pedagogy in social work classrooms.⁴⁸ Radical social work makes use of a framework that recognizes “the interlocking, intersecting nature of oppression.” In addition, there are social work texts that underscore the importance of understanding multiple and interlocking identities of clients.⁴⁹ That “reality is multiple in nature”⁵⁰ is central to anti-racist social work practice and requires an understanding and acknowledgment of multiple identities, multiple oppressions, and the intersection of these realities.

Whiteness, Power and Privilege

The superiority of whiteness is a social construct...(that) informs both the past and the present and affects each of our lives daily. All of us who are white receive white privileges. They are bestowed on us impersonally and systematically, but they affect us personally...our choice is to use them in such a way as to dismantle the systems that keep the superiority of whiteness in place. One of the primary privileges is having greater influence, power, and resources. White people make decisions that affect everyone without consulting anyone else.⁵¹

Frances Kendall views this dilemma as so endemic and the discussion so vitally necessary that she dedicates an entire book to *Understanding White Privilege*.⁵² Her book tackles what it means to be white and all its advantages and delves further into analyzing why it is hard for whites to see their whiteness and hence, their privilege. Ultimately she addresses what can be done on an individual level to overcome racism in all its forms.

“CRT introduces the fact that racial progress cannot be made by politics or policy alone – because racism cannot be remedied without substantially recognizing and altering White privilege.”⁵³ There must be an acknowledgement of the power and power structures that

⁴⁸ Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha and Leslie A. Brown, (2000) “Radical Pedagogy and the Teaching of Anti-Racist Social Work Practice in the Field”, IFSW/IASSW Conference.

⁴⁹ Anita Jones Thomas and Sara Schwarzbaum, *Culture & Identity: Life Stories for Counselors and Therapists*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2006)

⁵⁰ Moosa-Mitha & Brown, 3.

⁵¹ Frances E. Kendall, *Understanding white privilege: Creating pathways to authentic relationships across race* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 62.

⁵² Kendall

⁵³ Gerardo R. Lopez, “The (Racially Neutral) Politics of Education: A Critical Race Theory Perspective,” *Educational Administration Quarterly* 39.1 (2003): 68-94.

underlie and perpetuate racism in order to begin the discussion on racism in society, and how it is maintained in current practice.

The power dynamic continues on an individual level in the direct clinical setting, where the clinician holds the power, regardless of any overt attempts to establish the professional relationship otherwise. The issue of the direct practice worker wielding enormous and life-changing power over the client and being an agent of “social control” is addressed extensively in the literature, including Elaine Pinderhughes’ work that addresses this dynamic in its various forms and in detail.⁵⁴ In discussing how race has become a marker for status assignment in society, Pinderhughes states that this “status assignment based on skin color identity has evolved into complex social structures that promote a power differential between Whites and various people-of-color.”⁵⁵ She goes on to discuss how the social worker, intrinsically a part of these societal structures just like everyone else, is also not immune from personal biases.⁵⁶ This power differential translates to direct practice work, making social workers complicit in maintaining racial hierarchies.

Peggy McIntosh tells us that unearned advantage and conferred dominance lead to an oppression that take both active and embedded forms that members of the dominant group are taught not to see. Obliviousness about white advantage is kept strongly acculturated in the US so as to maintain the myth of meritocracy.⁵⁷ Because what would it mean if the white majority acknowledged these systems of racial hierarchy? It would not be able to be ignored. It’s as if the “problem” is too large to even address, so it’s easier to ignore it. “To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions.”⁵⁸

Although the social work literature has similar interpretations of how whiteness as a social construct plays out in larger society, different approaches are taken to integrate a critique of whiteness into the social work discipline. Abrams and Gibson present whiteness from a sociological perspective, stating that since whiteness is the norm against which all other ethnic and racial groups are defined and measured, it is also one of the central mechanisms through which the racial stratification of U.S. society is maintained.⁵⁹ Jeffery concurs, stressing that the unmarked, ‘normal’ qualities of whiteness, also associated with innocence and goodness, allow whiteness to reproduce itself regardless of intent.⁶⁰ So what must happen therefore, is to “begin by making whiteness ‘strange.’”⁶¹

Further, scholars are in agreement on the elusive and persistent nature of whiteness. Abrams and Gibson point out how the “invisibility of [W]hiteness” allows it to occupy the center or mainstream position without White individuals having to feel responsible for the racial

⁵⁴ Elaine Pinderhughes, *Understanding Race, Ethnicity, and Power: The key to Efficacy in Clinical Practice* (New York: The Free Press, 1989). 109-146.

⁵⁵ Pinderhughes, 71

⁵⁶ Pinderhughes, 72

⁵⁷ Peggy McIntosh, “White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack,” *Peace and Freedom*, July/August (1989): 10-12.

⁵⁸ McIntosh

⁵⁹ Laura S. Abrams and Priscilla Gibson, “Teaching Notes: Reframing Multicultural Education: Teaching White Privilege in the Social Work Curriculum,” *Journal of Social Work Education*, (2007): 151.

⁶⁰ Jeffery

⁶¹ Dyer, as quoted in Jeffery, 412

inequities present in American society.⁶² Similarly, Razack and Jeffery reference Frankenberg to describe how whiteness changes over time and space in order to continually produce and reproduce the prevailing system of dominance.⁶³ Further, Razack and Jeffery assert whiteness translates into naturalized practices within the social work profession.⁶⁴ Although there is a consensus among the aforementioned scholars that a critique of whiteness is relevant to a “helping” profession such as social work, the critique is applied quite differentially among theorists.

There are different interpretations of the manner in which the field must undertake the critique of whiteness. Abrams and Gibson say that the focus of the critique should be to increase understanding in working with racially oppressed groups.⁶⁵ They call for an examination of the client/worker relationship in order to increase practitioner’s self-awareness in dealing with diverse groups. Razack and Jeffery agree that the power of whiteness must be understood in a relational way, but differ in that they argue for a decreased focus on diverse groups and an increased focus on self-reflexivity in working in a field that is legitimized and constructed by whiteness.⁶⁶ Instead, Razack and Jeffery push for an analysis of the ideological foundations of social work and an understanding that both “client” and “worker” are mutually constituted.⁶⁷

Thus, theorists advocating for a deeper examination of whiteness within social work recognize the contradictions this analysis engenders. Yee defines whiteness as the complex social process that perpetuates dominant group power within social service organizations as well as the primary force that prevents social workers from challenging dominant group power.⁶⁸ Similarly, Jeffery clarifies how whiteness is embedded within the praxis of social work:

(1) whiteness as a set of practices very much resembles social work as a set of practices; (2) when we teach people to be self-reflexive and critical of whiteness, we are, at the same time, inviting them to be critical of social work...The paradox is this: if you have to ‘give up’ whiteness, how can you be a good social worker?⁶⁹

It is obvious that a dilemma arises in the application of a critique of whiteness to social work; however, the manner in which this dilemma is framed and resolved in social work pedagogy differs. Abrams and Gibson acknowledge that there will be barriers and resistance among white students and believes that a critique of whiteness will lead to a more culturally competent social worker that can intervene in cycles of discrimination.⁷⁰ In contrast, Jeffery asserts that the attempts to manage and control such difficult and complex issues such as racism are futile, and further that seeing anti-racism as another skill for social workers to have in their “tool-kit” actually leads to the production of social workers that are more “competent” at

⁶² Abrams and Gibson, 151

⁶³ Frankenberg, as quoted in Razack and Jeffery, 265

⁶⁴ Razack and Jeffery, 265

⁶⁵ Abrams and Gibson, 148

⁶⁶ Razack and Jeffery, 265

⁶⁷ Razack and Jeffery, 265

⁶⁸ J.Y. Yee, “Critical Anti-Racism Praxis: The Concept of Whiteness Implicated,” in S. Hick, J. Fook and R. Pozzuto (eds) *Social Work: A Critical Turn*, (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing): 87–103.

⁶⁹ Jeffery, 410

⁷⁰ Abrams and Gibson

perpetuating and sustaining an oppressive system.⁷¹ Jeffery sees the competency approach as a culprit for the division between theory and practice because, rather than understanding the critique of whiteness and applying it to the practice of social work, the competency approach leaves the critique of whiteness in the ivory towers and the practice of social work is left to resume, as usual, under the guise of ‘helping.’⁷²

In contrast to Abrams and Gibson, Jeffery argues that since whiteness is a set of social practices, systems and values that endure, the critique of whiteness must be applied to understand how the practice of work, in turn, also supports this phenomenon.⁷³ Since the profession of social work values skills that can be added to the “helper” tool-kit, Jeffery argues that critical thinking that can be applied to understanding racial domination is also a useful skill for social workers to possess.⁷⁴ By advocating for an examination of social work’s own complicity in maintaining whiteness within society, the application a Critical Race Theory lens to social work agrees with Jeffery’s critical approach.

Anti-Racist Discourse

In order to confront issues of pluralism and concerns over ethnic conflict, two main theoretical approaches developed in social work: anti-discrimination and ethnic/cultural sensitivity.⁷⁵ Anti-discrimination theories seek to combat inequalities facing all groups, interrogating socially constructed relations and structures in which people experience discrimination, including race, class, gender, sexuality, and other dimensions of social location. These frameworks seek to challenge assumptions of difference in which notions of superiority and inferiority become naturalized and normalized, as well as implicate structural arrangements involved in the creation of difference. Sensitivity approaches, on the other hand, place emphasis on the understanding and respect for individuals of various cultural identities and backgrounds. With an emphasis on culture, sensitivity approaches encourage ‘cultural competence’ as a practical means for working with individuals in other diverse ethnic and cultural groups. Thus, anti-discrimination theories incorporate structural analyses aimed to transform social attitudes and structures while sensitivity approaches foster self-reflexivity and work toward more inclusive policies rather than engender broad social change.

From a CRT standpoint, both sensitivity approaches and general anti-discrimination theories present challenges in addressing race and racism. For example, the ideologies of multiculturalism underlying sensitivity approaches have come under attack due to the superficial treatment of diversity and minimal attention to social inequalities that individuals face. In addition, anti-discrimination theories can easily diminish the salience of racism when other “isms,” or forms of discrimination (e.g. sexism, classism, homophobia), are considered. Razack and Jeffery point to the “reluctance to allow issues related to race and racism to stand alone as an entry point for research or curriculum development.”⁷⁶ These difficulties in addressing race in

⁷¹ Jeffery

⁷² Jeffery

⁷³ Jeffery

⁷⁴ Jeffery, 422

⁷⁵ Malcolm Payne, *Modern Social Work Theory* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 2005): 271.

⁷⁶ Razack and Jeffery, 260

the field and the classroom reflect ideologies of whiteness that sustain social, political, and economic inequalities that persist along racial lines.

Anti-racist perspectives often incorporate structural perspectives focusing on the cultural and social subordination of racial minority groups.⁷⁷ Keating⁷⁸ describes anti-racist perspectives in social work as having the goal of eliminating racism in social work practice at institutional and individual levels in response to histories of slavery, colonialism, and capitalism. Keating takes from the work of Dominelli, who writes:

...it has been black people, writing from a black perspective rooted in their experience of racism in Britain, that have begun to shift the eyes of white academics and social workers towards racism as a structural phenomenon which permeates every aspect of social work intervention and is reflected in all white social workers' individual practice.⁷⁹

While as not to promote competing hierarchies of oppression, Razack and Jeffrey⁸⁰ describe the difficulty in confronting racist ideologies and incorporating a critical interrogation of race and racism in current social work discourse.

The Value of Storytelling

“The purpose and the process of human liberation necessitate each human being saying her own word”.⁸¹

CRT highlights “the importance of storytelling to analyze the myths, presuppositions, and received wisdoms that make up the common culture about race and that invariably render blacks and other minorities one-down”.⁸² Narratives can help inspire, validate and connect people of color as they share experiences of racism, marginalization and oppression. They uncover and preserve these individuals’ unique experiences, while at the same time legitimizing their voices in a racist society. Since “legitimizing the voices of the oppressed will therefore counter the stories of the oppressor, narrative social work strategies are a critical tool for empowerment and change”.⁸³ Social work literature typically acknowledges the need for narratives to enlighten practitioners about the ecological systems that impact clients’ functioning. They have been used to give practitioners information on various cultures that they may encounter in the field, and to teach methods to work effectively with clients of various ethnicities and the issues they may face in the United States.

⁷⁷ Payne, 275

⁷⁸ Frank Keating, “Anti-racist Perspectives: What are the Gains for Social Work?” *Social Work Education* 19,1 (2000): 78.

⁷⁹ Lena Dominelli, “An Uncaring Profession? An Examination of Racism in Social Work” in P. Bragham, A. Rattansi, & R. Skellington (Eds.) *Racism and Antiracism*, 74.

⁸⁰ Razack and Jeffery, 260.

⁸¹ Judith A. B. Lee, *The Empowerment Approach to Social Work Practice: Building the Beloved Community*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001): 43.

⁸² Razack and Jeffery, 262

⁸³ Razack and Jeffery, 262

One text that utilizes this approach is *Culture and Identity*, by practicing social workers Thomas and Schwartzbaum.⁸⁴ The book was compiled using the results of a survey in which people of color were asked to write about their ethnic identities and their experiences with issues of family, racism, discrimination, intersectionality, biculturalism, language and migration/immigration. The narratives are followed by clinical applications in which the editors give suggestions of practice methods to help clients work through issues of identity and oppression. Though *Culture and Identity* is useful for gaining knowledge about people's direct experiences of identity formation and oppression in the U.S., separating people's stories into thematic categories can have the effect of essentializing their experiences. More importantly, crucial information and discussion about "the [multiple] forces of colonization, imperialism and privilege"⁸⁵ present in the lives of the storytellers is not presented thoroughly. This leaves the impression that the issues people of color face are individual problems rather than systemic failures. Furthermore, there is no discussion about how or why social workers should help fight these oppressive forces. This can leave the practitioner discouraged and clients disempowered, thus preventing both groups from truly changing the racial hierarchy present in society.

A text that looks at narratives and empowerment from a slightly more critical perspective is *The Empowerment Approach to Social Work Practice: Building the Beloved Community* by Judith A. B. Lee. In this volume, Lee looks at traditional approaches to working with clients, including narratives, and talks about how social workers can move from simply helping clients negotiate the system to social action. Lee notes the significance of narratives and approaches such as narrative therapy that allow clients to share their experiences openly in group or individual sessions, and to gain relief and insight through this process, since narrative therapy allows the client to talk about their problems and their understandings, meanings and beliefs about the problem.⁸⁶ There is an emphasis on unique, individual experiences as well as collaboration and mutuality between the practitioner and the client. According to this therapeutic intervention, a social worker can help the client create a new and more positive ending to the story they have told, thus allowing them to envision the possibility of change, and empower them to work towards resolving or altering their negative situation. Included in the text are the stories of clients Lee has worked with as well as her own narratives. She posits that the experience of sharing these stories among clients and practitioners can help turn the "potentially paternalistic"⁸⁷ relationship between the social worker and the client into one that is more mutual and transformative.

Like CRT scholars, Lee notes the limitations of narrative therapy alone, since the lack of critical analysis makes it "value neutral on issues of oppression and the need for external/societal change"⁸⁸. Further, storytelling to a therapist rather than joining one's story with other marginalized people does not allow for the "exchange of stories around political and moral analysis"⁸⁹ or for a new community of experience to be created. As a result, she posits that a blend of storytelling and action is the most effective way to empower clients and communities to

⁸⁴ Anne Jones Thomas, and Sara Schwarzbaum, *Culture and Identity: Life Stories for Counselors and Therapists* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006): 26.

⁸⁵ Razack and Jeffery, 262

⁸⁶ Lee, 41

⁸⁷ Lee, xiii

⁸⁸ Lee, 41

⁸⁹ Razack and Jeffery, 262

change. She emphasizes, “Telling the story is not enough. Action does not automatically follow. We need theory and conceptualizations that unite action to authenticity to bring personal, communal, and societal change forth from the labor pains and catharsis of the true story”.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Lee, 3

The Racist Ideological Underpinnings of the Origins of Social Work

In order to reveal the racism within mainstream social work in both its current theory and practice it is necessary to critically analyze the origins of the field from a stance other than the typical, idealized version of the “good intentioned, friendly visitor” or the settlement house “reformist.” The origins of social work have their roots in racism, and this has laid its foundation for operating within and supporting a racist status quo. Historically considered a “helping profession” that has genuinely combated multiple forms of oppression, social work is typically immune to any critical perspective largely inconsistent with this dominant, positive narrative. Here in lies the problem. It is a misconception that mainstream social work enjoyed such an elevated position. On the contrary, such a romanticized notion of the field is an historical illusion based upon the professed, altruistic intentions of early social workers rather than the historical consequences of their intervention.

Hence, a critique of the racism embedded within social work will be based on the grounds of what even the well-intentioned social worker was and is likely not aware of—ideology. While there are many ways of thinking about and using ideology, here this concept is twofold. First, “one’s ideology includes one’s perception of people and reasons for social problems, one’s values and ethics, and one’s goals and approach for social change, influenced by one’s socialization.”⁹¹ Secondly, as Desai paraphrases Feibleman, ideology can be thought of as a process of being:

Every person has an ideology without knowing it, which one holds so deeply that one thinks, feels and acts in the world by means of it, without even being aware of its existence.⁹²

Thus, by applying an ideological analysis to the origins of social work this refers to the thoughts, feelings, actions, and efforts towards social change those in the field have exhibited often unknowingly.

From a CRT lens, there are two main ideological components responsible for establishing the field of social work and its purpose as a racist agenda: the ideologies of whiteness and white supremacy. From these racist ideological underpinnings the historic actions and observable purpose of social work have supported and perpetuated a status quo based upon racial hierarchy. However, since this intervention has operated within an ideological realm, its harsh consequences for the racial other have largely been unrecognized and in turn unquestioned by the field. By revisiting the origins of social work with this framework, this unpleasant reality is revealed. The Charity Organization Societies (COS) and Settlement Houses are the logical starting point since they “represent the distinct two arms of social work that are referred to as direct practice and indirect practice...and encompass the various systems in which intervention occurs [and has occurred].”⁹³ Yet, in contrast to the common portrayals of early social workers as free from the racism surrounding them, social workers did not hold such an elevated position

⁹¹ Desai, 26

⁹² Desai, 26

⁹³ Iglehart and Becerra, 87

but were rather vulnerable to same racial and ethnic animosities that preyed on the rest of society.⁹⁴

Ideology of Whiteness

Before even speaking about social work as a white supremacist agenda it is necessary to address the means by which such an agenda gains its validity through the ideology of whiteness. As illustrated by Jeffery, “the ideology of whiteness is characterized by its unmarked, universal, ‘normal’ qualities and, perhaps most powerfully, its links to innocence and goodness.”⁹⁵ It is exactly this sense of whiteness with all its presumed and hidden notions of goodness that predetermined the early, mainstream, white social worker to see herself as “a good and altruistic helping professional”⁹⁶ regardless of a social reality that indicated otherwise. This is a key component of whiteness: “white power reproduces itself *regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill* [emphasis added], and overwhelmingly because it is not seen as whiteness, but as normal.”⁹⁷ This idealized version of self, which was internalized to operate within an unconscious ideological realm, defined the early social worker’s identification with goodness, neutrality, and normality.

This presumed goodness attached to whiteness is revealed by the way in which COS and the friendly visitors positioned themselves towards oppressed and racialized people, including *other whites*.⁹⁸ It might seem contradictory to begin this discussion by saying that white social workers within the COS adhered to an ideology of whiteness even in reference to other whites. However, it is because the formation of the *white* psyche significantly predated the origins of social work and had already been intrinsically intertwined with the conception of a racialized and *inferior other* that this paradox came to be. As native populations and black slaves of North America were considered “savage Indian brutes” and a “biologically inferior race”⁹⁹ respectively, the ideological framework of socially dominating whites became infused with a notion of racial superiority. Early social workers came from this dominating group of whites and their intervention reflected their group’s historical belief in their universality to speak for all. Thus, friendly visitors expected to counsel and nurture family members, offer assistance, and set an example for people to improve their lot.¹⁰⁰ White social workers presumed their goodness and capacity to give such help based upon their privileged position within a racially stratified society, which itself remained unquestioned. By embracing the racial hierarchy of the day, these visitors, certainly “not friendly,” entered social interaction viewing “the client less an equal or potential equal, than an object of character reformation.”¹⁰¹ Indeed, the racial other was “believed to be poor by [his] own hand and requiring a firm push in the right direction.”¹⁰² The early, mainstream social workers extricated themselves from any responsibility in creating peoples’

⁹⁴ Iglehart and Becerra, 87

⁹⁵ Jeffery, 411

⁹⁶ Jeffery, 411

⁹⁷ Richard Dyer, *White* (London, Routledge, 1997), 10.

⁹⁸ The current racial category “white” did not equally apply to all early European immigrants and this will be discussed in-depth later in this section

⁹⁹ Robert L. Allen, *Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States* (Howard University Press, Washington, D.C. 1974).

¹⁰⁰ Iglehart & Becerra, 91

¹⁰¹ Desai, 77

¹⁰² Iglehart & Becerra, 89

situations, and relied upon their whiteness with its presumed sense of innocence and neutrality to validate this position.

The mainstream settlement house worker, although ostensibly performing a different role than the COS worker equally exhibited her loyalty to the ideology of whiteness. While settlement house workers moved into blighted areas to learn from personal experience the consequences of poverty and mobilize neighborhood residents to change the environment,¹⁰³ their beliefs in their ability to serve as *the* catalyst for change was not separated from their privileged white identity. Lasch-Quinn illustrates this reality clearly as she describes the dominant mentality of mainstream settlement house workers, including those few individuals within it who were speaking about race issues such as Jane Addams, Louise de Koven Bowen, Frances Kellor, and John Daniels:

These thinkers, to varying degrees, all described the character of blacks as somehow maladjusted and their culture lacking. The harsh system of slavery, they believed, had obliterated morality, family integrity, social organization, and even culture and civilization itself. While settlement workers distinguished themselves from nineteenth-century charity workers by emphasizing the environment and not hereditary moral weakness as the root of poverty, they did not use this reorientation to the benefit of blacks.¹⁰⁴

First off, by thinking of the impact of an oppressive environment in terms of how the oppressed is now *culturally flawed*, the white settlement workers not only unquestionably positioned themselves as altruistic helpers with the ability to make such value judgments, but presented themselves as racially unmarked people disassociated from the environment they just condemned. The ideology of whiteness is exactly what enabled white settlement workers to move into oppressed neighborhoods with the intention of doing good, even talk about racial oppression, and simultaneously ignore or not realize their place within the racial hierarchy.

The power of whiteness also functioned through social work's belief in their Manifest Destiny. As Jansson points out, the racist ideas that placed Anglo-Saxons on a biological pedestal were linked through the concept of manifest destiny, which stated God willed the Anglo-Saxons to develop the North American continent in order to build a utopian society.¹⁰⁵ Although Christianity, and Protestantism in particular, had already been around for centuries it was now taking a more visible racial character. So as early, white visitors positioned themselves to make judgments about the moral character of oppressed people and decide whether or not they should receive help, they revealed their belief in their own moral superiority, which was tied to their Manifest Destiny and thus their whiteness. Alcoff asserts that "the very genealogy of whiteness was entwined from the beginning with a racial hierarchy, which can be found in. ...Manifest Destiny."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Iglehart & Becerra, 108

¹⁰⁴ Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (The University of Northern Carolina Press. Chapel Hill and London, 1993): 10.

¹⁰⁵ Bruce Jansson, *The Reluctant Welfare State: American Social Welfare Policies: Past, Present, and Future* (Brooks/Cole & Thomson Inc., 2005), 94.

¹⁰⁶ Linda M. Alcoff, "What Should White People Do?" *Hypatia*, 13, 3 (1998): 12.

This racist ideological framework provided space for the early, white social worker to understand race in a unilateral and contradictory way: blacks could be seen as negatively affected by oppressive, environmental conditions while the whites controlling these environmental conditions played no role, and somehow remained neutral and unmarked. If individuals are not perceived in reference to their social group location, whiteness is kept invisible and the complicity of whites in sustaining social injustice is obscured.¹⁰⁷ In relation to early social workers, by them perceiving themselves without consideration to their privileged social group location, this kept their whiteness invisible and obscured their complicity in the oppressive, environmental conditions affecting their *clients*. However, this was (and is) the power of whiteness: “part of white privilege has been precisely whites’ ability to ignore the ways white racial identity has benefited them.”¹⁰⁸ As early, white social workers paternalistically situated themselves above those they intended to help and superficially condemned the social structure for racial inequality, their unspoken and inherent privileges of whiteness not only afforded them the opportunity to do so but also kept them *honorable* in the process.

Ideology of White Supremacy

In American society where racism is endemic,¹⁰⁹ the danger of whiteness becomes *visible* as it takes on a real-life material expression through the ideology of white supremacy. Similar to the ideology of whiteness, a few points will be made about the ideology of white supremacy before applying it to the origins of social work. First, white supremacy need not present itself so strongly and overtly through white masters and black slaves or white-hooded Ku Klux Klan members in order to exist. Especially in contemporary times, “white supremacy is usually less a matter of direct, referential, and snarling contempt than a system for protecting the privileges of whites by denying the communities of color opportunities for asset accumulation and upward mobility.”¹¹⁰ Second, white supremacy is also a sense of entitlement over others and the authority to make judgments and determinations that are validated by social institutions that systematically reproduce inequality for the benefit of whites.¹¹¹

Perhaps the most obvious expression of white supremacy in the origins of social work was the systematic exclusion of blacks from both the mainstream COS and settlement houses. Despite being aware of the large scale discrimination facing African Americans in ways such as employment discrimination and housing segregation, the COS concluded that their services were of little benefit to this group and thus rarely provided services to them.¹¹² The black community did not fair any better with the settlement houses:

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, a settlement confronted by the appearance of blacks in its environs responded either by closing down, by following its white immigrant neighbors and moving out of the neighborhood, by

¹⁰⁷ Barbara Applebaum, “In the Name of Morality: Moral Responsibility, Whiteness and Social Justice Education,” *Journal of Moral Education*, 34, 3 (2005): 285.

¹⁰⁸ Alcoff, 3

¹⁰⁹ Anthony McMahon and Paula Allen-Meares, “Is Social Work Racist? A Content Analysis of Recent Literature,” *Social Work*, 37, 6 (1992): 533.

¹¹⁰ George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1998), viii.

¹¹¹ Jeffery, 410; Alcoff, 7; Allen-Meares & McMahon, 534

¹¹² Iglehart & Becerra, 99

excluding blacks, by conducting segregated activities, by establishing or urging the establishment of a separate branch for blacks, or by attempting integration.¹¹³

While there were a variety of ways the settlement houses pragmatically interfaced with the black communities, the unifying feature was the systematic oppression of blacks and an obvious effort to keep them outside of the mainstream. The Hull House, for example, through the efforts of Jane Addams created a segregated black mothers' club that was not invited to any community activities, placed on any of the mailing lists, or allowed to attend the summer camp activities or boarding house for working girls.¹¹⁴ Apparently, the purpose of intervention by Addams and the Hull House was not to finally incorporate oppressed black people within mainstream society, but rather to sustain them on the fringes of it. For mainstream social workers, reform meant engaging in social intervention that did not disrupt the racist status quo, and only reluctantly dealing with black neighbors, if at all. Thus, neither the "friendly visitors" nor the "friendly neighbors" included blacks within their original visions for social intervention. To the contrary, their blatant non-inclusion of this historically oppressed racial group revealed their loyalty to sustain a system of social relations in which white supremacy was the norm.

Yet it was not only the exclusion of blacks but also the social technologies of early intervention themselves that sustained a status quo based upon racial hierarchy. The COS were not concerned with correcting structural inequities, but rather "these organizations appeared to accept the environment as a given and to devote their efforts to helping families cope with and respond to their crisis."¹¹⁵ COS workers and volunteers saw no reason to change an oppressive societal structure from which they benefited by virtue of their whiteness. The settlement houses as well, with all of their rhetoric of reform were certainly not immune to the racism encapsulating and being espoused by the COS workers and society at large. The mainstream settlement houses viewed blacks as victimized by their heritage in slavery, and accordingly engaged in societal reform that relied upon gradualism and emphasized individual shortcomings as the sources of inequity.¹¹⁶ Despite the intentions of social workers to rearrange society for the benefit of non-whites, the historical stronghold of white supremacy successfully filtered their thoughts to keep their language and actions in line with the racial order:

[Although] settlement workers and others stressed that the environment, not individual weakness caused poverty and the suffering of groups, blacks did not benefit from this reorientation. Instead, a historical environmentalism kept alive the stress on the individual moral and personal deficiency.¹¹⁷

By condemning society for causing social problems in terms of this historical environmentalism, social workers characteristically relieved society and themselves from any responsibility for change because formal slavery was over. More importantly, in espousing a cultural deficiency model as reason for the inferior social position of blacks (and immigrants), they reinscribed white dominance in the more nuanced form that would carry into contemporary times.

¹¹³ Lasch-Quinn, 24

¹¹⁴ Lasch-Quinn, 24

¹¹⁵ Iglehart & Becerra, 94

¹¹⁶ Lasch-Quinn, 28

¹¹⁷ Lasch-Quinn, 28

Further, those social workers pursuing biracial activities still chose to respond to white community needs that called for racial segregation at the expense of their black neighbors' needs. Thus, settlement houses bowed to demands for segregation, curtailed commitments to activism as well as service, and limited racially integrative activities to those blacks considered desirable neighbors.¹¹⁸ Even those rare settlement houses with an integrated or all-black staff, working predominantly or completely with black neighbors, viewed blacks as lacking in social restraint or civilized traditions, and consequently emphasized hygiene and engaged in clean-up activities considered to be ends in themselves.¹¹⁹ The crux of this point lies with an acknowledgment of what it really meant to sacrifice the needs of black communities—the reinforcement of white supremacy. To reiterate, this analysis is not focusing on the actions of a small minority of early settlement house workers or social workers in general who might have, if given the chance, restructured a racist system. This of course could lead to a common form of revisionist accounts of the origins of social work for the purpose of presenting a more positive sense of historical self. Rather the aim is to more honestly expose social work's roots for what they were, a product of their racist times.

The majority presence of white women entering and engaging in social work service at the time also played a role in facilitating the racist status quo. As Iglehart and Becerra paraphrase Clarke Chambers, the settlement houses made up of largely middle-class white women provided them the opportunity for personal fulfillment and accomplishment beyond the home, family, and traditional roles of teachers.¹²⁰ However, as white feminists in general were aspiring to achieve the same rights and privileges of the white men of their class, white women within social welfare became part of this general movement that opportunistically embraced white supremacy as a way of asserting their own allegiance to white domination in hopes that this would establish their qualifications for exercising their franchise.¹²¹ Overall, the franchise was contingent upon white women distancing themselves from blacks in general, for white women social workers this meant forgoing services altogether for black communities or minimally advocating for black self-help. While the white women social workers of the time certainly endured sexist oppression from their white male counterparts, this did not prevent white women from experiencing and exercising their race privilege.¹²² While dealing “the Victorian stereotype of women a fatal blow,”¹²³ white women such as Jane Addams and Mary Ovington attempted to gain respect within the public arena outside of the home by making it clear that “the concerns of free [white] women would not disrupt the existing [racial] order.”¹²⁴

In connection to the white women's movement, early social workers' stress upon class divisions of society as opposed to racial ones unwittingly served to minimize the racism occurring. Indeed, the ability to even prioritize class issues over race ones reflected the privileged racial status of early social workers as white. But this point does not minimize the real

¹¹⁸ Lasch-Quinn, 33

¹¹⁹ Lasch-Quinn, 27.

¹²⁰ Iglehart & Becerra, 112

¹²¹ Lasch-Quinn, 269-270

¹²² For a discussion on white feminism and its relation to white privilege see Marilyn Frye, *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory* (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press 1983). And Willful Virgin: *Essays in Feminism* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1992).

¹²³ William O'Neill, *Everyone was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 94-95.

¹²⁴ O'Neill, 94

class divisions producing social inequality in which some reformers were attempting to address. As Gilbert Osofsky reveals, northern social work reformers “were primarily concerned with finding jobs and decent homes for Negro migrants, opening playgrounds for Negro children, breaking down the color barriers in employment opportunities, improving health and sanitary conditions and protecting Negro domestics from the exploitation of employment agents.”¹²⁵ Nonetheless, the racism that had already become embedded within the social institutions of society doomed any social intervention that did not challenge these structures outright: “social reform was simply to help blacks accommodate and integrate into a stratified system.”¹²⁶ As a result, white supremacy prevailed despite good intentions and even some social gains for blacks, minorities, and/or the poor classes.

Moreover, through a class system constituted by capitalism, social work intervention also functioned to maintain the status quo by shifting the racial others into the lower-socioeconomic rungs of this system. Allen illustrates how social workers’ allegiance to racial hierarchy moderated the ways in which they interacted with both non-whites and white ethnics:

Social welfare progressives attempted to rationalize the social system from below through activities and organizations that would help black and white immigrant groups ‘adjust’ and accommodate themselves to the industrial system.¹²⁷

Social workers at the time opposed what they considered to be violent forms of racial oppression that characterized slavery, but they were still bent on “rationalizing a social system within the framework of monopoly industrial capitalism and white supremacy.”¹²⁸

Just like capitalism, other western ways such as Protestantism and individualism from which social work was created became another means to relegate non-whites and white ethnics to inferior social positions within society. Specifically, through Protestantism came a sense of deserving and undeserving people,¹²⁹ and a work ethic driven by profit and tied to morality;¹³⁰ individualism, receiving its legitimacy through Protestantism, brought to cultural relations the notion of individual responsibility for actions and well being. These various components of western thought all assume a racial character within a racist U.S. social context. Thus, deserving and undeserving translated to white and non-white and individual responsibility to the individual responsibility of non-whites to improve their life situation alone. However, the materialization of white supremacy through western thought did not (and does not) always operate along the lines of a black/white binary. Indeed, early social work services were geared towards *white ethnics*. And similar to non-whites, white ethnics experienced a diminished social status, although not as severe, and did not share the same *white* privileges as the English-rooted social workers.

The process of labeling some as “deserving” and “undeserving” implicitly reinforced white-English ways as the standard of society. The “worthy” poor were considered “able-

¹²⁵ Gilbert Osofsky, “Progressivism and the Negro: New York, 1900-1915,” *American Quarterly*, 16, 2 (1964).

¹²⁶ Allen, 102

¹²⁷ Allen, 118

¹²⁸ Allen, 119

¹²⁹ Desai, 55

¹³⁰ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Roxbury Publishing Company, 2001).

bodied” while the “unworthy” poor were “impotent.”¹³¹ Although early *white* immigrants shared the *same color* as English-rooted social workers, they were still perceived as entirely different: the charity agencies and social workers believed other European immigrants to have improper living habits, family patterns, and behaviors that were not right living.¹³² Hence, the power of English-rooted social workers to determine one’s worthiness, even other *whites*, established them and their sense of whiteness as the marker of normality. Moreover, as already mentioned in previous sections, early social workers, especially COS did not even concern themselves with black communities. Thus, early social workers typically did not need much time to contemplate the *worthiness* of blacks or other dark-skinned minorities, but rather almost automatically designated them as undeserving from the start. In light of this reality, the common definition of deserving and undeserving poor as the able-bodied and impotent is not accurate. Instead, a more honest definition of people considered deserving and undeserving would respectively be “able-bodied, Americanized white ethnics” and “non-able-bodied, non-Americanized white ethnics and non-whites.” Ultimately, by selectively *helping* those considered desirable, mainstream social workers helped to maintain a racial hierarchy even in reference to other *whites*.

Although the belief of early social workers’ power as individuals to control their world and others within has run throughout this section, one last point will be made about individualism. The western ideal of individualism intertwined nicely with the racial order of the day. Regardless of whether one was considered deserving or undeserving of social services, the people within both categories were “considered responsible for their poverty.”¹³³ As Jansson points out, it was the duty of social workers to turn away, or refer to poor houses, those not determined to achieve independence and moral improvement. Thus, oppressed groups of people were either expected to take responsibility for the improvement of their lot while working *with* social workers or do it in complete isolation from the mainstream. Yet, whichever option people *chose*, the position of social workers was constant: maintain the racist status quo and their privilege position within it.

From this analysis it is apparent that early social work intervention reflected the overt and subtle forms of racism entrenched within mainstream society. Whether understanding the consequences of intervention from the standpoint of the COS or the settlement houses—the two pillars in which the theory and practice to transpire throughout history is founded—both pathways of historical investigation lead one to conclude that the field further ossified social relations based upon white supremacy. To revise or deny the harsh reality of social exclusion and cultural devaluation all minority groups experienced at the hands of social work intervention for purposes of romanticizing its roots or avoiding painful thoughts of complicity, ignores the experiences of the oppressed and makes it easier for racism to persist through time. Yet, this is exactly what has happened. An historical focus on the professed, altruistic intentions of early social workers has masked the racism from which it spawned and ultimately supported. Within the various aspects of pedagogy and practice, racism persists because it was never acknowledged and confronted in any comprehensive way from its roots. The following sections of this analysis

¹³¹ Desai, 55

¹³² John H. Ehrenreich, *The Altruistic Imagination* (Cornell University Press, 1985), 31.

¹³³ Desai, 55

will be devoted to illuminating the ways in which social work theory and practice has subsequently sustained and recreated a racist status quo in the modern day.

The Professionalization of Social Work and its Perpetuation of Racism

The idea of “profession” and the process of “professionalization” “refer to occupations that have developed claims to particular types of status, power and authority and a basis for asserting these claims within the wider society”.¹³⁴ The discipline of social work fits nicely into this category. It is a profession that continually undergoes the process of professionalization by legitimizing itself within a larger U.S. context. The ensuing analysis will highlight how the development of professional standards such as (1) specialized bodies of knowledge, (2) a system for public sanction, and (3) certified associations, all serve to legitimize and elevate social work’s status in a white supremacist system and how this validation, in turn, endorses social work with more power and authority to further subordinate communities of color.

Thus, due to its dependence on and alliance with an oppressive system, the institution of social work has become its very own institution with racist practices embedded deeply throughout. In considering the professionalization process and the three professional standards upon which it occurs, it is useful to think in these terms: “To remedy discrimination effectively, we must make the power systems and privileges which they create visible and part of the discourse.”¹³⁵ With this concept in mind, the professional standards by which social work legitimizes itself can be seen as their very own “power systems”; power systems that are created through white supremacy and sustained through the advantaged status of clinicians. Essentially, each system of power upon which the professionalization of social work is based can be understood to create “privileges in some, as well as disadvantages in others.”¹³⁶

The subsequent discussion outlines how the racist praxis of social work is maintained through the power systems of specialized bodies of knowledge, a system for public sanction, and certified associations. Each function in different ways to institutionalize the cycle under which social work’s oppressive techniques are conceptualized, practiced and reproduced. The power systems, although seemingly innocuous, are actually quite insidious. Hence it is of critical importance to deconstruct these systems of power and privilege for they are forms of “the more subtle, but just as deeply entrenched, varieties of racism that characterize our times.”¹³⁷ From a CRT perspective, the power systems by which social work advances itself are born out of white supremacy and therefore intrinsically foster subordination in the practice of social work.

Contextualization of the Professionalization Debate

During social work’s lifespan, the push to develop power systems have evolved social work into a hegemonic entity that advances its own standing at the expense of abandoning and further subordinating people of color. This phenomenon can be attributed in part to a speech given by Abraham Flexner (1915) regarding the professional character of social work.¹³⁸ In this

¹³⁴ Keith Macdonald. *The Sociology of the Professions* (London: Sage, 1995).

¹³⁵ Stephanie M. Wildman and Adrienne D. Davis, “Language and Silence: Making Systems of Privilege Visible,” in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (eds) *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press): 657-663.

¹³⁶ Wildman and Davis

¹³⁷ Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (eds), “Introduction,” *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press): xv-xix.

¹³⁸ Abraham Flexner. *Is Social Work a Profession?* Proceedings of the National Conference on Charities and Correction, Chicago: Hildmann Printing, 1915, pp. 576-590.

speech, Flexner compares social work to the gold standard professions of medicine and law and concludes that social work is not a profession because it lacks ‘specialized competency’ and is more ‘mediating’ than autonomous.¹³⁹

This was a significant moment that foreshadowed debates internal and external to the field; debates that have led social work to collude with rather than dismantle a system based on ideologies of whiteness and white supremacy. From the beginning of the professionalism talks, the field of social work has been less concerned with challenging the status quo and more set on gaining a respected place within a racially stratified and inherently hierarchical system. As social work falls prey to the “regime of white supremacy,” it also joins the ranks in perpetuating the manner by which the “subordination of people of color has been created and maintained in America”.¹⁴⁰

Power System #1: Identifiable Specialized Bodies of Knowledge

Social work has been considered to “have a less well-developed knowledge base” compared to other professions such as medicine and psychology.¹⁴¹ Therefore, in order to obtain an elevated status within the stratified white supremacist structure, the discipline follows in the footsteps of these other well-regarded professions through the individualization of social problems in a “scientific” and “objective” manner.¹⁴² However, as social work privileges itself by conforming to and seeking validation from the oppressive system, the “profession” also disregards its alleged mission of social justice, particularly towards communities of color. Thus, as Margolin presents in the preface of his book, it is crucial to look behind familiar images to locate meanings more ironic than lofty, where self-interest poses as knowledge, and knowledge is an instrument of power.¹⁴³

The dominant structure has a clear stake in validating the individualization of minority problems. This approach conveniently locates the person of color rather than the larger structures as the source and solution of problems. Thus, the oppressive system is left intact and the person of color is blamed for his/her own plight. Along with the dominant structure’s ideologies of whiteness and white supremacy, personal responsibility and meritocracy are reinforced so that minority groups are forced to adapt to a system rather than the system made to be more equitable. By joining rather than challenging the dominant structure’s practices, social work redeems itself as a “profession” that champions individual reform.

Thus, in accordance with the competitive and stratified manner in which society is structured, social work chooses to maintain its power by aligning with the dominant system. The knowledge-based power system reinforces the social work institution’s power by preferencing the status of the social work discipline over the needs of ethnic and minority communities. The power system is made up of techniques that individualize and therapize social problems through

¹³⁹ Flexner

¹⁴⁰ Harris, Cheryl. *Introduction*. 19??, xiii.

¹⁴¹ A. Etzioni. *The Semi-Professions and their Organizations* (New York: Free Press, 1969).

¹⁴² P.N. Reid, and R.L. Edwards, “The Purpose of a School of Social Work-An American Perspective,” *Social Work Education* 25 (2006): 461-484.

¹⁴³ Leslie Margolin. *Under the Cover of Kindness: The Invention of Social Work* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1997), xiii.

methods such as case management, diagnosis, and evidence-based practice (EBP). These practices, like the ideologies under which dominant society is structured, are embedded with oppression. They presume that social workers are entitled to define, diagnose, and “treat” ethnic and minority problems and thus imbue social workers with greater authority to do so.

The bodies of knowledge on which this first power system is based are well suited under the ideologies of whiteness and white supremacy. They approach social problems like “a science” by taking an organized and systematic approach to understanding ethnic and minority problems. The problem is in the individual where “disordered” symptoms are identified and the person is labeled according to her/his “illness.” Thus, micro practice further pathologizes minority behaviors, individuals, and communities so that the reactions these groups have are not in response to structural racism, but due to their perceived “inferiority.” Case management, diagnosis, and EBP are instruments of power that are used to blame the individual rather than the flawed system that she/he is oppressed by.

Moreover, EBP further marginalizes people of color by limiting interventions that are offered to these communities. EBP spread the idea that based on “empirical” research, a select few interventions work the best for certain problems. Like case management and diagnosis, this specialized body of knowledge restrict social work’s conception of social problems by preferencing some therapeutic techniques over others and ultimately limiting how practitioners work with clients.

Thus, these three technologies operate under the notion that “minority problems” can be managed and solved through the medical model approach; manage, diagnose and treat problems through “scientific” and standard methods that individualize and therapize with the goal of change in mind. But herein lays the discrepancy. The social problems imposed on marginalized communities of color are not manageable; they are complex and structural in nature and require equally rigorous strategies. The push to develop identifiable bodies of knowledge limits the social work’s ability to deal with complex problems and in essence, catapults social work into being one of the forces by which ethnic and minority communities are oppressed.

In addition to contributing to the “nonscientific construction of problems as moral” rather than structural, individual-focused problem solving tactics paint the valorous picture of the social worker as the “professional all-knowing helper.”¹⁴⁴ Social workers are “priests in the church of individual repair” and are thus endowed with more power and more privilege to exert control over their “broken” minority clients.¹⁴⁵ Clinicians’ work with clients through means that require specialized knowledge and technical jargon unbeknownst to the client, hence creating a hierarchical relationship that is replicated in society as well.¹⁴⁶

This power imbalance between the client and the clinician is stigmatizing and infantilizing. It allows practitioners to “define for minority groups their problems and the course of action necessary to combat those problems.”¹⁴⁷ Micro social workers’ authority to box

¹⁴⁴ Reid and Edwards

¹⁴⁵ Harry Specht and Mark Courtney, *Unfaithful Angels: How Social Work Abandoned its Mission* (New York: The Free Press, 1994).

¹⁴⁶ Reid and Edwards

¹⁴⁷ Iglehart and Becerra, 131

problems into neat categories, label individuals according to their problems, and limit their use of interventions, all serve as effective methods to better control clients. These techniques further oppress people of color by minimizing client definitions of the problem and insinuating that clients must adapt to rather than challenge the racist dominant structure and social work as an extension of it. Since the method by which “professionals” further oppress minority communities has been laid out, it is now important to explore how social worker receives community validation for its focus on individual over societal reform.

Power System #2: System for Public Sanction

Micro practitioners have the required training to individualize problems; the next logical step for this work to be further produced, recognized and rewarded is to receive public approval. This method of obtaining community validation mirrors the professionalization process of other professions as well: “Every profession strives to persuade the community to sanction its authority within certain spheres by conferring upon the profession a series of powers and privileges.”¹⁴⁸ Social work seeks public approval from the prevailing structures in order to enhance its own status within the professional hierarchy.

Hence, the social work institution’s second system of power, a method for achieving public sanction, can only be achieved if the practices being sanctioned serve the mutual interests of dominant society as well. This requirement is fulfilled as the dominant system’s need to reproduce its own power is sustained by social work’s focus on the individual and distraction away from societal reform. As a result, social work is allowed to undergo the community sanction process that is recognized to “assure quality” as well as “provide substantive professional identification.”¹⁴⁹

Social work’s system for public sanction is expressed through the licensed clinical social worker (LCSW) certification process. Through licensure, the discipline can, like medicine and psychology, be awarded enhanced responsibility and respect. According to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1971), “Submitting to ‘community control’ in the form of licensing has generally served to ensure the profession’s freedom to control its own work.”¹⁵⁰ Social work is able to heed Flexner’s words through public sanctioning because the licensed “professional” is endowed with more privileges, which undoubtedly leads to more autonomy.

Thus, as well as enhancing the status of the social work structure, licensure benefits the social worker that undergoes the licensing process. Having the LCSW title grants practitioners with privileges such as the ability to engage in private practice work and allows for a more respected and higher salaried status. Unfortunately, these advantages for the social worker come at the severe cost of subordinating minority clients.

As more social workers pursue licensure, the needs of marginalized communities of color are slowly drowned out. Causes concerning ethnic and minority communities are less on the

¹⁴⁸ Ernest Greenwood, “Attributes of a Profession,” *Social Work* 2(1957): 48.

¹⁴⁹ George Mace Summers, “Public Sanction and the Professionalization of Social Work,” *Clinical Social Work Journal* 4 (1976): 50.

¹⁵⁰ U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Report on Licensure and Related Health Personnel Credentialing* (1971).

forefront of social work's radar as decreased numbers are interested in social and public welfare and increased numbers are intent on "taking a bite out of the private practice apple."¹⁵¹ Thus, over time LCSW licensure has led micro practitioners to abandon struggling communities of color and to instead turn to middle classes consumers looking for a less expensive psychotherapy.¹⁵² As social work advances its own status at the expense of adhering to its profession mission of social justice, this cycle of oppression is further institutionalized through the last power system.

Power System #3: Certified Associations

The last power system reinforces the cycle of oppression by creating certified associations to enhance the social work structure's power. These associations police membership into the social work "profession" by standardizing the manner in which social work is taught as well as practiced.

Both the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) and the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) are certified associations that secure social work's position as an inherently racist institution. These entities, like social work itself, are founded on ideologies of whiteness and white supremacy because their main concern is to advance social work's standing within the racial hierarchy. Hence, the CSWE and the NASW were created to better help social work maintain the status quo. These two entities do not critically analyze social work's underlying racist practices and instead focus on making social work practices more permanent and rampant throughout.

Thus, the CSWE and the NASW support the previous power systems and further the process by which the social work institution subordinates communities of color. The CSWE, the nationally recognized social work education accrediting body, sustains the discipline's oppressive practices by setting course standards and approving education programs that individualize social problems.¹⁵³ The NASW, a professional association whose primary function is to promote the professional development and enhance the professional status of its members, also simultaneously oppresses people of color by concentrating on advancing the status of social workers through means such as licensure.¹⁵⁴

Additionally, the CSWE and NASW partner in ways that strengthen their system of power while disregarding the complexity of ethnic and minority communities' needs. The CSWE's accreditation process involves curriculum content that mandates teaching the NASW *Code of Ethics*. The *Code of Ethics* contains principles that, like the first power system, are seemingly benign and "necessary" yet actually quite dangerous. The "intellectual accountability principle," for example, asks that professionals provide intellectually honest services "within the boundaries of their education, training, license, certification, consultation received, supervised

¹⁵¹ Reid and Edwards, 466

¹⁵² Specht and Courtney

¹⁵³ Council on Social Work Education. "Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards."

<http://www.cswe.org/NR/rdonlyres/111833A0-C4F5-475C-8FEB-EA740FF4D9F1/0/EPAS.pdf> (accessed May 31, 2007).

¹⁵⁴ National Association of Social Workers. "About NASW." <http://www.socialworkers.org/nasw/default.asp> (accessed May 31, 2007).

experience, or other relevant experience.”¹⁵⁵ This ethic is restricting for workers wanting to push beyond their micro-focused training and implies that there are simple solutions to complex structural problems. Further, the *Code of Ethics* states that the social work institution’s mission is rooted in core values such as “social justice” and “competence.”¹⁵⁶ However, these values are paradoxical because the discipline’s professed social justice goal will not sufficiently be achieved through different forms of “professional” competence or through a systematic skill-building approach. As Jeffery asserts in her article regarding anti-racist social work education, “[I]t becomes problematic when complex practices of critical thinking and the development of an analytics of racial domination are required and expected to fit tidily into [a] tool kit.” Certified associations policing membership into the social work “profession” such as the CSWE and the NASW must revisit what “social justice” to ethnic and minority communities means before it is identified as one of social work’s core values.

As the social work institution seeks legitimization in a white supremacist structure, it distances the field from its commitment to advocating for equality for ethnic and minority communities. To the contrary, professionalization through the development of professional standards such as systematic bodies of knowledge, a system for community sanction, and certified associations policing membership endow social work practitioners with more power, privilege, and authority to further subordinate already oppressed groups.

¹⁵⁵ National Association of Social Workers. “Code of Ethics.” <http://www.socialworkers.org/pubs/code/code.asp> (accessed June 4, 2007).

¹⁵⁶ National Association of Social Workers. “Code of Ethics.”

Social Welfare Curriculum at UCLA

In recognizing how pedagogy informs practice, this section will use a CRT lens to critically analyze the UCLA MSW program curriculum, since educational institutions can either serve to challenge or perpetuate the status quo. What this means for students as future practitioners will be addressed later in the implications and recommendations section. Our analysis focuses on the core courses in the curriculum because these classes are intended to represent the “fundamentals of social work.”¹⁵⁷ Also, unlike elective courses, all students are required to take the core classes and therefore our analysis is relevant to all MSW students. We find that the current structure and content of the MSW program does not challenge existing racial hierarchies and therefore perpetuates systems of inequality. Further, the MSW curriculum as a whole lacks the critical race perspective necessary to provide a space for affecting social change.

The program employs a micro/macro distinction, which suggests two different and separate approaches to studying and practicing social work. This presents a false dichotomy and is not reflective of the reality of the social problems that social workers seek to address. Requiring students to choose either a micro or macro emphasis poses several problems. First, employing this distinction means that we risk missing the interconnectedness of individual and societal level issues. For example, we are taught to identify and describe individual level “problems” without seeing, let alone critically examining, their relationship to larger societal forces including structural racism. Second, the micro/macro distinction does not allow for challenges to the larger social structures. The goal of social work has traditionally been individual change, not social change, and therefore larger structural forces are not examined within this framework.¹⁵⁸ Third, the micro/macro distinction and subsequent lack of attention to systems of oppression allow both students and professors to avoid implicating themselves in the systems of racial hierarchy and white privilege. This can happen through what Matsuda terms “abstraction” and “detachment,” which “are ways out of discomfort of direct confrontation with the ugliness of oppression.”¹⁵⁹

I feel it does a disservice to those we are helping by separating social work into two distinctions of ‘macro’ and ‘micro’ when they are clearly connected. It displaces responsibility and slows progress when we separate mental health and social justice.

-First year student

A review of the curriculum syllabi reveals that the amount and quality of attention paid to critical analysis and issues related to race depend on the individual class and instructor. This is of particular concern in the second year where we do not take the same classes and there is no uniform approach to learning how to think critically about the field. This lack of a critical race lens may lead social welfare students to believe that they are “doing good” without full realization of their possible shortcomings as future practitioners and poses the danger of unknowingly perpetuating racist ideology. Duncan states, “CRT explicates the liberal

¹⁵⁷ According to the MSW curriculum description found on the program website:
http://www.spa.ucla.edu/dept.cfm?d=sw&s=academic&f=msw_program.cfm

¹⁵⁸ Razack and Jeffery, 257-271

¹⁵⁹ Mari J. Matsuda, *Where is Your Body? And other essays on race, gender, and the law*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996)

ideological underpinnings of certain forms of caring that position caregivers in a positive light and, at the same time, that either harm or fail to do good for the intended receivers of care.”¹⁶⁰

Within the curriculum as a whole, there are two forums designed for discussions about race: the Cross-Cultural Awareness class and the Foundations of Social Work and Social Welfare Policy class. In these settings we are introduced to challenging, complex and contentious topics such as racist ideology and white privilege. Ten weeks for two quarters is not enough time for most students to become familiar with these concepts and be expected to sufficiently analyze how this affects us on an individual level as future social workers. Further, relegating discussions about race to these two classes implies that there is a specific and limited space in the curriculum meant for thoughtful discussion and analysis about race, and suggests that race can somehow be separated from other subject matter.

These concepts can be quite abstract and call for a praxis approach to learning.¹⁶¹ However, the fieldwork component, a crucial piece of the MSW curriculum, is limited in its effectiveness for training social workers and translating theory to practice. There is little discussion in lab meetings about the challenges we face in the field specifically in regards to race, racism, racial difference, and racialized power structures, and therefore the connection between classroom lessons and practical experience is often lost.

The Role of “Culture” in Social Work Curriculum

We need conversations about race and ethnicity that do not make the issue that of non-white people...Conversations about race and ethnicity often turn to conversations about diversity rather than discussions of structural discrimination and legacy.¹⁶²

Race is understood and articulated in the field of social work within the discourse of multiculturalism, which affirms ethnic and cultural differences among individuals while seeking to integrate these notions of difference within majority society. Multiculturalism underlies social work practice approaches such as cross cultural awareness and cultural competency, seen as integral strategies for providing appropriate and effective services to diverse populations. Ethnic sensitivity and cross-cultural awareness approaches have replaced explicitly racist biological explanations justifying the subordination of communities of color. However, social work approaches operating within a multiculturalist framework maintain racial hierarchy by managing diversity through benign discussions of difference rather than confronting current racial inequalities and the historical legacies of racial oppression.¹⁶³

Multiculturalism as reflected in one of the standards established in the Code of Ethics by the National Association of Social Workers relates to cultural competency and social diversity. Under this rubric social workers must (a) “understand culture and its function in human behavior and society, recognizing the strengths that exist in all cultures,” (b) “demonstrate competence in

¹⁶⁰ Garrett Albert Duncan, “Critical Race Theory and Methods: Rendering Race in Urban Ethnographic Research” *Qualitative Inquiry* (2002): 85-104.

¹⁶¹ We use the term “praxis” to refer to the practical application of theory or putting theory into practice.

¹⁶² Women’s Leadership Circles. *Women Leading Change: A Resource for Women’s Leadership Journeys*.

¹⁶³ Razack and Jeffery, 259

the provision of services that are sensitive to clients' cultures and to differences among people and cultural groups,” and (c) “obtain education about and seek to understand the nature of social diversity and oppression with respect to race, ethnicity, national origin, color, sex, sexual orientation, age, marital status, political belief, religion, and mental or physical disability.”¹⁶⁴ Although social work’s commitment to honoring social and cultural diversity has evolved as a defining feature of the profession, the reality of racism’s impact on the well-being of individuals and communities of color remains absent.

Liberal multicultural discourse remains problematic for several reasons, particularly in the ways that critical analyses of race and racism are sidestepped or minimized. Multiculturalism provides a superficial exposure and appreciation of diverse cultures, supporting an essentialist, ahistorical “survey” of diverse groups. This can lead to encouraging and reinforcing cultural stereotypes and assumptions about racial and ethnic groups. Additionally, multiculturalism within a social work context encourages a superficial appreciation of diversities without confronting social inequalities and discrimination.¹⁶⁵ Social work practice and education generally lack an historical analysis that deconstructs narratives related to race, ethnicity, culture, class, migration, war, sexuality, and other dimensions of social identity and status. The marginalization of critical race discourse in social work curriculum leads to gaps in understanding the sociopolitical and structural dimensions of inequality. Liberal perspectives underlying notions of “colorblindness” frame forms of racism as irrational and rare, rather than commonplace and pervasive, thus denying histories of oppression and the differential experiences of individuals living in a racialized society.¹⁶⁶

Social work’s adherence to multiculturalism and liberal ideology inherently holds individuals accountable for their inability to rise above racial oppression. Racism at individual and institutional levels is not considered with regards to social welfare problems such as poverty, mental illness, and incarceration that disproportionately affect communities of color. Devoid of a structural analysis, social work practices instead focus on how to address and manage individuals who are unable to function and cope within the social environment. Thus, problems facing communities of color are conceptualized as “cultural deficit” or “problems of culture,”¹⁶⁷ in which fault remains located within individuals’ deficient cultural beliefs and behaviors. This perspective pathologizes notions of difference and further oppresses racialized individuals who are recipients and consumers of social work intervention.¹⁶⁸ This is especially problematic in a field dominated by white professionals whose work primarily impacts communities of color. Although discussions around the social construction of race and the dynamics of racism have been inserted within the social work curriculum at UCLA, they remain conclusive statements rather than starting points for further analysis.

Examples of the Use of “Culture” in the Curriculum

This multicultural perspective (as stated in the syllabi from the SW 230 series) is utilized in all courses with the stated intention of helping students:

¹⁶⁴ NASW, 1999. <http://www.socialworkers.org/pubs/code/default.asp>

¹⁶⁵ Payne, 273

¹⁶⁶ Razack & Jeffery, 261

¹⁶⁷ Razack & Jeffery, 259

¹⁶⁸ Razack & Jeffery, 260

develop their own capacity to consider the importance of [diversity] in work with individuals, families and groups; understand the influence of [this] on the client-worker relationship, intervention, termination and outcomes; demonstrate...the capacity to work with diverse populations in an effective and sensitive manner; and identify the ways in which stigmatized, vulnerable and disenfranchised client groups may have different needs.¹⁶⁹

A focus on cultural differences facilitates an essentialist understanding of social groups by neglecting issues of power, context and structure.¹⁷⁰ Students are simply taught to empathize, acknowledge concerns and educate themselves about various cultures. This is illuminated in the suggested responses to cross-racial and cross-cultural barriers to therapy that are listed in one text:¹⁷¹ empathy and empathetic communication, educating yourself about different cultures, being careful about how you frame the issue so as not to blame the client for their problems, engaging the client to define the issue for themselves, acknowledging and responding to negative feelings and reaching out to clients to help establish trust. Not enough attention is paid to the ways in which racism and discrimination influence the practitioner/client interaction. This gives a false notion of the ability to empathize with different ethnic and racial groups. “False empathy” is a process in which a white person believes he or she is identifying with a person of color, but in fact is doing so only in a slight or superficial way.¹⁷² False empathy is not limited to whites as Duncan points out, because it “also plays out in significant ways through people of color who, socialized in the various institutions that certify them to assume positions of responsibility in society, uncritically accept or identify with the values that inform these institutions, to the destruction of communities of color.”¹⁷³

The multicultural perspective is also reflected in the text *Culture and Identity*, which presents narratives from several people. These narratives are used to discuss themes of personality development and cultural identity, social status, race as a basis for oppression, intersectionality, stereotypes and passing. Methods suggested in the text for helping clients through these issues focus on interventions at the individual level. Therapists are encouraged to have clients express feelings about racism,¹⁷⁴ make clients more comfortable talking about these issues, and help clients identify negative coping styles.¹⁷⁵ Race and ethnicity continue to be mainly characterized as individual problems of identity rather than as locations in systems of social hierarchy.¹⁷⁶

The course that has the most critical focus on race and ethnicity, and goes beyond the multicultural perspective is Cross-Cultural Awareness. CRT tenets are addressed such as white power and privilege, intersectionality, and the value of storytelling/narratives. The most unique

¹⁶⁹ 230 class syllabi.

¹⁷⁰ Jocelyn A. Hollander, and Judith A. Howard, “Social Psychological Theories on Social Inequalities,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2000):340.

¹⁷¹ Dean Hepworth et al., *Direct Social Work Practice: Theory and Skills* (Belmont: Thompson Brooks/Cole, 2006).

¹⁷² Richard Delgado, *The coming race war? And other apocalyptic tales of America after affirmative action and welfare* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

¹⁷³ Duncan, 91

¹⁷⁴ Thomas and Schwarzbaum, 26

¹⁷⁵ Thomas and Schwartzbaum, 254

¹⁷⁶ Hollander, 340

aspect of this course is its inclusion of white privilege. Including this content is essential in gaining a more sophisticated understanding of how social workers can intervene in cycles of institutional inequality and discrimination.¹⁷⁷ The focus on self-awareness can also be valid as a way to show white students how whiteness occupies a center or mainstream position in society and their personal lives.¹⁷⁸ Uncovering these truths can illuminate the ways in which white privilege benefits some and oppresses others, and how we cannot fail to take responsibility for our participation in and continuation of these societal forces.

This class was not able to accomplish this, however, because this was the first time that we had been taught about white privilege in the program. The reactions to the course content were varied, but produced anger, shock and guilt from many white students, as for some, this was the first time they had learned about white privilege in any classroom environment. Discussion groups had little success in fully addressing these difficult topics, and many white students reported feeling like they were left to deal with the challenging material on their own. On the other hand, many students of color felt left out of group discussions that focused on processing white students' feelings after coming into contact with the material:

In a self-reflection that asked students to address the issue of oppression and power, I stated how the class material was interesting but nothing new to me. Having brown skin I was made aware of its disadvantages at an early age and consequently have been race conscious ever since. So, as we discussed issues of racial oppression and white privilege this was old news. I ended my assignment by stating how unfortunate I believed it was that the white students were only being exposed to my reality now at the tender age of 25 to 40 and having serious difficulties with it. However, in response to my personal experience and oppression, my professor said, "You may have already experienced these issues so they may be somewhat old, but many of the students have not and we need to be respectful of that." Although I didn't realize it until later on, those comments marginalized my experience. By the professor rushing to the defense of the semi-unknowing white students (here as well as in class) not only were white feelings privileged over brown ones, but the purpose of acknowledging the oppression in the first place was lost since the oppressors were coddled through the painful feelings the oppressed had been experiencing all his life. Dishearteningly whites were paid attention to while the non-white was relegated to the back seat of this process.

-First year student

Also, since this type of content was confined to this course alone, white students could choose to reject the material when the course was completed, and cease the process of self-reflection that the class intended to begin.

Though a stated goal of Cross-Cultural Awareness is "promoting critical thinking about social work, and our personal role in confronting and dealing with oppression and its effects on

¹⁷⁷ Abrams and Gibson, 7

¹⁷⁸ Abrams and Gibson, 9

individuals, groups, and communities,” this class fell short of providing a larger critique of the social work field since critiques were directed toward the individual biases of the social worker. The course failed to critically analyze power structures from micro and macro perspectives to de-center the debate from one of individualism and self-determination to analysis of power, privilege and oppression.¹⁷⁹ Exercises of self-analysis and awareness, discussions about stereotypes and biases and power and privilege did not address larger institutional systems or make clear our roles in these systems as social workers.

The Micro Curriculum

The first-year micro curriculum provides the ideological foundation for all students. It helps to create the lens from which we begin conceptualizing client problems, solutions to these problems and the environment within which both the social worker and the client will need to operate. As students who want to challenge racism and racist institutions, we need to critically examine those structures that reproduce racial hierarchy as well as our role in this reproduction. This section looks at the course purposes and objectives, the main texts and general lecture content of the core micro curriculum with a CRT perspective in order to uncover areas where the curriculum fails to have the necessary critical lens to achieve these goals. While the micro curriculum does acknowledge the existence of structural racism and oppression and the need to be aware of biases and stereotypes that will negatively impact practice with certain groups, it presents race as an individual issue and thus does not provide students with the space to empower either themselves or their clients to change the flawed system of which we are a part.

One major theory that drives social work pedagogy is the ecological systems perspective. This theory, used mainly when assessing a client, defines the social worker’s roles as “linking people with or developing essential resources...[and] enhancing clients’ capacities to utilize resources or cope with environmental forces.”¹⁸⁰ This ecological systems perspective lacks a critical lens since, although racism and other cultural issues are taken into account as “environmental forces,” the theory goes no farther than acknowledging that they exist. Second, while social workers can be active in helping clients navigate systems and create new relationships, these activities are not enough to guide the social worker or the client to make the environment less racist or oppressive. Further, the very nature of the relationship between worker and client which puts the worker in the paternalistic role of both defining a client’s problem and helping them adapt or cope with that problem can be oppressive as well. This is especially true if the worker operates within existing racial schemas that contain negative stereotypes of “others” and create biased actions against them.¹⁸¹

In terms of the other theories that are studied in the core micro curriculum, it is imperative to take into account for whom and by whom these theories were created. Only one text read in the first year takes a critical look at the origins of psychodynamic theory,¹⁸² and there is little room for this type of discourse in the class lectures, as we are focused on covering all of the required course material in a short period of time. Further, other than talking about “cultural

¹⁷⁹ Razack & Jeffery, 266

¹⁸⁰ Hepworth, 18

¹⁸¹ Jerry Kang, “Trojan Horses of Race,” *Harvard Law Review* 118, no. 1489 (2005): 1499.

¹⁸² Joan Berzoff et al., *Inside Out and Outside In: Psychodynamic Clinical Theory and Practice in Contemporary Multicultural Contexts* (Northvale: Jason Aronson, Inc., 1996).

sensitivity”, there is no discussion of race or racism in the current version of the DSM or in the adult psychopathology class, even though it has been proven that tools such as psychological testing and diagnosis have served to over-pathologize people of color throughout history and firmly entrench common beliefs about racial inferiority.¹⁸³

How does a theory created by a middle-aged white man in the early 20th century help me at all with my client, who is a poor, female, homeless, African American domestic violence survivor living in South Los Angeles?

–First year student

The practice methods courses as well as the adult psychopathology course focus on one-on-one work with clients. Problems are conceptualized as individual rather than structural or environmental issues, and the focus is on the micro level of thought and interaction.¹⁸⁴ This is troubling because though the client’s environment is taken into consideration, it is not seen as a locus of change; rather the client is expected to change themselves to adapt to their environment, and social workers simply offer the support to help them do so. Some mention is made to a social worker’s role of “making the environment more adaptive to the client’s needs,”¹⁸⁵ but other than vague suggestions to “advocate on behalf of your client” or “connect clients to resources,” there is no discussion about what happens when the environment cannot possibly be made more adaptive to a client’s needs. When we are taught how to begin working with clients, the methods are limited to the individual and what they can do to alter their situation. Within a liberal framework of individual achievement and merit based on hard work and motivation,¹⁸⁶ clients are asked to use the power of self-determination to make changes in their lives. Grounded in Western ideals, this perspective neither gives clients the ability to truly understand their situation, nor those to combat it. Since the goal in treatment is simply individual change, larger structural issues are not addressed. Lecture topics in the micro courses reflect this liberal, Western framework. They teach us how to approach a client within the context of their individual lived experiences, and help them develop or increase the capacity to make changes in their lives. They focus on viewing the client in the context of their lived experience, ways to encourage a social worker to “start where the client is,” the development of communication skills, acknowledging differences, achieving awareness of the social and cultural context in which a client operates, developing empathetic attunement and understanding barriers to change, all of which reflect this Western framework.

While the micro curriculum acknowledges racism, oppression, power and privilege, it does not critique the field of social welfare or suggest ways social workers can fight against the systemic oppression of people of color in the United States. The curriculum posits that we can help clients with racist or oppressive environments simply by gaining knowledge of different ethnicities, increasing our own self-awareness or empowering clients to make individual changes. We cannot end racism without both working with oppressed and marginalized individuals and addressing the larger structural inequities that influence the lives of all people.

¹⁸³ Herb Kutchins, and Stuart A. Kirk, *Making Us Crazy: DSM – The Psychiatric Bible and The Creation of Mental Disorders* (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1999).

¹⁸⁴ Hollander, 338

¹⁸⁵ Bruce Friedman, “Systems Theory,” in *Theory and Practice in Social Work*, ed. J. Brandell (New York: Free Press, 1997), 3-17.

¹⁸⁶ Razack & Jeffery, 262

The Macro Curriculum

In the study of social work, a look at the history includes its foundation as well as its founders. With social welfare, we know that the institution was founded by and for the white majority. What we found lacking in the curriculum as a whole is a critique of the discipline's place in a society that continues racist practices to this day. The macro syllabi does include language about recognizing the manner in which various factors (age, class, color, race, religion, sex, etc.) influence the development of intervention programs and subsequently, how policy makers' roles in problem analysis affect oppressed groups. However, classroom experiences did not always reflect the content of course syllabi.

In our first year, realizing more and more how much race plays into practice, we looked forward to class lectures that addressed what was outlined in the course objectives for the macro classes. We were disappointed to find that these issues were not addressed in class lecture nor were readings on the topic assigned.

- First year student

In the Foundations of Social Work and Social Welfare Policy course, race and racism are addressed both in the classroom and in the readings in regards to how they played a part in the formation of social policy. The class provides a good understanding of the basis of such policies. Bruce Jansson's text¹⁸⁷ does a thorough job of looking at the history and sets the foundation of understanding for us to begin to rethink the structures that were built on this racial hierarchy and looking at their place in the perpetuation of this hierarchy. Further discussion is needed that moves from an understanding to a focus on action-based application in the field.

In working with and understanding communities and organizations, weekly course topics include: "Why are race, ethnicity, and culture important for understanding communities?"¹⁸⁸ Class readings address neighborhood types and describe how they are based on economic level, mobility, and segregation. Again, this class topic and readings¹⁸⁹ provide a perfect foundation for further analysis of how and through what cultural lens boundaries are defined in communities by those in power. In addition, Fellin poses the question as to why neighborhoods of people of color persist and offers societal and community barriers to residential mobility that include finances, housing discrimination, restrictive covenants, and zoning ordinances.¹⁹⁰ These are all very important points, and yet another starting point for a more critical examination. These courses focus on reinforcing the status quo through teaching us how to work within the system and in turn thrive within organizations, but do not give students the necessary preparation for challenging current structure, critically examine underlying racist ideologies within organizational structures, and engage in cultural change within organizational settings. They borrow from management and business and do not attach the skills we are learning with the people we are helping. We are taught abstract policies and power structures but cannot translate them into real-life examples in practice. In addition, we are shown the discrepancies of racial

¹⁸⁷ Jansson

¹⁸⁸ Class Syllabus. Social Work 201B: Social Welfare Policy And Services II: Community, Organizational, And Group Theory. Fall 2006.

¹⁸⁹ Philip Fellin, *The community and the social worker*. 3rd Ed. (Itasca, IL: Peacock, 2001).

¹⁹⁰ Fellin, 158

composition of administration and service providers versus those they serve but do not move beyond recognition.

In order to be able to effectively work with those different from us, we must understand the role of race and ethnicity within the profession and look internally at the field and the critique has to build from there. Our goal is to work with oppressed communities and peoples, which requires an in-depth look at the current structures that are in place and truly analyzing the racial hierarchy that created and sustains them.

Implications of a Critical Race Perspective for Social Work Practice and Curriculum

Current social work theory and practice continues to operate within a racist framework since the early racism of the field goes unrecognized and unchallenged. There is still an inclination for the modern-day social worker to see herself as a good, altruistic helper regardless of the consequences of her social intervention for the racial other. Thus, in order to begin to think about operating in a racially just way, present day social workers must confront and embrace the racist origins of their work. Only then can effective anti-racist social work begin to ensue.

Social work must remain cognizant of which entities it is seeking legitimization from and what “professional standards” it is developing in order to receive this validation. Since social work has already sought legitimization from an oppressive societal structure, it must revisit the standards upon which the discipline is currently based. More specifically, in order to return to its professed commitment to social justice, particularly towards ethnic and minority communities, social work’s individualization of social problems, push towards licensure, and certified associations must be reexamined.

The curriculum analysis suggests several important implications for our social work training. Viewed through a CRT lens, these implications are: (1) the division between micro and macro practice is damaging to a comprehensive understanding of social work and this division further obscures the ways in which racism impacts social issues and social work practice, (2) superficial discussions about racism and discrimination do not enhance learning and this lack of attention to critical race topics is dangerous because it does not treat racism as commonplace and pervasive, (3) the emphasis on multiculturalism diverts attention from racism and has the potential for encouraging false empathy among social work students, and (4) limited attention to the race-based conflicts and challenges faced in field placement do not benefit student learning.

The process to affect change needs to start at the pedagogical level because it directly translates to practice. The micro curriculum fails to bring the responsibility of changing our society's racialized hierarchies to those who work within and benefit from these hierarchies. Instead, the responsibility is placed on the individual client who, is simply expected to cope and adapt. The macro curriculum is suited for an in-depth look at the current structures that are in place in order to analyze how racial hierarchies were created and sustained. We must endeavor to begin an earnest dialogue into how the systems can begin to be challenged and restructured.

By failing to challenge the current structure and values of social work, the field will continue to train and produce practitioners to operate within a system that perpetuates racism. We propose that an analysis of the field of social work through a critical race-conscious lens will sharpen social workers’ analysis of the systems of oppression and our own complicity within these systems. We need faculty of color and those with a CRT perspective who can serve as leaders and mentors in tackling issues of race and racism to continue developing this work.

Recommendations for Anti-Racist Social Work Pedagogy at UCLA

Based on the aforementioned implications we propose the following short-term and long-term recommendations for applying critical race theory to social work curriculum:

Short-term Objectives

- *Engage in meaningful discussions with existing readings and curriculum topics through a critical race perspective in every course.* Because social workers often engage with and work within communities of color, several opportunities exist for creating greater connections to fieldwork and the classroom. For example, in research classes (e.g. SW 280) in which students examine "the role of diversity and unique characteristics of clients and the community the program serves in evaluation design and interpretation of research findings,"¹⁹¹ such analyses can be bolstered through a look at how marginalized populations have been impacted by research that is conducted without consideration of these groups.
- *Infuse the Foundations of Social Work and Social Welfare Policy (SW 221A) and Cross-Cultural Awareness (SW 205) classes with CRT social work readings.* We propose starting these courses with a history of CRT, then applying how these tenets also apply to social work. The process of reviewing the CRT literature and developing this proposal led us to a burgeoning body of critical race social work literature from researchers and theorists in Canada and the UK. An analysis of the racialized history the United States will is needed in understanding current social work practice and policy.
- *Address issues of race and racism from the start of the MSW program.* We propose moving the Cross-Cultural Awareness class (SW 205) to the fall quarter of the first year of the MSW program so that it parallels Foundations in Policy class (SW 221A). This will also expose students to race, ethnicity, racism, white supremacy, and white privilege, early on in their social work training and make the connection between history, policy implementation, and practice.
- *Make CRT a part of every course, and use the authors of this proposal as a resource for implementation.* Adopting a critical race framework in every class will allow for critical thinking around complex social work issues. By directly confronting the nature of racial domination, a nuanced understanding of social work's role in perpetuating racialized hierarchy and its potential to dismantle it can be realized.

Long-term Objectives

- *A specialization in Critical Race Theory within the Department of Social Welfare.* Alongside existing specializations (i.e. Mental Health Services, Children and Youth

¹⁹¹ Self Study

Services, Gerontology, Non-Profit Sector Services, Health Services), a CRT specialization is needed in order to pursue anti-racist social work.

- *Increase support for faculty of color who study or represent a critical race perspective in social work.* Critical race literature has developed in the fields such law, education, urban planning, and public health, and is developing within the field of social work. Support for senior faculty and doctoral students engaged in anti-racist discourse and research can be done through the creation of funding streams within the department.
- *Include a class on radical social work that emphasizes organizational change and community organizing.* Social work students need to learn skills that enable social change within existing social service organizations and through community organizing. Such classes will provide the opportunity for students to analyze the roots of racial oppression that impact communities of color and find ways of addressing these issues.

Conclusion

We have learned through our research that the current practice of social work leaves much to be desired. We know that the origins of social work grew out of a highly visible, racist social context and that early interventions from social workers created a form of social interaction that oppressed both people of color and white ethnic groups. These subordinating practices continue today, though not as overtly or intentionally. In addition, in order to receive enhanced status and respect from a white supremacist legitimating system, the social work institution endows its “professionals” with enhanced power and privilege to diagnose social problems that ethnic and minority communities face. The professionalization process causes communities of color to be oppressed through the maintenance of the status quo.

The current social work curriculum includes a bifurcation between micro and macro perspectives of social work, an emphasis on “multiculturalism” at the expense of dialogues on race and racism, and an overall lack of attention to the ways in which structural racism and white supremacy impact present day social work. Discussing race and ethnicity within the framework of liberal multiculturalism perpetuates white supremacy by neglecting the social, historical, and political contexts that have shaped the construction of race. Multiculturalism's focus on cultural diversity fails to contextualize notions of difference and inherently implicates individuals for their inability to adapt within dominant social structures and cultural norms. It is imperative that we become more aware of our powerful roles as social workers, our participation in racialized social structures, and the effects that these have on clients. If we truly desire social change, then we must first be willing to critically look at ourselves and our field to uncover places where we might be doing more harm than good.

We have the beginnings already in place with those faculty and students who have an interest and desire to further explore these issues. We can also use books and papers written by UCLA Social Welfare faculty to incorporate discourse on oppression and white privilege across the curriculum rather than limiting it to one or two classes. This is a plea coming from students; avid learners who desperately want to start a meaningful discussion drawing attention to these issues and effect real change. This is the seminal reason we came to the social welfare field and to UCLA for our education. We are asking for your initiative and leadership in this exciting, promising, and challenging undertaking.

We recognize that the ensuing dialogue between faculty and students will not be easy or immediate. Likewise, the student authors have found this undertaking to be quite complex, yet challenging and inspiring. Throughout the collaborative effort, we each started at different places and ended with a richer understanding of what an anti-racist discourse within social work looks like. Each of our unique voices came through in order to produce something powerful and we firmly agree that however difficult the dialogue, it is necessary and must not end with this project.

We are challenging the program to be a vanguard in addressing how to break down racism at the institutional level. Let us be the first to take the step from dialogue to action. All we need is the space necessary to start this crucial process.

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Critical Race Theory in the Department of Urban Planning

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Critical Race Theory and Urban Planning Executive Summary

Critical Race Theory (CRT) emphasizes the notion that racism is “normal, not aberrant, in American society, and because it is so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order, it appears both normal, and natural to being in this culture.”¹⁹² The institutions that frame our everyday life are therefore not immune to the effects racism and white supremacy. The Critical Race Theory working group within the Urban Planning Department at UCLA attempts to achieve several objectives throughout the span of our project. We propose that the department adopt a more race-conscious pedagogy and address issues of structural racism embedded in our discipline, institutionally and within our curriculum. The following are the three concepts that we see as the foundation of incorporating CRT into the discipline:

- Identify the role of the field and the department in producing and legitimizing white supremacy in the United States;
- Identify alternative approaches to the discipline to achieve racial justice;
- Identify specific strategies in the field to undo racial domination.

We believe CRT can strengthen planning theory and practice in order to make the discipline socially transformative, undo the mistakes of past racially discriminatory planning practice, and encourage students and scholars to look more critically at how urban planning reinforces white supremacy. The report outlines the following:

Current state of the program

We map out the sociopolitical contexts that started the profession and the program at UCLA to determine how both help shape the mission of the program from its commencement to its current state. We sought to identify the historical underpinnings of the social justice framework within the Urban Department. The conferences and lecture series that are included in our history, sponsored by both students and faculty, brought not only outside scholars to UCLA, but included community leaders and organizers as well. There was clearly a bridge between theory and practice. The department currently has also not done enough to enhance scholarship and racial diversity among faculty in our department. We also evaluated whether the current student body reflects the department’s commitment to diversity and critique the department’s new mandatory requirement of the GRE for admission. The department has further shifted into prioritizing quantitative skills in evaluating an individual’s skills over more qualitative assessments. Standardized testing is disproportionately stacked in favor of white people over persons of color. Disparities in income and access to a quality education between both groups widen the gap in successful GRE testing. The decision to require the GRE prevents the department from fully upholding the program’s mission to produce planners committed to the practice and philosophy of social justice.

We offer a critical analysis of current urban planning teaching methods in the department. In addition to the traditional classroom discussion, the faculty and administration fail to provide adequate mentorship for students of color. It is frustrating to sit in class and have a professor

¹⁹² Ladson-Billings, Gloria (1999), “Preparing Teachers for Diverse Student Populations: A Critical Race Theory Perspective,” *Review of Research in Education*, 24: 211-247

provide planning examples in false neutrality. It is also difficult for progressive students of color to find a faculty/mentor of color.¹⁹³ Our experiences in the classroom have also affected through the silencing of students of color because the curriculum is not taught from a race-conscious perspective, but in fact from a race-neutral, class-dominated discourse. Students are not given the space nor are trained to effectively include race in framing planning issues.

The following are some of the recommendations proposed in our report:

- That the department look at ways to mitigate the effects of newly instituted admissions policies, such requiring the GRE;
- That faculty cultivates a critical race framework. Courses that facilitate a critical race framework enable students of color to expand on and develop alternative points of view to solve planning problems;
- Until the department hires more faculty of color, the current faculty should be trained on how to incorporate issues of racial inequalities in their courses;
- Create the space within the department, specifically in classroom, to dialogue about race and racism.

The Critical Race Theory working group will continue developing the CRT curriculum beyond this course, with the end goal of the department instituting and funding a specialization and research in Urban Planning.

¹⁹³ 1st year, M.A, CDBE Concentration Narrative

Critical Race Theory and Urban Planning An Introduction

Critical Race Theory (CRT) emphasizes the notion that racism is “normal, not aberrant, in American society, and because it is so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order, it appears both normal, and natural to being in this culture.”¹⁹⁴ The institutions that frame our everyday life are therefore not immune to the effects racism and white supremacy. Racism and impacts of white supremacy are discussed as past occurrences. Racism is seen as a ‘distant’ past, reinforcing the belief that we are living in a much more ‘color-blind’ society, and the past wrongs were corrected during the Civil Rights movement and the legislation that followed.¹⁹⁵ When we discuss the devastating affects of white supremacy on our academic institution, most specifically the Department of Urban Planning, we are referring to the three different forms of oppression that are embedded in our everyday life—institutionalized oppression, interpersonal oppression, and internalized oppression. Structural forms of racism impact how we are treated, how relate to others in and outside our communities and how we see ourselves. It is imperative that we continue to be critical of how institutional racism contributes to the negative socio-economic conditions that shape our urban cities and how a CRT analysis can be integrated into our education.

The field of Urban Planning is a discipline based on land use planning and its relation to the built and social environment. Urban planners implement policies that cause inequalities between communities resulting in some communities that are more physically and economically healthy than others. The current planning curriculum and the tasks of the everyday ‘professional’ planner maintain the status quo and train the individual to propose design techniques and solutions to mitigate the effects of past policies and actions. CRT will assist planners in envisioning institutional changes that shift the urban planning field towards applying more comprehensive racially just planning policies in communities instead of creating short-term solutions to racial inequalities.

Urban Planning is also a field that is driven by continuous change, thus it is important to give students the motivation to also be drivers of that change and direct them towards more socially just communities. This critical juncture is what compelled us to look to more race-conscious strategies to address the root of urban problems we must face as planners.

The following are the three concepts that we see as the foundation of incorporating CRT into Urban Planning as a discipline:

- Identify the role of the field and the department in producing and legitimizing white supremacy in the United States;
- Identify alternative approaches to the discipline to achieve racial justice;
- Identify specific strategies in the field to undo racial domination.

¹⁹⁴ Ladson-Billings, Gloria (1999), “Preparing Teachers for Diverse Student Populations: A Critical Race Theory Perspective,” *Review of Research in Education*, 24: 211-247

¹⁹⁵ For a more comprehensive analysis on ‘white supremacy’ and ‘institutional racism,’ please see, “Critical Race Theory and Public Affairs: An Introduction”

Our goal is to identify where CRT can strengthen planning theory and practice in order to make the discipline socially transformative, undo the mistakes of past racially discriminatory planning practice, and encourage students and scholars to look more critically at how urban planning reinforces white supremacy. It is essential that we create the space to reflect on how the field can and should change.

We believe CRT will provide an alternative avenue for planning practice, production of knowledge within the field, and institutional support for students committed to social justice work, most importantly, for students of color. There are several factors that have shaped our experience thus far in the program that contextualizes our work for the student initiated CRT course. First, the department has a small percentage of students of color that are interested in planning for social change. In addition, these students may be the only individuals from our communities to attend graduate school. First-generation college students have been more affected by the impacts of structural racism and thus carry with them a much different perspective to their academic experience. Because of lack of support we feel we receive from the department, we find ourselves isolated, frustrated and in need of a supportive space to talk about our experiences, considering our limited numbers.

The department recently announced that it was instituting the GRE as a requirement for M.A admissions and justified it as a means to stay competitive with other highly selective Urban Planning programs. The effects of standardized test requirements on admissions have been widely documented as having negative consequences on the admissions rate for applicants of color. The Urban Planning Department is reinforcing ‘meritocracy’ in the admissions process through the implementation of the GRE requirement. The department has made a shift away from valuing qualitative aspects of an applicant’s profile, towards a more quantitative assessment of their skills to grant admission.

At this year’s Welcome Day for incoming M.A students, the effects of this admissions policy were evident as the number of admitted students of color were smaller than from previous classes. This prompted us to look at the institution’s role in advancing the role of practitioners of color in the field and how working towards creating a race-conscious academic experience contributes racial justice in the profession.

Our experiences in the classroom have also affected how we perceive the department values students academic contributions through the silencing of students of color. Because the curriculum is not taught from a race-conscious perspective, but in fact from a race-neutral, class-dominated discourse, students are not given the space nor trained to effectively include race in framing planning issues. If students mention race in the classroom or in scholarly work, often times professors or their cohorts subtly label them as angry, race-obsessed, and deviating from “the core of the planning issue.”¹⁹⁶ The omission of race in the classroom discussion is a reminder of how American society, while recognizing that race is a social construction, continuously does not acknowledge how that construct shapes the lives and experiences of people of color. Our narratives merely reflect how the current state of the program is impacting our experience as students and how we will enter the profession.

¹⁹⁶ Narrative from 1st, year, M.A., CDBE concentration

In this paper, we map out the sociopolitical contexts that started the program at UCLA to determine how it shaped the mission of the program from its commencement to its current state. First, we sought to identify the historical underpinnings of the social justice framework within the Urban Planning Department. It is important to acknowledge and validate this history as it is rarely talked about, yet has set the framework for the department. We propose a reevaluation of the department's commitment to social justice issues as we feel that overall, it is not as supportive as should be to students interested in social justice-oriented planning, specifically for students of color. Second, we look at how changes in the student body and faculty have impacted the academic environment and whether it currently reflects the department's commitment to social justice and diversity, therefore, seeing if the department's actions are representative of its original intentions. Thirdly, we incorporate a critical analysis of urban planning pedagogy in the department and how that is reflected in the curriculum. We propose recommendations how race can and should be taught in the classroom, in addition to how faculty can implemented race into our coursework for each of the concentrations. The department is currently in the process of redesigning and eliminating concentrations, we hope that our recommendations are taken into consideration as they can help enhance the academic experience of students.

The student-initiated course on CRT has helped us reconnect with some our intentions and expectations that we had as we entered the program. As students committed to racial justice, we see this as a necessary process to continuing the dialogue around structural racism and social change in and outside the classroom.

Historical Context of Urban Planning at UCLA

“The future of city planning is certain to be greatly affected by the type and quality of education provided in our institutions of higher learning.”¹⁹⁷ (Perloff)

Social justice movements led by people of color as well as feminist and anti-war movements brought about substantial change to this country. The social justice movements in the sixties shifted the public discourse to recognize that there are structural inequalities in the society. By the end of the decade, socio-political inequalities had also become increasingly more important in the field of Urban Planning and created a shift towards incorporating the social sciences into the field of Urban Planning. The UCLA Urban Planning Department was created during this political moment.

Since the establishment of Urban Planning at UCLA in 1969, scholars focused on the intersection between traditional physical planning and the social sciences. This started in the early seventies with Harvey Perloff as the Dean of the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning (GSAUP). Perloff along with several other professors such as John Friedmann, Lee Burns, and Eugene Grisgby, called for a stronger exposure to the social sciences seeing the need for planning students to have a well-rounded education, while mediating the tension between technological and humanistic skills.¹⁹⁸ A faculty member interviewed regarding this time period noted that a substantial amount of the curriculum and overall atmosphere of the school was grounded on principles of social justice.¹⁹⁹ In one of the original GSAUP catalogues for potential applicants Friedmann wrote,

Planning has over the past 20 years come to be examined and challenged in terms of sharper and more complex criteria of social justice – for the poor, minorities and women...it has also become more explicitly involved with questions of political choice – What qualities in society do we value most? What is fair? Whose interests are being served?

GSAUP in the Eighties

The ideological framework that scholars emphasized in the late sixties and early seventies set a precedent for the school in the decades to come. By the end of the seventies and throughout the eighties, it was clear that GSAUP was dedicated to addressing issues affecting marginalized communities. In separate interviews, faculty members commented that race, class and gender were given equal status in the discourse on social justice and planning. The student body, faculty, lecture series and conferences reflected the emphasis on social justice.

The following timeline of events represents the Urban Planning Department’s effort to incorporate a social justice framework into field. These events are highlighted to show that our analysis of the need to incorporate a CRT framework in the Urban Planning Department is grounded in upholding the past tradition of social justice pedagogy.

¹⁹⁷ Burns, Leland and John Friedmann. 1985. *The Art of Planning: Selected Essays of Harvey S. Perloff*. New York: Plenum Press.

¹⁹⁸ Burns, Leland and John Friedmann. 1985. *The Art of Planning: Selected Essays of Harvey S. Perloff*. New York: Plenum Press.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Faculty Member. Los Angeles, CA. 1 June 2007

- In 1979, the School made a concerted effort to hire a faculty member who focused on gender. Dolores Hayden, known for her work in feminist planning was appointed, and during that time the student-led Feminist Planners and Designers Group (FPDG) was also formed. That same year FPDG organized a conference titled, **‘Planning and Designing a Non-Sexist Society’**.
- In 1980, GSAUP held a conference on **‘Housing and Employment: Challenges for Latinos in the 80s’**. This was co-sponsored by Latinos in Planning, GSAUP, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center and the Graduate Student Association. Also in 1980, the Thursday Lecture Series began. In an interview with a UCLA staff member she noted that faculty, students, and members of the wider community attended the lecture series.²⁰⁰
- In 1981, there was a conference titled **‘Planning for Women’s Needs’** co-sponsored by GSAUP, FPDG and Women’s Studies. At the conference, Rebecca Morales, lecturer at GSAUP (appointed in 1981) spoke on organizing and the struggles of undocumented, clerical and unionized women workers. Maria Elena Salazar, a trade union organizer, spoke on organizing Latina women trade unions and the garment industry.
- In 1983, the Minority Association of Planners and Architects (MAPA), the pre-cursor to Planners of Color for Social Equity, organized the conference, **‘Strategies for Self-Determination in the 1980s: Minorities in LA.’** Workshops included Community Organizing, Community Labor and Development, Community Economic Fundraising, Public Policy and Minority Communities, and Economic Development in Minority Communities.
- In 1984 MAPA and FPDG put together a conference on women in poverty. The keynote speaker Diane Pearce spoke about the **‘Historical Perspective on Women in Poverty: Race, Class and Gender.’**
- Between 1984 and 1986 the lecture series included topics such as “**The History of Chicanos in East Los Angeles**”, “**Urban Grassroots Discontent and Green Politics in West Germany**” and “**New Asian American Communities: Duty, Development and Conflict**”.
- In 1985, Beth Ritchie, Coordinator for Santa Cruz Women Against Rape, spoke at the **‘Planning to End Violence Against Women’** conference co-sponsored by FPDG, UP Dean’s Fund, UCLA Center for the Study of Women and the UCLA Public Lecture’s Program.
- In 1986, GSAUP holds a conference on **‘Gender, Race and Disability in Urban Planning Education’**. The conference provided a forum for students and educators from planning and related academic disciplines to share their experiences and insights about gender, ethnicity, race and disability as central planning education issues. Participants addressed student/faculty recruitment and retention, the classroom climate and the integration of gender, ethnicity, race and disability into the curriculum.²⁰¹ Organizers of the conference believed that rather than viewing women, people of color and the disabled as marginal populations, planning education should bring these groups to the center of the planning process.²⁰² The conference explored strategies for meeting this challenge.
- In 1988, MAPA, the Black Student Committee, and FPDG organized a conference called **‘Reclaiming Our Neighborhoods: The Real Majority Plans LA.’** The following is a

²⁰⁰Interview with Staff Member. Los Angeles, CA. 1 June 2007

²⁰¹ Conference Flyer. 1986

²⁰² Conference Flyer. 1986

description of the conference: “LA is fast becoming the nation’s first city to have a majority population of minorities. Committed to addressing the planning needs of women, people of color and disabled persons, this conference will explore the community based multi-cultural future of Los Angeles. Other conference goals are to consider linkages between a variety of planning issues, to strengthen the relationship between community and university activists and to build a common research agenda that meets the real world needs of different communities.”

- In 1991, the Community Scholars Program was initiated. The program brought together organizers, health promoters and community residents and graduate students to develop research to create more just communities.²⁰³
- In 1993, a year after the LA uprising, Cornel West spoke at the conference, **‘Towards a Multi-cultural Society: the Politics of Identity and Diversity.’**

The conferences and lecture series, sponsored by both students and faculty, brought not only outside scholars to UCLA, but included community leaders and organizers as well. There was clearly a bridge between theory and practice. This was also a time when there were greater resources for students, and practitioner faculty was not threatened by budget cuts. Student groups such as MAPA, FPDG, and the Black Student Committee played active roles in the department. The lecture series and conferences also provided a forum for progressive Marxist scholars from spatial and critical geography backgrounds such as David Harvey and Doreen Massey to dialogue about their research.²⁰⁴ Manuel Pastor and Elipidio Rocha also spoke in the lecture series on “Latino Poverty in Los Angeles: An Emerging Paradigm.”

In addition to those already mentioned, faculty appointed during the seventies and eighties included professors such as Edward Soja, Peter Marcuse, Jackie Leavitt, Allen Heskin, and Karen Hill Scott. Goetz Wolff and Gilda Haas were appointed as practitioner faculty in the early nineties. The faculty’s research and community involvement also influenced and shaped that time period. However, there was always awareness that the faculty was not as diverse as it should be, and that it could not be assumed that all faculty of color were doing research with a racial justice lens.²⁰⁵ The student body also reflected a lack of diversity. Based on Fall Quarter enrollment in 1990, only 35 percent of the student body was of color.

The Disestablishment of the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning

Then in 1994, under the direction of Chancellor Young, the Urban Planning Department of GSAUP was dismantled, and arguably forced to leave the School of Architecture. As a result, Urban Planning was demoted to being a department within the School of Public Policy and Social Research (SPPSR) (which was subsequently renamed to the School of Public Affairs) (SPA). During this time, Social Welfare was also demoted from its own school to a department within SPA. This shift reflected the larger political climate as we saw a move toward meritocracy and the end of affirmative action around the same time.

²⁰³ Community Scholars Introduction. Spring 07

²⁰⁴ Interview with Faculty Member. Los Angeles, CA. 1 June 2007

²⁰⁵ Interview with Faculty Member. Los Angeles, CA. 1 June 2007

In effect, there was a push for a policy approach to planning that was more quantitative in its research and curriculum. This ideological shift placed a higher value on quantitative analysis and neo-classical economics than on planning for social justice.

In addition to an ideological shift, the dismantling of GSAUP also resulted in a lack of resources for the Urban Planning Department. While it is unclear how much funding went into the development of the Public Policy program, some argue that it was a very substantial amount and that the resources were taken away from the Urban Planning Department. The ideological shift along with the decrease in funding reduced support for faculty practitioners, student groups, faculty engaged in social justice and planning, and lecture series and conferences. As resources became thinner, the lack of transparency in the budgetary process also increased. Faculty was no longer allowed to see the budget, nor had a say in funding allocation.

However, during this time the Community Scholars program was established and was responsible for two major successes that continue to play a key role in the economic justice and popular education campaigns of Los Angeles. Professor Gilda Haas received grant money for the Community Scholars program out of which Strategic Alliance for a Just Economy (SAJE) was formed.²⁰⁶ The precursor to Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), the Tourism Industry in Developing Council (TIDC), also came out of the Community Scholars program. While these organizations have changed the landscape of community economic development in Los Angeles, and have served as an example for community groups in other cities, students and faculty still feel as though there is a lack of support for community scholar research that deals with social justice.²⁰⁷

Implicit in the current ideological shift that began in the nineties is the notion that journal publications offer the prestige necessary in the department's "strive for excellence," while applied research with tangible outcomes does not. A faculty member described this shift noting that because a number of faculty were no longer as grounded in class, race-based, and feminist struggles, they became susceptible to focusing solely on academic productivity. The push to be heavily-cited in order to achieve high ratings only exacerbated this problem.

The "Strive for Excellence"

In 1997, Albert Carnesale became Chancellor of UCLA. As the former dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, his pursuit of 'excellence' was narrowly defined in each department. The rule, whether spoken or not, was to not hire people at the margins within the disciplines. If faculty did not have a degree from a prestigious school and publish an adequate amount of articles, they were out of the hiring pool. Given the structural racism embedded in our educational system, this meant fewer faculty of color were from this tiny pool the department had to select from. The faculty of color from the upper echelons of academia was (and still is) in high demand. At the same time, the Urban Planning was limited in their financial resources, and had to compete with Ivy League schools such as Columbia and MIT where those universities could offer more money to the top faculty of color in planning. For students of color,

²⁰⁶ Interview with Faculty Member. Los Angeles, CA. 1 June 2007

²⁰⁷ Interview with Faculty Member. Los Angeles, CA. 1 June 2007

this has meant fewer opportunities for professional and intellectual mentorship and guidance, and limited safe space to discuss institutional racism.

Chancellor Carnesale, and certain faculty also applied the narrowly defined “strive for excellence” mantra to the students as well. Quality students were seen as those students who had a strong quantitative and neo-classical economics background. The breadth of skills and strong social science training that Perloff had envisioned of planning students, was no longer prioritized in order to adhere to the similar standards seen in the policy school. This assumption of what higher standards are still continues and is laden with racism. Several years ago a student overheard a faculty member stating that that we [the Urban Planning department] should be recruiting more white men, that way we would get higher quality students.²⁰⁸ In 2006, word spread among Latina/o students and other students of color, that a professor complained that too many Latino students were being admitted, and that was in turn affecting the quality of students. While the latter description of overt racism may not be substantiated, most students and faculty in the Urban Planning department do not find this comment surprising.

Today's Challenges and the Need for Change

It is with our current experiences, and building on the knowledge of the past that we seek to bring a Critical Race lens and theory to the Urban Planning Department. As Perloff stated when envisioning a new school, “planning education cannot rely on the transmission of existing knowledge and methods in a traditional apprenticeship manner, but must be geared to the continuing search for new knowledge and methods.” CRT in planning builds off of the resistance struggles in our past, acknowledges the Urban Planning Department’s shortcomings in not handling race effectively, and provides a framework for the field of planning to participate in the deconstruction of white supremacy in the future.

²⁰⁸ Alumni commentary, Class of 2003

Student Body

Introduction

“I entered the UCLA Urban Planning [program] under the assumption that it was the most ‘progressive’ program in the States, yet when I started the program, I quickly realized that critical theory and practice and support for progressive students of color is lacking. My initial shock was during orientation week when I was surprised by the lack of diversity in both the student body and faculty. And it’s not just that people of color are lacking in our program but race consciousness as a whole is missing.” – 1st year, MA Urban Planning, CDBE concentration

The point of view expressed by this first year Master’s student is representative of the experience of many progressive students of color who are enrolled in the program. Progressive people of color are drawn to the UCLA Urban Planning program for its claimed commitment to social justice and for the program’s past reputation in the organizing community as one that teaches skills that can be used for and by the community. However, once enrolled in the program, students soon realize that it is no longer grounded in social justice; instead the program’s policies and practices have shifted to support a system of meritocracy. There have been three distinct changes in recent years that characterize this shift that undermines students’ access to a critical race analysis and a social justice framework. First, the new Graduate Record Exam (GRE) requirement limits or even closes this institution to progressive students of color who have not had access to the same education available to their white counterparts. Second, our classroom experience is challenging and often frustrating as our colleagues and professors do not accept or support discussions on social justice and critical race. Lastly, students receive little to no mentorship even though we are paired with a faculty advisor when we start.

The Negative Impacts of the GRE

Standardized testing is an ineffective method of measuring the aptitude and qualifications of incoming students. It is disproportionately stacked in favor of white persons over persons of color. Disparities in income and access to a quality education between both groups widen the gap in successful GRE testing. In addition, there is a “chilling effect” that prevents students from applying to the program due to the GRE requirement. A harmful impact of this policy decision is that it limits students who have strong community working experience from applying or gaining admission to the program because they do not take standardized test well. Resulting in the Urban Planning Department not being able to fulfill its stated goal of producing planners committed to the practice and philosophy of social justice.

Dr. Lisa D. Delpit, urban education professor at Florida International University, argues against the merits of the GRE by pointing out that scores do not correlate to one’s potential in a program.²⁰⁹ Delpit explains the story of a woman, named Marge, who was rejected from a Doctoral program for her low GRE score and demoted to their Master’s program, despite of the fact that she had already earned a Master’s degree. When Marge began her program she was treated like an at-risk student in danger of dropping out of the program. However, she excelled and became the most sought after student for research projects among professors in her master’s

²⁰⁹ Delpit, Linda (1992). Acquisition of Literate Discourse: Bowing Before the Master? JSTOR Website: <http://www.jstor.org/view/00405841/ap050143/05a00060/0> [Retrieved on Thursday May 31, 2007]

and subsequent PhD program.²¹⁰ The story illustrates that GRE scores cannot capture one's intelligence and ability to excel in an educational program. With our program's shift to meritocracy, determining factors like the GRE will weed out otherwise well-qualified students if they do not test well or have the same educational opportunities.

Given that the GRE is not an equalizing force among applicants, we contend that the admissions committee should place more weight on students' practical experience prior to the program instead of the GRE. By emphasizing applicants' GRE scores, the admissions committee puts added weight on skills the student will learn once they are accepted to the program through the core courses on math and statistical analysis. Furthermore, the program's existing structures like math camp provide a safety net for students who are not strong in quantitative methods so they have extra space to enhance quantitative skills and offer them adequate preparation to succeed in courses.

Instead the admissions committee should assess applicants' community knowledge and race-consciousness. Practitioners need to have a critical race framework to be effective in the community. Therefore, by placing the highest weight on students' working and or research experience, the admissions committee can select students with a critical race and social justice consciousness.

The Student Experience

Our experience in the program is determined by who we are as persons of color and our commitment to social justice. This experience is also dependent on connections with other students and classroom learning as well. According to urban education scholars in the African American and Sociology departments at the University of Illinois at Chicago, Professors Amanda Lewis, Mark Chesler, and Tyrone Forman, state that

Many students of color, in turn, bring with them to the predominantly White college campus experiences of exclusion, oppression, and unequal educational and social opportunity. These students must negotiate their own sense of what it means to be a person of color in the face of racial/ethnic stereotypes and calls for colorblindness about issues addressing race/ethnicity and minority status.²¹¹

Students of color must negotiate their status as being nonwhite in most day to day occurrences. Students of color seek out one another for support and friendship based on the shared experience. When a second year Master's student began the program, she said "I did what other students [did], find other students of color that I could relate to since this was my survival mechanism in both high school and undergrad." This is necessary to do when faculty and colleagues do not acknowledge or understand the experience that persons of color go through. This is further complicated in the classroom when issues affecting persons of color are not acknowledged as a real issue or the classroom discussion is dominated by a mainstream argument that does not incorporate and explore the institutional causes that have created many of these problems.

²¹⁰ Ibid

²¹¹ Chesler, M., Forman T., and Lewis, A. "The Impact of "Colorblind" Ideologies on Students of Color: Intergroup Relations at a Predominantly White University" JSTOR: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-2984%28200024%2F21%2969%3A1%2F2%3C74%3ATIO%22IO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-R> [Retrieved on Thursday May 31, 2007]

The knowledge we gain does not prepare us to address institutional barriers that are at the root of all planning problems when we become practitioners. Even though it is relevant to understand the rational planning model, it is also imperative to strengthen the skills that will help progressive persons of color address the problems we see and experience in our communities. Instead, it becomes our job as persons of color to introduce alternative perspectives in class and yet they are often viewed as less factual or legitimate. A first year Master's student reflects on this issue

The grading system is established to validate particular points of views. Therefore, alternative perspectives are more likely to be challenged and graded lower because they don't comply with what TAs or professors validate as appropriate. Consequently, my experience at UCLA just like many other institutions provides me with a socially legitimate master's degree. However, the material and experiences fail to reflect my area of interest, so I am pushed to seek venues and experiences independently from the program in order to become a planner of color with a CRT lens.

One consequence is that we do not expand on our own perspectives. Lewis, Chesler and Forman contend that "institutional factors can lead to a sort of 'academic colonialism' that shapes both the patterns of interaction as well as the attitudes and behaviors of individuals within institutions... Thus, powerful institutional norms have been shown to influence all participants in the academy."²¹² Professors routinely validate planning approaches grounded in the rational planning model. However, this model leaves students with no opportunity to build a critical race analysis; instead the approach narrowly construes issues within the context of the market. Those students who challenge the norm by exploring a different approach are sometimes graded much lower than students who submit reports that support the dominant point of view and or planning approach. In this way, we are forced to accept an education that does not provide us with the tools we need to engage communities or institutions as future practitioners.

Faculty Mentorship

Once students are enrolled in the process, the graduate advisor pairs students with faculty based on similar research interests. For example, persons interested in design are usually paired with Professors Vinit Mukhija or Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, while students interested in transportation are usually paired with Professors Donald Shoup or Brian Taylor. Once students are placed with faculty they are left to cultivate an effective mentor-mentee relationship.

However the experience has been marked with a number of challenges. In the case of progressive students of color, we are limited to three professors who have a progressive consciousness and are willing to take on students as mentors. Yet, they are limited by their experience and their research objectives. For one first year student,

...the faculty and administration possess limited tools to facilitate the learning experiences of students of color. During my first year at UCLA I have not been able to meet with a professor who provides mentorship in the field of Urban Planning. Although, I am the advisee of a professor of color, because of the lack of scholars focused on his topic, he doesn't have time to mentor me.

Even though professors might possess a progressive framework they cannot always guide students effectively in cases where students have different research objectives. Therefore students are slipping through the program without adequate support from their faculty.

Ultimately it is important to support students in their interests and future work. We recommend a mentorship program that requires regular meetings with faculty to discuss where

²¹² Ibid.

students are in the program and to critique how students feel the program is advancing students toward their future work. Applying a structure will guide the relationship and encourage more involvement by the faculty despite limitations in research interests.

Recommendations

- Instead of using the GRE as a primary criterion in the admissions process, practical work experience should be a greater factor in determining who is best fit for the program.
- Faculty mentorship should become a more structured relationship so that students have added support to complete their program. A mentorship program that requires faculty to maintain regular meetings to check in with their student mentee will help a student's progression for the duration of the program.
- Faculty must cultivate a CRT framework. Courses that facilitate a critical race framework enable progressive students of color to expand on and develop alternative points of view to solve planning problems.
- There needs to be aggressive recruitment of people of color to the program. In this program, underrepresented people of color should be particularly sought after including people of Asian, South Asian, or Middle Eastern ethnicity. The latter three should be emphasized during recruitment in addition to Latinos and African Americans.
- In the future, the Department and CRT working group should jointly analyze scholarship and funding distribution dedicated to students of color.
- The Department should institutionalize and support researching CRT curriculum by providing significant funding for students and faculty.

Urban Planning Faculty: Who Teaches?

Faculty play a vital role in determining how students shape their role as practitioners. The way faculty sees and perceives the most salient issues in our neighborhoods, cities, states, and around the globe influences the knowledge students gain in the classroom. A professor from Princeton University, quoted by Caroline Turner (education scholar at Arizona State University), states “the University has always taught values, in one way or another... Intentional or not, teaching values occurs in the classroom everyday— in the material I ask students to read, in the dialogue that ensues. . . . Values are implicit in everything I say, write, and do. And so it should be. We teach values by having them.”²¹³ Professors transmit and promote their values to their students; therefore, an analysis of the social, economic, and racial identities of our professors is necessary in order to critique the education we receive as future planners.

Although the UCLA Urban Planning Department prides itself in its location in Los Angeles and emphasizes the opportunity to study in an “extraordinary laboratory for learning,” there is a disconnect between our lived community and the academic environment.²¹⁴ Social and economic disparities are salient issues of communities and are a result of institutional racism in the past and the present. Many students are frustrated with the lack of in-depth classroom discussions about institutional racism. As expressed in the following quotations, students of color committed to racial justice desire the space to discuss planning with a CRT lens in the classroom:

“We lack the ‘tools’ to have an academically ‘legitimate’ discussion without being seen as the ‘angry’ student who is driven by our emotions.” 1st year, MA Urban Planning, CBDE

“The faculty and administration possess limited tools to facilitate the learning experiences of students of color.” 1st year MA Urban Planning, CDBE

“Integral to a training program on planning should be a discussion of how who we are affects the communities in which we work!” 2nd year, MA Urban Planning/Latin American Studies, CBDE

“Professors reflect traditional values and practices in the classroom that can easily make me invisible,” 1st year MA Urban Planning, CDBE

“The occasional buzz words like equity and even displacement are raised in the classroom but structural racism let alone race was rarely brought up despite the fact that Los Angeles tended to be the main topic of conversation,” 2nd year MA Urban Planning, RID

“I feel silenced,” 2nd year MA Urban Planning, RID

This frustration reflects our need for professors who understand and can articulate the ways in which institutional racism plays out in the planning process. Students of color often feel an additional burden of shouldering the bulk of responsibility to integrate their racial identity within their education. Instead, we believe the dialogue must be led by professors with expertise in racial justice and who can sustain the discussion through the years.

²¹³ Turner, Caroline S., “Incorporation and Marginalization in the Academy: From Border Toward Center for Faculty of Color?” *Journal of Black Studies* 34(2003): 116-117. Available from <http://jbs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/1/112>

²¹⁴ Urban Planning website. <http://www.sppsr.ucla.edu/dept.cfm?d=up&s=academic&f=academic.cfm>

Scholarly Research

The growing racial disparities in Los Angeles and the nation demonstrate the need for more diversity in scholarship and support for their research. For students of color in the UP program this is a necessary element of our education: We need faculty who use their research to critically assess institutional racism in the field and provide a framework for change. However, institutional values and practices undermine CRT through an emphasis on quantitative research methods, which leave out the social, economic, political, and racial contexts that are inherent in our society. There is a need for institutional support for qualitative methods.

The promotion and tenure review process is also of concern for creating a space for CRT, faculty are promoted on the basis of how many papers have been published and how many times they have been cited and to a lesser extent on the value of the professors' work to the community and to students. If rectified, the distinct divide between planners in academia and in the field could be bridged.

In addition, we contend that the devaluation of race issues in the classroom and in scholarly research prohibit faculty from CRT work. The research on communities of color is invisible or marginalized into separate journals and out of mainstream discussions of planning.²¹⁵ The Urban Planning Department must rectify this inequity and support faculty of color by bringing their work to the forefront.

Faculty Demographics

The state of professors of color in the department is of tremendous concern for the development of the planning field. In the department there are no professors who teach planning issues with a CRT lens, and very few who even teach about the issue of race and planning in depth. The lack of professors of color has contributed to this disparity.

According to adjustments based on a report to the Planning Accreditation Board (PAB), the Urban Planning program reflects a diverse faculty; women represent approximately half the faculty and faculty of color represent about 25% (*See Appendix A*). In terms of diversity, these statistics are misleading and must be scrutinized.

The percentage of faculty of color has been on the decline in the past five years. In 2001-2002, 38% were faculty of color and in 2006-2007 only represent 26%.²¹⁶ Although 26% is much greater than 8.7% campus-wide, there is a case for the need to recruit faculty of color:²¹⁷ Whereas, the Urban Planning Department has a deep commitment to service to the surrounding community and the notion of a "laboratory in Los Angeles", it is necessary for the demographic makeup of our faculty to reflect the diversity of Los Angeles. According to the Los Angeles County Information website, the makeup of Los Angeles is 45% Latino, 31% White, 12% Asian,

²¹⁵ Turner. pg. 112.

²¹⁶ UCLA. "Diversity Statistics Monograph 2006-2007"; Available from http://faculty.diversity.ucla.edu/06library/data/docs/2006-07MngrphCmpusWide_w.pdf

²¹⁷ Lin, Judy, "Faculty diversity shows gains," *UCLA Today Online*. March 20, 2007. Available from http://www.today.ucla.edu/news/070320_faculty-diversity/

10% Black, .5% American Indian, and .3% Pacific Islander.²¹⁸ Although Los Angeles is predominantly Latino (45%), the program only has 2 Latino professors, with one holding a 0% appointment to the program.²¹⁹

There are racial disparities in faculty across the board. For example, African Americans have distinctly been recognized by the University of California, Los Angeles as being underutilized in the Urban Planning Department. Based on National Opinion Research Center's data on doctorates in the field, the project finds that Black faculty are significantly in need: If there was racial equity within faculty, the Urban Planning program would have 1.6 Black latter faculty,²²⁰ instead the Urban Planning department has none.²²¹ The department has one professor, but he has a 0% joint appointment with the department.

The Urban Planning program has been highly successful in hiring and retaining women faculty especially in a time of increased scrutiny on gender inequity at UCLA where only 26% of latter faculty are women.²²² The percentage of women professors in the department has been steadily on the rise in the past five years: In 2001-2002 women represented 37% of faculty and their numbers have increased to about half this year.²²³ However the lack of women of color professors is of great importance: With the loss of Professor Shirley Hune in the coming year, there will be only two women who are professors of color.²²⁴ We believe the perspective of women of color is important to the planning profession and in a comprehensive understanding of the issues faced in our communities today. The perspective of women of color intersects the identities of both race and gender, distinct from that of white women and men of color. As discussed by Kimberle Crenshaw, Professor of Critical Race Theory at the UCLA Law School, "racism and sexism readily intersect the lives of real people." However, historically, their perspective and needs have been left out of the discussion.²²⁵ The perspective of women of color professors is necessary in understanding the communities that planners work in.

Hiring Process

In the past three years, our faculty hiring process has been unsupportive of hiring faculty of color. This limitation has undermined the education of student's who came to UCLA for its progressive and socially just mission. The department must reflect on its stated purpose as a social-justice minded institution and create affirmative steps to implement its mission in the hiring process.

Recently, the department lost two professors of color, a Black and Latino professor. Although these professors' scholarly work is not necessarily within the CRT framework needed in the department, the loss has weakened the education of students on race issues and planning.

²¹⁸ http://lacounty.info/statistical_information.htm

²¹⁹ 0% joint appointment professors lack classroom interaction with students and thus restricted in their ability to have any meaningful relationship to students.

²²⁰ Ladder faculty is a term used to encompass tenure and tenure track faculty.

²²¹ "Diversity Statistics Monograph 2006-2007"

²²² "Faculty diversity shows gains"

²²³ "Diversity Statistics Monograph 2006-2007"

²²⁴ One woman professor of color is a practitioner faculty which limits her interaction with students.

²²⁵ Crenshaw, Kimberle, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 6(1991): 1242.

Specifically, J. Eugene Grigsby's work evaluated the impact of planning actions on different racial and ethnic groups and social classes. After the Los Angeles Civil Unrest, Grigsby brought into perspective the racial dynamics of the time. His perspective would have been of value for students to put into context the racial dynamics ten years later. Raul Hinojosa-Ojeda's move to the UCLA Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies also meant a loss in knowledge on expertise on race and regional development. Hinojosa-Ojeda's knowledge would have brought a cohesive understanding of US/Mexico relations and the inequities Latinos face in the US today. The existing curriculum has been lacking since these professors departed. However, we contend that the current discussion of race and planning is no longer enough: We must have faculty with expertise in Critical Race Theory.

The hiring process in the past few years has demonstrated an implicit bias against people of color in the department. As found by Jerry Kang, implicit bias is a tendency to associate positive attributes with White people and associate negative attributes with "outgroups" or people of color²²⁶ As students we have observed that the process has favored White men over any other people of color or professors with a grounding in racial and social justice issues. Because the department's hiring process attempts to be race neutral, there is an implicit bias towards those that "fit" into the institution.

Professor Richard Delgado supports this idea: He tells the story of a black lawyer who interviews for a teaching position at a major law school and is rejected. He emphasizes the school's "benevolent motivation and good faith" toward the hiring of people of color: They measure candidates on "preexisting well-agreed upon criteria of conventional scholarship and teaching." Their efforts purport to be "scrupulously meritocratic and fair". However, he explains that no one raises the possibility that the merit criteria used for measurement is debatable. No one "calls attention to the way in which merit functions to conceal the contingent connection between institutional power and the things rated."²²⁷

In the same way, our department does not support its own commitment to social justice. The criteria used follows our notion of who an ideal professor is and what he teaches and leaves no room for others. The criterion the department uses highly focuses on (1) excellent scholarly work, (2) tenured or tenurable candidate, and (3) high potential between the units.²²⁸ This criterion matches the traditional notion of scholarship and academic excellence which disproportionately favors the privilege afforded to White people. It is easy for administrators to say a candidate of color may not measure up with this kind of criteria in place. The devaluation of research for people of color and the qualitative manner of the work, as discussed earlier, disadvantages professors of color who bring the necessary CRT perspective.

Institutional Support

There is a tremendous need for our faculty to critically assess institutional racism in the planning field and introduce the issues in the classroom in a meaningful and substantial way.

²²⁶ Jerry Kang (2005), "The Trojan Horses of Race," *Harvard Law Review*, 118: 1489.

²²⁷ Richard Delgado (1989), "Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A plea for a narrative," *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 87, No. 8; *Legal Storytelling*. (Aug., 1989), pp. 2411-2441.

²²⁸ E-mail correspondence with Faculty Member. Los Angeles, CA. 4 June 2007

We need experts in the field of critical race theory who can create the needed framework and assist students in shaping their role as practitioners with a commitment to changing racial disparities in their communities. In support of that goal, the number of professors of color must be increased through aggressive recruitment strategies. It is also necessary for all those in the position of hiring to be trained in diversity issues to understand their own biases and stereotypes that influence their decisions. In addition, the institution must actively work to support faculty of color who work on critical race theory and issues of institutional racism in the field.

Faculty Recommendations

- The Staffing Working Group should be trained to understand the various biases, assumptions, and stereotypes that influence their perceptions, judgments, and decisions.
- A strategic way to increase faculty diversity is to create an aggressive plan prior to faculty openings that takes into account any aspects that are lacking in the curriculum.
- We need to make priorities, make a case for what kinds of professors and what research interests are needed to support a racially just education
- When faculty of color leave the institution, an analysis of the loss of knowledge is necessary. In addition the department should implement a way to fill the gap in the curriculum until a replacement is found
- Department should aggressively recruit faculty of color
- Support faculty of color to work in positions of power in the decision making process
- Support faculty who work in Los Angeles communities and do scholarly work on critical race theory and within communities of color
- Understand issues that constrain faculty of color and adopt mechanisms to retain faculty of color
- The Department should support and recruit graduate students of color to continue on to doctoral programs to increase the number of people of color in academia.

Toward a Critical Race Theory Pedagogy in Urban Planning

According to the Chair of the department, Urban Planning at UCLA has become one of the largest and most sought-after programs of graduate planning study and research in the United States. That success is based on a distinctive philosophy of planning education and on innovative programs that promote cultural diversity, community activism, international development, environmental quality, and social justice.²²⁹ The department claims to provide an academic environment for students to learn and formulate ways to solve urban issues from a social justice perspective. However, the curriculum conflicts with the program's philosophy to promote social justice by neglecting to critically address race and racism in the curriculum and how structural racism is embedded in the theory that guides our practice as planners. The current curriculum overlooks the intersection between race and physical planning, economic development, housing, environmental hazards, and transportation.

The existing curriculum is not in line with the stated purpose of the program. Currently, the required courses for all entering master students do not include a class that addresses the existing and deplorable reality of people of color and its interconnection with urban planning. As explained by a first year student, "From the first time I stepped foot inside the Public Policy building, the program stressed how I was going to learn the right tools to apply the work in a practical and "progressive" way. So I thought, "ok, this coincides with my belief that my education should have some sort of practical, resourceful, socially just purpose." However, after three quarters at the program, the same student feels she needs to now look to outside sources of support to pursue her interests.²³⁰

Although minority perspectives make explicit the need for fundamental change in the ways we think and construct knowledge²³¹ Planning professors continue to practice traditional teaching styles that tend to perpetuate a white supremacist model. In other words, students of color, and race-conscious white students are aware of the fact that white students tend to be more supported and rewarded for their contributions in class.²³² As expressed by one student, "I feel that the program is still a space that perpetuates a culture of white supremacy. It is not only for the way that race and the root causes of racism inherent in planning are omitted in the curriculum, but also by the way that white students are encouraged to claim and dominate space in ways that our privilege has always told us is acceptable. It is not a coincidence that white females dominate the dialogue in some of my classes²³³." Many white students tend to feel entitled, comfortable, and confident in their contributions, while the professors reinforces that behavior by failing to acknowledge that students of color are not as active in class discussions.²³⁴

Because professors do not make a conscious effort to address white supremacy in the field, or in the classroom, the university continues to train planners in a way that perpetuates the status quo. A graduating student of color recognizes that as she will soon become a practitioner

²²⁹ Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris. "Message from the Chair," *Graduate Programs in Urban Planning 2005-2006*, 2.

²³⁰ 1st Year Urban Planning Student

²³¹ Robin D. Barnes, "Race Consciousness: The Thematic Content of Racial Distinctiveness in Critical Race Scholarship," *Harvard Law Review* 103, No. 8. (Jun 1990): 1864-1871, 1864.

²³² 1st Year Urban Planning Student

²³³ 2nd Year Urban Planning Student

²³⁴ 1st Year Urban Planning Student

in the field and feels that what was lacking from her education is a CRT framework. She believes that a CRT analysis in her academic classes would have prepared her to work towards creating solutions to address the causes of inequalities in communities of color.²³⁵ Unfortunately, the program promotes a race-neutral class-based analysis of social problems. Therefore, planning classes continue to churn out “status-quo technicians”²³⁶ and the existing methods utilized by professors produce planners who are not trained to work with communities of color.

Although our current academic institutions support more traditional or “rational” modes in the production of knowledge, people of color continue to create knowledge outside the institution. We learn from life as well as from books. We learned about injustice, social cruelty, political hypocrisy and sanctioned terrorism from the mouths of our mothers and fathers and from our very own experiences.²³⁷ Therefore as students we are recreating and reevaluating how both of these “worlds” can intersect. The production of knowledge with a CRT lens takes place in schools through student run courses, at community centers where people meet to find solutions to problems neglected by officials, and other alternative routes in order to humanize our reality. Planning professors at UCLA can help build upon this movement, work in collaboration with students interested in race-conscious planning within the program, and engage in a pedagogical praxis that incorporates the narratives and experiences of the communities we wish to serve.

²³⁵ 2nd Year Urban Planning Student

²³⁶ 2nd Year Urban Planning Student

²³⁷ Barnes, 1867.

Why do we need a Critical Race Planning Pedagogy?

Hegemony, the Master narrative, institutionalized racism and white supremacy – all shape the field of urban planning. If we are not working in planning to fight for social justice, then we need to seriously question why we are here. If we are, then we need to look at the underlying root causes of how information in general, and in our field has been colonized and normalized under the white supremacist norm.²³⁸

According to many critical educators, we live in a continued state of colonization, meaning that norms, information, and societal structures are imposed on the masses by the framework created by the colonizers. In the United States and around the world this framework is synonymous with white supremacy. Information and knowledge from “the north” or “the west” is seen to be more relevant, more important, and more valid. The idea that whiteness means beautiful, better, smarter, and more capable - persists and is growing stronger in our society. In a discussion about the ways scientific knowledge has been constructed in the neo-colonial exercise, Gina Thésée claims that:

According to this western epistemology, only western science can claim to have valuable knowledge, owing to its on-going standardization, its proliferation of information-to-know, and its rigorous methodological concerns²³⁹.

This is to say that people of color are *not* the norm, and do not contribute to the collective body of knowledge on par with whites. This is played out regularly in planning, while the majority of academics and practitioners still use the rational planning model to create solutions to problems about transportation, environmental, housing or other issues through out the field. Thésée also states that “science has been developed to drive the European man to dominate nature²⁴⁰.” Indigenous and other forms of knowledge creation must also be valued, taught and utilized in the planning field to challenge the hegemonic notion that a colonial-based, white supremacist notion of planning will be effective for working in communities of color.

Planning educators who want to challenge the ways in which our field perpetuates white supremacy and the continuation of colonization can draw on ideas from anti-colonial critical theorists and practitioners such as Richard Delgado, Gloria Ladson Billings, George J. Sefa Dei, Arlo Kempf, Margaret Ledwith, Antonio Gramsci, and Paulo Freire, among many others.

²³⁸ Dei, George J. Sefa, and Arlo Kempf (eds.)(2006) *Anti-Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*. Sense Publishers: The Netherlands

²³⁹ Dei, George J. Sefa, and Arlo Kempf (eds.)(2006) *Anti-Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*. Sense Publishers: The Netherlands

²⁴⁰ Dei, George J. Sefa, and Arlo Kempf (eds.)(2006) *Anti-Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*. Sense Publishers: The Netherlands

Toward a Critical Race Planning Pedagogy

How can professors incorporate a Critical Race Analysis in the way they teach their classes?

1. **The Stated Objective in Planning Pedagogy** should be to understand, analyze, critique and dismantle the ways in which planning has perpetuated white supremacy, and how white supremacy informs planning policies, curriculum and practice.

Margaret Ledwith identifies **Critical Analysis** as a practice that: “refers to the theories and conceptual tools with which to analyse practice so that subsequent action is targeted at the source, not the symptoms, of oppression and therefore has the potential to bring about change for social justice.”²⁴¹

In planning classes we should be encouraged not only to learn about the history of policies related to our interests, but we should also look critically at the ways in which those policies and practices have perpetuated racial inequality and notions of white supremacy.

2. **Create a safe space to talk about race and white privilege in the class room** so that we will be effective practitioners working in multi-cultural communities outside of the classroom
 - One participant in our course wrote: “As a white person I recognize that it is hard for white folks to talk about race. When we do not have the practice and the vocabulary to express our experience in a safe way it is easier for us to get defensive and draw upon the ready-made statements of denial of responsibility: “It wasn’t me who had slaves”, “I’m not racist, why are you picking on me!”... the list goes on, and on. But the reality is that we live in a society BUILT on white supremacy. As critical students and planners we can’t allow ourselves to be complicit in that process simply because it feels uncomfortable for us to admit how we benefit from it.”
 - **DEAL with RACE in the Classroom!** Start with the lived experiences of students. Talk about racial power dynamics and shared space: Who dominates the class room? Who feels more entitled to speak? Who gets more support from professors? This needs to be brought out if we expect to do authentic work in communities of color. If we can’t evaluate ourselves and our privilege in the planning classroom, then we will NOT do it in our practice. We will personally be responsible for perpetuating white supremacy in our work if we do not learn about how we do it in the classroom.
3. **“Storytelling, Counterstorytelling, and Naming One’s Own Reality”** Narratives are a powerful tool in Critical Race Studies. Instead of accepting the version of history that we are told, we are encouraged to share our experiences as they relate to the course content. If we use narratives of students as the starting point for class discussions on planning issues, then we can immediately ground our studies in the realities of people who have

²⁴¹ Ledwith, Margaret. (1997) Community Development: A Critical Approach. Policy Press: UK

already been affected first hand by the issues we learn about. No issue we learn in planning is outside of our lived realities. Start with the Personal: Recognize that we as students offer a huge body of knowledge about race and planning in our lived experience. To begin the discussion about working with communities of color we must begin with ourselves.²⁴²

When class room space is dominated by white norms and white students are more encouraged to participate, we all lose out on learning from the people in the class who are in fact most likely to be connected to the communities we will work in. Students of color have unique and powerful lenses through which to analyze the field of planning, and professors do a disservice to the educational climate if that expertise is not acknowledged and given space in a proactive and thoughtful way.

- **Critical Analysis of the narrative** – We can build on the lived experience of people by looking critically at the underlying root causes of oppression and white supremacy as it relates to what we are learning and what we already know because we live it. To uncover the systematic way people of color have been kept marginalized as a result of planning practice and policy is the first step in challenging those structures.
4. **Critical Race Analysis of course content:** Even with existing material the professor can incorporate a critical analysis **with the students** about how what we are learning perpetuates and is affected by white supremacy. In terms of transportation we can continue to learn about the history and theories behind transportation and parking policies, but we can **also** incorporate a critical race lens to understand the context through which those policies emerged. Usually the only critical analysis we receive in terms of transportation is one based on class.
- **RACISM is inherent in everything we learn about, and we need to say that.** The students in this course maintain that in the context of the U.S. we can not limit ourselves to only a class analysis without acknowledging the many ways in which racism and class disparity go hand in hand.
 - **Dialogue in communion with the people** – We want to address racism in the Planning classroom and the field – We do not want our professors to accept racism as the norm or starting point from which to work in a community. We want an active and critical analysis about the socio-political-historical realities of white supremacy and we want to challenge it.
 - **Collective Creation of Solutions** – Applying a critical race lens to the master narrative of the planning field means challenging the normalized, accepted version of planning history and present - in order to offer alternative constructs for the field and the communities we wish to serve.
5. **Recognize that our praxis in the field will reflect the *way* we were educated, not only *what* we learned: Planners ARE educators.**

²⁴² Richard Delgado. "Story Telling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative," in Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge, ed. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000)

Margaret Ledwith's definition of **Praxis** includes a unity of theory and practice, which, in community development, involves theory generated in action, the link between knowledge and power through critical consciousness which leads to critical action.

- **Critical Race Planning Pedagogy** should be a pedagogy that we not only utilize in the planning classroom, but that we learn by doing, in order to apply this process in communities.
- **Theory is generated in action** within the context of our course work. Professors should teach the theories, but also encourage students to critique them with a critical race analysis. If we are learning rational planning and economic theories to conduct analyses and write memos urging for policy shift – then we need to recognize the limitations of that framework – and think of more critical approaches collectively.

Lessons from Critical Race Theory in Public Affairs: A Student-Initiated Urban Planning course offered in the Spring of 2007.

The course began with students' lived experiences. We did an activity called "*los caminitos*" or, "the paths" to visually represent and share the important moments and experiences in our lives that brought us to that particular moment. We spoke about what had happened in our lives that led us to that moment - participating in a student initiated class dedicated to looking at the underlying root causes of inequality and power. Students spoke about their experiences as people of color, as organizers, as students, and about how the intersectionality of those forces led them to planning for social justice. Some spoke of the struggles they faced growing up in areas that were not allocated services and programs for youth, and as a result they had to look outside of their community to participate in those activities. Others shared about the violence and racial tensions in their neighborhoods and city, and the conflicts they have felt about how they can educate themselves while maintaining close ties to their communities.

We grounded the entire course in our experiences. While the intention was not specifically to talk about how race affected us, nearly every single person, including white students and students of color – included in their narrative the effect their skin color has had on their life and choices to come to the planning program. Without realizing it, we utilized a Critical Race approach to pedagogy – our organic teaching method began with ourselves. We positioned ourselves and our bodies in the work we do as planners, and saw the connection between who we are, and what we will be capable of building together.

In only one hour we were able to ground the entire course in our lived realities. We saw the importance, not only of learning about communities to work with them, but also being aware of how who we are affects what we bring to planning, organizing and creating change.

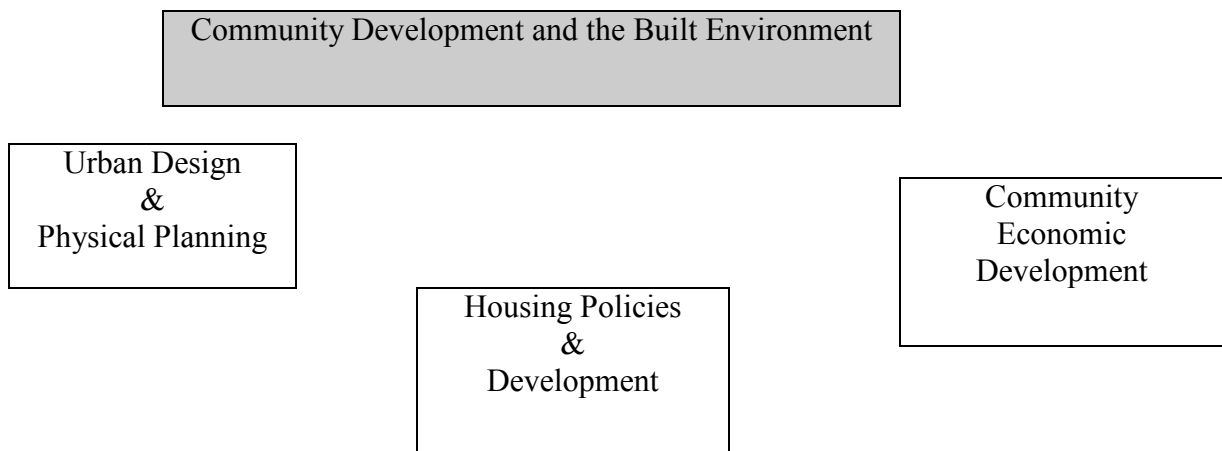
As critical planners we urge professors in Urban Planning at UCLA to create space in their classrooms where we can deconstruct the norms of white supremacy; where we can actively challenge racism in society by initially challenging it in ourselves; and where they can consider themselves not as the bearers of knowledge, but as co-investigators with us in our analysis of

how our work and research can grow to include this extremely important level of analysis in Urban Planning. It is essential that we not only learn about racial and social justice, but that we are able to model it ourselves as practitioners working in marginalized communities.

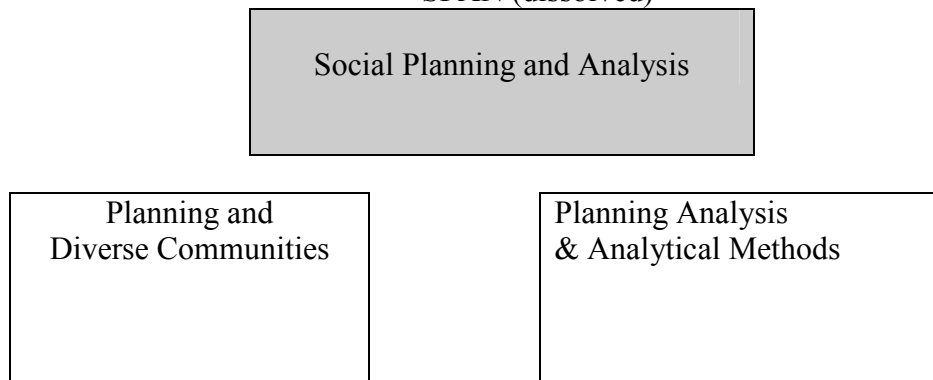
Course Curriculum

The Urban Planning department is currently undergoing a restructuring of the current curriculum and Area of Concentrations (AOC). Part of this is to ensure a higher level of academic excellence within the way the curriculum is organized so that students will be better prepared as practitioners in the field. As part of this process, the AOC for Social Planning and Analysis (SPAN) is being dissolved, and the current classes that were included within this concentration will be absorbed by other concentrations, namely, Transportation Planning and Analysis and Community Economic Development. The former concentrations and current proposed changes, effective Fall 2007, are listed below. We see this as an opportunity for the department to consider how the curriculum can be further enhanced, not only by incorporating CRT into the existing and newly formed concentrations, but also to consider our recommendations of offering CRT courses to develop a specialization within the program.

Old Section CDBE



SPAN (dissolved)



Newly Revised

Community Development and the Built
Environment

Housing Policies
&
Development

Community
Economic
Development

New Section

Transportation Policy and
Analysis

New Section

Design and Development

Urban Planning Curriculum

Overview

The Master of Arts in Urban Planning at UCLA has five general requirements. Taken from the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Urban Planning at UCLA Guidebook (updated September 2006).

1. Overview

Master's students must complete a minimum of 72 units (18 courses). Students should take a minimum of 12 units (3 courses) in each of six terms, completing the program in two years. Students are not permitted to take less than 12 units (full time) in a term. The course of study includes:

a. Six required courses (24 units)

- 207 Applied Microeconomics for Urban Planning
- 220A Quantitative Analysis in Urban Planning
- 220B Quantitative Analysis in Urban Planning
- 222 Introduction to Histories and Theories in Urban Planning
- 211 Law and the Quality of Urban Life
- one urbanization course (233- Political Economy of Urbanization, 281- Intro to the History of the Built Environment in the U.S., M254- Transportation, Land Use, and Urban Form)

On entering the program, all students must pass examinations indicating competence in basic mathematics and micro-economics before enrolling in 220A and 207 respectively. Students must then take the proficiency exams at the start of their second year.

Note: First year students must also take a required workshop on writing. The writing workshop is offered in the Fall Quarter.

b. Five area of concentration courses (20 units), including basic and elective courses

c. A required minimum of 300 hours of fieldwork

d. Thesis/ Comprehensive Examination courses

- Thesis plan—205-1 (4 units) and 598 (4 units)
- Client Project (Comp. Exam)—205-2 (4 units) and 597 (4 units)
- Group Comprehensive Project (Comp. Exam)—217A/B (4 units each)
- Two-week examination (Comp. Exam)—no classes or course credit

Concentrations

1. Community Development and Housing

This area of concentration blends urban planning, architecture, and the social sciences. It deals with the social, economic, and cultural influences on the built environment at the neighborhood, urban and regional scale.

Students can select one of the three streams:

- a. Design and Development
- b. Housing Policies and Development
- c. Community Economic Development

A. DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT

- a. Description from the Department

“The goal of this AOC is to equip urban planners aspiring to enter the public sector with tools to craft rules and regulations that meet public goals, and to train planners wishing to work for the private or nonprofit development sectors with skills about how to work with neighbors, community and the public sector in the entitlement and development of complex projects. The specialization’s success will eventually be measured by how our local and state land use rules and public policy strategies are crafted and written for a better 21st Century built environment, and how our design ideas help develop new models of professional intervention around the world.”

- b. CRT Analysis

This concentration is set up for practitioners who will enter the public or private sector to work on behalf of communities in conjunction with the public sector. Because the UCLA Urban Planning program claims to teach from a social justice perspective, the faculty has an additional responsibility to develop curriculum to serve the public interest with a CRT framework. While there is a need to understand the technical aspect of this concentration, this should never overshadow the goals of working on behalf of the public.

In order to achieve the stated goals of the newly formed design and development concentration, a deep understanding of what roots inequity is necessary for actuating structural change in the field and the practice of urban planning. An example of how to apply the CRT lens in design and development would be to incorporate into the crux of the class discussion questions that delve into how historical and current socio-political conditions influence how the built environment is constructed. In particular, the differences in how a planner shapes the built environment depending on the dominant racial and cultural groups. An examination of the student’s current work is then challenged under this framework in order to examine how their individual work perpetuates structural inequalities and what needs to be done to change it.

This can be applied to all the facets of design and development, with respect to financing, design, constructing public space, historic preservation, as well as quantitative and qualitative research methods for planners and designers. Under this AOC, we need to think beyond merely creating access to better design features for communities of color and incorporate social justice oriented planning practices and create real impacts within people’s lives. It is more than just learning about the history of race studies as it applies to design and development, it is about critically thinking how we perpetuate inequalities in our present work, and what needs to be done to challenge the overarching structure.

B. HOUSING POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENT

a. Description

This stream offers the opportunity to explore innovative policy approaches, particularly in nonprofit housing, while learning the traditional tools of housing analysis and real estate methods. At the level of policy, current housing issues are assessed against a historical background, drawing on both domestic and international examples. This analysis casts a critical eye at understanding opportunities for building coalitions among low income tenants, community-based organizations, and development professionals, as well as the potential links to organizing among labor, women and social service providers. The real estate methods provide a thorough grounding in current domestic practices with an emphasis on multifamily and commercial developments.

b. CRT Approach

As the Housing Policies and Development concentration description states “current housing issues are assessed against a historical background, drawing on both domestic and international examples”, therefore, it is imperative that race is addressed. Since the inception of the United States as a nation state, it has assigned ethnic groups their “places” in society. It began with the displacement and eventual extermination of Native Americans, the enslavement of Africans, the internment of Japanese Americans and the degradation of all other people of color. Since people of color have historically been limited to the worst housing options (via *dejure* and *defacto* segregation, restrictive covenants, and institutional racism) it is critical that this be focused upon in this concentration. The courses offered under this stream provide students the opportunity to gain knowledge of the real estate industry, land use, design and policies. However, there are no specific courses that address the racist underpinnings of housing policy and development in the United States. Students are not taught that institutional racism fosters and perpetuates inequities in housing. Rather students are taught how to improve an existing community without addressing the socio-political or historical context that shapes its current state. In essence, students are provided the tools to place a band-aid over issues that really require going to the historic root causes to solve issues. For example, when discussing zoning and other laws associated with land use, professors omit from the discussion how zoning, since it’s inception, was utilized to exclude people of color from residential and commercial development. Zoning is not merely to “segregate land uses” to ensure that people “do not live next to the slaughterhouse²⁴³,” but in fact is and continues to be a tool of racial domination.

In addition, race is an important factor in coalition building because low-income tenants that organizing groups and social service providers work with are mostly people of color. Planners must be equipped with the skills to engage organizations that work with people of color. Without a race-conscious lens, planners run the risk

²⁴³ During an Urban Planning course lecture, a professor used this example to explain why zoning laws were established in the United States.

of not being sensitive to the needs of the target group. If planners are not trained with a CRT framework, they will not be working to transform the structures that created the inequality in the first place. They will simply be aiding institutions to continue to foster racial inequality.

C. COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

a. Description

This stream offers classes and projects that explore the theories and methods of community development. Community economic development encompasses a broad array of interests and skills. Communities are, after all, microcosms of their larger society. Subjects such as economic development, housing, land use, the environment, social services, and education are examined in the stream, which also stresses the interaction between grassroots organizations, development and policy.

What distinguishes in this stream is its community-based focus. To comprehend the political nature of the work, students learn methods of analysis that encourage applied research and techniques of participation, which facilitate an open planning process with people and organizations. For this reason we have a broad interest in the role of social movements in planning approaches and outcomes.

In this stream students can emphasize either a domestic or international focus. Graduates from this stream can find work with community-based organizations (CDCs), government agencies interacting with community organizations, labor unions, and private sector organizations with community planning interests.

b. CRT Approach

Institutional racism impacts the opportunities for economic development, housing, land use, the environment, social services and education, especially in low-income minority communities. Thus, in order to truly work for the benefit of the people that live in the communities that have the greatest need for community economic development, race must be understood and addressed.

Community development policies are influenced by current sociopolitical climate. And with the global economy and reduction in federal funding, many cities are taking a business approach to planning with the goal of generating their own revenue. Elected officials make decisions and reward incentives based on generating revenue rather than assessing what is best for the community. These decisions lead to gentrification, displacement of the existing communities, and perpetuate racial inequalities. Many cities are falling into the common traps of leading with grants without clear goals and a strategic program, letting the tools determine the strategy, starting at the wrong end of the problem, following a fad, and overlooking development capacity. A CRT framework will prevent planners from making short-term decisions and instead assist them in creating holistic community development policies. CRT analysis also encourages planners to promote community-based

planning by to valuing knowledge from grassroots organizations and learning from social movements.

2. Environmental Analysis and Policy

a. Description

- Natural Resource Management
- International Development and the Environment
- Transportation and Land Use

The natural environment is both the context within which all human activities take place and a social product of those activities. A special feature of this area of concentration is its emphasis on problems arising from the intensive use of environmental resources, viewed from the perspective of political economy. Courses within this area are designed to introduce students to the linkages between environmental problems and social processes. This is done both systematically and topically, by examining the structure of federal and state environmental legislation and the role of the state in managing essential resources such as water, energy, and raw materials.

Our emphasis differs from that of other environmental planning programs in which technical aspects of environmental science or regulation provide a more central focus. We are concerned with broader questions of environmental policy and the role of environmental issues in the overall planning process in both domestic and international settings.

Faculty and student work in this area has addressed environmental equity, the environmental impacts of development, resources and resistance movements, problems of forestry in developing world economies, and environmental governance in urban and rural areas.

b. CRT Analysis

The department emphasizes environmental policy and social processes centered on broader issues that impact planning and development locally and globally. Environmental policy is inextricably linked with economic forces. Policy decisions on environmental justice tend to teeter on the contention of what makes the most economic sense. This relationship has strong implications in a CRT framework due to the increased scarcity of natural resources and prioritizing of economic outcomes. The impacts of environmental policy and planning tend to disproportionately affect poor communities of color.

In this stream, the CRT framework should be applied to both a local and global community perspective. Planners should be compelled to be accountable for environmental justice because the impacts affect us worldwide. If planners make decisions based on putting more value on the short-term economic outcomes then current negative environmental consequences will continue to worsen.

On a global scale, planners in the United States have an added pressure to incorporate CRT issues into environmental justice and planning. Extreme differences in consumption and lifestyle vary from country to country, but the choices made by most developed countries disproportionately affect our environment. For example, demand for the production of distinct natural resources such as oil in western nations is historically rooted in the history of colonization. The basis of colonization was centered on pilfering the natural resources of indigenous civilizations in order to claim ownership and secure political and economic control over these societies. Today, our planning decisions are still primarily affected by economic outcomes rather than the proactive protection and sustainability of our shared ecosystem. This fact underscores our commitment to focus our environmental area of concentration on CRT in order to effectuate change. The current surge of attention on climate change may have finally reached a level of political discourse, but it is up to planners to press those issues forward and adapt those ideas when planning the built environment.

On a local scale, environmental justice scholars and planners have proved that people of color have a higher risk of contracting health problems because a higher proportion live in undesirable low-income areas such as those adjacent to superfund sites, brownfields, and transportation corridors.

Without a CRT approach within environmental planning, the department is creating a practitioner workforce that is blind to the most obvious problem plaguing the way environmental planning is practiced, thus perpetuating norms without aiming to create structural change.

3. Regional and International Development

a. Description

Students majoring in Regional and International Development can choose one of two streams of study:

- Advanced industrial economies especially in North America and Western Europe and emphasizes economic activity location, new production technologies, industrial analysis, and regional economic integration.
- Newly developing economies in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Here, questions of rural development and peasantries, ecological and social sustainability, and urbanization processes are the major focus. In both streams, approaches to study are interdisciplinary and comparative.

b. CRT Approach

In both streams of study for this concentration, examining race is critical. For Advanced Industrial Economies in North America, specifically in the United States, the economic gains from slavery of American Indians and Africans greatly benefited those that owned plantations because slaves did all of the agrarian production/production work for free. In turn, the funds that were acquired provided the economic base for many cities in the South to flourish.

When manufacturing was introduced to this capitalist society, many industrial plants were located in the Northeast. This was not by coincidence. As industries were in their development stages, new cheap labor was entering the United States. Only now, the people were not African, they were Europeans. This group of Europeans that migrated to the United States that worked in manufacturing worked often under inhumane conditions that were also often lethal to their health. My great-grandfather, an immigrant from Italy, worked in the steel mills and lost a toe and later died of cancer from his high exposure to toxins.²⁴⁴ These Europeans were not treated fairly because they were the new labor and were at the bottom of the capitalist manufacturing structure. With the Great Migration of blacks from the South to the Northeast, blacks replaced the immigrant Europeans at the bottom of the manufacturing structure.

In the past three decades, there have been an increasing number of immigrants from Mexico and Central America. This group has come to replace the blacks that were at the bottom of the manufacturing ladder. This brief overview of labor representation shows why race is critical to understanding industrial economies.

As new groups enter into the industrial economy, they replace the previous group. Race is critical here because those that replace the older group come from distinct races. In the case of labor, race is important because those groups at the bottom of the manufacturing ladder work for the lowest prices. It is important for planners to understand this history in planning for industrial economies because in order to transform and impact these economies, planners must know the root causes of the problems that industrial economies are faced with. If planners are not aware of the history of industrial economies, all of the solutions they propose will only band-aid issues. Planners should work to develop long-term solutions.

In the Newly Developing Economies stream, race is paramount. In most countries that are considered to be Third World, they are countries where the majority have or are experiencing colonization, economic, cultural or political, by the United States and European countries.

Although race is a social construct, people that have been colonized and subjected to slavery or adverse situations because of their ethnicity have become stigmatized. In addition, people of color that have been colonized have been subject to many of the worst economic conditions because not only was their land taken from them and they were enslaved, they had very little means to escape their economic situation and were trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty where they would work, and a European colonizer would reap all of the benefits of their work, and give them mere pennies to survive. The psychological impact of this situation continues to be felt today. Many European countries still are in control of many colonized countries. Interestingly enough, even countries that have declared their independence from countries that colonized them are still heavily dependent upon European or Western aid for survival.

²⁴⁴ 1st Year, MA Student, CDBE

As racial and economic subordination was the result of colonization, it is that race and racism be examined when discussing countries in the Developing World. Planners must include in depth analyses on the impacts of colonization, slavery and imperialism. These factors are the basis for the strife that many developing countries are experiencing today.

4. Transportation Policy and Planning

a. Description

Transportation policy and planning comprises the whole context of economic, social, and political actions that determine the distribution of development, goods, and services. Economic development planning, environmental planning, housing and community development, and urban design are all linked by travel and transportation systems. Transportation access significantly affects quality of life, and differences in opportunities between rich and poor, men and women, young and old, and people of different racial, ethnic and social origins. Thus, the analysis of transportation policy includes questions of production and distribution – how efficiently services are provided, who pays for those services, and who benefits from them. Such transportation questions, in turn, lead to more fundamental ones about the functions of planning and public policy.

A leading center of transportation policy research in the U.S., our program is especially strong in the study of transportation/land use relationships; the analysis of transportation as a tool of economic development, transportation-politics, transportation-finance, and transportation-environmental issues. Our program emphasizes developing a broad, multi-faceted understanding of historical, spatial, economic, social, and environmental factors affecting transportation issues. Graduates of this program tend to work for regional, state, and federal planning agencies, international and advocacy organizations, and for transportation consulting firms.

The Transportation Policy and Planning area of concentration gives students a broad overview of current transportation policy and planning issues. While the program emphasizes domestic urban transportation policy, all aspects of transportation policy and planning- inter-city, international, goods movement, and so on- are covered. Students learn about the relationships between transportation systems and metropolitan development patterns; they debate policies to address traffic congestion and urban sprawl; they explore proposals for high-tech traveler information systems within cities and high-speed rail systems between cities; they use travel forecasting models to predict travel behavior; they study the relationships between transportation access, poverty, and economic development; they learn about transportation finance at the federal, state, and local levels; and they examine policies and programs that aim to reduce the environmental costs of mobility. Many of the transportation courses include field visits to meet with transportation policy experts at places like the Port of Long Beach, Union Station/Gateway Center, and the Los Angeles International Airport. Since 2000, student-initiated Comparative Transportation Policy courses have taken students to Berlin, London, and Mumbai (Bombay) for a week of field trips and meetings with local transportation and planning officials. In addition, the UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies offers transportation policy research opportunities for dozens of students each

year, sponsors an ongoing lecture series that brings important transportation speakers from government, research, and private industry to the UCLA campus, and provides fellowship support to over a dozen graduate transportation policy and planning students each year.

b. CRT Analysis

The focus of transportation planning is how transportation infrastructure impacts the development of geographic areas. At UCLA the department focuses on how negative externalities of existing infrastructure can be remedied through design, efficiency, linkages to other land uses (particularly those related to housing and economic development), and appropriately assessing travel behavior.

Much of the transportation coursework is exemplary of the rational planning model. For example, the transportation engineering emphasis is representative of the technical expertise “required” to effectively develop transportation infrastructure. Transportation economics centers on major transportation financing agencies at the federal, state, local levels related to infrastructure development and sustainable pricing mechanisms. The assessment of travel behavior focuses primarily on travel forecasting analysis in order to design and develop measures of “adequate” transportation infrastructure. Sustainability centers on how transportation infrastructure creates negative externalities while encouraging alternative transportation methods such as pedestrian linkages, bicycle planning, (heavy and light) rail, and “green transportation planning.” Spatial design focuses on how transportation relates to the built environment.

Despite the array of transportation planning and analysis concentrations, the intersection of race and class within these focuses is underscored. Some examples of incorporating CRT issues into transportation is to analyze how negative externalities are created by highway and roads development in communities of color, and examining public health issues within the “sustainability” discourse. Examine travel forecasting specifically for users of color due to the fact that the majority of ridership in metropolitan cities are people of color. Examine the dilemma of transportation financing (i.e how to determine what fare is appropriate for users) as it relates to users of color in the contexts of transit dependency and motorists. Examine transportation design in communities of color while analyzing the geographic impacts of locating specific transit in neighborhoods, TOD and the potential for escalating gentrification in urban communities of color. Center discourse around who is in fact a user of a transportation system, while explicitly underscoring race as the major determinant.

It is problematic to place transportation students/planners, whether or not they are of color, within the framework of design and analysis without discussing that the actual transportation planner may be distinctly different than the user. Neutrality and “objectivity” is non-existent in transportation planning. There is no homogeneity within users of either automobile or public transit systems.

According to a second year transportation urban planning student of color, the department does analyze patterns of the disproportional impacts of transportation

systems. “They will do a good job of presenting the facts to students, but will never bring up the issue of race within those discussions. Instead, they tend to leave it up to the students to make their own deductions, when there are clearly racial issues at the root of these major transportation problems.” Clearly, the department should be more proactive to bring up race during class discussions. This way, when students transition into the field as practitioners, they will know what the real issues are, and work to create structural changes instead of skirting around what should be the true aim of transportation planning, which is to create a more socially just society.

Recommendations for the Department of Urban Planning

In conclusion, this report is intended to illustrate that there is a need for CRT in the Department of Urban Planning. Below are recommendations according to each of the components that we sought to analyze:

Student Body Recommendations

- Instead of using the GRE as a primary criterion in the admissions process, practical work experience should be a greater factor in determining who is best fit for the program.
- Faculty mentorship should become a more structured relationship so that students have added support to complete their program. A mentorship program that requires faculty to maintain regular meetings to check in with their student mentee will help a student's progression for the duration of the program.
- Faculty must cultivate a CRT framework. Courses that facilitate a critical race framework enable progressive students of color to expand on and develop alternative points of view to solve planning problems.
- There needs to be aggressive recruitment of people of color to the program. In this program, underrepresented people of color should be particularly sought after including people of Asian, South Asian, or Middle Eastern ethnicity. The latter three should be emphasized during recruitment in addition to Latinos and African Americans.
- In the future, the Department and CRT working group should jointly analyze scholarship and funding distribution dedicated to students of color.
- The Department should institutionalize and support researching CRT curriculum by providing significant funding for students and faculty.

Faculty Recommendations

- Our Staffing Working Group should be trained to understand the various biases, assumptions, and stereotypes that influence their perceptions, judgments, and decisions
- A strategic way to increase faculty diversity is to create an aggressive plan prior to faculty openings that takes into account any aspects that are lacking in the curriculum
- We need to make priorities, make a case for what kinds of professors and what research interests are needed to support a racially just education
- When faculty of color leave the institution, an analysis of the loss of knowledge is necessary. In addition the department should implement a way to fill the gap in the curriculum until a replacement is found
- Department should aggressively recruit faculty of color
- Support faculty of color to work in positions of power in the decision making process
- Support faculty who work in Los Angeles communities and do scholarly work on critical race theory and within communities of color
- Understand issues that constrain faculty of color and adopt mechanisms to retain faculty of color
- The Department should support and recruit graduate students of color to continue on to doctoral programs to increase the number of people of color in academia.

Curriculum Recommendations

ALL Urban Planning courses should address race in a manner that will educate students on issues of race, but also teach students how to effectively deal with communities of color. Thus, curriculum needs to be changed to be reflective of that and be sensitive to the needs of the stakeholders of the communities planners will be working for. To this effect we offer these recommendations concerning Pedagogy, Curriculum, and Faculty:

Critical Race Pedagogy

- A Stated objective in Planning Pedagogy should be to understand, critique, and dismantle the ways in which planning has perpetuated white supremacy.
- Faculty should create a safe space to talk about race and white privilege in the classroom.
- Use students and community narratives as the starting point for discussions about planning issues.
- Provide a structure to analyze course content with a critical race lens.
- Recognize that as planners we are educators, and that the way in which we are taught will affect the way in which we plan.

Curriculum

- Curriculum for courses, specifically courses that deal with Planning from a historical and policy standpoint, need to incorporate narratives. Narratives are critical because they provide a personal connection to planning processes via reflection, and thus reaffirm a student's individual motive and goal for creating change. It shows practitioners how their individual work impacts the lives of communities and stakeholders.
- Curriculum should continually reflect upon the extent to which current class content such as projects, readings, underlying theories, and ideas are products of a history of colonization and whether the class content actually effectuates change within current hegemonic structures. The curriculum should provide more than an acquaintance with mainstream theories, or access to the regular urban planning problem solving toolkit, it should deconstruct these perspectives in order to push the envelope and effectuate social justice.

Faculty

- Faculty research interests should incorporate how structural racial inequalities and white supremacy have impacted urban development thus far, and how these inequalities can be addressed in communities of color for social justice. This should include actively seeking faculty that have experience with organizing and mobilizing communities of color for change.
- Until more faculty of color are hired, the current faculty should be trained on how to incorporate issues of racial inequalities in their courses. Faculty need to move past their ideologies in liberalism and meritocracy to understand structural inequalities in the context of the white supremacy.

Appendix A

Gender & Race in the UCLA Urban Planning Program

TENURE & TRACKED FACULTY			
Faculty	14	100%	
Women Faculty	7	50%	
Faculty of Color	3	21%	
Women Faculty of Color	1	7%	

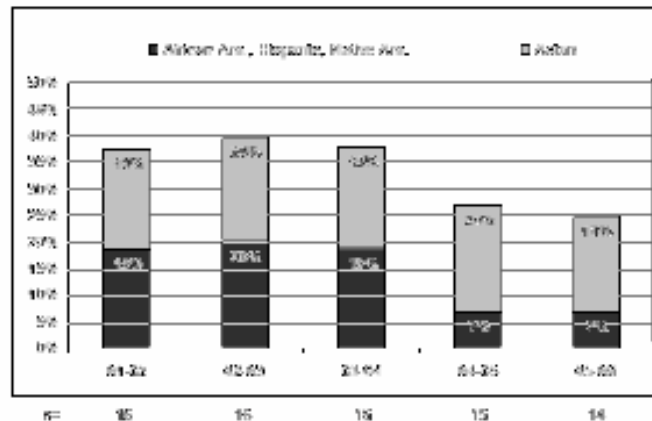
PRACTITIONER & NON-TENURE FACULTY			
Faculty	7	100%	
Women Faculty	3	43%	
Faculty of Color	1	14%	
Women Faculty of Color	0	0%	

0% Joint Appointments			
Faculty	6	100%	
Women Faculty	3	50%	
Faculty of Color	3	50%	
Women Faculty of Color	0	0%	

TOTAL FACULTY			
Faculty	27	100%	
Women Faculty	13	48%	
Faculty of Color	7	26%	
Women Faculty of Color	1	4%	

*** Based on adjustments to figures presented in the Urban Planning Department's Report to the Planning Accreditation Board

Faculty of Color 2001/2002 – 2005/2006



Source: UCLA Diversity Statistics 2006-2007. Retrieved May 31, 2007 from http://faculty.diversity.ucla.edu/06library/data/docs/2006-07MngrphCmpusWide_w.pdf

DEPARTMENTAL UNDERUTILIZATION OF REGULAR RANK FACULTY 2006-2007

	Women	African American	Asian	Hispanic	Native American	Total Known Diversity
# of Faculty	14.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	37.0
% of Faculty	37.5%	2.7%	2.7%	13.0%	2.7%	
Estimate of Availability	30.0%	4.0%	2.0%	2.2%	0.4%	
Expected # of Faculty	12.0	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.2	
Underutilization	none	-0.6	none	none	none	

Source: UCLA Diversity Statistics 2006-2007. Retrieved May 31, 2007 from

http://faculty.diversity.ucla.edu/06library/data/docs/2006-07MngrphCmpusWide_w.pdf

*** For the School of Public Affairs (SPA), availability estimates were based on data from National Opinion Research Center on doctorates in specialties of current SPA faculty.

APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

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Critical Race Theory in the School of Education

Elizabeth González
Ana K. Soltero Lopez

Critical Race Theory and Education

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Critical Race Theory and Education

Executive Summary

The purpose of this paper is to explain and argue the importance of incorporating Critical Race Theory (CRT) in Education. In essence, the intention of this paper is to do a critical analysis of our graduate program, while incorporating the tenets and methodology of CRT. We will be starting off our paper with an examination and analysis of the role/presence of CRT within the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies (GSEIS) at UCLA, while specifically focusing on the Masters cohort within the Social Sciences and Comparative Education (SSCE) division and even further, only focusing on the faculty, curriculum and students of the Race and Ethnic Studies emphasis.

Literature Review

Our report will also offer a literature review of CRT work in Education. In this section we discuss the five tenets of CRT as they pertain to the field of Education.

- 1) The Intercentricity of Race and Racism.
- 2) The Challenge to Dominant Ideology.
- 3) The Commitment to Social Justice.
- 4) The Centrality of Experiential Knowledge.
- 5) The Interdisciplinary Perspective.

Our Narratives

Since we are both current students in the department and in this particular division, we are each providing our narratives about our experiences as Masters Student of Color in the Graduate School of Education. Each of us will recount our experiences as students studying race and ethnic studies while continuously being discriminated against within our courses and department in general.

Faculty of Color

In addition, we will be providing a breakdown of how many Faculty of Color are in the Education Department, more specifically, we point on the number of faculty doing work on Race and Ethnic Studies, while also discussing their current and future roles. We also provide a list of what we believe our program is lacking and/or missing in terms of faculty and faculty research.

Student Body

In another section we provide a breakdown of how many Students of Color are in the Education Department, more specifically, we point to the number of students who chose the Race and Ethnic Studies specialization. We also provide a gender and ethnicity breakdown of students.

Curriculum

In our section on curriculum, we start off by citing information found on the 2005-2006 SSCE Division Handbook (i.e. Program description, Race and Ethnic Studies in Education, Masters Program, and SSCE courses). At the end of this section, we provide our analysis and critique of the information found in the handbook.

Conclusion

We will also offer our perspectives on the use of CRT, such as the strengths and limitations of its methodologies, and potency, while also discussing some of the confines that CRT has yet to surpass. Lastly, we will conclude our paper by providing a glance at the educational problems that have plagued our schools and have advertently harmed Students of Color. We conclude our paper with a look at how CRT has and will continue to challenge educational institutions, standards, and practices.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the use of Critical Race Theory (CRT) within the field of education, specifically, we will be analyzing how and whether this theory is used commonly within our graduate program. Both of us are Masters Students in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). The areas of study housed under this graduate program also have various divisions as well. For the purposes of this paper, we will only be looking at our division, Social Sciences and Comparative Education (SSCE). Even further, we will be focusing in on our concentration, Race and Ethnic Studies. In doing so, we will examine the use of CRT literature in our specialization.. In addition, we will also be discussing the presence, or lack thereof of Faculty and Students of Color. Also, we will be analyzing the role and use of CRT in our curriculum. We will be closing our paper by providing insight on some limitations of CRT. To set a foundation on the influence of CRT on educational research, we have provided a brief literature review on educational research that uses CRT. Additionally, we have provided our narratives which discuss our experiences as current graduate students at UCLA's Education Department.

Literature Review: The Five Tenets of Critical Race Theory in Education

Yosso (2006) explains that Solórzano has identified five tenets of CRT that are as follows:

- 6) The *Intercentricity* of Race and Racism, which states the “race and racism is permanent in the United States and a discussion on race within CRT begins the discussion on the construction of race in the United States history and how the system of racism functions to oppress People of Color while privileging Whites. A CRT analyses in education centralizes race and racism, while also focusing on racisms’ intersections with other forms of subordination, based on gender, class, sexuality, language, culture, immigration status, phenotype, accent, and surname..”
- 7) The Challenge to Dominant Ideology, argues that traditional claims of race neutrality and objectivity act as a camouflages for self-interest power and privileged of dominant groups in U.S. society. A CRT framework in education challenges claims that educational system offers objectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity. A critical race praxis (practice informed by CRT) question approaches to schooling that pretend to be neutral or standardized while implicitly privileging Whites, U.S.-born, monolingual, English speaking-students.”
- 8) The Commitment to Social Justice “is dedicated to advancing social justice agenda in schools and society acknowledging schools as political places and teaching as a political act. CRT views education as a tool of eliminating all forms of subordination and empower oppressed groups-to transform society.”
- 9) The Centrality of Experiential Knowledge, CRT “finds that the knowledge of People of Color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination. This knowledge is viewed as strength and views the experiences of Students of Color as a form of data and oral traditions, *corridos*²⁴⁵, poetry, film, *actos*²⁴⁶, humor, and narratives.”
- 10) The Interdisciplinary Perspective, CRT “analyses racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia from a historical and interdisciplinary perspective...CRT goes beyond boundaries in order to gather the knowledge that is often times silenced by dominant society.” (p. 7).

²⁴⁵ Mexican songs that have been used over the years to tell a story as a form of oral history/tradition.

²⁴⁶ Acting pieces that are were to tell a story during the 1960s by the United Farm Workers.

Our Narratives

Elizabeth González

As I think of my experience in education as a Chicana in graduate school, I cannot ignore the influence of my elementary years. I realize the lack of resources in my schools was due to the population and demographics. My first experience with racism took place while I sat in the nurse's office (who was a White woman). I remember being questioned regarding my health and skin color. The nurse would ask me, "Do you have anemia? You look real pale, do you feel o.k.?" As a child I had no idea what these questions meant. My race consciousness has significantly grown since I was 6 or 7. I now realize that they (the nurse and who ever sent me there) were questioning my ethnicity because Mexicans/Chicanas who lived at Estrada Courts Public Housing Projects are not supposed to be light skinned...a light skin Mexicana was just abnormal.

During my undergraduate education I majored in Chicana Chicano Studies, therefore I didn't really experience racism. My undergraduate career really helped me established my racial, political, gender, sexuality, and class consciousness. As a graduate student at UCLA, race and racism is extremely visible. I walk the university without being able to see my own brown heritage amongst other students and faculty. The diversity problem at UCLA is very apparent which is why I feel that so much racism and sexism exists. I've sat in classes where professor make comments or ask questions regarding Mexicans/Latinas/os, Chicanas/os and automatically look at me to answer their questions. I'm bothered to see how most White people assume I'm a cultural representative of Brown People. Although there are times when students challenge the professors by proving another lens and back up their challenge with proof, they are still dismissed and not taken seriously. In the past I have simply given up and become silent. My experiences in the Graduate School of Education have been quite sour when dealing with these types of issues. Speaking about issues of race and racism is often times uncomfortable and professors fail to recognize the racism that exists within our society. There have times were my grades have suffered as a consequence of me speaking honestly about issues of racism and colonialism. Nevertheless, I feel like I need to bring up these issues especially if people plan to teach.

Unfortunately racism will always be a part of my life, career, and education, however I feel that as People of Color we need to question such racist remarks otherwise we internalize it and take it home to our families. Racism affects many aspects of our lives and we need to know how to fight these things without it hurting our physical, emotional, and psychological health.

My experiences as a Person of Color in my department have taken me on an emotional rollercoaster. In my department you will find a diverse group, with a good number of People of Color, therefore, making me feel much more comfortable. The first few days of classes, it was obvious that the Students of Color were befriending each other and stayed close to one another. Seeing the number of colored faces did not make me feel alienated as I had felt during my undergraduate career. In the first weeks of classes, I was very happy to be at UCLA. I met a lot of cool people and was very excited about my courses, however, as my comfort level started to settle, my first quarter turned out to be bad. Not surprising me at all, when conversations about race evolved, the atmosphere of the class changed, as well as the attitudes of some classmates and professors. In two courses, I presented on CRT. As a presenter I felt confident and comfortable with the material but that is not the type of response I received from the audience. The first presentation was done in a required introductory course for my division. The goal of the course was to cover the work being done by the entire faculty within the division. Every week, we had a different faculty member come in and present on their current work during the first half of class. During the second half of class, a group of students would present additional material covering the topic of interest for the faculty presenter. A group of us signed up to present on Danny Solórzano's work. We worked hard on our presentation and even came up with interactive activities for the rest of the class. The first activity consisted of having students reflect on their first encounter with race and/or racism. We wanted students to write down their experience and their reaction to that experience. As presenters, we offered our stories and some classmates also volunteered as well. After our presentation we introduced another activity we called "forced corners" in which we had four corners with signs that read: strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree and disagree. We then read the following statements:

- 1) Discrimination within racial groups only benefits white supremacy.
- 2) UCLA creates a safe space to discuss racial issues.
- 3) I have been in a class where I feel oppressed by a professor.
- 4) Reverse racism exists.
- 5) Racism is not only a People of Color problem.

After all students including the professor were at a corner, we asked them to share their reasoning for being in the corner they chose. It was interesting to see the racial divide for most questions. In opposite corners you would mostly find a group of Colored People and directly across would be majority White students and the White professor. Before class ended that day, the professor closed with a message as if to guarantee that class trumps race! My colleagues and I were furious and could not believe he had made such a comment. I felt he had totally undermined our presentation.

On a separate occasion, in my qualitative methods course my group also presented on CRT and other critical theories. At the end of our presentation after the question and answer session, the professor (White female) stood up and with a loud tone asked, "Who here feels oppressed?" There was a moment of silence and as I looked around the classroom I noticed that people had expressions of confusion and discomfort. I was in shock and could not believe she had asked such a question. No one was responding and so she took the initiative to

point people out. She asked a White female if she felt oppressed. As the student tried to answer, she stuttered and was not sure of what to say. The professor then said that none of us in that room should feel oppressed because we were all sitting in an ivory tower. Once again, I was enraged and could not believe the comments.

These two experiences occurred within my first quarter as a graduate student at UCLA (what a welcoming!) and I have to admit that they depressed me, discouraged me and impacted my perceptions of this university, and academia as a whole. My very reason and motivation to be in graduate school came from the youth I closely worked with. The struggles, sacrifices and obstacles that I saw these Students of Color face on a daily basis inspired me to work within this field so that I could make their voices heard. I was just as frustrated as they were and wanted to make positive use of the anger and frustrations and decided that attending graduate school would help me do just that. Being here, there are times when I feel hopeless and overpowered, but the interactions with my colleagues and some supportive faculty always remind me of why I am here. Needless to say, it is upsetting to think that this internal struggle is an ongoing one. I am sure that if I was White, I would not have these day to day struggles. If it was not for the support I get from Faculty and Students of Color in my program, I am not sure how much I would be able to endure. It is truly because of the ongoing encouragement I get that I am staying strong and continuing my work on race. Next year, I will be entering the doctoral program and will continue to pursue issues of race in education. I have gotten this far, now there is no turning back.

Faculty of Color

As we mentioned earlier, the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at UCLA has many divisions with sub-specializations. The following information is based on the Social Science and Comparative Education (SSCE) division with a Race and Ethnic Studies specialization. This division consists of nine faculty members of which four are Faculty of Color; out of the four Faculty of Color, only two are in Race and Ethnic Studies however, one is retiring which leaves Race and Ethnic Studies with only one Faculty of Color. The current situation of faculty in Race and Ethnic Studies specialization is one that is lacking several things. 1, there isn't much discussion on what is being done to replace the one faculty leaving. 2. There are no Women of Color Faculty members even though the majority of students in Race and Ethnic Studies specialization are Women of Color. 3. The division is missing African American faculty that focus on African American issues in education. 4. The division is also missing someone who focuses on Native American and immigration issues.

Student Body

According to UCLA's Education Department Office of Student Services (OSS), for the 2006-2007 academic year, there was a total of 133 applicants for UCLA Master's Program in Education and Information Studies. Out of those 133 applicants, 61 were admitted and out of those accepted, only 33 matriculated. As we mentioned earlier, we will only be concentrating on the SSCE cohort, specifically only looking at students who chose the Race and Ethnic Studies emphasis.

The current Master's cohort within the SSCE division consists of 15 students. Out of those 15 students, 7 have chosen their emphasis to be Race and Ethnic Studies. The majority of the student body in the Masters cohort is Students of Color, with an overrepresentation of women. There are 3 Chicana women in the cohort. There is only 1 Male of Color, 2 African American women and 1 Asian American woman. We see a lack of gender equity and a tremendous need for more Males of Color, especially Asian and African American males.

Curriculum

To provide you with more information in terms of the SSCE description and curriculum, below I have provided information that was found in the 2005-2006 SSCE Division Handbook.

Description

"The division of SSCE is concerned with issues of social, cultural, historical and comparative/international context of education. The division is multidisciplinary and brings various methodologies and vocabularies—discourse analysis, agency, representation and structure—as well classical approaches to the study of education. The faculty of the division encompasses numerous perspectives and orientations including postmodernism, feminism, ethnic studies, critical theory, critical race theory, and cultural studies. The division shares its commitment to theory with an equal commitment to empirical research, policy, and practice.

That is, our concern with theory does not preclude but rather implies a concern with policy and practice as well, both in terms of formal education (e.g. classroom research), informal education (e.g. mass media research and representation) and non-formal education (e.g. participatory action research, popular education).

The division has defined four areas of inquiry. These four areas of sub-specialization are:

- 1) philosophical/historical studies in education
- 2) cultural studies in education
- 3) race and ethnic studies in education
- 4) comparative/international studies in education

Academic preparation in the SSCE division is designed to prepare students:

- a) To teach and conduct research in philosophical/historical, cultural, race, ethnic, gender and comparative/international studies in education.
- b) To act as specialists for U.S. and overseas programs, non-governmental agencies, and multilateral and bilateral technical assistance agencies.
- c) To engage in philosophical, historical, critical theoretical, cross-cultural, comparative, and social science analysis of educational issues in the United States and in other areas of the world.
- d) To provide resource assistance for institutions and programs concerned with cultural studies, media technology, critical pedagogy, and multicultural, ethnic and cross-cultural education.”

Race and Ethnic Studies in Education

“The program in race and ethnic studies in education is an interdisciplinary program of educational research, practice, and policy that focuses on racial and ethnic minorities in the United States and abroad. The program explores the relationships between educational practices and structures (i.e. the social and cultural context) and the production and reproduction of racial, ethnic, gender and class inequalities and conflicts. The program recognizes that educational institutions are among the most significant arenas in which these topics can be explored.

The race and ethnic studies in education program will focus on such areas as:

- 1) Analyzing existing and developing theoretical frameworks to examine the educational experiences of racial and ethnic minorities.
- 2) Analyzing existing and developing methodologies for conducting educational research in racial and ethnic minority settings.
- 3) Examining the interaction between theory, methods, and practice in racial and ethnic minority educational settings.
- 4) Training for leadership in setting the educational research and policy agenda for racial and ethnic minorities.”

Master of Arts Degree Program

“The Master of Arts degree in social science and comparative education is a 9 course program. The program has 4 specializations.

Division course requirements:

- A. Division core course ED. 204A from the student's specialization interests.
- B. Specialization core course requirements: students must complete two of the following four specialization core courses.
 - 1. ED. 206A: Introduction to philosophical studies in education
 - 2. ED. 270: Introduction to cultural studies
 - 3. ED. 204D: Minority education in cross-cultural perspective
 - 4. ED. 204B: Introduction to comparative education
- C. Sub-division specialization course requirements: students must complete two courses in this section.
- D. Methods course requirements: students must complete two courses in this section (See OSS for list of current methods courses).
- E. Elective courses: student must complete two courses in this section."

List of All SSCE Courses

Out of about 35 courses available in the SSCE division, there are only 6 courses whose descriptions mention discussion about race and other interrelated factors such as class, gender, sexual orientation, etc. We have only 4 classes that focus respectively on African Education, Asian Education, Asian Americans and Education, and Chicana/o/Hispanic and Education. Because we have such a small number of courses focusing or discussing race and racism, all of the members within this emphasis have had to look outside our department for such courses. We all agree that this is unfair and unjust and some members within this division have decided to take this matter to another level. Currently, there is a group of SSCE Master and Doctoral students who are writing a letter to the division chair and department alluding to the very issues we are pinpointing in this paper. One of the demands is to offer more courses which will discuss race and racism. Our graduate program prides itself as one of the best Education programs in the nation, while also claiming to be guided by social justice. As we can see from the divisional description in the student handbook, CRT is listed as one of the methodologies used within this school. It also states the importance of conducting research within racial and ethnically underserved communities, but yet, we only find 4 classes that do this. As mentioned, our Masters program is a 9 course program, but we are only able to find 4 classes that are focused on race and ethnicity, meaning that we will have to seek classes outside of our department. Even with these 4 listed courses, there is no guarantee that these courses will be offered. Our experiences within this division, and in particular our specialization, show us that CRT and race and ethnic studies are not valued. We find that there is no equity among the four specializations. In comparison to race and ethnic studies, the other specializations are more highly valued than ours.

Strengths and Limitations of Using CRT

Critical Race Theory is especially pertinent in the analysis of educational institutions. For example, it allows students the opportunity to share and analyze their personal stories (narratives) in order to be critical of the educational system, race, and racism. Critical Race Theory empowers students in the fight against institutional oppression of People of Color. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) state that "the strengths of Critical Race Theory and LatCrit theory

and its methodology is the validation and combination of the theoretical, empirical, and experiential knowledge” (p. 489). Although CRT provides strengths, there are some limitations to CRT. For example, a CRT framework is one that seeks reform in law and policy to include People of Color in equal civil rights (like education for example), however, the institutions of law are part of the United States government that were historically designed to neglect the needs of People of Color, which excluded them from the full rights of citizenship until the 20th century (Omni and Winant, 1994). Some scholars state that CRT fails to acknowledge the power of a capitalist society. Although CRT attempts to look at class issues, it does not provide tools for a comprehensive analysis of the benefits Whites enjoy from the economic exploitation of People of Color. Scholars like Darder and Torres (2004) state that, “the lack of a theoretically informed account of racism and capitalist social relations, Critical Race Theory has done little to further our understanding of political economy of racism and radicalization” (p.99). Although Darder and Torres are correct in concluding that CRT must take a closer look at the structure of capitalism, CRT is not an ambiguous theory when analyzing “institutional racism.” CRT uses terms like “institutional racism” in order to demonstrate how institution uphold white supremacy, while also sharing and validating the experiences of People of Color.

Conclusion (Suggestions)

Racism in the United States is an institutional power created that benefits Whites at the expense of People of Color. The construction of race and racism results in inadequate education, lack of resources within schools and community, and vocational training rather than college preparation for Students of Color. In other words, race is a white supremacist tactic used to maintain power by oppressing People of Color. Critical Race Theory in education has demonstrated to be a productive theory because it grants Students of Color the opportunity to provide counterstories regarding their educational experience to contest racism. Although some scholars argue that it has limitations, it is a valid methodology in explaining and analyzing the experiences of Students of Color. Critical Race Theory is a progressive theory that continues to expand and take on issues of sexuality, immigration, gender, and gentrification. Critical Race Theory allows researchers to apply this theory on issues of relevant education for Students of Color. Critical Race Theory can indeed be used to inform policy makers of issues affecting Students of Color and their education. Critical Race Theory allows policy makers to view race and racism from Students of Color’s perspectives because their experience with racism provides a better understanding of how to undo racism. Finally, Critical Race Theory allows students to create change by unapologetically attacking race and racism.

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Appendix

UP 209 SYLLABUS Critical Race Theory and Public Affairs Spring 2007 Student-initiated Course

This is a student initiated, and led course. All students enrolled will participate as “student-teachers/teacher students” to create dialogue, and share collective responsibility to achieve the course goals.

Course Description: This course will focus on the foundation of Critical Race Theory (CRT) as applied to urban planning, policy and social work. Rather than surveying issues and concepts within a "race context," this course attempts to look at the causes and symptoms of institutional/structural racism, societal racial hierarchies and its application within the three fields of work. The first half the course will focus on understanding Critical Race Theory and the second half will focus on applied methods. The course will include guest speakers and students will participate in the Critical Race Theory conference sponsored by the UCLA School of Law. At the end of the course, students collectively create a "working document" to set the foundation for a CRT specialization within the School of Public Affairs.

Required Text: Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, ed., Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge, 2nd Edition, 2000

NOTE: Additional articles will be added on-line throughout the course.

Course Requirements: The final grade will be based on individual class participation, and the final project.

1. **Attendance and participation:** You are expected to be a prepared active participant in class discussion and developing the course.
2. **Weekly assignments:** Each week students will be required to submit short reading responses (one to two paragraphs). Write ups should reflect understanding of the material, questions that arose from the reading and discussion points for the class. Responses must be posted to the online class message board by midnight the day before class.
3. **Group Project:** During the quarter students will choose their topic of interest, based on a list of topics identified within the field of Urban Planning. Each group will be assigned to present and lead discussion for one class session. The presentation will include:
 - A description of the topic
 - A survey and analysis of existing approaches and practices to the topic – this may include looking at what forms of public intervention and policy exist.
 - Identifying what issues are not being addressed in the current methodology and what the solutions would be through a critical race lens.

Your group will be responsible for providing a written analysis of the presentation. In addition, your group is required to compile a CRT literature review of your topic. Your group should also provide three to four readings related to your topic a week to prepare your colleagues for your presentation. (This should be done a week in advance to your presentation). Your analyses should be copied and distributed to your colleagues at the beginning of class on the scheduled day. Your group should be prepared to discuss and answer questions on the materials and to ask questions on the topics covered in the readings. The written analysis of the presentation will be in preparation for the final product for the course. We want to emphasize that the goal of the course is to create a working document and build curriculum that can set the foundation for CRT in our disciplines.

4. **Final Product:** This is an extension of the materials created for the presentation. *Idea is to create a literature review and collection of our writings.*

Grading

30% Weekly Responses (8)

30% Presentations

40% Final Projects

Method of evaluation will be discussed during week one.

WEEK 1

Introduction: CRITICAL RACE THEORY: KEY WRITINGS (INTRODUCTION)

Introduction of the Course

What is CRT?

Conceptual Analysis and Legal Example

How is to CRT applied in planning, policy, social welfare and other disciplines.

Week 2

Discussion of Final Product for the Class.

Readings to be read by week 2:

Derrick Bell: Property Rights in Whiteness: Their Legacy, Their Economic Costs

Cheryl Harris: Whiteness as Property

Ian Haney Lopez, "The Legal Construction of Race," White By Law

Gary Peller, "Race Consciousness," Duke Law Journal, Vol. 1990, No. 4, Frontiers of Legal Thought III. (Sep., 1990), pp. 758-847.

David Roediger, "From the Social Construction of Race to the Abolition of Whiteness," Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Class, and Working Class History

James Baldwin, "White Man's Guilt," Black on White: Black Writers on What it Means to be White

Week 3

Guest Lecturer: Saul Sarabia

Richard Delgado, "Story Telling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative"
Acting White

Patricia J. Williams, "Alchemical Notes: Reconstructing Ideals from Deconstructed Rights."

Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, "Images of the Outside in American Law and Culture: Can Free Expression Remedy Systemic Social Ills?"

Lisa C. Ikemoto, "Traces of the Master Narrative in the Story of African-American/Korean-American Conflict: How We Constructed 'Los Angeles.'"

Richard Delgado, "'The Imperial Scholar' Revisited: How to Marginalize Outsider Writing, Ten Years Later."

Robin D. Barnes, "Race Consciousness: The Thematic Content of Racial Distinctiveness in Critical Race Scholarship," Harvard Law Review, Vol. 103, No. 8. (Jun., 1990), pp. 1864-1871.

Week 4

Guest Lecturer: Saul Sarabia

Readings in Preparation Saul's Lecture

Cheryl Harris- Critical Race Theory: An Introduction

Cheryl Harris- Whitewashing Race, Scapegoating Culture

Interdisciplinary Approaches in CRT

Juan F. Perea, "The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race"

Robert Chiang, "Toward an Asian American Legal Scholarship: Critical Race Theory, Post-Structuralism, and Narrative Space"

Ian Haney Lopez, "Race and Erasure: The Salience of Race to Latinos/as"

Devon Carbado, "Men, Feminism, and Male Heterosexual Privilege"

Additional Homework: Post Responses to readings, and "preliminary" findings based on contact professors in your department regarding readings/literature/theory that incorporates race in the study of Urban Planning/Public Policy/Social Welfare/Public Health/Education (depending on your respective department)

Week 5

Guest Lecturer: Saul Sarabia

Readings in Preparation for Saul's Lecture

Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43, No. 6. (Jul., 1991), pp. 1241-1299.

Melvin L. Oliver, et al, "The Los Angeles Rebellion: A Retrospective View," *Economic Development Quarterly*, Vol. 6 No 4, November 1992, pp. 356-372.

Saul Sarabia, "The World's Greatest Vanishing Act"

Interdisciplinary Approaches to CRT (Continued), In Critical Race Theory Reader

Darren Lenard Hutchinson, "Out Yet Unseen: A Racial Critical of Gay and Lesbian Legal Theory and Political Discourse"

Manning Marable, "Beyond Racial Politics: Toward a Liberation Theory of Multicultural Democracy"

Gloria J. Ladson-Billings, "Preparing Teachers for Diverse Student Populations: A Critical Race Theory Perspective," *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 24. (1999), pp. 211-247.

Week 6

Writing Assignment: "Writing our Narratives"

Please write your narrative pertaining to your experience in your academic department. We want to provide everyone with the opportunity to incorporate their storied into our class project. Because this is an opportunity to share your story, the following questions are intended to guide your narrative, not necessarily define it. (or meant for you to list your answers to each question)

What has your experience been in your department as a person of color and/or as a person committed to anti-subordination/anti-racism/intersectional work?

How has your experience impacted your interactions and relationships with other students and faculty in your department?

Has your experience impacted your scholarly/academic endeavors within department? For example, research, course writing assignments, group projects, capstone projects, etc.

How has your experience been in your department as a person of color and/or as a person committed to anti-subordination/anti-racism/intersectional work impacted what your goals are after graduation?

Week 7

Student Presentations

Assigned Reading

Jerry Kang, Trojan Horses of Race

Week 8

Student Presentations: Reinterpreting Urban Planning, Social Welfare, Public Policy and other disciplines

Week 9 – Holiday

Class will be rescheduled

Student Presentations: Reinterpreting Urban Planning, Social Welfare, Public Policy and other disciplines

Week 10

Student Presentations: Reinterpreting Urban Planning, Social Welfare, Public Policy and other disciplines

If you have any administrative issues, please contact Professor Leo Estrada @ leobard@ucla.edu