

time. They may also be charged more per credit hour or per course if they are taking less than the standard full-time course load.

...
 In sum, low-income students with disabilities generally have a greater need for financial aid than their peers without disabilities. But, they face additional obstacles in assembling the package of resources to pay for college. A larger burden is placed on students with disabilities who may have less capacity to bear it.

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Trafficking in Persons Report 2011

U.S. Department of State

WHAT IS TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS?

Over the past 15 years, “trafficking in persons” or “human trafficking” have been used as umbrella terms for activities involved when one person obtains or holds another person in compelled service. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) describes this compelled service using a number of different terms: involuntary servitude, slavery, debt bondage, and forced labor.

...
 Major forms of human trafficking include:

FORCED LABOR

Also known as involuntary servitude, forced labor may result when unscrupulous employers exploit workers made more vulnerable by high rates of unemployment, poverty, crime, discrimination, corruption, political conflict, or cultural acceptance of the practice. Immigrants are particularly vulnerable, but individuals also may be forced into labor in their own countries. Female victims of forced or bonded labor, especially women and girls in domestic servitude, are often sexually exploited as well.

SEX TRAFFICKING

When an adult is coerced, forced, or deceived into prostitution—or maintained in prostitution through coercion—that person is a victim of trafficking. All of those involved in

recruiting, transporting, harboring, receiving, or obtaining the person for that purpose have committed a trafficking crime. Sex trafficking also can occur within debt bondage, as women and girls are forced to continue in prostitution through the use of unlawful "debt" purportedly incurred through their transportation, recruitment, or even their crude "sale"—which exploiters insist they must pay off before they can be free. It is critical to understand that a person's initial consent to participate in prostitution is not legally determinative: if they are thereafter held in service through psychological manipulation or physical force, they are trafficking victims and should receive benefits outlined in the Palermo Protocol and applicable domestic laws.

BONDED LABOR

One form of force or coercion is the use of a bond, or debt. Often referred to as "bonded labor" or "debt bondage," the practice has long been prohibited under U.S. law by the term peonage. . . . Workers around the world fall victim to debt bondage when traffickers or recruiters unlawfully exploit an initial debt the worker assumed as part of the terms of employment. Workers also may inherit debt in more traditional systems of bonded labor. In South Asia, for example, it is estimated that there are millions of trafficking victims working to pay off their ancestors' debts.

DEBT BONDAGE AMONG MIGRANT LABORERS

Abuses of contracts and hazardous conditions of employment for migrant laborers do not necessarily constitute human trafficking. However, the imposition of illegal costs and debts on these laborers in the source country, often with the support of labor agencies and employers in the destination country, can contribute to a situation of debt bondage. This is the case even when the worker's status in the country is tied to the employer in the context of employment-based temporary work programs.

INVOLUNTARY DOMESTIC SERVITUDE

A unique form of forced labor is the involuntary servitude of domestic workers, whose workplaces are informal, connected to their off-duty living quarters, and not often shared with other workers. Such an environment, which often socially isolates domestic workers, is conducive to nonconsensual exploitation since authorities cannot inspect private property as easily as they can inspect formal workplaces. Investigators and service providers report many cases of untreated illnesses and, tragically, widespread sexual abuse, which in some cases may be symptoms of a situation of involuntary servitude.

FORCED CHILD LABOR

Most international organizations and national laws recognize children may legally engage in certain forms of work. There is a growing consensus, however, that the worst forms of

child labor, including bonded and forced labor of children, should be eradicated. A child can be a victim of human trafficking regardless of the location of that nonconsensual exploitation. Indicators of possible forced labor of a child include situations in which the child appears to be in the custody of a non-family member who has the child perform work that financially benefits someone outside the child's family and does not offer the child the option of leaving.

Anti-trafficking responses should supplement, not replace, traditional actions against child labor, such as remediation and education. When children are enslaved, however, their abusers should not escape criminal punishment by virtue of long-standing administrative responses to child labor practices.

CHILD SOLDIERS

Child soldiering is a manifestation of human trafficking when it involves the unlawful recruitment or use of children—through force, fraud, or coercion—as combatants or for labor or sexual exploitation by armed forces. Perpetrators may be government forces, paramilitary organizations, or rebel groups. Many children are forcibly abducted to be used as combatants. Others are unlawfully made to work as porters, cooks, guards, servants, messengers, or spies. Young girls can be forced to marry or have sex with male combatants. Both male and female child soldiers are often sexually abused and are at high risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases.

CHILD SEX TRAFFICKING

According to UNICEF, as many as two million children are subjected to prostitution in the global commercial sex trade. International covenants and protocols obligate criminalization of the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The use of children in the commercial sex trade is prohibited under both the Palermo Protocol and U.S. law as well as by legislation in countries around the world. There can be no exceptions and no cultural or socioeconomic rationalizations preventing the rescue of children from sexual servitude. Sex trafficking has devastating consequences for minors, including long-lasting physical and psychological trauma, disease (including HIV/AIDS), drug addiction, unwanted pregnancy, malnutrition, social ostracism, and possible death.

VICTIMS' STORIES

U.S.A.

Alissa, 16, met an older man at a convenience store in Dallas and after a few dates accepted his invitation to move in with him. But soon Alissa's new boyfriend convinced

her to be an escort for him, accompanying men on dates and having sex with them for money. He took her to an area known for street prostitution and forced her to hand over all of her earnings. He made Alissa get a tattoo of his nicknames, branding her as his property, and he posted prostitution advertisements with her picture on an Internet site. He rented hotel rooms around Dallas and forced Alissa to have sex with men who responded to the ads. The man, who kept an assault rifle in the closet of his apartment, threatened Alissa and physically assaulted her on multiple occasions. The man later pled guilty to trafficking Alissa.

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HONDURAS-U.S.A.

Maira was 15 when two well-dressed men driving a nice car approached her and two friends in a small Honduran village. They told the girls they were businessmen and offered to take them to the United States to work in a textile factory. Maira thought it was the perfect opportunity to help her single mother, who struggled to support seven children.

But upon arriving in Houston, the girls were held captive, beaten, raped, and forced to work in cantinas that doubled as brothels. Men would come to the cantina and choose a beer and a girl, sometimes as young as 12. They would pay for the beer and sit with the girl while she drank it. If they wanted to have sex with the girl, they would take her to the back and pay cash for a mattress, paper towels, and spermicide. The captors beat the girls daily if they did not make enough money.

After six years, Maira was able to escape the cantina and return to her mother with the help of a kind American family. Her two friends remain missing.

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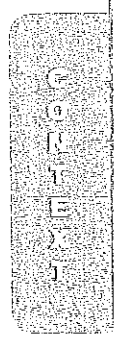
PHILIPPINES-U.S.A.

Maria came to the United States with some 50 other Filipino nationals who were promised housing, transportation, and lucrative jobs at country clubs and hotels under the guest worker program. Like the others, Maria dutifully paid the substantial recruitment fees to come to the United States. But when she arrived, she found that there was no employment secured for her. She did not work for weeks, but the recruiters seized her passport and prohibited her from leaving their house. She and other workers slept side-by-side on the floors of the kitchen, garage, and dining room. They were fed primarily chicken feet and innards. When the workers complained, the recruiters threatened to call the police or immigration services to arrest and deport them. A federal grand jury indicted the two defendants for conspiracy to hold the workers in a condition of forced labor.

...

INDIA-U.S.A.

Ravi was among hundreds of workers lured to the United States from India by an oil rig construction company operating in the Gulf Coast. Lacking skilled welders and pipefitters to help rebuild after Hurricane Katrina struck the area in 2005, the company brought Ravi and others from India on [work permit] visas, promising them permanent visas and residency. But, the promises were false. Instead, Ravi was forced to live with 23 other men in a small room with no privacy and two toilets. The camp was lined with barbed wire and



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security guards, so no one on the outside knew Ravi's whereabouts. The company charged so much for food and a bunk bed that Ravi was unable to send any money home or repay the money he borrowed for his travel expenses to the United States. When the workers began organizing to protest their working conditions, the company began arbitrary firings and private deportations of the protest leaders. Those who remained filed a class action lawsuit and applied for TVPA immigration services.

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MOVING TOWARDS A DECADE OF DELIVERY – PREVENTION

The demand for cheap goods, services, labor, and sex opens opportunities for the exploitation of vulnerable populations. And it is on this demand that human trafficking thrives. People are bought and sold as commodities within and across borders to satisfy demand from buyers. Poverty, unemployment, lack of opportunity, social upheaval, and political instability facilitate traffickers' ability to recruit victims, but they do not in themselves cause trafficking. The economic reality is that human trafficking is driven by profits. If nobody paid for sex, sex trafficking would not exist. If nobody paid for goods produced with any amount of slavery, forced labor in manufacturing would be a thing of the past. Increasingly, anti-trafficking actors are looking to combat modern slavery from the demand side rather than focusing on arrests and prosecutions (the supply side) alone.

...

Governments can go a long way toward tackling demand. They can, for example, require that government contractors and subcontractors ensure that employees are not hired or recruited through fraudulent means or the use of excessive fees. Such policies would increase transparency and make it more difficult for unscrupulous labor brokers to use debt bondage as a means of providing cheap labor for government contracts. This is particularly important for third-country nationals, who are often imported for large construction projects and who are more susceptible to exploitation due to distance and isolation, language barriers, and dependence on the employer for visas or work permits, among other factors. Public-private partnerships that create transparency in supply chains can have a significant impact on demand reduction, helping to make freedom the business of both governments and the private sector.

Governments can attack demand for commercial sex by establishing "zero tolerance" policies for government employees and contractors who participate in trafficking or procure commercial sex acts. Such policies should make clear that contracting and subcontracting companies are responsible for notifying employees of the prohibited behavior, and they should provide penalties for violations as severe as termination of the contract and/or debarment from future government contracting. This gives companies, many of whom stand to lose multimillion dollar contracts if penalized, a major incentive to ensure that their employees and subcontractors are in no way contributing to the demand that contributes to sex trafficking.

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WATCH WHAT YOU EAT: SLAVERY AND FOOD

The dusty images of slaves working on plantations line bookshelves and museum walls, but the demand for cheap goods in a globalized economy sustains slavery today in fields

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and farms. Transcontinental slavery and the Triangle Trade drove the bygone mercantile empires of Europe and the Americas. But the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates 60 percent of child labor worldwide is in agriculture, and agricultural products comprise the largest category of items on the List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor published by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL).

From the cocoa farms of West Africa to the cotton fields of Uzbekistan to the tomato fields of the United States, this modern form of slavery remains common in the agricultural industry and is marked by techniques that are anything but modern. According to DOL, there may be more forced child laborers in farming than in manufacturing. In some countries, particularly in South Asia, families of farmers continue to inherit the debts of their ancestors that, in many cases, have been passed down for generations. And slavery reportedly extends into the oceans, with forced labor rampant in the commercial fishing industries in some regions.

Businesses and governments both have important roles to play in eradicating slavery in supply chains. In this age of increasingly aware customers, companies will have to be more thorough in tracing their raw materials and monitoring their supply chains. Governments must be more diligent in enforcing existing laws and regulations. With the passage of new laws, raw material traceability is shifting from a voluntary best practice into a legal obligation. Companies in all industries are facing growing pressure to understand the conditions under which their raw materials were attained.

PROMULGATING BUSINESS STANDARDS

In today's globalized economy, there are often complex intersections between legal business operations and illegal human trafficking. Increasingly, the private sector is acknowledging its role in eradicating human trafficking, both in preventative measures to ensure that corporations are not fueling demand for forced labor and in proactive initiatives to alleviate or ameliorate such abuses. There is also growing public interest to know where and how goods and foods are produced, manufactured, processed, and distributed. Consumers, activists, and investors are urging companies to sign and implement ethical codes of conduct.

Businesses play a crucial role in ensuring that forced labor does not contribute to the products we buy. Given the complexity of today's supply chains, however, the most effective solutions for ending forced labor will come from collaboration among governments, corporations, civil society, and consumers. Some recent examples of multi-stakeholder approaches to addressing slavery in supply chains have shown great promise.

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The California Transparency in Supply Chains Act of 2010 requires retail sellers and manufacturers in California to publicly disclose their efforts to eradicate slavery and human trafficking throughout their direct supply chains. The legislation applies to retailers and manufacturers with more than \$100 million in annual worldwide gross receipts. It affects more than 3,000 companies doing business in California. These companies represent approximately 87 percent of economic activity in the state, which has the eighth largest economy in the world. Beginning in January 2012, companies affected by the act will have to post on their websites what policies they have in place to ensure that their supply chains are free of slavery and human trafficking. These policies can include evaluating and addressing the risk of human trafficking, auditing suppliers, and training employees and management on human trafficking and slavery. The text of the California law can be found at <http://go.usa.gov/D8n>.

PEOPLE ARE NOT COLLATERAL

One of the most common assumptions about “average” trafficking victims is that they come from the poorest, most isolated communities. Studies of populations in countries of origin for transnational and internal trafficking have shown that the incidence of trafficking is highest among those who have become empowered enough to aspire to a better life but have few good options for fulfilling those aspirations. They have attended a girls’ school and now realize they are overeducated for the few options in their villages. They have seen someone return home with money to provide for their families. They have watched a television show that depicts the excitement of city life, or they simply have enough courage to try and make a better life for themselves, if only they knew where to start.

That’s where the traffickers come in. Exploiting the information gap, they offer to make that connection—to a good job, a better life, a transportation option. They prey on their victims’ innate hope and ability to conceive of some opportunity for a better life. They exploit their victims’ trust and confidence in their own ability to succeed. They find people who have nothing and coerce them into using their lives and freedom as collateral to guarantee a better future. While broad-based economic initiatives cannot automatically be construed as anti-trafficking prevention activities, governments must recognize the inequality of access to capital when considering efforts to reduce vulnerability to modern slavery. Migrant workers should not need to incur debt from labor brokers to secure jobs overseas. Instead, governments could provide small-scale loans to cover travel costs and protect workers’ rights while they are abroad. Entire villages should not be trapped in bonded labor because of debts inherited from previous generations. Instead, governments could provide legal alternatives for credit and enforce decades-old laws banning generational debt bondage.

Modern history has proven that microcredit and microfinance can improve the status of women, promote better nutrition, increase access to healthcare and education, and broaden communities’ access to credit. When combined with targeted anti-trafficking programming, microfinance initiatives can act as liberators, providing opportunities without risk and rehabilitation with a money-backed future. And micro-lending is not the only solution—putting traffickers in prison and distributing their ill-gotten gains to their victims is the ultimate debt forgiveness program.

SENDING AND RECEIVING: THE CHALLENGE OF LABOR IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY

Migrants are vulnerable to modern slavery. Women travel with dreams of better lives and jobs as waitresses or maids, only to be enslaved in prostitution or domestic servitude. Workers are trapped in debt bondage—in myriad ways, as a result of the costs of migration, such as recruitment fees. And it is not just illegal migration; the 2011 reporting year saw cases around the world where the victims traveled to their destination country through legal means, only to be enslaved after arrival.

While migration is an important tool for economic development from the individual level to the national level, there is an urgent need to strengthen international cooperation and standards to manage labor migration. According to the IOM, most countries in the world—and not just in the developing world—lack the capacity to manage effectively the international mobility of people today. The increased flows and the dramatic growth of a profit-minded recruitment industry that operates across borders mean that today’s

migrants are vulnerable to a wide range of abuses, including situations of forced labor and sex trafficking.

International migration is relatively unregulated. At best, it is dominated by a handful of bilateral agreements—with varying degrees of implementations—and nonbinding bilateral memoranda of understanding or regional arrangements. At worst, it is controlled by unscrupulous private recruiters whose deceit and surcharges can quickly place migrants in debt bondage.

Even when policies are in place to allow for legal labor migration, governments must act to ensure the protection of migrants throughout the process. Where there are government-to-government agreements (increasingly common between sending and destination countries), they do not diminish the need for worker protections in “sponsorship” or “guestworker” programs. Much needs to be done to prevent migrant laborers from subsequent exploitation under these programs. The high level of documented exploitation of low-skilled workers—particularly domestic workers—throughout the Middle East, for example, is proof of this vulnerability.

...
The 2011 reporting period showed a disturbing trend: cases in which domestic servant guestworkers who had suffered sexual abuse in the home were then turned over by their bosses to third parties for prostitution, unable to seek help because of restrictive guestworker laws and the debts that they owed.

These abuses are possible because the normal employer-employee relationship is skewed by the financial pressure of recruiting fees that are out of balance with the services rendered or that represent much of the money the migrants would earn if everything went perfectly. Sometimes, the most effective threats by employers who want to keep foreign employees fearful and working are threats not to allow them to work. Because guestworkers are often restricted from obtaining outside employment, being banned from the workplace does not represent freedom but can be, in itself, the coercion that the Palermo Protocol seeks to preclude. For example, when workers attempt to claim the salary they’ve earned or even just to get enough food to live, employers often threaten to confine them to a dormitory, where they will be unable to seek outside employment and forced to watch their debt mount.

...
Continued identification of trafficking victims among migrant populations underlines the need for a strong international framework to manage labor migration. Migration governance must focus on facilitating humane and orderly migration policies for the benefit of all. This must be done at the national, regional, and international levels, as suggested by the ILO’s Multilateral Framework on Labor Migration. Without an adequate framework, the exploitation and abuse of migrant workers will become increasingly dire as labor migration continues to grow.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (TIER 1)

The United States is a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labor, debt bondage, document servitude, and sex trafficking. Trafficking occurs for commercial sexual exploitation in street prostitution, massage parlors, and brothels, and for labor in domestic service, agriculture, manufacturing, janitorial services, hotel services, hospitality industries, construction, health and elder care, and strip club dancing. Vulnerabilities are increasingly found in visa programs for legally documented

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students and temporary workers who typically fill labor needs in the hospitality, landscaping, construction, food service, and agricultural industries. . . . U.S. citizen victims, both adults and children, are predominantly found in sex trafficking; U.S. citizen child victims are often runaways, troubled, and homeless youth. Foreign victims are more often found in labor trafficking than sex trafficking. In 2010, the number of female foreign victims of labor trafficking served through victim services programs increased compared with 2009. The top countries of origin for foreign victims in FY 2010 were Thailand, India, Mexico, Philippines, Haiti, Honduras, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic.

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Recommendations for the United States: Improve data collection on human trafficking cases at the federal, state and local levels; continue federal partnerships with state and local law enforcement agencies to encourage training, protocols, and dedicated and incentivized personnel at the state and local level; train field reporting collectors to recognize and report on human trafficking; mandate training in the detection of human trafficking for Department of Labor and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission investigators; increase the incorporation of anti-trafficking efforts into existing structures such as labor, child protection, education, housing, victim services, immigration courts, runaway/homeless youth, and juvenile justice programs; provide victim identification training for immigration detention and removal officers and conduct screening in immigration detention centers; increase funding for victim services, including legal services; offer comprehensive services to identified, eligible victims regardless of type of immigration relief sought, if any; increase training for consular officers to reduce vulnerabilities in visa programs; examine guestworker programs to reduce vulnerabilities; conduct briefings for domestic workers of foreign diplomats to ensure that they know their rights; improve oversight and enforcement of employment-based visas to forestall vulnerability and abuse; increase cooperation between the private and public sectors to encourage business practices that rid supply chains of human trafficking; and expand anti-trafficking outreach, services, and training in the insular areas.

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Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between Whites, Blacks, Hispanics: Twenty-to-One

*Rakesh Kochhar, Richard Fry, and Paul Taylor
for the Pew Research Center*

The median wealth of white households is 20 times that of black households and 18 times that of Hispanic households, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of newly available government data from 2009.

These lopsided wealth ratios are the largest since the government began publishing such data a quarter century ago and roughly twice the size of the ratios that had prevailed between these three groups for the two decades prior to the Great Recession that ended in 2009.

The Pew Research analysis finds that, in percentage terms, the bursting of the housing market bubble in 2006 and the recession that followed from late 2007 to mid-2009 took

American homosexuals occupy in the gender system can provide queer men with a means to construct identities that alter patriarchy and create coalitions of change with others. The gendered basis of Latin American homosexuality, however, must be tempered by the protection of the individual that American gayness so heavily emphasizes. By ensuring that individuals are allowed to develop and creatively construct their own identities, the gendered articulation of homosexuality in Latin America can become truly emancipatory. This *mestiza/o* combination is what I seek to create by living it everyday.

I recognize the potential dangers of engaging in the selective extraction and mixing of elements from diverse cultures, but I believe that the need for new forms of homosexualities justifies taking those risks. A politics of *mestizaje* can produce an impure queerness that is less about how each individual identifies, but instead focuses on how individuals relate to one another in the pursuit of justice. Claiming common cause with others, that is building a coalitional community of change, is an uneven process that must center not on the identities people wear and own, but instead on the act of relating. Who we relate to and how we relate to them is what should define us as queer. Thinking about queerness as a set of relations moves it from the realm of individual sexual identity towards a way of being. This shift sets queerness in the realm of gender, an all-encompassing script that defines who and what we are. *Mestizaje* opens up the category of gender, which is rightfully seen as a limiting force, into a means to structure the conflicting mixture of privilege and oppression that defines many queer men's masculinities. . . . Like the race mixing that *mestiza/o* has traditionally referred to, I am interested in creating a gayness that is a mixture—imperfect, always in process of becoming, yet resisting with all of its might. It is towards that end, that I write these notes, themselves imperfect and in process of articulation. . . .

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Becoming an Ally

A New Examination

Nancy J. Evans and Jamie Washington

What does it mean to be an ally? Students in a graduate program that prepares student affairs professionals in higher education responded to this question with the following reflections:

NEW JERSEY

- Being an ally is being supportive of other people who are different than you. . . . This support should be flexible and elastic so that it does not define a person but rather the person defines the needed support. (gay male)
- Being an ally is being open to learning. It is essential to be open to admitting your ignorance in order to grow. Being an ally also requires a commitment. . . . Being an ally requires an examination of our own privilege. In order to be an ally we have to be able to recognize how our privilege might play a role in the oppression of the very group/identity we want to be an ally to. Being an ally is using your powers for good. (lesbian)
- Being an ally is being aware of your own identities, advocating for the rights of others, supporting a cause, and challenging the oppression that particular populations face. It can mean lending a supportive hand to a peer. Being an ally is recognizing the inequality and inequity that exists in society, persistence, learning and teaching. (heterosexual woman)
- Being an ally is listening to other views and ideas without judgment; putting yourself in someone else's shoes; respecting people for who they are; advocating for resources, respect, equal treatment, laws; challenging your previous personal beliefs and ideas; working with underrepresented populations to better understand them and their unique needs; wanting to learn how to help, even in the little things; using non-discriminating language; [it is] important to the campus climate and overall student development; [it is] difficult and can have backlash. [An ally] must be committed and ready. (heterosexual male)
- An ally looks different to everyone. Sometimes an ally is a listening ear and a shoulder to cry on. Sometimes an ally is a fighter, fighting the powers to see justice done. (heterosexual woman)
- Being an ally is confusion, hard, being yelled at, learning, acceptance, fighting to change, and learning you don't have to be right. . . . An ally can be the scapegoat in the room. Being an ally is knowing that you have privilege and oppressions and you can use both. Sometimes it is being called out and trying to realize you can learn from that. Learning when you can tell a story and learning when you can't explain no matter what and to just shut up. (questioning woman)

As these students suggest, being an ally is a difficult and complex role that can take on many meanings and require a wide variety of actions, many of which are challenging. What it means to be an ally often depends on who one asks and the particular situation and context in which one is involved. In this essay, we examine various definitions of *ally*, explore factors associated with becoming an ally of LGBT individuals, including the importance of recognizing heterosexual privilege, motivations for becoming an ally, the practice of advocacy, what an ally should know, and positive and negative consequences of advocacy. This essay is a revised and updated version of a chapter that appeared in the book, *Beyond Tolerance: Gays, Lesbians and Bisexuals on Campus*.

DEFINITIONS

As most writers and scholars in the area of oppression and multicultural education will concur, our language is imperfect and inherently "ism"-laden or oppressive. Therefore, clarifying the meaning of the term, "ally," is important. According to *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, an ally is "someone joined with another for a common purpose." This definition serves as a starting point for developing a working definition of *ally* as this term relates to issues of oppression. In our earlier work, we

defined ally as “a person who is a member of the ‘dominant’ or ‘majority’ group who works to end oppression in his or her personal and professional life through support of, and as an advocate with and for, the oppressed population.” More recently, Broido defined allies as “members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social group membership” (2000). While similar to our earlier definition, Broido highlighted that allies must work at the systemic level, as well as the individual level, and more clearly defined what it means to be a member of a dominant group in terms of access to privilege and power.

Both definitions stress that although an oppressed person can certainly be a supporter and advocate for his or her own group, the impact and effect of such activity are different for the dominant group, and are often more powerful when the supporter is not a member of the oppressed population. Understanding this notion is an important first step toward becoming an ally for any “targeted” or oppressed group. Members of the LGBT community will sometimes argue that they can be allies for other members of the community, since “the community” is an umbrella group that includes many different subgroups, e.g., lesbians, gay males, bisexuals, transgendered individuals, and other populations that might choose to identify with the LGBT community (pansexual, questioning, etc.). We certainly acknowledge that with regard to dimensions of identity *other than* sexual identity, members of oppressed groups can be allies to other oppressed groups. For example, a gay man can be an ally to a lesbian woman with regard to *gender* oppression. With regard to *sexual* identity, however, both are oppressed. Given the definitions noted above, only heterosexual individuals can serve as allies of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people.

HETEROSEXUAL PRIVILEGE

The individual who decides to undertake the ally role must recognize and understand the power and privileges that one receives, accepts, and experiences as a heterosexual person. According to Johnson, who drew on the work of Peggy McIntosh, “privilege exists when one group has something of value that is denied to others simply because of the groups they belong to, rather than because of anything they’ve done or failed to do” (2006, 21). McIntosh noted that privilege comes in two forms: “unearned advantages and conferred dominance,” with the former being things of value freely given to members of one group but arbitrarily denied to another group, and the latter referring to power given to one group over another. Developing awareness of one’s privilege is often the most painful part of the process of becoming an ally.

Some of the powers and privileges heterosexuals generally have that gay and lesbian, and in some cases bisexual and transgender, persons do *not* have include:

- Family memberships to health clubs, pools, and other recreational facilities
- The right to legalized marriage
- The ability to purchase property as a couple
- The option to file joint income tax returns
- The ability to adopt children as a couple
- Health insurance for one’s life partner
- The right to make decisions on health-related issues as they relate to one’s life partner
- The assumption that one is psychologically healthy

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In addition to such tangible privileges of the heterosexual population, there are a great many other, not so tangible, privileges. One important intangible privilege is living one's life without fear that people will find out that who one falls in love with, dreams about, or makes love to is someone of the same sex or that they were not always the gender with which they now identify. These fears affect the lives of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender persons from the day they first begin to have "those funny feelings" until the day they die. Although many LGBT persons overcome these fears and turn the fear into a positive component of their lives, they have still been affected, and those wounds, even after healed, can be easily reopened.

Coming to terms with the very fact that "as a heterosexual I do not experience the world in the same way as LGBT people do" is an important step in becoming an ally. This awareness begins to move the heterosexual from being a caring, liberal person who feels that we are all created equal and should be treated as such, toward being an ally who begins to realize that although equality and equity are goals that have not yet been achieved, they can have a role in helping to make these goals realities.

Mohr introduced a model of heterosexual identity development, a process that he saw as related to the development of LGBT-affirmative attitudes. This model focuses on the development of awareness of heterosexual privilege. Mohr suggested that four "working models of sexual orientation" exist. Similar to Helms's contact status of white racial identity development in which individuals see themselves as color-blind, in the first working model proposed by Mohr, *democratic heterosexuality*, heterosexuals "tend to view people of all sexual orientations as essentially the same" (2002, 540-541). Individuals using this model rarely think about sexual identity issues and consider them unimportant. *Compulsory heterosexuality*, the second working model, is underscored by a belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable form of sexual identity and that individuals who identify as LGBT are sick, perverted, and deserve to be oppressed. Individuals who base their beliefs on the third working model, *politicized heterosexuality*, recognize the privilege associated with heterosexuality and experience the emotions of guilt, sadness, and shame noted earlier that come with this awareness. They may also idealize LGBT people rather than seeing them as individuals who lead complex lives that are not solely centered around their sexual and gender identities. In the fourth working model, *integrative heterosexuality*, individuals are cognizant of the system of oppression that exists related to gender and sexual identity and the ways in which this system affects all people, regardless of their specific identity.

When heterosexual persons first learn that their lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender friends are truly mistreated on the basis of sexual or gender identity, they often feel anger toward heterosexuals and guilt toward themselves for being members of the same group. This process can only happen, however, if individuals have progressed at least to Mohr's third working model, when persons have an understanding of sexual and gender identity and do not see it as grounds for discrimination, violence, or abuse. These feelings do not occur when the person still believes that lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender persons are sick sinners who either need to have a good sexual relationship with a person of the other sex or see a psychologist or a spiritual leader so that they can be cured. Such persons, who might be classified as being in Mohr's second working model, are not yet ready to start down the ally road.

MOTIVATIONS FOR BECOMING AN ADVOCATE

What motivates heterosexuals to become LGBT rights advocates? There are certainly more popular and less controversial causes with which one can become involved. Goodman

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noted that support of social justice in general is related to empathy, moral and spiritual values, and self-interest. Since involvement in LGBT rights advocacy is often deemed a moral issue, moral development theory suggests some possible underlying reasons for such activity. Lawrence Kohlberg hypothesized that moral reasoning develops through three levels: preconventional, conventional, and postconventional. At the preconventional level, moral decisions are based on what is good for the individual. Persons functioning at this level may choose to be involved in gay rights issues to protect their own interests or to get something out of such involvement (e.g., if this issue is particularly important to a supervisor whose approval is sought). At the conventional level, Kohlberg indicated that decisions are made that conform to the norms of one's group or society. Individuals at this level may work for LGBT rights if they wish to support friends who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender or to uphold an existing institutional policy of nondiscrimination. Kohlberg's third level of reasoning involves decision making based on principles of justice. At this level the individual takes an active role to create policies that assure that all people are treated fairly and becomes involved in LGBT rights advocacy because it is the right thing to do.

While Kohlberg focused on justice as the basis of moral decision making, Carol Gilligan used the principle of care as the basis of her model of moral reasoning. Her three levels of reasoning are (1) taking care of oneself, (2) taking care of others, and (3) supporting positions that take into consideration the impact *both* on self and others. Using this model, individuals at the first level become advocates to make themselves look good to others or to protect themselves from criticism for not getting involved. At the second level, individuals reason that they should "take care of" LGBT people. The final perspective leads individuals to believe that equality and respect for differences create a better world for everyone, and that these are worthwhile goals.

One could argue that the latter position in each scheme is the enlightened perspective that any advocate needs to espouse. We should, however, be aware that not every person is functioning at a postconventional level of moral reasoning, and that arguments designed to encourage people to commit themselves to LGBT rights advocacy need to be targeted to the level that the individual can understand and accept. Kohlberg indicated that active involvement in addressing moral issues is an important factor in facilitating moral development along his stages. We can, therefore, expect that as people become involved in LGBT rights issues, their levels of reasoning may move toward a postconventional level.

In some ways paralleling our analysis of the moral reasoning that may be involved in advocacy, Edwards introduced a conceptual model of ally identity development. He suggested that self-interest, altruism, and a desire for social justice can all motivate potential allies. *Aspiring allies for self-interest* would take action when an LGBT person they care about is in danger of being hurt. They act on behalf of specific individuals to stop specific actions that are harmful or discriminatory and do not understand or care about the larger system of oppression that affects LGBT people as a group. Edwards noted that aspiring allies for self-interest often thrive on the feelings of power that come with "rescuing" their friend and being seen as a hero, thus perpetuating the system of oppression that creates the problem in the first place.

Edwards suggested that as individuals become aware of the privilege they experience, they can become motivated to be allies to assuage the guilt they feel. While *aspiring allies for altruism* would see the issues that confront LGBT individuals as a group, they would be likely to place the blame for oppression on other heterosexual individuals rather than seeing that they also benefit from an oppressive system. They would be likely to exhibit a paternalistic attitude as they seek to come to the aid of the oppressed LGBT population and, consciously or unconsciously, expect recognition and praise for the work they do on behalf of this group.

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The final type of allies that Edwards discussed is *allies for social justice*. These allies “work *with* those from the oppressed group in collaboration and partnership to end the system of oppression” (2006, 51). They would be aware that acting to end oppression of LGBT people in the end benefits heterosexuals as well. Thus, their goal in working to address the issue of oppression would be to achieve a just society rather than to gain recognition for their efforts.

Edwards acknowledged that individuals may experience each of these motivations for ally work depending on the specific situation in which they find themselves. He also stated that “the Ally for Social Justice status is an aspirational identity one must continuously work towards” (53). He argued that understanding each motivation can lead to the development of more consistent and effective ally behaviors.

ADVOCACY IN ACTION

Advocacy can take a number of different forms and target various audiences. Heterosexual supporters may focus some of their energy toward LGBT individuals themselves. At other times the target may be other heterosexuals, and often strategies developed for college and university campuses are focused on the campus community as a whole.

Advocacy with LGBT people involves acceptance, support, and inclusiveness. Examples of acceptance include listening in a nonjudgmental way and valuing the unique qualities of each individual. Support includes such behaviors as championing the hiring of LGBT staff; providing an atmosphere in which LGBT issues can be discussed in training or programming; or attending events sponsored by LGBT student organizations. Inclusiveness involves activities such as the use of nonexclusionary language; publications, fliers, and handbooks that take into account sexual and gender identity differences; and sensitivity to the possibility that not everyone in a student organization or work setting is heterosexual.

Being an advocate among other heterosexuals is often challenging. Such a position involves modeling advocacy, support, and confronting inappropriate behavior. In this context, heterosexual supporters model nonheterosexist behaviors such as being equally physical with men and women, avoiding joking or teasing someone for nontraditional gender behaviors, and avoiding making a point of being heterosexual. Allies are spokespersons for addressing LGBT issues proactively in program and policy development. Confronting such behaviors as heterosexist joke telling; the exclusion of LGBT people either intentionally or by using language that assumes heterosexuality; discriminatory hiring practices; or the evaluation of staff based on factors related to their sexual or gender identities is also part of the role of the advocate.

Advocacy in the institution involves making sure that issues facing LGBT students and staff are acknowledged and addressed. This goal is accomplished by developing and promoting educational efforts that raise the awareness level and increase the sensitivity of heterosexual students, staff, and faculty on campus. Such activities include inviting speakers to address topics relevant to the LGBT community; developing panel discussions on issues related to sexual and gender identities; including LGBT issues as a topic in resident advisor training programs; promoting plays and movies featuring LGBT themes; and advocating for curricular inclusion across the academic disciplines focusing on LGBT-related issues and themes.

Encouraging LGBT student and staff organizations is also part of institutional advocacy. Such groups need to have access to the same campus resources, funding, and sponsorship as other student and staff organizations. Developing and supporting pro-LGBT policies are also necessary aspects of advocacy. Anti-harassment policies, anti-discriminatory hiring

policies, and provisions for gay and lesbian couples to live together in campus housing are arenas that deserve attention.

STEPS TOWARD BECOMING AN ALLY

When dealing with issues of oppression, there are four basic levels of ally involvement. The following examples relate specifically to being an ally to LGBT persons.

- *Awareness* is the first level. It is important to become more aware of who you are and how you are different from and similar to LGBT people. Such awareness can be gained through conversations with LGBT individuals, attending awareness-building workshops, reading about LGBT life, and self-examination.
- *Knowledge/education* is the second level. You must begin to acquire knowledge about sexual and gender identities and the experiences of LGBT people. This step includes learning about laws, policies, and practices and how they affect LGBT people, in addition to educating yourself about LGBT culture and the norms of this community. Contacting local and national LGBT organizations for information can be very helpful.
- *Skills* make up the third level. This area is the one in which people often fall short because of fear, or lack of resources or supports. You must develop skills in communicating the knowledge that you have learned. These skills can be acquired by attending workshops, role-playing certain situations with friends, developing support connections, or practicing interventions or awareness raising in safe settings—for example, a restaurant or hotel out of your hometown.
- *Action* is the last, but most important, level and is the most frightening step. There are many challenges and liabilities for heterosexuals in taking actions to end the oppression of LGBT people. Some are addressed later in this essay in our discussion of factors that discourage advocacy. Nonetheless, action is, without doubt, the only way that we can effect change in the society as a whole; for if we keep our awareness, knowledge, and skill to ourselves, we deprive the rest of the world of what we have learned, thus keeping them from having the fullest possible life.

In addition to the four levels of ally involvement, there are six additional points to keep in mind:

1. Defining yourself as an ally is somewhat presumptuous. Whether your actions would qualify as those of an ally can best be determined by members of the LGBT population. Certainly, a person can advocate for equity and social justice for LGBT people without the permission of the LGBT community but declaring oneself to be an ally and demanding recognition as such can be off-putting to many LGBT people. Referring again to Edwards's model, such behavior seems more indicative of someone who is motivated by self-interest or altruism rather than by social justice.
2. Have a good understanding of sexual and gender identities and be aware of and comfortable with your own. If you are a person who chooses not to identify with a particular sexual or gender identity, be comfortable with that decision, but recognize that others, particularly LGBT people, may see your stance as a cop-out.
3. Talk with LGBT people and read about the coming-out process. This is a process and experience that is unique to this oppressed group. Few other populations of oppressed persons need to disclose so much to family and close friends in the same way. Because of its uniqueness, this process brings challenges that are often not understood.

4. As any other oppressed group, the LGBT population gets the same messages about homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender expression as everyone else. As such, there is a great deal of internalized heterosexism, homophobia, and transgender oppression. There are LGBT people who believe that what they do in bed is nobody's business, and that being an "out" lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender person to them would mean forcing their sexual practices on the general society, something they feel should not be done. It is, therefore, very important not only to be supportive, recognizing that you do not share the same level of personal risk as a lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender person, but also to challenge some of the internalized oppressive notions, thus helping to develop a different, more positive, perspective.
5. As with most oppressed groups, there is diversity within the LGBT community. Heterosexism is an area of oppression that cuts across, but is not limited to, race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, culture, age, and level of physical or mental ability. For all of these categories, there are different challenges. Certainly, LGBT individuals as members of these diverse populations share some common joys and concerns; however, issues often manifest themselves in very different ways in different groups, thus calling for different strategies and interventions.
6. It is difficult to enter into a discussion about heterosexism and homophobia without the topic of AIDS/HIV infection arising. Knowing at least basic information about the illness is necessary for two reasons: (1) to address myths and misinformation related to AIDS and the LGBT community, and (2) to be supportive of the members of the community affected by this disease. Although we recognize that AIDS is a health issue that has and will continue to affect our entire world, the persons who live in the most fear of this disease and have lost the most members of their community are LGBT individuals. Accepting that reality helps an ally to understand the intense emotions that surround this issue within the community.

These six points and the previously discussed levels of ally involvement provide some guidelines for becoming an effective ally. Although we recognize that these concepts seem fairly reasonable, there are some real challenges or factors that can discourage a potential ally from taking these steps.

FACTORS THAT DISCOURAGE ADVOCACY

Involvement in LGBT rights advocacy can be a scary and unpopular activity. Individuals who wish to take on such a role must be aware of and reconcile themselves to several potentially unpleasant outcomes. Some of these problems involve reactions from other heterosexuals, and some come from members of the LGBT community.

An assumption often is automatically made within the heterosexual community that anyone supporting LGBT rights is automatically gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. Although such an identity is not negative, such labeling can create problems, especially for unmarried heterosexuals who might wish to become involved in a heterosexual romantic relationship. Heterosexuals also often experience derisive comments from other heterosexuals concerning involvement in a cause that is viewed as unimportant, unacceptable, or unpopular. Friends and colleagues who are uncomfortable with the topic may become alienated from the heterosexual supporter of LGBT rights, or may noticeably distance themselves from the individual. Difficulty may arise in social situations if the heterosexual ally is seen in the company of LGBT individuals. Discrimination, either overt or subtle, may also result from getting involved in controversial causes. Such discrimination may

take the form of poor evaluations, failure to be appointed to important committees, or encouragement to seek a position at a school "more supportive of your ideas."

The LGBT community may also have trouble accepting the heterosexual ally. Often an assumption is made that such persons are really gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender but not yet accepting of their identity. Subtle or not-so-subtle pressure is placed on such people to come out or at least to consider the possibility of a nonheterosexual identity.

The LGBT community is one that has its own language and culture. Heterosexual supporters can feel out of place and awkward in settings populated exclusively or mainly by gay males, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people. LGBT people may be exclusionary in their conversations and activities, leaving the heterosexual ally out of the picture.

Since most LGBT people have had mainly negative experiences with heterosexuals in the past, the motives of heterosexuals involved in LGBT rights activities are often questioned. These experiences make it difficult for LGBT people to accept that individuals will involve themselves in a controversial and unpopular cause just because it is "right." Many LGBT individuals also believe that persons who are not members of their community cannot truly understand the issues they face and should therefore leave it to LGBT people to educate and advocate for their own rights. They can become angry and resentful of heterosexuals' involvement in programs, spaces, and activities they believe should be exclusively theirs.

THE BENEFITS OF BEING AN ALLY

Although the factors that discourage individuals from being an ally are very real, there are many benefits of being an ally, including:

1. You open yourself up to the possibility of close relationships with an additional percentage of the world.
2. You become less locked into sex-role stereotypes.
3. You increase your ability to have close and loving relationships with same-sex friends.
4. You have opportunities to learn from, teach, and have an impact on a population with whom you might not otherwise interact.
5. You may be the reason a family member, coworker, or community member finally decides that life is worth something and that dependence on chemicals or other substances might not be the answer.
6. You may make the difference in the lives of adolescents who hear you confront anti-LGBT epithets that make them feel as if they want to drop out of junior high, high school, or college. As a result of your action, they will know they have a friend to turn to.
7. Lastly, you can get invited to some of the most fun parties, have some of the best foods, play some of the best sports, have some of the best intellectual discussions, and experience some of the best music in the world, because everyone knows that LGBT people are good at all these things.

Although the last factor is meant as a joke, there is a great deal of truth concerning the positive experiences to which persons open themselves when they allow themselves to be a part of and include another segment of the population in their world. Imagine what it could be like to have had such close friends as Tennessee Williams, Cole Porter, Bessie Smith, Walt Whitman, Gertrude Stein, Alice Walker, James Baldwin, Virginia Woolf, Joan of Arc (trans). Imagine the world without their contributions. It is possible for gay, lesbian,

bisexual, and transgender people, as well as heterosexuals, to make a difference in the way the world is, but we must start by realizing equity in our humanness and life experiences.

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United Nations Address on Global LGBT Rights

Hillary Clinton

Good evening, and let me express my deep honor and pleasure at being here. . . . This weekend, we will celebrate Human Rights Day, the anniversary of one of the great accomplishments of the last century.

Beginning in 1947, delegates from six continents devoted themselves to drafting a declaration that would enshrine the fundamental rights and freedoms of people everywhere. In the aftermath of World War II, many nations pressed for a statement of this kind to help ensure that we would prevent future atrocities and protect the inherent humanity and dignity of all people. . . .

At three o'clock in the morning on December 10th, 1948, after nearly two years of drafting and one last long night of debate, the president of the UN General Assembly called for a vote on the final text. Forty-eight nations voted in favor; eight abstained; none dissented. And the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted. It proclaims a simple, powerful idea: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. And with the declaration, it was made clear that rights are not conferred by government; they are the birthright of all people. It does not matter what country we live in, who our leaders are, or even who we are. Because we are human, we therefore have rights. And because we have rights, governments are bound to protect them.

In the 63 years since the declaration was adopted, many nations have made great progress in making human rights a human reality. Step by step, barriers that once prevented people from enjoying the full measure of liberty, the full experience of dignity, and the full benefits of humanity have fallen away. In many places, racist laws have been repealed, legal and social practices that relegated women to second-class status have been abolished, the ability of religious minorities to practice their faith freely has been secured. . . .

Now, there is still, as you all know, much more to be done to secure that commitment, that reality, and progress for all people. Today, I want to talk about the work we have left to do to protect one group of people whose human rights are still denied in too many parts of the world today. In many ways, they are an invisible minority. They are arrested, beaten,

Toward a New Vision

Race, Class, and Gender

Patricia Hill Collins

How can we transcend the barriers created by our experiences with race, class and gender oppression in order to build the types of coalitions essential for social change?

Reconceptualizing oppression and seeing the barriers created by race, class and gender as interlocking categories of analysis is a vital first step. But we must transcend these barriers by moving toward race, class and gender as categories of connection, by building relationships and coalitions that will bring about social change. What are some of the issues involved in doing this?

1. DIFFERENCES IN POWER AND PRIVILEGE

First, we must recognize that our differing experiences with oppression create problems in the relationships among us. Each of us lives within a system that vests us with varying levels of power and privilege. These differences in power, whether structured along axes of race, class, gender, age or sexual orientation, frame our relationships. African-American writer June Jordan describes her discomfort on a Caribbean vacation with Olive, the Black woman who cleaned her room:

... even though both "Olive" and "I" live inside a conflict neither one of us created, and even though both of us therefore hurt inside that conflict, I may be one of the monsters she needs to eliminate from her universe and, in a sense, she may be one of the monsters in mine.

(1985, 47)

Differences in power constrain our ability to connect with one another even when we think we are engaged in dialogue across differences. Let me give you an example. One year, the students in my course "Sociology of the Black Community" got into a heated discussion about the reasons for the upsurge of racial incidents on college campuses. Black students complained vehemently about the apathy and resistance they felt most White students expressed about examining their own racism. Mark, a White male student, found their comments particularly unsettling. After claiming that all the Black people he had ever known had expressed no such beliefs to him, he questioned how representative the viewpoints of his fellow students actually were. When pushed further, Mark revealed that he had participated in conversations over the years with the Black domestic worker employed by his family. Since she had never expressed such strong feelings about White racism, Mark was genuinely shocked by class discussions. Ask yourselves whether that domestic worker was in a position to speak freely. Would it have been wise for her to do so in a situation where the power between the two parties was so unequal?

In extreme cases, members of privileged groups can erase the very presence of the less privileged. When I first moved to Cincinnati, my family and I went on a picnic at a local park. Picnicking next to us was a family of White Appalachians. When I went to push my daughter on the swings, several of the children came over. They had missing, yellowed and broken teeth, they wore old clothing and their poverty was evident. I was shocked. Growing up in a large eastern city, I had never seen such awful poverty among Whites. The segregated neighborhoods in which I grew up made White poverty all but invisible. More importantly, the privileges attached to my newly acquired social class position allowed me to ignore and minimize the poverty among Whites that I did encounter. My reactions to those children made me realize how confining phrases such as "well, at least they're not Black" had become for me. In learning to grant human subjectivity to the Black victims of poverty, I had simultaneously learned to demand White victims of poverty. By applying categories of race to the objective conditions confronting me, I was quantifying and ranking oppressions and missing the very real suffering which, in fact, is the real issue.

One common pattern of relationships across differences in power is one that I label "voyeurism." From the perspective of the privileged, the lives of people of color, of the poor, and of women are interesting for their entertainment value. The privileged become voyeurs, passive onlookers who do not relate to the less powerful, but who are interested in seeing how the "different" live. Over the years, I have heard numerous African-American students complain about professors who never call on them except when a so-called Black issue is being discussed. The students' interest in discussing race or qualifications for doing so appear unimportant to the professor's efforts to use Black students' experiences as stories to make the material come alive for the White student audience. Asking Black students to perform on cue and provide a Black experience for their White classmates can be seen as voyeurism at its worst.

Members of subordinate groups do not willingly participate in such exchanges but often do so because members of dominant groups control the institutional and symbolic apparatuses of oppression. Racial/ethnic groups, women, and the poor have never had the luxury of being voyeurs of the lives of the privileged. Our ability to survive in hostile settings has hinged on our ability to learn intricate details about the behavior and world view of the powerful and adjust our behavior accordingly. I need only point to the difference in perception of those men and women in abusive relationships. Where men can view their girlfriends and wives as sex objects, helpmates and a collection of stereotyped categories of voyeurism—women must be attuned to every nuance of their partners' behavior. Are women "naturally" better in relating to people with more power than themselves, or have circumstances mandated that men and women develop different skills? Another pattern in relationships among people of unequal power concerns a different form of exploitation. In scholarly enterprises, relationships among students and teachers, among researchers and their subjects, and even among us as colleagues in teaching and scholarship can contain elements of academic colonialism. Years ago, a Black co-worker of mine in the Roxbury section of Boston described the academic colonialism he saw among the teachers and scholars in that African-American community:

The people with notebooks from Harvard come around here and study us. They don't get to know us because they really don't want to and we don't want to let them. They see what they want to see, go back and write their books and get famous off of our problems.

Under academic colonialism, more powerful groups see their subordinates as people that they perceive as subordinate to them, not as entertainment as was the case in voyeurism, but as a resource to be benignly exploited for their own purposes.

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The longstanding effort to “colorize” feminist theory by inserting the experiences of women of color represents at best, genuine efforts to reduce bias in women’s studies. But at its worst colorization also contains elements of both voyeurism and academic colonialism. As a result of new technologies and perceived profitability, we can now watch black and white movie classics in color. While the tinted images we are offered may be more palatable to the modern viewer, we are still watching the same old movie that was offered to us before. Movie colorization adds little of substance—its contributions remain cosmetic. Similarly, women of color allegedly can teach White feminists nothing about feminism, but must confine ourselves to “colorizing” preexisting feminist theory. Rather than seeing women of color as fully human individuals, we are treated as the additive sum of our categories.

In the academy, patterns of relationships among those of unequal power such as voyeurism and academic colonialism foster reformist postures toward social change. While reformists may aim to make the movie more fun to watch by colorizing their scholarship and teaching via increased lip service to diversity, reformists typically insist on retaining their power to determine what is seen and by whom. In contrast, transformation involves rethinking these differences in power and privilege via dialogues among individuals from diverse groups.

Coming from a tradition where most relationships across difference are squarely rooted in relations of domination and subordination, we have much less experience relating to people as different but equal. The classroom is potentially one powerful and safe space where dialogues among individuals of unequal power relationships can occur. The relationship between Mark, the student in my class, and the domestic worker is typical of a whole series of relationships that people have when they relate across differences in power and privilege. The relationship among Mark and his classmates represents the power of the classroom to minimize those differences so that people of different levels of power can use race, class and gender as categories of analysis in order to generate meaningful dialogues. In this case, the classroom equalized racial difference so that Black students who normally felt silenced spoke out. White students like Mark, generally unaware of how they had been privileged by their whiteness, lost that privilege in the classroom and thus became open to genuine dialogue.

Reconceptualizing course syllabi represents a comparable process of determining which groups are privileged by our current research and pedagogical techniques and which groups are penalized. Reforming these existing techniques can be a critical first step in moving toward a transformed curriculum reflecting race, class and gender as interlocking categories of analysis. But while reform may be effective as a short term strategy, it is unlikely to bring about fundamental transformation in the long term. To me, social transformations, whether of college curricula or of the communities in which we live and work, require moving outside our areas of specialization and groups of interest in order to build coalitions across differences.

2. COALITIONS AROUND COMMON CAUSES

A second issue in building relationships and coalitions essential for social change concerns knowing the real reasons for coalition. Just what brings people together? One powerful catalyst fostering group solidarity is the presence of a common enemy. African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, and women’s studies all share the common intellectual heritage of challenging what passes for certified knowledge in the academy. But politically expedient relationships and coalitions like these are fragile because, as June Jordan points out:

It occurs to me that much organizational grief could be avoided if people understood that partnership in misery does not necessarily provide for partnership for change: When we get the monsters off our backs all of us may want to run in very different directions.

(1985, 47)

Sharing a common cause assists individuals and groups in maintaining relationships that transcend their differences. Building effective coalitions involves struggling to hear one another and developing empathy for each other's points of view. The coalitions that I have been involved in that lasted and that worked have been those where commitment to a specific issue mandated collaboration as the best strategy for addressing the issue at hand.

Several years ago, masters degree in hand, I chose to teach in an inner city, parochial school in danger of closing. The money was awful, the conditions were poor, but the need was great. In my job, I had to work with a range of individuals who, on the surface, had very little in common. We had White nuns, Black middle class graduate students, Blacks from the "community," some of whom had been incarcerated and/or were affiliated with a range of federal anti-poverty programs. Parents formed another part of this community, Harvard faculty another, and a few well-meaning White liberals from Colorado were sprinkled in for good measure.

As you might imagine, tension was high. Initially, our differences seemed insurmountable. But as time passed, we found a common bond that we each brought to the school. In spite of profound differences in our personal biographies, differences that in other settings would have hampered our ability to relate to one another, we found that we were all deeply committed to the education of Black children. By learning to value each other's commitment and by recognizing that we each had different skills that were essential to actualizing that commitment, we built an effective coalition around a common cause. Our school was successful, and the children we taught benefitted from the diversity we offered them.

I think that the process of curriculum transformation will require a process comparable to that of political organizing around common causes. None of us alone has a comprehensive vision of how race, class and gender operate as categories of analysis or how they might be used as categories of connection. Our personal biographies offer us partial views. Few of us can manage to study race, class and gender simultaneously. Instead, we each know more about some dimensions of this larger story and less about others. While we each may be committed to an inclusive, transformed curriculum, the task of building one is necessarily a collective effort. Just as the members of the school had special skills to offer to the task of building the school, we have areas of specialization and expertise, whether scholarly, theoretical, pedagogical or within areas of race, class or gender. We do not all have to do the same thing in the same way. Instead, we must support each other's efforts, realizing that they are all part of the larger enterprise of bringing about social change.

3. BUILDING EMPATHY

A third issue involved in building the types of relationships and coalitions essential for social change concerns the issue of individual accountability. Race, class and gender oppression form the structural backdrop against which we frame our relationship—these are the forces that encourage us to substitute voyeurism and academic colonialism for fully human relationships. But while we may not have created this situation, we are each responsible for

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making individual, personal choices concerning which elements of race, class and gender oppression we will accept and which we will work to change.

One essential component of this accountability involves developing empathy for the experiences of individuals and groups different than ourselves. Empathy begins with taking an interest in the facts of other people's lives, both as individuals and as groups. If you care about me, you should want to know not only the details of my personal biography but a sense of how race, class and gender as categories of analysis created the institutional and symbolic backdrop for my personal biography. How can you hope to assess my character without knowing the details of the circumstances I face?

Moreover, by taking a theoretical stance that we have all been affected by race, class and gender as categories of analysis that have structured our treatment, we open up possibilities for using those same constructs as categories of connection in building empathy. For example, I have a good White woman friend with whom I share common interests and beliefs. But we know that our racial differences have provided us with different experiences. So we talk about them. We do not assume that because I am Black, race has only affected me and not her or that because I am a Black woman, race neutralizes the effect of gender in my life while accenting it in hers. We take those same categories of analysis that have created cleavages in our lives, in this case, categories of race and gender, and use them as categories of connection in building empathy for each other's experiences.

Finding common causes and building empathy is difficult, no matter which side of privilege we inhabit. Building empathy from the dominant side of privilege is difficult, simply because individuals from privileged backgrounds are not encouraged to do so. For example, in order for those of you who are White to develop empathy for the experiences of people of color, you must grapple with how your white skin has privileged you. This is difficult to do, because it not only entails the intellectual process of seeing how whiteness is elevated in institutions and symbols, but it also involves the often painful process of seeing how your whiteness has shaped your personal biography. Intellectual stances against the institutional and symbolic dimensions of racism are generally easier to maintain than sustained self-reflection about how racism has shaped all of our individual biographies. Were and are your fathers, uncles, and grandfathers really more capable than mine, or can their accomplishments be explained in part by the racism members of my family experienced? Did your mothers stand silently by and watch all this happen? More importantly, how have they passed on the benefits of their whiteness to you?

These are difficult questions, and I have tremendous respect for my colleagues and students who are trying to answer them. Since there is no compelling reason to examine the source and meaning of one's own privilege, I know that those who do so have freely chosen this stance. They are making conscious efforts to root out the piece of the oppressor planted within them. To me, they are entitled to the support of people of color in their efforts. Men who declare themselves feminists, members of the middle class who ally themselves with anti-poverty struggles, heterosexuals who support gays and lesbians, are all trying to grow, and their efforts place them far ahead of the majority who never think of engaging in such important struggles.

Building empathy from the subordinate side of privilege is also difficult, but for different reasons. Members of subordinate groups are understandably reluctant to abandon a basic mistrust of members of powerful groups because this basic mistrust has traditionally been central to their survival. As a Black woman, it would be foolish for me to assume that White women, or Black men, or White men or any other group with a history of exploiting African-American women have my best interests at heart. These groups enjoy varying amounts of privilege over me and therefore I must carefully watch them and be prepared for a relation of domination and subordination.

Like the privileged, members of subordinate groups must also work toward replacing judgments by category with new ways of thinking and acting. Refusing to do so stifles prospects for effective coalition and social change. Let me use another example from my own experiences. When I was an undergraduate, I had little time or patience for the theorizing of the privileged. My initial years at a private, elite institution were difficult, not because the coursework was challenging (it was, but that wasn't what distracted me) or because I had to work while my classmates lived on family allowances (I was used to work). The adjustment was difficult because I was surrounded by so many people who took their privilege for granted. Most of them felt entitled to their wealth. That astounded me.

I remember one incident of watching a White woman down the hall in my dormitory try to pick out which sweater to wear. The sweaters were piled up on her bed in all the colors of the rainbow, sweater after sweater. She asked my advice in a way that let me know that choosing a sweater was one of the most important decisions she had to make on a daily basis. Standing knee-deep in her sweaters, I realized how different our lives were. She did not have to worry about maintaining a solid academic average so that she could receive financial aid. Because she was in the majority, she was not treated as a representative of her race. She did not have to consider how her classroom comments or basic existence on campus contributed to the treatment her group would receive. Her allowance protected her from having to work, so she was free to spend her time studying, partying, or in her case, worrying about which sweater to wear. The degree of inequality in our lives and her unquestioned sense of entitlement concerning that inequality offended me. For a while, I categorized all affluent White women as being superficial, arrogant, overly concerned with material possessions, and part of my problem. But had I continued to classify people in this way, I would have missed out on making some very good friends whose discomfort with their inherited or acquired social class privileges pushed them to examine their position.

... As we go forth to the remaining activities of this workshop, and beyond this workshop, we might do well to consider Lorde's perspective:

Each of us is called upon to take a stand. So in these days ahead, as we examine ourselves and each other, our works, our fears, our differences, our sisterhood and survivals, I urge you to tackle what is most difficult for us all, self-scrutiny of our complacencies, the idea that since each of us believes she is on the side of right, she need not examine her position.

(1985)

I urge you to examine your position.

References

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 Jordan, June. (1985). *On Call: Political Essays*. Boston: South End Press.

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