

Findings of the equalities survey and qualitative interviews of Harrow staff and internal stakeholders on race



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to the many staff who took the time to participate in the Race Equality Survey of council employees and contractors; you have provided us with invaluable insights into the reality of race at work in working for Harrow Council. This report is just the beginning of what should be something that the council undertake periodically as part of its wider equality, diversity and inclusion strategy. If there is anything to take away after reading the report – and the Appendices- is that the voices of staff should not be ignored.

Further acknowledgements are extended to the Chief Executive, Sean Harriss, Tracey Connage (Director of Human Resources and Organisational Development) and Shumaila Dar (Head of Equality, Diversity and Inclusion), for their unstinting challenge and presence throughout the process. They provided invaluable insights, project management and guidance at all stages of the process.

Thank you to colleagues in the Corporate Strategic Board (CSB), Ilona Smith and Janice Noble - the Chairs of the Black Lives Matter Staff Group (BLMSG) and Meghan Zinkewich-Peotti, Chair of the Staff Making a Difference Group (MADG). If not for their scrutiny, contribution to the survey questions and in providing critical reflections at Briefing sessions, we may not have been able to reach as many staff as we did and to have finalised the report. We hope we have reflected as many of the views as reasonably possible. Members are often unseen in what could be seen as 'officer led' projects, but in this case the Cross-party Members Working Group on Black Lives Matter and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion, were central to the survey being commissioned. As such, we acknowledge their role in enabling the report to be finalised.

A special thank you goes out to the two trade unions in the council (i.e. GMB and Unison) for their support in helping us with the organising of the focus groups, in particular. Your support in this respect, have been valuable.

This is an independent review that has been commissioned by the council as part of the wider work being undertaken on Equality, Diversity and Inclusion, and as such, in the final analysis, the sense made of all the data and information gathered remains those of the independent team and authors of the report. We hope we have done justice to the many ranges of voices we have heard and that the next steps in going forward is able to build on this start.

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INTRODUCTION

The murder of George Floyd and the impact of Black Lives Matter on the race equality agenda for staff at Harrow Council

The murder of George Floyd by the police in Minneapolis on the 25th of May 2020, at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic and the resurgence of Black Lives Matter has become a global phenomenon on black suffering and structural racism. This has had a profound impact in the UK ranging from the demonstrations, marches, and vigils during the summer where over 2 million participated along with the removal of the statue of the slave trader Edward Colston that has led to a national debate regarding culture and national narrative of Britain.

Not since the murder of Stephen Lawrence has the public sector, major corporations, and national charities made pledges and commitment to review culture, behaviours and systems and how it impacts on Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities (and African and Caribbean communities more specifically), as part of their wider thinking around equality, diversity and inclusion. This is the context against which the review has been established, set against the backdrop of the Black Lives Matter demonstrations and of the work of the Black Lives Matter Staff Group (BLMSG), that emerged as a direct consequence of that movement. Alongside this, there is the widely acknowledged commitment from the Chief Executive and the Leader of The Council to consider the implications arising from the recommendations of the review in relation to equality, diversity and inclusion.

The terms of reference for the review included:

1. A focus on those staff employed by Harrow Council, including senior management and operational staff and other stakeholders, including temporary staff and contractors;
2. The approach sought to capture both qualitative and quantitative information on staff experience and practice;
3. As necessary and appropriate, where issues of racial discrimination intersected with other areas of employer-employee relations, such as bullying, harassment and sexual discrimination, to explore those dimensions as part of the review and reporting process;
4. To make recommendations on addressing key concerns identified with respect to race discrimination.

The approach included:

- a) Face to face structured interviews and focus group sessions; and
- b) The Staff Survey, which took place over a four-week period from 1st to 24th December 2020, using the online SurveyMonkey tool as well as hard copies that were completed by staff who were unable to access the online tool.

From these approaches, we conducted 90 one-to-one sessions with staff and convened four online focus groups via Microsoft Teams. In addition, we received over 10 email submissions

of evidence; from the Staff Survey we received 573 responses, which included 26 'hard copies' that had been completed by staff who were unable to access the online tool.

KEY FINDINGS

Most staff did not definitely believe that the Council was institutionally racist, with two-out-of-five (41%) and one-in-three (36%) disagreed that it was structurally racist. However, many felt that there was more work that needed to be done. Evidence arising from our processes showed that long-standing challenges with management behaviour and a lack of development opportunities for Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) staff, for example, continue to be an issue, which staff indicated reflects poorly on Harrow, especially as these concerns have been raised by staff over many years.

Harrow is not new in this respect with regards to institutional and structural racism bedevilling many large public and private organisations in Britain, as indicated by the Race at Work Surveys (2015; 2020). It is therefore a credit to Harrow Council that it has been willing to shine a light on this important issue that have for so long been left unaddressed. It is important that the leadership of Harrow Council acknowledges and apologises for its failings to its BAME staff. This is a key step on the journey to becoming an anti-racist organisation and to better reflect the community it serves (see Annex 1).

Specifically:

- 26% of staff felt that the Council is institutionally racist while 30% thought they were structurally racist;
- 28% of staff reported experiencing racism in the workplace while 46% reported witnessing racial discrimination against colleagues;
- Only 16% of staff believed that their Directorate/Division was consistent in their practice in relation to racial discrimination, bullying and harassment;
- 95% of staff believed that the Council should have a specific policy against racial discrimination, bullying and harassment in the workplace;
- 45% of staff felt that there should be a specific network for protected equalities groups.

WHAT DID THE REVIEW PROCESS TELL US?

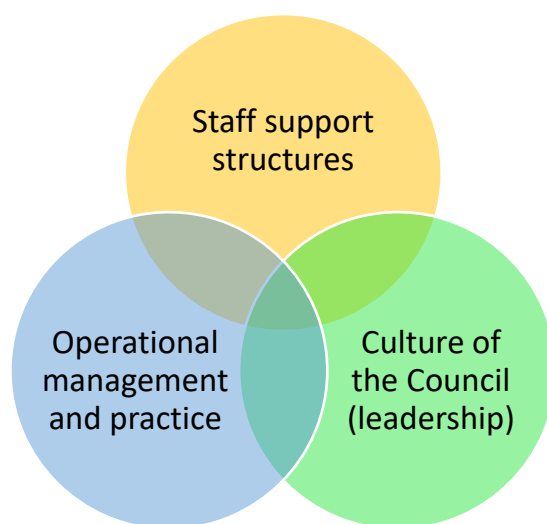
Specifically, we found the following to be reflective of staff experiences:

The workplace culture of Harrow Council

Staff shared a mix of feelings towards the council, with the vast majority of voices expressing a personal commitment to the council and the borough, while others described a range of positive experiences with their line managers and the support they had received from the council as an employer. Many staff had pride in working and living in Harrow. However, there were many voices describing negative experiences, including encountering racism in the workplace, attitudes of some senior managers and the lack of opportunities.

Arising from the one-to-one and the focus group sessions, for example, three recurring areas of concerns were identified: a) Staff support and structures; b) Operational management and practice; and c) Culture of the Council (leadership) – these are captured in Fig 1 below. Experiences shared involved examples of race discrimination alongside issues of poor or inadequate management, supervision skills and wider concern over the culture of leadership across the organisation.

Fig 1: Thematic intersectional reflections following 1-2-1 staff feedback



Racism in the workplace

While the majority of staff, had not directly experienced racism in the workplace (28%: Fig 2), a significant proportion (46%: Fig 3) had indicated that they had 'witnessed' racism in the workplace. Both those who experienced racism and those that had witnessed racism, shared examples of racial discrimination alongside issues of poor or inadequate management, supervision skills and wider concern over the culture of leadership across the organisation.

Fig 2: Since working with Harrow Council, have you experienced racism in the workplace (%)?

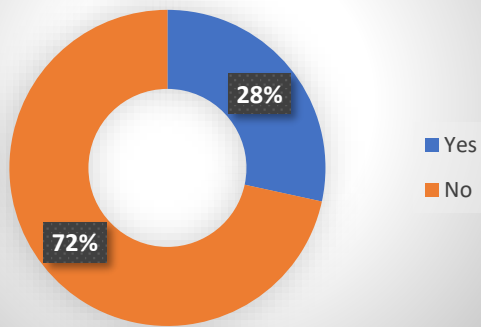
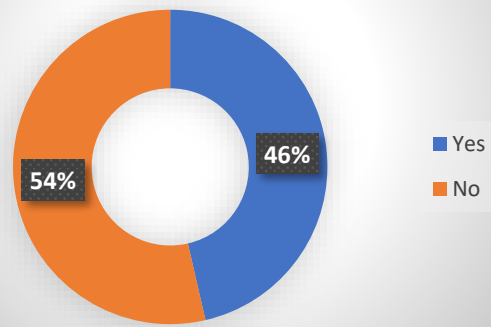


Fig 3: Since working at Harrow Council, have you witnessed racism/discrimination at work (%)?



Additionally, 24% (1 in 4) believed that their Directorate/Division was not consistent in their practice around issues of racial discrimination, bullying and harassment (Fig 4), while 95% believed that the Council should have a specific policy against racial discrimination, bullying and harassment in the workplace (Fig 5) and 45% of staff felt that there should be a specific network for protected equalities group (Fig 6).

Fig 4: Do you think your Directorate/Division is consistent in its practice with respect to the reporting of racial discrimination, bullying and harassment incidences?

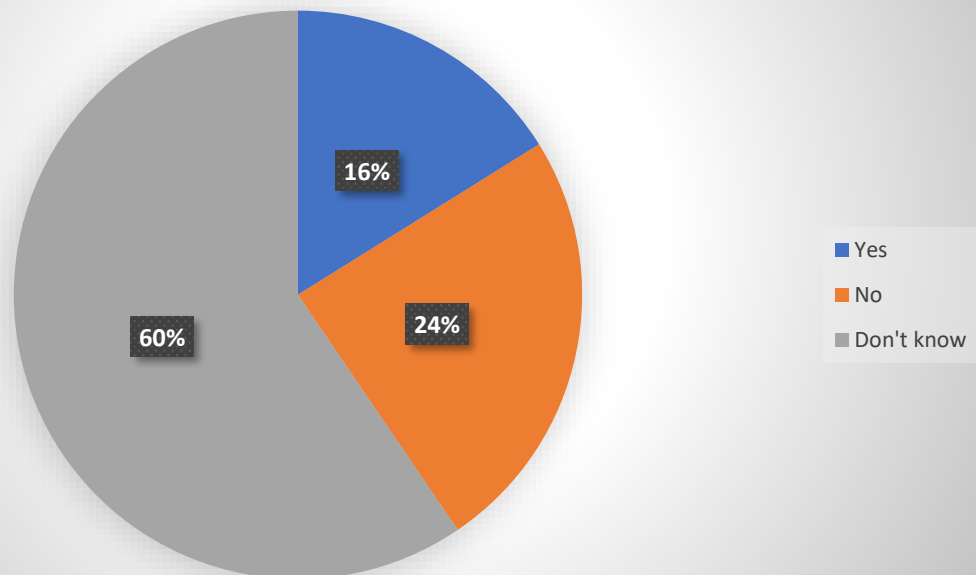


Fig 5: Should the council have a specific policy for dealing with racial discrimination, bullying and harassment in the workplace?

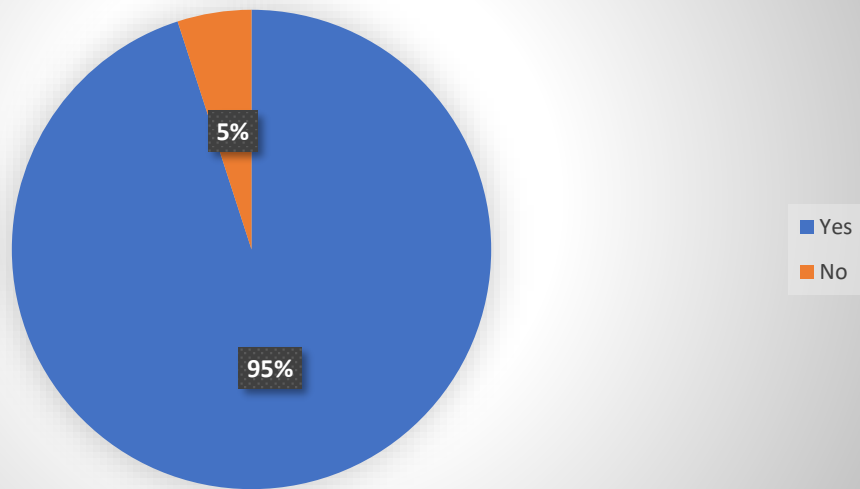
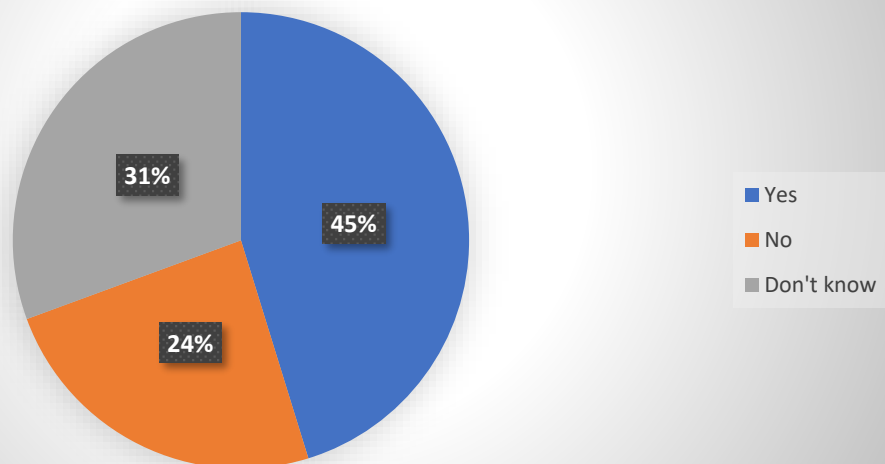


Fig 6: Do you think there is the need for a dedicated staff network for each protected characteristic group (e.g. BAME, women, LGBTQ+, disability, faith etc)?



Impact of racism on staff health and wellbeing

What was evident from interviews with staff, particularly African, Caribbean and South East Asian staff, were the impact and burden of historical and continuous racism. This was also reflected initially in the scepticism about this current review and the failure by the council to implement previous reviews on racism over the last 5 years. In broad terms, staff reported:

- a) Feeling under-valued and deskilled;
- b) Increased stress and anxiety;
- c) Sleep deprivation;
- d) Reduction in self-esteem;
- e) Exacerbation of physical health problems;
- f) Lack of motivation and morale;
- g) Bullying and harassment;

- h) Punishment for admitting that they were struggling, with work with roles being downgraded and reduce working responsibilities;
- i) Marginalisation and stifled career development of staff who advocated for others or raise concerns.

Psychological Safety

To create safety in a workplace requires collaboration and teamworking, where people can make mistakes without being punished, encouraged to ask questions or make suggestions for new ideas. Comments from staff reflected the following:

“Reporting is not worth the risk to our jobs. Most is just unintentional casual racism due to ignorance but is not that often an occurrence.”

“A colleague reported several instances of anti-Semitism and racism and nothing has been done about it for years. It is no good at all to talk about combatting racism, then do nothing about it when reported. We are so fed up of this and this is the reason why NOTHING will change.”

“I am not brave enough to suggest that me and my fellow female colleague who are from the same ethnic group are treated differently from our white colleagues by our manager; this would likely get me a warning, either verbal or formal or even sacked.”

Staff also spoke about seeing progress and acknowledgement of good practice and the organisation being responsive to challenges:

“Being in the council for nearly 20 years I would say the last few years the whole outlook has changed. We are seeing more people from ethnic minority on the panel of senior management which was not always the case. I feel there is a lot more work to be done but we are on the right track.”

“I feel that Harrow’s biggest issue is dealing with conflict, bullying and challenging people who are not doing their jobs effectively.”

“Harrow is diverse, and welcoming compared to some local authorities I have worked for. It’s good to see a diverse acceptance and smiling people for once. I have not come across this kind of welcome in the past three years...Harrow is an inclusive and accepting of diversity.”

Management and support

The vast majority of staff we spoke to raised issues of poor management, and in particular concerns over the effectiveness of their line manager. Some staff indicated feeling that they are being blamed for creating an environment of poor performance and poor relationships; what some referred to as creating a ‘toxic environment’ within the workplace. This situation is further compounded where issues of race equality and equality of opportunities are not effectively managed. As one respondent remarked:

“The outcome is always the same - the targeted person is left feeling unsupported and victimised and the perpetrator gets away with their actions because the manager supports the offending manager rather than the victim.”

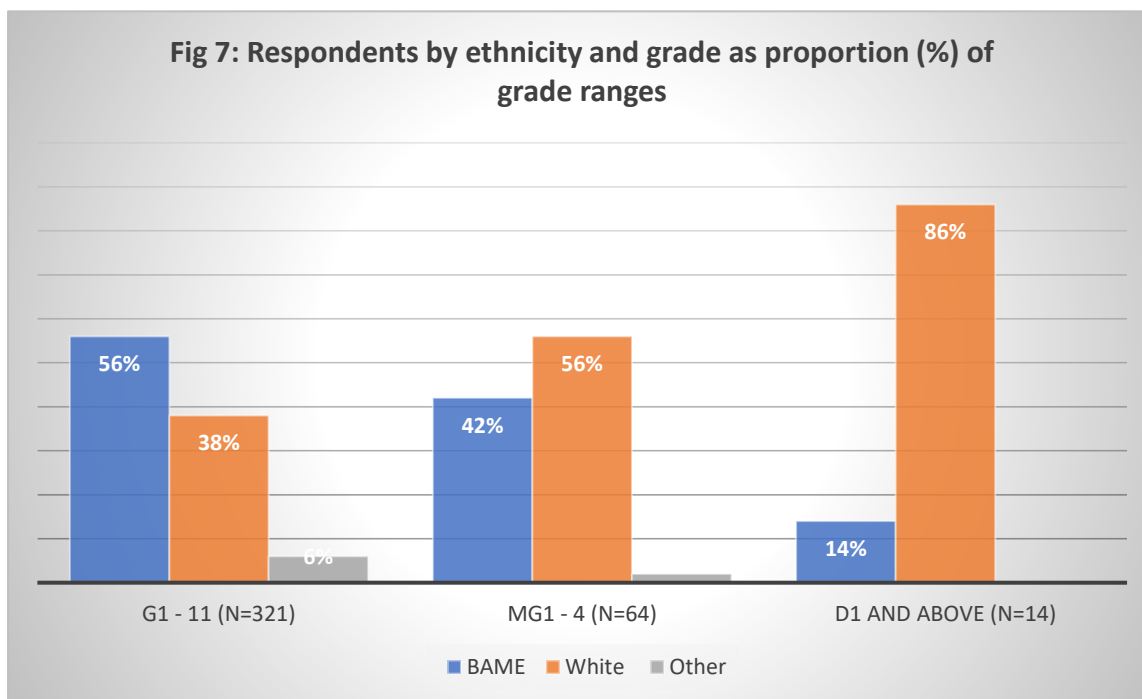
At the level of staff support, concerns were raised about the appraisal and support processes which many saw as being either non-existent or ad hoc. When asked how often staff discussed career opportunities, training and development, 59% of those who responded to this question (n=477) indicated ‘never or rarely’.

Specific complaints raised about performance management included:

- a) Staff not having one to ones or appraisals in years;
- b) Poor quality of relationships and trust between staff and line managers;
- c) Large staff turnover and low staff retention especially after a restructure;
- d) The treatment of agency/temporary staff as being expendable, despite the fact a large proportion having been working for between 12 to 36 months (e.g. 14% of respondents were ‘temporary/agency’ staff with 78% working with the Council for between 1 and 5yrs and 18% for 6yrs and beyond).
- e) Down grading of posts when staff were over worked instead of exploring other ways of support and supervision;
- f) Managers lacked Equalities and Diversity Awareness training and cultural competency;
- g) Negative working environments in some of the directorates and heavy workloads;
- h) Poor management of sick leave and lack of adoption of Occupation Health recommendations;
- i) Lack of confidence in grievances and complaints against managers and the role of trade unions;
- j) Senior management’s poor relationships with trade unions and staff forums;
- k) Lack of objectives set on equalities and tackling racism for senior managers and directors.

Career opportunities/glass ceiling in Harrow

It has long been recognised that glass ceilings exist around race and gender equality in the public and private sector. Through the interviews staff have indicated that there is a “*clear glass ceiling around G grades*”. Sharing their experiences, some have expressed their frustration being on the same grade for over 15 years in some instances. Some staff even went further to infer that the grading system was designed to keep some staff down and not improve talents and abilities. As indicated in Fig 7 below, the proportion of respondents by ethnicity and grade (by broad clustering range) shows that those staff who responded from the BAME group were employed within the broad G1 – G11 range (56%) with 14% employed at D1 and above grade.



Base n=399

Some staff commented on going for job evaluation - or asking for a review during restructuring – but were rejected or received limited support from their line manager. With no regular one-to-one or staff appraisals taking place, the glass ceiling is further entrenched with staff feeling demotivated with some eventually leaving the organisation for opportunities elsewhere.

Training and development opportunities

Discussions with staff and the result from the survey indicated that staff felt underserved by their managers in relation to opportunities to develop and progress. For example, based on responses to the question: *To what extent had respondents received any training or coaching opportunities by their Directorate/Division over the last 24mths?* 62% of respondents reported that they had accepted some form of training and development opportunities over the 24 months period indicated and only 24% ever discussed career opportunities with their senior managers. At the same time, respondents indicated the top three priorities in relation to training and development to overcoming barriers were:

- Opportunities to gain relevant experience (56%)
- Access to opportunities (51%)
- Training needs analysis and action plan (44%).

Temporary, agency and international staff

The review involved interviewing several temporary and agency staff who worked for the council but were employed by Pertemps, the Agency contracted by the Council to supply temporary agency staff. Staff in this category had similar experiences that were being faced by employed Council staff with respect to racism and the culture of the organisation. Many of these workers were employed as business support agency staff, working across

Directorates with many having been in their roles for over 2 years, with evidence that many of them being Black and women, especially those working in business support roles.

Some of the temporary staff felt they were not part of the team they were supporting because of their agency status and any concerns regarding working conditions had to be resolved by Pertemps. A number of these respondents were concerned that it was not in Pertemps' interest to resolve issues or grievances. The vulnerability of their employment status further adds to the dynamics and places them in a precarious situation regards discriminatory practices, including race discrimination, bullying and harassment.

Race and sexism

While interviews were focused on race discrimination, what was clear was that the majority of respondents were women (51% female: 25% male), and that intersectionality was an issue for some. Harrow, in common with many local authorities, NHS Trust in North and West London, especially with the council having an all-white male middle age senior leadership team, does not reflect a vast majority White female and Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic workforce and the demographics of Harrow. Comments from staff perhaps best illustrate some of the concerns raised:

"I was sexually harassed by a colleague in another department. When I complained I was told this was a cultural issue."

"I have been sexually harassed in the workplace by two individuals. I did not report either."

"Reported an incident of bullying to my manager and told to keep a log rather than it being dealt with in the moment. I wrote directly to senior management, but nothing came of it."

"Have reported issues up to Director Level, albeit with consequences!"

"There is more gender related discrimination over race"

Institutional and structural racism

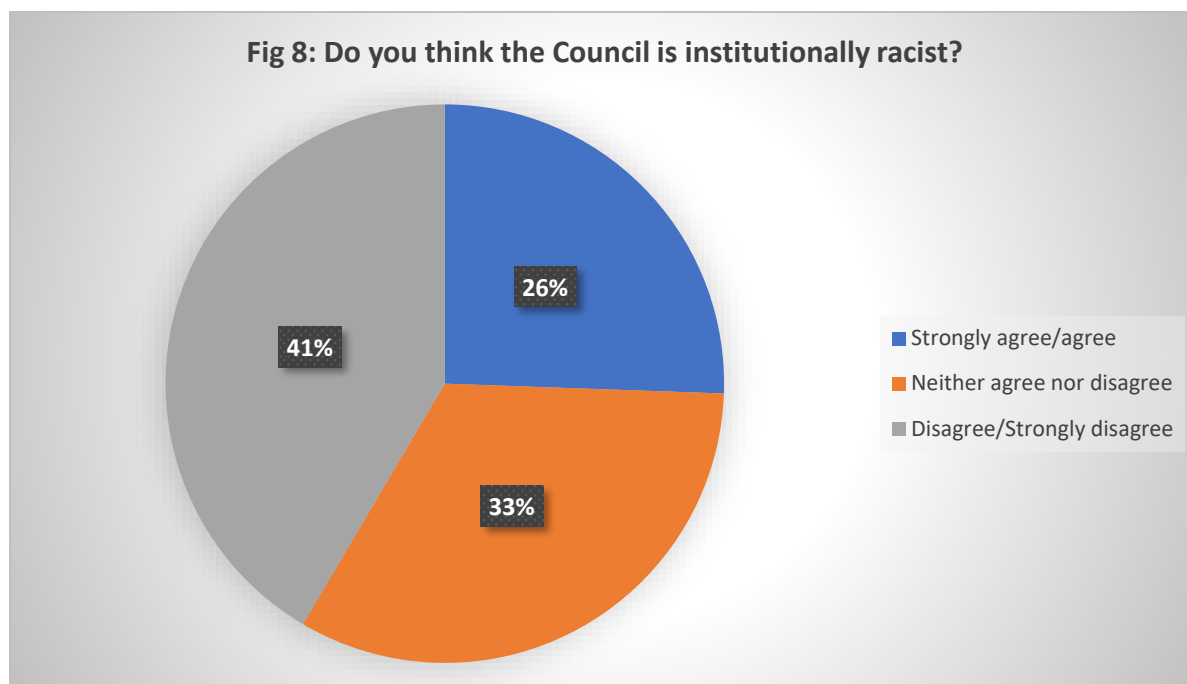
In considering the impact and implications of what would seem to be a pervasive and embedded practice, we sought to explore the question of 'institutional and structural racism' explicitly within the survey. Based on our definitions, respondents to the survey were asked to respond to two questions based on a five-point question ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. The questions were:

1. *Do you think the Council is institutionally racist; and*
2. *Do you think the Council is structurally racist?*

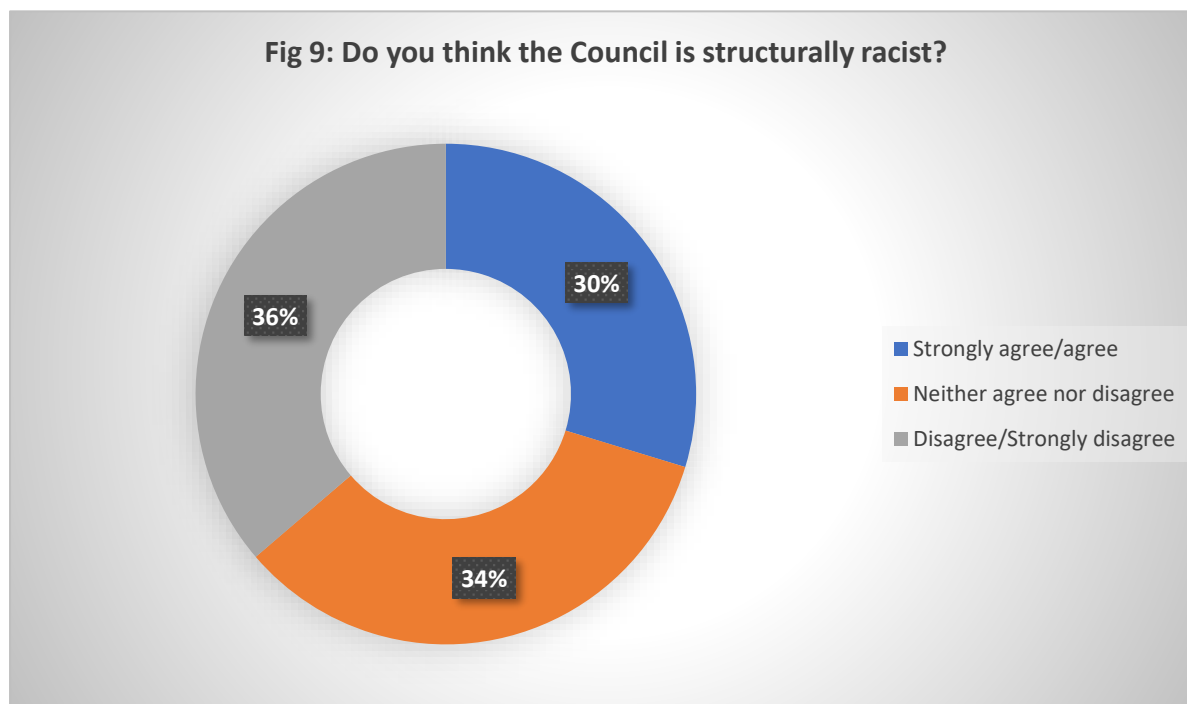
The responses to these questions indicated a perception of the Council as exhibiting traits of being both institutionally and structurally racist. Twenty-six percent (26%) of respondents to the first question (n=489) 'strongly agreed/agreed' that the Council was institutionally racist

while 30% who responded to the second question relating to structural racism (n=488) 'strongly agreed/agreed' that the Council was structurally racist (Figs 8 and 9).

Overall, as Figs 8 and 9 shows, we received a very high 'neutral' response rate, which implies that at least one-third of respondents to the two questions were uncommitted which should not be taken as endorsement that three-out-of-four staff believed the council is not institutionally racist and, similarly, that seven-out-of-ten staff did not believe the council was structurally racist.



Base n=489



Base n=488

On the other hand, when the same questions were asked of those participating in the one-to-one interviews, we found that just under 80% of participants 'agreed' with the statements. Though most staff in the survey disagreed that the Council was institutionally racist (41%) and structurally racist (36%), many felt that there was more that needed to be done. The responses were not definitive as there was a very high 'neutral' response rate (a third of respondents to both questions), which suggests that the Council might have a problem with embedded perception and practice, as it relates to racism in the workforce, and this makes it the more imperative that this concern is addressed. This is perhaps best summed up in the words of one respondent who disagreed with the statement (i.e. that they council is not racist): *"I see diversity of people at all levels of the council. However, stereotypical socio-economic groups of workers are overly represented at the top and bottom of pay scales."*

CONCLUSION

It is always good to hear the voices of those being impacted on, however harsh, unpleasant and unpalatable those perceptions and experiences may seem, but just as important is the question of what is the solution? What can (and should) the Council realistically do in the light of hearing these voices?

One of the concerns expressed by staff related to practice and poor management in adhering to policies and procedures. We asked respondents to reflect on *'Whether they felt the Council should have in place a specific policy for dealing with racial discrimination, bullying and harassment in the workplace?'* And to *'What extent are Directorates/Divisions consistent in their practice?'*

The responses were quite revealing in that respondents pointed to possibilities that lay squarely in areas of development that could be construed as 'quick fixes', especially around staff support and operational management and practice (see Fig 1). For example, to the question of a specific policy on dealing with racial discrimination, bullying and harassment, 95% of staff felt that this should be in place (Fig 5); and to the consistency of practice across Directorates/Divisions, only 16% provided a positive response that they were consistent while 60% were 'not sure' (Fig 4). This extremely high rate of ambivalence (not being sure) amongst a majority staff cohort of over 6yrs, should be a cause for concern, as one would hope that by 6yrs there would be some basis to be clear?

Arising from the feedback in the survey and the one-to-one interviews, with respect to the impact on staff of racism within the Council, we heard how staff felt that their talent has been historically held back due to ineffective support and supervision combined with White privilege. Along with some evidence of institutional and structural racism and sexism, Harrow Council is perhaps in no different place than many large institutions, public and private, as reported in the Race at Work Survey (2015). What is clear from our review and analysis, however, is that the evidence suggests that Harrow is likely to be institutionally and structurally racist and thus must formally acknowledge this as part of moving forward, if it is committed to being an anti-racist organisation and work towards reflecting the current and future demographic profile of the borough.

It is strongly recommended that Harrow embark on a journey of *'righting the wrongs'* to restore confidence and draw a line from its past, to move forward to reflect a future Harrow where respect and inclusion is at the heart of the organisation. The Council have already made a commitment by undertaking this review. Harrow is in good company along with several local authorities who have already started this journey such as Lambeth, for example, where between 2019 to 2020, they have seen green shoots of change and a clear commitment from all the political parties and the senior leadership team. A similar process is here suggested for Harrow.

There is evidence that Harrow is taking this journey seriously:

- Harrow is part of the London Councils Tackling Racial Inequality Group, part of the Chief Executive Leadership Committee (CELC), and this affords Harrow the opportunity to be able to benchmark and share best practice over time.

- The Council has made a commitment and pledge to be part of the Race at Work Charter, which has been developed through the work of Business in The Community to further support private and public bodies to act on tackling race equality in the workforce. The five pledges of the charter provide a strong base upon which some of our recommendations have been based.

A key in monitoring the progress along this journey will be the need to develop an action plan and consideration of a follow-up survey to see what progress has been made following this report. Only by so doing, will they be in a position to be able to go back to staff and demonstrate that the process was not a “tick-box exercise”, as some respondents commented.

The recommendations that follow are based on the lived experience of pain, suffering and aspiration and the willingness of staff to be part of the process in solution building and collaboration. The resilience and commitment of staff is key which the senior political and executive leadership team need to tap into and engage around in tackling issues of racism and discrimination.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Acknowledging and recognising the journey of 'righting the wrongs' through:

1. Formal acknowledgment and apology of current and past treatment of Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic staff with special reference to staff of African, African Caribbean heritage who have experienced high levels of bullying, including racist bullying;
2. Formal response by Chief Executive to the report findings and recommendations by way of feedback to inform staff;
3. Statement and acknowledgment by the Leader and Cabinet with support of Full Council on its commitment to becoming an anti-racist organisation;
4. Adoption of the guiding principles of 'righting the wrongs' and the development of a working definition of institutional racism in the implementation of the recommendations in partnership with staff networks and trade unions;
5. The staff feedback/responses used to shape future work around the development of the Borough plan, response to COVID-19 and of the Council's commitment to becoming an anti-racist organisation working with local stakeholders and partners (e.g., developing a process of co-production working with trade unions, BLM Staff Group, Making A Difference Network, and other relevant internal stakeholders);
6. Recognition that a commitment for significant investment in staff development and HR and Organisational Development (OD) function to address historical inequalities;
7. A similar process or review with Harrow residents, community organisations, faith groups and businesses exploring the issues around racism, discrimination and inequalities and their relationship with the council.

Recruitment and retention of staff through:

1. HR should identify key metrics and measures across the whole of the employee lifecycle, identifying differential impacts over time on protected characteristics and produce an action plan to address identified issues;
2. Reviewing the current recruitment practice, which should cover temporary, contract and interim management agencies, and the wider relationships with agencies, especially Pertemps the recruitment agency, with regards the regularisation of the status of staff who have worked for the council for more than 12 months;
3. Ensure that all recruitment for MG grades and above include a BAME staff, or external adviser to be on all panels (i.e. that the panel have mandatory unconscious bias training and full declaration of interest of relationship or affiliation as part of the recruitment process);
4. Undertaking EQIA for any proposed restructuring to ensure that the workforce reflected the diversity and demographics of Harrow Council;

5. The council to develop 'growing your own' programme of supporting BAME staff around secondment, apprenticeship, mentoring and acting up opportunities;
6. The council to develop aspirational targets to ensure that BAME staff are recruited to senior management roles;
7. The council to undertake Ethnicity Pay Gap Review to address historical inequalities around staff grading and the impact of the glass ceiling particularly on G grade roles.

Changing the organisation's culture and behaviour through leadership, training and development through:

1. Reviewing Council code of conduct, behaviours and standards;
2. Ensure the '*Great People, Great Culture*' Organisational Development Strategy embeds the recommendations and feedback from this report and develop a process of co-production with staff, staff networks and trade unions to tackle the current state of the culture in the organisation;
3. Ongoing implementation and commitment to the Race at Work Charter;
4. Development of leadership, coaching and mentoring programmes targeting staff at 'G' grade;
5. Development of secondments and shadowing programmes;
6. Urgent review across all directorates the implementation and impact of support and supervision and appraisal systems around staff development;
7. Development of a formal support network and mentoring of international staff;
8. Development of mandatory anti-racism training for all staff and Councillors, including focus on cultural bias, white privilege etc.
9. Providing commensurate budget and resources to the development of interventions as part of a wider programme of culture and policy change across the organisation for short to long term actions around equality, diversity and inclusion.

Creation of safe spaces for dialogues and understanding through:

1. Support the ongoing development of the BLM Staff Group as part of the wider MADG approach (e.g. the Ethnicity Network Group);
2. Development of an independent reporting mechanism for staff to raise concerns regarding their treatment;
3. A defined role within the wider scrutiny and accountability framework of the council for the BLM Staff Group and Making A Difference Staff Network and trade unions;

4. Facilitating and engaging all staff, particularly middle and senior management, in critical conversations of power, privilege and abuse in organisations.

Governance and accountability through:

1. Review the strategic positioning and governance structures of the delivery of the race equality agenda within the wider work on equality, diversity and inclusion;
2. Strategic consideration where the policy and corporate strategy on '*righting the wrongs*', and the wider EDI agenda is located to create the 'engine for change' and strong leadership on this agenda which needs to be aligned with HR and OD Division;
3. Transparent process of scrutiny and accountability of senior politicians across all political parties in conjunction with the executive team and external stakeholders to create the culture and environment for change;
4. Undertake an independent review of the council's progress in the implementation of the recommendations against an agreed Action Plan owned by CSB within the next 6 to 12 months from this report, including consideration of a follow-up survey within 18 to 24mths.

Annex 1: Continuum on becoming an anti-racist organisation (a model)

Continuum on Becoming an Anti-Racist Multicultural Organization

MONOCULTURAL ==> MULTICULTURAL ==> ANTI-RACIST ==> ANTI-RACIST MULTICULTURAL <i>Racial and Cultural Differences Seen as Deficits ==> Tolerant of Racial and Cultural Differences ==> Racial and Cultural Differences Seen as Assets</i>					
Exclusive	2. Passive	3. Symbolic Change	4. Identity Change	5. Structural Change	6. Fully Inclusive Anti-Racist Multicultural Organization in a Transformed Society
An Exclusionary Institution	A "Club" Institution	A Compliance Organization	An Affirming Institution	A Transforming Institution	A Fully Inclusive Anti-Racist Multicultural Organization in a Transformed Society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intentionally and publicly excludes or segregates African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans • Intentionally and publicly enforces the racist status quo throughout institution • Institutionalization of racism includes formal policies and practices, teachings, and decision making on all levels • Usually has similar intentional policies and practices toward other socially oppressed groups such as women, gays and lesbians, Third World citizens, etc. • Openly maintains the dominant group's power and privilege 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolerant of a limited number of "token" People of Color and members from other social identify groups allowed in with "proper" perspective and credentials. • May still secretly limit or exclude People of Color in contradiction to public policies • Continues to intentionally maintain white power and privilege through its formal policies and practices, teachings, and decision making on all levels of institutional life • Often declares, "We don't have a problem." • Monocultural norms, policies and procedures of dominant culture viewed as the "right way" business as usual" • Engages issues of diversity and social justice only on club member's terms and within their comfort zone. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Makes official policy pronouncements regarding multicultural diversity • Sees itself as "non-racist" institution with open doors to People of Color • Carries out intentional inclusiveness efforts, recruiting "someone of color" on committees or office staff • Expanding view of diversity includes other socially oppressed groups <p style="text-align: center;"><i>But...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Not those who make waves" • Little or no contextual change in culture, policies, and decision making • Is still relatively unaware of continuing patterns of privilege, paternalism and control • Token placements in staff positions: must assimilate into organizational culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing understanding of racism as barrier to effective diversity • Develops analysis of systemic racism • Sponsors programs of anti-racism training • New consciousness of institutionalized white power and privilege • Develops intentional identity as an "anti-racist" institution • Begins to develop accountability to racially oppressed communities • Increasing commitment to dismantle racism and eliminate inherent white advantage • Actively recruits and promotes members of groups have been historically denied access and opportunity <p style="text-align: center;"><i>But...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional structures and culture that maintain white power and privilege still intact and relatively untouched 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commits to process of intentional institutional restructuring, based upon anti-racist analysis and identity • Audits and restructures all aspects of institutional life to ensure full participation of People of Color, including their world-view, culture and lifestyles • Implements structures, policies and practices with inclusive decision making and other forms of power sharing on all levels of the institutions life and work • Commits to struggle to dismantle racism in the wider community, and builds clear lines of accountability to racially oppressed communities • Anti-racist multicultural diversity becomes an institutionalized asset • Redefines and rebuilds all relationships and activities in society, based on anti-racist commitments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future vision of an institution and wider community that has overcome systemic racism and all other forms of oppression. • Institution's life reflects full participation and shared power with diverse racial, cultural and economic groups in determining its mission, structure, constituency, policies and practices • Members across all identity groups are full participants in decisions that shape the institution, and inclusion of diverse cultures, lifestyles, and interest • A sense of restored community and mutual caring • Allies with others in combating all forms of social oppression • Actively works in larger communities (regional, national, global) to eliminate all forms of oppression and to create multicultural organizations.

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