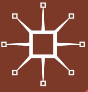

PAN-AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGIES

A Psychology of Liberation and Peace

For the Greater Good

Chalmer E. F. Thompson

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Pan-African Psychologies

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African people and their descendants from various regions of the Diaspora have endured a history of struggle that has been replete in violence and structural oppression. Offering a *psychology* of Black people entails an understanding of these pervasive, sustaining structures and their intersection with culture, gender socialization, and the panoply of "isms" that shape people and contexts. What is needed as part of a knowledge base on Black psychology is an elaboration of the common themes that cut across global contexts and the conditions that characterize specific regions, all of which have bearing on individual, interpersonal, and societal functioning. More than ever, there is an urgent need for psychological scholarship that unapologetically centers race and the ever-changing role of context in understanding the history, struggles, and strengths of Black lives and communities around the globe. The series seeks to make a novel contribution to the broader area of critical & radical psychology by drawing on marginalized voices and perspectives and by engaging with the praxis agenda of improving the lives of African/Black peoples. It both seeks to critique oppression (more particularly, of the racialized, neo-colonial world) and provide prospective strategies (practices of liberation, of peace) to respond to such forms of oppression.

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To the Silver Spring badass moms: Mrs. Sarah Thompson,
Dorothy Dines, and Rosalind Brown

Series Editor's Foreword

The *Pan-African Psychologies* book series is a collection of works by psychologists and other applied professionals who have dedicated years of our lives to the meaningful improvement of Black lives. We come from societies across the globe like South Africa, Jamaica, Senegal, Uganda, and the United States. We may refer to ourselves variously as professionals in Black/African, liberation, radical, Fanonian, critical, or cultural psychology or related fields. No matter what labels we choose, our common thread is to demonstrate how we have helped evoke growth, maturity, and enhanced life quality in the lives of African-descended people. Healing, in our view, is to take into full account the centuries of bloodshed, exploitation, and corruption that influence Black lives, rather than ignore, exaggerate, or diminish these devastations. The serious study of Black well-being requires an understanding of the "whys" and the "hows"—why the devastations continue to happen, how it is continually stoked, and how Black people are enduring them in their daily lives. To us, the connection between the person and his or her environment is an irrefutable one; our focus is to liberate, therefore we insist that the healing of societies is as important as the healing of people. Racism, ethnoviolence, class exploitation, sexism and men's violence against women, and violence against people on the basis of their sexual orientation and trans identity are infestations that seep into our socialization—how we see the world and interact with people—and destroy the prospect of morally strong and just societies.

We place a high premium on fostering strong relationships with other Black people as well as all those who have been historically oppressed. We honor healthy discourses even though they can trouble the proverbial waters, and we embrace such discourses over unhealthy ones that feed into oppression. We emphasize the crucial need to build coalitions with others, professionals and laypersons alike, who are on similar quests to act strongly against injustice and violence. We pay homage to those who lead and participate in harmony-affirming rituals that help people mend generational trauma and its trajectories.

Our intent in this series is to share with readers the array of psychologies that exists throughout the African Diaspora but with a very specific focus: it is to spread knowledge about the freedom to "be" and revel in the freedom that many already experience, at least psychologically, as they experience liberation personally and professionally. In some cases, we transcend our regional spaces by addressing similarities across contexts within the Diaspora. This particular effort to engage transnationally is one we hope will inspire our readers to (continue to) act toward liberation and peace at the global level.

Indianapolis, USA — Chalmer E. F. Thompson

Preface

Life re-shapes our lenses, and ultimately re-shapes our purpose for living and loving. If we are fortunate, we embrace the re-shaping and avail ourselves of new tools to help improve the lives of others.

For many years, I have dedicated countless hours to studying, writing about, teaching and/or otherwise influencing others based on the tenets of Helms' racial identity development theory (e.g., Thompson, 2003a; Thompson, Alfred, Edwards, & Garcia, 2006; Thompson & Carter, 1997; Thompson, Murry, Harris, & Annan, 2003). Arguably the most comprehensive of the racial identity theories, Helms' (e.g., 1990a, 1990b, 1995) conceptualization is an explication of how racism is a malignancy that wreaks havoc on our lives. The theory bridges psychological concepts of cognition and perception, moral development, as well as human and organizational development. It also guides psychologists and other professionals to encourage people to think complexly and flexibly, engage in calculated risk-taking, and deliberately search for *truth* in societies that thrive on subterfuge, secrecy, and distortions. It is a theory that also challenges professionals to bridge distances that adversely influence intra-racial interactions, for example, relationships *among* Black people, as well as inter-racial interactions among all groups. This challenge is what we, the professionals, adopt for ourselves and in encourage others, like our psychotherapy clients, fellow community activists, and students. With the theory as a guide, we are equipped to act courageously to forge against the tides of racial oppression. Because the theory concerns about all aspects of human complexity besides race, it

invites us also to understand and address the intersecting aspects of identity, like gender, socioeconomic class, sexuality, and nationality as integral to our healing mission.

Fully committed to this mission, I began appreciating the importance of developmental stagnation when I personally it in my own racial identity development about 10 years into my career as a professor. It was not long after I received tenure and I began conducting a series of studies that were extensions of my pre-tenure research program. This earlier work entailed examinations of counseling interactions involving White and Black counselors paired with Black clients (Thompson & Jenal, 1994; Thompson, Worthington, & Atkinson, 1994). Whereas the earlier studies were based on one-time interactions, the new studies involved 12-session counseling interventions involving mainly White counselors with Black and Asian clients and did not include certain experimental conditions. In other words, these students allowed these dyads the opportunity to develop relationships and move much further beyond the initial discourse of problem-solving and sharing and into a commitment of time and action for the sake of the clients' progress and well-being. Potential participant-clients were selected on the invitation to talk about interpersonal problems that pertained to the racial and/or cultural matters they experienced and were willing to address with a therapist.

What my team and I discovered quite vividly was that these interactions were often characterized by a string of therapist derailments when the clients raised issues concerning racism. These derailments were not entirely surprising as we expected there to be some initial issues in applying this learning in counseling, but what became more revealing was that my efforts to assist the practitioners in creating more engaging, authentic discourse over the 12 sessions did not yield the progress for which I had hoped. These volunteer therapists, most of whom were students, were selected because they had already shown "sensitivity" to racial issues yet they showed considerable difficulty transferring their learning from supervision sessions to the actual counseling of their clients. To their credit, the therapists were aghast when I pointed out the derailments in playing the videotapes of their sessions. They tended eventually to become more silent during the sessions, explaining to me later that they were at a loss for words even after we had practiced certain exchanges during the supervision.

An equally significant finding was that throughout the course of the counseling relationship, clients expressed satisfaction with these encounters. In interviews conducted by student researchers intermittingly

across sessions, the clients sometimes acknowledged certain mishaps in the counseling interactions, but tended not to talk about the limited attention to their racial problems in these sessions (Thompson, 2003b; Thompson et al., 1997).

I dedicated time at the conclusion of the study meeting with the client-participants. I presented preliminary findings of the study and information on the relevance of their racial problems to their overall health. They seemed pleased with the information and eager to learn more and I offered them referrals. Yet the distressing realization that my research team and I reached was that these clients expressed satisfaction with the counseling and counselor in part because they were able to dodge the proverbial bullet of difficult, racial discourse. They were presented with opportunities to speak about these problems to be sure, but the efforts for understanding and doing something concrete about the dilemmas were largely absent on the part of the counselor. There also was a flow to these interactions that was experienced as normative and relatively unfettered when the discourse was absent racial issues.

These were not the only events that would rattle my racial identity development. I also witnessed other implicit contractual arrangements in a variety of interactions, for example when attending a so-called diversity training workshop where Black and White presenters colluded to elude racial qualifiers (with usage of such terms as "a diverse person," "someone who is different," and so forth), followed by a multi-racial group of audience members expressing their satisfaction with the workshop. A few Black and Latinx members attending the workshop posed questions during the question-answer period about race and ethnicity that followed a similar pattern of racial erasures and codification.

I also recalled when my husband, a local activist, told me about a meeting he attended where presenters were to give "tips" to Black parents on parenting; the presenters were White and no mention of the differences was uttered or explained (to which he stood up, told the presenters that he had trouble with the "optics" of having White people talk to Black people about parenting, and promptly left). I observed these contractual arrangements when students in my graduate classes—all of them, but most prominently among the White students, would embark zealously on social justice education while they were enrolled in my courses, yet resist struggling with new concepts related to social justice during qualifying examination and dissertation committee meetings. These students showed a willingness to struggle with other topics, but when it came to

racial issues in particular, they often spoke dismissively. In one case, a student was rescued by a committee member who decided that he, the committee member, would himself make an effort to respond to a question I posed to the student during the qualifying oral exam. This faculty member did not respond to the question well.

"Flow" became synonymous for the desire for acceptability, for the sanctity of the self whether in the presence of White or status-quo supporting people of color. That desire for acceptability simultaneously jeopardizes needed discussions on racism, and its spurious intersections with sexism, economic exploitation, and nationality. At times, the other forces besides racism were spoken about more liberally. I recall a conference of the African Studies Association when the European presenters in three separate sessions emphasized culture while eliminating race as pertinent to their research analyses and findings.

In the case of research participants, supervisees, and students in my classrooms, all were instances in which I was in the position to exercise influence. Yet it had become increasingly clear that my efforts to chart new understanding and different courses of action were merely band-aid approaches to a gaping, festering, and enormous wound.

My experiences were not entirely bleak. I have experienced gratification in working with students, consultees, fellow community activists, and colleagues whose application of theory proved most useful to them. I founded and for six years led an African-centered and social justice intervention in which mostly Black teachers showered Black children with love and attention, and who met voluntarily for hours outside their regular workday to ensure that the children were blessed with the knowledge they did not receive at their school. However, it appeared that my circle of interactions was limited and that the people who were most desperate for gritty discussions about racism were outside of my reach. I would also come to discover on reflection that those who were courageous enough to disrupt the disturbing calm of malevolence tended to rattle my personal calm. I had to admit that I too often participated in the flow even though I prided myself as someone who was fiery when it came to confronting racial injustice.

Consequently, I began many years ago heeding the words of the late poet Audre Lorde (1984) who wrote that "[t]he true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situation that we seek to escape, but the price of the oppression which is planted deep within each

of us" (p. 76). I deliberately and patiently reflected on the deep-seated oppression that had narrowed my view on racism and that affected by scholarship, teaching, and praxis.

The violence associated with Blackness is difficult for people *not* to notice, so much of my journey entailed serious contemplation about how and why *I* had managed not to notice its enormous presence. Up to about 10 years ago, I was often inclined to avoid depictions of violence on the television news and in movies. This avoidance likely emerged from my experiences in the aftermath of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination on April 4, 1968 and the riots that followed in the city in which we, my family, lived, the southeast section of Washington, DC. Our home was so close to the riots that we heard the sirens of the police cars. I remember that we all felt quite frightened and helpless, not only because of the possibility that the rioters would come to our house, but also because we felt unprotected. By the age of 11, I already had come to know that the police were not inclined to serve and protect Black people. This fear would become re-kindled again and again by my parents' insistence that my 5 siblings and I were under attack from all sides: White people, harassing police officers, "thugs," and virtually any stranger. These warnings went beyond helping to arm us against reasonable threats to our safety. It sparked in us a certain neurotic distrust of all people.

But the not-noticing was more than the outgrowth of family dynamics. It was the hegemonic insistence that Black people were instrumental in the violence that was disproportionately exacted upon us as a racial group. In the alarming cases of police action shootings of Black people, that the shooters *could* be Black can prove confusing to many, as if the subject of racism could be effectively erased away when Whites were no longer considered the culprits of these killings. Reports of Blacks who are killed by White people (often termed racial violence and classified as hate crimes) have virtually disappeared from the mainstream media, while hate crime legislation—a common-sense measure to curtail histories of physical violence based on race and/or sexual orientation, becomes difficult to pass in certain states. Practically written off in the media and in legislative circles, are efforts to make sense of the maiming and slaughter of Black people. The implicit message appears to be that Black people, are killed because they live in dangerous places (hence we mourn but "move on" when we hear of drive-bys or houses

shot up) Black people's lives hang in the balance because they are involved in drugs and therefore, they simply meet their demise because of bad choices. What these messages meant to me personally and to other Black people. I knew was that one had to elude violence by disassociating ourselves from a certain kind of Blackness. It followed then that I succumbed to the chaotic belief that I personally could elude violence by staying away from the ghettos, not protesting too loudly or with the wrong words, and by being always at the right place at the right time.

Although I had long avoided visual violent images, it actually was impossible for me to be unaware of the overwhelming violence that was being committed on Black people. Locally, I learned about police beatings and the fights that happened between the people from one particular housing project and another. On television, there was the continual drone of news stories about Black-on-Black crime, or on the international front, of tribal warfare that were at times attributed to "historical tensions." Like others, I hoped that these problems would eventually dissipate, as if the passage of time would somehow erase the violence. The not-noticing was akin to burying my head in the sand and this realization became the most painful to my self-search: violence against Black people was not only not dissipating into nothingness, but that is was not intended to end.

This reality influences personal neuroticism and family dynamics. My parents physically escaped the racialized oppression of the South where they both were raised while psychically living with it from day to day. To them, opportunities for jobs and promotions would sail by them. Their children were appraised unfairly at school in comparison to the White counterparts. My parents would encounter everything from minor slights to major offenses as they walked city streets, entered retail establishments, and encountered civil service employees, White pastors, and errant, hate-mongers who hurled racial slurs at them as they entered unsuspected unsafe places. Along with the barrage of hate, my parents wisely passed along words of wisdom on how to combat it. They were critically conscious and encouraged us to learn and embrace African traditions and history; they insisted that we internalize a strength of worth based on culture and spirituality and sociopolitical awareness. Even if this inspirited socialization was constant, we had the bombardments to contend.

I avoided accounts and displays of violence because I could not make sense of them. However, it was vital that I try to make sense of the senseless violence that had lasting power. This quest was profoundly personal and professional.

A history buff, I read thousands of journal and newspaper articles and dozens of books and watched countless documentaries about the past lives of Black people in the United States and throughout the Diaspora. I tuned in to the more obscure accounts of violent actions involving Black people, like YouTube videos and social media sources of violent accounts, as well as non-Black people, and the mainstream stories, captivated by the differences between the received view and the perspectives by many close to these events. I even began watching violent feature movies, something I had persistently avoided all my life. I found a need to understand this billion-dollar industry that largely targeted young male audiences. I would learn that the growing spread of violence is not only numbing, but dangerous to our ability to trust one another and truly know one another without fear of conflict. Finally, and although it was not outwardly an intentional goal, I found myself developing close and lasting relationships with people who have known the violence of the "streets," or war, and of rape and abuse.

In working through the stagnation, I also found myself receiving more attacks and rejections as I took more risks to talk openly about race. Some of these reactions came not solely during these engagements, but more generally as the "word" got out that I was prone to speaking candidly about racism. I initially feared these reactions but eventually became less threatened and more emboldened in my interactions over time. I learned to relinquish the false invincibility, the pretense of displaying a brave front, and began replacing it with more honesty and with greater effort to avoid ugly realities (see Brown, 2010). My evolving understanding of racism led me and indeed, continues to lead me to be a *constant* observer of the myriad nuances inherent in racial interactions; these interactions can reveal both ugly and wondrous, constructive engagements between all sorts of people of same or different racial backgrounds. One thing I have learned is that racial discourses can obliterate or downplay the other important socializing forces that shape who we are, like culture, gender, sexism, generational status, and nationality, and therefore, quash our ability to think complexity about ourselves, others, and our contexts.

What I share in this book is the outgrowth of what I have learned from study, praxis, and self-reflection. I re-formulate Helms' racial identity theory by focusing on violence as the principle structure that underlines racism. In the United States, and in other racialized societies, people take part in a series of constructions in which Black people's existences are cast as lowly and expendable in relation to White people's

existences. White people's lives can become a proxy for institutional and organizational structures that govern the sociopolitical hegemony in these societies, like laws, media, and how schools are generally run, consequently, the equation of White people need not only include White people, but also Black people and other People of Color who uphold these structures. Moreover, hidden structures of violence reinforce racism. When Black people conform to racial norms, they invariably downplay, distort, and/or defend the myriad manifestations of racialized violence and affirm the violence. This complicity can *appear* like actions that are peace-promoting but are far from it.

When Black people fight against the norm—resist the flow—we can experience repercussions that are mildly unpleasant on one end of the spectrum, and rejecting, corruption-ridden, and deadly on the other end.

Fighting against the norm is to wage liberation and peace. It means availing ourselves of opportunities to make connections with people most affected by or vulnerable to physical violence. Rather than maintaining or creating greater distance between ourselves and the people we consider to be "less" than us, we see the "other" in ourselves. Creating a psychology of liberation and peace means that we put forth the efforts to help Black people overcome our inclination to resist confronting oppression and resist reproducing new stratifications that keep us from restoring and embracing our culture. Rather than replicating the stratifications, we can break from it and commit more fully to the battle against violence.

I propose that some of the best ways to knit together liberation and peace among African-descended people at interpersonal levels is to build strong allegiances with the most vulnerable, to agree to disagree while not being disagreeable, and continue our legacy of non-violent approaches to addressing structural violence. Creating authentic, expressive relationships is vital to the process of personal emancipation and in building coalitions within and across regions of the Diaspora. I have had the joy and honor of working with small groups of people in my local community on a number of issues related to positive, spirited psychological growth, like African-centered education. My Ugandan colleagues, with whom I have worked to advance agendas of peace and liberation psychology, are some of the best models I know in authentic communication and protecting cultural traditions.

To address racialized violence as it pertains to Black people also means addressing White people, as well as other people of color. Race

emerges to polarize people. Its creation involves the cultivation of ideologies about Black people and White people in relation to one another. I dedicate some attention to these implications of violence for Whites, but briefly only because of space limitations. Although space also does not allow a fuller examination of the different configurations of people of other races, I acknowledge here that such an examination is important to future analyses on racialized violence. What *is* examined most prominently are the divisions that exist *between* groups of Black people and that are spawned by racialized violence. Overcoming these within-group divisions and confronting the pathology inherent in the between-group divisions between Whites/White institutions and Black people, is at the heart of the book. This book centers primarily on the lives of Black Americans with some attention to African-descended people outside of the United States.

I begin in Chapter 1 with an overview of the book, and in Chapter 2 with an introduction of *racialized violence* in which Black Americans are the targets of maiming, rape, labor exploitation, and murder for purposes of economic greed, and with an explication of how this violence has remained a constant over the generations. Chapter 3 centers on a re-formulated theory of racial identity, which I propose is a conceptualization that can help us best understand the constancy of violence against Black people in the United States and in other racialized societies. It is also a theory that acts as a heuristic to help us advance a movement that will naturally include others besides psychologists. In Chapter 4, I address how the theory can be applied to guide the work of people who wage liberation and peace on behalf of Black people in the United States. In the final chapter, I explain how racial identity theory can be applied to waging liberation and peace at the global level.

Building peace means stepping outside of established or even respectable ways of behaving while still maintaining a high regard for people as humans. Living a liberationist and peace-advancing existence means that our interactions will not always be peaceful or of course, not entirely free of conflict. Yet it need not mean that our relationships are irreparable and our lives subject to complete isolation and despair. When we embrace the value of authentic expression and our vulnerability as humans, we live authentically. Living authentically is liberating because it means we can display a deep care and love for ourselves and other people even when it leaves us open to interpersonal rifts and harm. It is to exist and live for the greater good.

The enormity of violence and the threat of violence in our lives as Black people is immensely tragic and enraging. For many, it is a hopeless reality that seems unstoppable. However, we are fortunate for the ample accounts of organized effort and resources that have helped sustain hope and improve Black lives, love, dignity, and the pursuit of a generations-long revolution against the tyranny of racialized violence. But it is not enough. Meaningful change will not occur merely through corrective socialization or persuasion. It will occur more than likely from a pitch that is reached in which ongoing violence, in all its forms, is no longer tolerated and when the dominant forces seize military control over those who refuse to accept it. Meaningful change may occur when we have all reached our limit. Yet, living and working authentically requires that we do more than await the inevitable crumbling of societies built on oligarchies, despotism, and corporate greed. In part it requires the establishment of genuine allegiances with other Blacks and other racial groups, the sustaining of cultural traditions, language, and dialect, as well as pursuing the unthinkable, like reparations for past wrongs, insist on markedly improving prisons, and developing economic justice avenues that disrupt the violence exacted on Black people, other people of color, and ultimately non-elite White people. As I show at the concluding two chapters of this book, we as practitioners, educators, and leaders can participate and lead projects to (better) understand the barbarism that underlines racism and other intersecting systems of oppression. We must ask ourselves to what degree are we willing to try to reinvent collectivist traditions, true to the work of liberationists, and to act against the violence to create a more just and peaceful future.

Indianapolis, USA Chalmer E. F. Thompson

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at each and every turn, acknowledging the need for influential townspeople who operated with mature racial identity schemata, and inserting the intermittent messiness and beauty of a perpetually changing region with its ebb and flow of refugees, immigrants, and newcomers of every stripe. The project idea was a gift from Julia Duany whose dedication to peace in her native Sudan and in the United States still lifts me to this day.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

To theorist Sigmund Freud, the practice of skillfully "working through" the problems that adversely affected the lives of his patients constituted successful psychoanalytic treatment. *Working through* meant probing beneath the surface of the problems buried deeply in the patient's unconscious mind because certain life realities had become too painful to bear. By surfacing the roots of the patient's dysfunction and bringing them into conscious awareness, the analyst would accomplish the task of helping the patient cope constructively with these realities. I loosely borrow this concept of working through to propose that the problems that are deeply inherent in racism cannot be fully resolved without working through the well-tilled roots of the violence that lies at its base. Moreover, and unlike Freud I propose that this working through must extend far beyond individual interventions and family-of-origin issues; the objective in working through the violence that underlines racism is to help liberate people from the terror of violence that has characterized racialized societies like the United States and therefore, heal both individuals and the racialized societies in which we live. The focus in this book is on the working through process and its relevance to Black people's survival and healing.

Anthropologist Audrey Smedley (1993) wrote that race "*conveys the meaning of nontranscendable social distance… [that is] conditioned into most individuals early in their lives [and] becomes bonded to emotions nurtured in childhood*" (p. 21). The means for ensuring that the distance between racial groups is not transcended is through violence. White

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people used physical violence in the transatlantic slave trade to capture, control, and reinforce the non-transcendable distance and in the colonizing of African people and the taking over of African land and natural resources. Physical violence coincided with and morphed into more pervasive forms of injury and killing and contributed to racist ideologies—ideas about human superiority over others that served to justify differential life experiences. The phenomenon of race-as-intricately-associated with racism also has spawnled divisions among racial groups as it simultaneously has crafted fictive perceptions about White people as the rightful occupants of the top rung of the racial hierarchy. Racism became embedded in the socialization of people in societies like North America, which Smedley wrote about, insofar as it became a means of conditioning children at young ages.

Smedley continued to refer especially to the foreboding and pervasive nature of race and its impact on everyday lives:

> Race is expressed in all kinds of situations and encounters with peoples… It is structured into the social system through residential separation, differential education, training, and incomes, and informal restrictions against socializing, intermarriage, and common membership in various organizations including, most visibly, the church. It is reflected in virtually all media representations of American society and in institutional aspects of culture such as music, the arts, scientific research, educational institutions, politics and political forums, businesses, the theater, television, music, and film industries, and recreational activities. It provides the unspoken guidelines for daily interaction among persons defined as different races, especially black and white. It sets the standards and rules for conduct, even though individuals may not always be conscious of that fact. (p. 21)

I use the term *racialized violence* to refer to the acts, processes, and structures that lead to the deaths of Black people as well as other people of color because of their racial group membership. It also refers to the conditions that increase the likelihood of premature death of people of color based on their racial group membership. Racialized violence emerges as a phenomenon that unfolds from a continual dynamic of interaction between the powerful and unpowerful, with the powerful—White people, wielding influence over institutions in all spheres of social, political, and economic life in affected societies and across the world. It hampers the ability of society members to behave justly and humanely,

and it dampens and leaves hopeless the spirit of outrage and shock at the prevalence and enormity of violence against Black people during the course of over four generations of subjugation and mayhem. Racialized violence can also diminish Black people's association with other Black people, a quasi-annihilation of *Blackness* symbolically, and this disassociation occurs when there are wholesale beliefs about the veracity or deservedness of White people and/or White institutions. Finally, racialized violence can spawn the violence that is committed *by* Black people toward other Black people in this cycle of quasi-annihilation.

This attention to racialized violence has relevance to liberation as well as peace psychology. Liberation and peace psychology scholars both have addressed how violence encompasses not merely direct acts of violence by one or more perpetrators, but also processes that curtail healthy, growth-promoting lives. With liberation, the act to fight against racialized violence is to recognize the significance of a willed people to create disruptions to their oppression. Racialized violence did not begin with Black people. It is not the onus of Black people to end the violence. It is primarily the onus of Whites. However, the oppression will not cease without forceful opposition to racialized violence by all people within these societies.

I draw on Montero and Sonn's (2009) definition of liberation psychology which includes the importance of identity, a key concept I use in this book. The authors define liberation psychology as

> a process entailing a social rupture in the sense of transforming both the conditions of inequality and oppression and the institutions and practices producing them. It has a collective nature, but its effects also transform the individuals participating who, while carrying out material changes, are empowered and develop new forms of identity. It is also a political process in the sense that its point of departure is the conscientization of the participants, who become aware of their rights and duties within their society, developing their citizenship and critical capacities, while strengthening democracy and civil society. (p. 2)

Essential to Montero and Sonn's definition is the element of praxis in liberation psychology. It is the ultimate "working through" in that there is recognition of the historical and contextual forces that shape people's lives—that which is deeply embedded and often buried in our psyches and in our societies—and that require the attention of practitioners like liberation-oriented psychologists.

Peace studies founder Galtung (1969) refers to *negative peace* as efforts to reduce violent episodes, whereas *positive peace* refers to "the promotion of social arrangements that reduce social, racial, gender, economic, and ecological injustices as barriers to peace" (Galtung in Christie, Tint, Wagner, & Winter, 2008). Citing the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) definition, Daniel et al. elaborate more on both types of peace, especially that which is associated with structural, pervasive violence:

> There can be no genuine peace when the most elementary human rights are violated, or while situations of injustice continue to exist; conversely, human rights for all cannot take root and achieve full growth while latent or open conflicts are rife. … Peace is incompatible with malnutrition, extreme poverty and the refusal of the rights of peoples to self-determination. Disregard for the rights of individuals and peoples, the persistence of inequitable international economic structures, interference in the internal affairs of other states, foreign occupation and apartheid are always real or potential sources of armed conflict and international crisis. The only lasting peace is a just peace based on respect for human rights. (UNESCO, 1983, pp. 259, 261 in Christie et al., 2008, pp. 543–544)

In the section below, I describe a series of events leading to and in the aftermath of the tragic killing of a Black man named Aaron Bailey of Indianapolis, Indiana by two local police officers. In the example I attempt to demonstrate how racialized violence operates. My effort is to show how the killing of Aaron Bailey, an act of physical violence, is surrounded by a host of conditions that influence people's perception of the act, and shape a community's notions about racism and its ways to resolve racialized violence. Examinations of what information is publicly shared and not shared, who shares it, and how "agreed" knowledge by the most powerful, can reveal important insights about how racism manifestations are distorted and ultimately, how these structures promulgate racism. The Aaron Bailey killing received considerable news coverage in the local newspaper and in the television news. It also was talked about in a variety of circles, and the reactions as told from some of the comments from online news reports offer glimpses of the reactions from Black and White people in the city and outside of Indianapolis. The purpose of this illustration is to reveal how "latent or open conflicts are rife" in the local community of Indianapolis and in

U.S. society where police shooting and harassment of Black men and women have become more prominent in the media owing to the trends in extrajudicial deaths and public outcry. I continue to refer to the killing of Aaron Bailey throughout the book.

A Case Illustration of Racialized Violence

On June 29, 2017 at about 2 o'clock a.m., two Indianapolis, Indiana police officers stopped Aaron Bailey for reasons that have yet to be revealed officially (as of October 29, 2018). Bailey was driving with a female friend, Shiwanda Ward, in the passenger seat of the vehicle, both of them Black. The two officers, one White and the other biracial (presumably Black and White) and appears White, reported that they stopped Bailey because they ran a query on his license plate and discovered that he had a suspended license. The officers also reported that an argument erupted in which Bailey, 45 years old, refused to exit the car at the officers' request. Apparently not wanting to continue the exchange, Bailey put his car into drive and sped off and a police chase ensued for about one minute. Bailey eventually crashed his car into a tree (Buckley & Ryckaert, July 11, 2017).

From the perspectives of the two officers and Bailey's companion based on the series of written and visual media news reports, there are conflicting stories about what occurred next. According to the officers' report, Bailey was seen reaching into the center console following the crash for what they believed to be a weapon as they approached his vehicle from behind. The officers reported that Baily did not comply with their warning to show his hands, although Bailey's companion had raised hers. According to Bailey's companion, the officers expressed no command to Bailey before shooting 11 bullets into the car at Bailey, striking him four times in his back. Bailey later died after he was transported to a nearby hospital. The officers and other investigative personnel found no firearm in the car or on the person of either Bailey or his companion. The officers were placed on administrative duty with pay, presumably by the police chief.

A press conference by the chief of police, Bryan Roach, who is White, with an initial reporting of the details of the shooting was arranged later that morning and only hours following the shooting (McKinney, Cox, & Sanchez, June 29, 2017). Fairly new to the city, Roach stated that the tragic shooting would likely serve as a "test" for the police department and the community, and that he had already worked toward improving these

relationships. He went on to explain that his commitment was to continue to improve these relationships. He did not refer specifically to what he meant by "the community." For example, he had consulted with a number of Black pastors in the community and attended meetings at Black churches. He mentioned these consultancies as he spoke about "the community."

Protest rallies comprised primarily of Black people followed the shooting and most prominent among them was Indy DON'T SLEEP led by Dominic Dorsey who is Black and Satchel Cole, who is phenotypically White. The organization is multiracial, as is the local Indianapolis chapter of Black Lives Matter. The demonstrations continued for many months following the shooting. A news report televised the day after the shooting featuring Black news reporter Derrik Thomas who interviewed members of "the community" (his words), including Black rally organizer Ron Frieson whom he visited in a Black barbershop in the city (McClelland, June 30, 2017). To Thomas's question of whether or not he sees justice happening in this case, to which Frieson responds "yes," and adds that he sees this outcome occurring because "fleeing is not a death sentence." Thomas also interviewed, Stephen Carlsen, a White senior pastor of a large, predominantly White church Catholic church and member of IndyCAN, an organization that advocates for social injustice in the community. Carlsen expressed his concern to Thomas that "after what we've seen all around the country and more recently with Philando Castile [an unarmed Black man from St. Anthony, Minnesota who was slain by police for routine traffic violation and whose slaying was caught on video], we care very much about justice for people of color, and for our Black citizens and our Latino citizens." Thomas also interviewed the Black leader of a crime-prevention program called the Ten Point Coalition, Pastor Charles Harrison, and asked him about his thoughts about the officers' complicity in killing Bailey. Harrison stated that it was "too soon" to determine what actually happened and what should be done in the aftermath of the tragedy. He went on to state that it would be wise to hear the case before reaching any conclusions. Finally, Thomas closed his segment with an interview by David Jose, who is White and heads an organization where Bailey volunteered. Jose spoke positively about Bailey's character. Other news reports were aired over the several months of the various events that followed. The reporters were mainly White, especially when these events were not "on the beat." There was a general trend where the investigators of color were on the scene at rallies.

In time, Chief Roach would announce publicly that he recommended that the officers be fired because they failed to follow procedure. This announcement created outrage and ire among those who saw the killing as deserved and Roach's words as platitudes to quell the exaggerated and baseless fury of protestors. These local reactions can be seen as outgrowths of national claims that groups like Black Lives Matter and other protestors are anti-police and that the shootings of so many Black men and women are primarily a function of Black criminality. To be sure, the tensions surrounding the case are high.

The Indianapolis Fraternal Order of Police President Rick Snyder was vocal in his objection to Roach's announcement and in fact, only days before the outcome of the merit review board, Snyder announced that the FOP made allegations of political corruption against the IMPD based on the chief's recommendation for firing the officers. Like Roach, White mayor Joe Hogsett expressed questions over police procedures in the tragic shooting and promised to work closely with Chief Roach. Both stressed "transparency" and Roach noted that he had "every confidence in our investigation" (Buckley & Ryckaert, July 11, 2017). The local field office of the FBI was brought in, receiving commendation by the local Black Urban League, and a special prosecutor, which the Bailey family requested, was assigned to the case. The special prosecutor would eventually rule that the officers did not act criminally in shooting Bailey and therefore, did not prosecute the police officers. Nearly one year after Aaron Bailey's murder, a civilian review board voted 5-2 to clear the officers of wrongdoing and allow them to return to their jobs. In the four days of the trial, the officers not only explained their actions before a full courtroom which included several activists, but also tearfully told the board that they acted "in fear of their lives" (Sanchez & Fischer, May 22, 2018). The board president concluded in a statement following the trial that the officers believed that Bailey was reaching for a gun in his console and that they followed appropriate police procedure in shooting Bailey. For the police chief who received criticism by the local fraternal order of police and who received countless criticisms from citizens who saw Bailey's extensive record of felonies and misdemeanors as sound reason for the officers believing that Bailey was armed and dangerous, the outcome had been cast. The proverbial hands of the well-meaning chief, as well as the mayor and others, had been tied.

The above are some of the bare-bone accounts of Mr. Bailey's killing and the aftermath of an unarmed Black man with overt attention

to the race and gender of the reporter and other details regarding language and how the stories were told and reacted to. Although many of the details are not here, I tried to create a general picture of the events as they were repeatedly presented in the media. A missing part of the story is the multiple series of accounts of shootings where the police withheld videos of what occurred when violations were made about harassment or even shootings. Although there were unspoken words about the tensions between the police and the *Black* community, as suggestive of the police chief's mention of the shooting as a "test"—the tensions were there yet no one expressed why they existed. It was as though the complaints of harassments and shootings were already held suspect and thus, not mentioned at all. I am suggesting here that there *could* be cases where there is exaggeration, but the failure to examine or even to mention that status of the basis of these tensions enlivens the rife rather than settles it. Despite the displays of kindness and expressions of concern by the chief, this avoidance is achingly callous to those on the receiving end of the dismissals and who are working to make strides to raise issues of race.

Snippets of bizarre and unanswered information are revealed but rarely followed up on in the media as lead stories or breaking news. When we examine the snippets, we begin to see a more whole picture of the events surrounding the case of Aaron Bailey's fatal shooting by the two officers. For example, the officers were allowed to report information that was never officially documented, there was erroneous information presented about Bailey's record of dangerous activity, and there is some suggestion that Bailey, who was wearing an ankle bracelet and had a warrant for his arrest that was issued on the day of the police stop, may have been tailed by the police. The officers also were portrayed as having no disciplinary records, yet when a report was discovered later by the defense attorney, there was a rather abrupt move by the prosecuting attorney to halt her testimony.

But even more key to the underlying problem of the case is of the connections between the different parties in key decision-making roles as well as the constitution of the civilian review board. I explain these aspects later in this book.

As regarding missing information, it is also likely the case that there is information about the officers' or the other witness' accounts that are not presented, such as the absence of much testimony for the only witness besides the officers because of the possibility that she was induced on drugs. Although these latter accounts are omitted from the larger

story, their absence does not contribute substantially to the guilt of the officers while the other accounts do. Moreover, that the *whole* story is not told, at least from the perspectives of the officers who killed Bailey, can offer up justification that other omitted information is equivalent to the absented information that these officers failed to share in the process.

The brief mention of racial animus in the television news report was by the White pastor who talked of his organization's concern for Black and Latino citizens, and thus was coded into a language that ultimately points to the "goodness" of White people for helping. A White face is the sign to suggest to viewers that White people, with the pastor as the symbol, that the matter of racism can be contained with the understanding that this act of violence is repugnant to the Whites who speak to news media, organize and show up at rallies, and so forth. The presence of the head of the homeless organization presents another opportunity for this assurance of White decency. In the unfolding of these events, the sound bites portray Black players as characteristically good, or reasonable (such as Pastor Harrison who speaks, wisely so, of not rushing to judgment), or bad, excitable, angry, and unreasonable (such as barber Ron Freisen). The bad Black faces make judgments about the killing based on heightened emotionality and an "enough-is-enough" attitude that is wince-worthy to Whites or others who want to diminish racism as a factor of Bailey's killing. (As a qualifier, media producers spin stories in ways they want the audiences they care most about to receive them. It is likely that the interviewees said more than what the editors ultimately offered up in the airing. I attend to the media further in Chapter 4, and to some of the struggles inherent in activism that *includes* substantive treatment of racism in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.)

A main point in this illustration is that in contrast to the footage of the 1950s and 1960s of White people screaming out racial slurs, hurling rocks, and spitting at Black children who entered the newly integrated schools of the South, the new versions of racism are at times more subtle and nuanced. The preservation of White entitlement as depicted in portrayals of decent White people and sound White institutions is held as sacrosant as the perils of being Blacks are diminished. This connection between White preservation and the perilousness of being Black occurs at the cost of long-term and sustaining solutions that can save Black lives. The powers-that-be are still overwhelmingly White and the voices of people displayed in media outlets, White as well as Black, are managed as though choreographed in the service of the preservation. Notably,

there is a lack of depth and serious, solutions-focused contemplation about the very real tragedy of a life lost by an unarmed human being by a state-sanctioned official. Stripping away race also obscures a process of social justice in that we eliminate data that deepen examinations and that allow us to face the reproduction of racism, combined in Mr. Bailey's case with the plight of formerly incarcerated people and economic impoverishment.

Those elected in cities with large proportions of Black people may be motivated to maintain or appeal to Black voters, and therefore and despite earnest efforts to act constructively, may only appease their Black constituents. They also are motivated to draw White voters, a pursuit that compromises progressive change in urban U.S. settings where there is a push for gentrification. Few elected officials have shown success in erecting plans to meaningfully address the structural roots of crime rates in urban communities, as well as poor schooling, among other woes of city living in poor neighborhoods (e.g., Davis, 2003; West & Smiley, 2012).

Racialized Violence and Black People

Black people throughout the world have lived in war zones for centuries. Racialized violence flourished beyond the *Maafa* and in several parts of the world, it flourished over the course of a long history of abduction, peonage, rape, torture, the separation of families including children, as well as forced subjugation. In the United States, more than 4000 African Americans were killed at the hands of White mobs in what Stevenson (refers to as "racial terror lynchings" (see Equal Justice Initiative website, eji.org). These lynchings occurred between 1877 and 1950 and many were public spectacles in which thousands of White people, including elected officials and prominent citizens, gathered to lynch, mutilate, and witness these attacks on Black people. With macabre, White newspapers advertised these carnival-like events, while vendors sold goods, printed postcards, and victims' clothing and body parts for souvenirs. The lynchings occurred most frequently in the South, but also in Northern and Midwestern States. Ida B. Wells, a lifelong crusader against lynching, documented the circumstances that surrounded the lynching to show that the Black people lynched were mostly extrajudicious, or without due process, and where proof of the presumed wrongs of the victims could either not be proven or was entirely false. She made efforts to get to the

root of Jim Crow-ism, speaking forcefully against "the bestiality and barbarity and brutality that underlined that era." Wells wrote of the hypocrisy of lynching, in which there was a clear double standard of justice: Whites deemed themselves jury and executioners when they accused Black people of heinous crimes while Whites who were accused of crimes like rape and murder of White *or* Black people were not subjected to the same terror. Her thrust was to point to the "black and white of it," the title of Chapter 2 of her book *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (2011 [1892]).

The connection between racism and economics has been written about extensively. Psychological freedom and the belief in deservedness and privileged living are associated with greater wealth over those on whose lives Whites compared themselves. In towns through the South, like Tulsa, the Black Wall Street, and in Rosewood, Florida, and Greenwood, Louisiana, Black communities, replete with business and services tailored to a Black independent citizenry, were destroyed and often Blacks killed out of mob violence and rampages of these communities. For example in Ocoee, Florida, the 1920 election erupted into mayhem when Whites who were sparked by the complaints of a small group of Blacks, one of whom, Mose Norman, went to face up to the intimidation he and other Blacks faced as they tried to vote in a hotly contested race. This was a period in which Blacks who did vote would largely choose Republican candidates, the party of Abraham Lincoln, and where Whites would impose poll taxes as well as threats and physical intimidation on Blacks who dared to vote. Norman, and the other Blacks who had established a relatively prosperous Black community in the city, one of two communities in fact, would be one who dared. After an altercation at the poll, a White mob grew to an estimated 500 people in a town of just 1000, and where Blacks represented half of the population. Whites from neighboring cities joined in the massive hunt for Blacks and in the destruction of the homes Blacks lived in, the church, and any business owned by Black people. Although Norman and his family escaped, his friend Julius Perry was hunted, beaten, and lynched. A sign was placed under his body, strung up on a telephone pole, which read, "This is what we do to niggers who try to vote" (Byrne, 2014). The image was cruelly familiar to one in the 1915 film *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith & Woods, 1915) described in the next chapter.

In the case of the killings in Ocoee, Florida, Whites apparently were not satisfied with killing Perry and other Blacks, as well as destroying

Black properties in this section of the community. A mob gathered steam and numbers by drawing in Whites from nearby towns who forced all of the Blacks who survived these initial deadly attacks to give up their homes, land, or to sell their property for pennies on a dollar. The message was viciously clear: Whites deserved a life that preserved their dominance in the racial-social order. When the line was crossed, they killed Blacks to maintain the order.

DeGruy (2017) reminds us of the three-fifths law, where Whites in the U.S. consigned a legal ruling in which they were seen as whole beings while Blacks were deemed three-fifths of a person and as “rightless property” (Article I, Section 2, U.S. Constitution). Southern physicians conducted experiments on enslaved Blacks in the United States, one of which was for a disorder called an “obstetric fistula,” where there is a breakdown of tissue in the vaginal wall causing leakage of urine and feces into the vagina. Slave masters referred these women to the doctors because they deemed them to be unsuited for duty (presumably as targets of rape because of the strong odor) and likely because of constrictions in other slave duties in the field or home. Slave masters forced their enslaved Africans to go to these physicians and to be experimented on.

Some would die as a result, leaving some experimenters then with the opportunity to conduct further experiments on their bodies. From 1932 through 1972, during which the U.S. Public Health Service deceived 399 Black men into believing they were being treated for syphilis when in fact they were not treated at all. Instead, the men were studied to determine the progression of their disease and once they died, to learn about the disease’s effects on the body. The U.S. Public Health Service aligned with Tuskegee University, where the men were left “to degenerate without syphilitic inflictions of paralysis, tremors, blindness and insanity” (DeGruy, 2017, p. 95). These afflictions would eventually result in death for many of the men who participated in the study.

The racialized war against Black people has stood the test of time. Findings from psychological research based in the United States have shown that White Americans, as well as people of color, are more likely to associate Black faces with “bad” and White faces with “good” (see Jost et al., 2009). This polarization is a signal of the Manichaeism of which Fanon (1952) wrote in his observations of racial oppression in different parts of the world. In his analysis, Fanon contended that the fierce distinctions that underlie race and racial categorizations are parallel

to a process in which people's ideas are shaped about the racial qualities they possess and pendulously, the qualities that are in contrast to these qualities and presumed to characterize other racial groups. That the Jost et al. (2009) meta-analysis addressed not only associations of good and bad based on White participants but also of Black people is akin to Bulhan's (2015) observation of the influence that racism has on all people's identities. Jost et al. (2009) revealed in their executive summary of these studies, termed "implicit bias" research investigations, that there is considerable strength in the findings of the 20 years of research on this construct. The authors concluded from the body of research that the high stakes nature of these findings are worthy to call attention to organizational managers as "participants' implicit associations predict socially and organizationally significant behaviors including employment, medical, and voting decisions made by working adults" (p. 43).

Racial appraisals of good and bad people have implications on responses to violence. Glassner (2010) wrote that Whites' fears about Black male criminality far exceed concerns for the population at greatest risk for murder: Black men. In their review of research on racial violence and ethnoviolence, Helms, Nicholas, and Green (2012) concluded that studies on trauma based on the experiences of Blacks and other people of color appear to take on different and less uniform qualities than the experiences of Whites, leading to important questions about trauma assessments as well as treatment approaches. Pieterse, Todd, Neville, and R. T. Carter (2012) found in their meta-analysis involving Black American participants that mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety were common in the studies reviewed.

Violence leads to the kinds of trauma experiences that assault brain development and overall mental health throughout a person's lifespan (e.g., D'Andrea, Ford, Stolbach, Spinazzola, & van der Kolk, 2012; Denckla et al., 2017; Roberts, Damundu, Lomoro, & Sondorp, 2009). In the countries of South Africa, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Rwanda, all formerly colonized countries, Foster and Brooks-Gunn (2015) found that children exposed to community and war violence experienced symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, as well as depression and aggression.

In the United States and in many other countries, Blacks live with violence *as* Black people and therefore, negotiate, elude, and/or engage in it in ways that are worthy of examination. We need to understand how

violence works in the lives of Black people in order to be more fully engaged in liberation praxis. Likewise, I examine how structural and cultural violence are evinced when there are threats to White superiority over Black people. Blacks can dissociate from other Black people, form subgroups to elevate their status, and/or succumb to stereotypes or acts of appropriation for the purpose of maintaining the flow and assuming responsibility for the comfort of others. When Black people conform to systems of dehumanization, they not only maintain and re-create cycles of stratification based on economic status, prestige, skin color, and so forth, but in doing so they contribute to the perpetuation of racialized violence. We see the spread, rather than a cessation, of further violence when we observe the name-calling and corruption in the Sharpe James-Cory Booker mayoral race in economically and crime-ravaged Newark, New Jersey in 1990 (see Curry, 2005). We see it spreading when Black elected officials ignore and diminish the crisis of mass incarceration. The actions and inaction buttresses racialized violence when Blacks and other people of color are the victims of environmental racism, when Blacks demand to reclaim their land in South Africa, and when Black Americans turn a blind eye to military occupation in African countries.

Some will argue that concentrating solely on race is artificial and not productive. The argument can be characterized as such: a focus on race can obliterate complexity in how people identify themselves (as Black-Caribbean, Afro-Latinx, multiracial, etc.) and it can overlook, rather than acknowledge and embrace, the intersecting qualities that constitute humankind. The goal of this book is to accomplish precisely the opposite of this obliteration; indeed, the intent is to show how violence plays a role both in reinforcing simplistic notions about racial beings which in turn feeds into further practices of dehumanization and distancing. As described in the section below on racial identity development, the pinnacle of this development is to embrace human complexity and to commit to the eradication of all forms of oppression.

When White police officers repeatedly kill unarmed Black people, it is necessary to examine racialized violence, how it works throughout our history, and in simultaneity, it is crucial that we study the construction of decency, goodwill, and good intentions by White people. In the murder of Aaron Bailey, it is not merely that the officers may have had cause to kill a person whom they perceived to be dangerous, but rather that the recounting of the incident, the investments of every player from the officers, survivors of Bailey's family, media decision-makers

and reports, public officials and a community that regularly and unfairly is subjected to unwelcomed police stops, will follow a pattern that upholds the construction of racialized violence. In the various reports, there is little mention or dialogue about The *Washington Post* database of police shootings based on data collected from the several years that has shown that Black males are shot by police at disproportionately high rates as compared to other racial/gender group categories (e.g., https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings-2016/). Nor is there mention of the study by Khazan (2018) who concluded that Black males between the ages of 15 and 34 were between nine and sixteen times more likely to be killed by police than other people.

Racial Identity Theory: An Explanatory Conceptualization and Framework for Action

I propose that racial identity theory lends itself as an apt framework for understanding racialized violence. It examines how race is a force that divides people not merely on the basis of racial difference, but also racial similarity. Contrariwise, race also invokes solidarity with others in the ways of survival and to help us endure racialized oppression. For Blacks as well as other people of color, the general developmental issue is "surmounting internalized racism in its various manifestations" (Helms, 1995, p. 184). Surmounting internalized racism is reminiscent in the writings of Bulhan and Fanon who refer to the need for Black people to "kill the oppressor within," but also it entails rescuing through nurturance of the self in the process. The person defies the reductionism of racism because it diminishes human beings—Black people, for example, as it also fictively inflates Whites. The self is viewed as associated with racially similar others so that the individual who diminishes others in subgroupings from which they have evolved or are distinguished, learns to understand that his or her proclivities to re-creating hierarchies of worth have bearing on who they are as people.

In my view, removing these associations is considered unhealthy because the processes are akin to the perpetuation of racialized violence. It is to become ensconced in a society in which racialized violence falsely reinforces a sense of worth and well-being to White people as racial beings and in vacillation reinforces an "other" self that is confined below Whites within the hierarchy. This is a liberation psychological perspective

in that the separation between the individual and the society is an artificial one. The health of the individual cannot occur in the absence of a healthy society.

When Black people achieve greater awareness of the underlying violence of racism, they experience an "undoing," akin to a process of entrenched examinations of a reality which shapes every aspect of their being. These experiences are typically fraught with emotions like rage and deep hurt. To many, these emotions and the search for understanding may lead Black people to solely blame other Black people even when there is some recognition of the role of White-serving institutions and of Whites who actively perpetuate or who are complicit in racism.

In addition to the undoing is a process of becoming. Together, it is a process that consists of ebbs and flows. People may even fixate and resist change because of the hegemony of racialized violence that makes this development difficult. People like parents, community members, heads of state, teachers, and highly regarded persons in general can urge and model complex thinking and other characteristics of advanced schemata of racial identity development. In doing so, and with the muster of considerable influence, these people can shape environments in which advanced racial identity schemata are fostered. With advanced schemata, racial identity development facilitation can ultimately help galvanize action. It is a process of liberation because it accomplishes the task of releasing the person from psychic entrapment and social conformity. In place of the psychological confinement is a process in which the person is empowered to act against systems of oppression like racism and sexism. They are able to speak out, to resist beliefs about people "asking for it" in regards to oppression and violent demise. They see the "self in the other and the other in the self" (Helms, 2004; personal communication). Because the hegemony of their societal contexts spurs ideologies based on "us" vs. "them" across racialized terrains, the person must re-assemble incomplete or symbolic views about people, including Whites, for to see Whites as superior or as unconquerable and feared monsters is to be entrapped in a cycle of violence. It frees people to act as it helps them destroy the oppressor within and re-assemble their lives to understand and *know* people in all their humanity. In re-assembling a reality of more complete people they also complete themselves. Inspirited by their new freedom, they feel equipped or better armed in waging peace.

Gray (August 30, 2017) addressed one of the major pitfalls of examining identity from the standpoint of conventional parlance—or more plainly, from the standpoint of "acceptable" and commonplace references. In some circles, identity becomes a proxy for any group that vies for power for his or her group and in so doing, dismisses the heterogeneity of the group, such as "Black identity politics." Racial identity theorists W. E. Cross, Jr., and J. E. Helms both emphasize this heterogeneity in conceptualizing the development of Black personalities. Similarly, offering sage advice against confusing identity politics with people's efforts to express themselves based on the myriad influences that form and shape them into unique human beings, Gray wrote:

> To ignore identity is to ignore injustice. Yet there are risks to viewing the world through the prism of identity. If people are defined by their demographic characteristics, they can be reduced to those characteristics in a way that obscures differences within groups. If 'identity' becomes synonymous with 'perspective,' dissenting members within the identity group risk having their viewpoints erased and their humanity diminished. And when used cynically, as a political weapon, a simplistic view of identity can allow people of a particular political faction to wrongly imply that they speak for all members of their racial or gender group. (Gray, 2017)

When applied to psychological practice, racial identity theory can promote peace. In their discourse with clients, consultees, or students, practitioners can promote peace as they face issues of race when they avoid coded language like "ethnicity" to replace race, or "difference" (as in "she is different racially") by applying labels that shape people's socialization ("she is a Black woman"). They understand that racism is closely knitted with other sociopolitical forces, such as sexism, class exploitation/economic greed, and immigration status and that it can fuel conflicts, meanness, and violence *among* Black people. It propagates appraisals of people on the basis of group loyalties, as with gangs, and by dint of individual greed. These appraisals can form the basis of defending caste statuses and simultaneously, characterizing the lives of other Blacks as lowly or seemly, often those who live in dangerous environments. These appraisals help buffer superior images of the self as it also reproduces racialized violence. Practitioners look for and attempt to unseat the myriad ways Black people create exclusive groups that demonize lower-status outgroups. These practitioners make use of the theory in

creating change in all aspects of their own lives and in the lives of the people they serve. Whenever possible, they make efforts to summon the resources of others to exact change in these environments.

Black People at War?

The conclusion that Black people are at war would appear to be alarmist to many emphasize the considerable progress that has occurred on the course of time. Indeed, there has been progress for Black people in the U.S. and in other parts of the world in social, economic, and culture spheres of daily life. On the other side of the gloomy portrayals of the conditions of Black Americans are indications that there in fact *is* no war but instead, a need to regale in how far we have come. It was Harriet Beecher Stowe, for example, whose 1852 book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* presented a sympathetic depiction of the horror of slavery and proved to be the most popular reading of its time, and Frederick Douglass' *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, published in 1845, which blazed trails and galvanized hopes of change for Black people in the U.S. Throughout the *Maafa*, there emerged music, dance, art and literature, as well as political landmarks, that bespoke the heartache, outrage, and insurgencies of an African-descended people. The products of this tragic period are celebrated across the globe. Jazz and blues music, the first original musical art forms in the United States, as well as Rhythm & Blues, Rock & Roll, the "King of Pop" Michael Jackson, and the "Queen of Soul" Aretha Franklin do not merely add to the American landscape. They helped define it. There is also the body of literature that plunges into the realities of racialized violence and that have received commendation and praise, like the works by Toni Morrison, Chinua Achebe, James Baldwin, and Edwidge Danticat. The birth of Black or Africana Studies academic programs ignited a scholarship that has informed the missing pieces in the canon of academic history and a generation of scholars whose writings have indelibly influenced today's intelligentsia. The masterful documentaries like Ava DuVernay's (with S. Averick and H. Barish, 2016) *13th* and Spike Lee's (with Samuel Pollard, 2006) *When the Levees Broke* spell out the tragedy and intrigue of racialized violence involving Black people, as have the 1977 television miniseries *Roots*, and feature films like *12 Years a Slave* (McQueen et al., 2013) and *Hurricane* (Jewison, Bernstein, & Ketcham, 1999), all visual media shown in mainstream outlets. Added to the long list of intellectuals and informants who have

long helped Blacks endure the violence are the Black newspapers, the long-standing National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the African Liberation Party, and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. The civil rights and Black Power movements moved the needle of progress in virtually every sphere of U.S. society.

Furthermore, the assertion of Black people's war against racialized violence might diminish to some, the election of Barack Hussein Obama, the first Black president of the United States. Obama's campaign and eventual election raised hope for many U.S. citizens across racial groups, and among people throughout the world that U.S. society was moving swiftly toward a color-blind society (see Alexander, 2010). Powerful actions were taken to remove from city squares statues of historical figures once prized for their heroism in the absence of their racialized agendas. The names of buildings and stadiums of noted segregationists have been changed, and acknowledgment given to honor those who have brought us further into the quest for a multiracial democracy.

These events are significant reminders of forces against racialized violence that may seem contradictory to warnings about a war waged by Whites and racist, hegemonic societies. Nonetheless, it also is important that we recognize that these forces are contravening but not countervailing. In other words, Black people and their non-Black accomplices have achieved greatly in the fight against violence and hatred and, obviously at considerable risk. Still, the giant monster that feeds structures of violence and oppression remains. We need to look more discerningly at the events that have superficial appeal, such as the election of a U.S. Black president against the evidence that the Obama presidency failed to forcibly address the outgrowth of racialized violence. Pieterse, Howitt, and Naidoo (2011) wrote of the need to examine more fully the allure that accompanied the Obama candidacy against such factors as Obama doing little to stem the phenomenon of mass incarceration of Black people that reached absurd rates of growth in the decades before his presidency, and his ordering the bombing of Syria which killed countless civilians. And as we are seduced into this, we still elude the violence, the environment of macabre construction whose perpetrators used as an aim to terrorize, to influence trends, and even, for the sake of continually resurrecting the fiction of decency, to allow certain exceptions to the rule as a demonstration that the violence need not ebb and that people, not circumstances and conditions wrought by powerful others for

sinister means, are what is necessary for change. And we might also forget that the signs of progress were achieved by struggle that is pervasive, unrelenting, characterized by revolts of retaliation, at times individually but still notable (Kelley, 1996), through informal and formal organizing, and far too often deadly. While Confederate flags and other markers long seen as signs of racialized violence are removed, Kahn (2015) graphically reminds us of the enormity of the task ahead: there are more than 13,000 formal entries of permanent outdoor Civil War markers in the U.S., many of which are related to the Confederacy. The Equal Justice Initiative (2019) recently reported the extensive amount of taxpayer dollars that go toward supporting these memorials (EJI, 2019).

The period following the social movements of the 1950s through the 1960s has been characterized as a political and economic backlash to these movements: the presidencies of Richard M. Nixon and Ronald Reagan especially targeted Black communities, where perceived and real increases in drug activity and subsequent crime levels prompted a climate of fear and hatred toward Black people. Subsequent U.S. presidents, both Democratic and Republican, added to the problem and we currently bear witness to an expanding prison industry that disproportionately affects the lives of Black and Brown people relative to Whites. Secret military bases in Africa and other parts of the developing world are growing, disguised with attempts to promote humanitarianism with little evidence of doing so, and instead, propelled by the actions of wealthy corporations and governments to mine resources for developed nations while leaving poorer nations worse off. In virtually all aspects of life in racialized societies, African-descended people face experiences of poverty, substandard schooling, strong-arming by multinational corporations and governments for minerals and food production, a lack of safety due to unlegislated actions against hate crimes, and high rates of unemployment.

Our ray of hope is ourselves. We can build on the activism that has helped define our existence and contributed to our liberation thus far. Simultaneously, we can unite peaceably with others, especially Black people, and with other people of color and Whites, when we can rely mutually on our respective strengths and not on constructions forged in hate.

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CHAPTER 2

Violence and Racialized Lives

Racism is a phenomenon borne out of centuries of violence. It began with physical acts of violence at the hands of slavers and colonizers from Europe who exerted physical aggression combined with economic, social, and psychological control over indigenous and African people as they simultaneously built the wealth of Western nations. These violent actions laid the foundation for a system of thinking, beliefs, and feelings about human worth that would become difficult for the people who lived in these societies, the enslaved and non-enslaved, *not* to be ensnared in it. The system would also provide opportunities for Europeans and Whites to render moral reasoning and decisions about non-White people in unjust ways and in the face of glaring contradictions about the perpetrators' and their beneficiaries' perceptions of themselves as fair and decent people. Race would become the impetus for White people to determine which groups of people would be seen as variously deserving or not deserving of being violently seized, exploited or not exploited, and which would be the targets of being captured and treated like animals. From the powerful who perpetrated the acts to those whose lives were imperiled, and everyone in between, racism became a cemented fixture in the U.S. and in societies around the world. What would also become a fixture is the sustaining presence of violence associated the violence that yoked the free with the unfree. James Baldwin captured this yoked relationship when he wrote that "the glorification of one race and the consequent debasement of

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another — or others — always has been and always will be a recipe for murder" (1963, p. 334).

The term racialized violence is used in this book to emphasize the violence that has and continues to give shape to the sustaining presence of *race*. How violence was used to wield power and terror in the lives of Black people is clear in accounts of the Transatlantic slave trade for example, is ostensibly more palpable than in more contemporary accounts. However, this violence is realized repeatedly in the experiences of Black people *in relation to* the experiences of Whites, with both groups being defined racially in matters of life and death and in prosperity and failure. It is violence that informs people's racial lives and therefore, the potential for terror and contrariwise, the potential for escaping it save the episodic experiences of retaliatory danger. This paradigm of race as a relational phenomenon is at the base of *Manichaenism psychology*, described by Fanon (1952) as societal constructions of polar opposites that affirm the goodness of a population of people (Whites) as it simultaneously affirms the badness or undesirability of other, less powerful populations (Blacks and other People of Color).

The accounts of the racialized violence that the Europeans leveled against African people have been captured in books published in the early and mid-twentieth century. The scholars who were among the first to write about these accounts include W. E. B. Du Bois in 1915 and 1947, among many by the prolific author, and later in the latter part of the twentieth century by C. L. R. James (1963), Ivan van Sertima (1976), Walter Rodney (1972), Cheikh Anta Diop (1963), Ali Mazrui (1986), Chancellor Williams (1987), and John Henrik Clarke (1998). The early historians who wrote about the experiences of enslavement in the United States included John Hope Franklin (1947), John Blassingame (1977, 1979), C. Vann Woodward (1951, 1957), and Eugene Genovese (1965), just to name a few. I cite only the early works of several of these authors most of whom have written several books or later editions of the original books. Notable books have been written more recently by several authors, some of which are cited in this chapter, and include insightful examinations of the nuanced experiences of Black people based on the intersecting influences of social class, gender socialization and sexism (e.g., Berry, 2005; Hine, 1997, 2000; Ransby, 2003, as pertaining to Black women).

There are myriad examples of the violence that underlies the construction of race as a phenomenon that inveighs the destruction of Black

people as the undesirable population and the parallel construction of wealth and other freedoms for White people as the good and more desirable, deserving population. In reference to King Leopold's of Belgium's horrific rape of Belgium, Du Bois (1920) described how the regime resulted in the deaths of twelve million natives. It was also a regime in which

> … the real catastrophe in the Congo was desolation and murder in the larger sense. The invasion of family life the ruthless destruction of every social barrier, the shattering of every tribal law, the introduction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror — in a word, a veritable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes… *Yet the field of Belgium laughed, the cities were gay, art and science flourished*…. (p. 190, Du Bois, 1920, emphasis added)

Negritude scholar Césaire (2000 [1972]) wrote:

> I am talking about millions of men in whom fear has been cunningly instilled, who have been taught to have an inferiority complex, to tremble, kneel, and despair, and behave like flunkeys… I am talking about natural *economies* that have been disrupted — harmonious and viable *economies* adapted to the indigenous population — about food crops destroyed malnutrition permanently introduced, agricultural development oriented ***solely toward the benefit of metropolitan countries***, and the looting of products, the looting of raw materials. (emphasis in original; bold font added, p. 43)

I turn next to further explaining the generational violence and how it morphed into new forms that persist in the modern-day world.

Defining Violence

Through conventional lenses, violence constitutes actions in which there is intent of one person or group of people who exert harm to another or others. The harm can result in injury or death, and might typically entail emotional intensity, as in a violence of "passion," or hate. Yet how violence is perceived and understood by many is far more complex and thus makes it a subject that deserves considerable scrutiny. Bulhan (1985) notes that definitions of violence may be confined in terms of the more received view, as that which is not sanctioned, as in the execution of those deemed guilty of heinous crimes, the killings that occur at the

hands of a soldier at war, or the demise of individuals who have committed murders at the hands of law enforcement. Violence also can have immediate or long-term consequences to individuals, and generationally, to groups of people when acts of violence have been directed on them based on their groupness.

Bulhan's definition of violence is one I adopt as we pore further into the phenomenon of racialized violence and its ravaging impacts on individuals and collective groups. He defines it as

> *Any relation, process, or condition by which an individual or a group violates the physical, social, and/or psychological integrity of another person or group*. From this perspective, violence inhibits human growth, negates inherent potential, limits productive living and causes death. (emphasis in original, p. 135)

In this definition, violence is not simply isolated acts, or direct 'hits,' or entails 'emotion.' His definition also shows that violence is not merely physical, but also social, and psychological and involves demonstrable damage to the victim. Conscious intent becomes less critical, especially in view of environments in which definitions of what counts as violence and what does not count is a function more of sustaining a type of guiltlessness by those in power. Stated another way, defining violence in the absence of its impacts on victims can serve the purposes of condoning the violence and diminishing any emotionality that is experienced by the violator. An excellent example of this is in psychologist Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela's (2003) *A Human Being Died That Night*, in which any guilt or other emotion experienced by state-sanctioned police of the apartheid era in South Africa could be suppressed or entirely dashed altogether in part by religious programming aimed at urging these death-squads to kill Black people.

The extent to which the violence has had impact not only on individuals, but also on the systems—the police, procedures, 'accepted' practices as in the expression of disgust and outrage by the Indianapolis Police regarding the murder of Aaron Bailey followed by the television reporter's attention to a careful array of 'balanced' sentiments expressed by Blacks and Whites—is what Bulhan (2015) coined *metacolonialism*. Metacolonialism refers to the evolution of the violence that emerges from "classic" and neo-colonialism. Meta-colonialism refers to the sustained and sustaining nature of the violence that effects all manner of everyday living. The concept also explains how the perpetrators

of violence, whether in brute physical form or structurally can resemble the people to whom the violence is directed. This occurrence of African descended people who adopt the role of sub-oppressors in perpetuating the violence is done at the bidding, pay, or approval of the originating oppressors.

Structural violence is the form of violence that begins and ends with physical violence, but importantly, refers more directly to the cyclical and encompassing nature of the phenomenon. Peace scholar Schwebel (2011) captures the definition well in the following passage:

> In part, [the increased attention by peace psychologists on both physical as well as structural violence] is because the two forms of violence are seen now as intertwined in this fashion: the conditions of structural violence may lead to violent crime, rebellion, and terrorism, and then to the state's violent repressive measures, setting up an unending cycle of violence. Starting in the opposite direction, the consequences of war can include the destruction of farms, housing, and pure water supplies leading to illness and death and later to violent rebellion. (p. 86)

How Violence Operates in Racialized Societies

The work of historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot is an important base from which to frame this examination of racialized violence. In his book *Silencing the Past: The Power and Production of History*, Trouillot (1995) explores how answers to the question of what happened in history is influenced by a powerful elite and conversely, by the suppression of the perspectives of the unpowerful. As an academic discipline, history as conveyed in textbooks, in public celebrations and the mainstream media, and virtually every aspect of our lives, presents us with stories that are widely perceived as "truth." The power is exercised by the people whose versions of these accounts become part of dominant landscape and settle into common understandings about past events for many people. The question of what happened?, as well as questions of how it happened, who the major players were, and why the account of such events matter to anyone take on reverberating effects. History as taught in mainstream classroom environments and through "conventional" knowledge can be seen as something real and legitimate without consideration of the power it holds, in what and how it is told, and for whose benefit.

In a slight re-framing of Trouillot's work, I propose here that history also "works" by perpetuating power differentials borne of centuries of violence in racialized countries like Haiti and in the United States. In this section, I examine how our past and present are knottily intertwined: racism built on the violence of Europeans continues unabated with the insistence that Black lives are expendable relative to Whites lives. Over time, there can be modifications about *which* Black lives are more expendable than others while no serious alteration has occurred to destroy the pathological, hierarchical structure that first began the malignancy of racism.

According to Clarke (1998), "Nowhere in the annals of history have a people experienced such a long and traumatic ordeal as Africans during the Atlantic Slave Trade" (p. 25). Daniels (2008) refers to the transatlantic slave trade as a system because the Europeans who planned, orchestrated, and profited from it did so by a fairly standard set of processes (see interactive graphic, Kahn & Bouie, 2015). The set of processes was intended to fulfill the objective of seizing, transporting, and selling human beings for slave labor and material profit. These processes also were characterized by measures to impose and maintain absolute control of their human wares through the use of brute force, human degradation, and efforts to disrupt the culture—that which helps people communicate, make sense of life, people and the spirit (Nobles, 2008). The base, criminal behaviors of these men reveal extreme measures of cruelty at the expense of the well-being and survival of the captured. They used daggers, as well as instruments like branding irons, iron coffers and shackles, and bronze muzzles on board the ships (Daniels, 2008; Kazembe, 2018). Blacks on the ships were tightly packed by their White captors, treated like animals, and where vomit and excrement of the men, women, and children surrounded the existence of the captured, and where those who died would remain shackled with the living. The system then became one of subhuman treatment, implemented by the European abductors with the freedom to wield violence at will as in the cases of rape without regard for the horror it instilled in those considered objects and vilely treated.

In a book of slave testimonies, Blassingame (1977) revealed the extreme nature of the violence that Whites used, "where floggings of 50 to 75 were not uncommon" (p. 263). Blassingame noted further that "planters also branded, stabbed, tarred and feathered, burnt, shackled, tortured, maimed, crippled, mutilated, and castrated their slaves" (p.

262). The White men raped the captured African women aboard the slave ships as well as when they survived the passage and reached the shore.

The personal narratives of enslaved Africans, shared in interviews, reveal some of the details of the violence that was steadily present in their lives and he interpersonal dramas that accompanied it. For example, Ann Garrison was a 51-year-old woman who was enslaved in 1791 in Maryland at the time she was interviewed. She spoke in the narrative of the five children (and later 2 more) she bore in slavery, of how she dreaded losing them and was initially assured by her owners that her children would not be sold. Besides the death of her six or seven-year-old son by drowning while fishing, her owners sold each one of her children. At one time, one owner sent her son to prison for money, and at another time, she and three of her children were sent to prison by White people for apparently the same reason. After learning that one of her sons contracted for his freedom, she appealed to a 'young colored woman' (p. 216) she knew to have the woman's father write to her son to inform him of her circumstance of imprisonment with his siblings. Ms. Garrison's son eventually was able to reach her and pay for her freedom—news she revealed that made her heart leap with joy—"but in a moment, when I began to reflect that I must leave my three dear children in jail, to be sold as slaves, separated one from the other, and taken where they would never see each other, or I see them again, I was filled with the utmost anguish" (Blassingame, p. 216).

James Thompson was born in Nassau New Providence in 1812, and enslaved by Whites in Cuba where he was forced to work on a plantation as a worker and eventually a house servant. He was interviewed in 1843 at the age of 31. The son of an Irish (White) slave master and an enslaved African mother, Mr. Thompson's father manumitted his mother and him prior to his death and allotted them a piece of land. When Mr. Thompson was eight years old and living in Nassau, his sister's husband tricked him into traveling with him to Cuba, enticing him to join him on a "frolic" to visit his sister. Mr. Thompson's sister and her husband were White. After arriving in Cuba, Mr. Thompson learned that his sister was unaware of this kidnapping scheme. Both Thompson and his sister responded angrily. The brother-in-law beat him and eventually sold him to a cigar maker. These events were followed by a succession of deceitful sales of Mr. Thompson as chattel by Whites. At one time, he determined that his White mistress loathed him because of his mixed

blood, jealousy over his desire to marry, and his ability to pool financial resources and purchase poultry and stock. This mistress had him and his betrothed punished by flogging them 250 lashes each, side by side, and burning their poultry and stock before their eyes. After the flogging "a mixture of rum and cayenne pepper was poured upon the wounds" (Blassingame, 1977, p. 256), and they were sent to the hospital where they remained to heal for three months. The enslavers looked on as the entire process occurred. The atrocities for James Thompson and his fiancé did not end there. Thompson's story is one of constant floggings, depression and eventual suicide of his betrothed, as well as the perils of various escapes.

Lavinia Bell was interviewed in 1861, of unknown birth date, born in Washington, DC and enslaved as a field hand in Texas. White slavers and slave capturers (of runaway enslaved Africans) tortured and abused Bell through much of her life. The torture consisted of cutting off her fingers, slitting her ears, using hot iron to brand her on her stomach, and daily floggings during a prolonged period of at least fifty lashes. Her torturers used a method termed a buck that doubled her body in two until her legs passed over her bed, and placed sticks across the back of her head. While in this position, the torturers "whipped [her] to such a degree that the overseer, more humane than the master, interfered to prevent a murder" (Blassingame, 1977, p. 343). The master then rubbed her wounds with salt and water and pepper to keep away the green flies. At another time, her slaver struck her with a hoe-handle several times and broke her skull. Her owners then left her for a number of days without anything to eat or drink. Her story is one of running away, being captured by both Whites and Blacks, being sent to jail, and on more than a couple of occasions, escaping it. She finally made it to her freedom, but at the time of the narrative, she still was seeking a way to reunite with her child.

To be sure, there are countless narratives throughout the world and over the course of history about the cruelty of a people toward another group or population deemed savage and needing to be controlled and persecuted. Yet historians have written about the "peculiar institution" of the enslavement of Africans in which Whites' villainous treatment would reveal a strain so base and sinister that it has captured the attentions of scholars for many years (e.g., Adams, 2016; Blassingame, 1979; Clarke, 1998; Franklin, 1947; Genovese, 1965, 1974). In these and other slave narratives, we see the interplays of interactions between

White people who did not merely seize control of Black people for the purpose of exploiting them, but also indulged in cruelty for their edification, to unleash aggressions that pertained to their own personal insecurities and likely invoked by the realization that the enslaved Africans were as cognitively capable, loving, and importantly, human as they believed themselves to be as a White referent group. There were also instances of rebellions and uprisings and these were the indicators that the Whites would need to exercise more control over the enslaved Africans, and that the enslaved Africans considered themselves worthy of humane treatment and freedom. That the cruelty appeared to be relatively accepted among Whites even suggests that Whites may have feared that their Black victims were *more* capable, loving, and human. Consequently, the extreme violence would be on public display for other Whites to join in on what may have been seen as the needful killing of a people whose existence dared to challenge the superiority of Whites, and that it was Whites who had the rightful, maniacal upper hand.

The vast majority of Africans who endured the transatlantic passage were taken to Brazil and the Caribbean during the 315-year slave trade. The stories of torture and cruelty are similarly heinous. For example, TransAfrica founder Randall Robinson (2007) wrote of how the French in Haiti before the revolution dealt blows to enslaved African men and women when they were compelled to take a rest as they worked hours in the cane fields. The French also killed the Haitians for the amusement of French spectators. According to Robinson, French general Donatien Rochambeau routinely killed large numbers of Blacks in public squares and drownings. In one account, the general ordered that his military begin the "entertainment" by gouging Black bodies with bayonets and then allowing dogs to tear the Black slaves apart to devour them. Robinson (2007) also wrote of the historical reports of French human rights commissioner and noted historian Claude Ribbe, who wrote of Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign of genocide against rebelling Haitian slaves by gassing them in the galleys of ships.

In these accounts, we may potentially visualize the tortured lives of Black people who were the victims of the abuse and killings. We also might imagine the tortured lives of the Blacks who survived the murders of other Black people and the association they developed between Blackness and a terror-filled existence. By comparison, because Whites could end the lives of Black people either directly or by endorsement of the violence—by witnessing, invoking, and doing little or nothing

to stop it, life for them would become synonymous with freedom, protection from racialized violence, and escape from racial terror (Baldwin, 1998 [1965]). The strife surrounding the association between Blackness and the sanctity of human life was extended in those cases when Black people witnessed or learned about the killings of other non-Whites, like Native Americans and Mexican people, as well as those Whites like John Brown who fought against slavery.

The strife would come from the macabre dimensions of the pathology of racialized violence. History has shown that Whites treated dead Black people with contempt and irreverence. In *The Underground Railroad,* Pulitzer Prize author Colson Whitehead (2016) re-created some of the outrage over the mining of Black cadavers when grave robbers were having a more difficult time with extracting White bodies. From Whitehead's re-enactments of the lives of Black people in the United States during one of the eras of heightened terrorism, Blacks did not post sentries over the dead as Whites did, or pound on the door of the sheriff or newspaper staff because "no sheriff paid them any mind, no journalist listened to their [Black people's] stories" (p. 139). These actions that were not performed were in contrast to the actions which Whites conducted in the search for their loved ones. Instead with Blacks,

> The bodies of their loved ones disappeared into sacks and reappeared in the cool cellars of medical schools to relinquish their secrets. Every one of them a miracle,… providing instruction into the intricacies of God's design. (p. 139)

Whitehead's fictionalized novel was drawn from the interviews of ex-slaves from the 1930s and taken from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Federal Writers' Project.

A Rare Look at the Other Side of the Racial Construction of Violence

In a rare series of studies, psycho-historian Adams (2015, 2016, 2017) analyzed the writings of White people in the antebellum South and how the violence that was perpetrated by other White people to enslaved Africans influenced White people. Adams directed his attention to the witnesses to understand not merely *if* the violence had an impact on White people, but importantly *how.* Among the accounts of White

witnesses, observers, and even the reproducers of violence that Adams examined were those who observed violence against Blacks at early ages. Adams wrote of how former U.S. President Thomas Jefferson, who was a slaveholder, noted some concern over the effects of African bondage on slaveholder children. Quoting Jefferson, Adams (2015) wrote:

> The whole commerce between master and slave… is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this… and learn to imitate it… The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by its odious peculiarities. (p. 1, Jefferson in Adams, 2015)

What Adams reveals in his research is that Whites responded to violence against Black people in varied ways—as can be expected. Yet the hegemony of violence influenced how certain responses become normative and considered more acceptable than others. Barbaric acts essentially could be tolerated as a matter of the "needful" as portrayals of Blacks and of Whites in ways to help uphold these actions had to be maintained. What also had to occur was that White people needed to withhold any personal accounts that would question the call for violence, especially in its most vile forms like the beating death of a crying Black infant by a White plantation mistress who reported that she could not bear the noise. This withholding of information would mean an erasure of their experiences with Blacks as the nurses of White babies, inventors, artists, spiritualists, midwives, and tradesmen. It would also mean withholding simultaneously their experiences of other Whites as possessing qualities that exceeded Blacks and elevated their levels of humanity above that of Black people.

By directing his focus on Whites, Adam's research reveals Whites' inner, psychological reasons for the violence, such as uncontrolled rage, inadequacies about their sexuality, or otherwise deep-seated torment about their personal inadequacies in general. Adams describes the slaveholder father in historical writings as the person who wielded particular influence over the sustainability of violence. Slave-holding fathers, according to Adams' analyses, perceived the violence against Black people as necessary *and* as a primer for instruction for his children to sustain it. These fathers conveyed the message that the violence had to

be exacted to distinguish and reinforce racial boundaries. This message seemed especially important when the White child showed any objections to the violence.

Adams' analyses also show that White slave-holding parents also committed forms of violence against their White children. The slave-holding father was the one who mainly dealt the corporal punishment in the family. Typically cast in Christian theology, "spare the rod, spoil the child," Adams proposed that physical violence was seen by these families as an instrument of control that reinforced notions of obedience and control. It also reinforced White male patriarchy, whereby the stature of White men as the power-wielder on the plantation, community, and society was further reinforced. Violence and its preservation were essential to the establishment of this stature.

Emphasizing the bounded relationship between the Black slave and White master and the part that violence played in its constitution, Adams concluded that

> The gallant effort of African Americans to overcome the obstacles placed in their path by relentlessly-hostile white society fits the Horatio Alger niche in our national mythology and is a more compelling tale than the psychosocial origins of white malice, supremacy, and terrorism, and yet, the valor of the former is impossible without the horror of the latter. (p. 2)

The Reproduction of Racialized Violence: When African-Descended People Revolt

Scholars have documented how Africans used a wide array of measures to revolt against their abductions, torture and subhuman treatment when Whites were committing these acts and, with other Blacks in anticipation of the battles that would ensue. They would come to learn that their lives were imperiled by these reactions and they believed that the risks were worthy of the human costs. For example, enslaved Africans insurrected on the slave ships, fought with, killed, and used poison to kill their masters and mistresses, as well as planned armed resistance to escape their plight in retaliation of the slavers and to secure their freedom (e.g., Aptheker, 1943; Douglass, 2012 [1845]; Gates, n.d.; James, 1963).

These writings reveal that Whites reacted in fear to these rebellions. Frederick Douglass' (2012 [1845]) narrative account of his 2-hour beating of his master resulted in his master ceasing his frequent lashings, but

in other accounts, there is strong evidence that Black rebels incurred further violence that would be directed on the perpetrators as well as other Black people. What unfolded within the constancy of violence was *not* ending the violence and mistreatment, at least not on the larger scale, but rather, for the Whites to wield more power on Black people. This brutal suppression of rebels was used by scholars to convey that the enslaved Africans were not rebellious at all. As historian Henry Gates pointed out, one of these earlier historians portrayed an image of Blacks that diminished any hint of retaliation, but instead indicated a conceit of their plight as needing to be obedient and subservient. Gates quoted Harvard historian James Schouler who wrote in 1882 that enslaved Africans were not capable of rebellion or resistance but possessed "innate patience, docility, and child-like simplicity" and was an "imitator and non-moralist, learning deceit and libertinish with facility, and being easily intimidated, incapable of deep plots and in short, were a servile race, sensuous, stupid, brutish, obedient to the whip, [and] children in imagination" (Gates, n.d.).

"Obedient to the whip" as written by Shouler can also serve to justify the use of violence by White people. But importantly, what can clearly be legitimate observations by Shouler of Black people as servile and obedient is accompanied by the absence of the context in which the servility and obedience is bred. Violence is wiped away from the portrait, but it would seem impossible to wipe it away entirely from the consciousness. What Shouler and other Whites would uphold in these perspectives is that an environment that counteracts the image of Whites of deserving of retaliation by Blacks would be important, if not necessary to their perceptions of themselves as White people in relation to Black people. As Black people are seen as harmless and child-like, then White people can be seen as possessing the adult qualities to control and continue to exploit them for White purposes. This construction needed to re-define violence and even obliterate the perception and reality of its extreme nature as perpetrated by Whites onto Blacks. To merely whip a person for the purpose of curtailing behavior, as one theoretically would do with a child or child-like people would be to operate within the bounds of human decency and compassion. Instead, extreme violence was executed and endorsed by Whites with the insistence of defining and limiting the value of Blacks as human beings relative to the value of Whites. This extreme violence would have an impact on the persistently savage treatment of Black people, and on how Black people saw themselves and one another. The

persistence has been characterized over time with the use of Black codes, for example, to ensure that Black people did not cross certain thresholds of Whites' understanding of their limited value. Black codes were rules of conduct that could land Black people in jail for minor offenses like not stepping off the sidewalk in the presence of a White person. These codes also served the economic goal of feeding an industry of free labor when the violators of the code were incarcerated (see also Nobles, 2008).

Following two hundred years of harsh captivity at the hands of the Spanish and French conquerors of Hispaniola, the enslaved people of Ayiti (Haiti) revolted in strong solidarity in 1791 and triumphed in freeing themselves from their European captives in 1804 (James, 1963). Haiti remains the only country in the world to become the first Black Republic and whose people successfully revolted against a brutish regime of enslavement and colonialism for their freedom. Napoleon Bonaparte and other European imperialists continued to invade and re-conquer Haiti, but its victorious position remained intact to the present day. The success of the slaves in Haiti inspired the slaves of many regions to also rebel and Haitians offered their aid and assistance as needed (Clarke, 1998).

Yet the revolt that freed the Haitian people from slavery compromised the economic freedom of Haitians. French governments imposed a hefty tax that has imperiled the growth of the Haitian economy for generations. The conspiratorial alignments between Haitian "elites"—often the wealthy and lighter complexioned inhabitants—and world leaders from Europe and the United States also proved perilous to the people who comprised the masses. The majority of Haitian people today live in abject poverty in one of the economically poorest nations in the world. At multiple times between 1991 and 2004, liberation theologian Bertrand Aristide was elected as the president of Haiti, but his tenure was interrupted by coups both within and outside of the country. In 2004, President Aristide was abducted at the orchestration of U.S. President George W. Bush, a fact that is rarely addressed in American media outlets, and Aristide remained in exile until 2011 when he returned to Haiti. Haiti's history of despotic leaders has translated over time into mass killing sprees that have received support from foreign governments (see Robinson, 2007).

In this prolonged configuration of interactions between the powerful and unpowerful, Blacks knew that to rebel or revolt against racialized violence is to face further violence, to concede and/or fight harder and

better. Meanwhile, Whites would learn that violence was a vital tool for maintaining their lives of relative wealth and freedom, even when they were poor. For example, in her 1861 book titled *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* Harriet Jacobs wrote about a festive gathering among armed White people who terrorized enslaved Africans by rifling through their meager shacks and belongings to reveal any sign that the slaves would revolt. Jacobs (1973 [1861]) points out that these annual "musters" as they were called were also present opportunities for poor Whites to be united with Whites from the upper economic echelon, thus allowing opportunities for the "low Whites" who had no negroes of their own to scourge" (see Jacobs (1973 [1861]) in Roediger, 1998, p. 336). These musters also provided the chance for the lower socioeconomic Whites to scatter gun powder in Black shacks for the purpose of whipping enslaved Africans "till the blood stood in a puddle at their feet" (p. 336).

The bartering *among* Whites for the purpose of Whites wishing to maintain or increase their sense of superiority and power over Blacks has occurred throughout the world and over the course of history in relation to labor practices, and decisions on how wealth is distributed primarily to White versus primarily African-descended regions of the world. For instance, in the 1876 presidential election between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel Tilden, Southern Democrats who felt enraged at their loss in the Civil War and the loss of slave labor commandeered a deal to allow Hayes, then presidential candidate for the opposing Republican party, to become president even though his opponent won the election by popular vote. The promise made to the lobbying Whites was to remove the federal troops from the South and thus allow Southerners to manage their own municipalities as they wished (History: "Rutherford B. Hayes," n.d.). This decision brought an end to the Reconstruction Era. Reconstruction began in 1867 to restore the South in the aftermath of the end of the Civil War and to allow newly enfranchised Blacks to have a voice in government for the first time in American history. Also for the first time, Blacks won elections to southern state legislatures and to the U.S. Congress.

The Constancy and Spread of Violence in Present-Day Societies

Racialized violence works to help create and constantly reaffirm the distinctions between White people and Black people and the relative value and worth of the groups based on their differences. Psychologically, to

maintain distinctions about better-and-worse and good-versus-bad, one has to believe that the distinctions are real, inherent qualities about people based on their race and that the realities of dire circumstances of many Blacks in disproportion to Whites are a byproduct of the distinctions. Evidence that the distinctions are not real and inherent can be discomforting at best, and could leave many Whites feeling hopeless about what they can do. With other Whites, seeing themselves as *not* possessing qualities of goodness, moral fortitude, intelligence, and so forth that are presumed to be beholden of White people relative to Blacks, is to confront a most disturbing dissonance. To settle the dissonance, they can rather easily discredit the messenger and the message based on a racial hegemony and/or engage in violence.

A hegemony of racialized violence, in both physical and structural forms, relies on omissions and distortions of facts. Structurally, these omissions have to do with the lack of attention on the violence and its relevance to the perpetuation of racism in society. In a labyrinth of absented stories, fabricated history lessons, and a preoccupation with the past—"the way things once were"—in which there are certain admissions to racialized violence, deception is cast. The deception informs people's socialization. It serves to protect Whites in current-day society to rely on ideologies about White superiority over Black people and other people of color. The force of these protections of hidden and distorted knowledge is accompanied by ongoing violence, which is justified by the powerful elite. For example, the membership of Ku Klux Klan was stemmed by the 1915 release of the film *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith & Woods, 1915). In this movie, writer Griffith tells the story of the disaster imagined had Reconstruction continued, whereby Black people would have control over White people. Black men were portrayed in the movie as incompetent in government, criminal and lecherous toward White women. Importantly, the portrayals of Black people in the movie were matched by portrayals of Whites: whereas Blacks were criminal and morally bereft, Whites' portrayals were characterized in contrast as keeping and maintaining order, and even as beautiful. The Klan appeared at the end of the movie, and in saving the day, as well as the sanctity of Whiteness, they kill the Black man (a White actor in blackface) who made unwanted advances to a White woman, the latter of whom was so enrapt in fear that she leapt off a cliff and killed herself. Prior to the release of the movie and in anticipation of its release, a Klan chapter climbed Stone Mountain in Georgia to burn a giant cross.

Sitting U.S. President Woodrow Wilson reportedly commented about the film: “It’s like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true” (Clark, 2018). Although these words have not been confirmed, there were indications that Wilson’s views about the film were positive. For example, the film was screened at the U.S. White House. Clark (2018) also noted that the film was screened and re-screened throughout the 1920s, and in one photo on her website, there is a group protesting the re-release of the film in 1947. The protesting group was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) who protested the movie from the time of its first release.

Clark continues about the impacts of the film:

> On opening night, Simmons (founder of the modern KKK] and fellow Klansmen dressed in white sheets and Confederate uniforms paraded down Peachtree Street with hooded horses, firing rifle salutes in front of the theater. The effect was powerful and screenings in more cities echoed the display, including movie ushers dawning white sheets. Klansmen also handed out KKK literature before and after screenings.
>
> The NAACP unsuccessfully protested *The Birth of a Nation* but the film’s popularity was too strong. With black troops from WWI returning from France and the migration of black people to the North, there were new racial tensions in northern cities, like Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia.

Today there are many hate groups in addition to the Klan as reported by the Intelligence Report online publications of the Southern Poverty Law Center (e.g., see SPLC, October 26, 2018). The threats of violence directed at Black people continue to occur. Alarmingly, these threats occur at the hands of state-sanctioned authorities, and by a host of legal, school, and media apparatuses that continually manufacture and uphold it. The physical forms of the violence are often incurred by certain groups, like Black people in poor, urban areas and those in the penal system. Consequently, those who disassociate from, speak out against or even look different from these “certain groups” are assumed to be immune from racialized violence. They may quite consciously work diligently to be the exceptions to the stereotype of a menacing, violent Black person and, as will be developed in the next chapter, their exceptionalism feeds into the cyclical and expanding nature of racialized violence.

The qualities presumed to be characteristic of certain groups of Black people are generalized to all Black people, consequently, the notion that one can successfully avoid the stereotyping is elusive except under certain conditions like physically appearing like a White person. These stereotypes are maintained despite the vast complexity to which Black people obviously evince because they also collectively promote fear, exclusion, and justification for low or no concern for the members within these certain groups. These qualities inveigh disproportionately, at least by dint of public perception, that they are not enured of White people by and large, at least not of Whites *as* Whites but rather, of Blacks as Black people. It therefore becomes important for some Black people to doff the violence-attraction of Blackness altogether.

Historian Khalil Muhammad (2010), in his book *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*, examined how the construction of race in the early canon of social science literature relied on a profile of Black people who migrated from the South to the North of U.S. society to be inherently criminal. The Great Migration, in what has been called the largest migration of people in modern history (Wilkinson, 2011), consisted of 6 million Black people who fled the U.S. South between 1916 and 1970 to various towns throughout the North. Their migration was prompted by a need to escape violence and to avail themselves of opportunities to earn wages and establish new lives for their families in regions they saw as holding promise for them.

Blacks faced novel forms of racialized violence in their new surroundings. Muhammad's (2010) research revealed how the social science literature began building its foundation of "legitimate" science with omissions and distortions about the role of racialized violence for Black and White people in the North during this migration. This literature largely ignored the daily lives of Black people. The literature also ignored evidence of how the life conditions of European immigrants were mostly i*mproved* by their migration to the United States from their countries of origin. Significantly, the construction of the two groups of migrants—one as Blacks whose move would be portrayed as indication that locale mattered little in terms of criminality, and the other, new European immigrants who would eventually evolve from their nationalities to White people—helped mark the formation of race in the urban communities of Chicago, Illinois and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Muhammad's research began with the 1890 U.S. Census because it marked twenty-five years of freedom for Black people and consequently, contained data that was a much-anticipated source for assessing Blacks' status in a post-slavery era. Muhammad learned that the violence that occurred by Blacks in these communities in the early 1900s were no higher than that of their White immigrant counterparts, but that police targeted Blacks in these communities more. Moreover, interventions such as settlement houses had dedicated attention to immigrant populations specifically to decrease the violence among these youth, but these interventions were not accorded to either Black or Latinx populations. According to Muhammad,

> Following the 1890 census — the first to measure the generation of African Americans born after slavery — crime statistics, new migration and immigration trends, and symbolic references to America as the promised land were woven into a cautionary tale about the exceptional threat black people posed to modern urban society. Excessive arrest rates and over-representation in northern prisons were seen by many whites — liberals and conservatives, northerners and southerners — as disputable proof of blacks' inferiority. What else but pathology could explain black failure in the land of opportunity? Social scientist and reformers used crime statistics to mask and excuse anti-black racism, violence, and discrimination across the nation, especially in the urban North. (p. 4)

Statistical evidence, which was a relatively new phenomenon for social scientists as they forged their identities, showed that African Americans, as twelve percent of the population, made up thirty percent of the nation's prison population. These scientists ignored all data that would could be used to inform Black arrests and imprisonments, including specially designed race-conscious laws, new forms of everyday racial surveillance which had been institutionalized by the 1890s as a way to suppress Black freedom, and punishments based specifically on the (Black) race of assailants. The perspectives of these social scientists were that their findings were "incontrovertible, color-blind, and objective" (p. 4). Muhammad (2010) continues:

> At the dawn of the twentieth century, in a rapidly industrializing, urbanizing, and demographically shifting America, blackness was refashioned through crime statistics. It became a more stable racial category in

> opposition to whiteness through racial criminalization. Consequently, white criminality gradually lost it fearsomeness. (p. 5)

Further, he concluded from his findings that

> From the 1890s through the 1930s, from the Progressive era through Prohibition African Americans had no monopoly on social banditry, crimes of resistance, or underground entrepreneurship; and the "weapons of the weak' and 'lower-class oppositional culture' extended far and wide and in many directions". (p. 5)

Muhammad's research ties in with a growing movie industry in which White criminality was glamorized at a time when the celebrity status of White actors like Edward G. Robinson (himself an immigrant from Romania) and James Cagney was soaring as they played the roles of gangsters in movies of the 1930s and 1940s. In contrast, but necessarily in tandem with the racial construction of criminality, Blacks in commercially released films were rarely portrayed at all. Only later in the 1960s, and as part of a canon of feature films to appeal to Black audiences, were movies that offered more sympathetic portrayals created (e.g., Bogle, 2016).

Structural Violence, Poverty and Wealth

The structural violence that Blacks experience is frequently tied to disproportionate poverty and wealth relative to Whites. The ongoing violence that encircled Black lives with the use of sundown restrictions (to refer to towns where Blacks were not allowed after the sunset; see Loewen, 2005), as well as structurally through exclusions from jobs. In Aaron Bailey's town of Indianapolis, Indiana, one of the states included in Loewen's examination of sundown towns, Blacks were largely relegated by Whites to a community many had known to be the font of Black businesses, entertainment, and a Black high school that had from 1927 until the 1960s boasted successes in student achievement (Bump, May 5, 2017). At the time of Bailey's killing, the Black unemployment nationally stood at 7.9% as compared to 3.8% for Whites. A nearly identical trend was found during this same period in Aaron Bailey's town of Indianapolis, Indiana (7.3% for Blacks, 3.8 for Whites; Economic Policy Institute, May 17, 2017).

According to Grusky, Verner, and Mattingly (2017), the U.S. Census Bureau reports that Blacks in the United States comprise 12.3% of the total population. Yet Blacks disproportionately are among the most poor as a racial group on various indicators of poverty and wealth. Grusky et al. refer to the gaps in poverty across several domains, including home ownership, health, earnings, mobility, and incarceration. With home ownership, long considered a measure of relative prosperity, their study found that in 2014, 71% of White families lived in owner-occupied housing as compared with 41% of Black families, a gap that is partly attributed to "the still-substantial wealth, income, and employment gaps among racial and ethnic groups" (p. 2). "We might well have hoped that, some eight decades after the New Deal's expansion of home mortgages, the most important racial and ethnic inequalities in homeownership would have been largely resolved" (p. 1). Although the earnings gap between Whites and Black narrowed somewhat, most of the decline was secured in the immediate aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement.

Incarceration, which I expand on further below, also has implications for Black wealth and poverty. Grusky et al. (2017) found that 9.1% of Black men between the ages of 20–34 were incarcerated, a rate that is 5.7 times higher than that of White men at 1.6%. Pettit and Sykes (2017) wrote that "the sheer scale of criminal justice contact among racial and ethnic minority men makes it a central concern for accounts of inequality in the United States. Despite growing policy attention to criminal justice reform, incarceration persists at a historic high and remains disproportionately concentrated among racial and ethnic minorities." The authors also report that incarceration rates peaked in the mid-2000s, with young Blacks close to eight times as likely as young Whites to be incarcerated even with recent declines in incarceration. Further, the authors stated that "spending time in prison or jail has negative consequences for employment, earning, and other indicators of economic self-sufficiency… the weight of empirical evidence suggests that parental incarceration negatively impacts measures of child well-being and undergirds the intergenerational transmission of inequality" (pp. 25–26).

Cajner, Radler, Ratner, and Vidangos (2017) examined racial disparities in key labor market outcomes for men and women over the past four decades, with a special emphasis on their evolution over the business cycle. Blacks have substantially higher and more cyclical unemployment rates than Whites, and observable characteristics can explain very little of this differential, which is importantly driven by a comparatively

higher risk of job loss. In contrast, the Latino/a-White unemployment rate gap is comparatively small and is largely explained by lower educational attainment of (mostly foreign-born) Latino/as. Regarding labor force participation, the remarkably low participation rate of Black men is largely unexplained by observables, is mostly driven by high labor force exit rates from employment, and has shown little improvement over the last 40 years. Furthermore, even among those who work, Blacks and Latino/as are more likely than Whites to work part-time schedules despite wanting to work additional hours, and the racial gaps in this involuntary part-time employment are large even after controlling for observable characteristics. Their findings also suggest that the robust recovery of the labor market in the last few years has contributed significantly to reducing the gaps that had widened dramatically as a result of the Great Recession yet the racial disparities remain substantial.

Education

The standardized testing movement for intelligence and aptitude grew out of beliefs about the heritability of intelligence and that tests could be used to bear out the truths about the differential intelligence of Whites and other racial groups (Gould, 1996; Thomas & Sillen, 1972). Despite years of extensive criticisms about the use of these tests to make high-stake decisions, such as which performance "track" a student may be put in, access to honors programs and scholarships, and entrance into rigorous schools at the grade school, college and post-college levels, research on cultural equivalencies in which students' abilities are assessed by other measures or by improved tests are rarely done (e.g., Boykin, 2010; Helms, 1992).

Disproportionate incarceration of Blacks relative to Whites has implications also to educational persistence. In 2018, fully one-third of young Black men who dropped out of high school were incarcerated (see The Education Trust, n.d.). By the end of 2015, the Black-White gap in incarceration for high school dropouts was substantially larger than the gap among those with some college education or more, one prompt that led education scholar Lisa Delpit (2003) to call for "seed people" to help bring dramatic change to schools in which Black students attend. In the People's Report (n.d.), 100% of Black boys surveyed from the streets of Wilmington, Delaware had dropped out of school.

That school performance and the rate of incarceration has some overlap in urban districts has yielded a phenomenon called the "school to prison pipeline," whereby poor performance in school by Black and Brown children, the disproportionate assignment of these children of color into special education programs, and the high suspension and expulsion rates relative to Whites signal that the school environment is not suited for them (e.g., American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], n.d.; Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2017; Chenoweth, 2015). This phenomenon exists despite the evidence that at very young ages, children of color and White children are similar in the age they begin to read and other indicators of native intelligence (Boykin & Noguera, 2011).

Blacks in Urban Settings: How Violence Begets Violence

As written earlier, Trouillot (1995) wrote that learning how history works is important to our understanding of the past as well as the present. History constitutes the stories we all are reasonably capable of recounting. These are the stories of our own and other people's lives that are shaped by current realities. We can only recount stories based on what we view to be important and how our worldviews have been shaped. Consequently, the past and present are conjoined. When members of the powerful elite, for example, many academic historians, tell stories of the past that lack insight about their investments in what gets told and how it is told, then societies give birth to distorted knowledge that become institutional fixtures. Endowments by the powerful elite help fill libraries with fabricated stories. Monuments are commissioned and people the landscape to honor the heroics of figures whose complexities are shorn to present them as near-perfect people. Celebrations that spread to all corners of the nation fill the minds of the young at very early ages.

The nontransferable distance of race is unceasingly reaffirmed, and the humanity of Black people hangs in the balance. Against this backdrop are a people who have been dehumanized over the generations and, for some, who seek to discover their humanity. Some seek this humanity by contrasting their worth to others, a theme beset by a hegemony of racialized violence. To them, to exist in a society in which they are the targets of racialized violence is to be at variance with Blacks whom they perceive to embody the pathologies inherent in racism. Like a "pile of wreckage," (West & Buschendorf, 2014), the enduring nature of racialized violence works by creating cleavages among the targeted, Blacks and other people

of color. Many have come to believe that White racism or more broadly, the racism embedded in White-serving institutions are relics of the past and that Black people are solely at fault for racial animus, exclusions, and so forth. The justification for these beliefs lies in the corruption and violence that has existed and continues to exist in countries like Haiti, and in various countries in Africa. African-descended leaders wield violence against other African-descended people for purposes of greed and control. In the United States, urban communities led by Black mayors and whose local governments and schools are managed by Blacks have not battled vigorously against the spoils of racialized violence and have even seeded it. Interpersonal problems that range from exclusions related to skin color, hair texture, African nationality, and so forth are part of long-standing narratives that have created divisions and ire among Black people (e.g., Gyasi, 2016).

The "code of the street," the title of Elijah Anderson's (1999) book on violence in urban cities is defined as "a set of prescriptions and proscriptions or informal rules of behavior organized around a desperate search for respect that governs public relations, especially violence," (pp. 9–10). Among youth and adults in urban areas in the United States, E. Anderson stated that the code is where the negative influence of the police ends and the personal responsibility of the individual begins. It is a life where one has to learn to protect him or herself and loved ones. It is based on an undisputed insistence on respect. For Black heterosexual men, it is equated with masculinity, as into prove himself manly, and it does not come without a web of complications characterized by a need to be safe and show oneself to be distinguished from a woman or, for the heterosexual male, from a gay man. Jones (2010) wrote about one young Black man from the city, Craig, who had been shot in the hip and whose story reflects a complex negotiation about manhood and sexuality:

> Yeah, I don't fight no more," he says, "I can't fight [because of injury]… So, I really stop and think about stuff because it isn't even worth it… unless, I mean, you really want it [a fight] to happen… I'm going to turn the other cheek. But I'm not going to be, like, wearing a skirt. That's the way you got to look at it. (p. 6)

The masculinization of violence is evident in Craig's words, which points to problems in society's reinforcement of violence and aggression among men of all races. This association may relate in fact to the overwhelming

number of men who commit crimes of murder, rape, and assault (Katz, 2006). For Black American men, this association can have implications for violence against women because women are seen as "less than" and men are perceived most manly in violent environments when they can show absolute control over women with terror tactics. The aversion to "feminine" can translate to a similar aversion to appearing gay. The implication is that for a Black male to appear unmanly, defined especially by a code that stringently insists that he also is not feminine or gay is to be met with violence by other Black men (Katz, 2006; Majors & Mancini Billson, 1993).

In her research involving interviews with Black teenaged girls living in the poorest areas of Philadelphia, Jones (2010) revealed narratives that expose dilemmas in navigating fighting with other girls. In addition to the violence these teens encounter to environments in which there are drug wars that transfer from neighborhoods to the schools, drive-by shootings, abusive boyfriends, and intrusive policing by White and Black police officers, the girls also face the expectation of fighting other girls. Jones discovered that the mothers and grandmothers and other older women from these neighborhoods also had to help their daughters navigate the extremely challenging terrain and potentially life-threatening environments. These older women might be involved not only in teaching or guiding their daughters about fighting, but also in being involved in the fights themselves Mothers, in particular, might supervise fights, instigate them or even arrange to fight the mother of the targeted threat—another adolescent girl.

As Jones points out, adolescent girls in these environments have no manhood to defend, yet they face threats to violence and were forced to learn how to organize their social world around violence. Jones found that the girls in her study negotiated between being "good" that is, conforming to mainstream ideas of femininity in appearance and behaviors, and being "ghetto." To be ghetto meant to be aggressive and often ready for a fight, even to look for one. For both the girls who strove to be good and the ones who were "ghetto," there was a bind: to be good meant limits on friendships where fights were expected to prove loyalty. To be ghetto meant that one constantly faced danger in proving her toughness, but that this reputation did not necessarily bode well when the girls sought acceptance outside these communities, for example, when they sought jobs, letters of recommendation from principals for college, and so forth.

Mass Incarceration: A Close Look at the Free and Unfree

Legal scholar Michelle Alexander (2010) wrote that the promulgation of the mass incarceration we observe in the United States today, during the 1970s, jobs had suddenly disappeared from urban areas across America, and unemployment rates had skyrocketed. In fact, in 1954, Black and White youth unemployment rates were equal, with Blacks actually having a slightly higher rate of employment in the age group sixteen to nineteen. By 1984, however, the Black unemployment rate had nearly quadrupled, while the White rate had increased only marginally. This shift was the result of deindustrialization, globalization, and technological advancement. Urban factories shut down as the nation transitioned to a service economy. Alexander write further

> Suddenly African Americans were trapped in jobless ghettos, desperate for work … The economic collapse of inner-city black communities could have inspired a national outpouring of compassion and support. A new War on Poverty could have been launched. Economic stimulus packages could have sailed through Congress to bail out those trapped in jobless ghettos through no fault of their own. Education, job training, public transportation, and relocation assistance could have been provided, so that youth of color would have been able to survive the rough transition to a new global economy and secure jobs in distant suburbs. Constructive interventions would have been good not only for African Americans trapped in ghettos, but also for blue color workers of all colors, many of whom were suffering too, if less severely … Instead we declared a War on Drugs. (p. 218)

According to Alexander (2010), the War on Drugs actually was a war on Black people. What occurred alongside the collapse of the urban setting were mechanisms in which Black people were being hauled into prisons in droves (see also Peery, 1990). The ones who had committed crimes were vilified in media during electoral campaigns, condemned for their conditions, thus setting off and building on a fierce sentiment over a course of history of equating frightful, street crime with Black people.

Notably, the War on Drugs has become an engine of mass incarceration and a primary cause of gross racial disparities in the criminal justice system and in the ex-offender population. In Chicago, alone, 90%

of those sentenced to prison for drug offenses in the state of Illinois are African Americans. Further,

> White drug offenders are rarely arrested and when they are they are treated more favorably at every stage of the criminal justice process, including plea bargaining and sentencing. Whites are consistently more likely to avoid prison and felony charges even when they are repeat offenders. Black offenders, by contrast, are routinely labeled felons and released into a permanent racial undercaste.… the total population of Black males in Chicago with a felon record (including both current and ex-felons) is equivalent to 55 percent of the Black adult male population and an astonishing 80 percent of the adult black male workforce in the Chicago area. This stunning development reflects the dramatic increase in the number and race of those sent to prison for drug crimes. For the Chicago region alone, the number of those annually sent to prison for drug crimes increased almost 2000 percent, from 469 in 1985 to 8,755 in 2005. (Alexander, 2010, p. 189)

These findings are mere fractions of the entire story, unfortunately. Alexander continues:

> In the past, the criminal justice system, as punitive as it may have been during various wars on crime and drugs, affected only a relatively small percentage of the population. Because civil penalties and sanctions imposed on ex-offenders applied only to a few, they never operated as a comprehensive system of control over any racially or ethnically defined population.… Today, the War on Drugs has given birth to a system of mass incarceration that governs not just a small fraction of racial or ethnic minorities but entire communities of color. In ghetto communities, nearly everyone is either directly or indirectly subject to the caste system. (p. 188)

The rash of publicized police killings may suggest that the tragic deaths of Black men and women in the United States are isolated incidents, but evidence would prove otherwise. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2018) shows that the most likely contact with police for the majority of Americans is a traffic stop, and that in 2011, the latest report on these statistics, Blacks are more likely to be stopped by police than Whites (12% versus 10%) and that 68% of Blacks reported that they believed they were stopped legitimately by police in comparison to 84% Whites and 74% Latinx. Voigt et al. (2017) conducted a study of Oakland,

California police body camera recordings for the month of April 2014, to find differences between how police treated Black versus White motorists they stopped. Oakland, California is a racially diverse city in the United States. First, they found that of the 981 stops, 682 involved Black drivers and 299 were White drivers. This finding of racial disparity mirrored the trend identified by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2018) data which show that of the 26 million traffic stops recorded each year, a higher percentage are Black drivers.

Using human panels of 70 people, as well as computer algorithmic analyses, Voigt and colleagues found that out of the 36,000 exchanges by police officers, that there were several indicators to confirm that these officers treated White motorists with more respect than they did with Black motorists. With both the human panels and computer algorithmic analyses, the team found that the officers used more informal and disrespectful titles when referring to Black motorists than with White motorists (e.g., “dude,” “bro,” and “sis”), among other indicators. The team was interested in exploring more about the potential words or actions that may have provoked officers and their language, however, over the course of a single traffic stop, the use of respectful language increased more quickly for Whites than for Blacks. In other words, the researchers discovered that there already was a race gap in respect “even when the community member hasn’t had much time to say very much at all” (p. 6524).

This research provides some evidence of the precariousness of being Black when it comes to being stopped by law enforcement. Like Muhammad’s conclusions based on an abounding social science literature, Alexander too concludes that the phenomenon of mass incarceration, conveys what it means to be Black. Mass incarceration therefore is the defining means for Blackness.

Looking Ahead

All of the problems that spring from racialized violence can prove challenging to people psychologically. It is the terror one imagines in the experience of being abducted as slaves and being the objects of violence onboard ships, and of Blacks who were ruthlessly lynched, burned, and gassed, as well as the accounts not covered here of the Congolese,

Angolans, and of the Africans and Caribbeans who were at the mercy of the colonizers who abused them. It is the terror, as Byron Stevenson (n.d.) labels it, of being lynched, and of Whites threatening Blacks when they tried to prepare the person for burial. The White people involved in the lynching wanted the body to serve as a reminder to Blacks of the power Whites would use to maintain the racial-social order.

There is a psychological toll that unfolds as racialized violence abounds. It inflames "in-fighting" to deadly proportions, as in the scourge of gang violence, that is occasioned within regions of the world with other African-descended people across regions. For example, in addition to the killing sprees within the borders of Haiti mentioned earlier, there also was the slaughter of thousands of Haitians and Dominicans by Dominican Republic President Rafael Trujillo in 1937. An admirer of Adolph Hitler, Trujillo commanded his soldiers to kill unsuspecting Haitian workers by the droves. To determine which people to kill, the soldiers killed the dark-complexioned workers. However, because this physical measure was not a guarantee in distinguishing the Haitians from their Dominican counterparts, some of whom were killed as "collateral," the soldiers would ask the workers to pronounce the English word for "parsley"—"perejil" in Spanish, which was pronounced differently by Haitians than Dominicans.

These experiences prove anguishing for people even to speak about many decades later. In an interview, Dominican author, Julia Alvarez spoke of the silencing surrounding the Parsley Massacre, and of the persistence of human rights violations of Haitians in the Dominican Republic (National Public Radio [NPR], 2012). According to Alvarez, "even though it happened in the way past, that same massacre mentality is there to this day with the way that the human rights of Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian origin are denied in the Dominican Republic." In the same interview, Haitian author Edwidge Danticat who wrote *The Farming of Bones,* a fiction about the Parsley Massacre, also spoke of the silence and with it, the ongoing entrenchment of second-class citizenship among Haitians in the DR:

> It's not something we [Haitians] talked about, but it was transmitted through all history. I had people in my family who went to work in the sugar cane in the Dominican Republic, and it is an atrocious situation

> that's current. It is not one of those situations where you say, this is over. You know, but there are still things that, even as we come together to remember, the fact that people can be in the Dominican Republic for generations and not get a birth certificate and they can't go to school and all, these things are sort of part of the current migration, so the history sort of overshadows the present at the same time and there's always a fear of repeats, which is why it's so important when people come together to talk about the past, not just for the sake of talking about the past, but also to talk about how we can create a different future with what we know of the past. (NPR, 2012)

This trend of not talking about past violence is what Jason Byrne (2014) wrote about in his account of the Ocoee, Florida massacre in the United States on election day 1920. Other events occurred in the space of 1920 to the present—including a sign posted on the town line in 1959 that said "Dogs and Negroes Not Welcome," but today, as Byrne described, Ocoee is an integrated city with around 40,000 people, 15% of whom are African-Americans. He writes:

> But the ghosts of the past cast a long shadow. The descendants of long time residents shy away from discussing the shameful history and prefer to pretend the horrific events of 90 years ago never happened at all.

The silencing has an impact on African-descended people psychically and with one another within and across regions. The silencing also has an impact on Whites and notably, the on production of continued racialized violence in its various forms. Sociologist Nancy DiTomasco's (2013) study is an example of a manifestation of structural violence by revealing how the manufacturing of silence and distortions influences White people and the environments that serve their interests as White people. She studied a group of White people about their perceptions of how they achieved success in their jobs and careers. DiTomasco discovered that relatively few were able to see that they were hoarding opportunities for employment, such as passing along access to good jobs to their friends and family members, and affording themselves of other exchanges in social, cultural, and financial capital among other White people. She also found that Whites, when asked, do not see themselves as racist, apparently failing to see the increasingly hostile political behavior that concerns mostly Whites, and they also tend not acknowledge the hoarding. In fact, in her study

of interviews with nearly 250 Whites, DiTomasco's participants attributed their success to their own efforts and talents rather than the social context or circumstances in which they live. "What is surprising about this dynamic is not how many people rely on the use of social resources to 'get ahead' in their lives, but how few of them recognize that social resources were their route to their success" (p. 9).

DiTomaso noted that this problem of what she calls the disengagement of Whites from promoting change in racial inequality is one in which there is "racial inequality without racism," and where the normative environment quite regularly erases and downplays racism and especially its role in Whites' promulgation of it.

DiTomasco's findings suggest that the silencing of racism arguments the piled wreckage. The toll racism exacts on Black people too often goes diminished and written off as "unfortunate" at best or "deserving" at worst as the growing demise of Blacks' lives increases. As advanced in the next chapters, racism also contributes to the severing of the moral and cultural connections that Blacks have had with other Black people. These are the connections that have been formidable in the past in combating against racialized violence. It follows that a major task for Blacks in persistently addressing racialized violence is to understand it and its impacts on self and society. It is a deeply personal act that necessarily affects our role in developing and repairing relationships. We turn next to how this task can be accomplished.

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CHAPTER 3

How Racial Identity Theory Is Relevant to Liberation and Peace Psychology

Racialized violence is the cornerstone of perpetuating racism. As an ideology, racism shapes our socialization with the insistence that human beings are aligned along a hierarchy in which Black people and others defined as *not* White are cast as sub-human and of possessing less worth than White people. Whites and non-White racial elites use physical violence to propagate racism, and in its structural manifestations, racism savagely imposes a sense of normalcy in which people tend to sideskirt and downplay the pervasive array of verbal put-downs, and systemic exclusions and entitlements that are accorded on the basis of race. African-descended people have long voiced and written about the originating violence of the Ma'at, including psychologists who over the past several decades have theorized and/or studied the impacts of this violence on Black people (e.g., Akbar, 1984, 1996; Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Carter, 2007; Carter, Muchow, & Pieterse, 2018; Myers, 2010; Wallace, McGee, Malone-Colon, & Boykin, 2018; Wilson, 1993, 2000).

Psychological theorist William E. Cross, Jr. formulated a model he termed psychological Nigrescence in a 1971 widely cited article in *Black World*. According to Cross, Black people experience a process of gradual awakening in which they eventually come to embrace their Blackness as they also learn about, come to grips with, and learn tools to battle against White people/White hegemony. During the first stage of the model, the people view the world through conformist lenses: the

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individual's worldview is principally pro-White and anti-Black. A jarring event or set of events prompts a different view of the world. The person's conformist worldview erupts. In search of a way to resolve the strong emotions that accompany this period of awakening, the person immerses himself in experiences that deepen his understanding of what is happening around him. His search is characterized by the need to establish a firmer "footing" from this volatility in order to better position himself with his new racialized lenses. He may search for ways to "become" (more) Black and he does this at times using stereotypical or surface means, such as growing his hair naturally or wearing African clothing. He eventually emerges from this process of exploration becoming increasingly more confident about himself and relying less on surface indicators of Blackness. He also achieves a better understanding of and appreciation for Black people and likely continues to appraise White people negatively. Cross labeled this phase as the first part of the Immersion-Emersion stage in which the person immerses himself in an understanding of self in relation to other Black people, but the other part of this development, an understanding of self in relation to Whites, is less developed. The person gradually proceeds to the Emersion phase to a worldview in which he considers more fully the relevance of White people and institutions to his own development. At the final stage, the person's world becomes more than Black and White—literally and figuratively—in that his view of self is characterized as affirming his Blackness as he also comes to understand and appreciate all people affected by racism and other structures of stratification and injustice.

Cross would later formulate a different model on Black racial identity in which he retained some of these original formulations (see Cross, 1991, 2012). Psychological theorist Janet E. Helms further developed Cross' (1971) original model to include some key elements. In addition to elaborating on the Black identity model with its phases of development, Helms created the White Racial Identity Model, the People of Color Racial Identity Model, and the Social Interaction Model (Helms, 1990a, 1992, 1995; see also Thompson & Carter, 1997). Helms' developments constitute a comprehensive theory of racial identity. In the following, I extract elements from Helms' theory and develop new formulations to highlight its relevance to liberation and peace psychology.

A Re-formulation of Racial Identity Theory

The Thompson re-formulation of Cross' original model of racial identity and Helms' elaboration of the theory is built on seven tenets. First, in attending to the two-pronged nature of the Manichean worldview of racism, people engage in a combined process of liberation and peace-building. It is a process of liberation because it stresses that individuals free themselves from the perpetuating cycle of racism. To be free from this cycle is also to be more personally authentic and to act on the need for the liberation of others. This is also a simultaneous process of peace-building because it entails confronting rather than avoiding the violence that is bound up in racism. Peace-building entails processes of change that are humanizing, like building alliances with other people and seeing the "other" in the self. These processes replace the dehumanizing practices that have become normative in societies like the United States and that contribute to divisions among Black people and between other groups. Emphasis is placed on building alliances with other Black people, not to exclusion of non-Blacks, but as a major project to overcoming internalized racism. Dehumanizing processes include distancing, stereotyping (and thus, seeing people in simplistic, reductionist ways rather than as complex human beings), and seeing others as less than human.

Second, for Black people to address the two-pronged nature of racism, they will come to realize that their actions can invoke terror in those Whites whose identities are exclusively or primarily forged on the basis of it. The Whites described above use racialized violence physically and/or by being the primary producers of exploitative structures that adversely affect the lives and life chances of Black people while in contrast, uphold the life chances of White people. Although this attention to Whites may seem irrelevant to Black people psychologically, racism is fundamentally a phenomenon that entails a yoking between groups of people based on race. Even when Black people may have little contact with White people directly, institutional, political, and economic hegemonic forces favor the interests of Whites relative to Blacks and other people of color. These forces propagate racialized violence. For example, these institutional structures operate at the global level as the mergers between powerful governments have waged violence on African people in developing countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (see Luchak & Gavin, 2016). At the individual levels, the propagation of racialized violence can occur with the use of acceptable language and actions that diminish

racism's existence (e.g., see Sue, 2010), and its natural outgrowth, a proclivity to delude or ignore racism (e.g., Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013).

Third, Black people contribute to the Manichean paradigm when they seek approval and acceptance from those Whites whose identities are primarily or exclusively forged on racism, and from those irrespective of race who also seek approval and acceptance from White people and/or institutions that support the Manichean paradigm. They may, for example, defend the pervasive use of a language that is spoken by White or European people, like French, and abhor languages associated with Black people like Haitian Kreyol or Black English (see Fanon, 1952).

Fourth, people in racialized societies generally build, support and tolerate institutions imbued with racism thus creating a climate of normative practices. Consequently, when Black people meaningfully question the norm of racialized violence, they face problems that can result in disapproval, rejection, ousters from jobs or clubs, or murder. Others, like non-Black people who are involved in the struggle, can also experience these consequences (see Williams, 2013), in particular other People of Color like indigenous people, Asian Americans, Latino/as, Arab people, and refugees and immigrants from non-European countries.

Racialized violence operates as a constancy in society by targeting *certain* groups of Black people who are more susceptible to the violence. This is a fifth tenet of the re-formulated theory. People who comprise the more susceptible groups are more inclined to be targets of societal abuse because they have qualities that are presumed to be "naturally" linked to crime or limited life chances, like poverty, female gender, a bent toward protests, the dis/abled, and/or affiliation as a foreigner. Intersections of these qualities can be especially dangerous for its targets which include Black men and women in poor, urban areas who are mentally ill (Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, n.d.). Black people feed into racialized violence when they strive to be exceptions by dissociating or distancing themselves from the non-excepted groups of Black people.

Six, racial identity theory attends to the unfolding transformation that can occur when people interact within their social-racial contexts. For Black people, this development on the individual level leads to transformations in which they come to view themselves and others more inclusively and complexly. They come to understand the yoked nature of racialized violence as their identities become less bound by it; they are therefore psychologically liberated from the constraints of "behaving"

Black for the purpose of placating Whites or serving White, status quo interests *as manifested in this dynamic of racism*. Within the frame of racism's perverse character, White interests can include the need to feel inconquerable, secure, charitable, and worthy, relative to Black people. At the societal level, Black people who experience transformations in their racial identities are capable of facilitating similar processes of development in others, Black and non-Black, and are equipped in advancing progress in dismantling racialized violence in policy, laws, and practices that shape everyday lives. Helms' (1984, 1990a, 1990b) Social Interaction Model embodies this tenet by demonstrating the significance of facilitating racial identity development.

Seven and last, for Black people, practicing interpersonal engagements that are intended to invoke action against racialized violence (the "willed, organized action" that Bulhan (1985) writes about in the below quote) while ejecting the "slumbering slave within" are two essential projects to this development.

I turn next to a description of the final status of this development.

The Final Status of Development

According to liberation psychologist Hussein Bulhan (1985),

> Freedom requires new courage, new vision, and new commitments. The dehumanizing master without must be killed — at least psychologically — just as the slumbering slave within must be ejected. Neither can occur without willed, organized action. Both entail risking a psychological crisis and even physical death. For then, and only then, can a given generation of the oppressed effect change and reclaim their history. (p. 127)

In this quote, Bulhan (1985) describes the apex of racial identity development theory. It is an aspiration in which the person is able to confront the oppressor and hence, the oppressive conditions that allow racism to thrive. To confront the oppressor is also to destroy the "oppressor-within." The oppressor-within is a force the person absorbs and that draws on his or her fear of actual death, and/or of the conditions that are associated symbolically with death, such as isolation, exclusion, destitution, and rejection. Destroying the oppressor-within is to free the self from the manacles that prevent one from acting against societal oppression. The evidence that the person has successfully destroyed the

oppressor-within, and by inference, will not be overcome or conquered psychologically by the oppressor-without, is that the person at the advanced status of racial identity acts against oppression. Both features of the development—of confronting the oppressor and destroying the oppressor-within, comprise a process that is not directed solely on the self. It is to understand that "communities outlive individuals" (Bulhan, 1985, p. 127). The apex of racial identity development is an aspiration that ultimately entails a view of self as tied to the lives and fate of others.

Bulhan maintains further that this emergence of new courage, vision, and commitments entails the symbolic replacement of one life for another. A new life is born. Elaborating on Fanon's provocative book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) in which the author espoused that Black people achieve true freedom only when they can physically kill the oppressor, Bulhan instead contends that the quest for liberation from oppression is to recognize that the life of the self is knottily entangled in the life of the oppressor. No supplication or negotiation can occur. To negotiate is still to succumb to a form of death in which Blacks relinquish a part of their humanity in exchange for the avarice and aggrandizement of Whites and White-serving institutions.

Violence engulfs the lives of Black people as it also gives justification for White lives and White freedom. Racialized violence "wins" when Black people dissociate from and even participate in and support the destruction of other Blacks. When this complicity occurs, racial identity development does not advance nor do acts aimed at dismantling racial oppression. Although White people are in power and are the rightful arbiters in ending racism, it is theoretically the onus of people of color to provoke this change. Fanon (1961) refers to this experience of rebirth in which Black people come to the realization to free themselves as one in which a "new [hu]man" emerges.

Martin Luther King, Jr. (in West, 2015) also wrote about a rebirth when Black people muster the courage to participate in a struggle for freedom that historically has been dangerous for them. The quote below evinces King's awe at the outpouring of protest by the people of Montgomery, Alabama who united to support his being released from prison and whose actions brought more vigor to the civil rights movement:

> It was no wonder that the movement couldn't be stopped. It was too large to be stopped. Where there is true unity, every effort to disunite only

> serves to strengthen unity. This is what the opposition failed to see. … The members of the opposition had all revealed that they did not know the Negroes with whom they were dealing. They thought they were dealing with a group who could be cajoled and forced to do whatever the white man wanted them to do. They were not aware that they were dealing with Negroes who had been freed from fear. And so every move they made proved to be a mistake. It could not be otherwise, because their methods were geared to the "old Negro," and they were dealing with a "new Negro." (West, 2015, pp. 20–21)

As the most prominent leader of the U.S. civil rights movement that began in the 1950s, King faced White oppressors who were stalwart segregationists and violence-inciters. He also faced the same oppressors, mostly White, property-holding men in seats of power, who had the power to attend to the deplorable conditions of those living in poverty. King also was virulently against the Vietnam War and vocal in his protests against it. As his protests spread to the social ills of poverty and war, he faced opposition from other Blacks who were concerned that his forays into poverty and the Vietnam War proved too risky to the gains that were thus far achieved and too broad in scope. All of his actions were a reflection of his commitment to the eradication of multiple, intersecting societal wrongs. This quality is another important feature of Cross' and Helms' conceptualizations.

To be attuned to multiple, intersecting societal wrongs is to recognize the complexities inherent in society's structures. Such recognition pushes the advanced status person to broaden her scope. To hone in solely on race is to overlook the damaging abuses that occur among people on the basis of economic status and other qualities deemed relentlessly dehumanizing to people. The advanced status person achieves new heights as a new person when she understands that violent societies leave few, if any, immune to it. There are many people who not only are rendered silent, but also are victims of "lovelessness" (Freire, 1970) because they feel shame about themselves and their status on a proliferating hierarchy of human worth.

West (2015) spoke of King's practices and legacy as a reflection of "radical love," an apt description of the advanced status. Radical love, according to West is "a relentless self-examination in which a fearful, hateful, egoistic self dies daily to be reborn into a courageous, loving and sacrificial self" (p. xvi). For King, the combination of moral

actions governed by Gandhi's principles of non-violence and interpretation of Christian theology gave way to a radical love displayed by persistent courage and sage leadership. For Black people like Ella Baker, Cynthia McKinney, Muhammad Ali, and others described in the final two chapters of this book, there are different nuances in how they display these advanced status characteristics. Yet radical love and the moral actions and writings that govern this work appear to be similar: the commitment to work with the most vulnerable, to never forego discussions about race and racism, to engage in difficult deliberations that move discourse to action, and a regard for the welfare of all people.

The Process

Racial identity is a developmental process. Variation exists in people's worldviews concerning race, that is, how they perceive, appraise and act based on their understanding of themselves and other people as racial group members. According to Helms, earlier status schemata consist of more rigid, black-and-white thinking of three entities—the self, others, and the world, whereas more developed schemata consist of greater complexity and flexibility in the person's thinking (1995). Schemata refer to cognitive processes. When people find that their current schemata is not sufficient to making sense of the world, then they are in need of change. Affective processes and moral development urge the person's thinking and thusly, are integral to racial identity development. Information Professing Strategies, or IPS, inform schemata. IPS are exhibited in how people attend to matters concerning racism, including how they come to define themselves racially.

There is wide variation in how Black people experience their socialization as Black people. Yet it is proposed theoretically that there is the common occurrence of the jarring experience or experiences (Cross, 1971), or what Fanon (1961) described years before Cross' writing as "muscles tensed." These are the events that prove unsettling, at best, and dangerous at worst. For example, the event may be the threat of violence, being beaten up, or being rejected from a job, all based on racial reasons. In whatever way the person experiences the event, it is sufficiently troubling to invoke some action. The person may deny the event, discredit the racial reasons it happened, pursue knowledge on how to make sense of what occurred, and so forth. The muscles can tense also

when the experience is favorable: the person may become jarred as she discovers that her stereotypes about other Blacks are ill-founded. Not so incidentally, parents have prepared their children over the generations for race inoculation, which influences how they experience these events. Described here are the sorts of socialization that occur when advanced level schemata parenting is not in place.

The tensing of muscles speaks to the reminders of one's status as related to race in interaction with social class, gender, and other characteristics that shape who the person is. Muscles are tensed when there are derailments to the person's prior understanding, and in some cases, more so when the person believes that he has already escaped the wrath of Blackness in his life. Further exploration into *why* the experience occurred depends on many factors, including his relationships with those who can help him make sense of it. In the absence of people to help him, the tension may only go away with denial of the experience or by projecting the hurt of the negative experiences onto others. Still, another healthy way to settle the tension is to attune to social media, news articles, and books, if the person is inclined to do these things. It is that experience of responding to the tense muscles that can bring on the personal hurt of rejection, of missed opportunities for growth, and for feelings of being the target of exclusion and violence.

Muscles tensed based on the messages a person receives about him- or herself racially can be relentlessly cast, by individuals and by media portrayals of those who are considered attractive, friendly, and suitable for inclusion (like jobs, social settings, etc.) and who are less suitable because they are deemed to have negative characteristics. Inclusion may also be by degree; the presence of Black people in relatively small numbers can be acceptable whereas greater proportions to Whites can evince discomfort in Whites (see Helms, 1990a). Without a frame for understanding why these situations exist, the person will search for meaningful answers or rely on mainstream explanations, or pursue some combination of both. Importantly, when they pursue a path of sense-making by interacting with others, they will find that there are few who are indifferent to race and racism, even when they may believe themselves to be. Indeed, to ignore or be indifferent to race is to diminish racialized violence and by default, accept it when such diminishing serves to benefit the person *or* benefits the person's decision to dissociate himself racially as Black. If the person in search for answers is fortunate, he is able to find guidance and prudent direction from someone with advanced schemata in understanding racism

and how to address it. Scenarios in which people with advanced status schemata assume influential roles with people with lower-status schemata are called *progressive* interactions. This is one of the conceptualizations developed by Helms in 1984. The person is especially fortunate if this guidance occurs at young ages and continues through his lifetime.

Because of a racist ideology that imposes polarities between what is considered Black and what is considered White, people's views on human complexity are affected. An ideology based on race evokes bad-versus-good human qualities onto people based on their race. Consequently, a 25-year-old Black woman, who is 6'3, was transracially adopted by White parents and grew up in the rural U.S. Midwest where she had little interaction with other Black people, and at age 18, entered college at a historically Black college, may teeter on whether or not she actually is *all* Black. Or, raised in a household where her parents cultivated her Blackness as they also formed close, lasting relationships with other Black people, urged her to attend an historically Black college, and inoculated her against White racism, sexism, and class bias, this same woman may express that she is undoubtedly and proudly Black. In the first scenario, the Black woman will develop a disdain for being reduced to one thing—a Black woman. The Black woman in the second scenario will share this disdain. However, in the first scenario, the woman may come to develop a disdain for people who associate her with being Black by presenting himself as "outwardly Black, *however…*" with the assumption that Blackness is associated with negative attributes, and she may work to rid herself of these negative associations that unfairly limit her complexity and humanity. She is "boxed in" based on the appraised qualities that Whites, and in many cases, other Blacks and People of Color have about her based on her phenotypical expression of Blackness. The "outwardly Black, however…" stance assumes that all Black people are characterized by only a narrow set of mainly negative characteristics. The exceptional qualities she may have are offered as reasons for her being "different" and may relate to White-related qualities, such as being raised by Whites, speaking "good English," or having German stock to explain her height. Her struggle to free herself from the box of Blackness now moves her into another box. Her actions are aimed at the racial animus associated with Blackness and her switch to non-Black or "different" characteristics reflect behaviors also related to racial animus. The switch also eludes a process of genuine "being."

People whose worldviews are conformist in nature see the environment as relatively or entirely raceless. To settle the tension invoked by events that disrupt the quietness, they may be able to escape the assaults by denying that they are Black, for example, or resign themselves to the normative view that any knowledge about a pattern of problems that Black people face are the result of Black people. In other words, in their view Blacks bring on these problems themselves. However, when their automatic responses no longer operate to settle the tension, then the process of development is ignited. It will entail shifts in her views of the world, in moral agency, and of the often fitful resolve to stand with the cause for action over the succumbing of the anxiety and fear that prompts the penchant for "fitting in" and acceptance within the larger mainstream society.

It is a transformation that is linear in that the person gradually ascends the proverbial steps on a ladder, but not necessarily in a straightforward manner. The development can occur in patchwork fashion. There may be times in which the person is fixated, and where recycling occurs in which she returns to a way of seeing the world that assured her the feeling of being more firmly grounded (Helms, 1995; Parham, 2016). With each recycling, there is greater depth of understanding and greater energy expended in denying the existence of racism. What keeps the potential growth occurring is the tensing of muscles. It becomes more difficult to avoid or explain away the responses as long as the person is engaged not only in pursuing knowledge about the racism, but also in developing closer ties that lend to enlarging her moral circle to include Black people or to increase the quality of these relationships. This latter level of engagement requires an acknowledgment of her ties to Black people and of the horrendous acts of physical and structural violence that threaten Black lives. The engagement leads to the person's transformation into a new person, with new courage, vision, and commitments.

When a person eventually breaks free from the ideology which confines our worldviews and constrains us from recognizing the violations it creates, then a "new human" can emerge. Tensed muscles might still occur, but it does not occur because of the foreboding sense that one is a tragic failure because of his association with Blackness, but rather, because of the courage that is necessary to build allegiances in the war against racialized and other forms of oppression. Such courage can entail some trepidation, at least initially.

The Two Projects

There are two major projects that occur in the process of the unfolding racial identity. The first project consists of confronting the oppressor. This is a form of interpersonal encounters with the White people and non-White elites who express racism and uphold a racist status quo. It involves speaking out against racism and other forces of domination. In the evolution of taking stands to address racism, the person has more concern about the wrongness of racism and other exploitative and violent structures than about their status. In fact, they make use of their status as a means to speak out against and work to dismantle systems that exclude, negatively influence communities, support violence against Black people against any and all perpetrators. Those who confront the oppressor would call for the dismantling of housing restrictions that bar "undesirable" people. They are mindful of the society's history of cross burnings, sundown signs, district re-zoning based on race, and the killing of Black people at the hands of Whites whose lives and identities were shaped by the relish of life by comparison. These past actions are kept aflame by voter suppression and corrupt practices in environmental protections in Black and other People of Color neighborhoods, elongated stays in solitary confinement of prisoners, a great proportion of whom are Black and Brown, and endangered urban zones in which residents are stopped and frisked and at risk of abuse or murder.

According to philosopher-scholar Charles Mills (1999), Blacks and other people of color enter into an implicit contract with White people in which there is an implicit understanding on how they encounter one another when it comes to addressing issues of racism. The contract maintains that the society is raceless. It establishes that there is consensus to conventionally generated norms and practices for the purpose of getting along. Invariably, the contract does nothing to advance change in racialized society. With this contract, Mills states that those who designate themselves as White historically bring their privileged status into existence and construct society, the polity, and the economic system around that. At the base of the racial contract is that it is not merely an historical actuality—the modern world is shaped by European colonialism and global white supremacy, but also an established personhood and sub-personhood. He stated that morally and legally, non-Whites are assigned to the moral status of "sub-persons" who lack the full complement of rights of white persons. Epistemically, non-Whites enter the

contract by demonstrating cognitive inferiority in their ability to understand the crucial features of the world (that is, to conform to this norm with little complaint), and aesthetically, those whose body types are most distant from the White norm, particularly blacks, are judged ugly and deficient. Mills also argues that it is a contract that has to be enforced through violence and ideological conditioning. In keeping with Mills' position, it would seem necessary that the first project for Black people to achieve psychological emancipation is to break the contract of complicity. It is to confront the oppressor—the people who maintain and perpetuate racialized violence.

The second project consists of destroying the oppressor-within, which occurs hand-in-hand with the first project. The second project is more inward-driven than the first. Killing the oppressor-within means gazing inside the self by first extracting the erroneous and narrow messages about Black people's inferiority and similarly, of the erroneous and narrow messages about Whites' relative superiority. These messages reside in the person and must be excavated. To destroy the oppressor-within is also to enter into a process of replacing the old with the new. The person faces the hard reality of feelings of shame. He forgives himself of his prior acts of casting aspersions on people's character, turning away from the violence and treating people differently and unfairly based on race. In place of this excavation, he builds up his authenticity, learns to see himself more wholly as a Black person with ostensibly complex qualities. Because Blackness is related to referent-group association, this metamorphosis is evinced as he also learns about and acquires a greater appreciation of Black culture. Often portrayed in stereotypical ways, as in Cross' examples about Afros and dashikis, he understands that Blackness is bounded racially by sinister forces that appropriates certain qualities for White purposes. Consequently, his journey into Blackness is associated more with forays into relationships with people whose lives have honored traditions while showing flexibility over time and in different regions. The process entails eschewing a romanticism of Blackness or a view of Black-as-exotic—a characteristic adopted by Whites who show a fascination for Black hair, music, and culture while also maintaining a level of fear and distance from Black people. To remove oneself from the distance is to also remove oneself a view of Blackness through White, appropriating lenses.

Both projects are ongoing and operate in tandem. As people gain further knowledge about themselves, other people, and society, they also

avail themselves of the opportunity to be moral agents. They learn to reconcile the immorality inherent in beliefs about Whites and Blacks aligned along a hierarchy and ranked according to the worth of its members. Their actions, as encountered in realizing the first project, will invite opportunities for further self-reflection, just as the self-reflection will help advance their persistence in confronting the oppressor.

Resistance to Healthy Racial Identity Development

The polarity between those who resist advancing in racial identity and those who do not is an artificial one. There indeed are people whose behaviors seem to reflect the extremes in the behavior, even by endangering the lives of other Black people in serving as informants to violence perpetrators. Yet in reality, the resistance to racial identity advancement is absorbed by many if not most, even by those who have invested time and attention to the cause for liberation and peace. Psychologist Parham (2016) eloquently illustrates this process by using the writings of Malcolm X to demonstrate how the prophetic leader's development of racial identity was an outgrowth out of his wealth of experiences and reflections about life, himself, and other people.

People who are capable of the cognitive, affective and moral processing that is entailed in this development largely possess the qualities to mature in racial identity (Helms, 1995; Thompson & Carter, 1997). They possess capacities to learn new information and engage morally in the process of transforming themselves and in being influenced by transformative measures.

The following are some of the reasons Blacks resist this development. It is not assumed that the Blacks who demonstrate these behaviors are entirely conscious of their actions.

Protecting White People and Claiming Neutrality to Race

Resistance acts as blocks to the development. Some Black people may perceive themselves as exceptional in comparison with other Blacks—as "rising above" race by adhering to certain religious doctrine, espousing color-erasure attitudes, or merely downplaying the importance of race to their lives. They rely on resistance to foster calm for themselves, their families, and ultimately for Whites.

Some feel a certain "pull" toward comforting White people according to studies. Richeson and Trawalter (2005) conducted three studies to determine the veracity of a resource depletion account of the impairment of inhibitory task performance after interracial contact. Resource depletion refers to challenges in engaging in certain tasks that require executive attention, an area of the brain that entails the ability to inhibit certain survivalist responses. The authors concluded from their study that "During interactions with Black Confederates, White individuals revealed cardiac responses associated with threat (e.g., increased ventricular contractility, little change in cardiac output and increased total peripheral resistance)" (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005, p. 944). By contrast, when Whites communicated with a White person—a relatively non-threatening situation—the White participants revealed the constellation of psychological responses indicative of feeling changed, rather than threatened. In their study, the researchers confirmed past researchers regarding Whites' tendencies to act toward Black people.

Resisting or rather being fixated in racial identity development has implications for the proclivity to act against racialized violence when Blacks feel a penchant for protecting White people from feeling uncomfortable around them or other Black people. As mentioned earlier, Mills (1999) proposed that an unwitting "agreement" or contract is drawn when Blacks concede in erasing, distorting, or otherwise downplaying racism from the discourse as Whites promote a fictive reality of racelessness. When Blacks protect Whites from feeling uncomfortable, they may do so to maintain a sense of calm and normalcy without needing to confront the reasons that underlie Whites' discomfort. These efforts to comfort Whites are outgrowth of racism and do not serve to work against the malignancy. Instead, it invokes the contract, thus allowing for the perpetuation of racialized violence.

Fear of Retaliation Violence by White Hate Groups

When the young gunman entered the church, the congregants there who were meeting for Bible study welcomed him, from the accounts of the three people who survived the massacre which took place on July 17, 2015 at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in the fellowship hall. The nine others who were killed by the gunman, a confessed white supremacist, had little chance for survival as they were repeatedly

hit after he fired seven magazines of hollow-point rounds hitting each victim repeatedly (Blinder & Sack, January 10, 2017). The victims were the Reverend Clementa C. Pinckney, Susie Jackson, Tywanza Sanders, Cynthia Hurd, Ethel Lee Lance, the Rev. DePayne Middleton Doctor; the Rev. Daniel L. Simmons, Sr., and the Rev. Sharonda Coleman-Singleton. The gunman spoke of the murder and of his intentions showing little remorse in a courtroom where jurors sentenced him to death for the nine murders. Mother Emanuel, as the church is called, is the oldest A.M.E. congregation in the Deep South, and began when Black people met in secret before the Civil War. Their secret meetings were in defiance of a law forbidding any gatherings of Black people at the time. It also was the site of Denmark Vesey's uprising in 1822 where 313 Blacks were arrested for conspiring, and 35, including Vesey were executed. The church was burned down. In subsequent years, Whites burned down Black churches throughout the U.S. South (Weisman, July 18, 2015).

These are chilling accounts that realistically raise fears for many about the people who harbor a deep hatred of Black people and who have the weaponry to carry out heinous, racial violence. Those who resist racial identity development may fear that crossing the threshold of learning can unleash an uncontrollable rage in Whites, a projection of this violence committed by these hate groups, and that they themselves will face harm as a result of their participation in struggles for liberation. In short, they fear retaliation based on their fear of these groups.

The sad reality is that militia and hate groups have existed for well over a generation and although they ought to be a concern to those who can address them, we know that such action has been a low priority for legislators. Recall in the last chapter that U.S. President Wilson helped foment the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, and reports have shown that Donald Trump has had strong and vocal support by hate groups since his presidency began. Rhetoric on uncontrollable immigration on the Mexican border has inflamed these groups (e.g., Grant & Miroff, 2018; Papenfuss, 2018). A rise in mass shootings by individuals with sympathies toward these hate groups have been directed at various groups like Muslims and Jews, is attributed to the president's racial and sexist name-calling as well as Trump's expressions of anger over Black National Football League players, like Colin Kaepernick or other athletes who protest about police shootings of Black people by failing to stand during the playing of the national anthem before these games (see timeline from

Sandritter, 2017). These actions usher in a new era in which the twisted thinking of these armed, White men is buoyed by a leader who is less secretive about his negative attitudes toward people of color. This sort of violence occurs irrespective of the outspokenness or acts of insurgency of Black people (e.g., Wilkerson, 2011); they are part of the fabric of racialized violence (Wilkerson, 2015). These vigilante acts are governed by personal feelings of inadequacy, linked to a fictitious need to purify Whites from people they believe to be non-White and indistinguishable from White people, and by men who show a fascination with guns and other artillery (see Earp & Katz, 2013). The hyper-masculinity that these men display is yet another concerning element of their presence as it is often linked to violence.

The fear of racial violence is real. Past groups of Black people have developed in fact to defend themselves against these groups (e.g., Williams, 1962 [1999]), just as there may be current groups of Black people across the region who are clandestinely considering similar plans. It would seem that facing and working through the fear of retaliation against these groups can be a reasonable prompt for action. Maturity in racial identity is to feel a greater level of empowerment in acting, rather than in not acting, against reeling problems linked to racism and understanding that the risks can be independent of these actions.

Hidden Realities That Blind Us to Racialized Violence

Pilisuk and Rountree (2015) state the tools to uncover structural violence are available but "the dissemination of information about these tools is seriously limited because the mass media … are part of a global corporate machinery and are less inclined to display their own downside" (p. 82). The examples of omissions and distortions are ample, as in coverage of the devastation of Hurricane Katrina and the most recent Hurricane Harvey where photographs of Black people were denoted by reporters as evidence of "looting" in comparison with of Whites committing similar acts but were described in reports as "finding" food (see Shalby, 2017). The corporate machinery has operated in news reports throughout history, as in how lynching was reported and the lynchers and mobs excused for their barbarity even when the victims were found to be innocent of their assailants' accusations (see Equal Justice Initiative [EJI], n.d.). In the 1970s, merely 10 days following the infamous student protests and police shooting of White college students at Kent State

University, police shot up a women's dormitory and killed two Black male students at Jackson State University, a historically Black institution, with virtually no attention by the media. Once considered bastions of security during its time, this melee that took place on a college campus drew wide coverage from the media. The mostly White group of students at Kent State University were protesting against the bombing of Cambodia by U.S. military and garnered national attention, including an iconic photograph of a distraught and teary student with her hands raised over a lifeless body.

Resistance to racial identity development is revealed by what gets left out in the reporting of serious events, in who is considered important to interview and whose letters and words are deemed worthy of inclusion in the reporting. In its fragmentation and fabrications, knowledge is passed on as sacrosanct. The people who are deemed most worthy are erected as heroes and shapers of "the land of the free" (see Loewen, 1995, 2005) and as the way things are. In many respects, these views are not widely questioned or critically examined in grade school classrooms. Such questioning would be the essence of Freire's (1970) critical consciousness, the adoption of a practice of searching for knowledge as it is affected by hegemonies of power, and would constitute liberatory praxis.

As Troulliot (1995) stated, these are the events that are saved, catalogued in libraries, published in books that may even become best sellers and whose fabrications help salvage economies, as in the case of Cristopher Columbus' legend as a hero of Western civilization. Only recently have some histories admitted that the U.S. Civil War was principally the result of the slavery "question." According to some historians cited on a public website (see https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/thirteenth-amendment/videos/civil-wars-greatest-myth), the myth was that the Civil War occurred *not* as a result of slavery, or slavery as the primary matter, but rather regarding states' rights, tariffs, and so forth. Central to the Civil War was that Southern society, even for those who did not own enslaved Africans, benefitted from the enslavement and saw the presidency of Abraham Lincoln as a threat to their way of life.

The increase in graphic violence in entertainment media and in its access among children can also distract many from the cause to fight against structural violence of any sort. This changing landscape *hides* racialized violence by numbing mass audiences while provoking fears about "others," from teen mothers, killer bees, and Black men, according to Barry Glassner (2010). The fear is stoked for political gains with

the face of the fearful, like Willie Horton, as reason to vote for candidates who are serious about crime. Willie Horton, a convicted felon in Massachusetts with a life sentence with no parole, was re-convicted of armed robbery, assault, and rape while he was on a weekend pass (see Simon, 1990). Former U.S. president George H. W. Bush used Horton as an example of the failure of a criminal justice system that was lenient on crime, become a central issue in the 1988 U.S. presidential election (Baker, 2009; Bertlatsky, 2018; Jamieson, 1989).

Returning to White male vigilantism, the media dedicate little attention to it and its possible role in the violence we see in police extrajudicial shootings. The history of policing in the United States is one in which a system of a relatively few local constables grew to many men who were charged to round up runaway slaves, rally against immigrants, and wage attacks on abolitionists. In current-day America, and in countries across the world, a cacophony of law enforcement agents, judges, politicians, and organizational and civic leaders, most of whom still are White but have over time become more diverse racially and ethnically, do the bidding of making decisions that too often are in conformity with structural violence. This is the violence that results in concessions to many police officers who harm and kill defenseless Black people, vexes any movement toward re-claiming stolen land, as in South Africa, clamps down on appeals for reparations of past violence and the exploitation of Black labor, and virtually ignores entirely the calls to end environmental racism.

What is also disturbing about the reality of entrenched racism is that our increased technology could help expose the hidden actions of rogue police, especially with the popularity of hand-held phones with cameras. In many ways technology worked to achieve gains in the civil rights movement. For example, televised footage of law enforcement officers using water hoses and beating Black protestors helped spread the news of Whites' ill-treatment (Carson, Garrow, Gill, Harding, & Hine, 1991). These forms of technology pointed a gaze at White people, and arguably, created some shame for Whites who viewed their practices of segregation and racialized terror as normative yet displayed stirrings of dismay at the objections and opinions of Northern United States and global outsiders of their privileged ways of life.

Yet by the time of the 1991 violent beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, California, the outcomes seem to be more mixed. Rodney King was a Black man whose beating by police was recorded and became the

object of much nationally and internationally televised attention (Los Angeles Times, 1992; Wall, 1992). The police who beat King did so relentlessly to a visibly writhing and harmless victim, yet three of the four officers were totally acquitted on the charge they had used excessive force, and the jury failed to reach a conclusive verdict on the fourth officer. Subsequent recordings of Black men and women have been aired on national and international news outlets and social media, some of which have yielded convictions while others have not despite the apparent heinous nature of the perpetrators' use of force (like shooting Black people who run away from the police). In fact, the vigilante actions of a Latino man, George Zimmerman, and his acquittal of killing Black teenager Trayvon Martin (see Coates, 2013) prompted the formation of Black Lives Matter, and later, Movement for Black Lives, international groups whose members state as their primary charge is to continually protest and take actions against violence against Black people by police and by those in the criminal justice system.

The corporate machinery that conceals violence also omits the events that entail Whites' gratuitous crimes and the demise of Black people's lives. In an article on the "secret" history of Hurricane Katrina, Mother Jones reporter James Ridgeway (2009) reported his discovery that organizers of Common Ground Collective, a group of activists whose Black members had to cede to White volunteers because the Black members were being treated like criminals or insurgents. The report uncovers the callousness accorded Black people who are seen as deviant and expendable, and where vigilantes-turned-state-sanctioned volunteers unleash their aggression in ways that yield fateful outcomes. Interviewing Mali Rahim, a Vietnam veteran and longtime community activist reported to Ridgeway that African men caught outside ran the risk of crossing paths of roving vigilante patrols who shot at will. Ridgeway also wrote of an interview of a local White man "bragging" to two police officers about shooting looters in the Algiers section of New Orleans. Ridgeway transcribed a portion of the home video of Gleason:

> "Did you have any problems with looters," [sic] asked an officer.
> "Not anymore," said Gleason.
> "Not anymore?"
> "They're all dead," said Gleason.
> The officer asked, "What happened?"
> "We shot them," said Gleason.

"How many did you shoot?"
"Thirty-eight."
"Thirty-eight people? What did you do with the bodies?"
"We gave them to the Coast Guard," said Gleason.

The words by this vigilante are harrowingly callous. In the absence of such reports, the media portrayals that are projected would cast an entirely different conclusion about the devastation of this hurricane to the urban and already-ravaged New Orleans, Louisiana. The media portrayals by the corporate machinery were largely of (1) desperate Black people who were in need of the more powerful—and primarily White people to rescue them, (2) Black criminals who looted food, but Whites by comparison merely sought it, and (3), the outpouring of government support and a host of well-meaning donors. Revealed, we learn how a natural disaster can set the stage for further racialized violence. When Black people rely only on mainstream sources for legitimate knowledge, then these reports can go unread or even discredited. The association between the devastation with poor Black people is yet another reason that Black people resist the development, as covered in the next section.

Desire to Dissociate from Undesirables

Because Black people are continually perceived to be comparatively more criminal, lazy, ugly and less intelligent and civilized than White people, Black people themselves can absorb these assessments and dissociate themselves, or experience conflicts with other Black people. For example, in *Dark Girls*, filmmakers Duke and Berry (2011) address how Black American women with very dark complexions have experienced assaults by people of all races. These problems serve to reinforce stereotypes of Blacks lacking the qualities perceived to be superior and are bestowed comparatively onto Whites. Those who see themselves as exceptions to the association of Black ugliness may consider themselves to be "naturally" superior to Whites when they have lighter skin tones (which they may achieve using bleaching creams), greater wealth, straighter hair, and any other quality or configuration of qualities that they see elevates them relative to other Black people.

In attempts to rise above the fray of the qualities that engender Black inferiority, Blacks who dissociate from other Blacks may develop

relationships primarily with Whites and/or form subgroups that represent to them that they are elevated in their status in comparison with certain Black people. They may also disengage in any action that brings attention to and/or reflects support toward the struggle to end racism for the demeaned groups, and concentrate instead on heralding the status of their own group (for example, concentrating on bringing greater racial equity to the hiring of Black people in corporate positions or for inclusion in country clubs, thus, targeting middle- and high-income Black people).

Subgrouping among Black people is itself not the problem; this is natural, as Gray noted about the heterogeneity of Black people. However, if subgrouping becomes a means to distinguish the new group as having characteristics that are viewed more favorably by White people, and as seeing themselves as the exceptions, then the construction matures, an outgrowth of the problem. The reward of being exceptions include wealth and prestige, which fuels an environment in which materialism and greed are the important aspirational goals, not the progression toward justice. As Helms (1990a) noted, Whites may even feel free to express how pleased they are with Blacks and other people of color who have achieved well economically "in spite of the odds." These subgroup members may feel especially pleased by these assessments by Whites whom they see as being in legitimate positions to make and express such appraisals. By succumbing to the White superiority-Black inferiority paradigm, they may uncannily accept their ascension up a hierarchy in which they will never be on par with Whites as a racial group.

One of the demeaned subgroups from which some Blacks want to dissociate themselves are those who are in prison or who have been in jail or prison. These people are part of the permanent second-class citizenry of which Alexander (2010) speaks. It is the system in which unprecedented numbers of Black people are caught up in a labyrinth of entrapments and poor treatment perpetuated by those in power and absorbed by anyone who is not attentive to its web. Mass incarceration operates as a "tightly networked system of laws, policies, customs, and institutions that operate collectively to ensure the subordinate status of a group defined largely by race" (Alexander, 2010, p. 3).

Alexander also points out the interpersonal, as well as psychic costs of this system that aggrieves those ensnarled within it. It festers within a circle of shame that is nurtured by secrecy. As one of the people she interviewed indicated, it is a matter of self, where "all your life you been taught that you're not a worthy person, or something is wrong with

you" (p. 168). The mother of an incarcerated teenager, Alexander's interviewee describes the implications of the self-hatred as a feature of Black communities. She stated that self-hate is a reason people in her neighborhood do not speak to one another about the impact of incarceration on their families and life. It is a silence that is more than interpersonal, and driven by stigma and fear of shame in that it "results in a repression of public thought and a collective denial of lived experience" (p. 169).

The shame that comes from associations with Black criminality overlaps with other forms of violence, like men's violence against women, and the abuse endured by Black children by their Black parents and guardians. The second project of racial identity development is the urging for Blacks to overcome their personal shame as well as the denigration and distancing they use with other Blacks to address the oppressor-within. This resistance to racial identity development can lead to the cooptation of the racialized violence and therefore, runs counter to taking actions to stop it.

It becomes important to address these referent-group problems because they eventuate into problems within Black communities that can take on macabre manifestations. For example, Indianapolis, Indiana author and entrepreneur Earline Walker (2016) was born in poverty to a loving mother who died young from a mysterious disease. She and her brothers and sisters were placed in a group home that was run by a Black woman who treated her monstrously. The woman was abusive to most of the children but was more cruel to Walker than the others including Walker's siblings because of her darker skin tone. Walker's abuse included constant beatings and verbal attacks on her character. Between the ages of 7 and 14, she was regularly raped by the son of the guardian. When she became pregnant, her guardian performed home abortions in the basement. The woman would perform these abortions for the other children who were sexually abused by and impregnated by her son.

The abuse eventually ended when the son was murdered by the father of one of the children he abused. The son was *lynched* and his body left in an area in the poor, Black community for all to behold. Consequently, an act of violence mounted up to further violence; the retribution for the abuse was in a form reminiscent of the horrific violence committed by Whites to signal to Blacks that they had crossed some line, real or imagined. As Walker reported, the abuse by the guardian likely went unreported for so long because of the vulnerability experienced by those who

were aware of the abuse, other Black people, and of the desire to *not* air dirty laundry to Whites who were the primary workers in the schools and in social service agencies. Had Whites known about the abuses, there may have been genuine concern among most about the abuse, as well as smug appraisal on Black lives as criminals and failures. This cycle of racialized violence thus occurs steadily, heinously, within a pall of secrecy and, too often, inaction against the structures that reproduce the violence.

A Lack of Hope

Racialized violence is a construction that sprouts branches and can raise the question of "What's the use?" Moreover, when Blacks take stands to usurp the racist status quo, they can encounter backlash in which Whites and other Blacks and non-White racial groups turn aggressively on them. These observations can also beg the question of the futility of acting against oppression. Protestors can appear and even become destructive because of their anger, as in the riots that followed the acquittal of the officers who were recorded in the beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, California. Yet, it is important that Black people understand that the rage is an outgrowth of generational violence.

Prophetically, Alexander advised that

> Those of us who hope to be their allies [with those most adversely affected by and engaged in a movement to end racial caste systems] should not be surprised, if and when this day comes, that when those who have been locked up and locked out finally have the chance to speak and truly be heard, what we hear is rage. The rage may frighten us; it may remind us of riots, uprisings, and buildings aflame. We may be tempted to control it, or douse it with buckets of doubt, dismay, and disbelief. But we should do no such thing. (pp. 260–261)

Rageful reactions to the raging beast of racialized violence should not be tempered or doused; it should be understood as reasonable expression to the wreckage of generational violence.

Those who seek to overcome their resistance to achieving more complex schemata—of replacing uncontrolled rage with constructive action—should anticipate assassinations to their character, and even greater dangers. In terms of character assassinations, public displays of protest have meant risks of job loss and social avoidance throughout

the civil rights struggle (e.g., Holland, 1997). More recently, at a campaign rally for Hillary Clinton who was a former Secretary of State for U.S. President Barack Obama and the wife of former U.S. President Bill Clinton, Black Lives Matter protestors received the brunt of "shaming" by a former U.S. president for their protests against racialized violence. The protestors voiced opposition to H. Clinton's and her husband's complicity in a criminal justice machinery that continues to characterize Black people, and Black *children* in particular, as deserving of the reeling rates of incarceration over the past several decades. The following is a quote by former U.S. President Bill Clinton during a campaign rally for his wife in response to the protesters:

> I don't know how you would characterize the gang leaders who got 13 year old kids hopped up on crack and sent them out onto the street to murder other African-American children. Maybe you thought they were good citizens. She [H. Clinton] didn't. She didn't. You are defending the people who killed the lives you say matter. Tell the truth. You are defending the people who caused young people to go out and take guns. There was a 13 year-old girl in Washington, D.C., who was planning her own funeral… [to the roaring applause from the audience]. (Democracy Now, April 11, 2016)

Hillary Clinton's support of the crime bill helped launch, and indeed, cement new waves of Black people into the nation's prisons and jails. The "Get Tough On Crime" trend that began in the Reagan presidential years was an invention that only later followed an upsurge of drug activity in Black communities.

In regards to the above quote, "I don't know how *you* would characterize …" B. Clinton already responds angrily to the criticism by showing his fury and compassion for "13 year old kids hopped up on crack and sent to murder other African-American children," consequently, his invocation of the "you"—as in, it is you who has no compassion for this violence, is set against the invocation of her, H. Clinton, who possesses this compassion by comparison. He goes on to explain how the protestor is "defending the people who caused young people to go out and take guns" thus pointing a finger at the protestors whom he presumes defends the people who use guns to kill others. The dramatic ending of his response, that of a 13-year-old girl who is planning her own funeral, is yet another way to invoke the decency and morality of the Clintons'

relative to the lack of concern by the protestors who presumably uphold crime.

Below is a response to B. Clinton's words at the rally by Black Lives Matter activist Melina Abdullah:

> … [W]e're not looking for an apology from Bill Clinton or Hillary Clinton, who is now seeking our vote. Right? … What we want is substance. So we want substantive responses. We want responses that are actually empowering to communities. We want it recognized that our children are not super-predators. We want it recognized that there is something that can be done… with our resources and with our policies, to be empowering to communities and be in conversation with communities. I think what's most disturbing is that when we talk about super-predators, when we talk about 13 year-old children as not being children, it also signals a kind of policymaking agenda that seeks to advance the interests of big business, of white supremacist, patriarchal, heteronormative capitalism — the existing hegemony — as the primary agenda that needs to be addressed, without engaging the communities that are most in need of progressive and really kind of forward-thinking transformational policy work. (Democracy Now, April 11, 2016)

If we were to imagine a dialogue between Bill Clinton and Abdullah, we would point out right away that the two are at opposing polarities of power, not only in terms of their influence and possible wealth, but also racially and by gender. Ideologically, they likely stand at opposite poles in their views on hegemonic racism and class exploitation—an irony considering that Black people have viewed Bill Clinton as the "first Black president" to signify that he showed a concern for Black interests. Still, we point out Abdullah's attention to the broader issues that paint the lives of the children who are often Black and who become pawns in systems of racialized violence. Abdullah points to growth and life-enforcing measures for change and in doing so, points to the missing gaps in history and to the consciousness of the mainstream public. It is the missing gaps that help complete the picture, but that draws applause among his (and Hillary Clinton's) supporters and that shows a resistance from the fundamentally insulting language in his response to the protestor. Clearly, he was angered by the sign or call-out during a rally geared specifically to support Hilary Clinton as a candidate, and yet, his language is laden with insults. Instead of the insults, and if he

indeed was interested in the complaint about Hillary Clinton's use of the term "super-predator" to refer to Black children involved in street crimes, he might have explored how she rectified accounts of heinous crimes committed by Black children with increased incarceration that has run independent of crime rates. He also could have culled a history of White violence, of the structural violence that has impact on the lives of Black men, women, and children, and what she intended to do about it. Notably, there was an absence of discussion about Black violence and mass incarceration in the various rallies of all of the candidates in this 2016 election.

These events surely can convey a sense of hopelessness about necessary change, to be sure, but they can also invite Black people to probe further into the integrity of the actions of the protestors and to examine how *they*, the people who have stayed the course, have done so in spite of the character assassinations, harassments, and physical danger. In the last two chapters, a sample of the work of some of these wagers of liberation and peace is described.

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CHAPTER 4

Waging Liberation and Peace

In a 2012 FaceBook post, Cornel West wrote

> Those who have never despaired have neither lived nor loved. Hope is inseparable from despair. Those of us who truly hope make despair a constant companion whom we out-wrestle every day owing to our commitment to justice, love, and hope.

The companionship with hope and despair to which West refers is likely experienced by liberation-peace wagers around the world. Ambitiously, they seek an end to racialized violence and other structures that exploit, dehumanize, and tear down people. They out-wrestle despair with hope as they build communities that outlive individuals, knowing that they may not see substantive change from their work in their lifetime.

In this chapter, the work of these liberation-peace wagers who focus their attentions on local contexts are featured. These examples are not intended as "how-tos" but more so as evidence of a commitment that is embedded in their personhood and requires a dedication that supersedes popularity and acceptance across the broader society. The criteria used to identify these practitioners are the final status characteristics described in the previous chapter. They display a knowledge about the deep roots of racialized violence that are continually cultivated to wreak havoc in communities. They confront the oppressor—Whites and non-White elites who legislate, influence, and serve the racial-social status quo—and

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they work mostly with Black people in addressing racialized oppression. Their work with other Black people is not for the purpose of harboring hatred of White people who are woefully cast as evil and unconquerable, but rather as a demonstration of the essentialness of forging bonds with those whose lives are similarly affected and whose development reflects a transition from death-like resignation to the fire of invigoration and hopeful prophecy. They also recognize the similarities of culture among Black people and the need to seed it and nurture it. Like Martin Luther King Jr. in his 1967 essay titled *Where Do We Go From Here*, published (see West, 2015), they understand that confronting the oppressor would entail inevitable conflicts with fellow freedom-fights and that there is value in working through them, whenever possible, rather than distance and snuff out those whose views are opposed to their own. In the essay, King talked of his disagreement with activist and SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael about the use of the term "Black Power." King believed that the term conveyed violence, a reaction that came from a beleaguered group of protestors who, at the heels of the shooting of James Meredith who embarked on a solo march through Mississippi, and other violence toward their fellow protestors. The two men disagreed, voiced their views of dissent, and notably, King conceded as he also understood full well the gravity of Carmichael's position.

This section begins with a micro-level analysis of this work, starting with how the facilitation of racial identity can help promote changes with the people with whom we have close contact and can influence professionally or non-professionally.

Seeing the Self in the Other, the Other in the Self

Li and Julian (2012) noted that developmental relationships in general are characterized by reciprocal human interactions that embody an enduring emotional attachment, progressively more complex patterns of joint activity, and a balance of power that gradually shifts from the developed person in favor of the developing person. In working with children living in poverty in the Pittsburg, Pennsylvania (USA) community, the authors noted that these developmental relationships constitute the "active ingredient of effective interventions" of these children and youth, and that other interventions yield diminished or minimal returns. Using empirical studies as case examples in their meta-analysis, they demonstrated that the presence or absence of developmental relationships distinguishes effective

and ineffective interventions for people in need of assistance across developmental settings. Concerned about the use of community-level interventions that downplay the importance of developmental relationships, they concluded that these relationships are the foundational metric with which to judge the quality and forecast the impact of interventions for "vulnerable" populations. The crux of their study is that these relationships, much riskier than the indicators of evaluation of different programs like amount of time spent in school or the number of days in compliance with parole, in that it asks a much harder question: "How does a (practice, program, system, or policy) help to strengthen relationships in the developmental setting?" They propose that attention to developmental relationships would entail practices of progressive complexity and balance of power within the relationships and ultimately, prove most effective in outcomes for improving the lives of these children.

These same assumptions can be made of racial identity development facilitation. The goal of the facilitator is to impart a set of skills, embedded in a developing, trusting relationship, that will help the client, consultee, or group, move progressively in their worldviews about phenomena that can bind them from overcoming the lovelessness that Freire (1970) wrote about, and from engaging as agents of change in their environment. In regards to lovelessness, Freire proposed that the ability to achieve a regard and love for self requires that the person breaks from ideologies in which she *as person who is oppressed* is viewed as loathsome and unlovable. To develop racial identity is not merely to resolve immediate, personal issues, although this resolution is important, but also, essentially, to stoke hope in and action toward instilling in the person that her humanity is wrapped up in the humanity of others.

In the film *Color of Fear*, a group of men, two White, two Black American, two Asian (one Japanese American and the other Chinese American) and two Latino-identified men, sit with a facilitator, who is Asian American, to have frank discussions about racism and its impact on their lives. As the men of color discussed the assaults they have experienced as a result of racism, they also engaged in important dialogue about the assaults they also experience by other people of color within this framework of White superiority-Black inferiority. These appraisals of other people of color can create distance among and between them. However, and as emulated in this particular film, the strengths that the men of color showed in working through the heightened emotions proved helpful in reinforcing their bond with one another. With her

White Racial Identity Model, Helms (1990, 1995) proposes that Whites can benefit in their racial identity development by forging relationships with other Whites to overcome the "sickness" of racism, and in interactions with People of Color that probe into the personal investments they have in maintaining conformist worldviews. In the *Color of Fear*, director and facilitator Lee Mun Wah brilliantly illustrates how this process can occur in the context of a psychotherapy process involving a multi-racial group of men.

How might practitioners who wage liberation and peace work with Black urban youth in counseling and psychotherapy contexts? Recall in the previous chapter that sociologist Jones (2010) found that the Black adolescent girls she studied from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania tended to veer toward being "good"—that is, refraining from fighting whenever possible or, toward being "ghetto" or looking for fights. Of the "ghetto" girls, they experienced disfavor from adults in schools, colleges or as potential employers. This meant they were excluded from opportunities to survive in the mainstream environment. The "good" girls also experienced isolation. Their isolation was the result of their decision to stay away from peer, female relationships. In their neighborhood, to befriend other girls one's age would mean having to prove one's loyalty to maintain the friendship.

These experiences can lead some practitioners to encourage these teenagers to cast out this world of fighters and avoiders and to seek higher heights—finding subgroups composed of those who have escaped the ghetto and who may demonize the people in these neighborhoods without regard for the conditions that shape their lives. Using a racial identity theoretical lens, the psychologist who operates on advanced status schemata would understand the importance of resisting the symbolic annihilation of "ghetto girls" because such a response fuels mainstream views concerning the worth of the people who live in these neighborhoods. It would be important as well that the practitioner works not only at the remediation of problems that arise from those greatly affected by racialized violence, but also is involved in efforts to proactively address the problems. Some of the works described later in this chapter are some of the sources practitioners can use to be involved in and to encourage their clients to get involved.

Helms, Nicolas, and Green (2012) write of the importance of mental health professionals and trauma researchers working toward more

comprehensive understandings of the experiences of trauma for People of Color in the United States. They address the violence that arises from crimes specifically targeting racial groups, which they refer to as racial violence and *ethnoviolence*, the latter of which is defined as violence and intimidation "directed at members of ethnic groups that have been marginalized and stigmatized by the dominant or host culture because their inability or unwillingness to assimilate threatens the dominant group's entitlement to society or community resources" (p. 67). This violence is qualitatively different from conflict between ethnic groups (see also Brubaker & Laitin, 1998). Further, Helms et al. (2012) state that the focus of this quest for understanding should start with improving the service providers' and researchers' knowledge about the cultures of the groups in their surrounding communities including their own. The quest should include extensive examination of the racial dynamics that have characterized contexts in which the ostensible traumatic events have occurred as well as their clients' personal histories.

Notably, the authors also propose that a failure to acknowledge the mental health relevance of the sociopolitical, racial, and cultural factors that intersect with trauma experiences for the survivors of trauma as well as the service providers will inhibit the practitioners' ability to provide effective treatment programs. They describe how the Social Interaction Model, progressive relationship type helps provide the supportive assessment environments needed to understand the racial and cultural experiences of trauma by the people seeking relief for the trauma.

Cultural and Sociopolitical Education and Communication

Trouillot (1995) shared an encounter he had with a Black student who was enrolled in his course on a history of Black people at a U.S. university. In the encounter, the student seemed annoyed at what she perceived to be the sole inclusion of White authors who wrote about the *Maafa*. She expressed that she wanted to learn less from White scholars and more from those who, like herself, had to endure the abuses of White people on ships and in slave quarters. Trouillot wrote of the anger he experienced because he had *not* relied solely on White authors, nor apparently had she ever been on a slave ship! Still, he reflected on her perspective and wrote how both of them were enrapt in an "imposed

oblivion." He showed empathy for the emotionality that accompanies the sort of learning that touches on matters quite personal to people.

Using racial identity theory, Tatum (1992) studied how students in a counseling course focused on "multiculturalism" changed in their perspectives of themselves as racial beings over the course of a semester. Her study showed how changes occur in students' responses, and that the use of the theory helped her as an instructor anticipate the reactions and dynamics that can arise in the teaching. Like Tatum, instructors can use assignments, experiential exercises like racial autobiographies and advocacy projects to prepare for resistance and reinforce advanced schemata expressions by students. I also have written about the incorporation of racial identity theory and peace-building to classroom teaching (Thompson, 2004) and to teaching both counselors and psychologists (Thompson, 2003).

Education occurs in many forms. For example, the explosion of Internet sources provides the outlet for rather easy access to knowledge among those who are able to avail themselves of these sources. The popularity of the Internet has become a fixture in many households throughout the world. Sources can reveal information *on* access, as to dispel myths about poor people and the "sapping" of resources from those who are less wealthy. In parallel to the "get tough" laws that targeted communities of color and resulted in runaway numbers of poor people in urban communities stopped and frisked, and sent to jail for minor offenses, a similar trend has occurred in U.S. schools. This trend relates to expulsions and suspensions, largely of students of color. Moreover, as the rates of incarceration among Black children are increasing, scholars have pointed to a connection between schooling and incarceration, often by way of disciplinary actions which are disproportionately doled to Black students in comparison to others (e.g., Day-Vines & Terriquez, 2008; Skiba et al., 2014). Studies show that children who are expelled or suspended from school, as well as tracked in special education courses, experiencing troubles in achieving well or highly, are more likely to be incarcerated. This phenomenon has been called the "school-to-prison pipeline" and unfortunately, entails a disproportionately high number of Black as well as Brown children.

When there are efforts to confront the obstructions, the person is more apt to embrace Black humanity and its cultural manifestations. These efforts can be strengthened when achieved in conjunction with other people who are dedicated to racial-social justice. The process of

removing the obstructions is akin to Fanon's (1959) contention that the struggle for liberation and decolonization is part and parcel of the development of culture. Fanon further states that

> It is not alone the success of the struggle which afterwards gives validity and vigour to culture; culture is not put into cold storage during the conflict. The struggle itself in its development and in its internal progression sends culture along different paths and traces out entirely new ones for it. The struggle for freedom does not give back to the national culture its former value and shapes; this struggle which aims at a fundamentally different set of relations between men cannot leave intact either the form or the content of the people's culture. After the conflict there is not only the disappearance of colonialism but also the disappearance of the colonized [hu]man.

Recalling the discussion earlier in Chapter 3 that racial identity development entails facing the oppressor or colonizer as well as addressing the oppression with an awakening or prompting of Black culture. This shoring up of history has meant life-changing ventures to people for many years. African-centered schools, in the excursions by groups who explore the remnants of underwater slave ships, and by the famous guided tours led by the late Asa Hilliard and Ben Jochannan in the past, and that are carried out today by Ashra and Merira Kwesi (https://www.kemetnu.com/) and Anthony Browder (https://ikgculturalresourcecenter.com/study-tour-in-egypt/).

The writings by psychologist, scholar, and co-founder of the Association of Black Psychologists Nobles (2008, 2013, 2014, 2015) are suggestive of a development process that encourages progressive movement in that he addresses the significance of African episteme and its restoration to African-descended people throughout the world in bringing whole those violent processes that have created a "fractured consciousness." Nobles encourages African-descended people, and the psychologists who work with Black people across the globe, to engage in "deep, penetrating discussions" to understand the self, others, and world. He also emphasizes a person's spiritness, an expression of their manifestation of a high being. This rings similar to the work of Linda James Myers on people's manifestation as God or Goddess. From a racial identity perspective, these efforts toward deep, penetrating study, and toward the allegiance with spirit constitute efforts for Black people to restore a

way of being based on *Ubuntu,* and does so with the insistence, wisely, that this way of being is derived from Africans (see also Asante, 2007). Nobles co-founded the Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family and Culture, Inc., and previously served as its executive director. Dr. Nobles' institute is a free-standing, independent community-based, non-profit Black think-tank and scientific, educational training, and research corporation.

Cultural education, also known simply as the transmission of culture through socialization, is what is captured in Haitian-born historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (1977) *Ti Dife Boule sou Istwa Ayiti*, or "Burning Issues in Haitian History." The words of this publication begin with "I'll hold a gathering to know what happened to my brothers and sisters of yes!" Pierre (2014) wrote of how Trouillot's narrative, written in the original in Haitian Kreyol, is based on a tradition of oral storytelling and magical realism to tell of the "artfully demonstration that the solution to Haiti's challenges remains with its peasant classes" (p. 209). Pierre presents this work as important to civics education and politicization among Haitians who only understand Kreyol. The use of indigenous language re-affirms the culture of people who have been colonized or enslaved (see also wa Thiong'o, 1986).

The transmission of culture is typically accompanied by the transmission of the sociopolitical knowledge. Moreover, spreading the word about the crisis in police killings is important to a struggle for liberation *and* peace in that it carries forward the mission of sense-making and on having children at young ages equip themselves practically and creatively with strategies for how to be safe and become agents of change to fight against the violence.

Organizations have been founded in response to the Martin killings and the rash of other acts of violence, as with Black Lives Matter and the Movement for Black Lives described in the last chapter. Knowledge also comes from knowing the breadth of the problem. Speaking on the topic of the organization's tracking of extrajudicial killings of Black people, organizer Kali Akuno of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM, n.d.) and began tracking police extrajudicial killings because to have a clear sense of the breadth of these murders and to compile and examine the annual figures (see also Democracy Now, 2017 for Akuno's discussion of Black Self-Determination through Cooperation Jackson [Mississippi], an organization he heads). The MXGM's Operation

Ghetto Storm followed the trail of extrajudicial killings as well as the rise of militarized police forces and their occupation of Black communities. Cooperation Jackson actively tackles the racialized violence from elected officials that continually affects the Black people of Jackson, Mississippi (RT America, 2018).

Bryan Stevenson of the Equal Justice Initiative embodies the movement to reform prisons, public defending practices, and the rise in the incarceration of children. One of their main goals is in keeping children from being tried as adults and other extensive abuses that occur involving people who enter the system (see Stevenson, n.d.). Through fund-raising, Stevenson was able to erect a monument in 2018 to commemorate the lives of Black people who have been lynched in the United States.

The Color of Change PAC is one organization that has been at the forefront in communicating about and urging people to act against racism manifestations in all spheres—education, policing, in legal matters, and so forth. For example, the organization tracked the grisly events of the campaign of a Black woman lawyer Pamela Price who entered the race for Alameda County District Attorney in the Oakland, California region. Price's campaign included not merely the acknowledgment of mass incarceration and the state's building of 22 prisons in the last 30 years, but also on racially biased policing and the sway of District Attorneys to feed into a system of mass incarceration through outdated policies and practices. Price, a Black women, also spoke of taking a stand on police misconduct by creating a police accountability unit that would vigorously and transparently investigate and prosecute all unlawful police misconduct. It would also involve an investigation of cases from the past 10 years. In Price's district, Black people are less than 13% of the County, but make up 64% of the jail population, are 20 times more likely to be incarcerated than their White counterparts and make up 50% of the adults on probation (see colorofchange.org). She also seeks alternatives to incarceration through homeless courts, veterans, courts, and mental health services to address the over-criminalization of poverty which has a hugely disparate impact on Black and Latinx residents.

A few days before the election, the Oakland Police Officers Association (OPOA) distributed an anti-Price email specifically to a list of non-Black Oakland residents; the coding of "No AF AM" on the list serve to denote that the email would not be sent to African American

residents. The claim made by the police organization, backed by large contributions, was to accuse Price of releasing sexual predators and not prosecuting people who commit crimes (BondGraham, 2018). One of Price's campaign volunteers expressed how the move had a negative impact on the vote. Price lost the election with 40% of the vote in comparison to her opponent's 60%.

The Color of Change, as well as the Black Agenda Report, the Californians for a Responsible Budget, the Movement for Black Lives, and the Black Alliance for Peace are just a handful of organizations whose members urge action through spreading awareness, letter-writing, political participation, and protest. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the oldest civil rights organization in the United States with chapters throughout the country, continually sends alerts to members of its multi-racial organization to encourage letter-writing, petition-signing, and protests. The organization also provides legal counsel to Black people.

Policing, Mass Incarceration, and Prison Reform

Pettit and Sykes (2017) ask, "Has the new wave of reform discussion precipitated a sea change in incarceration practices?" Their answer: "No." (p. 25).

Regarding activism related to the police, mass incarceration, and prison reform Alexander believes that nothing short of a revolution will create the changes necessary to bring an end to the injustice embedded in these interrelated phenomena. The activism must focus on racism, first and foremost, according to Alexander (2010):

> A new civil rights movement cannot be organized around the relics of the earlier system of control if it is to address meaningfully the racial realities of our time. Any racial justice movement, to be successful, must vigorously challenge the public consensus that underlies the *prevailing* system of control. Nooses, racial slurs, and overt bigotry are widely condemned by people across the political spectrum; they are understood to be remnants of the past, no longer reflective of the prevailing public consensus about race. Challenging these forms of racism is certainly necessary, as we must always remain vigilant, but it will do little to shake the foundations of the current system of control. The new caste system, unlike its predecessors, is officially colorblind. We must deal with it on its own terms. (p. 223)

The economics of a system of White supremacy-Black inferiority undeniably represents a formidable aspect of the problem. As Alexander relates, "tinkering is for mechanics, not racial-justice advocates." She cites a passage from the 2005 annual report for the Corrections Corporation of American that explains the vested interests of private prisons in a rather matter-of-fact manner in a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission:

> Our growth is generally dependent upon our ability to obtain new contracts to develop and manage new correctional and detention facilities. This possible growth depends on a number of factors we cannot control, including crime rates and sentencing patterns in various jurisdictions and acceptance of privatization. The demand for our facilities and conviction and sentencing practices or through the decriminalization of certain activities that are currently proscribed by our criminal laws. For instance, any changes with respect to drugs and controlled substances or illegal immigration could affect the number of persons arrested, convicted and sentenced, thereby potentially reducing demand for correctional facilities to house them. (U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, Corrections Corporation of America, Form 10K for the fiscal year ended December 31, 2005, in Alexander, 2010, p. 231)

With the skyrocketed numbers of persons in today's prisons, Alexander estimates that we would need to release approximately four out of five people currently behind bars today just to return to the rate of incarceration of the 1970s, a time when many civil rights activists believed rates of imprisonment were high.

Angela Davis who has committed her life to prison abolition and to understanding the extent of oppression occurring across the world and the tools for revolution. Davis (2003) writes that

> [the] prison… functions ideologically as an abstract site into which undesirables are deposited, relieving us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers. It relieves us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism and, increasingly, global capitalism. (p. 16)

Davis speaks to the function of prisons as settings in which problems, not merely people are "deposited." As Davis stated, the depositing serves to

remove the problem too often from "sight" and the lack of information we receive about the judicial process and the structural violence inherent in it is evocative of the hidden nature that characterizes societal problems. Prisons have become, to many, a "given," that which occurs legitimately because there are people who do bad things and who need to be removed from society in order for those not considered undesirable to function in the absence of the menace the former groups possess.

If we were to assume, even for a moment, that prisons indeed served a purpose that U.S. society needs, and that any lack of engagement in prisons is beyond our interest, will, or ability, then it could also be stated that the problems we see within our immediate environments have no or little connection with them. Moreover, Davis' goal is for decarceration with similar, concurrent goals of envisioning a continuum of alternatives to imprisonment. These alternatives include "demilitarization of schools, revitalization of education at all levels, a health system that provided free physical and mental care to all, and a justice system based on reparation and reconciliation rather than retribution and vengeance (p. 107). In other words, Davis (2003) is invested in an overhaul of the system that many people, including Black members of the U.S. Congress and Senate, have not advocated.

Insurgency

Wagers of liberation work collectively with others to do the unthinkable: they demand the land that is theirs, as with protestors in South Africa, and they demand fair wages and humane conditions in the workplace, like the recent comrades of the Oilfields Workers Trade Union in Trinidad (also see McLeod, 1990). They make such demands while facing certain risks in their livelihood and survival. They develop coalitions across oppressed people, as in the heroic efforts of Fred Hampton in Chicago whose aim was to coalesce Black people in Chicago ghettoes with other racial groups who shared an urgency to end police violence in the city.

Grusky, Varner, and Mattingly (2017) wrote about the inseparable relationship between incarceration and Black poverty. They also point to other, intersecting factors that contribute to the disproportionate rates of poverty of Blacks relative to Whites by relating a cycle accorded to structural violence.

> There is growing evidence that a very substantial reduction in disparities could be secured by simply equalizing "starting conditions" across racial and ethnic groups. [Much] of the inequality that shows up later in the life course is due to the one-two punch of (a) profound [racial] disparities in family background (e.g., racial-ethnic differences in parental wealth, education, and income), and (b) profound disparities in neighborhood conditions (e.g., racial-ethnic differences in such neighborhood amenities as high-quality schooling, low crime rates, or the absence of environment hazards). These very unequal starting conditions are of course then reinforced by subsequent exposure to educational, labor market, and criminal justice institutions that are riddled with discriminatory practices. Will it be sufficient, then, to eliminate disparities in starting conditions? Of course not. (p. 2)

The authors also note the evidence that suggests that major institutional reform, like that which grew out of the Civil Rights Movement, has done more of the necessary, disruptive work than the "gradualist processes" that some bank on. "If gradualism of this sort ever worked, it seems that it has nearly reached its limits" (Grusky et al., 2017, p. 2).

Two Illustrations of Urban-Focused Liberation and Peace Work

Yasser Payne and Street Participatory Action Research

Yasser Payne (2014; The People's Report, n.d.) has a version of psychological accompaniment (see Sacipa-Rodríguez, Tovar-Guerra, Galindo Villarea, & Bohórquez, 2009), Street PAR, or Participatory Action Research. "Walk with me" is an expression he uses to refer to how he participates fully in and collaboratively with the people who live in the Wilmington, Delaware community (see Payne, 2014). His Street PAR is a transformative research approach that engages the people of the "streets," in Payne's case, in Wilmington, and with many whose lives are regularly exposed to drug and gang activity and general exposure to violence. These neighborhoods consist of Black and Brown people, similar to U.S. neighborhoods throughout the nation. The transformative, revolutionary approach to Payne's work is that his engagement involves the people from the Wilmington streets in all phases of the research—from the development of research questions and decisions over design

to the collection of data, analysis of findings, and dissemination of findings. Dissemination of findings can include journals and presentations to mainstream organizations, as well as through art forms like art exhibitions. Fine, Torre, and Fox's Public Science Project, a funded organization that supports other PAR studies these authors call critical PAR, has helped generate a number of separate projects in the city of New York. Most of the Fine et al. projects consist of Black and Brown people from poor communities in New York (http://publicscienceproject.org/). Both Payne's project, and the Public Science Project, received funding from partners to help compensate researchers engaged in the research.

The transformative elements of Payne's Street PAR include the tangible economic factors that accompany the work. Payne rejects outright approaches that espouse a cognitive-behavioral approach to helping people in communities, or any other approach that conveys personal responsibility in the absence of examining the structural violence that underline the lives of people in these Brown and Black communities. In the People's Report, the study that emerged from the project and in polling hundreds of people in these communities, findings showed that people tended to have high exposure to violence, and that the unemployment rate for men was at 74% as compared to an unemployment rate for women at 62%. They also found a relationship between economics and exposure to crime: the lower their income levels, the more likely participants were exposed to crime. Another notable finding is that the participants polled showed high levels of self-esteem and coping, and high levels of people's sense of responsibility to the community. Payne explains the importance of this latter finding because he considers it important that people in and outside of the criminal justice system recognize the resiliency that people exhibit in these communities. Another transformative element of Payne's work is that the 15 street people he selected to take part in the research, and who underwent training in research methods, were not only paid for their work, much like graduate assistant students are paid, but many went on to find work and continue their education. Two have successfully pursued doctoral degree education.

Ginwright and Leadership Excellence

Shawn Ginwright's Leadership Excellence (LE) in Oakland, California (USA), described in his book *Black youth rising: Activism and healing*

in urban America (2009), combines elements of racial identity development theory in important ways. First, Ginwright provides the physical space for the students to meet, engage in activities and fraternize with one another with a caring staff, what Thompson (1997) establishes a crucial ingredient to the facilitation of racial identity development by influential people: cultivating strong relationships. The relationship is important because it is the basis for trust, and when the facilitator is invested in the welfare of the *whole* person—in Ginwright's case, young Black Americans who live in Oakland, California, this entails a recognition and embrace of the strengths they possess, as well as the strengths of a community to which they can avail themselves. Ginwright and his staff know the reality of structural violence that these young people face daily and the levels of poverty in their communities. LE as an organization is a home away from home that provides the youth with opportunities to talk with the staff about their lives, to afford to make sense of the world around them. The wholistic view of the youth and of the lives they lead helps the staff facilitate racial identity development by attuning to the racism that influences them and their communities, and in attuning to violence by encouraging open discussions about the peril that affects them not only within the confines of their neighborhood, but also in terms of the overarching systems that continually reproduce the confines. The staff helps them make sense of a world in which their lives, as Black people are under assault. The staff handles the complexity of these assaults by attending, through various means, to the intersecting nature of the assaults. Their lives are targeted by dint of class exploitation, White bias in hiring and in promotion, and by hyper-masculinity that combines with violence to assert manhood against womanhood and against gay and lesbian lifestyles.

This sense-making is important especially in view of a community that has long known about police harassment and brutality, residential zoning and redlining, and high rates of Black unemployment as well as mass incarceration. Ginwright's staff establishes close-knit relationships with the students and comprise a group of adults who raise money for intensive, "psychological" camps where sexism and homophobia are the kinds of topics they address and work through, and where they can share their personal issues with an assortment of issues like abandonment and violence. Ginwright urges the students to develop critical consciousness, that is, to be aware of how systems of structural oppression are reproduced, and to organize and protest against these systems as they affect

their lives. As the staff emphasize knowledge about the systems and encourage the young people to act against them, they also educate the students about Africa and their African heritage. The staff plan trip with LE participants to Ghana to visit the places where Africans where first enslaved, thus offering opportunities not merely to learn, but to experience the emotional awakening that often occurs in these visits among African-descended people.

When Culture and Race Combine at the Cost of Black Children's Safety

On November 10, 2011, a CNN report titled "Researchers: African-Americans most likely to use physical punishment" covered the research findings of a study which found that out of 20,000 kindergartners and their parents, 89% of Black parents, 79% of White parents, and 80% of Hispanic parents and 73% of Asian parents spanks their children. The reasons for why Black parents topped the list included a legacy to which parents adhered as a result of White racial violence targeting Blacks combined with Black parents' belief that corporal punishment helps prevent their children from receiving the heavy hand of the law—i.e., getting in trouble with the police. As the logic goes, receiving the heavy hand at home is better than receiving it from law enforcement. Yet another reason for the disciplining, according to the authors of the report, is that African American parents may be more inclined to follow Christian religious scripture in which sparing the rod is to risk spoiling their children. In the news report, Black psychiatrist Alvin Poussaint was interviewed and stated that when Black parents are encouraged not to use corporal punishment, they would express defensiveness and anger. In another interview from the article, a Harlem Children's Zone spokesperson is reported as stating that when youthful parents who attend the organization's Baby College are taught alternative discipline measures to spankings, they are told by older relatives that they're spoiling their children." The HCZ, founded by Geoffrey Canada, is a comprehensive organization in the primarily Black and Brown city of Harlem, New York that aims to ensure that the children in this poor region receive high-quality education and that the people who take part in the missions are largely from the region (CNN, 2011).

A recent study published in the American Psychologist points rather conclusively to the psychological damage that children experience in

association with corporal punishment. Gershoff et al. (2018) showed that with corporal punishment, children can face higher risk of anxiety and depression, higher rates of aggression toward others, and more distant relationships with their parents. In addition, there is the risk of injury when the parents might intend to give a gentle spanking to one that can leave children bruised or bleeding. The pushback can come in the form of audacity and, suggestive from the comments, a feeling of being insulted and demonized as savage or primitive.

I include this scenario to point to the ghastly implications of the supposed "culture" of child spankings and beatings set against the "right" ways often espoused by Whites and White parents. The study, news report, and the anecdotal lore that there are Black parents who, on the use of corporal punishment to discipline their children, all emerge as an invocation of the Manichean perspective: it portrays the yoke comprised of the more savage Black on the one hand and the less violent (and by contrast, more kind and tranquil) White on the other. I suggest that Blacks who use corporal punishment might defend their practices in part as a response to the insinuation of their relative inferiority as parents relative to Whites. Keeping their children within boundaries of control can seem like the epitome of good parenting. These Black parents may even express insulting characterizations of White parents whose children grow up to become war- and power-mongers, and that the two worlds, one White and one Black, carry different implications regarding victimization and safety. To these Black parents, Whites are the predators against whom to protect Black children.

The thought of shedding the practice of spanking also infringes on time-worn and shared memories of childhood long associated with Black wisdom in the face of puerile chicanery, as in the depictions of the mischevious (and often creative and boldly subversive) Black child who is asked by his parent to find his own "switch" and who knows that he cannot bring one too small or thin or else the punishment would be harsher. To some, "Time outs" can appear like milquetoast approaches by comparison and not hefty enough to evince an intergenerational tradition that has come to be associated with Black parenthood.

The consequences of *not* engaging in this debate and ultimately bring an end to corporal punishment are that Black children are ultimately the victims of an evolved form of racialized violence. The major source of the menace is racialized violence. Directing our attention to the menace, while creating non-physical forms of discipline as Canada and others have addressed, is crucial to the welfare of future generations.

Aaron Bailey

In the weeks that followed the verdict of the merit review board, individual members of Mr. Bailey's community, along with family members and activist groups made attempts to point out the bizarre features of the hearing and the errors in the police officers' statements. One activist helped organize a community meeting which included members of the police and city-county council members. The meeting was organized by these various members for the purpose of "hearing out" the community (Sanchez, May 23, 2018). Other than being present to monitor audience members for weapons as they entered the facility—the event took place at one of the city's urban schools, the police were few in number at the event and quiet. One of the city-county council members laid out the plan for the evening: a multi-racial team of volunteers from the nearby public university would facilitate small-group discussions in break-out rooms. In the discussions, the facilitators would encourage group members to share their experiences with police. The facilitators would also summarize the input and report out to the larger group in an hour's time. During the event, no mention was made of the news about Mr. Bailey's defense attorney who resigned a few weeks after the hearing ended, or the incorrect information that the police were allowed to disclose during the hearing concerning Aaron's Bailey's record. Also, very little attention was paid to the national data regarding the disproportionate stops made by police officers of Black men in urban communities, and more significantly, of the disproportionate number of Black men shot by police. When these issues were raised during protest marches or in direct contact with police, no action followed.

If meaningful attention was directed at these events commensurate with the terror and relative inaction, then at least some of the response, in part, may take on efforts for the immediate safety of the people in these Black neighborhoods. This response could take on the resurgence of the Black Panthers whose charge included providing protection to citizens of urban environments against the police. Indeed, one group of local organizers, comprised of Black men, met to establish a similar practice in Indianapolis prior to and continuing after Bailey's murder. Their plan was to form teams that responded to Black motorists who were stopped by the police to provide oversight and witness to these practices. This suggestion by far appeared to be the most logical in view of the incompetence of the proceedings and the ire that continues to rankle

with every encounter of harassment by police in the city (see Ajabu, 2018).

What else *can* be done to confront racialized violence? As Alexander (2010) concluded in regards to the devastation surrounding the mass incarceration of Black people, it will take nothing less than a movement. In Indianapolis, this movement can begin with coordinated effort by teams of people with advanced schemata who are willing to account for the long-festering wounds of police shootings and harassments that have laid the foundation of mistrust and to create concrete efforts to build the trust based on these problems. Actions that wave away the past and current problems and focus instead on offers of education programs that center on providing instruction to "the community" on how to respond to police when they are stopped (Sanchez, May 23, 2018)—are outgrowths of racialized societies.

Advanced schemata leaders work to build and support Black businesses while insisting that public and private organizations and agencies hire Black people to raise the high Black unemployment rates in the community. In tracking hiring practices, they neither patronize or support the entities that show poor hiring *and* promotional practices of Black people and convince others to do the same. The teams do not merely demand improvements in schools in both urban and suburban communities; they work to create schools when it is evident that public school administrators are not taking dramatic strides to change education that promotes successful outcomes by Black children. They resist the advances of corporate-funded school administrators who have little to no evidence to show that the schools they charter will attend to Black children's educational needs, or who do not show evidence that they will hire advanced schemata Black teachers and leaders to run them. In addition, they work with others who draw from concrete evidence of the schools that are successful in educating and graduating Black children.

They understand that the prison system is an economic boon for White businesses and for the demise of Black communities. Further, they work to demand prison reform so that no more jails are built, and want alternatives to imprisonment. They also want rehabilitation and humane care for incarcerated men and women. The work with others who take part in the team who keep track of the reports of drugs in the communities and the extent to which the police are successful in stopping cartels and major drug dealers as they also advocate for mental health treatment

of those who abuse and are addicted to drugs. Black voters cast ballots after pushing candidates who daringly "see" and work to do something about racialized violence, and the host forums in which the past track records of candidates are raised. Black voting is organized in ways to ensnare evidence of voter suppression, and a dedicated group of team members watches out for re-districting efforts.

Advanced schemata leaders encourage violence education becoming a fixture for *police*, and not merely for the wider public (of all races and income levels), and insist that implicit bias tests be used to select law enforcement officers and administrators. They seek to change the climate of police stations so that benign attention to racism, as well as clandestine or informal racist banter is not merely sanctioned, but results in the firing of any officer. They also demand that strategies for curbing drug trade include suburban and rural community "stings" and that any cooptation in drug-related activities among the police be researched and its members prosecuted and fired. They also insist on creating review boards that consist unequivocally of the people who constitute the communities in which the majority of cases are seen. Police who kill because they fear for their lives conveys that the problem of gun violence in society produces killers among sanctioned gunmen and gunwomen; they see this as a problem of formidable proportions and they work with lobbyists to remove guns which hopefully, with the wisdom of police leaders, can be done in collaboration. As the gun lobbying shows signs of progress, all supporters advocate that on-the-beat police officers no longer be armed.

Education about the association between Blackness and mass incarceration, or Blackness and criminality should be a center-stage concern for communities like Indianapolis, Indiana, and cities around the nation. This education would go beyond brief spots on the television news and be a campaign of public health awareness much like the one against cigarette smoking. But this sort of campaign is not enough, nor will it occur without the talent, time, and energy of Black people who are part of a movement that will require years of commitment.

All of these efforts and more would be meaningless without attention to the inextricable relationship between racism and economics. It is only with new visions about an economic structure that unravels a system of greed for an overwhelmingly White elite and where political leaders use fear and coded language to entice a White middle- and working-class that they too can become part of the elite that leaves out people of color. In recent years, the U.S. President Donald Trump has

used this fear to cultivate further divisions and, as some media analysts have presented, to fan the ire of a White nationalist and nationalist base of supporters. Economics affects the mass incarceration of Black people, who are overwhelmingly in the majority, and the money that serves the system of imprisonment also serves mostly White workers and the tax base of White residents in the areas where these prisons are located. Issues of food sovereignty feed the coffers of multinational corporations and the wars and horrendous numbers of rapes of women in countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo are bolstered because of the wealth accrued from the natural resources like coltan in these countries. The "optics" in the United States in most of its states and communities evidences the legions of Whites who occupy high-ranking positions relative to Blacks and other people of color—from the growing industries of assisted living to technology development, medicine and pharmaceutical development. Yet attention by the leadership of all levels of government on how to resolve racial disparities in unemployment at all levels is maddeningly absent (West & Smiley, 2012).

To achieve liberation *and* peace is to arm ourselves with the tools to obliterate the growing violence in our immediate contexts and to join forces with others, especially other Black people, to fight the war against Black people. We must place our work with other Black people as a priority because it strengthens us psychologically, interpersonally, and spiritually to resolve the problems of a diminished humanity of a people. We can close the gaps of our understanding by untwisting the twisted knowledge, decoding the coded language, and resisting subtle or overt resignations of our fate as a caste by working through the deep-seated hurts we can attribute to sustained violence. To do the meaningful work of dismantling racialized violence, we must be clear about its presence in and impacts on our everyday lives.

The existence of racialized violence in the United States is rooted in a society in which mass shootings of innocent people occur in a context that is not embroiled in the ravages of war. Directing attention to racialized violence can invite important attention to the spread of violence throughout the United States For example, **In America, 1 out of 3 homes with children have guns and nearly 4.6 million children live in a home with loaded and unsecured guns** (The Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, 2019). Access to assault weapons offers ready access to mass devastation. Fisher and Keller (2017) showed that American crime is not more pervasive than it is in other

countries, "rather… in data that has since been repeatedly confirmed, that American crime is simply more lethal. A New Yorker is just as likely to be robbed as a Londoner, for instance, but the New Yorker is 54 times more likely to be killed in the process." The U.S. also is one of only three countries along with Mexico and Guatemala, in which there is a hegemony that suggests people have the right to own guns. When mass shooting disasters have occurred in Scotland, Britain, and Australia, strict gun laws were set in place. "In retrospective Sandy Hook marked the end of the U.S. gun control debate," Dan Hodges (2017), a British journalist, wrote in reference to the 2012 shooting that killed 20 young children at an elementary school in Sandy Hook, Connecticut. "Once America decided killing children was bearable, it was over" (Hodges, 2017, p. A5). Men who are current or former partners of women shoot and kill their mates every 16 hours. If a gun is present in the home, the risk of homicide increases by 500%. Women in the U.S. are 11 times more likely to be murdered by a man with a gun compared to their counterparts in other high-income nations (The Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, 2018). Advocacy against gun violence would be integral to a general commitment against violence of all kinds. Media attention that focuses on the details and horror of the crime could derail "copy-cat" shootings among the largely White male perpetrators, and defuse the glory they receive when their photographs and biographies are presented in media (Lankford & Madfis, 2017).

Exerting forceful action against physical and structural violence requires constant study, collaboration, and struggle against isolation, despair, and the threat of death. It requires an ability to envision an entirely new world. It entails creativity and even humor in the boldness of acting against the ludicrousness of normal society, as in the case of Chef Tunde Wey of New Orleans, who charges a higher rate for the meals he serves to White people than Black people (Wilson, 2018). His objective is to raise awareness of the income disparity within the city and to use the differential rate as a prompt for inviting people to learn more about a range of topics related to structural racism.

Mental health practitioners who facilitate the racial identity development of their clients can urge them to shatter their silence and disrupt the seeming calm of sustaining the status quo. These practitioners will most certainly receive resistance and their work will seem like anything *but* peace-advancing work. However, the resolution to help relax tense muscles is a practice that moves people in forthright ways to confront the

violence that resides within us as fear, aggression, and anxiety. Facing up to intense emotionality is important to the transformation of racial identity. Culture, as well as the re-adoption and restoration of culture, is vital to this development as it helps with sense-making and connections.

Confronting the oppressor by way of activism against racialized violence is crucial to the healing of Black people. Such activism would acquire understanding that the problems that divide us, like divisions based on political party affiliation, sexual orientation, religious or church affiliation, gender, and social class, are part and parcel of the "success" of racialized violence. Encouraging others to see themselves as builders of peace who channel their rage, depression, anxiety, as well as the backlash, is among the hardest work we will have to do. Mental health practitioners do not urge this development alone; they work with other professionals and *anyone* affected by violence. They do this in collaboration with others who share a common vision of transcending the bounds of race and other inauspicious structures to end cyclical violence for the greater good.

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CHAPTER 5

The World Stage: Engaging in Transnational Liberation and Peace Work

In their definition of liberation psychology, Montero and Sonn (2009) stressed the need for psychologists to transform both people and environments by rupturing social processes buoyed by social identities. Adding further to the peace implications of Montero and Sonn's work, Mayengo et al. (2018) stated that "practices of liberation yield to peace-building with the understanding that violence in all forms diminishes the capacity for people to live together harmoniously" and therefore, attention to peace is essential to strivings for liberation. Mayengo and his colleagues are a research team that consists primarily of faculty from different ethnic groups in Uganda.

Resolving racialized violence by focusing on efforts to "repair" relationships between Whites and Blacks misses the point entirely on how this violence operates. The lofty goals of peaceful accord and justice-for-all can be realized concretely when a psychologically colonized and enslaved people who, as liberation and peace-wagers, are fiercely dedicated to ending the racialized violence leveled against them and re-building a sense of community *among* themselves. This fierce dedication occurs when Black people have a high regard for their own humanity as an African-descended people and do not see the humanity of Whites as better or more worthy by comparison. They ascend to healthier identities when they recognize the need to overcome the oppressor-within. White identities too are strengthened when they see White people with the potential to achieve (and indeed, there are White people who *have*

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achieved) the capacity to act against racialized violence against Black people or other people of color. Whites combat racialized violence in all forms by breaking from racial convention to address the relative power they hold in its perpetuation. It is to insist on reparations, as one example, and to make demands to heads of large corporations who pollute Black communities to end the destruction, and urging neo-imperialists to relinquish the stolen land. Although all racial groups involve themselves in these actions, the solidarity that can occur across groups can increase the likelihood of eventual change. Yet for Black people psychologically, building or re-building community among Black people is also to restore histories and cultural identities, honor indigenous languages, and reach the young and most needy in our communities to correct the lies embedded in mainstream education and in media that aim to promulgate ideologies of Black inferiority-White superiority. Advanced status schemata serve as a lens Black people can use to deliberately travel a path of making sense of the world and developing into new humans. The new human is one who commits his or her life to the eradication of all forces—like racialized violence, sexism and men's violence against women, economic exploitation, heterosexism—that adversely affect growth, relationship, community building, and life.

Building peace and fomenting revolutionary action translates into building connections with other Black people locally but also with African-descended people affected by the *Maafa* in other regions of the world. According to activist and author Linda Burnham (1990)

> Malcolm taught us Ghana. He taught us Kenya. He taught us Algeria and northern and southern Rhodesia, so called. He taught us the Congo. He insisted that the psychology of liberation require that we understand that Whites (and imperialists) were minority peoples in the world context, and the strategy of liberation required cultivating a base of support beyond the borders of the U.S. (p. 25)

Historian Gerald Horne (2009) illustrates the relevance of Malcolm X's advice in his book *Mau Mau in Harlem?: The U.S. and the Liberation of Kenya*. Horne concentrated his work on a period of heightened racialized violence for both Kenyans and Americans, but particularly for the Kenyan Mau Mau. For Black Americans, the period between 1952 and 1960 was one that began only a few years before the launch of the civil

rights movement. This period also extends into the movement and the break-out riots in the North involving White aggressors and the growing masses of Black migrants from the South. For Kenyans, this same period marked a state of emergency that began with the British marginalizing the Kikuyu people and stealing their land despite efforts by politicians to end the years of oppression from British rule. As a result of this White aggression, a militant subgroup of the Kikuyu, the Mau Mau, began violent insurgency against the colonists. In retaliation, and in efforts far more extensive than the attacks of the insurgents, the British issued a state of emergency and imposed a police state on Kenyan society in which Whites killed suspected Mau Mau by the thousands. The official estimate of deaths of the Mau Mau and other rebel groups was 11,000. According to D. Anderson (2005), the Kenya African Union (AU) estimates that 90,000 Kenyans were executed, tortured, or maimed, while an additional 160,000 were detained under horrendous conditions.

Horne's accounts and analyses begin with how Whites in the United States and Europe held similar worldviews about their superiority as Whites in comparison to people of African descent. White Americans also were able to move freely to Kenya and get jobs as police where they could act violently toward Kenyans. Horne tells the story of a White citizen from the United States who quickly joined the Kenya police and was pleased to discover that his immigrating to Kenya was of small concern to the U.S. Consulate, "a reflection of the sympathy at the highest levels in Washington for the plight faced by a tiny band of European colonialists who had begun arriving in Kenya roughly a half-century earlier in a successful effort to construct a racist settler state" (p. 1). The White American visitor-turned Kenyan police officer reportedly slaughtered prisoners with delight as gleaned from his letters, bragging that he had killed more than a dozen "native terrorists."

Horne also noted that White people in the United States and Britain communicated to other Whites how the environment in Kenya was conducive to living and playing out freedom to be overtly racist they could not enjoy living in other settings (at least not without the same level of restraints). In a letter written in 1961, one Ford Foundation official wrote about the pleasantness of the environment, to include not only the warm temperature, cool evenings, ample food, and accessibility of excellent medical, dental and hospital facilities, but also the relative safety for Whites (and without explicit mention of Whiteness). He further stated that

> Most of the incidents will be between African tribes or between Africans and Asians. The Kenya police are mostly from the Wakamba tribe… which broke the Mau Mau a few years ago, [thus, he concluded with relief] I would have no hesitation to bring my family here. (p. 6)

This environment of terror for Kenyans in tandem with the freedoms for Whites proved tantalizing to Whites in other ways. Nairobi, Kenya was a place where White literary author Ernest Hemingway would revel in his life where he had love affairs with African women, and where Hollywood celebrities could freely humiliate Kenyans.

Notably, Horne also showed that Kenyans and Black Americans were galvanized to fight together against White domination in the east African country during this period. Records were being kept by Washington officials and other Whites of these collaborations. White Americans and European elites were attuned to keeping watch on what they referred to as Black militancy across the two settings. In Washington, DC, this watchful eye also related to the collaboration of Communist Party adherents with the civil rights and Black Power movements. Horne's historical accounts address the global "watch" on any organized efforts to end racialized violence and alongside that, tracking the commitment of African-descended people to pursue changes in both contexts to the best of their abilities.

Pan-Africanism

History has shown that when the threat of the illusion of White superiority over Black people is breached—for example, by dint of economic independence and self-sufficiency as in the creation of Black towns, in the revolution of an enslaved people as with Haiti, or in vying for jobs—racialized violence is invoked to sustain the racial-social status quo. Blacks have exacted no attacks even remotely as massive on Europeans or Whites for the sake of imperialism and racial domination. In the cases of U.S. revolts in which Black people harmed or killed Whites (see Aptheker, 1943) and in other regions of the Diaspora, most notably the Haitian revolution, the purposes of these uprisings were to end the violence Blacks had endured from Whites and to regain their freedom.

Beginning as early as 1780 with the Sons of Africa which was started by abolitionists Otobah Cugoano and Olaudah Equiano,

African-descended people from different nations have collaborated to work against the evils of colonialism and slavery. According to Esedebe (1994), pan-Africanism is composed of the following elements: (1) agreement that Africa is the homeland of Africans and persons of African origins; (2) the need for solidarity among people of African descent; (3) belief in a distinct African personality; (4) rehabilitation of Africa's past; (5) pride in African culture; (6) Africa for Africans in church and state; and (7) the hope for a united and glorious future Africa. The names commonly associated with pan-Africanism are George Padmore, Walter Rodney, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Stephen Bantu Biko, Frantz Fanon, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey. Abbas and Mama (2014) point out that the history of pan-Africanism has not only involved the work of men throughout the Diaspora, but women as well. They name the following women who have contributed to the global cause of African unity and racialized justice: Mable Dove Danquah, Adelaide Caseley-Hayford, Bibi Titi Mohamed, Funmilary Ransome Kuti, Gambo Sawaba, Muthoni Likimai, Tenjiwe Mtintso, Djamila Bouired, Charlott Axede, and Alberta Susuli (Abbas & Mama, 2014).

Consistent with Abbas and Mama's (2014) treatise concerning the need to acknowledge women's role in pan-Africanism, Murithi (2006) wrote that peace-advancing efforts (which overlap with liberation-advancing efforts) that extend across African nations can profit when they grow with the times. With an eye to the progressive inclusion of formerly marginalized voices in reconstructing Africa, Murithi writes that "it will be necessary to establish education and training programmes based on progressive African cultural values for officials, civil society actors and citizens — keeping in mind that not all traditions are empowering, particularly on issues with regard to gender equality" (p. 2). Murithi stated further that promoting social solidarity in practice means confronting corruption and addressing the need to ensure democratic governance, power sharing, and the equitable distribution of resources among all members of society. In addition, Murithi warns against romanticism of indigenous approaches to peace-building primarily because they have historically excluded women.

These words resonate with the earlier formulations about the creation of "new humans" and of transforming structures, not merely individuals. A maturing of societies, as with the maturing of racial identity, theoretically runs parallel to racial identity development at individual levels.

Pan-Africanism in Action

Psychologically, healthy identities unfold and develop when people approach rather than avoid reality. Learning about all aspects of tarnished history and the conditions of the "least of these" in their local environment is impossible, but the parts of this learning that become most relevant give shape to a personal transformation. The person (re) ignites a sense of self as worthy, necessarily vulnerable and imperfect, and as one who does not have to rely on the approval of White people *as* White people (and non-White elites as "favored" members within the racial caste system) to feel complete and more human. He or she comes to know that life is relished more deeply with the enlightenment that accompanies the transformation.

With the transformation, they are positioned to experience the confidence of taking more risks in seeing the world in its entirety. They ripen as agents in a world in need of whole-hearted people (Brown, 2010) who can contribute meaningfully to the welfare of their communities and societies (Thompson, 1997). Healthy racial identities are bolstered when the person approaches reality with an emphasis on complex thinking and the proclivity to make moral judgments based on authentic relating. These identities are also bolstered by the ability to be free from the hidden violence that they behold and that negatively influences their own lives and the lives of others. They may decide to extend their knowledge and the onus to act outside of their local communities. In becoming aware that the material conditions of people in the Global South are comparably worse than the conditions of people in the Global North, they may begin to ask, why are things different and similar, and for what reasons? This learning can deepen their understanding of the pervasiveness of racialized violence and spread to knowledge of the malignancy of imperialist greed, sex trafficking and violence toward women and gay people worldwide, and genocidal violence as exacted by one ethnic group toward another. This advanced learning is consistent with the final status of racial identity theory.

At micro- and macro-levels they come to learn that race is a cultural invention that is embedded in sinister arrangements of the undeserved power of the oppressor-imperialist and the practice of succumbing to aggression on the part of the oppressed. Yet, in its complexity, what also emerges is a restoration of the destructions of the past, but not in a sense of making claims purely to artifacts and insertions of history long

suppressed and denied as legitimate or even real. The real restoration is borne of a maturity in which the individual comes to understand that the rightful place of every human is to be included as part of a circle of humanity, not outside of it. In the next section, we examine the efforts by those who do this work that spans regions across the Diaspora.

The Frantz Fanon University

People who live in the Horn of Africa are all too familiar with ethnic conflict. After a series of efforts by the people of Somalia to break away from the British protectorate, the Somalia Independence Movement decided to break away to form its own territory, which still is under the rule of Somalia but is recognized by other African nations and non-African nations. The country is not recognized as a sovereignty by Somalia, the AU, or the United Nations, purportedly because the leaders fear that the breakaway would encourage other countries to create their own states and thus increase the likelihood for violence based on territory. Psychologist-scholar Hussein Bulhan founded the Frantz Fanon University in Somaliland to meet the needs of a people who have long experienced war and violence.

The motto of Frantz Fanon University is “Breaking all chains, visible or invisible – building up from ruins, personal or social” (https://fanonuniversity.org/why-frantz-fanon.html#why). It was founded by Dr. Hussein Bulhan, a Somali-born psychologist who received his doctorate from Boston University and whose dissertation study is published in one of the most cited books on the psychology of oppression. Conveyed in the title, *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression* (1985), Bulhan dedicated part of his book to writing a biography of Frantz Fanon, after whom the university is named. The other portion of his book is an extraordinary interweaving of Fanonian thought and Bulhan’s own treatise on the violence that has been exacted on African-descended people throughout the Diaspora for generations, and why the violence continues. Bulhan also proposes how Black people should proceed to behave and act in view of the violence. Bulhan has prepared other works, one notable one published in 2015 where he elaborates on metacolonialism, and the need for psychology to move forward by moving away from conventional topics as such topics appear to preoccupy the work of mainstream psychologists, and move toward strategies that emphasize the communalism that is vital to mental health.

Bulhan, who also serves as the president of FFU, named the university after Fanon because he believed that Fanon aptly expressed insights not only into the problems besieging oppressed people, but also because Fanon acted as a relentless freedom fighter whose behaviors were consistent with his beliefs. Fanon was a psychiatrist who was also a leading contributor to the liberation of colonial Algeria from France. The university, as is presented on the website, seeks to "not only preserve Fanon's revolutionary legacy but also advance his commitment to social justice by teaching, writing, and serving communities in action." The university, through a variety of programs, intends to instill in its students Dr. Fanon's, as well as Dr. Bulhan's commitment to social justice for the poor, and to focus on the urgent priorities of the population it services. The university is open to qualified students in the Horn of Africa and abroad, and to qualified international students regardless of nationality, race, or creed.

The academic programs are selected on the needs of the people in the Horn of Africa and with the goal of equipping students to provide optimal care in view of colonialism and metacolonialism. For example, their clinical psychology graduate programs provide different modalities of therapy, including psychopharmacology and is an area for which there is a particularly high demand in African societies. Intent on examinations that look at the panoply of problems that occur with metacolonialism, this program stresses the need to examine treatment that questions, rather than avoids, the problems that can occur with fraudulent practices in traditional healing. Their postgraduate programs in psychology include Forensic Psychology with a focus on high-need areas like civil litigation (personal injury, civil commitment, worker compensation, etc.) and behavioral medicine.

The Champions Against Empire Building

In commemoration of his 83rd birthday, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote *In Battle for Peace*, a book published in 1952. His intent in writing *Battle* was to increase attention to the need for people across the globe to unite against the violence exacted on Black and other people of color throughout the world and thus, invoke transnational activism. Du Bois's book charted his many years of fierce, prophetic activism and his firm contention that the assault on people in any region influences the assault of people everywhere (Du Bois, 2007 [1952]). Empire building is a form

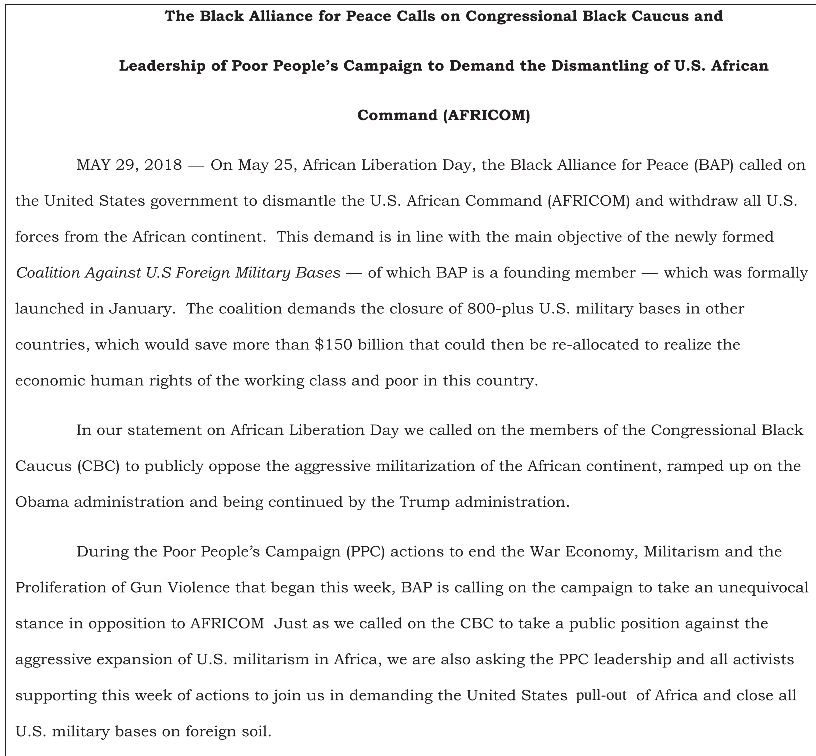
of imperialist assault and violence has been at its core beginning with the Western European rape and pillaging of African land and people. Empire building refers to the aggressive take-over of other people's land to have it "count" as one's own and thus, involves political and economic control over new territories and its people. This form of exploitation is reminiscent of the practices employed in the past, like the institution of slavery, and in current practices of human rights violations by governments that enslave African immigrants. The callousness of these practices and the current sustaining of poverty in the country of Zambia set alongside the immense wealth of a small Swiss community is aptly captured in the film *Stealing Africa* (Guldbrandsen, 2012). The wealth of this European community comes from a Swiss-based corporation whose executives mine minerals in the African country.

Empire building is also a goal that is achieved under the guise of supposedly needed military occupation of various regions in the world by the Western governments like the United States (AFRICOM Spearheads Escalation of US "Scramble for Africa" (Transcend Media Services—TMS, March 20, 2017), and often with multinational corporate partners (Burgis, 2015; Hedges, 2015; Johnson, 2004). In addition to military occupation, empire building can also entail the supply of arms and other weaponry, and training resources to Third World "partners," as well as efforts to establish and continuing establishing collaborations with leaders in the said regions with financial and other material rewards. To the majority of Americans, and even to the peoples in the respective regions in which U.S. military operations are based, the reasons for this presence are attributed to settling regional unrest (Hedges, 2016; West & Buschendorf, 2014). However, that their placement over the years has coincided with acquisitions of natural resources in these "helped" regions, and hence a "looting" by the U.S. government (see Burgis, 2015) to increase the Western empire prompts the need for investigations into the reasons for these deployments and, as needed, the insistence that the U.S. military pull-out of these regions. The secret proliferation of U.S. military bases throughout Africa and the unprecedented aggression against Libya over the past several years warrants greater attention to the need for mass, organizational efforts to bring it to its demise. According to an article by Aaron Maté of The Real News (TRN), Defense Secretary James Mattis reported a ramping up of U.S. military operations in Africa. TRN reported that Senator Lindsey Graham freely admitted in an October 2017 interview:

> You're going to see more actions in Africa, not less. You're going to see more aggression by the United States toward our enemies, not less. You're going to have decisions being made not in the White house but out in the field, and I support that entire construct. (Maté, 2017)

Du Bois expressed his clarion call in *Battle* 11 years before his death in 1963. This prolific leader, staunchly committed to the struggle for African-descended people throughout the Diaspora, sought to draw the attention of his reading audience to this phenomenon of empire building.

Leaders who confront empire builders cross physical thresholds to out-wrestle despair with hope as the militarization of these so-called



The Black Alliance for Peace Calls on Congressional Black Caucus and Leadership of Poor People's Campaign to Demand the Dismantling of U.S. African Command (AFRICOM)

MAY 29, 2018 — On May 25, African Liberation Day, the Black Alliance for Peace (BAP) called on the United States government to dismantle the U.S. African Command (AFRICOM) and withdraw all U.S. forces from the African continent. This demand is in line with the main objective of the newly formed *Coalition Against U.S Foreign Military Bases* — of which BAP is a founding member — which was formally launched in January. The coalition demands the closure of 800-plus U.S. military bases in other countries, which would save more than $150 billion that could then be re-allocated to realize the economic human rights of the working class and poor in this country.

In our statement on African Liberation Day we called on the members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) to publicly oppose the aggressive militarization of the African continent, ramped up on the Obama administration and being continued by the Trump administration.

During the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) actions to end the War Economy, Militarism and the Proliferation of Gun Violence that began this week, BAP is calling on the campaign to take an unequivocal stance in opposition to AFRICOM Just as we called on the CBC to take a public position against the aggressive expansion of U.S. militarism in Africa, we are also asking the PPC leadership and all activists supporting this week of actions to join us in demanding the United States pull-out of Africa and close all U.S. military bases on foreign soil.

Fig. 5.1 The Black Alliance for Peace (BAP) calls for an end to AFRICOM

interventions is menacingly entrenched. Undaunted, they create edicts and make efforts to move people from across the globe to achieve peace. An example of this can be seen in the following statement by the Black Alliance for Peace (BAP, n.d.), shown on their website, in their efforts to end U.S. interventions in African countries (Fig. 5.1).

Randall Robinson is another champion against empire building. Robinson founded TransAfrica as an advocacy organization aimed at U.S. foreign policy in African and Caribbean countries. Robinson established the Free South Africa Movement to push for sanctions against apartheid South Africa. His protest tactics included a 27-day hunger strike in 1994 that led to a United Nations multinational operation that restored Haiti's first democratically elected government to power. Apartheid constitutes a series of laws related to racial classification that included economic exclusions of Blacks to reserve jobs for Whites, inferior education, and total separation of Blacks and Whites in public and private areas. Apartheid was codified into law in 1948 by the National Party to accomplish the goal of racial, cultural, and political purity (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2003). Robinson would go on to work fiercely on behalf of Black freedoms across the Diaspora, including the heroic "release" of kidnapped Haitian President Bertrand Aristide, who was kidnapped by U.S. President George W. Bush (Robinson, 2007).

Like the final status of the racial identity theory, the people who act against imperialism and military "interventions" in Africa understand that racism imposes oblivion (Trouillot, 1995), thus compromising the legacy, heritage, and endurance of a people whose work toward building peace and liberation can be viewed as exemplars for the world. Their task is to commit to the struggle for liberation, and in furthering their understanding about violence, they learn new ways of being that serve to build peace in ways that allow them to do so, even at the risk of harm or death.

The gallant efforts of transformational leaders are needed to express their commitment to ending further abuses to African descendants and other historically colonized populations. For example, with the establishment of the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi), there have been organizational efforts to attune to the issues of Black Americans, as well as to allegiances among African-descended across the globe. When possible, psychologists as leaders need to involve themselves in efforts to bridge gaps between people across the Diaspora. This involvement extends beyond mere hope, but rather entails agency. Bruce Dixon of the Black Agenda Report (April 12, 2018) wrote about the need for this

type of maturation in coming to an understanding about capitalist warfare and its impact on Black people throughout the world. He wrote: "When we grow up, when we abandon hope, that longing for a future condition over which we have no agency, all that's left is the responsibility to take action. Our fates are truly in our own hands. The capitalist warfare state can only produce war, against humans and against the planet itself. We must envision and plan for its end, organize ourselves and build the traditions and institutions that will take its place." ABPsi already has shown its commitment to a global psychology and indeed emerged from the need to create theory, research, and practice that attends to the well-being of Black people throughout the Diaspora.

Inter-Ethnic Conflict and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

Communities must address justice in the aftermath of the genocide or mass killing of the "undesirable" (Staub, 2004). Justice can take the form of restorative efforts by perpetrators and compensation for survivors to help re-establish the order and safety of everyone, "by formally and publicly confirming that the violence and victimization of the genocide or mass killing were unacceptable" (Staub, 2004, p. 260). Truth and reconciliation commissions (TRC) have arisen in regions throughout the world and have become the focus of research from people both inside and outside these regions. In describing the inner workings of the Inkiko-Gacaca, a revised system of adjudication from past traditions in Rwanda, Staub points out the importance of cultural specificity and by implication, of the need for people to fashion new ways of vetting perpetrators and determining how best to meet the needs of victims. In his work over the years, Staub has witnessed the positives and negatives of these processes toward reconciliation. Some of the negatives include a re-traumatization of issues, as well as the problems inherent in introducing the traumatic events to young people who were not yet born when the 1994 genocide occurred, but who take part in this participatory Gacacas. He estimated that some 100,000 Gacacas have taken place throughout the country of Rwanda alone in groups that number as high as 19. Over 250,000 people have served as judges.

Chapman's (2007) pursued a 6-year collaborative study in which 1819 transcripts of the South African TRC hearings were analyzed. The

researchers also followed up with focus groups with participants of the TRC. The findings show limitations of the TRC in promoting forgiveness and reconciliation "in a meaningful way" (p. 51). Mainly, the TRC had difficulties "in conceptualizing forgiveness and reconciliation on an inter-group level and concentrated instead on relationships between individual victims and perpetrators. Former victims and members of their families who testified at the violations hearings rarely mentioned these topics unless prompted to do so, and those who did were not generally inclined to forgive perpetrators. As one person interviewed expressed:

> Although it is easy to say you must forgive, they say you never forget, but would you believe now that we are in the new South Africa. I still hate some of the Whites. I am sorry to say that, but that's how — if I see a White policeman I hate him. (deponent testimony April 29, 1996, Johannesburg Human Rights Violations Hearing, p. 60)

The perpetrators in Chapman's study also were reluctant to acknowledge their wrongdoing or to offer meaningful apologies, expressions of regret or some form of compensation (p. 51).

To engage in liberation and peace is to understand that forgiveness is a way of letting go of the bitterness, but it does not mean the absence of perspicacity about racialized violence in how we go about engaging in forgiving. South African psychologist Gobodo-Madikizela (2003) writes eloquently of her visits with imprisoned ex-police chief Eugene De Kock, whose role in commandeering death squads during the period of apartheid cast him as an evil, unconquerable beast among Black South Africans. She wrote of the TRC which was spearheaded by Bishop Desmond Tutu, as a vital measure to the pursuit of justice and peace in post-apartheid South Africa. Speaking of the impacts of trauma on identity, she writes

> Traumatic experience ruptures a part of the victim's identity. It violates the boundaries that protect the definition of self, leaving the individual stripped of many of the things that bestow respect, dignity, and self-worth. Anger and resentment become the only personal "possessions" that the individual now has in place of the loved one. (pp. 96–97)

Gobodo-Madikizela (2003) also speaks about what forgiveness should entail in terms of the healing of psychological wounds and with it, the

wounds of a society that continues to see disparities in housing, labor, and virtually all areas. She also warns against prescribing forgiveness as it cheapens the process. It presents a form of coercion in which victims may look for opportunities to forgive solely because they want to bring closure to the trauma. The onus lies with the perpetrator and the sincerity of the apology and the actions of municipalities to bring justice to the wrongs and to listen to the voices of the wronged who want more than mere closure. She states:

> A sincere apology does not divert attention from the self, such as those accompanied by a disclaimer: "I'm sorry that your sister was killed. Please understand that I was fighting to end the oppression of my people." Or "I apologize. But what I did happened because of the political climate of those days." … A genuine apology focuses on the feelings of the other rather than on how the one who is apologizing is going to benefit in the end. It seeks to acknowledge full responsibility for an act, and does not use self-serving language to justify the behavior of the person asking forgiveness. It must communicate, convey, and *perform* as a "speech act" that expresses a desire to right the relationship damaged through the actions of the apologizer. A sincere apology does not seek to erase what was done… It clears or"settles" the air in order to begin reconstructing the broken connections between two human beings. (pp. 98–99)

The inclusion of racism to explain and disrupt violence is best accomplished as we also weigh in the other conditions, surely influenced and complicated by this violence, that are common to large-scale mayhem of human lives and physical structures. Referring to the multiple accounts of extreme, mass violence in history and throughout the world currently, Staub concluded from his analyses some common features of these phenomena. These features include difficult life conditions, in particular economic decline, as well as political disorganization, proclivities for scapegoating "others," and great and rapid changes in society (see also Staub, 2013). Based on these conditions, Staub writes of the importance of creating ways to fulfill psychological needs for prevention purposes. For example, he pointed to increased contact, inclusion of people from various groups in all activities, targeting media and education as conduits for practicing inclusion in language and promoting "moderate" respect for authority. Staub (2013) in fact recommends that people scale back their proclivity to obey authorities as one means to root peace promotion. Further,

> [Promoting moderate respect for authority]… is a special challenge, since strong respect for and the tendency to obey authorities may be entrenched in a society's child rearing practices, the nature of its institutions, including hierarchical social arrangements… and in the political system. Authority orientation will be more moderate in a pluralistic culture with democratic institutions… which allows public discussion of a wide range of values and beliefs and provides access for all groups to the public domain. (Staub, 2013, p. 582)

Racism operates as a globally entrenched component to societal ills that deserves attention in peace promotion strategies in Diasporic regions of the world. Haitian activist Espy (2015) is a community organizer for the People Power Movement: Movimiento Poder Popular who lives in the Bronx, New York and manages a blog at Revolutional-AfroLatino.tumblr.com. Below, Espy comments on the significance of race as well as class in creating a revolution in Haiti:

> In order to stabilize the complete social upheaval on the island of Ayiti, we need both a racial and class analysis to get to the source, the rotten putrid root still leaking the blood of our ancestors. The system must be changed fundamentally at its core to build a new sustainable society equal to all, where the people are truly in power to control their lives and their communities. … Therefore, it is our duty to educate and organize our Dominican and Haitian sisters and brothers on revolutionary principals, rooted in social justice and human rights, so that they can be rehumanized to see who their real enemy is. Once the people see that, the will for social change and people power will be so strong, so broad, so popular, that those in power now will have no choice but to surrender!

Religion as a Means to Attend to (or Avert) Racism

Mills' (1999) writings concerning Whites' insistence of a raceless reality to which many Black people collude overlaps with interpretations of religious doctrines. The argument is that beliefs in these doctrines carry more cache in resolving matters surrounding race. Praiseworthy are the White people who have adopted Black children, established churches with overwhelming numbers of African-descended people, and espouse that race is insignificant precisely because it has created ire in our lives and in how societies operate. Yet this thinking runs dramatically counter to interpretations of religious documents in which attention to racism

is implicated by many important scholars and activists as *important* to faith in the religion and to the struggle to recognize the other in the self. Liberation psychology in fact owes much of its foundation to Ignacio Martín-Baró, a Spanish theologian whose essays on the topic were published posthumously (see Martín-Baró, 1994). Martín-Baró was assassinated for his outspokenness and fierce activism during the conflicts in El Salvador in the 1980s.

Theologian Mugambi wrote of how the growth of the Church in Africa ought to be reconstructive, and thus governed by a theology that is not destructive as borne out of a history of Christendom. It is to be "inclusive rather than exclusive, proactive rather than reactive, complementary rather than competitive; integrative rather than disintegrative, … regenerative rather than degenerative" (p. xv)—in other words, all life-advancing processes that entail harmonious relationships, an unfettered practice of worship, and one that does not entail the control or dominance of Europeans, but the participation and will of Africans themselves. In *The Cross and the Lynching Tree,* liberation theologian James Cone advances vast lessons that can be learned when the symbol of Christianity, the cross, as the instrument on which Jesus was fastened and tortured, is akin to the lynching tree—both Jesus and the Blacks who were lynched were "outsiders" and reviled by the ruling classes. Examinations of the parallels, in Cone's view, is especially valuable for Whites to learn in order to help them understand the true meaning of Christianity, and its very real reminders in examining the savageries that continue to exist in society with the criminal justice system.

The creation and rise of the Nation of Islam, the noteworthy lessons shared by Malcolm X later in his evolution of racial identity, and by Muhammad Ali, are all examples of how piety *and* attention to racialized violence and other ongoing injustices can continue. A focus toward justice and peace never altered the prophetic fire or meant the relinquishing of religious beliefs. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., whom West (2015) describes as the "most significant successful organic intellectual in American history," whose philosophy of nonviolence expressed in his leadership in the civil rights movements was influenced by the pious Mohandas Gandhi.

His Honorable Dalai Lama (2012) shares a different take on religion and social justice. He advises that the practices toward inner development that can guide us in the difficult ethical decisions of our day are

best conducted secularly. In his definition of secular, he is not suggesting that people ignore religion or religious doctrines but rather, that we embrace the similarities that exist in the major religions of the world. As one area of focus, His Honorable Dalai Lama recommends that people regulate their destructive emotions. This focus on destructive emotions is important to spiritual practice and to the resolution of societal problems like war, poverty, and environmental degradation that is steeped in hatred and greed. According to His Honorable Dalai Lama, personal problems are the sources of problems on the societal scale. In recent years, people's emotions ride high when the subject of immigration is raised (e.g., Kingsley, 2018; Vitali, Hunt, & Thorp, 2018). Heads of state in the Global North in particular can make use of the precariousness of people's lives as political platforms that evince fear in would-be voters about crime rates and precarious economies that can be compromised by the flow primarily of Global South peoples (Fantina, 2018). Meanwhile, analyses of the complicity of wealthier nations in stemming the conditions in many nations are rarely addressed in the media while negative views toward impoverished immigrants who leave their countries to save their own lives and the lives of their families are rampant. Directing attention to the rhetoric of violence against immigrants is important to the cultivation of advanced schemata and hence, to seeing the complexity of racialized violence. For example, Pilecki, Muro, Hamack, and Clemons (2014) ask, "how have U.S. counterterrorism efforts become so palatable to the public?" in view of American perspectives toward people, typically from Arab countries, who are considered tyrants. They draw from the literature in political psychology to form the basis of their study of the speeches on terrorism by two U.S. presidents, George W. Bush and Barack Obama. According to the authors, people in authority, like heads of state, contribute to "shap[ing] the popular understanding of concepts through rhetoric that situates subjects in larger moral frameworks" (p. 286). They discovered how the discourse from these speeches convey justifications for violence that occurs without procedures of law. Certain groups who are deemed inherently evil are pitted against a favored and presumably neutral and innocent group, Americans, and then executive decisions to destroy these enemies occur with little public outcry. These examinations of discourse make intriguing topics for the deep and penetrating study to which Nobles (2015) refers.

Concluding Remarks

Mary Robinson, former Irish President of the United Nations Commissions stated in a speech that women are most adversely affected by disasters and yet are rarely in the forefront of efforts to protect the vulnerable. "Climate change is a man-made problem and must have a feminist solution" and further, that "feminism does not mean excluding men. It's about being more inclusive and… acknowledging the role they can play in tracking climate change" (Tabary, June 18, 2018). A similar position applies to peace initiatives that include racialized violence among African-descended people. African-descended people, men *and* women, need to be fully involved in international deliberations on ethnic conflict, African genocide, and poverty and disease in Diasporic nations, and with advanced schemata to inform their participation, they need to speak about the hidden violence of racialized violence. Their words go beyond mere expression when they have the strong backing of other advanced schemata Black people. True advancement will occur when such advanced racial identity is achieved among Whites who occupy seats of power on multinational corporation boards and as heads of government. In her White Identity Model, Helms (1990a, 1990b) describes how White people experience shifts in their identities by relinquishing racism and devising positive White identities. Helms' four-part theory consists of models which together, are explications of how *everyone* can move toward moral engagement and beyond conformist worldviews in which societies absorb rather than actively stomps out structures of oppression.

Christie, Tint, Wagner, and Winter (2008) propose a model that combines both negative and positive peace. Negative peace refers to the efforts to reduce violent episodes while positive peace refers to the promotion of social arrangements in different societies that reduce social, racial, gender, economic, and ecological injustices as barriers to peace. The authors also note that peace in incompatible with malnutrition, extreme poverty and refusing people the right of self-determination. They concluded that the only lasting peace in the world is a just peace. Peace with justice is based on respect for human rights and articulated in the UNESCO Sustainable Development Goals (see also the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], n.d.).

The act of confronting racialized violence should be part of the comprehensive efforts. In regions throughout the Diaspora, frictions are

characterized by a mimicking of the power plays that originated and that continually are stoked with White racism and imperialist domination. They include divisions that are based on the intersections of race, ethnicity, nationalism, gender, social class, and experiences in policing and penal systems. When we closely and deliberately examine these intersections, we see violence re-enacted in ways that can keep us from the collective pursuit of liberation. Notably, knowledge about White people and imperialists, as Malcolm X espoused in the Burnham quote, translates into the ability of African-descended people to understand how many White people and institutions that serve the racial-status quo are complicit in the equation of racialized violence. The extent to which knowledge is understood theoretically is virtually absent in the peace psychology literature.

What happens when theory is swept away from so-called comprehensive deliberations about violence and, likewise, about peace-promotion strategies? Novelist and Nobel laureate Toni Morrison (1992) provides us with a clue of this absence when it comes to examinations of literature. She wrote persuasively of how White American literary authors would include the "Africanist presence" in their works to serve certain objectives about the work itself—its characters and plot, as well as reinforce certain ideas about the world and inadequacies about the authors themselves. Morrison wrote that the presence of African-descended characters acted as a means to reinforce the egos of these White people. According to Morrison, the Africanist presence is one that settles into the minds and imaginations of these authors because of the tensions inherent in fallacious views about Whites' "natural" superiority over Black people. She also contends that this existence that manifests in the literature, necessarily emerges out of fretfulness. Further, Morrison writes that

> … the imaginative and historical terrain upon which early American writers journeyed is in large measure shaped by the presence of the racial other. Statements to the contrary, insisting on the meaninglessness of race to the American identity, are themselves full of meaning. The world does not become raceless or will not become unracialized by assertion. The act of enforcing racelessness in literary discourse is itself a racial act. Pouring rhetorical acid on the fingers of a black hand may indeed destroy the prints, but not the hand. Besides, what happens in that violent, self-serving act of erasure in the hands, the fingers, the fingerprints of the one who does the pouring? Do they remain acid-free? The literature itself suggests otherwise. (p. 46)

Morrison is referring to a psychology of Whiteness that has impacted societies around the world. To deny the social construction that propels racialized violence can be difficult to uphold despite the supports that help erect these social realities. The fiction is hard to bear and as a consequence, the need to continue the violence—or conclude that it is inevitable and an artifact of a violent world in which some are luckier than others, propels the racial-social order. Within the global order, the association between life and White survival cannot comfortably exist alongside an association of life and Black survival. To resist the call to act against racialized violence—that is, racism—is to be complicit in a helix of structural violence. In contrast, to engage in actions that confront racialized violence is to break from a conformist environment that perpetuates it.

It is ironic that when people engage in these actions, they can experience threats to their livelihood and lives (Thompson & Alfred, 2009). They can experience ruptures in their relationships, rejections, and efforts by friends and strangers alike to curtail their vigor and anger and to find more suitable ways to act that do not disturb the normalcy and quietude of public environments. They will learn over time that their outspokenness is an outgrowth of their strength and resolve to depart from a normalcy that is achingly mute about the ongoing pathology of societal injustice (see Lorde, 1984).

At times, the risk is great when it entails disruptions of systems that are highly guarded. To be vocal about racism, and intersected with other forces like sexism and class exploitation, is also to face danger, as in the recent assassination of Brazilian activist Marielle Franco (Reeves, March 15, 2018). Guyanese scholar and activist Walter Rodney, who attempted to "rehabilitate" African and Caribbean history while acting prominently in the Caribbean Black Power Movements of the 1960s (Fontaine, 1982), spoke of the association he saw between safety against violence and political mobilization and action. In an interview with Margret Arkhurst, Rodney explained

> We will try to guarantee our safety by the level of political mobilization and political action inside and outside of the country. Ultimately it is *this* rather than any kind of physical defense which will guarantee our safety. None of us is unmindful of the threat that is constantly posed. We don't regard ourselves as adventurers or martyrs or potential martyrs, but we think there is a job to be done, and at a certain point in time we have to do what has to be done. (Fontaine, 1982, p. 15)

Rodney was assassinated in 1980 for his activism.

Lake and Rothchild (1996) emphasize that analyzing the problems of war and conflict requires recognition of the panoply of forces that merge. Referring to the ethnic conflicts that have existed throughout the world in countries within Africa, the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, they stated that explanations for why these conflicts occur are often reduced simplistically and too often are entirely wrong. They state further:

> Ethnic conflict is not caused directly by inter-group differences, "ancient hatreds," and centuries old feuds, or the stresses of modern life within a global economy. … We argue instead that intense ethnic conflict is most often caused by collective fears of the future. As groups begin to fear for their safety, dangerous, or difficult-to-resolve strategic dilemmas arise that contain within them the potential for tremendous violence. As information failures, problems of credible commitments, and the security dilemma take hold, groups become apprehensive, the state weakens, and conflict becomes more likely. Ethnic activists and political entrepreneurs, operating within groups, build upon these flaws of uncertainty and polarize society. Political memories and emotions also magnify these anxieties, driving groups further apart. (p. 41)

There is little doubt that many forces play a role, and no amount of "working through" interpersonal anxieties that arise from "political memories" will dissipate the problems we see occur across the globe. Talking openly about political memories and emotions can indeed drive groups further apart but too many can no longer bear the silence and subterfuge.

For the conflicts that occur in countries like Sudan, Uganda, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, comprehensive measures that include efforts to nurture Black people's commitment to forcefully end racialized violence are needed. Recognizing that political memories and emotions may indeed magnify anxieties and drive groups apart initially; however, these memories and emotions may also be the path to restoring history *and* hope, actions that have been demonstrated in liberation approaches. University of Kwa Natal student Kagiso Nkosi (Personal Communication, 2018) states that the transformation that emerges from an understanding of these sociopolitical realities and of one's own power and humanity to contribute to a better world is the essence of the meaning of *Ubuntu*.

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