



## White Women: Maintainers or Disruptors of Racism?

Claire B. Halverson

*“Nobody’s Free Until Everybody’s Free.”*

Fannie Lou Hammer, Black civil rights leader, and women’s rights activist

### About This Article

I identify as an anti-racist racist. I am a White woman living in the United States seeking to understand my complicity with a society in which racism is deeply embedded in our history, culture, institutions, and interpersonal relations. This system privileges White people and dehumanizes us all. I continue to learn how it affects me as a White, middle class, heterosexual, ciswoman. As an anti-racist, I am committed to doing what I can to disrupt this system.

Over the years, I have questioned what I was taught about the history of race and racism in the United States. I have wanted to learn about the role of White women in maintaining the status quo of racism, and what we have done to disrupt it. The focus of this article is on the responses of White women to racism experienced by members of the African Diaspora in the United States.<sup>1</sup> I will examine four periods/movements of history to discuss the role of White women as both maintainers and disruptors of racism.

- Slavery and the Jim Crow Period
- Abolition and Suffrage
- Civil Rights and the Women’s Movements
- Contemporary Condition



I will draw on a model of identity development to examine the responses of White women. Building on a body of identity-development models (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Huntley, Moore & Pierce, 2017; and Pierce, Wagner & Page, 2001), the Govan & Smith model (2021) addresses the intersection of racism and sexism, which is a focal point of this article. The phases of the model to which I will refer are:

- Immersion – Lack of awareness of internalized active White supremacy and sexism
- Capitulation – Awareness of sexism but willing to go along with it
- Defense – Awareness of racism/White supremacy and hyper awareness and defensiveness of sexism
- Projection – Hyper awareness of racism/White supremacy and denial of importance of sexism
- Balance – Understanding of anti-racism, and internalized and institutional racism and sexism
- Integration – Connecting and acting on integration of racism and sexism.

Although there is an individual identity-development model, I think it can shed some light on historical patterns of racism in the United States.

This article will explore:

- How our socialization has affected our response to racism
- The social power of White women and how we have used it to maintain or to disrupt racism
- Our experience of sexism and how this has impacted our response to racism
- The social costs and benefits of disrupting racism
- Changes in our responses over the years
- Lessons learned from history to be more effective in disrupting racism

I will also include my experiences as a White woman. I hope readers will gain from looking at the intersection of racism and sexism, as well as the intersection of their own targeted and privileged identities and the impact of oppression on all of us.

## Historical Background

### Slavery and Jim Crow

A pivotal event in establishing the racial hierarchy in the U.S. was Bacon's Rebellion in 1676-7. Nathaniel Bacon led European indentured servants (including White women) and Africans (indentured, enslaved, and free) in a rebellion against the Governor of Virginia. This so concerned rich, White men they felt a need to pass laws contributing to the system of racial caste, segregation of Africans and Europeans, and the ideology of White supremacy (Spivey, n.d.).

White women living on plantations were expected to be docile and submissive to White men. When White men exercised physical violence towards Black people, White women were to be silent and look the other way. They may have known about the sexually predatory relations of their husbands, sons, and brothers, with Black enslaved women, but they were not to acknowledge it. White women were taught to fear Black men (Samuels & Young, 2007), and White men were seen as their protectors, especially from Black men who were stereotyped as hypersexualized (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984).

Stephanie Jones-Roberts, in an interview with North (2019), states that White, married women lost everything they owned when they married, except for enslaved people. White women including White women on plantations, and lower economic, illiterate White women were allowed to purchase, manage, discipline, and sell them. Sometimes enslaved girls were given as gifts to White girls. Jones-Rogers points out that this relationship was seen by White men as a means to promote the investment of White women in slavery.

The Emancipation Proclamation in 1865 was followed by Reconstruction (1865-1877) which gave Black people the ability to gain seats in legislatures in the South. The backlash to this was the Black Codes, also known as Jim Crow laws, designed to limit freedom of newly-freed enslaved people. Although both men and women and Black and White people were lynched during this period, most of those who were killed were Black men who were accused of raping White women. This reinforced the stereotype of Black men as sexual predators and of White women as needing protection by White men (Phillips, K., 1996).

Many White women were maintainers during slavery as silent bystanders watching physical brutality, children of Black women being sold, and their husbands raping Black women. Some White women were cruel and abusive. Some also owned enslaved people. During the Jim Crow period some White women socialized their children by bringing them to public lynchings as a social event, and some participated in the Women's Auxiliary of the Ku Klux Klan.

A few White women acted as disruptors. Some who had enslaved people secretly taught them to read. Prudence Crandall and Margaret Douglass were imprisoned in 1851 for operating schools in the North for Black children (Davis, 1983). Angela Davis points out that education for Black people reached "a true peak when Black and White women {from the North} together led the post-Civil War battle against illiteracy in the South. Their unity and solidarity preserved and confirmed one of our history's most fruitful promises" (p. 109).

Black women had been reaching out to White women to protest lynching. Some white women responded including Jesse Danil Ames who founded the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and Anita Whitney who spoke out against lynching to Oakland



clubwomen and was taken to San Quentin Prison for a few weeks (Davis, 1983).

Abigail Adams called slavery “evil” and a threat to the American democratic experiment. She advocated abolition. She was known to have influenced her husband, John Adams, the second President (Abigail Adams, n.d.).

Most Southern White women were in the phase of **Immersion** (Govan & Smith (2021). They unquestioningly sustained the status quo in which White men were at the pinnacle of power and White women were just below them. They supported White men by passively standing by the subjugation of Black people. They internalized racism and sexism as the norm. They exerted no power themselves except over the enslaved people in their household.

In conclusion, during slavery and the Jim Crow period, the role of White women was crucial in maintaining White supremacy. Southern White women who were privileged by their association with wealthy men held no power except through their husbands or over any slaves they owned. They were socialized to be silent and docile. They seldom sought to disrupt this situation, and, if they did, they did so secretly. Some White women indentured-servants, however, were part of an important rebellion. Some of the strongest disruptors were educated White women from the North who were not part of the system of slavery. They both initiated their own efforts and supported those of Black women. There was a cost as some were imprisoned for this.

We White women can ask ourselves: *What would we have done in this historical context?*

### Abolition and Suffrage

The Abolition Movement against slavery from the 1830s to the Emancipation Proclamation (1865) was led by upper-class White men from the North, and Black freedmen who escaped to, or were from, the North. Black women made significant supportive contributions although this is less known (Presley, 2016). White people tended to focus on anti-slavery alone, whereas Black people were concerned with anti-slavery and the conditions of Freedmen/women.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were White women-abolitionists who fought for the 13th amendment to abolish slavery. They then abandoned their support for the 15th amendment, giving Black men the right to vote, and focused instead on White women’s right to vote. They were initially disruptors of racism, but then they became maintainers by abandoning the vote for Black men. The movement for the women’s vote was led by middle- and upper-class White women and excluded poor and Black women.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, a White woman, authored *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, which was widely read and led to many White women becoming abolitionists. Although it exposed the evils of slavery, it portrayed enslaved people as being

docile and subservient (Martin, 2008). It both maintained and disrupted slavery.

Some White women were active as disruptors of slavery. Lucretia Mott and the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, were writers and protesters for anti-slavery and the rights of Black people, as well as women, to vote. Angelina advocated for an alliance between Black people, women and labor. Abbey Kelly Foster donated money and was secretary and a fundraiser for the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society, which was organized for, and by, Freedwomen. These White women all spoke out, protesting slavery at a time when public speaking was not considered ladylike. Amy Post, Elizabeth Rous Comstock, and Laura Smith Haviland ran stations of the Underground Railroad (Underground Railroad, September 14, 2022). They were Quakers and were disapproved of, disowned by, or resigned from, the Quaker Society. They went against the desires of the Religious Society of Friends elders, who disapproved of slavery but distrusted radical abolitionism.

White women-leaders of women’s rights moved from **Capitulation** (Govan & Smith, 2021), awareness of sexism but willing to go along with it, to the phase of **Defense**. Although they were aware of racism and initially fought for the Black male vote, most saw the rights of White women overriding those of Black men and did not see how the two issues were interconnected.

As we look at Abolition and Suffrage Movements, we see many White women challenged their socialization that they should be quiet and docile by protesting for abolition and suffrage; they wrote, spoke publicly, marched, formed organizations and advocated for alliances with Black people. This increased their power. There were costs for their actions, however. Although initially supporting the Black male vote, for many their concern for racism was overridden by their concern for sexism and White women’s voting rights. There are only a few examples of White women who were staunch supporters of the Black male vote.

As White women, we can ask ourselves: *Would we have actively supported the vote for Black men, women, or both?*

### Civil Rights and the Women’s Movements

The Civil Rights Movement was a struggle in the 1950/60s for Black Americans to gain equal rights under the law. It was led by Black men. Many Black women also had crucial roles in organizing behind the scenes but were not allowed in public leadership roles such as leading marches or making speeches at protests. This Movement led to federal laws dismantling segregation, establishing voter rights, and affirmative action.

The Black Power Movement followed the Civil Rights Movement. This inspired other marginalized groups to fight for their power, including women. Initially, the Women’s Movement was led by White middle-class,



cisgender women and focused on their agendas such as abortion and equal pay. This has been named the First Wave of Feminism (Rampton, 2015). Gradually, however, the Women's Movement transformed to address issues of Women of Color, LGBT women, and women from developing countries, and to include them in leadership positions. This is known as the Second Wave of Feminism (Rampton).

Some White women supported the Civil Rights movement by acting as disruptors of racism. The Montgomery Bus Boycott was initiated by Black people to protest segregation on buses, and they organized to provide rides. A group of White women who had domestics gave money for taxis and offered rides. These White women hid this from their husbands who were in powerful positions. Eventually they made their opposition known to their husbands and influenced some (Alderman, Kingsbury & Dwyer, 2012).

Ann Braden was an outspoken, Southern, anti-racist activist. She was a journalist and founded her own publishing company. She led protests, spearheaded the desegregation of a hospital, advocated against environmental racism, and, with her husband, purchased a home for a Black couple where real-estate agents would not sell to them (Ann Braden, n.d.).

Other White women from the North and South joined sit-ins, worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), joined marches, and worked with Freedom Summer, registering voters and teaching in the Freedom Schools, all Black-led initiatives. They include Joan Trumpauer Mulholland who served time in prison, Viola Liuzzo who was shot dead, Heather Booth, and Betty Garman Robinson (Burnett, n.d.).

Many White women were maintainers of racism who protested the desegregation of schools by harassing Black children who were walking to White schools and leading anti-desegregation protests, both in the North and South (Zezima, 2003). Their relationship with Black women was as employers of domestics who took care of their household and their children (Tucker, 1987).

White women who became involved in the Civil Rights Movement and wanted to be anti-racist or seen as such, sometimes chose to be sexually involved with Black men. On the other hand, some White women falsely accused Black men of flirting or raping them. For example, Carol Bryant Donham falsely testified that 14-year-old Emmett Till had whistled at her. She was put up to this by her husband and brother-in-law (Mitchell, 2022). Till was brutally murdered as a result.

During the Civil Rights Movement some White women moved to the **Projection** phase (Govan & Smith, 2021) focusing on racism over sexism. White women were afraid to speak out against sexism by Black men. White women were trying to be the best anti-racist, and they focused on how others, especially Black women, from whom they were seeking approval, saw them.

Later, at the beginning of the Women's Movement, many White women were at the phase of **Defense** (Govan & Smith, 2021) minimizing the differences between Black and White women, and not seeing how the intersection of racism and sexism affected Black and White women differently. They were still focusing on White, middle-class heterosexual agendas. They were expressing their anger about sexism and taking action to protest it.

As we have seen, during the Civil Rights and Women's Movements, White women rejected their socialization as being docile and dependent and fought against racism and sexism. Both in the North and the South, White women supported the initiatives of Black people and also organized their own protests. There are some examples of how they used their power in their connection with White men to disrupt racism. In the Women's Movement we have seen how, as in the earlier Suffrage Movement, White women prioritized sexism to the exclusion of racism.

*If you were involved in this period, what was your role? Looking back, is there anything you wish you had done differently? If you were not involved in this period, what do you think you would have done?*

### Contemporary Condition

This section will focus on White women's responses to these key contemporary issues: the police and Black people, microaggressions, Critical Race Theory, and our role as anti-racists.

As of 2020, the murder of Black people by police and White citizens has received national and international attention, largely due to the use of social media which has recorded these incidents. In response, in 2013 three Women of Color, Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garcia and Opel Tomeli, founded Black Lives Matter. White people have turned out to protest these murders in larger numbers than we have historically done. We Whites have also increased our understanding of structural racism, particularly in the justice system (Limbong, 2020).

A number of White women, however, have called police when they felt threatened by the presence of a Black man. For example, Amy Cooper called the police when she saw a Black man in Central Park who was simply a bird watcher. He had asked her to put her dog on a leash. She said she felt he was threatening her life. Calling the police can lead to life-threatening situations for Black people. In responding to the issues of policing and Black people, we have seen that White women have both maintained and disrupted racism.

In addition to the focus on these macroaggressions, there is increased attention to microaggressions. Derald Wing Sue, a professor of psychology and education of Columbia University claims, "Microaggressions are the everyday slights, insults, indignities, put-downs and allegations that people of color experience in their day-to-day interactions with White people" (Sue, D.W., Capodilupo, C., Torino, G., Bucceri, J., Holder, A., Nadai, K., & Equin, M., 2017, p.



271). Some examples are a White woman clutching her purse when a Black man gets on an elevator, or saying, "I don't think of you as Black." When White women have been called out as perpetrators of microaggressions, we sometimes react defensively, wanting to explain our intent, and we overlook addressing the impact on Black people. As Robin DiAngelo points out in *White Fragility* (2018), we White women sometimes use our tears to draw attention to ourselves, instead of focusing on the impact on the Black person. Other times we may be silent bystanders saying nothing. We may not be aware of the impact on Black people, we may be aware but afraid to say the wrong thing, or we may be constrained by our own unexpressed anger. We need to address our too-frequent silence which maintains racism.

As Audre Lorde notes,

Every woman has a well-stocked arsenal of anger potentially useful against those oppressions, personal and institutional, which brought that anger into being. Focused with precision it can become a powerful source of energy serving progress and change.... I have seen situations where white women hear a racist remark, resent what has been said, become filled with fury, and remain silent because they are afraid that unexpressed anger lies within them like an undetonated device, usually to be hurled at the first Woman of Color who talks about racism. (1981, paras. 16-17).

What is Critical Race Theory (CRT) and how is it impacting education? Stephanie Sawchuk describes CRT as follows: "The core idea is that race is a social construct, and that racism is not merely the product of individual bias or prejudice, but also somehow embedded in legal systems and policies" (2021, p 3). Although CRT is an academic concept that is over 40 years old, it has recently exploded in public Kindergarten-Grade12 education with numerous state legislatures seeking to ban it. Scholars who study CRT claim it looks at how policies and practices contribute to racial inequities in K-12 education. Critics believe it divides people into "oppressed" and "oppressor" and focuses on group identity instead of universality (Sawchuk).

Many White women are involved in education as teachers, parents, and teacher-educators, and have the potential to bring diverse perspectives to the curriculum. Robert Kim (2021) claims that even if there is legislation banning CRT, teachers have wide discretion but do not use it. There are many resources for White teachers and parents on teaching about race and racism. Two of these, written by White women, are *Reading, Writing, and Rising Up: Teaching About Social Justice and the Power of the Written Word* (2017) by Linda Christensen and *Parenting 4 Social Justice* (2021) by Angela Berkfield.

Social-justice advocates suggest White anti-racists take on the role of organizing and educating other White people. One such organization, Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ), was formed by two White women, Carla

Wallace and Pam McMichael, who were asked by their Black colleagues to work with White people. SURJ has accountability partners with several national, anti-racist organizations led by People of Color (POC). SURJ has over 150 chapters nationally, which have local POC-led accountability partners.

Some White women experience **Balance** (Govan & Smith, 2021) while also dipping back to phases mentioned earlier, particularly to **Defense**, where concerns of sexism override racism. In **Balance** we can hold space for both, and see the connection between them as well as other forms of oppression. We can see how both racism and sexism have harmed all. We want to make our communities, organizations, and nation a place where all can thrive. In **Balance**, White Women are concerned with how we want to be, and many of us still struggle with what others think of us.

Contemporarily, White women have been less restrained by the socialization of being quiet and ladylike. We have participated in anti-racist protests locally and nationally. Yet, we still struggle with speaking out when the situation calls for us to do so. Some of us, however, are still socialized to fear Blacks, especially men, and look to White men (especially law enforcement officers) for protection. We have our own power, and one way to use it is to work with other White people to support organizations led by POC. We can also step into our roles as educators and parents to address racism.

*As a White woman, how are you addressing these issues? What else could you/would you like to do? What is keeping you from doing that? If you are not a White woman, what would you like to see us do or not do?*

## My Journey

In 1968 the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. had a profound effect on me. I woke up to racism, first reading the *Kerner Report* (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1976) about two separate Americas, and then delving into writings by Black people, Indigenous Americans, Latinx, and Asian Americans. I learned about institutional/structural racism. I was a teacher and while I thought I could be helpful in Roxbury, a Black part of Boston, I was told I should be working with White people since that was where the problem was. I realized this was my calling. I began to see my complicity with racism and my role in disrupting it. When I started out on this journey, I wanted to be recognized for my efforts and seen as better than most White people. I was blind to my own racism until my early 30s and regret that I did not participate in the Civil Rights Movement.

In Chicago and Milwaukee, I worked with desegregation in schools as a race-awareness trainer, and with teachers to develop a multicultural, anti-racist curriculum. By working with multiracial staffs, I was learning a lot about my own dominance and my White privilege. I wanted to address the difficulty we White women have in developing



satisfactory relationships with Black women. A Black colleague and I attempted unsuccessfully to have dialogues; most White women were more concerned with sexism than racism and did not embrace the intersectionality of race and gender oppression that Black women faced,

I moved to Vermont, a largely White state, where I taught in a graduate program for social justice. I was part of a student/faculty group which addressed racism in our program, and I learned more about the complexity of racism and of changing it in a White-centric organization. Vermont is a relatively progressive state, but there is racial discrimination in education, policing, access to health care, conditions of migrant farmers, and housing. When my daughter was in high school, a teacher was previewing the literature class. The authors she named were all White. I asked about bringing diverse racial voices, and the teacher said that because they used inappropriate language, she was uncomfortable teaching this literature. We had a robust conversation, joined by other parents and some former students, all endorsing a more multiracial curriculum. She made some changes!

I try to address microaggressions, but sometimes I fail to see how POC are being marginalized or disempowered, or I realize it as a delayed reaction. When I do realize this, I address it in both multiracial and in all-White groups. I'm not always the most effective. One time, when I was co-facilitating a community discussion on Frederick Douglass' Fourth of July speech with a Black man, a participant referred to "all-White Vermont". My co-facilitator said this insulted him since he felt his presence, and that of other POC, had been excluded. He later expressed feeling abandoned when I did not confront the participant.

I find my voice in writing letters to the editor. I also work with several local organizations addressing racism, and continue to learn about how it is deeply embedded in our institutions, and what it takes to change this. One of my most satisfying recent experiences was calling people in Georgia to vote for a Black man running for the U. S. Senate. This effort was led by a Black woman, Stacey Abrams, several Black organizations, and supported by SURJ. We had success!

## Moving Forward

In this section, I will address the questions posed earlier.

*How has our socialization affected our response to racism?* White women have been socialized to be submissive and quiet (Phillips, 1996; 1996; Jackson & Rao, 2022). We have seen this during slavery when they were supposed to ignore the racism imposed by men in their family. We have also been socialized to believe we need the protection of White men, especially from Black men. This has resulted in some White women falsely testifying against Black men, accusing them of attempting sexual advances, which led to their lynching, and currently weaponizing race by calling police to accuse Black men

falsely of threatening them. On one hand, we still struggle with the expectation that we will be quiet in our too-frequent lack of response to microaggressions. When we are called out for a microaggressive behavior, we will often bring attention to ourselves with tears. On the other hand, there are examples of White women throughout history protesting through public speaking, writing, and marching.

*What power do White women have, and how have we used it to maintain or to disrupt racism?* Historically White women had little power, except over their enslaved people and through their relationships with White men. We now have increased power. We have voting rights. Thanks in part to the equal employment legislation, we have made disproportionate gains in both the public and the private sectors with a significant gain in management and academic positions. This is due to Affirmative Action which has had the biggest impact on White women (Kohn, 2013). There are too few examples of how we have used this power to disrupt racism. We also have power as parents, but there are not enough examples of how we have used this power to disrupt racism. Currently, we are asked by POC to use our power to support their organizations. One example of this is SURJ.

*How has our experience of sexism impacted how we have responded to racism?* As noted above, our socialization has led us to being quiet too often. When we have broken out of that expectation, we have often abandoned a struggle against racism, and fought for sexism. This is evident in the 19th Century struggle for the Black male vote and the initial phase of the Women's Movement. Currently, we too often focus on White women's issues, and see them as more important than Black women and racism. We need to address our competitiveness with each other; Jackson & Rao (2022) point out it impacts our ability to support Black women.

*What are the costs and benefits of disrupting racism for us?* We have seen examples of how White women have been punished by their protesting racism such as women who were disowned by the Quaker Society, and women who were sent to jail. As we act as anti-racists, we may both lose and gain relationships. The benefits of disrupting racism lie in being a part of a movement to disrupt racism which is a part of a larger system of oppression including sexism which dehumanizes all of us.

*Are there any changes in our responses over the years, and if so, what are they?* There is an increase in the number of White women who are aware of our privileged status as Whites and how our status in the hierarchy has positioned us between White men and POC. We still see many patterns repeated of how we have been socialized to maintain racism. We are silent too often. We have a broader understanding of our role to work with other Whites and to support initiatives led by POC to disrupt it. In the contemporary reality we have more power than historically – we have voting rights, and we are in more positions of power politically and in our organizations - and we need to use it more.



	Actor	Ally	Accomplice
Definition	Does not disrupt status quo and has nominal effect in challenging White supremacy	Is a disruptor and an educator with Whites	Challenges institutionalized racism; informed by, and coordinates with, People of Color
Example: Your Protesting	Attends “comfortable” marches led by White people	Organizes protests where White people experience some discomfort	Supports civil disobedience organized by People of Color
Example: Your Home	Puts up a sign for Black Lives Matter	Makes home available for organizers	Provides free housing (if available) for People of Color activists and organizers

Adapted from the Power Shift Network website (n.d.)

*What can we learn from this history to be more effective in disrupting racism?* We need to use our power in our spheres of influence – as parents, and friends, at work, in our communities, and our nation. And we need to stand with, and take leadership from, POC. We need to connect with other White women, helping each other be more effective in disrupting racism.

I hope that everyone can find personal relevance in the dynamics and history explored in this article, particularly as it relates to the intersectionality of being in a dominant and a targeted group. We are all in this together as we continue on our journey to make the world more just and equitable.

Opportunities for White People in the Fight for Racial Justice (Powershift Network, n.d.) is a framework developed to support White people acting for racial justice. It looks at our roles as Actors, Allies and Accomplices in taking bigger risks and moving from our comfort zones. It is a useful way to reflect on the significance of our actions to disrupt racism. Table 1 offers definitions and examples of these.

## BIOGRAPHY

Claire B. Halverson, PhD, is a Professor Emeritus at the School of International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont where she taught in the Social Justice in International Relations concentration of the Master’s Program in International and Intercultural Management, Leadership and Service. She is a member of NTL Institute where she is co-steward of the Social Justice Hub and co-facilitator of the White Women in NTL dialogue. She is co-author of *Effective Multicultural Teams: Theory and Practice*, 2008.

We need to continue being in **Balance** (Govan & Smith, 2021) on a regular basis by developing our own awareness of how we are/are not contributing to more equity, expanding our understanding of others, our history, and our current reality. We need to continue developing our interpersonal and organizational skills, and to take action to work more effectively for change at all levels. Govan & Smith refer to **Integration** as those rare moments when we experience “understanding, identifying, and living with the intersections of white supremacy and sexism as a way of being rather than just knowing” and as “a sense of common humanity while holding our vast differences and the reality of structures that divide us” (p 159-60).

## Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge Sukari Pinnock-Fitts, Helen Turnbull, and Becca Bartholomew for their support in helping me crystalize my message, putting in what was needed and removing that which was not, and pointing out my numerous editorial and technical errors. I enjoyed the process. I also wish to acknowledge Pat Bidol-Padva, my-mentor, role model and anti-racist collaborator for over five decades, and Yvette Hyater-Adams who originally helped me to clarify my direction.

What are the implications of this article for anti-racists beyond White women in the United States? I hope White women everywhere can see the intersection of racism and sexism and how it plays out both similarly and differently in their country. I hope White men can see the intersection of race and gender in their country and globally and how it has impacted their being privileged in both race and gender.

February 2023



## REFERENCES

- Abigail Adams. (n.d.). <https://millercenter.org/president/adams/adams-1797-abigail-first~dy>.
- Aldermen, D., Kingsbury, P. & Dwyer. (2012, March 3). *Reexamining the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Toward an empathetic pedagogy of the Civil Rights Movement*. The Professional Geographer. [www.landonline.com](http://www.landonline.com).
- Ann Braden. (n.d.). *Americans Who Tell the Truth*. [www.americanswhotellthetruth.org](http://www.americanswhotellthetruth.org)
- Berkfield, A. (2021). *Parenting 4 social justice*. Green Writers Press.
- Burnett, L. (n.d.) *White Antiracism*. Cross Cultural Solidarity. [www.crossculturalsolidarity.com](http://www.crossculturalsolidarity.com).
- Christensen, L. (2017). *Reading, writing, and rising up: Teaching about social justice and the power of the written word*. Rethinking Schools.
- Davis, A. (1983). *Women, race & class*. Vintage Books.
- DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White Fragility*. Beacon Press.
- Govan, I. & Smith, T. (2021). *What's up with White women?* New Society Publishing.
- Hardiman, R. & Jackson, B. (1997). Conceptual foundations for social justice courses in action. In Adams, M., Bell, I., & Griffin, P. *Teaching for diversity and social justice*. Routledge.
- Huntley, R. Moore, R. & Pierce, C. (2017). *Journeys of race, color, and culture*. New Dynamics Publications and NTL Institute for Applied Behavior Science.
- Jackson, R. & Rao, S. (2022). *White Women*. Penguin Books.
- Kim, R. (August 23, 2021). *What Critical Race Theory is and what it means for teachers*. Southern Poverty Law Center.
- Kohn, S. (June 17, 2013). *Affirmative Action has helped White women more than anyone*. Time.
- Limbong, A. (June 9, 2020). *Microaggressions are a big deal: How to talk them out and when to walk away*. NPR Life Kit.
- Lorde, A. (1981). *The uses of anger: Women responding to racism*. Blackpast. <https://www.blackpast.org/?s=The+Uses+of+Anger%3A++Women+responding+to+racism>.
- Martin, M. (Host). (July 30, 2008). *Why African Americans loathe 'Uncle Tom'* [Audio Podcast]. NPR. [www.npr.org](http://www.npr.org).
- Mitchell, J. (July 7, 2022). *Here's the proof against Carolyn Bryant Donham in the Emmett Till case. Is it enough to convict her?* Boston Globe.
- Mosher, D. L. & Sirkin, M. (1984). Measuring a macho personality constellation. *Journal of Research and Personality*, 18, pp. 150-163.
- National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. (1976). *Kerner Commission Report on the Causes, Events, and Aftermaths of the Civil Disorders of 1967*. Department of Justice.





North, A. (2019, August 19). *How white women's "investment" in slavery has shaped America today*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2019/8/19/20807633/slavery-white-women-stephanie-jones-rogers-1619>.

Phillips, A. (1996). *The Southern rape and lynching complex: The subordination of Southern Women through a mechanism of White superiority*. <https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/handle/10822/1051386>.

Pierce, C., Wagner, D. & Page, W. (1986/2004). *A male/female continuum: Paths to collegueship*. New Dynamics Publications.

Power Shift Network (n.d.) *Opportunities for white people in the fight for racial justice* <https://www.powershift.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/opportunities-for-white-people.pdf>.

Presley, S. (February 10, 2016). *Black Women: Abolitionists and the fight for freedom in the 19th century*. Libertarianism. [www.libertarianism.org](http://www.libertarianism.org).

Rampton, M. (2015). *Four Waves of Feminism*. Pacific University. [www.pacificu.edu](http://www.pacificu.edu).

Samuels, H. & Young, M. (May 7, 2009). *Sex stereotypes of African Americans have long history*. NPR.

Sawchuk, S. (2021, May 18). *What is Critical Race Theory, and why is it under attack?* Education Week. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/what-is-critical-race-theory-and-why-is-it-under-attack/2021/05>.

Spivey, W. (2022, April 21). *The history of White supremacy in America*. <https://medium.com/black-history-month-365/the-history-of-white-supremacy-in-america-44823c12c28c>.

Sue, D.W., Capodilupo, C., Torino, G., Bucceri, J., Holder, A., Nadai, K., & Equin, M. (2017). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *The American Psychologist*, 62(4), 271-286.

Tucker, S. (1987). A complex bond: Southern Black domestic workers and their White employers. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 9(3), 6-13. University of Nebraska Press.

*Underground Railroad: Notable People*. (2022, September 14). Wikipedia. [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org).

Zeizima, K. (Oct 23, 2003). Louise Day Hicks dies at 85: Led fight on busing in Boston. *The New York Times*.