



## Why We Can't Wait: Women's Equality & Intersectional Gender Equity Should Be Funded NOW



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## Abstract

This report shows that American government, philanthropy and business fails to fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity. This report places the numbers or lack of numbers in the context of the white supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchal system in which the individual decision makers work, live, and play. And further, this report explicitly states the universal and interconnected human rights principles used to measure failure of decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business.

By making explicit the breath of stereotype biases at play, especially racialized hetero-patriarchal gender roles and norms, decisions to omit funding for women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity by American government, philanthropic and business, this report takes the first step in altering these pervasive behavior.

This report also shows that the breath of stereotype biases especially racialized hetero-patriarchal gender roles and norms produce a pattern of decisions regarding funding and resource allocation that reaches all the way down to community organizations. Women, especially women of color are expected by decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business to either work for free or work for less. Jobs and economic sectors labeled and/or occupied by women are consistently devalued and targeted for elimination or villainized by decision makers in American government, philanthropy, and business. At the heart of the devaluing of everything labeled female is the thought process that poisons our minds. The conscious or unconscious need to determine who are dominant/superior and who are submissive/inferior.

This report challenges decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business to rid themselves of stereotype biases, especially racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender roles and norms that provide the basis for decisions to support and fund organizations and choosing policies and programs that enforce wealthy, white hetero-male social, economic, political, and legal dominance. This report challenges decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business to simultaneously make decisions to support and fund organizations and choose policies and programs that enforce and promote women's equality and intersectional gender equity.

And lastly, this report challenges women and men to hold decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business accountable for their budgetary, policy and funding choices - to insist that fully valuing every human being be demonstrated through their actions, as well as, their words.

It is well past time to fully fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity in America. Its time for women, especially women of color to take our rightful place as equals and in the process dismantled the matrix of domination that imprisons us all.

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## Why We Can't Wait: Women's Equality & Intersectional Gender Equity Should Be Funded NOW

The California chapter of the National Organization for Women, California NOW began this research project because women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity is not now and never has been a priority in the State of California. Over the course of the past few years, we've witnessed the elimination of funding for the State Commission on the Status of Women, continuous attempts to change the mission away from women's equality and intersectional gender equity, the elimination of all state mandates including local enforcement of intimate partner and sexual violence laws, the failure to fully value care work, the devaluing and elimination of nurses and teachers, and the balancing of the state budget through disinvestment in programs serving women and children to name just a few low lights.

While all of these things were happening in government we also witnessed another onslaught of anti-women's equality policies and programs coming from health insurance and health related foundations. This onslaught was substantial and pervasive, so much so it prompted California NOW to publish [\*Principles & Purpose Matter: Putting Gender Equity & Justice at the Center of California's Implementation of Health in All Policies\*](#). Since the publishing of Principles & Purpose Matter, in December 2013, the implementation phase of the anti-women's equality policies in California and around the country is occurring unabated – not the least of which is the excising of women of color from health disparity initiatives.

This report does more than show the failure of decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business to fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity. The lack of funding has been apparent and reported upon and equally met with indifference. That is why this report focuses on why decision makers fail to fund and equally fail to care about funding women's equality and intersectional gender equity. Knowing why – the reasons decision makers fail to recognize and act to realize women and girls' full humanity; and to fully and equally value women and girls, our lives, our work and our equality provides the knowledge to identify the specific policies and programs that will ensure women and girls take our rightful place as equals throughout society.

There is no more impactful work to be done than the work necessary to dismantle the matrix of domination that imprisons us all – women and men alike.

We start with an explicit statement of principles to demonstrate the level of transparency and accountability that everyone should adhere to, including those in American government, philanthropy and business. Before setting out those principles we need to address the issue of tone. Speaking truth to power is meant to shake the conscious of

individuals in decision making positions. Whether this occurs depends largely on whether an individual holds the same universal and interconnected human rights based principles.

Stating principles includes making conscious, however uncomfortable, all of the unconscious stereotype biases based on social, political, legal, economic norms and roles that inform our decisions. The extensive research on implicit bias<sup>1</sup> shows that social norms and values greatly impact unconscious stereotype responses in all of us, including the authors of this report and individuals in American government, philanthropy and business.

This research also shows individuals holding decision making positions need to be willing to do the individual work if they wish to rid themselves of socially constructed internal bias; such work does not need to take place and/or be completed prior to substantive action taking place, for example, a decision to equitably fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity.

## Principles Matter

The transgressive idea that all human beings matter--that each is an end in themselves is the bedrock upon which human rights based principles rest. The two core human rights based principles are:

- All human beings are born free, equal in dignity and rights, entitled to equal protection and to be free from all forms of discrimination.
- All human beings have the right to control the terms and conditions of their physical, mental, and reproductive labor.

This report uses these two core principles to measure the actions of individual decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business.

We use the word transgressive because human rights based principles challenge the social, political and economic norms of American government, philanthropy and business.<sup>2</sup> To seek to understand the effects of power linked to difference, especially difference associated with race, sex/gender, ethnicity, and sexuality is a transgression – a challenge to the existing power structure. To think intersectionally, that is to understand the effects of coupling difference to unequal personal, social, political, and economic power is again by its nature unsettling, especially to those who believe themselves to be free of race, gender, or other status animus.

This report is being written with a belief that individuals in American government, philanthropy and business who believe in human rights based principles exists and

further that their individual and collective conscious will at first be shaken and then compelled to action.

The failure to fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity generally, and specifically root cause targeted policies and programs does not stem from a lack of policies and programs – they are out there- the failure to fund rests on two inter-locking and mutually reinforcing reasons or conditions:

1. Women and girls' equality, our roles and work, and ultimately our humanity are not fully and/or equally valued; and,
2. The costs to moving unpaid/underpaid care work to paid and fully and equally valued is too high.

Fully and equally valuing women and the work that we do, means, in real terms, a massive redistribution of wealth and with it power. For example, the economy in California extracts \$47 billion annually from California women alone, for unpaid care work. The entire economy is built upon a foundation of unpaid work being performed by women for the benefit of male dominated households, male dominated business and male dominated governments.

The choices, by decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business to: 1) maintain and/or encourage, that is coerce the formation of male dominated households; and 2) eliminate paid care work to "home centered" care without payment are made, whether consciously or unconsciously to benefit a male-centric economy at the expense of women. These choices use racialized gender roles and norms, explicitly or implicitly to deny women payment for their labor.

It is an absolute necessity to maintain strict gender role enforcement, especially regarding paid/unpaid work, in order to maintain a system of unpaid/underpaid work. Having a definition of masculinity – of what it is to be a man to include care work, among other female labeled roles destroys the occupational segregation that justifies non-payment.

## **Following the Money: Turning the Lens Away From Decisions Makers**

In July 2013 Peter Buffett caused a stir in Philanthropic circles with his New York Times op-ed entitled, The [Charitable-Industrial Complex](#), where he observed, "As more lives and communities are destroyed by the system that creates vast amounts of wealth for the few, the more heroic it sounds to 'give back.' It's what I would call 'conscious laundering' – feeling better about accumulating more than any one person could possibly need to live on by sprinkling a little around as an act of charity." Peter Buffett

makes another salient point about the purpose of philanthropy, “Money should be spent trying out concepts that shatter current structures and systems that have turned much of the world into one vast market. Is progress really Wi-Fi on every street corner? No. It’s when no 13-year-old girl on the planet gets sold for sex. But, as long as most folks are patting themselves on the back for charitable acts, we’ve got a perpetual poverty machine.”

Peter Buffett’s observations are borne out by the numerous studies that have been done chronicling the funding patterns of the ever growing foundation endowments. Some have concentrated on the lack of funding to communities of color. Some include the lack of funding for women and girls generally and women of color specifically. And others concentrate on chronicling the lack of funding for system change. Our review of the literature failed to locate studies regarding the lack of funding for women’s equality, gender equity, and human rights adoption in the United States.

The dearth of literature about American philanthropy’s complete ignorance of human rights adoption, especially relating to race, class, and women’s equality, gender equity, including gender norms speaks to the depth of commitment to social dominance market-based principles or ideology. Racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms and roles setup and maintain the matrix of domination. Racialized hetro-patriarchal gender norms and roles, therefore are the underlying implicit or explicit foundation for “market-based” principles versus human rights based principles.

Consequently, there are two paths or choices that American Philanthropy could take - A human rights based path, where human beings are seen as ends in themselves, or a market-based path, where human beings are seen as means to be used for the benefit of the few.

The purpose of market-based philanthropy is not to eliminate the “perpetual poverty machine” and/or the social dominance hierarchy under which it functions; philanthropy’s purpose is to attenuate social unrest that would otherwise develop from the consequences of wealth hoarding. This is where we differ from Peter Buffett’s observation of “conscious laundering.” Although such implicitly biased actions do occur within the vast multi-billion dollar world of American philanthropy, explicit bias in favor of the current white supremacist capitalist hetero-patriarchy remains the root cause for funding decisions.

It is this root cause, adherence to market-based solutions that act to enhance or maintain the current racialize-gendered social/economic/political/legal structures that predictably led to little change in substantive funding priorities after efforts in 2006 by Greenlining Institute and PRE to increase funding to minority-led non-profits. An overview of the documents produced by Greenlining and PRE show that the neither



challenged the underlying market-based ideology of American Philanthropic giving each simply demanded that more funding be directed to minority-led market-based non-profits.

An overview of the work being done by Peter Buffet's foundation NoVo unfortunately did not reveal truly transformative work. As you can see from the excerpt of NoVo Foundation's Move to End Violence [Our Story](#) page women's equality/rights organizations and a myriad of single issue organizations were consulted so the funder could hear from activists what they needed. Just like the surveys of people of color led community organizations, the answer was the same - MONEY. What was/is needed is the funding to move their work to scale. Unfortunately MONEY to the actual activist organizations doing the work has not occurred to any large extent. The National Center for Reproductive Rights has received increased funding from NoVo and that funding has been used to great effect. There needs to be much more MONEY to make the strategic impact sought by NoVo and the experts, especially faculty needs expansion.

*Move to End Violence* grew out of the bold vision of the NoVo Foundation. Rather than accept a world fueled by competition, domination, and exploitation, NoVo decided to resource strategies that would lead to social transformation -- bringing us closer to a world thriving on partnership and collaboration. A key strategy is to improve the status and well-being of girls and women worldwide, who often experience violence, poverty, and discrimination simply because they are born female. This is a consequence -- but also a cause -- of a world greatly out of balance. The NoVo Foundation believes that those same girls and women, once free from violence and empowered as agents of change, can lead the way to a better world.

Violence against girls and women has a devastating impact on virtually every community and country in the world, including in the United States. Thanks to the tireless work of countless activists, we have made progress. With great effort, attitudes have shifted, resources have been allocated, and systems have been changed to help address the problem and alleviate its effects. And yet, staggering rates of violence against girls and women remain. Powerful, systemic forces stubbornly persist and perpetuate this oppression. Only a bold response will truly transform society.

### **Interviewing Stakeholders**

Here, NoVo saw an opportunity to make a significant impact. The Foundation sought to invest in the capacity of this movement to make lasting change. NoVo engaged social change advocates with deep experience working for girls and women to advance this initiative. They began by seeking the counsel of over 130 stakeholders in order to understand what the movement would require to achieve this enduring social change. The resonance among those interviewed was striking.

All of the stakeholders honored the accomplishments of the past and present and acknowledged a deep desire and heavy sense of responsibility to go further and do more to truly end violence. They were confident in their ability to envision and lead us toward a world in which girls and women live free from violence, but identified fundamental challenges to doing so.

### **What We Found**

Stakeholders cited the lack of time, energy, and resources necessary to step back from the pressing needs of those impacted by violence and to focus on root causes. The taxing nature and immense scale of this work was also widely accepted as a source of significant burn-out in the field and as a drain on the personal resources needed to cultivate visionary ideas, strategy, and leadership. Stakeholders called for genuine support for prioritizing such work, including the dedicated time, space, and opportunity to do so. They also recommended general support to free up staff resources to take advantage of such opportunities. To address the burn-out issue, stakeholders expressed a desire for opportunities to strengthen leadership and develop self-care practices at the individual and organizational levels.

Stakeholders also pointed to the absolute dearth of funding for social change advocacy in this field. They called for a significant investment in advocacy for social change, including support for strategy development and skills strengthening, capacity grants for critical organizational development, and broader funder engagement to support social change campaigns.

Throughout these interviews, stakeholders highlighted the innovation occurring in the movement. They lifted up the work being done within marginalized communities and by leaders whose analysis reflects an understanding of the complex ways that power and inequity operate. They noted that much of this work is being done in isolation and has not yet garnered the attention or support it deserves. Stakeholders reported the need for a learning community of like-minded individuals committed to leveraging each other's ideas and aligning around a common vision for moving forward as a movement.

### **Designing Move to End Violence**

In response to what we heard from the stakeholders and with deep respect for all those working in this field, we set out to design a program that would invest in the movement. We aimed to uplift the innovation occurring within the field; create the space and opportunity for leaders to align around a collective vision; and strengthen the capacity of individuals, organizations, and the movement to affect lasting social change and end violence against girls and women in the United States.

An extraordinary team of individuals with expertise in strategy, social change, movement building, and evaluation made up the core group responsible for designing this initiative. They now serve as core members of *Move to End Violence's* faculty.

To help ensure that the design reflected the wisdom of the stakeholders and stayed true to the needs of the movement, 11 stakeholders were routinely consulted throughout the design process. This Advisory Committee included individuals with a vast range of experience. Collectively, they work to end sexual violence, domestic violence, sex trafficking, child sexual abuse, and gender violence in conflict zones. Their work occurs at the local, state, national, and international levels, and via a diverse set of social change strategies.

With the partnership of these extraordinary individuals, we have created a program that will serve the movement and move us forward towards our shared goal of ending violence against girls and women.

Recently the NoVo foundation published a statement regarding the creation of an integrated racial and gender justice movement citing [#whywecantwait](#). It's time for NoVo to equitably fund Dr. Kimberle Crenshaw's Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Study. That means comparable to the Haas Center. It's also time for NoVo and philanthropy generally to equitably fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity by capacity funding activist organizations directly in the same manner that they fund racial justice organizations.

There's something else that NoVo needs to do in order to live up to its purpose – adopt intersectional thinking. While it is laudable that NoVo funds strategic projects concerning women and girls equality, the goals and/or principles found within these projects are not found in other funded work. Most notably, projects related to social and emotional learning.

The excerpts below are a sampling of research and implementation projects regarding social and emotional learning that act to reinforce racialized patriarchal based gender roles and norms. For example, in an effort to test validity of the SEL surveys, dominant group “norms” are used as representative measures. There is no mention of gender non-conformity, stereotype and identity threat, implicit bias and/or masculinity or femininity standards or norms of behavior.

The examples show that culture and norms are left to each institution – each individual to decide what are socially acceptable behavior, traits, and outcomes. In other words, the addition of SEL without definitions, without stated principles is another weapon for dominant group members to maintain hegemonic control.

Social and emotional learning (SEL) broadly defined is the set of skills that individuals need to succeed in schooling, the workplace, relationships, and citizenship. The NoVo Foundation has a set of papers connected to their efforts regarding the integration of SEL as a comprehensive practice for all school-based personnel.

At the center of the framework is a circle representing the core domains of SEL skills. Based on our review of the research, we group these skills into three conceptual categories: emotional processes, social/interpersonal skills, and cognitive regulation. Emotional processes include emotional knowledge and expression, emotional and behavioral regulation, and empathy and perspective-taking. Social/interpersonal skills include understanding social cues, interpreting others' behaviors, navigating social situations, interacting positively with peers and adults, and other prosocial behavior. Cognitive regulation includes attention control, inhibiting inappropriate responses, working memory, and cognitive flexibility or set shifting. [Social Policy Report V26 #4, Social and Emotional Learning in Schools](#), p. 4.

Although there are many ways that SEL efforts can influence the broad, systemic school context, one of the most visible and potentially meaningful ways is by influencing school culture and climate.

Culture and climate are the regular and consistent patterns that characterize how actors in an organization think, feel, interact, and behave. They influence everything about a school, including how adults and students treat one another and whether adults and students understand and implement interventions effectively. (cite omitted) While clearly related, culture and climate are separable. School culture refers to a school's set of norms, beliefs, and practices or 'the way things are done around here' (cite omitted) Culture is driven by the school's values and expectations, which are embedded in structures and practices and transmitted both explicitly and implicitly. Climate, on the other hand, is the aggregate of individual actors' perceptions of the environment's impact on well-being and is influenced by individuals' perception of the psychological environment. (cite omitted) School climate is associated with a range of positive student outcomes from academic achievement to mental health and well being. Id at p. 10.

CASEL has identified five core competencies learned through SEL interventions, all crucial to life, learning and work. These are:

- Self-awareness: accurately assessing one's feelings, interests, values and strengths; maintaining a well-grounded sense of self-confidence;
- Self-management: regulating one's emotions to handle stress, control impulses and persevere in overcoming obstacles; setting and monitoring progress toward personal and academic goals; expressing emotions appropriately;

- Social awareness: being able to take the perspective of and empathize with others; recognizing and appreciating individual and group similarities and differences; recognizing and using family, school, and community resources;
- Relationship skills: establishing and maintaining healthy and rewarding relationships based on cooperation; resisting inappropriate social pressure; preventing, managing, and resolving interpersonal conflict; seeking help when needed;
- Responsible decision-making: making decisions based on consideration of ethical standards, safety concerns, appropriate social norms, respect for others and likely consequences of various actions; applying decision-making skills to academic and social situations; contributing to the well-being of one's school and community. [Social & Emotional Learning Action Network White Paper, CGI Annual Meeting Paper 2011](#) p. 4.

Parents, children, teachers, everyone for that matter should have access to and use [mindful brain skills](#) and tools so that we can possess and maintain a fully integrated brain so we can walk through the world fully aware of ourselves and those around us.

However, what is too often the case programs are designed to produce social control for the benefit of the dominant group. Those who are found to deviate, to be as Dr. King stated, maladaptive to the conditions of social, economic, political, and legal oppression remain labeled as behavioral problems of the oppressed to be corrected by designated social enforcers. Under such a regime teachers use circles and other restorative justice tools to transform the circle into a group device to discipline non-conforming behavior.

We do not necessarily believe this was/is the intent of the creators of these programs; however, the failure to address the definitions of norms and principles from the bevy of experts who's mission was to create transformative programs demonstrates the absolute necessity for philanthropist and their legion of "experts" to examine, treat, and rid themselves of explicit and implicit biases before exposing the rest of us to their aid.

Women's equality and intersectional gender equity needs to be the norm. Fund that project. Explicitly state your principles and then explicitly state the definitions of norms, measures and goals. That's how transformation works. Silence is nothing more than complicit acceptance of racialized hegemonic hetero-patriarchal masculinity. It's time to break the silence. It's time to end the acceptance and the funding of racialized hetero-patriarchal gender roles and norms.

American government, philanthropy and business have never funded women's equality and intersectional gender equity. Fund it NOW. Stop making excuses for failing to fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity. Stop making excuses for continuing to fund the maintenance of racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms and roles.

## The Act of Critical Consciousness

As ubiquitous and invisible as the air we breathe, white supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchy shapes gender norms that among other things assumes work labeled female is free or near free. Women are expected to “volunteer” their services to family, community, and the state. These expectations, whether explicitly or implicitly accepted are embedded in social norms that are enforced through political, legal, and economic policies and laws.

So here we are at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century - the movement toward a more just and equal society has stalled and in most places regressed. We have reached a time where women and men who believe in universal and interconnected human rights must hold individuals in decision making positions within American government, philanthropy and business accountable for choosing to either tinker around the edges of this oppressive system, or to expressly or through culpable indifference embrace white supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchy rather than chose to dismantle the matrix of domination piece by piece.

Make no mistake the dismantling of structural oppression and with it the often thoughtless acceptance of explicit and implicit bias will take conscious persistence and action, as well as, perseverance; especially to ensure that individuals in decision making positions within American government and philanthropy spend the money necessary on transformative policies and programs to dismantle the system of political, economic and social oppression that harms us all.

Such an undertaking will take an expansive network of loosely coupled progressive organizations with legions of activists who think and act intersectionally. The capacity to dismantle structural oppression will also take money. It is true that organized people will always beat organized money. Money however combined with the productive power of the majority provides the necessary and sufficient capacity to move American and the world away from the devastating effects of white supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchy.

Any successful actions in this regard, whether as an outside advocate or as an inside decision maker requires a vital prerequisite – the ability and willingness to think and act intersectionally.

## A Powerful Combination: Money & Intersectional Thinking

Thinking intersectionally means looking for places in social, legal, political and economic systems that attach unequal power/value to difference. Thinking intersectionally therefore is the everyday act of critical consciousness when creating or assessing structures, policies, and affects that exposes the structural mechanisms and the explicit and implicit beliefs that lead individuals to overvalue and concomitantly devalue human beings based on difference.

The first critically conscious act in thinking and acting intersectionally is explicitly stating what is usually implicit - the principle or measure being used to judge or discern unequal power or value. The question whether all women and men of color are fully human and equal in every respect to white men should be settled. Just as the question whether members of the LGBTQ community are fully human and equal in every respect to members of the cissexual community should be settled. In fact, it should not be a question at all.

The rejection of exceptionalism – of supremacy based on any status begins with the adoption and application of universal and interconnected human rights based principles. The first of which is all human beings are born free, equal in dignity and rights entitled to equal protection and to be free from all forms of discrimination. The difficulty in seeing structural inequality that is thinking intersectionally is found in dealing with stereotype bias created and reinforced by learned social norms and beliefs. Every individual's ability to recognize structural inequality is altered or obscured by both explicit bias (a conscious belief in race, gender, sexuality and class supremacy) and [implicit bias](#) (a positive or negative mental attitude towards a person, thing, or group that a person holds at an unconscious level) reinforced by social, political and economic policies and norms.

## How the Legal System & the Courts Maintain Exceptionalist Thinking

Another example of the process of status exceptionalism is the American court's use of the sameness/difference model of equality. The imbedded race (white), sex (male), class (capital/property holder), sexuality (heteronormative) supremacy used by the American legal system to measure who is deserving of equal protection does more than privilege wealthy heterosexual white males. This sameness/difference model of equality requires an either/or thought process that demands each of us to continually assign an either/or label to determine who is fully human. This is the poison in how we think. [See Catherine MacKinnon, Substantive Equality: A Perspective](#) This is the critical mechanism that supports the matrix of domination. Using and consistently applying a both/and thought process is therefore a transgressive act.



Under the sameness/difference model of equality the ability to discern difference from the privileged status allows unequal treatment under the law. This is the context in which to read the case law on equal pay or discrimination. The courts have enabled and continue to enable structural inequity and implicit bias to flourish by denying that either exists.

For example in 1985 the 9<sup>th</sup> circuit court *in AFSCME v State of Washington* 770 F.2d 1401 held that the state could lawfully pay higher wages to predominantly male job classifications despite a state-commissioned study concluding that the male and female classifications required the same or comparable knowledge, skills and abilities. The court stated that reliance on market forces of supply and demand to set compensation was not per se illegal since “**neither law nor logic deems the free market system a suspect enterprise.**” Id. 1407. One year earlier the same court in *Spaulding v University of Washington* denied a comparable worth claim between Nursing faculty and other department faculty. [See also UCLA Anderson School regarding equal pay.](#)

Neither law nor logic deems the free market system suspect - neither law nor logic deems wealthy white hetero-male supremacy suspect. By choosing wealthy, white, hetero-male as the measure of who is fully human, and therefore, the measure of who is entitled to equality; every chart, data set, and gross disparity are viewed as verification of supremacy, rather than as an inequity. That’s what stereotype bias does. The near elimination of disparate impact litigation by the Courts driven by stereotype bias has effectively affirmed that wealthy, white hetero-male will remain the definition of fully human. All women, men of color, poor and middle class white men, the LGBT community are afforded equal protection only after they prove they are substantially similarly situated, that is substantially like wealthy white hetero-males. Evidence of any difference or deviation from this measure removes the right to equality – to be considered fully human.

The fact that almost all of us are rendered not fully human is obscured by the all too real privileges attached to race and sex that provide oppressive powers to those who would otherwise identify and coalesce together against status hierarchies. For example, white women utilize white privilege to soften the effects of hetero-patriarchy upon themselves through the use and exploitation of women of color who perform care work that remains white women’s responsibility. Another example is male head of household – fatherhood initiatives that target Black and other men of color. By focusing on male dominance over women and children, remaining inequality between white and black men is obscured.

This multi-status hierarchal system is continually reinforced and affirmed in the law by ignoring its existence. Ignored in the law and by other decision makers are studies on implicit bias that show university professors’ preference and favoritism toward white



males.<sup>3</sup> Implicit bias linked to racialized gender norms has been shown to adversely impact wages, hiring and promotions.<sup>4</sup>

By ignoring stereotype bias, the either/or thought process that is demanded by our current social, political, economic and legal system, which is based on superior/inferior – dominance/submission binary relationship model can continue without alteration. A thought process that produces an equality equation where only one group of status categories can be labeled or placed in the position of superior and dominant.

Consequently, failing to address, that is reject this either/or thought process, such as failing to reject male or white supremacy in effect acts to maintain the entirety of the system.

Thinking intersectionally and rooting out both explicit and implicit bias based on the either/or supremacy model should be the mission of everyone, especially equality advocates and the foundations that support them. Yet, when we examine individuals in American government, business and philanthropy we do not see much evidence of an embrace of human rights generally and women's equality and intersectional gender equity specifically. As stated, we can easily discern whether individual decision makers within American government, philanthropy and business value women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity, we need to follow the MONEY.

### **Pathologies of the Oppressor: The Art of Victim Blaming**

The white supremacist capitalist hetero-patriarchal version of personal responsibility consistently leaves out personal responsibility of individuals who are in positions of power. It is the transformation of individual decision makers infected with explicit and implicit bias into an object lacking personal responsibility such as a corporation or government that underlies corporate and governmental immunity. The intentional break between decision and consequences/costs is at the center of white male social, economic and legal privilege.

The shift in attention or focus from the decision-maker, the aggressor, to the person(s) bearing the consequences or costs of their actions is imbedded in racialized gendered social, economic, and legal norms and presumptions. The shift or deflection of personal responsibility for their own actions and circumstances is coupled with explicit and implicit bias that over values capital(money & property), whiteness and maleness and concomitantly undervalues mental, physical and reproductive labor, blackness and femaleness.

Turning the lens back onto the decision maker is not new, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. [speech](#) before the American Psychological Association described this process in profoundly prophetic terms:

A profound judgment of today's riots was expressed by Victor Hugo a century ago. He said, 'If a soul is left in the darkness, sins will be committed. The guilty one is not he who commits the sin, but he who causes the darkness.' The policymakers of the white society have caused the darkness; they create discrimination; they structured slums; and they perpetuate unemployment, ignorance and poverty. It is incontestable and deplorable that Negroes have committed crimes; but they are derivative crimes. They are born of the greater crimes of the white society. When we ask Negroes to abide by the law, let us also demand that the white man abide by law in the ghettos. Day-in and day-out he violates welfare laws to deprive the poor of their meager allotments; he flagrantly violates building codes and regulations; his police make a mockery of law; and he violates laws on equal employment and education and the provisions for civic services. The slums are the handiwork of a vicious system of the white society; Negroes live in them but do not make them any more than a prisoner makes a prison. Let us say boldly that if the violations of law by the white man in the slums over the years were calculated and compared with the law-breaking of a few days of riots, the hardened criminal would be the white man. These are often difficult things to say but I have come to see more and more that it is necessary to utter the truth in order to deal with the great problems that we face in our society.

Although many social scientists and legal scholars heard Dr. King's call, American government, philanthropy, and business continue to adopt and fund policies that almost exclusively concentrate on derivative crimes choosing to force victims to continue to bear the consequences of white supremacist capitalist hetero-patriarchy. And further to insist victims appropriately adjust to mitigate any possible societal costs, that is costs to those in power.

For example, women who are forced to provide unpaid child, household, and elder care, suffer discrimination in pay, including job segregation that detrimentally affects wealth accumulation still manage on average to live longer than men. The problem according to current decision makers is the lack of personal financial resources to pay for long term care because women are not appropriately adjusting to the risk of running out of personal resources. The solution for these current decision makers is to convince women to purchase long term care insurance and/or save more. There is no mention of society's debt for the considerable unpaid care work provided over a life time, and/or eliminating wage discrimination, as well as, providing portable defined benefit pension plans so every person can pay for their own care, including women.

Although Dr. King's speech addresses systemic race-based oppression, his words speak to the gendered awakening that was concomitantly happening at the time and continues today.

Negroes today are experiencing an inner transformation that is liberating them from ideological dependence on the white majority. What has penetrated substantially all strata of Negro life is the revolutionary idea that the philosophy and morals of the dominant white society are not holy or sacred but in all too many respects are degenerate and profane. Negroes have been oppressed for centuries not merely by bonds of economic and political servitude. The worst aspect of their oppression was their inability to question and defy the fundamental precepts of the larger society. Negroes have been loath in the past to hurl any fundamental challenges because they were coerced and conditioned into thinking within the context of the dominant white ideology. This is changing and new radical trends are appearing in Negro thought. I use radical in its broad sense to refer to reaching into roots. Ten years of struggle have sensitized and opened the Negro's eyes to reaching. For the first time in their history, Negroes have become aware of the deeper causes for the crudity and cruelty that governed white society's responses to their needs. They discovered that their plight was not a consequence of superficial prejudice but was systemic. The slashing blows of backlash and frontlash have hurt the Negro, but they have also awakened him and revealed the nature of the oppressor. To lose illusions is to gain truth. Negroes have grown wiser and more mature and they are hearing more clearly those who are raising fundamental questions about our society whether the critics be Negro or white. When this process of awareness and independence crystallizes, every rebuke, every evasion, become hammer blows on the wedge that splits the Negro from the larger society.

Because American Philanthropy failed to heed Dr. King's words, too much of what philanthropy funds maintain the current race, gender, and class hierarchal system. In addition, the failure of American Philanthropy to address explicit and implicit bias of all the individuals involved in decision making has resulted in a pattern of funding social, political, economic, and legal advocacy rejects Dr. King's admonitions and remains focused on curing or solving individual and/or group pathologies of the poor and other oppressed status groups.

This report is meant to challenge the reader to not look away, to deal with the discomfort of our past and present. This report is being written because we believe that individuals both inside and outside of American government, philanthropy and business will join a transgressive feminist movement where each is committed and bound to each other by the process of acting on the knowledge that each of our personal liberation is bound to each other's liberation; and further, that transformational change from an oppressive to a liberatory system will not occur out of conformity or adjustment, but by conscious transgression.

## Rejecting All Forms of Exceptionalism

The resiliency of white supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchy<sup>5</sup> is the linkage between the process of stereotype bias, the power to exclude/include and the concomitant thought process that places individuals into the in or out group. There are many status categories that make up the matrix of domination that intersect and thereby inform how oppression affects each of us in our daily lives, not the least of which are ethnicity, sexuality, gender expression and identity. The two linchpin interconnected status categories that justify and therefore maintain the matrix of domination are white/black and male/female. Labels of superior/inferior, dominant/submissive are attached to each status pair. The traits associated with white and male, and by extension every other status category are most powerful when they are exclusively held by the status holder. The creation of whiteness and the myth of white exceptionalism/supremacy are inextricably linked to male exceptionalism/supremacy. The same is true of the opposite side of the dichotomy. Black exceptionalism/inferiority(pathology) and female exceptionalism/inferiority(pathology).

Exceptionalism is simply another word for intrinsic difference. Difference becomes the basis for separation into either the superior/dominant group or the inferior/submissive group. It is this process of coupling power to difference that creates privilege and simultaneously creates the process of stereotype threat – the NOT ME IMPULSE.

The following excerpt from [“How White People Got Made”](#) shows one process for dismantling white exceptionalism. The same analysis holds for male exceptionalism:

“White exceptionalism runs to both negatives and positives. Whether whites are seen as intellectually and spiritually superior or morally abhorrent, the argument that whites are intrinsically different from the rest of humanity has all the same flaws as any such argument. There are no intrinsically innocent or wise peoples of the earth; we are all the same wonderful and terrible creatures. Every community produces gentle geniuses and violent monsters. If we accept the normality of white people – and this proposition has in its favor overwhelming evidence: circumstance, (the arbitrariness of whiteness) history, (universality of both human crimes and genius) and physiology (the genetic difference among ‘white’ is pretty much the same as any group white and non-whites) this leaves us looking to social systems and systems of power for the sources of our problems, which seems pretty sensible, when you think about it.”<sup>6</sup>

It is important to note that when someone rejects the universality and interconnectedness of human rights, such as excludes a status category such as women and girls from the definition of fully human, they are, in effect, embracing and

therefore legitimating exceptionalism and supremacy. Difference - exceptionalism cannot be used as a benign measurement under a system that uses difference to attach either inferiority or superiority.

Currently, being equal in our difference to each other is not the thought process that informs our system. American social, political, legal and economic systems couple unequal power or advantage to difference. Decoupling requires attention to be paid as much to the substance of policies, for example, anti-feminist policies as the amount of funding between men and women. It is not enough to count heads, this many women, this many Blacks. Liberation will occur with the recognizing of every individual's full humanity and that recognition is embedded in the substance of policies and actions.

In [\*Black Male Exceptionalism? The Problems and Potential of Black Male-Focused Interventions\*](#), Paul D. Butler provides a systematic analysis of the problem with the Black Male Exceptionalism frame and the anti-feminist underpinnings of the arguments:

Second, statistics about African American males are used to support the necessity of special interventions for Black men, with no description of what the corresponding data is for Black women. For example, the article by Leavy claims that because of "a lack of prenatal and postnatal care, the infant mortality rate of Black males is more than double that of White males" (1983, p. 42). This fact would seem to support the case for a race-based intervention, but without the corresponding data for Black females there is no way of knowing whether the intervention should be focused on gender as well. For the record, I am not aware of any data that suggests that Black male infants have higher mortality rates than Black female infants.

The article's point about infant mortality also exposes another common move in Black male exceptionalism: advocacy of interventions for African American women when, or because, the interventions will benefit African American men. So, referencing the sentence quoted above, the problem with the lack of prenatal care for African American women is that it risks the mortality of African American male infants. The implicit "ask" is for better health care for Black women so that more Black male infants will survive. P. 489.

Here Butler points out that Black women's health is made important only in context of serving some purpose for Black men and equally disturbing is the devaluing of Black female infants. Black women are transformed from an end in themselves – from being fully human to a means, an object to be used and/or valued for the benefit they provide to Black male infants and men. Butler also points out another problematic issues with Black Male Exceptionalism frame – reifying stereotype bias: I want to advance a more robust critique. First, African American men are not dying off; as with other people of

color, their numbers are actually increasing (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2012). I understand, however, that the endangerment story is the foundational narrative of Black male exceptionalism, and the work that creation myths do is not intended to be scientific or empirical. The narrative is allegorical, but even taken on its own terms it objectifies Black men in a way that does not advance their cause.

There is something at once aggrandizing and victimizing about the construct of African American men as “endangered species.” “Species” connotes an otherness, as though Black men are not human beings. It is dehumanizing, implying an analogy to animal conservancy rather than a response to social injustice as it impacts human beings. It draws on a long history of analogizing African Americans to non-human animals.



“Endangered” is more suggestive. ... Still, apart from being too naturalistic, the phrase erroneously frames the problem. Survival is an act of resistance. African American men are still here; they, along with African American women have survived in a country that for most of its history has been extremely inhospitable to them. As a group, African Americans have survived slavery, de jure segregation, and terrorism by White supremacists. While some commentators have argued that present conditions are equivalent to those forms of official subjugation and private violence, it is hard to make the argument that conditions are worse. “Endangered species” is inexact enough that it is careless. It is bad history and bad science. And, as we have seen, it is hetero-patriarchy masquerading as racial justice. 491

Butler continues in pointing out the counterproductive and dangerous use of Black Male tropes connected to racialized hetero-patriarchal based masculinity and femininity:

The rhetoric of Black male exceptionalism seldom involves structural critiques of hetero-patriarchy; in some ways it resonates more with the anti-feminist

ideology of the right-wing than with a progressive vision of social justice. It follows, then, that some Black male achievement programs appear to be posited on a construction of Black men as violent, hyper-masculine criminals. Other interventions supported by some of the programs can be seen as implicit behavioral critiques of Black men as dysfunctional or pathologic. 505

And lastly, Butler shows the importance of addressing toxic masculinity head on:

One of the functions of White supremacy is to defeat Black masculinity. Still, maleness—even Black maleness—remains a problematic site for empowerment. An important component of an intersectionalist Black male intervention strategy would interrogate and deconstruct traditional ideas about masculinity, including Black masculinity. Articulating a progressive vision of African American masculinity is beyond the scope of this article. I should note, however, that some scholars and activists are already engaged in this project. Male focused intervention should be closely examined to eradicate any hint of antifemale ideology or practice. The active recruitment, inclusion, and participation of gay and transgendered men might be part of a strategy of reconceptualizing masculinity.

Another necessary component of intersectionalist Black male programs is advocacy for Black women. Some African American men have always supported feminist causes, ranging from Frederick Douglass's advocacy of women's suffrage to protests against the Million Man March, organized by scholars Luke Harris and Derrick Bell, among others. Understanding male privilege means acknowledging that Black men's issues have historically been prioritized over Black women's issues. Black male interventions should create space for African American women to be racial standard bearers, a discourse that would position poverty and reproductive freedom as racial justice issues, in the way that advocates for Black men have already done with criminal justice. 507

Although we go further than Butler in identifying the need to reject exceptionalism, including the thought process that forces oppositional dichotomies; Butler's powerful article and arguments contained within are a must read for anyone who cares about equal justice.



## What's Old Is New Again: The Other Side of Black Male Exceptionalism: The Problem With Black Women

As stated, the 90s saw philanthropy fund hetero-patriarchal-based fatherhood initiatives along with so-called welfare reform. The Urban Brookings Institutes led policies have spread throughout federal and state governments irrespective of political party affiliation. From Clinton to Bush to Obama racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms are ubiquitous. Currently, My Brother's Keeper Initiatives not only fail to include women and girls of color, but these initiatives promote male head of household, hetero-patriarchal definitions of masculinity and family as cures for black pathologies.

The following excerpt is taken from a current website affiliated with the My Brother's Keeper Initiative: *Changing Places: How Communities Will Improve the Health of Boys of Color* explicitly state an alignment with hetero-patriarchal based 1990s fatherhood initiatives:

In addition, decisions to target men and boys can make the work vulnerable to being inaccurately seen as anti-feminist. One of the major contributions of the fatherhood work from the 1990s was to erode this perception and position the work as part of a broader agenda involving the well-being of poor families, mothers and children. [Changing Places: How Communities Will Improve the Health of Boys of Color Chapter 17](#), p. 551.

In fact, efforts to build economic self-reliance, support entrepreneurship and shed the bonds of government dependence have all played a prominent role historically in racial-justice work. Id. At 554 citing Heather MacDonald, 1996 Manhattan Institute's *The Billions of dollars that made things worse*.

Footnote 40: Even among those foundations that are socially conservative, the appeal of one of the main strands of work addressing the crisis-fatherhood and marriage-is undeniable. Heather MacDonald, a conservative critic of foundations; characterized the fatherhood work of the Ford Foundation and Annie E. Casey as pockets of sanity; where a common sense approach to helping people and promoting stable communities has reigned.

The reliance on racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles is explicitly endorsed by the MBK affiliated organizations being funded by philanthropy and being implemented by local, state, and federal governments.



## Racialized Gender Stereotype Bias Remains the Foundation of Whitehouse Women's Initiatives

An analysis of the White House Council on Women and Girls' [Working Families Summit Tool Kit](#) shows adherence to racialized gender biases that are root causes of the chronic undervaluing of care work. The Toolkit under Pathways to Quality Employment states that the cure for women who “often work in low-wage jobs that are chronically undervalued and have limited mobility” is to move women out of those jobs, rather than fully valuing those jobs through higher wages and creating career ladders.

The “chronically undervalued” care work performed predominantly by women of color is seen solely as costs to families, who need to go out to find “real” work. Childcare and early education as child development, as well as, elder and in-home healthcare as arduous, skilled work is not found in this document. Nor are these economic sectors thought of through a career ladder lens, which would logically connect them to teachers, nurses, and doctors.

The complete failure to provide an actual pathway to fully and equally valuing care work reinforces the main component of racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms – women's purpose in providing free “private” child, elder, spousal, and household care. The reduction in paid work over the course of a woman's lifetime substantially reducing her ability to have sufficient financial resources to pay for her end of life care is presented as a private, personal problem for individual women. Retirement security is not tied to access to transportable defined benefit pension plans, credit for unpaid child development and elder care, nor is there any mention of a societal obligation to ensure sex/gender discrimination does not impede women's ability to garner sufficient financial resources at all stages of life.

The value of the care work performed over the course of a lifetime is also rendered economically invisible in this document.<sup>7</sup> Equally invisible is the racialized history surrounding domestic and in-home care givers, including their exclusion from labor and other worker protections.<sup>8</sup> The racialized history of white women escaping gender prescribed work through the use of “low-wage” women of color is maintained, while promising relief to those who can choose another line of work.

The maintenance of free privately provided care work within hetero-patriarchal marriage is a prime economic motivator informing both the marriage and fatherhood initiatives and is also the source of chronic devaluing of care work. The power of stereotype bias is illustrated further by comparing the above with [Michele Obama's remarks regarding women and girls on the world stage](#).

## Racialized Hetero-patriarchal Based Marriage: After 40 Years of Failure Still the Cure for Poverty

Sara McLanahan, Fragile Families and the Reproduction of Poverty, *Ann Am Acad Pol Soc Sci.* 2009 January 1; 621(1): 111–131. doi:10.1177/0002716208324862. Excerpt from abstract:

I show that unmarried parents come from much more disadvantaged populations than married parents. I further argue that non-marital childbearing reproduces class and racial disparities through its association with *partnership instability* and *multi-partnered fertility*. These processes increase in maternal stress and mental health problems, reduce the quality of mothers' parenting, reduce paternal investments, and ultimately lead to poor outcomes in children. Finally, by spreading fathers' contributions across multiple households, partnership instability and multi-partnered fertility undermine the importance of individual fathers' contributions of time and money which is likely to affect the future marriage expectations of both sons and daughters.

Redirecting Welfare Policy Toward Building Strong Families, Urban Institute, Elaine Sorensen, Ronald Mincy, and Ariel Halpern 2000

In the 1996 welfare reform act, Congress proclaimed its dedication to 'encouraging the formation and maintenance of two-parent families' as part of its overall strategy to help needy families become self-sufficient. ... This brief argues that welfare reform has not gone far enough to encourage two-parent families and responsible fatherhood. ... A reasonable interpretation of Congress' goal of encouraging formation or maintenance of two-parent families is to decrease the flow of poor children into single-mother families from both sources. (both sources being lack of marriage and divorce) p1-2

Families and Economic Mobility, Urban Institute, 2008 Jessica Kronstadt, Milissa M. Faverault

Household stability is important in producing healthy child development. Instability disrupts routines and undermines the parent-child relationship, which is essential to cognitive as well as social development. **So, while parental conflict is bad for children, breaking up and re-partnering are also likely to be problematic (McLanahan and Bumpass 1988).(emphasis added)** Again, maintaining a stable marriage or partnership is partly due to temperament and skills, but it is also due to commitment and hard work.

The above continues to be adopted by government decision makers despite 40 years of failure and [Studies](#) that show the dangerous link between hetero-patriarchal gender norms and intimate partner violence.

American government, philanthropy and business choosing racialized hetero-patriarchal based marriage and fatherhood initiatives as it has for the past 40 plus years is deeply and profoundly political and deeply and profoundly racist and sexist.

Philip N. Cohen, [draft](#) submitted as Chapter 2 in the volume: *Diverging Destinies: Families in an Era of Increasing Inequality*, shows the underlying assumptions made by hetero-patriarchal based marriage advocates and the rhetoric used to demonize single mothers:

Single parenthood, resulting from nonmarital births and divorce, is increasingly becoming associated with lower levels of education for women. Cross-sectional comparisons show that children of married parents are less likely to suffer material deprivation. To reduce hardships for children, therefore, some analysts advocate policies that would increase marriage. I argue that alternative approaches offer more chance of success: increasing education levels and reducing the penalty for single parenthood. There is ample evidence to support both approaches. Education levels are increasing, and are associated with lower levels of child hardship net of family structure. And comparative research shows the negative economic consequences of single parenthood are ameliorable through state policy. In contrast, the hundreds of millions of dollars spent promoting marriage, and the reform of national welfare policy intended to compel poor mothers to marry, have produced no discernible effects on marriage rates or child wellbeing.

*For children living with a single parent and no stepparent, income is the single most important factor in accounting for their lower well-being as compared with children living with both parents. It accounts for as much as half of their disadvantage. Low parental involvement, supervision, and aspirations and greater residential mobility account for the rest (McLanahan 1994:134). Divergent, p. 2*

Of course, if single mothers are poor, and their children experience the harms associated with that, the knowledge that such harms result more from economic status than from family structure pro-vides cold comfort. From a policy perspective, however, that insight suggests that such travails are largely preventable through transfer- or employment-based policy strategies. Despite the challenges single-parent families face, poverty need not be one of them: the effect *d* is mutable.

There is simply no precedent to support the idea that government policy can reverse the long-run decline in marriage, or the increase in non-marital

childbearing. And the advocates of such policies offer no evidence to support the idea that such a policy might work in the future. In contrast, we have voluminous evidence that such efforts do not work – and that they often come with religious or ideological baggage that selectively impose up-on the freedoms and integrity of poor people and their families (Heath 2012).

Philip Cohen aptly states the fallacy of continued support for hetero-patriarchal based marriage rather than root cause solutions such as living wage floors, equal pay enforcement, access to childcare, early childhood education and other resources.

The rise of women's independence, along with the decline in marriage and fertility, are interrelated parts of modern social development. And the overall consequence of these trends must be deemed positive – as life expectancies have in-creased, absolute poverty has decreased, and gen-der inequality has receded. The delay in age at marriage and the extension of divorce rights have no doubt prevented or ended many unhappy or unsafe marriages, even as they have carried risks. But the advocates for marriage offer no attempt to specify the ideal marriage rate. How are we to know that the decline in marriage has gone too far? The unwavering advocacy for more marriage, in the face of its continued inefficacy and impracticality, dissolves into ideology and distracts from the important challenges we face in attempting to improve the quality of life for poor families and their children. P. 3.

For McLanahan, Mincy, and others, human beings are means of production, not ends in themselves. A main goal for each is to reduce the cost of producing useful human capital for the capitalist class. Increases in education are advocated only if business needs a more educated worker, not because education is a human right. Health and health care access is advocated only if business needs a healthier worker, not because health and healthcare are human rights. Social, political, and economic policies' purpose is to produce the necessary human capital at the lowest cost for the benefit of those controlling the means of production.

### **Facing the Oppressor/Oppressed in the Mirror: Rejecting Sex & Race Based Responsibility Politics**

The following excerpt from Rebecca Traister's article regarding Bill Cosby demonstrates the work that remains in ridding our society of status animus. Traister also demonstrates the problematic reasons why respectability politics and stereotype bias that feeds it have existed for more than 40 years despite the devastation it masks and causes:

To have gone further—to have really dealt with the possibility that this extremely rich man lambasting poor people for everything from stealing pound cake to wearing low-slung pants to how they named their children—might have drugged and raped more than a dozen women would have made our heads pop off. It would have made us question every single good, reassuring, optimistic thing that Bill Cosby ever made us think about ourselves and our country. It might have made us rethink the way he had held up wealthy people as model feminists, and about exactly how screwed up it was that that his progressive cheerful vision of post-racial America had never addressed the structural realities faced by non-wealthy people.

What's more, America's terrible history of discrediting black men via charges of sexual misconduct was precisely the kind of thing that might lead white liberals to not *want* to engage such loaded allegations about a black man who had assuaged their guilt over precisely this kind of history. To wrestle with the merits of those charges—the kinds that have too often been deployed falsely to justify everything from lynching to [stand your ground laws](#)—would force America to acknowledge that deeply set, incredibly complicated patterns of injustice around race and sex and power are far from erased. It would also force us to concede that, in this case, they might not be false.

So we didn't truly allow ourselves to think about any of it. Until now. As Brittney Cooper recently wrote at the Crunk Feminist Collective, "It turns out that dudes, or their carefully crafted representatives, can sound right, and seem right, and still be all the way wrong. It turns out that you can have progressive feminist politics on the outside and still be deeply emotionally damaged and fucked up on the inside." Now, Cooper suggests not only slaying the memory of Cliff Huxtable, but also Clair, by recognizing that "black, overachieving professionals, are allowed to be different kinds of men and women than Cliff and Clair, to have different kinds of families than they had, to be messy and not quite together, to be imperfect." (Cooper also [recalled](#) some of the creepy instances in which Cliff patrolled his daughters' sexuality by quizzing their boyfriends and husbands about it.)

Of course, hetero-patriarchal attitudes about sex and limitations around racial representation were not some special poison slipped into "The Cosby Show," any more than the privileging of white experience is exclusive to "Girls." These are messages baked into practically every iteration of popular culture (and politics) in the United States—from "Friends" to "The Sopranos," from Bill Clinton to Barack Obama. They're baked in because we're a fundamentally racist and sexist country with persistently racist and sexist attitudes. The chilling

lesson, perhaps, is that the cheerier, popular vision put forth by Bill Cosby was illusory all along.

The story now unfolding around us is as grim a reminder as I can think of that as tempting as it may be to look away, or perhaps beyond, this country's founding inequalities, foregoing the discomfort of painful reckoning does not and cannot make those inequalities disappear.<sup>9</sup>

The seeming willful blindness to allegations against Cosby over the course of decades mirrors the responses to sexual assault on college campuses by administrators and police violence by elected officials and the public, both white and people of color over the same time period.

The reactions by all women regarding rape and sexual assault, by Blacks and other targets regarding police and other violence, and all men regarding acts of gender nonconformity are substantially impacted by what social psychologists call stereotype threat reaction<sup>10</sup>, which describes a defensive impulse to avoid being labeled according to group stereotypes that make you vulnerable to state sanctioned terror. It is both rational and understandable for individuals to seek refuge from the pervasive, unrelenting and largely unaltered race, sex, class, and sexuality based terror committed by individuals with and without state police power.

Naming the unconscious presumptions, challenging stereotypes based on white supremacist social dominance hetero-patriarchy, and eliminating the social, political, legal, and economic mechanisms that maintain and enhance the matrix of domination are the only legitimate pursuit of decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business if they believe in universal interconnected human rights based principles.

The ongoing failure to address stereotype bias in all its forms and the daily on-going effects of founding inequalities based on race, sex, sexuality and class have devastating consequences for everyone, but they are especially severe for Black women and men.

## **Cementing White Male Privilege – Inventing the Theory of Unfunded Mandates**

One of the substantially effective methods of thwarting or at least muting legislative efforts to rid our system of founding inequalities is the invention of “unfunded mandates.” This device was created in the 80s and continues to be utilized today. The basis behind unfunded mandates is the belief that all laws and policies adopted prior to the 80s should be frozen or grandfathered as the model of standard/normal/tradition “local” governance. Any “new” law or policy, such as, race and all other anti-discrimination laws, sexual assault and domestic violence enforcement mandates are



labeled “outside” the traditional role of government; and therefore, costs associated with such changes are deemed the sole responsibility of the state rather than shared by the local government. This funding formula is also applied at the federal level.

Every time this process is used the false premise is reinforced that laws created to eliminate or ameliorate discrimination, recognize human rights, or in any other way attempts to address present effects of founding inequities based on legal/political/economic and social privileges built into the law prior to 1980 are outside core functions of government. The failure to reject the underlying premise of “unfunded mandates” has been a bi-partisan phenomenon. This mechanism has operated for nearly 40 years and in conjunction with other decisions and policies has successfully prevented full implementation of numerous laws, especially enforcement of substantive women’s equality and other justice based policies, such as intimate partner violence and sexual assault investigations.

### **Failure to Fund: The Cement Maintaining Racialized Hetro-Patriarchal Gender Norms**

In California anti-discrimination and anti-harassment laws in education, intimate partner violence and sexual assault laws failed to be adequately funded at the state and local levels for the last 40 years. In the case of intimate partner violence law enforcement mandates remained unfunded by the state budget for their entire history. Using the lack of funding as his reason Governor Brown, in 2013, rescinded local intimate partner violence enforcement mandates leaving enforcement to the “discretion” of local government.

Along with intimate partner violence and sexual assault laws, anti-discrimination laws, especially Title IX have also been inadequately funded. For example, both federal and state laws regarding prevention and handling of student complaints of discrimination, harassment, intimidation and bullying have been in place and expanded over the years, yet a recent California State Auditor’s report entitled, [School Safety and Nondiscrimination Laws](#) found, among other things, that the State Department of Education “has access to statewide data that it could use to evaluate the effectiveness of LEA’s (local education agencies) efforts to prevent and respond to discrimination, harassment, intimidation and bullying, it does not evaluate those data, citing a lack of funding and staffing.” At p. 3. And further that the Equal Opportunity Office responsible for conducting annual educational equity reviews to ensure that LEAs are providing equal rights and opportunities to all students, promoting educational equity, and eliminating discrimination and harassment in schools doesn’t have computers in its offices.<sup>11</sup>

Of equal import to the lack of value placed on equal education and non-discrimination by decision makers in government, evidenced by the lack of implementation and oversight funding is the failure of law makers to explicitly prohibit bullying that is not based on a specific characteristic and the failure to make training mandatory for teachers, administrators and staff. This goes to the heart of the implementation issues regarding recent legislative actions to address disparities in suspensions and expulsions. The Audit report noted, "As part of our audit scope, we were asked to gather, to the extent feasible, statewide data to determine how LEAs and schools are addressing discrimination, harassment, intimidation, and bullying. However, Education tracks only suspension and expulsion data, which is categorized by Education code violation." At p. 10.

The historic failure by decision makers to fund implementation and enforcement of laws designed to address inequities and discrimination in education has not altered in any meaningful way. The failure to mandate anti-bullying training is connected to the failure to mandate implicit bias training related to disparities in suspensions and expulsions. And further failing to provide funding for oversight of complaints and program effectiveness for addressing discrimination, harassment, intimidation, and bullying leaves boys and girls unprotected.

Ensuring that teachers, administrators and staff are not infected by stereotype biases involves training and measurement of that training and other prevention programs. Ensuring that students are provided the tools and resources to both be free from and not engage in discrimination, harassment, intimidation, and bullying requires on-going comprehensive programs that address all forms of social dominance behaviors, including racialized patriarchal based gender roles and norms.

Recent philanthropically funded programs related to engaging community members to address school climate issues equally fail to include racialized patriarchal based gender roles and norms, racialized sex/gender disparities in educational outcomes and access, including suspensions and expulsions. The failure to address the root causes of educational disparities faced by boys of color, the failure to address girls of color completely, and in addition the failure to address the broad spectrum of stereotype biases held by teachers, administrators, and community members alike prevent these programs from impacting the adverse consequences of on-going stereotype bias on student achievement and life outcomes.

Over the last few years and particularly over the course of 2014 we have joined, not just the [#wecantwait](#) campaign, but we have joined young women of color who have created [#blacklivesmatter](#) and the women who are the backbone of each and every one of the social, racial, economic and reproductive justice movements of our time. We have witnessed their leadership, innovation and passion. We have also witnessed their



righteous anger at not just an oppressive system controlled by dominant group members, but the arrogance of older institutional activists who run philanthropically supported organizations and their fellow community organizers who explicitly or implicitly adopt racialized hetero-patriarchal gender roles and norms.

We have witnessed the outlaying of a small degree of funds by philanthropic institutions that have generated two newly released documents in September 2014 and February 2015. The first document produced by the NAACP-LDF and the National Women's Law Center entitled, [Unlocking Opportunity for African American Girls: A Call to Action for Educational Equity](#), cites some research regarding racialized gender norms and attempts to discuss the impact of gender norms on girls of color, particularly Black girls. The report however completely fails to apply either state of the art policies in combating racialized stereotype threat and racialized gender conformity, including [racialized masculinity threat](#).

The intersection of racial and gender stereotypes has a significant impact on discipline rates for African American girls, likely due in part to bias in the exercise of discretion by teachers and administrators. For instance, the contrast between “traditional” middle class notions of femininity, which require girls to be passive and modest, and stereotypical images of African American females as loud, confrontational, assertive, and provocative, can generate differing punishments for similar conduct.<sup>33</sup> Subjective offenses like “disobedience” or “disruptive behavior” can be code for a student’s failure to conform to dominant gender stereotypes, which shape teachers’ views of what is appropriate “feminine” behavior.<sup>34</sup> Failure to conform to gender stereotypes may also be the basis for disproportionately disciplining African American girls for physical fights, as losing control and visibly or even physically expressing anger defies stereotypes about what is “ladylike.”<sup>35</sup> ...

Ultimately, educators’ perceptions of African American young women often involve racial and gender stereotypes — and this undermines their potential for success — so it is imperative that African American girls get access to programs that foster their self-esteem and provide them with meaningful leadership opportunities. Page 6.

The above excerpts demonstrate the inability of the authors to state that the teacher’s views of appropriate feminine behavior is connected to stereotypical white femininity, rather than the de-gendered and de-racialized “middleclass notions of femininity.” What the excerpts also demonstrate is the inability of the authors to focus either analysis or action on racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms, or its by-products, such as stereotype threat, racialized gender conformity, or racialized masculinity threat. The calls for action continue to locate pathologies in Black girls. For example the excerpt

above states the remedy for implicitly biased teachers is proving programs to maintain self-esteem in Black girls rather than mandate gender and race transformative programs.

We have also seen the incorporation of implicit bias in a speech by the FBI director, but with the same result as the NAACP-LDF/National Women's Law Center document, the inability to alter the thoughts, actions or behavior of decision makers. The answers still center on altering the behavior of the oppressed, not the oppressor.

A mental shortcut becomes almost irresistible and maybe even rational by some lights. The two young black men on one side of the street look like so many others the officer has locked up. Two white men on the other side of the street—even in the same clothes—do not. The officer does not make the same association about the two white guys, whether that officer is white or black. And that drives different behavior. The officer turns toward one side of the street and not the other. We need to come to grips with the fact that this behavior complicates the relationship between police and the communities they serve.

So why has that officer—like his colleagues—locked up so many young men of color? Why does he have that life-shaping experience? Is it because he is a racist? Why are so many black men in jail? Is it because cops, prosecutors, judges, and juries are racist? Because they are turning a blind eye to white robbers and drug dealers?

The answer is a fourth hard truth: I don't think so. If it were so, that would be easier to address. We would just need to change the way we hire, train, and measure law enforcement and that would substantially fix it. We would then go get those white criminals we have been ignoring. But the truth is significantly harder than that.

The truth is that what really needs fixing is something only a few, like President Obama, are willing to speak about, perhaps because it is so daunting a task. Through the "My Brother's Keeper" initiative, the President is addressing the disproportionate challenges faced by young men of color. For instance, data shows that the percentage of young men not working or not enrolled in school is nearly twice as high for blacks as it is for whites. This initiative, and others like it, is about doing the hard work to grow drug-resistant and violence-resistant kids, especially in communities of color, so they never become part of that officer's life experience.

So many young men of color become part of that officer's life experience because so many minority families and communities are struggling, so many boys and young men grow up in environments lacking role models, adequate education, and decent employment—they lack all sorts of opportunities that most of us take for granted. A tragedy of American life—one that most citizens are able to drive around because it doesn't touch them—is that young people in “those neighborhoods” too often inherit a legacy of crime and prison. And with that inheritance, they become part of a police officer's life, and shape the way that officer—whether white or black—sees the world. Changing that legacy is a challenge so enormous and so complicated that it is, unfortunately, easier to talk only about the cops. And that's not fair. ...

According to FBI Director James Comey, white people disproportionately do not do drugs and are equally disproportionately non-violent. The key for Comey is creating children of color who are drug and violence resistant, so they don't become a part of an officer's life experience. Completely absent from this so-called enlightened speech was the use of [misdemeanor violations that provide substantial income to cities](#) being implemented only in poor communities of color.; or among many other things, an absence of any real responsibility for police as enforcers of [hegemonic white masculinity](#).

Law enforcement ranks are filled with people like my grandfather. But, to be clear, although I am from a law enforcement family, and have spent much of my career in law enforcement, I'm not looking to let law enforcement off the hook. Those of us in law enforcement must redouble our efforts to resist bias and prejudice. We must better understand the people we serve and protect—by trying to know, deep in our gut, what it feels like to be a law-abiding young black man walking on the street and encountering law enforcement. We must understand how that young man may see us. We must resist the lazy shortcuts of cynicism and approach him with respect and decency.

We must work—in the words of New York City Police Commissioner Bill Bratton—to really see each other. Perhaps the reason we struggle as a nation is because we've come to see only what we represent, at face value, instead of who we are. We simply must see the people we serve.

But the “seeing” needs to flow in both directions. Citizens also need to really see the men and women of law enforcement. They need to see what police see through the windshields of their squad cars, or as they walk down the street. They need to see the risks and dangers law enforcement officers encounter on a typical late-night shift. They need to understand the difficult and frightening

work they do to keep us safe. They need to give them the space and respect to do their work, well and properly.

If they take the time to do that, what they will see are officers who are human, who are overwhelmingly doing the right thing for the right reasons, and who are too often operating in communities—and facing challenges—most of us choose to drive around. Excerpts Speech/[Hard Truths Law Enforcement and Race](#)

FBI Director Comey made the blanket assertions about police officers' lack of bias, lack of responsibility while admitting that he has no data regarding police officer shootings. He did state that the data is necessary; however, we heard no proposal to begin the process of making data collection and reporting mandatory.

Unfortunately the invisibility of the affects of racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms on policing is not limited to law enforcement officials. In [A Unified Statement of Action to Promote Reform and Stop Police Abuse](#), the reforms fail to include racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms, especially as they relate to policing and stereotype bias, stereotype threat, and masculinity threat. Racial bias training and guidance that fails to address the intersections of race and gender, including but not limited to racialized gender roles and norms is simply insufficient on its face.

It's time for the organizations signed on to the Unified Statement of Action to not just include Kimberle Crenshaw as a panel speaker, but to fully incorporate intersectional thinking and action in all of their work.

The opposite of the continuation and maintenance of racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms in public policy is the recent publication by the Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy and the African American Policy Forum entitled, [Black Girls Matter: Pushed Out, Overpoliced, and UnderProtected](#). The calls for action contained in this document are directed at systemic bias and are aimed at promoting both intersectional gender equality and equity.

We need to deal with the hard truth that individuals in decision making positions in American government, philanthropy, business, and the organizations currently receiving large funding grants all need to rid themselves of racialized hetero-patriarchal gender bias if each legitimately is seeking racial and gender justice.

## **A Core Government Function: Maintaining & Enhancing Racialized Male Dominance**

Similar to the history of addressing discrimination, harassment, intimidation and bullying at school, the history of sexual assault enforcement shows a failure by individual

decision makers in state and local government, as well as, police departments to value women and girls' bodily autonomy and safety enough to adequately fund rape kit processing. Another outgrowth of gendered devaluing related to sexual assault is the failure of colleges and universities to adequately address sexual assault on college campuses. For more than 40 years colleges and universities have ignored Title IX mandates to provide a safe and secure environment, by among other things failing to expel or in any other way administratively discipline perpetrators. The failure of administrators extends to manipulating access to law enforcement by creating campus police departments controlled by college and university administrators. This jurisdictional manipulation has resulted in gender-based bias in police investigations of sexual assault on campuses.

The recent movement, led by college women across this country, has led to yes means yes legislation, which is a positive outcome; however, without administrative transparency and accountability for policing and discipline decisions it is highly unlikely that much will substantively change on college campuses. The belief that aggressor rights are superior to the rights of the target of their aggression, even in civil administrative hearings is what lies behind previous administrative inaction and objections to the new yes means yes standard for sexual assault, and the administrative procedures that equally value the rights of sexual assault victims to attend college without being subjected to sexualized terror. [See Harvard Law Professors on new campus sexual assault policy.](#)

The overriding male right within a racialized hetero-patriarchal system is ownership and access to female and male bodies. Movements toward women's equality, including being recognized as fully human have altered but not erased legal, social, political, and economic structures based on the profoundly unjust presumption that women's bodies are perpetually available to men for their benefit.

The root of this profoundly unjust presumption is found in the racialized class infused hetero-patriarchal based definition of masculinity and femininity – the meaning of what it is to be male and female. The crisis of racialized hetero-patriarchal based masculinity and femininity, the root cause of the preponderance of sexual and physical violence on and off college campuses has largely been ignored by American government, philanthropy and business, as has women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity.

Stereotype biases based on racialized class infused hetero-patriarchal definitions of masculinity and femininity require that we pay special attention to transparent and accountable processes in all areas of the law, but particularly attached to state-based use of force and individually-based use of force. These endemic explicit and implicit stereo-type biases, especially those attached to Black men and women have led and

continue to lead to perverse and unjust decisions that must be at the center of any type of system reform.

For example, we've witnessed the misuse of secret grand jury processes to benefit police involved in murders of unarmed Black men<sup>12</sup>, and used to benefit wealthy men, including Black men, involved in intimate partner violence<sup>13</sup>; we've also witnessed the lack of media and movement attention to the Oklahoma police officers who are accused of raping predominantly Black women while on duty<sup>14</sup>; and we've witnessed the misuse of prosecutorial discretion to deny stand your ground defense to Black women in intimate partner violence cases.<sup>15</sup>

The intersection of race, class and gender, along with all other status groups must always be a central frame when addressing any type of system reform. Because explicit and implicit stereotype biases, are held by most, if not all of us, in varying degrees stereotype biases must be addressed as early as possible and interventions reinforced continually throughout our society.

There is no more important stereotype bias to address than racialized hetero-patriarchal based masculinity and femininity, yet American government, philanthropy and business fail to fund programs and organizations equipped to advance healthy masculinity and femininity. All fail to fund and support women's equality and intersectional gender equity.

## **A History of Systemic Underfunding of Women and Girls' Equality**

The year 2015 will mark the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the United Nation's adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), yet the United States has failed to ratify this voluntary treaty. During the last 20 years, women's equality and intersectional gender equity has remained an unfunded and/or underfunded mandate. Despite or perhaps due to the ongoing effort to maintain hegemonic control by dominant group members American philanthropy did not prior to Beijing in 1995 or afterward fund women and girls' equality or intersectional gender equity.

The lack of funding is not based on a lack of knowledge about the failure to fund women's equality as the excerpt from the latest published report below evidences.

[\*Watering the Leaves Starving the Roots: The Status of Financing for Women's Rights Organizing and Gender Equality, Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2013\*](#)

As the title of this report suggests, one of the striking paradoxes of this moment is that the spotlight on women and girls seems to have had relatively little impact on improving the funding situation for a large majority of women's

organizations around the world. The ‘leaves’—the individual women and girls—are receiving growing attention, without recognizing or supporting ‘the roots’ – the sustained, collective action by feminists and women’s rights activists and organizations that has been at the core of women’s rights advancements throughout history. The data presented and analyzed in this report demonstrate this phenomenon in some detail.pg 17

The report also highlights the failure of philanthropy and business to address systemic issues:

Walmart and the Walmart Foundation launched “The Global Women’s Economic Empowerment Initiative” in 2011. The program focuses on empowering women across Walmart’s supply chain. It aims to increase women-owned businesses, to help 60,000 women in factories gain skills to be active decision-makers in job and family (there is no mention of women’s rights or well-being for women that work in factories), strengthen job training, and increase gender diversity in Walmart accounts. The initiative will allocate USD 100 million over five years to support programs in India, China, Bangladesh, Latin America and in the US.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, the Walmart Foundation launched the “Partnership for Women’s Prosperity” in the US with six US-based women’s foundations/funds, allocating USD 3.35 million in grants.<sup>30</sup> Such an effort is a good example of the tremendous complexities of these initiatives. Walmart is offering new resources for programs supporting women at a time when they are a major target of labour rights campaigns and anti-corruption initiatives in the US and around the world that are demanding fair wages, maternity leave and compliance with other basic worker rights for women and men.<sup>31</sup> pg 40

This is an important feature of the “investing in women and girls” discourse, which is largely focused on individuals, and the change individual women or girls can make in their schools or communities; the promise is that individual women entrepreneurs can help reinvigorate entire economies. These individuals are worthy of investment to the extent that they deliver benefits to their families, communities and society at large. The concept of women’s rights is largely missing, as is the ethical imperative of ensuring women’s human rights, and the obligation of both state and non-state actors to protect and promote these rights. P 44

The video presents the idea that if you give a girl education and resources to become a small entrepreneur, she will transform her family and community along the way. It is an uplifting and hopeful message, but a very troubling

one for anyone who has worked in real communities with real girls living in poverty, who know the answer is much more complex. Many women's rights advocates have been particularly frustrated by its focus on the individual girl, using her as an instrument to achieve the 'greater good', and thus inadvertently questioning the value of movement-building and collective approaches to change that have proved far more sustainable and transformative of social norms in many contexts. AID Watch, for instance, argues that the girl effect plays into stereotypes of women as natural caregivers and reinforces perceptions of "women's work" and "men's work," neglects crucial macroeconomic issues, and prioritizes the wellbeing of the economy over the wellbeing of women.<sup>52</sup> And yet, with the tremendous momentum and resources that the girl effect initiative has generated, many international NGOs and some women's organizations have become partners, hopefully with options to continue expanding and nuancing the ways in which girls are integrated into the development agenda. P 46

Most notably, this report hits on an issue at the international level that is also seen in American government, philanthropy and business funding, or lack thereof – the failure, if not outright refusal to fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity.

While more detailed analysis is needed, there are worrying examples of the way recent initiatives focused on women and girls have reduced women's rights agendas—as reflected in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Cairo Program of Action on Population and Development, and other internationally-agreed development goals—to a "lowest common denominator" level, in order to appeal to potential funders or reach out to the broader public. Economic empowerment, for example, is reduced to support for small entrepreneurs or micro-credit activities; the barriers to equal rights and access to education for girls is sidestepped through a focus on scholarships; and trafficking of women is conflated with sex trafficking and sex work, without a comprehensive view of poverty- or conflict-induced migration and trafficking practices linked to agricultural, domestic, care-giving and other work.

One recent example of the growing power of private sector donors, and also of such a narrowed agenda, is the London Summit on Family Planning, convened in July 2012 by the UK government and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation with the United Nations Population Fund. The clout and convening power of the organizers reportedly resulted in new financial commitments of USD 2.6 billion to support women's access to contraceptive



information, services and supplies.<sup>53</sup> Critics have noted, however, that this well-resourced initiative effectively addresses only a very narrow slice—lack of contraception—of the very complex issue of family planning, to say nothing of the more comprehensive range of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). The reluctance of some donors to engage in ‘controversial’ discussions on other key dimensions of this agenda, such as access to safe abortion, does not bode well for advancing the full array of women’s sexual and reproductive rights.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, the Family Planning 2020 initiative has emerged from the London Summit, in order to “sustain the momentum from London and ensure all partners are working together to achieve and support the goals and commitments announced at the Summit”.<sup>55</sup> In response, concrete commitments have been made to the initiative by developing country governments, donor governments and private foundations, civil society organizations, the private sector and UN organizations and multilaterals. Several women’s rights organizations also participated in the Summit and some have continued to be involved in Family Planning 2020 because they recognize and have been working to influence the potential impact of such a major investment of resources in the field of sexual and reproductive health. It will be important to reflect on and learn from this experience as it advances, as well as monitor the actual delivery of donor commitments and their impact. P47

The 2010 creation of UN Women marked an important advance and achievement for women’s rights advocates in the UN system. UN Women brings together four related agencies under a single banner and elevates the status of gender equality and women’s rights within the UN architecture. UN Women, however, has also suffered a resource crunch. While its initial annual operating budget was estimated at USD 500 million, 2011 contributions to UN Women totaled just USD 235 million, an increase over 2010, but still leaving a significant gap.<sup>96</sup> Clearly governments have not fulfilled their commitments to the new entity, which set a target of mobilizing USD 700 million for its 2012-2013 budget. But what is most telling is that UN Women, with a mandate of advancing equality and rights for half the world’s population, has an income budget that is not even a quarter of its counterparts – such as, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) p 60

Concomitant with the dearth of funding for international and American women’s equality organizations a substantial and sustained push back against women’s equality and

social justice was and continues to be experienced, especially in the United States and Great Britain.

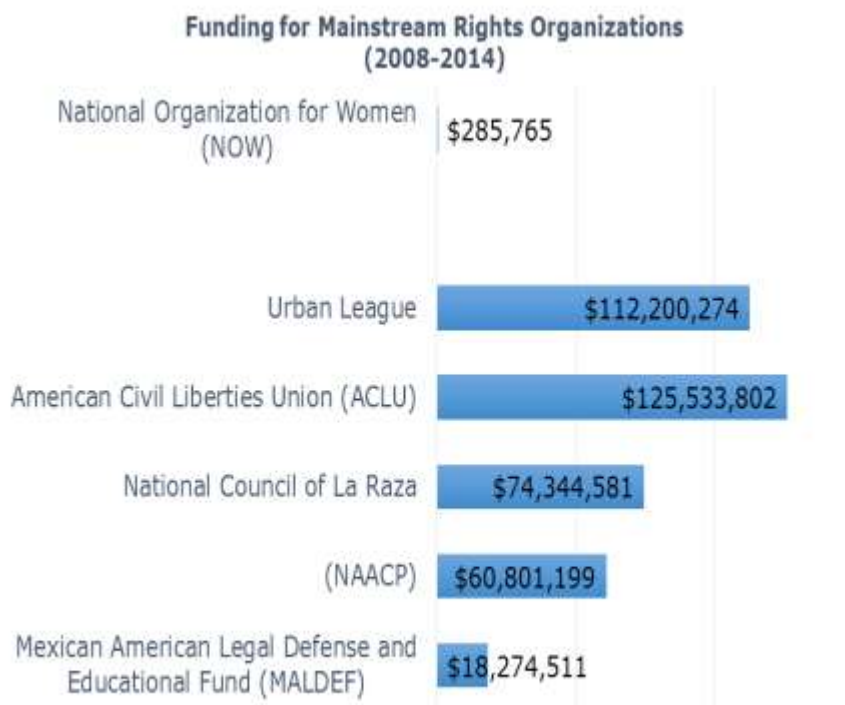
This push back includes the funding of faith-based initiatives that substantially favor racialized hetero-patriarchal based organizations, policy institutes that call for tolerance for racialized hetero-patriarchal based religions measured by the elimination of secular spaces, especially secular government spaces; and equally problematic is the continued embrace of racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms, including but not limited to head of household fatherhood initiatives, such as those embedded in MBK programs.

Along with governments, male-centric human rights organizations such as Amnesty International embraced racialized hetero-patriarchal-based Islamic leaders, which led to the resignation of Gita Segal in 2005 from Amnesty’s gender equality division.<sup>16</sup> The embrace of racialized hetero-patriarchy as a religious and/or cultural human right has gone so far in Great Britain that the Law Society has just written a suggested change in British law to allow woman-biased inheritance exceptions based on religious beliefs.

### A Pattern of Unequal Value: A Look At the Funding Data

An overview of funding reveals the same pattern we see with equal pay for equal work. There are four components: 1) the overvaluation of whiteness, maleness, and heteronormativity, 2) the over valuation of work labeled male, 3) the failure to count, that is to recognize the economic value of unpaid care work; and 4) the racialized undervaluation of work labeled female.

We’ve gone through a short history of the lack of funding for organizational capacity and



movement building of women and girls equality organizations through the AVID excerpts, but that only tells us part of the story. Our review of the data reveals a cooptation of originally women’s issues by philanthropy such as the family medical leave act. What the

funding patterns reveal is philanthropy creating new organizations to push single issues rather than funding parallel women's rights organizations like the National Organization for Women.

As the graph shows substantial on-going general support has been granted to the above male-centric civil rights organizations with the exception of NOW. There is also another issue regarding these male-centric organizations that is duplicated in male centric race-based policy organizations, the lack of intersectional thinking within the organizations. Intersectional gender equity – women and girls of color's equality are not central to the organizations' missions if a focus at all.<sup>17</sup>

A central and consistent aspect of funding patterns is that race and ethnicity fail to recognize sex and gender with the exception of gender roles, where too many programs aimed at Black men and boys concentrate on reinstatement of racialized hetero-patriarchal based marriage.

Another deeply troubling aspect of the failure of civil rights organizations to incorporate universal interconnected human rights based principles, think intersectionally generally and specifically regarding legal and/or constitutional advocacy. The ACLU is an excellent example of an organization that maintains a culture that supports individual and status group social dominance through maintenance of "traditional" first, fourth, and fifth amendment legal advocacy that relies on white supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchal presumptions. Recently, the ACLU filed an amicus brief in *Elonis v. United States*, (see all referenced briefs)<sup>18</sup> which concerns the use of the internet to make "real threats" of violence against specific individuals. The brief in its entirety presents an overvaluation of the rights of the speaker and a reciprocal undervaluation of the target of the speech. The majority of the brief recites political speech directed at the government, rather than threats targeting individual women, women generally, or individual or group race based threats.

In footnote 5 the ACLU makes what is aptly described as a slippery slope argument, where the dangers inherent in adopting a subjective intent standard for all real threat cases to women and people of color is simply not sufficient to justify anything but a subjective intent standard, including the adoption of an objective speaker standard<sup>19</sup>.

FN. 5 Although this case does not involve speech advocating a particular political or ideological agenda, the question of whether subjective intent to threaten is required to characterize speech as a true threat outside the First Amendment will likely determine the rule for political and ideological speech as well. As this Court has explained, the determination of whether particular speech lies wholly outside the First Amendment is a categorical one that does not turn on a "simple cost-benefit analysis." *Stevens*, 559 U.S. at 471.

The idea that the target of aggression has any right the aggressor need respect remains although gloved in muted and objectified language. The demand that aggressors must be mindful of the rights of the human beings they target is framed as an assault on the aggressor's constitutionally protected freedoms. To fully recognize, validate and protect the rights of every human being to be free from individual and state based terror is rendered an affront to the first, fourth and fifth amendments.

Critics of the subjective intent requirement have generally argued that it gives insufficient weight to the harm caused by objectively threatening statements, regardless of whether those statements were intended to threaten. See, e.g., *Jeffries*, 692 F.3d at 480 (“What is excluded from First Amendment protection—threats rooted in their effect on the listener—works well with a test that focuses not on the intent of the speaker but on the effect on a reasonable listener of the speech.”). To be sure, the government has a legitimate interest in “protecting individuals from the fear of violence” and “from the disruption that fear engenders,” as well as “the possibility that the threatened violence will occur.” *RAV v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 388 (1992). In particular, violence against women represents a serious societal problem that needs to be addressed.<sup>7</sup> But the First Amendment constrains the government's ability to advance that interest through means that punish or chill protected expression. That is the risk created by the government's proposed rule in this case, which will not be limited to these facts.

After more than forty years since the advent of the human rights framework, the movements for racial and gender justice, and twenty-five years since the development of intersectional thinking, the ACLU's position of regarding the first, fourth, and fifth amendment advocacy has not altered. The failure to critically examine the underlying presumptions forming the basis of the ACLU's position in the *Elonis* case, allows the same arguments to support subjective intent analysis for police use of force and all other state-based aggressions.

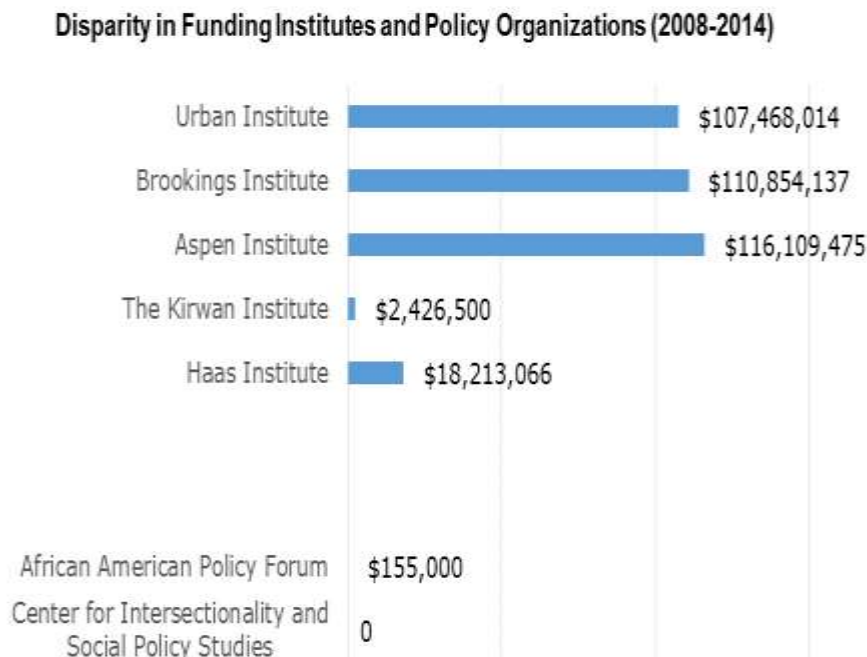
The failure to fully incorporate universal interconnected human rights principles and thinking intersectionally is not limited to civil rights, racial and economic justice organizations – women's and reproductive rights and reproductive justice organizations have also failed in this regard. There is another deeply disturbing issues related to the *Elonis* case that involves women's rights organizations, notably that not one women's rights or reproductive rights organization filed an amicus brief in the *Elonis* case. Not, NOW, nor the National Women's Law Center, the Center for Reproductive Rights, NARAL, Legal Momentum, or Planned Parenthood. Not one, despite PETA's filing of an amicus brief in alliance with numerous anti-abortion, anti-feminist, anti-woman's equality organizations, such as Operation Rescue.

In addition to the *Elonis* case, animal rights activists sought review of a first circuit case *Blum v. Holder*, regarding the constitutionality of a new federal statute protecting animal farmers from violent acts and threats of violent acts. The issue of an objective versus subjective standard was at issues in assessing the statute in much the same way as the *Elonis* case. The distinction between advocacy and what words or actions cross the line into a “real threat” has tremendous implications for protecting abortion doctors, patients and clinic staff. The court’s adoption of a subjective intent standard would eliminate state protection from threats of violence in a great many circumstances leaving targets of violence, both women and men unprotected by the law.

The failure of siloed rights organizations to think intersectionally and with such thinking to fully value every human being and their universal and interconnected human rights has prevented these organizations from dismantling oppressive systems and in some cases acted as hierarchy enhancers.

### Funding Racialized Hetero-Patriarchy Through So-called Liberal Think-Tanks

The next graph in this section shows the amount of funding going to institutes and policy organizations that use and advocate policy adoption based on male supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchy, compared to institutes and policy organizations that think intersectionally and advocate policy adoption based on universal interconnected human rights, including women’s equality and intersectional gender equity.



The institutions selected for this graph have been the most influential in affecting funding and substance of Health in All Policies adoption and implementation, as well as, connected racial/economic justice policies and programs. A more detailed look at the

substance of the racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms is found at page 11-14 of this report.

The organizations have been influential because their research and advocacy papers have been cited and used by American government, philanthropy, and the organizations they fund. The use of this research has substantially altered California's HiAP implementation including funding priorities, which is hallmarked by the excision of women of color from health disparity data, policies and programs.<sup>20</sup>

The excising of women of color from HiAP has and is occurring within California despite the law and the evidence of need. Even the latest Haas Institute report entitled, [\*The Science of Equality, Volume 1: Addressing Implicit Bias, Racial Anxiety, and Stereotype Threat in Education and Health Care\*](#), includes some data and information regarding bias against women of color, especially Black women, although the publication fails to address the root cause solutions.

Although more disaggregated data across, between and within populations is necessary, enough information on health disparities of women of color, the funding data evidences the failure to value women of color enough to spend money on closing health gaps. What the funding evidence shows also is this lack of value is inextricably linked to decision makers' conscious and unconscious acceptance of racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles.

The above graph shows the funding of institutes that either explicitly espouse maintenance of racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender roles and norms (Urban, Brookings, Aspen Institutes) and those that excise women of color and racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles from view within racial equity and inclusion research and policy solutions (Kirwan, Haas Institute for Equitable and Inclusive Society) from Institute/Center that explicitly espouses universal interconnected human rights based principles, intersectional thinking, and centered upon women's equality and intersectional gender equity (AAPF, Center for Intersectionality & Social Policy Study). We are unaware of any policy organization that is women's equality centric, let alone an intersectional women's equality policy institute. What we have are a few women's law centers that receive some funding; however, these centers do not cover the breath of subjects that a Brookings or Urban Institute<sup>21</sup> does, nor do they cover a smaller number of issues to great depth with community ties like the Advancement Project, PolicyLink or Greenlining.



The graph shows part of the organizations that received increased funding created by the advocacy led by the Greenlining Institute in 2006 based on a report showing the lack of philanthropic funding to people of color led non-profits. The increase in funding to these policy organizations was

long overdue; however, the failure of these very organizations to adopt intersectional thinking continues to render women of color, their specific issues and racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms invisible.

Philanthropy's collective failure to fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity, including failing to fund women of color led community and reproductive justice organizations did not prevent either universal interconnected human rights based principles to advance, intersectional thinking and collaboration to occur within organizations. For example, civil rights and social justice organizations such as the NAACP and MALDEF began to take on the issue early childhood and k-12 education, including MALDEF partnering with the National Women's Law Center in 2009 to produce *Listening to Latinas: Barriers to High School Graduation*.

However, since 2010, at the time when there was a massive shift in philanthropic funding led by Health in All Policies funders such as Robert Wood Johnson Foundation many, if not all civil rights, racial and economic justice organizations began to cite documents such as the Anne Casey Foundation's [Kids Count](#), which uses single motherhood tropes to explain causes of poverty.

These single motherhood tropes prevent critical discussion of wage discrimination, wage theft and wage suppression experienced by women of color, as well as, the disastrous effects associated with the failure of American government and philanthropy to value, and therefore invest in universal childcare, early education and k-university for all children.

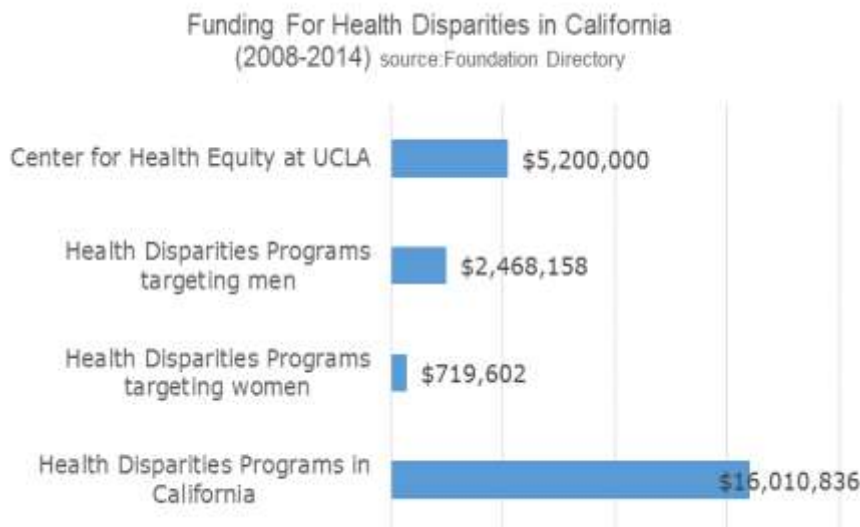


The failure to adopt universal interconnected human rights principles, to think intersectionally within each of these organizations, especially after 2010, when philanthropy in partnership with government, moved to excise women of color from health disparities has substantially impacted the effectiveness, and therefore the impact of core projects. The data shows that intersectionally based collaborations between existing women’s rights organizations to address intersecting oppressive conditions of women of color were derailed by American government and philanthropy, rather than by decision makers within the civil rights, racial and economic justice organizations.

The Advancement Project’s early childhood education work, as well as, its HiAP and community policing work would/could all be greatly enhanced by adoption of intersectional thinking and universal interconnected human rights principles. The same is true for all of the organizations listed and not listed; however, the continued failures of individual decision makers within American government and philanthropy to reject racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender roles and norms greatly hamper the ability of organizations to successfully do so.

Women and men must demand that decision makers in American government, philanthropy, business and within policy and community organizations reject racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender roles and norms and concomitantly adopt of intersectional thinking and universal interconnected human rights principles.

The next graph shows the newly created centers, institutes, and programs attached to universities that are attached to health disparity data.<sup>22</sup> Once again the pattern of



funding by Philanthropy and government is to fund funnel organizations rather than funding individual community organization’s capacity. Millions of dollars have been distributed to funnel organizations that list and use women led community organizations to advocate and do the work of organizing

communities, yet little has trickled down to the women who do the work.

Because the all encompassing nature of Health in All Polices, the emphasis on health disparities and the recent and substantial funding in this area, the failure to address

women's equality and intersectional gender equity will have dire consequences to everyone women and men alike if left unchecked. A full accounting of HiAP is found in California NOW's report, but a brief look at funding levels and types of programs reveal the same patterns – racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms enforcement, exclusion of sex/gender as a status criteria in health disparities, and the failure to fund women-led community organizations, especially women of color led community health organizations.

The recent funding of economic justice organizations by philanthropy gives us additional insight of the pervasive pattern of relying on women within communities, as well as, organizers to perform most of the work, while receiving little remuneration for that work. Although women's rights, reproductive justice, women-led faith based and secular community organizations are routinely called upon to advocate and work on economic justice initiatives, funding directly or through funnel organizations has not occurred to any great extent. What funding has been made available can only be described as subsistence funding.

Further, because women's equality and intersectional gender equity are not interwoven within economic justice initiatives, each of these individual actions fail to provide a collective narrative that builds upon each other. For example, health, healthcare, education and reproductive autonomy are all human rights. The solutions to all arise out of the same framework and reinforce each other, much in the same way that consistent application of racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms reinforce each other.

It should be noted that despite the failings of funders in this regard, individuals and organizations have made connections, think intersectionally, and wish to include women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity throughout their work.<sup>23</sup> The problem is philanthropy failing to fund intersectional thinking or work.

For example, community organizations working on mental health disparities worked on and filed strategic plans that were intersectional and valued women and men of color equally. [African-American](#), [Latino](#), [LGBTQQ](#), [Native American](#), Asian-Pacific Islander, (not available on website).

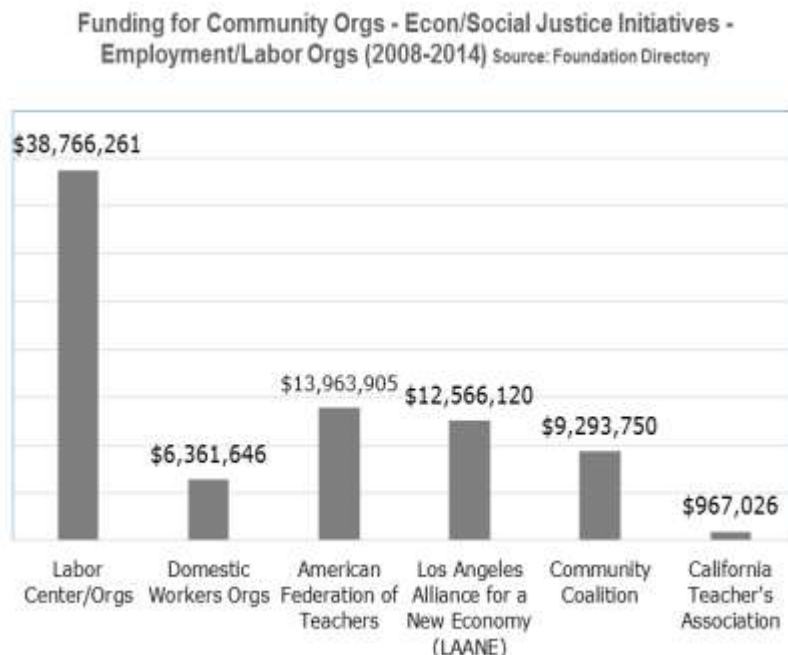
The recent draft of California Pan-Ethnic Health Network ([CPEN Strategic Plan for Mental Health](#)), dated December 2014 shows a substantive turn from the Community based plans produced and cited above in 2012.<sup>24</sup> The comprehensive intersectional approach taken by the community organizations is gone from the CPEN document. Most notably, women of color have been all but excised.

The removal of women of color from health disparities legislation, data analysis and policy advocacy by CPEN and other race-centric policy organizations has been consistent from the introduction of the governor's 2012 Health Equity Budget Trailer Bill

to the present draft Strategic Plan. Irrespective of individual drafters' intent, the effect of the consistent application of a racial justice framework devoid of sex/gender has and will continue to effectively excise women of color from health disparity policies and programs. Such substantive removal is not only a violation of the mandates put in place within the Office of Health Equity, but such consistent pattern and practice violates the California Constitution. It should also be noted that CPEN receives substantial funding from philanthropy and has extensive access to state government, while the California Coalition for Reproductive Freedom (CCRF) receives negligible funding despite cross over community organizational membership.

The community based service organizations who produced the 2012 strategic plans have little to no ability to control the substance of reports created in concert with a state government decision makers who will also decide which service organizations receive service grants. In addition, removal of women, especially women of color from Health in All Policies seems to be the driver for the exclusion of women of color from the boys and men of color programs associated with My Brother's Keeper. A full analysis of the origins of the anti-feminist HiAP framework is found in California NOW's 2013 report [Principles Matter](#).

The next graph shows funding at the community level that involve economic justice initiatives. The funding of economic justice organizations by philanthropy shows the



most penetration of intersectional thinking, although such praxis (the act of applying theory to action) derives from facts on the ground, namely that labor organizing is predominantly in women occupied fields, as well as, female labeled occupations, such as domestic, child and in-home care workers.

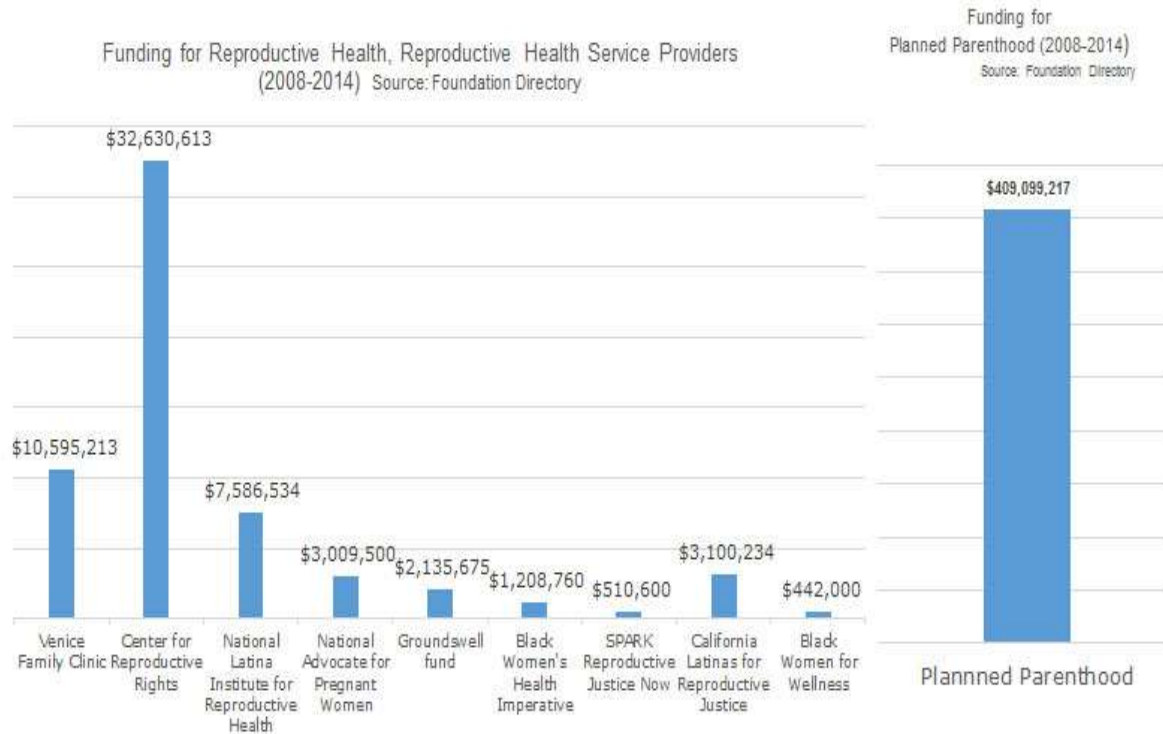
The intersections of race, gender and class are also seen by organizers and policy advocates, who have been exposed to intersectional thinking during their educational experience.

The racialized, class based women's equality and gender based narratives created in support of the Domestic Worker Rights campaign drew upon the lived history of women of color and opened opportunities for organic critical consciousness regarding the intersections of race, gender and class. These same aspects continue to be duplicated in living wage coalitions and alliances to support teachers and nurses, the only two remaining middle class woman occupied and labeled fields. The opposite has been experienced with racial justice initiatives, including but not limited to MBK policies and programs that have embedded racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles.

Both economic and racial justice funding relies on large coalition organizations that depend on community organizations to do a large percentage of the work. The organizations listed do not receive capacity building general funding, if at all and most receive subsistence funding. In addition, irrespective of the number of campaigns run, organizing lists are not built or distributed to coalition partners, which leaves the organizations and communities at the mercy of funders and their priorities.

Another pattern revealed by the funding data is the recruitment of teacher labor organizations to partner with racial justice policy organizations to advocate and implement school based reforms. For example, school discipline legislation aimed at reducing school based suspensions was philanthropically funded advocacy. The policies created, advocated and enacted failed to address racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles, failed to target girls of color, and failed to address stereotype bias of teachers. The American Federation of Teachers and the California Teachers Association received funding to create teacher training regarding school suspension policy implementation that has the same defects. Implementation of school climate valuation, which includes restorative justice initiatives also have the same defects.

The failure to address root cause, racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles affects more than school suspension legislation, this failure perpetuates the undervaluing of early childhood development, including early education and childcare, the valuing of teachers, nurses and other care workers, anti-bullying and harassment initiatives, and by cumulative effect perpetuates the entire oppressive system.



As you can see from the chart above, the same pattern emerges in the reproductive health area. Women of color led organizations and more specifically reproductive justice organizations are woefully underfunded. Planned Parenthood provides much needed reproductive health care services; however, Planned Parenthood is not a full service reproductive health care provider. It also must be stated that Planned Parenthood is not a women’s rights organization; it is a reproductive health service provider that has an advocacy unit and political action committee that advocates for access to full reproductive healthcare. It must also be stated that Planned Parenthood is not a [reproductive justice organization](#). When reading the funding levels and comparisons the reader should keep in mind that there is no scarcity in resources within philanthropy. We therefore do not believe that increasing funding for reproductive justice organizations and reproductive community health centers will and/or should lead to less funding for Planned Parenthood. This is the case for all of the organizations examined in this report with the exception of the anti-feminist, anti-women’s equality, anti-intersectional gender equity policy and research institutes.

The disparity in funding for reproductive justice centered healthcare providers is startling. Few women's health care centers exist and none are located in middle/low income communities of color. Reproductive health programs and policies are not interwoven with overall health and wellbeing policies and programs despite their obvious connections. Both are integral to reproductive justice organizational work, yet these organizations do not receive capacity building funding. Rather as the data reveals in the HiAP, racial and economic justice and reproductive healthcare sections women of color led organizations and community members are called upon to advocate and work on issues, including co-sponsoring legislation, yet these same organizations receive little to no funding for the amount of work performed, let alone the funding to sufficiently build capacity for universal interconnected human rights based health and healthcare advocacy.

For example, with the enactment of universally mandated health insurance mandate investment in healthcare infrastructure has been steadily increasing, yet American government, philanthropy and business have failed to invest in women's health centers like the Irene Cantor Women's and Men's Health Centers in vulnerable communities.

The widow of B. Gerald "Bernie" Cantor, cofounder of global securities firm Cantor Fitzgerald, is giving \$20 million to New York-Presbyterian Hospital/Weill Cornell Medical Center to create the Iris Cantor Men's Health Center, a one-stop shop to provide medical care for men with a focus on internal medicine, urology and cardiology. The men's health center, which will be completed in 2012, will allow patients to see a number of doctors in the same day, coming in during the morning and leaving the center by noon. Doctors will also be able to coordinate patient care among one another. ... She created women's health centers at the UCLA Health System in 1995 and New York-Presbyterian Hospital/Weill Cornell Medical Center in 2002. ... The centers were a success, she says, but men soon began to make up nearly 40% of the center's patients. "Through this gift, we are providing men with a center of their own and kicking them out of the women's center," [Mrs. Cantor says](#)

Given the proven success of women and men's health centers American government, philanthropy and business should be investing to bring this model to scale all across the country, including south Los Angeles.

## **Embracing and Funding Maintenance of Racialized Gender Roles**

Looking at the money spent or not spent and the substance of the policies and programs funded we can draw no other conclusion than American government, business and philanthropy have consistently failed to support women and girl's equality

and intersectional gender equity. That fact has not however stopped forward progress toward greater equality, but it is time for individuals in decision making position with American government, philanthropy and business to account for their individual and collective failure to fully and equally value women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity.

It must be said that the movement toward women's political, economic and social equality, as well as, movement toward race and class equality is fueled not by money, but by women and men, who understand their liberation is bound up with the liberation of every other human being. The irrepressible march toward women's equality and intersectional gender equity despite a seemingly perpetual lack of monetary resources is a source of strength and demonstrates the resiliency and power of women.

Irrespective of this resiliency, one undeniable fact needs to be addressed head on: American government, philanthropy and business does not fund, by any real measure women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity. For women and girls, men and boys to take our rightful place as equals in American society – MONEY allocated for implementation and enforcement and FUNDING for advocacy and oversight-must be the measure by which we judge individuals in positions of power.

By that measure the data shows individuals presently and in the past fail(ed) to enact and fail(ed) to fund policies that recognize and ensure universal human rights of everyone. The data also shows individuals presently and in the past massively fund policies based on race, gender, and class supremacy. The data further shows that race, gender, and class diversity in American government, philanthropy and business alone does not alter the supremacist structures or principles used that support and maintain white supremacist social dominance capitalist hetero-patriarchy.

The lack of monetary support year after year, by individual decision makers in American government, philanthropy and business demonstrates the resiliency and power of structural mechanisms based on interlocking oppression and the interrelated power of inculcated implicit bias that among other things results in a racialized and class-based devaluing of women, their work, and their collective and individual human rights.

The failure of American government and philanthropy to fund implementation and enforcement of laws, policies and programs addressing systemic inequality is joined by the failure of American philanthropy to equally fund women's rights organizations that would then have the full capacity to mobilize women to demand enactment, enforcement and budgetary allocations.

The data reveals that American Philanthropy as a whole has provided general support for male-centered race-based civil rights and social justice organizations. Although a strong argument can be made that the level of funding for these organizations is



inadequate to produce systemic change, the consistently awarded level of funding to these organizations is substantially higher than funding for women's rights organizations. The data reveals that American Philanthropy has utterly failed to provide consistent and comparable funding to support women and girls' equality, and has provided little to no funding for the adoption of human rights in the United States.

Along with the lack of money going to women's rights advocacy, research, and community organizations, philanthropy and the philanthropically funded social justice organizations together have not adopted an intersectional framework that demonstrates that women and girls of color are visible, fully valued and considered at the center of their work. Nor have these organizations made any substantial steps to recognize and address racialized hetero-patriarchal gender norms.

### **Moving to Dominate the Conversation and Most of Us**

There is a main pattern that emerges from looking at the policy choices and spending data – the failure of marriage and fatherhood initiatives over forty years has not stopped the continuation of these policies by American government or the funding of these policies by both American government and philanthropy.

The recent funding patterns demonstrate that the animus toward women's equality and intersectional gender equity has amplified from passive aggressive non-investment in women's equality and intersectional gender equity organizational capacity to so-called "liberal nonpartisan" philanthropy funding massive policy institutes connected to corporatized universities that are aggressively partnering with local governments in an effort to pursue and control the definition of race equity and social justice/inclusion without women and girls' equality.

The above may sound harsh, especially to those who occupy decision making positions in government and philanthropy, but the data is overwhelming and warrants a full throated rebuke.

We close this section with the latest institute funding that fails to include women's equality and intersectional gender equity as part of its "fair and inclusive society." The Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund's 2010 \$16 million investment in the University of California Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, which along with materials produced by the Kirwan Institute demonstrate the erasure of sex and gender from structural inequality work. Social norms, political, economic and legal structures, laws and policies regarding sex and gender do not warrant mention let alone a study cluster. "We are in one of the most diverse states in the nation from every aspect — socioeconomic status, race and ethnicity, religion, abilities and disabilities, sexual orientation. Our campus reflects that diversity, making it the perfect place to examine

these issues,” said [Chancellor Robert J. Birgeneau](#). Diversity doesn't include sex/gender.

The following excerpt from the Haas Institute website labeled [our vision](#) describes the project of being recognized as fully human:

To illustrate the concept of “targeted universalism,” consider the goal of moving everyone from the first floor to the fifth floor of a building, and that the means of conveyance is an escalator. For most people, an escalator will suffice. For a person in a wheelchair, an escalator is useless. The goal for the person in the wheelchair, as for everyone else, remains to reach the fifth floor; however, the strategy employed must be mindful of how the person is situated in the world. In the broader society, we must also understand how marginalized groups are situated in relation to structures and within the public imagination. It is not just that many marginalized people are separated geographically from good schools and healthy living environments, but that they are also not part of our imagined community. They are not seen as fully belonging, and in some cases, not even fully human.

Belonging or being fully human means more than having access. It means having a voice, and being afforded the opportunity to participate in the design of social and cultural structures. Belonging entails being respected at a basic level that includes the right to both contribute and make demands upon society and political institutions. Accepting a group's belonging requires us to recognize differences while exploring commonality.

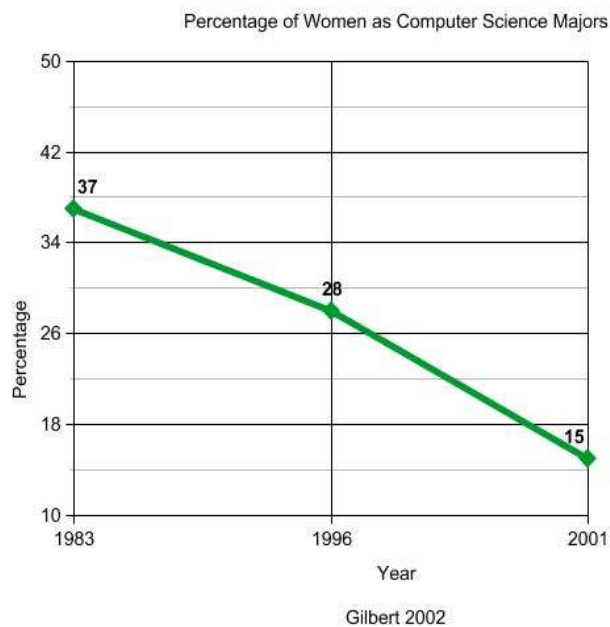
These guiding principles lead the Haas Institute to advance research and policy related to people who are not afforded full membership in society — who are considered marginal — while essentially touching all who benefit from a truly diverse, fair, and inclusive society.

The problem with the Haas Institute's vision and with the [Kirwan Institute's Structural Racialization Training Model](#) is the complete absence of women of color within a racialization frame.<sup>25</sup> To use their metaphor women of color are not in the building, let alone the elevator or stairs.

It's time for women to breakdown the door and occupy the building.

## Breaking Down the Door: Systemic Stereotype Bias Both Past & Present

An excellent example showing the process of racialized stereotype bias based on white male exceptionalism applied to a new field is the dramatic change in women's participation in computer science the moment computers became monetarily valuable in American society. The graph shows women in computer science drop off a cliff in 1984. Marketing, the media, including entertainment chose to market only to boys and further create the myth that a certain type of boy/man was/is exceptional in computer science.



Gender roles and norms are changing, including women in computer science; however, Mattel as recently as 2010 was still creating and marketing the same old tropes about women in computer science. What has changed is how women are responding. See [After Backlash, Computer Engineer Barbie Gets New Set Of Skills](#) Along with maintenance of the white male nerd trope and racialized gender norms like Barbie above, policies being advocated to deal with race

and sex disparities in the tech industry today continue to maintain race and gender wage discounting and job segregation.

Because policies and programs created and funded by American government and philanthropy fail to incorporate and intersectional framework, we are seeing the promotion of women and people of color for STEM jobs that tech, health and other industry decision makers refuse to pay higher wages. Jobs no longer labeled white male because they do not pay enough to attract white males, such as, programmers and numerous medical related assistant positions from physician assistant to coroner assistant.<sup>26</sup>

For years the tech industry has chosen to lobby state and federal government for higher numbers of foreign guest workers rather than increase the pay for programmers. Seeking to increase all women and men of color into the programmer ranks while maintaining wage levels, simply switches out lower wage foreign workers for lower

wage women and men of color workers.<sup>27</sup> The same individuals who have chosen to maintain lower wages has also been fined for contracting foreign workers and paying them less than minimum wage.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, tech companies also segregate workers within their companies. For example, Google uses badge colors that effectively segregate a sub-class of largely women of color, who are denied access to benefits nearly all other Google workers share, as well as, being denied physical interaction with other Google workers. An entire separate report can be written about the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas embedded in the “sharing economy” model represented by Uber and Airbnb.<sup>29</sup> What is pertinent for this report is the embrace and replication of social, economic, and political hierarchies, including but not limited to race and sex based discrimination, reinforcement of stereotype biases, and exploitation based on socio-economic status for the profit of owners.

Consequently, programs and policies designed to dramatically increase the numbers of all women and men of color into programming and other non-decision making tech functions without addressing or altering the racialized gendered hierarchies within the tech industry simply continue race and sex wage segregation and discounting.

## **Taking Our Rightful Place as Equals: Breaking the Silence**

Women and girls, especially women and girls of color are not remaining silent as this full frontal assault on their equal humanity is being waged by American government, philanthropy and business. Men who understand that their liberation is bound up in the liberation of women and all other oppressed status groups are joining us in what all recognize is a mutual struggle against matrix of domination.

This ever growing legion of women and men coming together to fight for not just women’s equality and intersectional gender equity, but for the liberation of every human being from systemic oppression need to know the extent of the assault and where we need to concentrate our efforts. From the Whitehouse to local mayors and commissions on the status of women in Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York a consistent pattern emerges that deserves consistent response in kind.

The race equity/social inclusion initiatives coming from institutes to philanthropy to government exceptionalizes men and hetero-patriarchal masculinity and by design or culpable indifference renders women and girls, especially women and girls of color invisible or when visible less important.

When women and girls push back from this exclusionary and decidedly misogynistic agenda, such as the push back seen in Seattle<sup>30</sup> and against the Whitehouse MBK

initiative,<sup>31</sup> the response uses an all too familiar trope – women have made tremendous progress, not only is there no crisis facing women of color, women, including women of color should be thankful for everything the male centric government has already done for you. After this tired and all too familiar trope a task force or workgroup is formed to study/examine/talk about what still needs to be done with little to no funding and with no concrete policy proposals.

In addition to there being no crisis, no public/private collaboration between philanthropy and government to bring successful programs to scale, the initiatives also lack the same gravitas and force of moral certitude of the racial equity/social inclusion initiatives. The failure to immerse women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity within a racial equity/social justice framework/initiative also fails to alter, and in fact, reinforces racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles.

The Whitehouse report on women and girls of color, which is nothing more than a reworked version of previous Whitehouse Council on Women and Girls' reports, not only does not accompany purposeful inclusion into the funding and policy apparatus of MBK, but this effort again fails to alter the pervasive use of racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles within MBK programs and policy initiatives.

The Community challenge which targets cities, counties, school districts and states presents an aggressive implementation of male supremacist based “solutions” to racial disparities. The acceptance by the two progressive mayors of New York and Los Angeles evidence the profound implications of decisions infected by implicit bias propelled by money and power. It is deeply disturbing and frankly unacceptable that these two progressive feminist mayors would volunteer to align their government programs to unequally value boys and men over girls and women, as well as, promote male head of household policies as the answer to poverty.

The Community Challenge states:

- All children enter school cognitively, physically, socially, and emotionally prepared;
- All children read at grade level by third grade;
- All young people graduate from high school;
- All young people complete post-secondary education or training;
- All youth out of school are employed; and
- All young people are safe from violent crime.

All should mean all. All includes women and girls. But inclusion of women and girls is not enough. MBK programs and policies must remove stereotype biases including racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms and roles.

That means for example fully funding, fully implementing and fully maintaining public and private equal pay for equal work policies. Fully and equally valuing women and the work that we do, including recognizing the economic value of all care work, paid and unpaid, and then fully and fairly compensating all care workers, both paid and unpaid.

### **Local Implementation of MBK in Context**

In 1998, San Francisco became the first municipality to adopt a local CEDAW Ordinance, the City of Los Angeles soon followed with the adoption of a CEDAW Ordinance in 2000. The San Francisco Commission has a \$5 million budget, and is slowly addressing structural inequality through public policy and/or legislative initiatives. The City of Los Angeles failed to fund the commission and further failed to invest any authority in the commission to address discrimination.

The City of Los Angeles with the start of Mayor Garcetti's term in 2013 has begun the process of adding gender and other status categories to performance measures. New Los Angeles City Controller Ron Galperin conducted an equal pay audit shortly after taking office. Recently, in San Francisco, equal pay for equal work legislation has been introduced and passed despite the lack of support from the San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women. This movement forward shows that individual decision makers in positions of power can move or stop progress toward women and girls' equality and intersectional gender equity.

### **Walking & Talking Universal Interconnected Human Rights Based Government, Philanthropy & Business**

Money is the central indicator of value in this system. American government and philanthropy have demonstrated on a regular basis that the individuals who occupy decision making positions do not equally value all human beings, especially women and girls. That must change.

Women have accepted, for far too long from American government and philanthropy empty words of support for women's equality and intersectional gender equity instead of insisting on fully funded policies. Year after year American government, philanthropy and business fail to fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity. Each fails to embrace human rights principles. These individual and collective failures of

individuals in decision-making positions maintain the system of racialized gendered oppression. That must change.

The latest flood of funding to university-based centers, such as Haas Institute for Fair and Inclusive Society, while human rights based centers like Center For Intersectionality And Social Policy Studies fail to receive American government, philanthropic or business investment leaves little room for concluding anything else but a culpable indifference to women's equality and intersectional gender equity. That must change.

As this report has documented philanthropy has invested huge amounts in policy and advocacy organizations that since the 1990s have produced racialized hetero-patriarchal-based welfare to work and fatherhood initiatives. The basis or foundation of these welfare to work policies, largely authored and pushed by Ronald Mincy is the belief that child development performed by mothers and childcare workers is not real work. The "success" touted to this day is changing government based child support to a short term "real" work training program without adequate childcare for the mother.

Lost in the rhetoric of this often racialized misogyny is the complete devaluing of the need for child development and early education; and with it the complete devaluing of child development and early education. It should therefore come as no surprise that the same individuals who invest hundreds of millions of dollars to reinstitute male head of household social, economic and political policies refuse to invest in child development, early education and women's health and wellness. It should also not be surprising that such misogynist ideology would blind both philanthropic and government decision makers from the obvious necessity to fully fund childcare and early education, regardless of ability to pay and concomitantly offering training to low income mothers and fathers in child development and early education.

## **Fully Valuing & Fully Funding Care Work and Other Women Occupied Economic Sectors**

Fully funding childcare and early education, along with k-university creates a robust economic sector that has career ladder jobs that have added individual and collective economic benefits for children along with their familial and non-familial caregivers.

The same type of career ladder economic sector can be created for healthcare related care work. From in-home caregivers to nurses to doctors, another robust economic sector attached to increasing levels of educational attainment waits to be adopted and implemented.

In addition, STEM fields attached to care and public safety, that is mental health therapist, such as those attached to the Westside Infant Family Network and crime



scene investigators and lab technicians create middle class jobs that heal, prevent and solve crime. The failure of individuals in state and local governments to prioritize jobs and equipment attached to sexual assault, which is the actual cause of rape kit backlogs is connected if not caused by a failure to equally value women and girls' bodily autonomy and safety.

The same devaluing is evident in the failure to enact and fund policies aimed at the root causes of intimate partner violence – namely toxic masculinity and femininity. The coupling of violence, domination and aggression to masculinity places not just women and girls in constant danger and fear of physical and other forms of violence, but men and boys, especially men and boys of color are targets of dominant group member violence.

The philanthropic investment in policy and advocacy organizations that adopt the racialized class infused misogyny single motherhood trope uniformly fail to produce economic, social, or legal/political policies that advocate for a living wage floor, as well as, recognizing children's human rights to education, health, and healthcare.

This ideologically driven failure to promote recognition and compliance with universal and interrelated human rights in America has also impacted the substance of the Affordable Care Act and its implementation. The enactment of a universal health insurance mandate has not changed the uniform failure of American government, philanthropy and business to meet healthcare workforce or facility needs. Doctors, nurses and every other kind of healthcare workers are needed in great numbers, yet no significant effort has been made to meet that need. Instead deskilling and workforce reduction is emphasized.

Healthcare related philanthropy has invested hundreds of millions to prevent adoption and implementation of human rights based Health in All Policies and human rights based healthcare system. What we have experienced in California has been a private market based HiAP adoption and implementation that excises sex/gender from health disparities data collection and protection.

The emphasis has been to increase profit margins of healthcare providers through a shift from institutionally based care to home-based care. As care is shifted to the home, both homecare workers and family members are expected to perform skilled care for less or free, respectively. The racialized hetero-patriarchal based beliefs that care for families is female centered private care that is provided freely to male controlled household and to a male dominated government and business is embedded in these policies.

Even when policies and programs address important systemic social justice issues such as willful defiance and school suspension rates the legislation continues to center the

focus on the behavior of boys of color, rather than explicit and/or implicit stereotype bias of teachers, police and administrators.

By failing to include women and girls of color, as well as, include women's equality and intersectional gender equity within MBK policies and programs the goals attached to MBK include ensuring male dominance over women and children in "private" households. By choosing to double down on racialized gender norms MBK chooses to perpetuate intimate partner violence generally, and violence specifically connected to women's "over-achievement" as wage earners.

Not only will these programs fail, as they have for the past 40 plus years, these programs will cause untold harm to both men and women of color, their relationships with each other and their children; and further and equally important the embrace of racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender norms continue to enforce the legitimacy of white male dominance and violence in all its forms.

Fortunately for us all, there are many men, across race, class, and sexuality statuses, who understand the vital connection of women's liberation to their own liberation, and who have joined women across race, class and sexuality statuses to call for enactment and funding for universal, interconnected human rights based policies, including women's equality and intersectional gender equity.

It's time for American government, philanthropy and business to equally fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity; and it's time that all three reject policies and programs based on racialized hetero-patriarchal based gender roles and norms.

### **First Steps Toward Funding Women & Girls' Equality and Intersectional Gender Equity:**

1. Philanthropy should capacity fund women's equality organizations, such as, NOW, Commissions on the Status of Women & Girls, and others mentioned in this report at the same level as male-centric racial, social, and economic justice organizations mentioned in this report.
2. Philanthropy should include and directly fund women of color led reproductive, social, racial, and economic justice capacity building.
3. Philanthropy should capacity fund women's equality and intersectional gender equity by ensuring that women's equality organizations, women of color led and currently male-centric social, racial, and economic justice equally and ensure all adopt, implement and maintain intersectional thinking and incorporate women's

equality and intersectional gender equity as core components of all policies and initiatives.

4. Because the root cause of bullying, dating violence, sexual assault, and harassment is racialized patriarchal based gender norms and roles, all school based programs should include a gender norms component.
5. Restorative justice initiatives connected to school climate, especially the use of circles should include gender norms components.
6. Training of teachers, administrators, staff and parents about stereotype implicit biases and how they affect learning/teaching, behavior and perception of behavior should be prioritized.
7. Training of elected officials, their staff, and civil servants about stereotype implicit biases and how they affect decision making, policy formation, and evaluation should be prioritized.
8. Training of police officers, police administrators, and police review/oversight commissions about stereotype implicit biases and how they affect decision making, policy formation, and evaluation should be prioritized.

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<sup>1</sup> Included in cites are recent science and issues related to implicit bias:

<http://journalistsresource.org/studies/society/internet/possibilities-online-racial-discrimination-research-airbnb>

<http://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/7429.html>

<http://gender.stanford.edu/news/2014/why-does-john-get-stem-job-rather-jennifer>

<http://thinkprogress.org/economy/2014/03/12/3396151/women-bias-math-stem/>

<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2219763/>

<http://www.pnas.org/content/109/41/16474.abstract>

<http://www.npr.org/blogs/money/2014/10/21/357629765/when-women-stopped-coding>

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<http://www.boston.com/news/science/blogs/science-in-mind/2014/01/17/study-airbnb-com-rental-site-suggests-online-marketplaces-may-encourage-discrimination/SK8EWSnboc2hOWYFs4BfgK/blog.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://pedsub.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/hooks-engaged-pedagogy.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> <http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/2014-implicit-bias.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> <http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/2014-implicit-bias.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> We are not using an acronym so the reader gets the full effect of the complexity of interlocking oppressions. We also used the term social dominance rather than imperialist to emphasize individual use of oppression, in the context of this report.

<sup>6</sup> <https://medium.com/message/whiteness-3ead03700322>

<https://medium.com/message/how-white-people-got-made-6eeb076ade42>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.iwpr.org/carousel/increasing-pathways-to-legal-status-for-immigrant-in-home-care-workers>; see also, <http://www.domesticworkers.org/sites/default/files/HomeEconomicsEnglish.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2013/02/timeline-domestic-workers-invisible-history-america>

<sup>9</sup> Rebecca Traister, New Republic, 11/20/14 [No One Wanted to Talk About Bill Cosby's Alleged Crimes Because He Made White America Feel Good About Race.](#)

<sup>10</sup> <http://diversity.berkeley.edu/haas-institute-co-releases-science-inequality-report>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.ocequality.org/#!cde-eo-demands-for-reform/ckfd>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2014/12/05/u-n-experts-raise-concerns-over-grand-jury-decisions-in-michael-brown-and-eric-garner-deaths/>

<sup>13</sup> [http://espn.go.com/nfl/story/\\_/id/10684250/ray-rice-baltimore-ravens-indicted-aggravated-assault](http://espn.go.com/nfl/story/_/id/10684250/ray-rice-baltimore-ravens-indicted-aggravated-assault); see also, [http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2014/09/veteran\\_criminal\\_attorneys\\_weigh\\_in\\_on\\_rice\\_prosecution\\_guilty\\_plea\\_for\\_newark\\_teen\\_who\\_killed\\_three.html](http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2014/09/veteran_criminal_attorneys_weigh_in_on_rice_prosecution_guilty_plea_for_newark_teen_who_killed_three.html) .

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/19/us-usa-oklahoma-rape-idUSKCN0J324I20141119>;  
<http://newsok.com/oklahoma-city-police-officer-faces-trial-on-36-counts-including-rape/article/5368114>

<sup>15</sup> <http://justiceformarissa.blogspot.com/>; see also unarmed Black women shot by police <http://www.rolereboot.org/culture-and-politics/details/2014-08-black-unarmed-women-girls-without-weapons-killed-law-enforcement/>

<sup>16</sup> Gita Sahgal, Amnesty International, Secularism, Sectarianism

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/apr/25/gita-sahgal-amnesty-international>

<http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/2013/02/a-long-overdue-counterblast-to-the-lefts-thinking-on-islamists/>

<http://www.centreforsecularspace.org/?q=news/get-our-new-book-double-bind-muslim-right-anglo-american-left-and-universal-human-rights-meredi>

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/gita-sahgal/secular-space-bridging-religious-secular-divide>

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/maggie-murphy/traditional-values-vs-human-rights-at-un>

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/pragna-patel/%27shariafication-by-stealth%27-in-uk>  
<http://lawyerssecularsociety.wordpress.com/2014/04/08/sharia-this-and-sharia-that/>

<sup>17</sup> <http://media.ca1.uscourts.gov/pdf/opinions/13-1490P-01A.pdf> 17 Plaintiffs complain that, in the wake of *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343 (2003), it is unclear whether "true threats" require subjective intent. See *United States v. Clemens*, 738 F.3d 1, 2-3 (1st Cir. 2013) (noting circuit split on issue, finding no reason to depart from this circuit's objective test). However, as this court has explained, "[i]t is rare that a jury would find that a reasonable speaker would have intended a threat under the particular facts of a case but that a competent defendant did not." *Id.* at 12. The argument does not advance Gazzola's cause.

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/elonis-v-united-states/>  
[http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/supreme\\_court\\_preview/BriefsV4/13-983\\_pet\\_amcu\\_aclu-etal.authcheckdam.pdf](http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/supreme_court_preview/BriefsV4/13-983_pet_amcu_aclu-etal.authcheckdam.pdf)  
[http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/supreme\\_court\\_preview/BriefsV4/13-983\\_resp\\_amcu\\_nnedv-etal.authcheckdam.pdf](http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/supreme_court_preview/BriefsV4/13-983_resp_amcu_nnedv-etal.authcheckdam.pdf)  
[http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/supreme\\_court\\_preview/BriefsV4/13-983\\_pet\\_amcu\\_peta-etal.authcheckdam.pdf](http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publications/supreme_court_preview/BriefsV4/13-983_pet_amcu_peta-etal.authcheckdam.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> Under the reasonable speaker test, a statement is a true threat if it was made "under such circumstances wherein a reasonable person would foresee that the statement would be interpreted by those to whom the maker communicates the statement as a serious expression of an intention to inflict bodily harm." Footnote 4, page 16.

<sup>20</sup> HiAP Documents without gender

[http://www.cdph.ca.gov/programs/Documents/OHE\\_AC\\_Overview\\_January\\_2014\\_final.pdf](http://www.cdph.ca.gov/programs/Documents/OHE_AC_Overview_January_2014_final.pdf)  
[http://www.cdph.ca.gov/programs/Documents/Data\\_Report\\_A-N\\_GraphsAndNarrative.pdf](http://www.cdph.ca.gov/programs/Documents/Data_Report_A-N_GraphsAndNarrative.pdf)  
[http://www.cdph.ca.gov/programs/Documents/Healthy\\_Community\\_Indicators\\_Core\\_list1-15-13Table1-5.pdf](http://www.cdph.ca.gov/programs/Documents/Healthy_Community_Indicators_Core_list1-15-13Table1-5.pdf)  
<http://www.thestrategycenter.org/sites/www.thestrategycenter.org/files/CounterprodWaste.pdf>

HiAP that acknowledges gender is an important determinant

<https://www.apha.org/~media/files/pdf/fact%20sheets/healthinallpoliciesguide169pages.ashx>

<sup>21</sup> Urban Institute

<http://www.urban.org/economicmobility/>  
<http://jointcenter.org/docs/pdfs/Men%20and%20Communities.pdf>  
<http://www.unfamilyrightscaucus.org/>  
<http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412839-The-Moynihan-Report-Revisited.pdf>

<sup>22</sup> University Presence

<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/cwgs/faculty/research-clusters/info.php>  
<http://gender.stanford.edu/>  
<http://www.csuchico.edu/mcgs/>  
<http://web.law.columbia.edu/gender-sexuality/faculty>  
<http://www.uccnrs.ucsb.edu/about-us>  
<http://www.isber.ucsb.edu/>  
<http://womensstudies.berkeley.edu/>  
<http://www.racialequityalliance.org/post-convening-material/>  
<http://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/>

<sup>23</sup> Known Data, Studies, Policies and Programs on Women/Girls of Color

<http://static.squarespace.com/static/53f20d90e4b0b80451158d8c/t/5422efe3e4b040cd1f255c1a/1411575779338/Morris-Race-Gender-and-the-School-to-Prison-Pipeline+FINAL.pdf>

<http://static.squarespace.com/static/53f20d90e4b0b80451158d8c/53f399a5e4b029c2ffbe26cc/53f399c5e4b029c2ffbe2a77/1408473541175/Confined-in-California.pdf?format=original>

[http://static.squarespace.com/static/53f20d90e4b0b80451158d8c/t/5422de0ee4b080d53cf82554/1411571214756/Did-You-Know\\_Plight-of-Black-Women.pdf](http://static.squarespace.com/static/53f20d90e4b0b80451158d8c/t/5422de0ee4b080d53cf82554/1411571214756/Did-You-Know_Plight-of-Black-Women.pdf)

[http://www.eeoc.gov/federal/reports/women\\_workgroup\\_report.cfm](http://www.eeoc.gov/federal/reports/women_workgroup_report.cfm)

<http://www.esa.doc.gov/sites/default/files/reports/documents/womeninamerica.pdf>

[http://www.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/policy%20on%20preventing%20sexual%20and%20gender-based%20harassment\\_0.pdf](http://www.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/policy%20on%20preventing%20sexual%20and%20gender-based%20harassment_0.pdf)

<http://www.councilforresponsiblegenetics.org/pageDocuments/NCD67JODEB.pdf>

<http://www.ustrust.com/Publish/Content/application/pdf/GWMOL/UST-PHIL-Gender-Lens-Guide.pdf>

<http://publichealth.lacounty.gov/owh/docs/DR-Health.pdf>

<http://www.iwpr.org/initiatives/the-wage-gap-and-occupational-segregation/view>

[http://www.vawnet.org/Assoc\\_Files\\_VAWnet/WomenAndTrauma.pdf](http://www.vawnet.org/Assoc_Files_VAWnet/WomenAndTrauma.pdf)

<https://store.samhsa.gov/shin/content/SMA11-4629/04-TraumaAndJustice.pdf>

<https://www.skidmore.edu/campuslife/karp/journal-articles/Unlocking-Masculinities.pdf>

<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojdp/218905.pdf>

<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojdp/220124.pdf>

[http://www.aclu-md.org/uploaded\\_files/0000/0043/caged\\_birds\\_sing.pdf](http://www.aclu-md.org/uploaded_files/0000/0043/caged_birds_sing.pdf)

<http://www.lifehistorystudies.pitt.edu/>

[http://www.ofm.wa.gov/sac/nchip/gender\\_racial\\_differences\\_in\\_outcomes.pdf](http://www.ofm.wa.gov/sac/nchip/gender_racial_differences_in_outcomes.pdf)

<http://www.uclalawreview.org/?p=3750>

[http://www.mencanstoprape.org/images/stories/PDF/healthy\\_masculinity\\_summit\\_report.pdf](http://www.mencanstoprape.org/images/stories/PDF/healthy_masculinity_summit_report.pdf)

[http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/USA/INT\\_CERD\\_NGO\\_USA\\_17560\\_E.pdf](http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/USA/INT_CERD_NGO_USA_17560_E.pdf)

<http://www.wcl.american.edu/journal/genderlaw/16/4miller.pdf>

[http://www.ncrp.org/files/publications/Smashing\\_Silos\\_in\\_Philanthropy\\_Multi-Issue\\_Advocacy\\_and\\_Organizing\\_for\\_Real\\_Results.pdf](http://www.ncrp.org/files/publications/Smashing_Silos_in_Philanthropy_Multi-Issue_Advocacy_and_Organizing_for_Real_Results.pdf)

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/r/2010-2019/WashingtonPost/2014/03/27/National-Politics/Stories/2FinalBlackWomenintheUS2014.pdf>

[http://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/final\\_nwlc\\_2013statechildcareassistancereport.pdf](http://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/final_nwlc_2013statechildcareassistancereport.pdf)

<http://www.publichealthreports.org/issueopen.cfm?articleID=2721>

[http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/policy\\_brief\\_national\\_action\\_plan\\_on\\_womens\\_equal\\_participation\\_in\\_public\\_service.pdf](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/policy_brief_national_action_plan_on_womens_equal_participation_in_public_service.pdf)

<http://womeninpublicservice.wilsoncenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Why-Womens-Leadership-is-the-Cause-of-Our-Time.pdf>

See also citations found in [\*Principles & Purpose Matter: Putting Gender Equity & Justice at the Center of California's Implementation of Health in All Policies\*](#)

<sup>24</sup> The work produced by CPEN resembles older HiAP models created in Republican administrations. See difference in cultural competence definitions and policies:

Cultural Competence Gender Inclusive

<http://engagingmen.futureswithoutviolence.org/mobilize-your-community/cultural-competence/>

[http://tucollaborative.org/pdfs/Toolkits\\_Monographs\\_Guidebooks/community\\_inclusion/Cultural\\_Competence\\_in\\_MH.pdf](http://tucollaborative.org/pdfs/Toolkits_Monographs_Guidebooks/community_inclusion/Cultural_Competence_in_MH.pdf)

Cultural Competence Non-Gender Inclusive

<http://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/assets/pdf/checked/finalreport.pdf>

<sup>25</sup> Implicit Bias Re Housing Loans with & without gender

<http://www.publichealthreports.org/issueopen.cfm?articleID=2732>

[http://www.kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/reports/2008/10\\_2008\\_StructuralRacismandSubprimeRickCohen.pdf](http://www.kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/reports/2008/10_2008_StructuralRacismandSubprimeRickCohen.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.citypaper.com/news/mobtownbeat/bcp-we-were-just-eviscerators-state-autopsy-technicians-lawyer-up-for-better-pay-and-working-conditions-20140902,0,2612437.story>

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.businessweek.com/articles/2014-11-24/the-tech-worker-shortage-doesnt-really-exist>; see also, <http://pando.com/2014/03/22/revealed-apple-and-googles-wage-fixing-cartel-involved-dozens-more-companies-over-one-million-employees/>

<sup>28</sup> [http://www.mercurynews.com/business/ci\\_26778017/tech-company-paid-employees-from-india-little-1](http://www.mercurynews.com/business/ci_26778017/tech-company-paid-employees-from-india-little-1)

<sup>29</sup> Cyber oppression

<http://www.addictinginfo.org/2014/08/08/these-white-people-just-made-an-app-for-avoiding-black-neighborhoods/>

<http://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/7429.html>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.seattle.gov/civilrights/gender.htm>

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.aapf.org/>