



A MATTER of SPIRIT

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Seeking Racial Justice

Despite decades of social progress, the stain of racism lingers on the social fabric of America. Some would argue that it is woven into the fabric itself, and that it falls to us to restitch community and national ties. In this issue of *A Matter of Spirit*, we explore the legacy of racism in the United States, its troubling staying power, and how we, as a Church and a country, are working to overcome it.

Marie Ferman unpacks the recent letter from the US Bishops *Open Wide Our Hearts: The Enduring Call to Love – A Pastoral Letter Against Racism*. Jacqueline Battalora provides us with an in-depth look at the logic of white privilege, and what white people can do to dismantle it.

In an interview with Andrea Fontana, we explore the often overlooked case of racism against the Asian American community. In *Unpacking My Privilege*, an East African immigrant shares her personal story of a woman standing at the intersection of race, class, education level, gender, and social custom, making a life for herself in the United States.

Rev. Whitney Edwards reminds us of the radical promise of Jesus and his mother, Mary. In recalling both Jesus' privilege and his vulnerability, she calls us to leverage our own privilege in the struggle to end racial injustice. Rev. Stephen Sundborg, president of Seattle University, suggests meaningful ways that many of us can work to confront racism in our daily lives.

When tackling a question as personal, emotional, and multi-layered as racism, it is all but unavoidable that certain issues or sectors of the population will not be represented. In publishing this issue of *AMOS*, we do not claim to address every facet of this important issue; there will inevitably be lacunae and oversights. We only strive to help further the already ongoing discussions about race, and perhaps provide our readers with a new lens through which to view them.



Festival Choir at Martin Luther King, Jr. Day Mass at St. James Cathedral, Seattle, WA

OPENING WIDE OUR HEARTS

The Enduring Call to Love

By Marie Ferman

In November 2018, the U.S. Catholic bishops released *Open Wide Our Hearts: The Enduring Call to Love—A Pastoral Letter Against Racism*, in which they highlight the importance of acknowledging and understanding the reality of racism in the United States. The letter reaffirms the fundamental moral truth of the dignity and sanctity of human life and applies this Catholic Social Teaching to the issue of racism today. The bishops state that “the persistence of the evil of racism is why we are writing this letter now. People are still being harmed, so action is still needed” (*Open Wide Our Hearts*, 7).



Open Wide Our Hearts begins by defining racism and highlights how racism and prejudice have affected countless minority groups in our nation's history. The letter delves into the experiences of three communities in particular—Native, Hispanic, and African Americans. In identifying and briefly unpacking the experience of each community, *Open Wide Our Hearts* traces how prejudice and persecution of the past continues to manifest. The letter bridges the gap in understanding how individual acts of racism contribute to structures of institutional racism. The U.S. bishops outline the process for addressing racism, highlighting the need for individual conversion, acknowledging past failures, and committing to take concrete action.

Throughout *Open Wide Our Hearts*, the bishops highlight the necessity of individual conversion in combatting structural and institutional racism. While the relationship between individual conversion and structural change may not seem obvious, it is rooted in the Church's teaching that individual actions have communal consequences and "the cumulative effects of personal sins of racism have led to social structures of injustice and violence that makes us all accomplices in racism" (5).

Demonstrating how specific acts of racism have produced modern structures of discrimination, the bishops write, "the poverty experienced by many of these communities has its roots in racist policies that continue to impede the ability of people to find affordable

housing, meaningful work, adequate education, and social mobility" (14-15). Consequently, the bishops urge us to consider the reality of institutional racism within its proper historical context, warning us not to view elements of the topic in isolation. Instead, we are urged to consider which elements of discriminatory institutions of the past remain in modern structures of society.

Open Wide Our Hearts acknowledges the temptation to dismiss this personal call to conversion. However, as the title suggests, the pastoral letter encourages us to approach the topic of racism with an open heart and to con-

sider the experiences of those whose lives and perspectives may be radically different from our own. *Open Wide Our Hearts* emphasizes that "all of us are in need of personal, ongoing conversion. Our churches and our civic and social institutions are in need of ongoing reform. If racism is confronted by addressing its causes and the injustice it produces, then healing can occur" (7). As society is made up of individual persons, changing societal systems is inextricable from individual conversion. Laws and policies can change, but without genuine conversion of heart, the threat of backsliding looms.

The U.S. Catholic bishops recognize that conversion can be an extraordinarily difficult, even painful process, one that requires great humility and love. Thus, the bishops set the example and dedicate a section of *Open Wide Our Hearts* to acknowledge acts of racism committed by past leaders of the Catholic Church and, subsequently, outline the process of conversion. "We must be honest with ourselves. Each of

"As society is made up of individual persons, changing societal systems is inextricable from individual conversion."

us should examine our conscience and ask if these fruits [of the Holy Spirit] are really present in our attitudes about race" (17). *Open Wide Our Hearts* calls on all of us to consider how we may have been cooperating with racism, consciously or unconsciously, in ways that have gone unnoticed. As "racism can often be found in our hearts—in many cases placed there unwillingly or unknowingly by our upbringing and culture" part of our own self-reflection may require that we consider how our friends, family, and personal habits may be affecting our attitudes about race (5).

Catholic Social Teaching aims to

guide the mechanisms that drive our political and social life based on the fundamental truths of the Catholic Faith. The principles found in Catholic Social Teaching direct individuals in discerning what is best to do in their particular circumstances. Any discussion of social justice rests on the fundamental principle that human beings are the foundation, cause, and end of every social institution. Discerning the good of the individual person is vital in determining the common good of society; the two should not be at odds, but in unity with each other. Thus, social institutions should be ordered to the common good of the individual person.

Catholic Social Teaching is not static, but dynamic with permanently true principles that can be applied to specific circumstances. The bishops emphasize that “racism is a moral

problem that requires a moral remedy—a transformation of the human heart—that impels us to act” (20). Racist actions, words, and thoughts reveal a rejection or trivialization of the dignity that each person inherently possesses by his or her very nature. Yet, as the letter points out, “too many good and faithful Catholics remain unaware of the connection between institutional racism and the continued erosion of the sanctity of life” (10). By explicitly stating that “racism is a life issue” (30) the discussion transcends politics, and is recontextualized within the Church’s foundational teaching of the dignity of all human life, which permeates every principle and application of Catholic Social Teaching.

While it can be difficult to untangle the issue of racism from modern political connotations, *Open Wide Our Hearts* prioritizes the need to actively

confront racism through personal conversion and reorientation to Christ. “What is needed, what we are calling for, is a genuine conversion of heart, a conversion that will compel change, and the reform of our institutions and society” (7). The reality of racism in modern society highlights the reality that there is still substantial work to be done, work that begins in the individual heart.

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Cover photo credit: St. James Cathedral Seattle

White privilege *and what to do about it*

By Jacqueline Battalora

White Privilege

The scholar Peggy McIntosh describes white privilege as, “an invisible package of unearned assets.” These assets are largely unrecognized by those who hold them and are rendered invisible through dominant social practices. Law provides many concrete examples of white privilege. The U.S. Naturalization Law of 1790 is one such example. The very first Congress of the country determined that in order to naturalize as a U.S. citizen one had to be white. This particular structural advantage that conferred white privilege was shared by poor and wealthy alike and it did not matter whether one was aware of the advantage or desired it. The advantage was simply built in, a feature of law. The requirement of being white to naturalize lasted more than 150 years, con-

ferring advantage to immigrants who were seen as white not because they did anything special, but rather, simply because they were white in the eyes of courts. The Naturalization Law of 1790 is an example of systemic white advantage with the reverse side of the same coin being systemic racism.

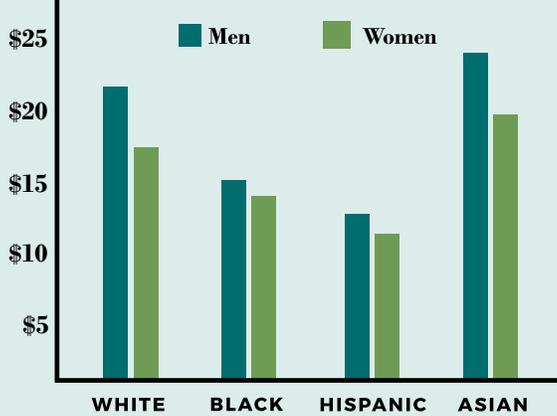
The advantage extended beyond immigrants to other whites both in the past and present. The law worked to construct a white = American equation that continues today, creating both systemic and personal advantage for whites and disadvantage for people of color. Regardless of when one’s family arrived on North American shores, those who are seen as white are treated as American, as people who belong here, as those who should access and claim the rights and liberties of the U.S. This is not how Americans of Asian descent, for example, are treated despite some having family in the U.S. for more than 150 years. These Asian Americans are frequently presumed to be immigrants and compliment-

What the Data Say

The advantages bestowed by white privilege often result in disproportionate racial representation in a variety of social metrics.

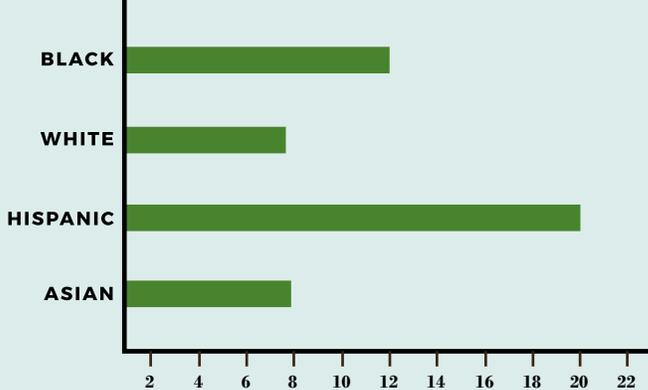
Median Hourly Wage, 2015

(Pew Research)



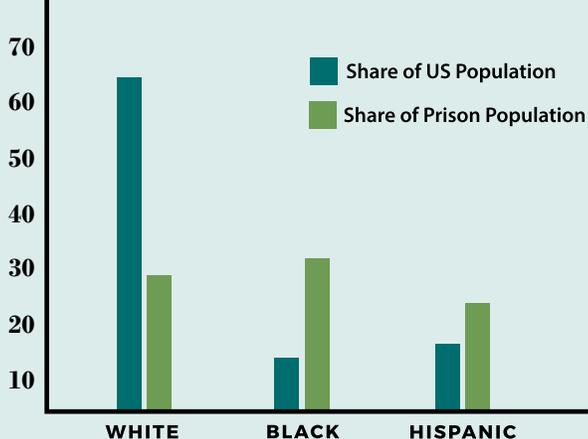
Percentage of population without health insurance, 2018

(Kaiser Family Foundation)



Percentage of total prison population relative to share of population, 2018

(Pew Research)



ed for their good English. White privilege derived from naturalization law goes beyond common everyday assumptions about who is presumed to be American. It has also shaped how people are commonly referenced. Americans with descendants from Asia, for example, are referred to as “Asian Americans” while those with descendants from Europe are simply “American.”

White privilege operates to give whites unfair access to resources both material (land, money, jobs) and symbolic (positive representations including common toys like Superman, Barbie), advantages simply by virtue of being white. The benefits conferred by virtue of being white are, of course, mediated by gender, class, sexuality, religion, and dis/ability, among other fiercely enforced categories. For example, under the Expatriation Act of 1907, a white man’s U.S. citizenship was not impacted by the person he married, whereas a white woman lost her U.S. citizenship if she married a noncitizen ineligible for naturalization (i.e., not white). And of course, one of the most important expressions of citizenship, the vote, was accessible to white men but only to white women beginning in 1920 with the passage of the 19th amendment.

White Fragility

White privilege allows white people to move around in the world with greater ease, dignity, and comfort than most people of color. The social structure that creates white privilege also insulates whites from race-based stress caused by such triggers as a claim that one’s behavior had a racist impact or that one’s success came, in part, by virtue of being white, to mention just a couple. According to Robin DiAngelo’s 2011 journal article “White Fragility” in *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, the social context of the U.S. produces an environment of racial protection for whites. It results in expectations that they will maintain racial comfort. This environment simultaneously lowers the ability of white people to tolerate or navigate race-based stress. This inability to tolerate race-based stress is what DiAngelo calls “White Fragility” and defines as, “a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves... [that] function to reinstate white racial equilibrium.” (p.57)

DiAngelo explains that white fragility is what happens when white privilege gets contested. White fragility gets expressed in a variety of ways. Some people avoid confronting racial bias by walking away or bursting into tears, or both, while others respond with anger and rage. Crying when confronted with facing racial bias diverts attention away from the topic of bias and results in the crier’s hurt feelings becoming the center of attention. Rather than cry or walk away, some avoid facing racial bias by exploding in anger and citing hard work and personal struggle as the true source of white success. The anger works to sharpen focus upon one’s

impassioned claims and to sideline the issue of racial bias. The claims of individual effort completely bypass the structural advantages that made it possible for one's hard work to pay off. In these ways, white fragility works to preserve the racial status quo and to keep central white people's feelings, interests and claims. White fragility is the biggest roadblock keeping communities, organizations, and white individuals from developing the competency to identify the workings of Whiteness.

Whiteness

Both white privilege and white fragility rest upon a foundation of Whiteness. In fact, both are the result of the dynamic interplay of Whiteness. In her 1993 book *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*, sociologist Ruth Frankenberg defines Whiteness as "a location of structural advantage, of race privilege. Second, it is a 'standpoint,' a place from which White people look at ourselves, at others, and at society. Third, 'Whiteness' refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed" (1).

"When we understand that race is a social construct, not rooted in biology but rather the result of human actions and choices, the path out becomes clear."

The Naturalization Law of 1790 is an example of a structural advantage. It in turn worked to shape white viewpoints of white people as desirable, of nonwhites as undesirable and a view of the world as better when white. Together these worked to constitute the national practice of seeing white as American. There are many thousands of structural examples throughout U.S. history up to the present moment. That most of us are not taught about them and that our U.S. history texts exclude them is a major challenge for K-12 educators and a huge red flag to all who seek social justice.

The history of legal disputes arising from the Naturalization Law of 1790 provide examples of race as a construct. Because "white" was never defined as a matter of federal law, disputes over who is white were fought in courts. Legal scholar Ian F. Haney Lopez' analysis of these legal disputes in his 1996 book *Wrote By Law: The Legal Construction of Race* reveals that one court defined being Caucasian as be-

ing white while yet another court rejected the equation. The court cases expose that those we see as white reflect not a genetic or biological group but a complex matrix of law, policy, and practices that have created meaning we describe as race.

When we understand that race is a social construct, not rooted in biology but rather the result of human actions and choices, the path out becomes clear. Whiteness requires continual affirmation and reconstruction to be sustained. There is a way out of Whiteness, a construct of domination and exclusion. The way out is to dismantle Whiteness and instead, choose liberation and belonging. This is no small feat but is absolutely doable. Each one of us possesses the power to reject Whiteness within our own lives and spheres of influence.

Understanding some of the history of institutionalized white superiority within each moment of U.S. history is critical because it makes clear what anti-racism activist Tim Wise frequently notes in his lectures, "Whiteness has been done to all of us." There is no need for white people to fall into guilt or despair because the structures we were born into ensured the pervasive message of the superiority of white people. It is no one individual's fault. There is, however, a desperate need for white people to identify the workings of Whiteness and make daily choices that fracture the domination and exclusion it asserts. I call this Whiteness Competency.

Daily choices include the areas we drive through or avoid, the areas we select to live within, the businesses we patronize, the people we hire, the comments we make, the people we see and those we do not, those we invite over for dinner, those we confide in, the trust we have or withhold, etc. In countless daily activities we either support the status quo or forge a new construct rooted in liberation and belonging for a diverse humanity. Whiteness must be dismantled within minds and hearts, through daily choices made, through policies and practices supported, through structures and institutions rejected and new ones created, through entirely new ways of being. New structures and institutions aligned with liberation and belonging for a diverse humanity will result from many individual actions that envision and support them.

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Courtesy Andrea Fontana

One Asian American's VOICE

The editors interviewed Andrea Fontana (née Wong), pictured above with her family, about her experience as an Asian American. A native of South Bend, Indiana now living in Southeast Seattle, Mrs. Fontana is currently Program Coordinator at the Ignatian Spirituality Center. She is a lay minister, liturgical musician, activist and mother.

How would you describe your family background?

When asked to give this interview, my first thought was how significant it was that this issue would include an Asian American voice. Asian American experiences are often missing or minimally mentioned in conversations about racism, as I noticed in the U.S. Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter against racism.

Yet my second thought was awareness of my privilege. I'm a first-generation Asian American but I am not a first-generation Asian "Westerner." My dad and his mother are New Zealand-born Chinese. So I know that I'm not speaking for Asian Americans as a whole because like others, my story is unique.

After my dad earned the top score on New Zealand's national math test, he was awarded a Fulbright to attend Harvard. After receiving a PhD in math, he returned to New Zealand to teach, met my mom and she gave birth to my oldest sister. When my sister was one, a former professor invited him to teach at Notre Dame. So I was born in South Bend, Indiana, a predominantly white college town.

What are your thoughts on the term "Asian American"?

The label "Asian American" lumps me with a vast array of people with varied experiences of racism. There are people from countries of origin that experience more discrimination. (Southeast Asians statistically experience more discrimination than Chinese and Japanese.) There are immigrants of Asian descent, lower income Asian Americans, and those who do not speak English fluently who may experience more discrimination than my family. There are so many Asian countries that it is hard to generalize "the Asian American experience" as a monolithic experience.

My mom, an immigrant from China to New Zealand, is more traditionally Chinese. She often pitted the words "Asian" and "American" against each other. When she didn't approve of my friends' influence, she pointed out that their values were "so American" (as opposed to Chinese values), even though we were also American. So the term "Asian American" holds memories of tension for me. Though I was not biracial, I definitely felt bicultural growing up.

How is your experience of race different from that of your children?

I recently asked my kids about being biracial. My seven-year old said, “No, we’re white!” I sadly realized, “Hmm... that’s how she sees herself!” Racial awareness develops at a very young age, but I think that claiming one’s racial identity comes as a young adult. I later said to my eleven-year old, “You know you’re biracial. Some people call it ‘half/half,’ but it’s not like you take half of yourself from the Chinese side and half of yourself from the Italian and English side. If you fully embrace it all, you’ll be able to talk about what it’s like to live in the space between cultures.” It will be interesting to learn from them what it means to be biracial.

How do you feel about Asian Americans often being cast as the “model minority”?

The “Model Minority” Myth – that all Asian Americans are smart, hard-working, ideal minorities - stems from a change in U.S. immigration law in 1965 which gave preference to highly educated and skilled applicants. It ushered in a new wave of Asian immigrants who had previously been perceived as illiterate or not assimilating. My dad, a classic case of a “model minority,” was allowed into the country around that time precisely because he was highly educated. I wonder how many Asians were not allowed into the U.S. due to this hyper-selective policy. Yet it benefitted our family and likely contributed to our experiencing relatively little discrimination.

The flipside of the stereotype that Asian Americans are industrious rule-abiding workers is a perception that they lack interpersonal charm or other skills. Interestingly, many Asian Americans have internalized the “Model Minority” Myth (e.g. aspiring to the Ivy League) perhaps believing they will compensate for other obstacles to Asian success in American society. My Chinese upbringing led me to be detail-oriented, conscientious, and a hard worker who prefers to be behind the scenes. In many ways I fit the stereotypes. But I also defy the stereotypes through my education as an architect and theologian. I’ve noticed that when people praise me, they often focus on how organized and detail-oriented I am, rather than on my creativity or ministerial skills. I wonder whether the attention given to the aspects of me that are more stereotypically Asian American reveals a subconscious internalization of the “Model Minority” Myth.

Can you describe your experience with racism?

My experiences operate more on a personal level than on the level of institutional discrimination or systemic racism, which other people of color face daily. When racism does not surface in overt ways, one effect is that I can never be sure whether or not someone has demonstrated racial bias toward me.

When recently vetting orthodontists, the orthodontist asked me, “So where did you live before you came to Seattle?”

I thought to myself, “That’s a subtle way to ask the ‘Where are you from?’ question!” And I wondered, “Would he have asked my white husband the same question?” Perhaps not, but the point is - I will never know for sure.

One of my European American friends actually helped me understand why I as an Asian American often feel marginalized on a personal level. I shared with her that I didn’t feel known in a group of people I had met with for years. She said she’s noticed that a typical communication style of her Asian friends is to ask questions and then listen, following up questions with more questions. As a result, they don’t talk much about themselves if at all. This was revelatory because it put words to a cultural difference that explains why I sometimes feel invisible and unknown in spaces that are not Asian.

On an institutional level, Asian Americans are statistically the racial group least likely to be promoted to management. I believe this not only comes from the common stereotypes about Asian Americans, but also from unquestioned assumptions about what makes a good leader. The dominant culture often views good leaders as vocal, bold decision-makers. Often white men fit this description. I became aware of this dynamic at my daughters’ first school where the Head of School was a Japanese gentleman. He told me that he was the only Asian Head of School in the NW Independent School system. When he announced his decision to retire and it came time to interview a new Head, parents murmured, “No offense to Robert, but he was just not ‘out there’ enough to promote our school.” I thought he listened carefully and did amazing things very quietly. The characteristics the parents sought in a leader were not qualities typically associated with people of Asian descent.

What is something that you wish others would know or, at least, begin to understand about Asian Americans?

Asian Americans are often invisible in U.S. society and culture, and also tend to be forgotten in discourse about racism. What I wish others would do is – first, simply notice Asian Americans. And I offer these questions for reflection:

- ☞ How do I overlook Asian Americans in my circles? How well and deeply do I know and listen to the Asian Americans around me?
- ☞ What are my stereotypes of Asian Americans, and where do those come from? How might Asian Americans be boxed in or discriminated against?
- ☞ Where are Asian Americans in my circles, in the church and community, in entertainment and media, in education and politics, in leadership and business, and in public discourse?

Race and Legal History

The history of race and law in the United States is inextricably linked. Laws, treaties, and judicial decisions often have played and continue to play defining roles in both the institutionalization of racist policy and in the advancement of a more equitable society.

1793 Fugitive Slave Act

- Creates legal mechanisms whereby escaped slaves can be held by the state and returned to owner.
- Makes it a crime to assist a slave in escaping.
- Contributes to growth of slave catching industry.
- Foments fear among free Blacks, as slave catchers often do not distinguish between slave and free Black.

1830 Indian Removal Act

Removes and relocates all Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River.

1850 Foreign Miners Tax

\$20/month tax on all foreign-born miners in California. By 1852, \$3/month tax exclusively on Chinese miners.

1850 Fugitive Slave Act

- Fine and/or imprisonment for aiding runaway slaves.
- Suspected slaves cannot testify in court, leading to many free Blacks ending up in slavery.
- Wisconsin Supreme Court rules the law unconstitutional, but it is upheld by US Supreme Court in 1859.

1862 Homestead Act

Allots 160 acres of western land to "anyone" who could pay \$1.25 and cultivate it for five years. The Act limits the opportunity to US citizens, meaning Black Native Americans, and non-European immigrants are excluded.

1862 California passes "Anti-Coolie Act"

- \$2.50/month tax on any Asian worker over 18 years of age (except those working in production of sugar, rice, coffee, tea).
- Designed to protect white labor opportunity and to discourage Chinese immigration.

1865 Ratification of 13th Amendment

Abolishes slavery in the United States, except as punishment for crime.

1865-1966 Black Codes

- State or municipal-level laws that are enacted in southern states following the adoption of the 13th Amendment.
- Deny Blacks the rights to testify against Whites, serve on juries, and vote.
- Some of these codes limit occupations open to African Americans and bar them from acquiring land upon the end of Reconstruction in 1877.

1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie

- The Treaty agrees that Whites will not enter the Black Hills in the Dakotas without Native American permission.
- When gold is discovered there, the terms of the Treaty are changed without the consent of Native Americans.

1857 Dred Scott v. Sandford

The U.S. Supreme Court reinforces southern states' claims of slaves as property, and in denying standing to enslaved peoples.

1876-1965 Jim Crow Laws

A cadre of laws and institutions which enforce segregation.

1879-1900s Residential School System

- Native American children forced to attend sponsored schools run largely by missionaries.
- Native American children are not allowed to speak their languages, among other tactics of forced assimilation.

1882 Chinese Exclusion Act

- Excludes Chinese from entering the U.S.
- Many Americans of Chinese descent are naturalized citizens.
- In 1898, the Supreme Court decides that children of Chinese ancestry, who was denied citizenship, are not considered American-born children of foreign parents.

1887 Dawes General Allotment Act

- Provides for the division of Native American land into individually owned parcels; erases communal land.
- The Act has the express intent to encourage Native American self-governance, and making land available for sale to non-Native Americans.

1800

- * 1791 Bill of Rights passed
- * 1803 Louisiana Purchase Treaty
- * 1812-1815 War of 1812

1850

- * 1848 Gold discovered in California
- * 1860 Abraham Lincoln elected
- * 1861 Civil War begins
- * 1863 Emancipation Proclamation
- * 1865 Abraham Lincoln assassinated
- * 1865 Civil War ends

1900

- * 1869 Completion of Transcontinental Railroad
- * 1872 Yellowstone National Park founded
- * 1876 Alexander Graham Bell invents telephone

Historical Mileposts

- * 1808 Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves
- * 1831 Nat Turner Slave Rebellion
- * 1849 Harriet Tubman escapes from slavery
- * 1859 John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry
- * 1861-1865 Civil War
- * 1866 Ku Klux Klan founded
- * 1876 Battle of Little Bighorn
- * 1890 M

Relevant Social History

1917 Immigration Act of 1917
Known as the Asian Barred Zone Act, it imposes a literacy test and established the Asiatic Barred Zone, greatly restricting immigration from eastern Asia and Pacific islands, excluding US territories.

1922 Extension of Chinese Exclusion Act
Reenacting the Geary Act of 1892 without an end date, Chinese immigration is effectively made permanently illegal.

1922 Ozawa v. United States
Born in Japan and having lived in the US for 20 years, Mr. Ozawa petitions US citizenship on the grounds that his skin is as white as or whiter than many so-called "Caucasian" whites. His naturalization petition is denied on the basis that he is not considered "white" within the meaning of the statute.

1924 Indian Citizenship Act
Also known as the Snyder Act or the National Origins Act, grants full US citizenship to Native Americans. The Act does not include people born before the effective date of the 1924 Act or outside the US as a Native American person. Several states still withhold voting rights for Native Americans until 1938. Universal suffrage for Native Americans is not fully enacted until 1948.

1929-1939 Mexican Repatriation
A forced migration when as many as one million people of Mexican descent are forced or pressured to leave the US, resulting from restrictive new labor laws in response to the Great Depression. Around 60% of those forced out are US citizens.

1931 United States v. Wong Kim Ark
The Supreme Court establishes the principle of birthright citizenship. States' rights to implement separate institutions.

1932 United States v. Curtiss-Wright
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1933 Scottsboro Boys
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1934 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1935 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1936 United States v. Brown
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The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1940 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1941 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1942 Japanese-American Internment
Executive Order 9066 provides for the forced relocation and internment of approximately 110,000 Japanese-Americans and Japanese living on the Pacific coast during World War II. Of the interned, approximately 62% are American citizens.

1943 Magnuson Act
In repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Magnuson Act allows for Chinese immigration. It still provides for many restrictions against property and ownership rights for ethnic Chinese.

1944 Korematsu v. United States
Supreme Court declares the order leading to the internment of Japanese-Americans to be constitutional.

1945 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1946 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1947 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1948 United States v. Brown
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1949 United States v. Brown
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1950 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1951 United States v. Brown
The Court establishes the principle of "separate but equal."

1952 Immigration and Nationality Act
This Act relaxes immigration restrictions and abolishes the Asiatic Barred Zone.

1954 Operation "Wetback"
An operation by the US Naturalization and Immigration Service to remove approximately one million undocumented immigrants, primarily Mexican nationals, from the southwestern US. The operation relies heavily on sweeps of Latino neighborhoods, ID checks, and random stops.

1954 Brown v. Board of Education
Ends "separate but equal" leading to integration of schools.

1957 Eisenhower orders federal troops to Arkansas
In a response to Gov. Orville Faubus declaring that 9 Black students be barred from integrating Central High School in Little Rock, the President sends troops from 101 Airborne to escort them to school.

1964 Civil Rights Act
Outlaws discrimination based on race, religion, sex, or national origin, as well as, unequal application of voting registration requirements, racial segregation in schools, public accommodations, and employment applications.

1965 Voting Rights Act
Outlaws poll taxes, literacy tests, and other mechanisms used to restrict minorities' access to voting.

1967 Loving v. Virginia
US Supreme Court legalizes interracial marriage.

1968 Civil Rights Act
Provides for equal access to housing regardless of race, religion, or country of origin. This list expands to include gender in 1974, and people with disabilities in 1988.

1980 Refugee Act
Program to aid in the resettlement of refugees and to help them become economically self-sufficient.

2001 US Patriot Act
US Patriot Act

2005 Hurricane Katrina
Hurricane Katrina

2008 President Barack Obama elected
President Barack Obama elected

2013 Shelby County v. Holder
Limits need of federal oversight for voting in many southern states.

0 1950 2000

- * 1917 US enters World War I
- * 1929-1939 Great Depression
- * 1941 US enters World War II
- * 1945 End of World War II
- * 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis
- * 1963 JFK assassinated
- * 1965 American troops enter Vietnam
- * 1969 Neil Armstrong walks on moon
- * 1974 Nixon resigns
- * 1991 Gulf War
- * 2001 Terrorist Attacks in NY, DC, and PA
- * 2008 President Barack Obama elected
- * 1920 Ratification of 19th Amendment, enfranchisement of (white) women
- * 1920s Harlem Renaissance
- * 1927 Release of Al Jolson film The Jazz Singer, first "talkie"
- * 1936 Jesse Owens wins 4 gold medals at Berlin Olympics
- * 1940 Benjamin O. Davis Sr. becomes first Black general in US Army
- * 1947 Jackie Robinson integrates professional baseball
- * 1955 Lynching of Emmitt Till
- * 1955 Rosa Parks and Montgomery Bus Boycott
- * 1960 Founding of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
- * 1961 Freedom Riders
- * 1963 Martin Luther King Jr. jailed and writes "Letter from the Birmingham Jail"
- * 1963 Bayard Rustin and A. Phillip Randolph organize March on Washington with King's "I Have a Dream" speech
- * 1965 Watts Riots
- * 1965 King leads march from Selma to Montgomery
- * 1965 Malcolm X assassinated
- * 1968 MLK assassinated
- * 1977 Premier of Roots
- * 1989 Congress issues apology for Japanese-American Internment
- * 1992 Los Angeles Riots
- * 1993 Toni Morrison becomes first Black American to win Nobel Prize in Literature
- * 1999 Founding of NAACP

Unpacking My Privilege



I am a first generation female immigrant from East Africa, born to a culture that is deeply religious, conservative, traditional and male dominated. In this culture where on average rural pre-teen girls are arranged to marry 20+-year-old men, I was lucky to be born to educated, urban, progressive parents. My feminist father insisted I do all things reserved for males: play soccer with boys, take public transportation to school and even slaughter a chicken. Needless to say, none of the strictly religious people ate that chicken, but I learned there was no such thing as men's vs. women's jobs.

In a war torn country with a communist government that could confiscate any property without compensation or explanation, education was the only thing they couldn't take away from you. I was privileged to be a member of one of the two dominant ethnic groups and grew up upper middle class. My parents made sacrifices to send me to private schools, and I had familial expectation of a postgraduate degree. When war threatened to limit my educational options, a white family willing to welcome an African stranger into their home facilitated my continued education in the United States.

I arrived in the US sufficiently proficient in the English language but my

exposure to American culture was limited to cultural exports such as "Bonanza," "Get Smart," "Sesame Street," "Rocky," "Shaft," James Bond movies and novels by Leon Uris and Robert Ludlum. Enrolling in the predominantly white, cliquey girl's high school was a bit of a culture shock. I remember how often the few black classmates

"It took years for me to understand, and it had to be blatant for me to identify it as racism."

would point out racism during class. I never quite understood what they were taking about and thought they looked at "everything" too much through the race lens. It took years for me to understand, and it had to be blatant for me to identify it as racism: like when I was followed the entire time I was in a boutique store in the Mississippi delta (my white friend was not) or white women would cross the street when they saw my brother at night walking home

from school or another brother falsely accused of stealing a leather coat he was wearing without the Portland store checking their inventory.

I also remember the more subtle, often repeated statements by well meaning, educated white people (often meant as a compliment) "but you are not like them" or "you are not loud like them", the implied "them" always being black Americans. On one hand, this was an unearned privilege conferred upon me at the expense of a marginalized group. At the same time, it placed an unspoken alignment with the dominant group and made the discussion of race remote. Over time I learned to read faces closely and be cautious about talking about race.

Although you can never completely take East Africa out of the East African, United States is now my home. As I read more about our social, cultural, and economic history over the years, I have tried to listen and be an outspoken ally. However, I regret that not once during all those early years of hearing "but you are not like them" did I ever take the opportunity to facilitate introspection by asking a simple "What do you mean?"

▲ *The author of this piece immigrated to the United States as a teenager, and now works and resides in the Seattle area.*



Photo Courtesy of St. Leo parish, Tacoma, WA

Mercy. By Alan Yost SJ.

WILL.STAY.WOKE

By Rev. Whitney Edwards

I recently stepped out of a large Episcopal Church in Richmond, Virginia, ready for a rest after having had the honor of celebrating the Eucharist with hundreds of people. I rounded the corner to meet a young black woman. Her sweatshirt said:

**WILL
STAY
WOKE**

Her shirt was anything but clothing, but rather a powerful statement about remaining awake and alert to the injustice of racism. In a state whose governor grasps at power even as he (briefly) admitted to be-

ing in a photo in which he either wore blackface or a klansman's hood, and in a capital crisscrossed by streets laid to separate inheritors of oppression from inheritors of opportunity, and punctuated by towering monuments to a war lost in defense of a divine right to slavery, her shirt was so much more: a faith statement, an act of defiance, a modern Magnificat, and the most Christ-like symbol I had seen all day.

We know less about Jesus Christ than we would like. A few short books, a handful of letters, and loads of commentary point to a wonderful person brimming with divinity who gave it all away to wake the rest of us up. Jesus was born privileged insofar as possessing all that he needed in order to further the kingdom of God on Earth. Among the most prominent were his being a male descendant of the House

of David, a talented rabbi, and an astute politician. He was also a member of a persecuted people whose existence was conditional on submission to the greatest military power the world had ever seen, a poor person whose poverty allowed him to identify with the least of his brothers and sisters, a powerless person whose teaching and actions upended forever notions of power and weakness. How he leveraged both his privilege and vulnerability in order to undermine the Roman Empire is the homework of every student of justice, freedom, and peace.

And yet, before Jesus could carry the weight of messiahship, he first had to survive childhood. His initial rite of passage was to become a refugee. Too small to even run from the paranoid and power-drunk Herod, his parents bore him on their backs to Egypt, where for years they hid from the slaughter of countless innocents, and dreamed of a time when the House of David may indeed provide shelter again.

It is said that privilege is not earned, but inherited, so we ought to look at Jesus's parents, and his mother Mary in particular, to understand his birthright. Mary was woke and committed to raising a child on the rich milk of wokeness. As a woman steeped in the covenant's vision of right relationship, she knew that prayer alone is not sufficient as a means of upending injustice. As an inheritor of the prophetic tradition, she also knew that living out God's justice often means defying prevailing notions of justice. And she was clear, even before

Jesus was born, about the values by which she would raise her son. Early in Luke, we find her mind anticipating a messianic era in which "God has scattered the proud in the thoughts of their hearts, brought down the powerful from their thrones, filled the hungry with good things, and sent the rich away empty" (1:51-53). Rather than the sweet song of an expectant maiden, this was a white knuckled rally cry. The promises of Abraham were soon to come in a rush of bleeding, screaming, blessed birth. By God and the will of His woke son's mother, this would be a new and improved covenant, complete with a beating heart. He would touch the untouchable, forgive the unforgivable, and save us all from our utter humanity.

Privilege is a gift from God, all too often hoarded to rot like day-old manna. But should we truly follow the example of Jesus, we will give thanks for our inheritance as it takes shape in race, gender, sexuality, education, wealth, or political power, and then lend it all to overturning the corrupted structures which assign value to such privileges. And only then will we find the rest we seek.

▲ *Rev. Whitney Z. Edwards is a graduate of Yale Divinity School. She worked for the Office of Justice and Peace at The Catholic Diocese of Richmond before becoming an ordained Episcopal Priest. A long-time missionary to Central America and Asia, she now serves as Chaplain to St. Christopher's School in Richmond, VA.*

WHITE PRIVILEGE DIMINISHES OUR HUMANITY 10 Commitments *for meaningful change*

By Stephen V. Sundborg, SJ

At Seattle University, we challenge our students to engage in the difficult issues of the day with an open mind, respect differing viewpoints, discern the moral choices involved and act for the greater good.



Creative Commons CCO

I took this Jesuit approach to heart after being asked to keynote Seattle's annual Martin Luther King Prayer Breakfast in January 2018. My instructions were as a white person to speak to white people about the system and culture of white privilege in our country, which oppresses blacks.

I have come to view white privilege as the unconscious mindset and behavior of white people in America that favors our well-being, gives us the benefit of the doubt, and supports us disproportionately by education, economic opportunity, legal help and through our view of American history. As Michael Eric Dyson writes in the book *Tears We Cannot Stop: A Sermon to White America*, it is as if whites always enjoy a home-court advantage in all aspects of living. White privilege hurts blacks, but also hurts whites in our humanity.

What should whites do to counteract this privilege? I proposed to breakfast attendees not "Ten Commandments" but "Ten Commitments for White America":

- ☞ Reread the true American history, including all the black heroes who built our country and suffered terribly; read that history, not the selective history that we have read, which shores up our privilege.
- ☞ Make compensation or reparation in practical ways by providing young black people strong mentors in school, extra financial assistance to attend college and better advice to know how to succeed within education.
- ☞ Every white person needs to visit a prison or a jail to know firsthand the black persons who undeservedly and disproportionately are there, and the conditions they live in. And we must lobby to change lengthy sentences and inadequate legal defense for blacks.
- ☞ There is a new segregation of blacks in redistricting, which pens blacks within one voting district so that

their votes — if not challenged in the first place — do not expand beyond that district to elect many more representative officials. Whites must join the efforts, led by former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, to counteract this unjust segregational redistricting.

- ☞ More than half of all Americans who apply for jobs get them not only because of their qualifications but also because of who they know and their networks. Whites must go out of their way not just for non-discriminating hiring practices, but to be those persons in companies and part of that network that give blacks in practice equal access to jobs.

“White privilege hurts blacks, but also hurts whites in our humanity”

- ☞ The most segregated morning in America is Sunday morning, when whites and blacks are more apart in their church communities than at any other time of the week. Whites must welcome blacks to their pulpits and go to the places of worship of blacks in order to overcome segregation by religious congregation.
- ☞ Whites must show up and be present and protest with blacks in demonstrations such as “Black Lives Matter”—because black lives have not mattered to whites as much as have white lives. Whites should accept black athletes taking the occasion of the national anthem to make visible the injustices they face often daily

even as those players honor those who have fought for our freedom.

- ☞ Perhaps most of white privilege is for the sake of economic benefit. Whites must look far more clearly and justly at black poverty, its causes and consequences and must put housing, tax and spending measures to the test of whether or not it helps blacks to raise themselves from poverty.
- ☞ Whites must counteract always having the benefit of the doubt by giving the benefit to blacks in our daily relations, in listening to their experiences of discrimination, in attending to their voice in American public life and in legal, economic and educational practices.
- ☞ Finally, no measure will dent white privilege until whites are changed by real, ongoing, open and fully enjoyed friendships with blacks. All whites must ask themselves how many black friends do I have? How many times have I been in their homes, enjoyed and relaxed with their families and lives, included them in my life? Friendship is the most essential fulcrum for prying loose white privilege.

These 10 Commitments will not end white privilege but will make us aware of it in our lives and lead us to measures that over the long run will give us all the benefit of the doubt we deserve and the more just and humane world we seek.

▲ *Stephen V. Sundborg, SJ, is the President of Seattle University. This article was originally published in the Seattle Times February 9, 2018.*



INTERCOMMUNITY

► Catholic Advocacy Day 2019



Constituents advocate with Senator Rebecca Saldaña, District 37

CATHOLICS *for the* COMMON GOOD



Many thanks to everyone who braved the snow and ice to travel to Olympia on February 7 to advocate for the common good. We met with 123 legislators in 39 districts!

► Women's Justice Circles

Grays Harbor Women Address Mental Health Issues

A very successful community forum and training was held on February 24 at St. Mary Parish in Aberdeen. Over 100 people gathered to discuss depression and suicide prevention in adolescents and to raise awareness about the importance of hiring bilingual mental health counselors and health educators in their county. The Circle is now working to compile all the information gathered so they can present it to their local Health Department.



Familias Unidas Comunidades Sanas Community Forum



Aberdeen Justice Circle

► 2018-2019 Just Video Contest

An opportunity for High School Juniors and Seniors to create an original video focusing on immigration, human rights or the environment. Entries due on April 14.

Information:

<https://ipjc.org/just-video-contest/>



PEACE & JUSTICE CENTER

NEWS • ANNOUNCEMENTS • UPCOMING EVENTS

▶ IPJC Staff Winter Presentations

Advocacy in a Cathedral Context

Cathedral Ministry Conference, Seattle

Catholic Social Teaching on Immigration

St. Elizabeth Ann Seton Parish, Bothell

Gun Safety

Eastern WA Legislative Conference, Spokane

Human Trafficking

Forest Ridge Alumni; St. Olaf Parish, Poulsbo

Youth Group All Saints Parish, Puyallup

Human Trafficking Webinars

Jr. High School, Madison, WI

High School, Fullerton, CA

Investing for the Common Good

St. James Cathedral, Seattle

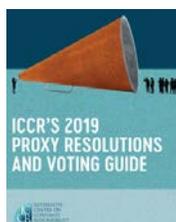
Racism in the Criminal Justice System

Jesuit Volunteer EnCorps, Seattle

▶ Northwest Coalition for Responsible Investment

Faith-based shareholders, including NWCRI, filed 250 resolutions at 163 companies in 2018-2019. In addition to proposals on climate, lobbying and health, there was a surge in resolutions citing human rights risks; data privacy concerns in the Information, Communications and Technology (ICT) sector; immigrant detention.

Download a Copy: www.iccr.org/iccrs-2019-proxy-resolutions-and-voting-guide-0



▶ Events

Walking + Witnessing for Immigrant Families

April 29 – May 11

Information: wacatholics.org/prayerwalk2019

Sharing the Journey: Third Annual Immigration Summit

June 8

St. Catherine of Sienna Parish, Seattle, WA

▶ Spring Benefit

Join us to celebrate twenty-five years of IPJC's program, Northwest Coalition for Responsible Investment, founded by religious communities and Catholic healthcare systems to bring the mission of systemic change to corporate boardrooms!



Spring Benefit

APRIL 10, 2019

SEATTLE UNIVERSITY ~ CAMPION HALL

914 E. Jefferson St ~ Seattle, WA 98122

6:30PM GATHERING

7:00PM DINNER

DINNER \$75

RSVP by March 31, 2019

online at www.ipjc.org/2019benefit

▶ Welcome Christian to IPJC



Christian Cousins joined us in January as Justice Educator.

▶ Donations

In memory of: Margaret Lichter, Marie Carmen Gonzales, OP, Mary Fleming, CSJP, Marian Malonson, Patrick Miranda, Jean Walden Young



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Reflection

Gather a group to read and reflect on this issue of *A Matter of Spirit*.

Leader: *This issue of **A Matter of Spirit** challenges us to reflect on racism, in terms of both personal sin and unjust institutional structures. As we begin our reflection, let us ask God for open hearts and minds so that we might listen without defensiveness, acknowledge our own roles in systems that exclude and dehumanize, and commit ourselves to personal conversion and societal justice.*

- ☞ Marie Ferman quotes from the US Bishops' pastoral letter: "the cumulative effects of personal sins of racism have led to social structures of injustice and violence that makes us all accomplices in racism." How do you see the connection between personal and structural racism? How do you see yourself as an accomplice? How can you be an ally?
- ☞ Jacqueline Battalora explores the dual concepts of white privilege and white fragility. How do you see the two as connected? Where do you see areas of privilege in your own life?
- ☞ What can we learn from the example of Jesus and Mary as presented by Rev. Whitney Edwards? How did Jesus use both his privilege and his poverty to challenge unjust structures of his day?
- ☞ We read the stories of two women, one Asian American and one an African immigrant. Whatever our backgrounds, we all have such stories of living within racist structures—what is yours?

- ☞ As you review the historical timeline, what stands out for you? What is one thing you saw/learned that you would want to share with others?
- ☞ Fr. Stephen Sundborg offers a list of 10 commitments for change. Are you prepared to make any of these, or other commitments?

Leader: *Let us close our reflection with the following prayer:*

God of justice, In your wisdom you create all people in your image, without exception.

Through your goodness, open our eyes to see the dignity, beauty, and worth of every human being.

Open our minds to understand that all your children are brothers and sisters in the same human family.

Open our hearts to repent of racist attitudes, behaviors, and speech which demean others.

Open our ears to hear the cries of those wounded by racial discrimination, and their passionate appeals for change.

Strengthen our resolve to make amends for past injustices and to right the wrongs of history.

And fill us with courage that we might seek to heal wounds, build bridges, forgive and be forgiven, and establish peace and equality for all in our communities.

In Jesus' name we pray. Amen.

Prayer courtesy of Catholic Charities USA