# Chicago's Red Summer – 100 Years Later: The History, Legacy, and Impact of the 1919 Race Riots

### Illinois State Bar Association

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### Chicago's Red Summer—100 Years Later: The History, Legacy, and Impact of the 1919 Race Riots

Presented by the ISBA Standing Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities and the Law Co-sponsored by the ISBA Criminal Justice Section, ISBA Human Rights Section, and ISBA Standing Committee on Law Related Education for the Public

### Rosemont

Friday, December 6, 2019 Westin O'Hare 6100 North River Road 12:25 – 4:15 p.m.

# 3.5 hours MCLE credit, including 1.0\* hour Professional Responsibility MCLE credit in the following category: Diversity and Inclusion

The summer of 1919 saw race riots and increased racial and ethnic tensions in a number of American cities, including Chicago. Join us on the 100 year anniversary of America's "Red Summer" as we discuss the actual events, including the social, legal, and political environment in which they occurred. Attorneys working in all practice areas who attend this seminar will better understand:

- The historical events leading up to the race riots;
- What happened during the riots and the justice (or lack thereof) that occurred afterwards, including how bias may have influenced prosecutions, policing, and the judiciary of the time;
- How the race riots of Chicago impacted the rest of America;
- The legal and policy issues raised by the events, including ineffective control and non-prosecution;
- How the riots affected the law and policy in Chicago and the surrounding areas in the decades that followed
- How implicit bias influences the legal profession today; and
- What lawyers and judges can do to help minorities achieve better access to justice.

### **Program Coordinator:**

Khara A. Coleman, Office of the Cook County Sheriff, Oak Park

### **Program Moderator:**

Juan Thomas, Quintairos, Prieto, Wood & Boyer, Aurora

### 12:25 – 12:30 p.m. Welcome and Introductions

Masah S. SamForay, The Foray Firm, Joliet Juan Thomas, Quintairos, Prieto, Wood & Boyer, Aurora

### 12:30 – 2:00 p.m. The Summer of 1919 in Chicago and Across America

- The Law, Race, Ethnicity, and Social Practices in Chicago
- Chicago's Riot Days: July 26-August 3, 1919
- Law and Order—Riot Edition: The Red Summer Across the Rest of America

• The Legal and Social Impact: Housing, Policing, and Society **Prof. Peter Cole**, Department of History, Western Illinois University, Macomb **Prof. Adam Green**, Department of History, University of Chicago, Chicago

2:00 – 2:15 p.m. Break (refreshments provided)

### 2:15 – 3:15 p.m. The Need for Diversity in the Fight for Justice\*

Examine your own racial biases in this session by learning about and completing the Implicit Association Test (IAT) on your smart phone or tablet. With the historical backdrop of an overview of the development of the NAACP and the National Bar Association, attendees will assess the difficulties that did and still do plague the legal profession. The speakers will facilitate a discussion of the issues and how together we can make those institutional challenges a thing of the past. In light of the lessons learned from the race riots, current issues, and your individual IAT results, you will be asked to identify specific ways you can use this knowledge to advance diversity and inclusion goals in your firms, your peer interactions, the courtroom and the legal profession.

Khara A. Coleman, Office of the Cook County Sheriff, Oak Park Masah S. SamForay, The Foray Firm, Joliet Juan Thomas, Quintairos, Prieto, Wood & Boyer, Aurora

# 3:15-4:00 p.m. Justice after the Riots, the Governor's Commission Report on the Riots, and Looking into the Future

Discover the challenges faced by African Americans in seeking justice after the riots, including what assumptions of bias may have influenced prosecutions, policing, and the judiciary at the time. The speaker will present an overview of how the Governor's Commission was formed, what assumptions and implicit biases influenced the written report, and what may have prevented the report from resulting in real reform in racial relations. This session will include a discussion of how the legal profession can address the concerns of the report even today to promote access to justice and reform legal inequities in access to housing, education and employment.

Khara Coleman, Office of the Cook County Sheriff, Oak Park

### 4:00 – 4:15 p.m. Q&A and Closing Comments

Khara Coleman, Office of the Cook County Sheriff, Oak Park Juan Thomas, Quintairos, Prieto, Wood & Boyer, Aurora

<sup>\*</sup>Professional Responsibility MCLE credit subject to approval

General Materials for Chicago's Red Summer - 100 Years Later: The History, Legacy, and Impact of the 1919 Race Riots

- Prof. Peter P-Cole@wiu.edu
- Prof. Adam Green



A crowd gathers around a house that was vandalized and looted during the 1919 Chicago race riots. Source: Chicago History Museum

BY THE END OF THE RIOTS, 38 PERSONS WERE LEFT DEAD, MOST OF WHOM WERE BLACK. MORE THAN 1,000 BLACK CHICAGOANS REPORTEDLY LOST THEIR HOMES.



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# Remembering the Chicago Race Riots: 100 Years Later

The 1919 race riots in Chicago left 38 dead, more than 1,000 homeless, and many legal questions unanswered.

### ON JULY 27, 1919, THE MURDER OF

a black teenager sparked several days of race riots in Chicago—still considered among the most violent in the city's history.¹ On that hot summer Sunday, many Chicagoans, black and white, were cooling off at lakefront beaches. A group of black teenagers began bathing near a *de facto* "colored" beach at 25th Street. But as they innocently drifted too close to the "white" beach at 29th Street, a white man threw rocks and hit 18-year-old Eugene Williams in the head, causing him to drown. Although Chicago Police officers were present and the aggressor was readily identified, he was never arrested or charged.²

After crowds gathered in protest near the beaches on July 27, anger in both white and black communities reached a boiling point. Riots began in Chicago's black neighborhoods that evening, and the violence was not quelled until after the Illinois state militia arrived on the first days of August 1919.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the riots, 38 persons were left dead, most of whom were black. More than 1,000 black Chicagoans reportedly lost their homes.<sup>4</sup>

But violence against black Chicagoans had not begun with riots the evening of July 27. There had been a series of attacks and bombings targeting black residents and businesses on a seemingly regular basis between 1917 and July 1919, with around a dozen attacks taking place within the preceding six months of Williams' death.<sup>5</sup> The use of low-wage black workers to break strikes at slaughterhouses and factories had increased hostilities between black migrants and Chicago's working-class ethnic white population for years.<sup>6</sup> The Chicago Police Department was said to have been wholly ineffective in stopping many of the acts of violence and intimidation.<sup>7</sup>

Although white and black communities both ultimately engaged in violence, it was widely reported at the time that much of the violence was instigated by white "street gangs" such as Ragen's Colts, which was composed of young Chicago Irishmen. In contemporaneous reporting on the riots, then-journalist Carl Sandburg noted that many of the "white hoodlums" responsible for the rioting were from the area of the city around the stockyards and packing houses. 9

It wasn't only in Chicago that post-WWI racial tensions sparked race riots. April through late September 1919 has been dubbed the "Red Summer" because of riots in more than two dozen American locales, including Jenkins County, Georgia; Elaine, Arkansas; Washington, D.C.; Omaha, Nebraska; and Longview, Texas. 10 But Chicago has the distinction of having hosted the worst of the Red Summer riots. (Mob-style racial violence was not unprecedented in Illinois: Deadly race riots in Springfield in 1908 lead to the formation of the NAACP; a race riot in East Saint Louis took place in the summer of 1917. 11)

<sup>1.</sup> https://chicago1919.org/summary-1919; Cameron Mc-Whirter, Red Summer, the Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America 129 (2011).

<sup>2.</sup> https://chicago1919.org/summary-1919.

<sup>3.</sup> McWhirter, supra note 1 at 143.

<sup>4.</sup> *Id*. at 147.

<sup>5.</sup> William Tuttle, Jr., Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919 159 (Illini Books Edition) (1996); Gary Krist, City of Scoundrels: The 12 Days of Disaster that Gave Birth to Modern Chicago 65-66, 102-03 (2012).

<sup>6.</sup> McWhirter, *supra* note 1 at 117; Krist, *supra* note 5 at 27.

<sup>7.</sup> Tuttle, Jr., *supra* note 5 at 3-10; Krist, *supra* note 5 at 183.

<sup>8.</sup> McWhirter, *supra* note 1 at 129-30; Tuttle, Jr., *supra* note 5 at 32-33; Krist, *supra* note 5 at 172-73.

<sup>9.</sup> Carl Sandburg, The Chicago Race Riots, July 1919 3 (1919; Dover edition republished 2013).

<sup>10.</sup> McWhirter, supra note 1; Tuttle, Jr., supra note 5 at 14.

<sup>11.</sup> Tuttle, Jr., supra note 5 at 11-13.

### The riots' lingering aftermath

This particular chapter in Illinois history should be of special interest to lawyers: The Chicago riots, their aftermath, and their legacy are all linked to issues of justice. Social unrest in the years and months leading to the riots were provoked by difficult political tensions of the day. Rapid changes in industry and commerce, labor union disputes and strikebreaking, housing discrimination and segregation, racial restrictions in hiring, and discrimination in wages all painted a backdrop to the riots and merit their own chapters of legal history in Illinois.

The riots themselves provoked new legal problems. After the end of the Chicago riots of 1919, the documented failure of the legal system to prosecute whites in the same proportion to blacks is a question

of racial justice. <sup>12</sup> But from the very first decision not to arrest the man who killed Eugene Williams, whom to prosecute (or whom *not* to prosecute), whether to call in the state militia, and whether and how to address the fears of white homeowners terrified of having their neighborhoods tainted by "colored" residents—each question requires one to consider how to use the law to fairly regulate society, maintain economic justice and opportunity, and keep citizens safe.

Despite a two-year study commissioned by then-Illinois Gov. Frank Lowden, there was no justice for most of the victims of the Chicago race riots. And the city became further entrenched in segregated job opportunities and housing.

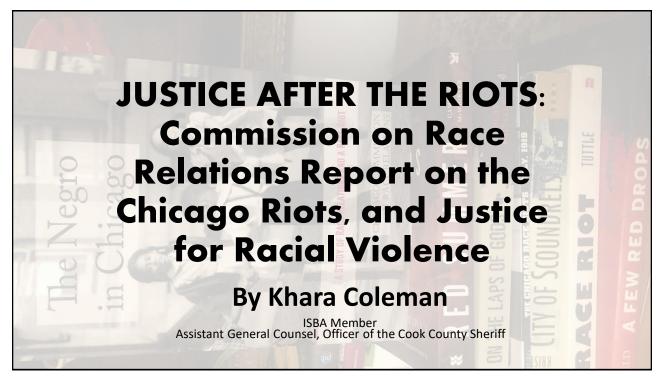
While many Illinoisans have never learned about the race riots, city leaders and scholars—and the ISBA—have set

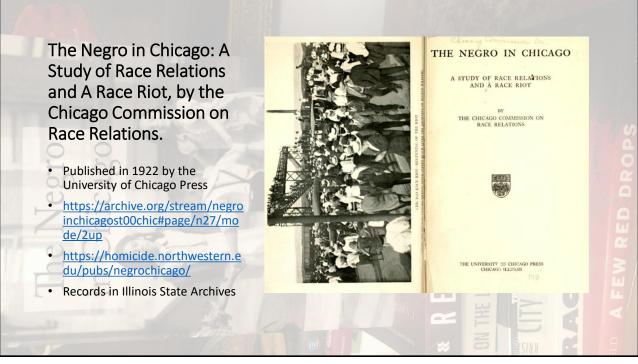
about to remedy this. The City of Chicago has engaged with many community partners to remember the 1919 riots this year through history exhibits, lectures, and art events (to learn more, visit chicago1919.org.) The ISBA also is planning to provide CLE programming on the history and legal impact of the riots, to be offered during the Midyear Meeting this December in Rosemont.

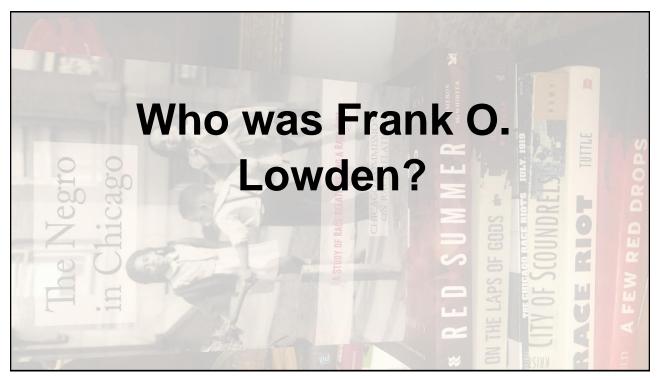
One hundred years later, Illinois lawyers are called upon to consider what justice does—and doesn't—look like. As members of a profession devoted to fairness and the administration of justice, aren't we called to remember the injustices of the past as a way of providing justice for all in the future?

12. Id. at 64.

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# From the FOREWARD by Frank Lowden:

"There is no domestic problem in America which has given thoughtful men more concern than the problem of the relations between the white and the Negro races. In earlier days the colonization of the Negro, as in Liberia, was put forward as a solution. That idea was abandoned long ago. It is now recognized generally that the two races are here in America to stay."

## From the FOREWARD by Frank Lowden:

- "It is also certain that the problem will not be solved by methods of violence. Every race riot, every instance in which men of either race defy legal authority and take the law into their own hands, but postpones the day when the two races shall live together amicably. The law must be maintained and enforced vigorously and completely before any real progress can be made towards better race relations."
- "The report contains recommendations, which, if acted upon, will make impossible, in my opinion, a repetition of the appalling tragedy which brought disgrace to Chicago in July of 1919."

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# **Commission Report Timeline:**

- Announced by Governor Lowden in August 1919
- First Meeting October 1919
- Commission work began in December 1919
- Office space leased as of February 1920, at 118 N. LaSalle St, Chicago
- Investigations begin March 1920. The period of investigations and conferences or informal hearings lasted until November, 1920
- Drafting/Writing began October 1920
- Draft to Lowden in January 1921
- Final report dated December 6, 1921

# From the Introduction, by Lowden and members of the Commission

"On Sunday, July 27, 1919, there was a clash of white people and Negroes at a bathing-beach in Chicago, which resulted in the drowning of a Negro boy. This led to a race riot in which thirty-eight lives were lost-twenty-three Negroes and fifteen whites-and 537 persons were injured. After three days of mob violence, affecting several sections of the city, the state militia was called out to assist the police in restoring order. It was not until August 6 that danger of further clashes was regarded as past."

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# From the Introduction, by Lowden and members of the Commission

Purpose of Commission: "to study the psychological, social and

economic causes underlying the conditions resulting in the present

race riot and to make such recommendations as will tend to prevent a

recurrence of such conditions in the future."

- "Commission on Race Relations," with twelve members, six from each race, Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft as chairman.
- Organized into six committees: Committee on Racial Clashes, Committee on Housing, Committee on Industry, Committee on Crime, Committee on Racial Contacts, Committee on Public Opinion.
- Commission held more than seventy-five meetings, forty devoted to the text of the Report.

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### WHO WERE THE COMMISSIONERS?

### White

- 1. Edgar Bancroft
- 2. William Scott Bond
- 3. Edward Osgood Brown
- 4. Harry Eugene Kelly
- 5. Victor F. Lawson
- 6. Julius Rosenwald

### **African American**

- 1. Robert Sengstacke Abbott
- 2. George Cleveland Hall
- 3. George H. Jackson
- 4. Edward H. Morris
- 5. Adelbert H. Roberts
- 6. Lacey Kirk Williams

# "THE PROBLEM," page XXIV

- "Many white Americans, while technically recognizing Negroes as citizens, cannot bring themselves to feel that they should participate in government as freely as other citizens."
- "It is important for our white citizens always to remember that the Negroes alone of all our immigrants came to American against their will by the special compelling invitation of the whites; that the institution of slavery was introduced, expanded, and maintained in the United States by the white people and for their own benefit; and that they likewise created the conditions that followed emancipation."

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### "THE PROBLEM" page XXIV

- "Our Negro problem, therefore, is not of the Negro's making. No group in our population is less responsible for its existence. But every group is responsible for its continuance; and every citizen, regardless of color or racial origin, is in honor and conscience bound to seek and forward its solution."
- "The great body of anti-Negro public opinion, preserved in the literature and traditions of the white race during the long, unhappy progress of the Negro from savagery through slavery to citizenship, has exercised a persistent and powerful effect, both conscious and unconscious, upon the thinking and the behavior of the white group generally. Racial misunderstanding has been fostered by the ignorance and indifference of many white citizens concerning the marvelous industry and courage shown by the Negroes and the success they have achieved in their fiftynine years of freedom."

# "THE PROBLEM," page XXIV

 "Both races need to understand that their rights and duties are mutual and equal, and that their interests in the common good are identical; that relations of amity are the only protection against race clashes; that these relations cannot be forced, but will come naturally as the leaders of each race develop within their own ranks a realization of the gravity of this problem and a vital interest in its solution, and an attitude of confidence, respect, and friendliness toward the people of the other race."

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# "Negroes and Property Depreciation" (P. 194-95.)

- "No single factor has complicated the relations of Negroes and whites in Chicago more than the widespread feeling of white people that the presence of Negroes in a neighborhood is a cause of serious depreciation of property values."
- "It matters little what type of citizens the Negro family may represent, what their wealth or standing in the community is, or that their motive in moving into a predominant white neighborhood is to secure better living conditions – their appearance is a signal of depreciation."
- "Therefore it is essential to distinguish clearly between: (1) general factors in depreciation; and (2) presence of Negroes as an influence in these factors, and also as a direct factor."
- "Apart from any racial influence there are many causes of depreciation in property values, the responsibility for all of which has often been thoughtlessly placed upon Negroes."



# "Negroes and Property Depreciation" (P. 204-06.)

- "In analyzing responsibility for depreciation, in the area form Thirty-first to Thirty ninth Street, and
  from State Street to the lake, it is difficult to determine to just what extent the Negroes are there
  because of prior depreciation, and to what extent present depreciation is due to their presence."
- "It is certain, however, that a large part of the depreciation is not justly chargeable to them, and that their contribution is attributable partly to their economic status and partly to the deep seated prejudice against them."
- "A complete understanding of the situation requires that it be determined to what extent the
  property values decreased because Negroes moved in, and to what extent Negroes moved in
  because property values decreased."
- "This fear of Negro neighbors has been used by some real estate agents in promoting speculative schemes. By sending a Negro to inquire about property, they alarm the neighbors so that they will consider offers of purchase much below the normal prices. When the excitement has abated values rise again, and a profit is made."

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# "Negroes and Property Depreciation" (P. 208.)

- "Racial prejudice other than that against Negroes has operated in many instances
  to depress property values. The presence of Jews, Germans, Irish, Italians, and
  Swedes has at times been objectionable to neighborhoods of Americans or of
  another race."
- https://www.chicagomag.com/city-life/August-2017/How-Redlining-Segregated-Chicago-and-America/
- https://chicago.suntimes.com/2019/4/8/18315748/new-exhibit-explores-chicago-s-housingsegregation-racist-legacy



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# "Public Opinion in Race Relations" (P. 594.)

"The inquiries of this Commission into racial sentiments which characterize the opinions and behavior of white persons toward Negroes lead us to the following conclusions:

- "That in seeking advice and information about Negroes, white persons almost without exception fail to select for their informants Negroes who are representative and can provide dependable information."
- "That Negroes as a group are often judged by the manners, conduct, and opinions of servants in families, or other Negroes whose general standing and training do not qualify them to be spokesmen of the group."

# "Public Opinion in Race Relations" (P. 594.)

- "That the principal literature regarding Negroes is based upon traditional opinions and does not always portray accurately the present status of the group."
- "Most of the current beliefs concerning Negroes are traditional, and were acquired during an earlier period when Negroes were considerably less intelligent and responsible than now. Failure to change these opinions, in spite of the great progress of the Negro group, increases misunderstandings and the difficulties of mutual adjustment."
- "That the common disposition to regard all Negroes as belonging to one homogeneous group is as great a mistake as to assume that all white persons are of the same class and kind."

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# "Public Opinion in Race Relations" (P. 594.)

- "That much of the current literature and pseudo-scientific treatises concerning Negroes are responsible for such prevailing misconceptions as: that Negroes have inferior mentality; that Negroes have inferior morality; that Negroes are given to emotionalism; that Negroes have an innate tendency to commit crimes, especially sex crimes."
- "We believe that such deviations from recognized standards as have been apparent among Negroes are due to circumstances of position rather than to distinct racial traits. We urge especially upon white persons to exert their efforts toward discrediting stories and standing beliefs concerning Negroes which have no basis in fact, but which constantly serve to keep alive a spirit of mutual fear, distrust, and opposition."

# "Public Opinion in Race Relations" (P. 594.)

 "That much of the literature and scientific treatises concerning Negroes are responsible for such prevailing misconceptions as that Negroes are capable of mental and moral development only to an inferior degree, are given to an uncontrolled emotionalism, and have a distinctive innate tendency to commit crimes, especially sex crimes."

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# A look at justice/injustice BEFORE the Riots: BOMBINGS

- From February 1918 to February 1919, prior to the Chicago riot, there were **eleven bombings in the city**.
- During the six weeks immediately preceding the Chicago race riot, there were seven racial bombings.
- Fifty-eight bombings of homes committed between July 1, 1917, and March 11, 1921.
- Thirty-two bombs were exploded within the area bounded by Fortyfirst and Sixtieth streets, Cottage Grove Avenue and State Street.

# A look at justice/injustice BEFORE the Riots: BOMBINGS

- Repeated bombing of the home of black banker Jesse Binga.
- •Who was Jesse Binga?

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# A look at justice/injustice BEFORE the Riots: BOMBINGS

"Upon the fifth bombing of Mr. Binga's home, the American, Herald-

Examiner, and Chicago Daily News quoted Mr. Binga as saying, 'This is

the limit; I am going.' Mr. Binga declares that he did not say this, that

he did not even see a reporter, and that he had not moved."

# A look at justice/injustice BEFORE the Riots: BOMBINGS

All instances of bombings UNDERREPORTED. News articles merely said, "'The police are investigating.' Newspapers failed to condemn of the bombings as lawlessness or crime except in the case of a bombing at 3401 Indiana Avenue, where a child was killed May 1, 1919. The Bbombing of Binga's home treated "humorously."

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# A look at justice/injustice BEFORE the Riots: BOMBINGS

"Although Negroes in some cases were warned of the exact dates on which they were to be bombed, and policemen were sometimes on duty at the places where bombs were exploded, only two arrests were made. One of those arrested was immediately released and the other was never brought to trial."

# A look at justice/injustice BEFORE the Riots: BOMBINGS

- "It appears from evidence presented to the Commission that bombings have been systematically planned. Many white residents, objecting to the violence suggested and used to keep out Negroes, withdrew from the neighborhood protective organizations, fearing that they might be held responsible for the resulting lawlessness."
- "These protective associations have denied responsibility and declared that they used only legitimate methods, such as foreclosure of mortgages and refusal to deal with Negroes. During the summer of 1920, they stated, sixty-eight foreclosures were effected."

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# The "Negro Problem" as a "Criminal Problem"

"The prevailing impression that Negroes are by nature more criminal than whites and more prone to commit sex crimes has restricted their employment, increased unfair measures of restraint, and blackened the name of the entire Negro group.

Two important facts were apparent from the Commission's study:

(1) the danger inherent in the vicious environment in which Negroes are forced to live, and (2) the misrepresentative character of the statistics of Negro crime."

# The "Negro Problem" as a "Criminal Problem" (P. 621.)

"But the study of crime statistics, aside from showing the unreliability of records due to careless methods of obtaining and presenting data, revealed that Negroes suffer gross injustice in the handling of criminal affairs."

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# The "Negro Problem" as a "Criminal Problem"

"The general inaccuracy of criminal statistics is shown by the fact, for example, that the police reported 1,731 burglaries, or persons arrested for burglary, in 1919, while the Chicago Crime Commission reported 5,509 burglaries during the first eleven months of that year. The evidence at hand indicates that Negroes are debited with practically all their crimes, while others are not."

# The "Negro Problem" as a "Criminal Problem" (P. 622.)

"It further appears, from the records and from the testimony of judges in the juvenile, municipal, circuit, superior, and criminal courts, of police officials, the state's attorney, and various experts on crime, probation, and parole, that Negroes are more commonly arrested, subjected to police identification, and convicted than white offenders; that on similar evidence they are generally held and convicted on more serious charges, and that they are given longer sentences. This bias, when reflected in the figures, serves to bolster by false figures the already existing belief that Negroes are more likely to be criminal than other racial groups."

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# Black Crime in the Press & Public Sentiment

"Colored people feel very keenly about the way crime committed, or alleged to have been committed, by Negroes is played up in the newspapers. We never see the Negro's good qualities mentioned. As a rule, when a Negro's name appears in the newspapers, he has done something to somebody, or somebody has done something to him."

### **Black Crime in the Press & Public Sentiment**

(P. 526.)

The frequent mention of Negroes in connection with crime by the white press has the following effects:

- 1. It plays upon the popular belief that Negroes are naturally criminal.
- 2. The constant recounting of crimes of Negroes, always naming the race of the offender, effects an association of Negroes with criminality.
- 3. It frequently involves reference to sex matters which provides a powerful stimulant to public interest.
- 4. It provides sensational and sometimes amusing material, and at the same time fixes the crimes upon a group with supposed criminal traits.

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### Black Crime in the Press & Public Sentiment

"The beliefs handed down through tradition concerning the weak moral character of Negroes and their emotional nature are thus constantly and steadily held before the public. Police officers, judges, and other public officials are similarly affected, consciously or unconsciously, by these beliefs and by the constant mention of Negroes in relation to crime. Arrest on suspicion, conviction on scanty evidence, and severe punishments are the results. A vicious circle is thus created."

### **VIOLENT RIOTERS** (P. 595.)

"Gangs of white 'toughs,' made up largely of the membership of socalled "athletic clubs" from the neighborhood between Roosevelt Road and Sixty-third Street, Wentworth Avenue and the city limits-a district contiguous to the neighborhood of the largest Negro settlement-were a constant menace to Negroes who traversed sections of the territory going to and returning from work."

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### **VIOLENT RIOTERS** (P. 595.)

"The activities of these gangs and "athletic clubs" became bolder in the spring of 1919, and on the night of June 21, five weeks before the riot, two wanton murders of Negroes occurred, those of Sanford Harris and Joseph Robinson."

### **VIOLENT RIOTERS** (P. 595.)

"Harris returning to his home on Dearborn Street, about 11:30 at night, passed a group of young white men. They threatened him and he ran. He had gone but a short distance when one of the group shot him. He died soon afterward." No arrests, even though assailant identify by a white witness.

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### **VIOLENT RIOTERS** (P. 595.)

"On the same evening Robinson, a Negro laborer, forty-seven years of age, was attacked while returning from work by a gang of white "roughs" at Fifty-fifth Street and Princeton Avenue, apparently without provocation, and stabbed to death."

### **VIOLENT RIOTERS** (P. 598.)

Responsibility for many attacks was definitely placed by many witnesses upon the "athletic clubs," including "Ragen's Colts," the "Hamburgers," "Aylwards," "Our Flag," the "Standard," the "Sparklers," and several others. The mobs were made up for the most part of boys between fifteen and twenty-two.

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# LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: CONDUCT OF THE POLICE (P. 599.)

"Chief of Police John J. Garrity, in explaining the inability of the police to curb the rioters, said that there was not a sufficient force to police one-third of the city. Aside from this, Negroes distrusted the white police officers, and it was implied by the chief and stated by State's Attorney Hoyne, that many of the police were 'grossly unfair in making arrests.' There were instances of actual police participation in the rioting as well as neglect of duty."

# LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: CONDUCT OF THE POLICE (P. 599.)

"Of 229 persons arrested and accused of various criminal activities during the riot, 154 were Negroes and seventy five were whites. Of those indicted, eighty-one were Negroes and forty-seven were whites. Although this, on its face, would indicate great riot activity on the part of Negroes, further reports of clashes show that of 520 persons injured, 342 were Negroes and 178 were whites. The fact that twice as many Negroes appeared as defendants and twice as many Negroes as whites were injured, leads to the conclusion that whites were not apprehended as readily as Negroes."

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# LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: CONDUCT OF THE POLICE (P. 599.)

"Many of the depredations outside the "Black Belt" were encouraged by the absence of policemen. Out of a force of 3,000 police, 2,800 were massed in the "Black Belt" during the height of the rioting. In the "Loop" district, where two Negroes were killed and several others wounded, there were only three policemen and one sergeant. The Stock Yards district, where the greatest number of injuries occurred, was also weakly protected."

# LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: THE MILITIA (P. 599-600.)

"Although Governor Lowden had ordered the militia into the city promptly and they were on hand on the second day of the rioting, their services were not requested by the mayor and chief of police until the evening of the fourth day."

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# LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: THE MILITIA (P. 599-600.)

- "The reason expressed by the chief for this delay was a belief that inexperienced militiamen would add to the deaths and disorder."
- "But the troops, when called, proved to be clearly of high character, and their discipline was good, not a case of breach of discipline being reported during their occupation. They were distributed more proportionately through all the riotous areas than the police and, although they reported some hostility from members of "athletic clubs," the rioting soon ceased."

# LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: Prosecution and "THE AFTERMATH" (P. 600.)

Of the thirty-eight persons killed in the riot:

- Fifteen at the hands of mobs. Coroner's juries recommended that the members of the unknown mobs be apprehended. They were never found.
- Six killed in circumstances fixing no criminal responsibility: three white men were killed by Negroes in self-defense, and three Negroes were shot by policemen in the discharge of their duty.

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# LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: Prosecution and "THE AFTERMATH" (P. 600.)

Of the thirty-eight persons killed in the riot:

- Four Negroes were killed in the Angelus riot. The coroner made no recommendations, and the cases were not carried farther.
- Four cases, two Negro and two white, resulted in recommendations from coroner's juries for further investigation of certain persons.

  Sufficient evidence was lacking for indictments against them.

LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: Prosecution and "THE AFTERMATH" (P. 600.)

Of the thirty-eight persons killed in the riot:

- Nine cases led to indictments.
- Of this number four cases resulted in convictions.

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LAW ENFORCEMENT DURING AND AFTER THE RIOTS: Prosecution and "THE AFTERMATH" (P. 602.)

"There was a lack of energetic co-operation between the police department and the state's attorney's office in the discovery and conviction of rioters."



# CHAPTER XI: Summary of the report and Recommendations of the Commission Commission

49

recommendations in total, organized first by the communities to which such recommendations were directed, and then by subject matter for that community. The communities explicitly addressed by the recommendations included:

- To the Police, Militia, State's Attorney, and Courts:
- To the Board of Education:
- To Social and Civic Organizations, Labor Unions, and Churches:
- To the Public:
- To the White Members of the Public:
- To Restaurants, Theaters, Stores, and Other Places of Public Accommodation:
- To the City Council and Administrative Boards, the Park Boards and the Municipal Bureau of Parks, Playgrounds, and Bathing-Beaches:

# A few recommendations concerning civil and legal rights:

- "We point out that Negroes are entitled by law to the same treatment as other persons in restaurants, theaters, stores, and other places of public accommodation, and we urge that owners and managers of such places govern their policies and actions and their employees accordingly."
- "We recommend that the most stringent means possible be applied to control the importation, sale, and possession of firearms and other deadly weapons."
- "In order to facilitate police supervision of so-called "athletic clubs," we
  recommend that all such clubs be required to file with the city clerk
  statements of their purposes and, at stated intervals, lists of their members
  and officers, with their addresses."

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# FIRST TEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)
HANDLING OF RIOTS

1. "We recommend that the police and militia work out, at the earliest possible date, a detailed plan for joint action in the control of race riots."

# FIRST TEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

### HANDLING OF RIOTS

2. "In accordance with such a plan, and in the event of race rioting, we specifically recommend: (a) that the militia, white and Negro, be promptly mobilized at the beginning of the outbreak; (b) that police and deputy sheriffs and militia, white and Negro, be so distributed as adequately to protect both races in white and Negro neighborhoods and to avoid the gross inequalities of protection which, in the riot of 1919, permitted widespread depredations, including murder, against Negroes in white neighborhoods, and attacks in Negro neighborhoods by invading white hoodlums . . .

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# FIRST TEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

### HANDLING OF RIOTS

(continued)

(c) that the police and militia be stationed with special reference to main street-car lines and transfer points used by Negroes in getting to and from work; (d) that substantial assurance be given of adequate and equal protection by all agencies of law enforcement, thus removing the incentive to arm in self-defense; (e) that in the appointment of special peace officers there shall be no discrimination against Negroes; (f) that all rioters, white and Negro, be arrested without race discrimination;

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

### HANDLING OF RIOTS

(continued)

(g) that all reports and complaints of neglect of duty or participation in rioting by police, deputy sheriffs, or militia be promptly investigated and the offenders promptly punished; (h) that all persons arrested in connection with rioting be systematically booked on distinct charges showing such connection, in order to avoid the confusion and evasions of justice following the riot of 1919."

55

# FIRST TEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

### HANDLING OF RIOTS

- 3. "We recommend that, without regard to color, all persons arrested in connection with rioting be promptly tried and the guilty speedily punished."
- 4. "We recommend prompt and vigorous action by the police, state's attorney, and courts to suppress the bombings of Negro and white houses, these acts being criminal and likely to provoke race rioting."

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)
HANDLING OF RIOTS

5. "The testimony of court officials before the Commission and its investigations indicate that Negroes are more commonly arrested, subjected to police identification, and convicted than white offenders, that on similar evidence they are generally held and convicted on more serious charges, and that they are given longer sentences. We point out that these practices and tendencies are not only unfair to Negroes, but weaken the machinery of justice and, when taken with the greater inability of Negroes to pay fines in addition to or in lieu of terms in jail, produce misleading statistics of Negro crime.

57

# FIRST TEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

### HANDLING OF RIOTS

(continued)

". . . We recognize that these practices and tendencies are in a large degree the unconscious results of traditional race prejudice. We recommend to the police, state's attorney, judges, and juries that they consider these conditions in the effort to deal fairly (and without discrimination) with all persons charged with crime."

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

HANDLING OF RIOTS

- 6. "We recommend that, in order to encourage respect for law by both Negroes and whites, the courts discountenance the facetiousness which is too common in dealing with cases in which Negroes are involved."
- 7. "We recommend that the police, state's attorney, and other authorities promptly rid the Negro residence areas of vice resorts, whose present exceptional prevalence in such areas is due to official laxity."

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# FIRST TEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

HANDLING OF RIOTS

8. (POLICING OF PARKS AND BEACHES) "We recommend better cooperation between the city and park police in and near parks, bathingbeaches, and other public recreation places, especially where there has been or is likely to be race friction; and in the speedy punishment of persons guilty of stoning houses, molesting individuals, or committing other depredations calculated to arouse race antagonism."

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

HANDLING OF RIOTS

9. ("ATHLETIC CLUBS") "We recommend that the police pay particular and continuous attention to the so-called "athletic clubs" on the South Side, which we have found to be a fruitful source of race conflict, and that when race conflict arises or is imminent the members and meeting places of such clubs be searched for arms and that, if deemed necessary, such clubs be closed."

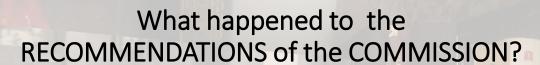
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# FIRST TEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

The First 10 recommendations regarded law enforcement. (P. 640-42.)

HANDLING OF RIOTS

10. "We commend the police for the prompt and effective action in the [Thomas J.] Barrett murder case, September 20, 1920, which allayed public alarm and averted a serious clash."



As the MacAuthor Foundation reports:

how ingrained and systemic racism had become, with discriminatory housing, criminal justice, and economics resulting in second class citizenship for African-Americans. But the 1922 report's recommendations were weak and mostly ignored.

A report produced by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations after the riots documented

https://www.macfound.org/press/chicago-stories/1919-race-riots-still-shape-chicago/

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## OTHER TALES OF RACIAL JUSTICE

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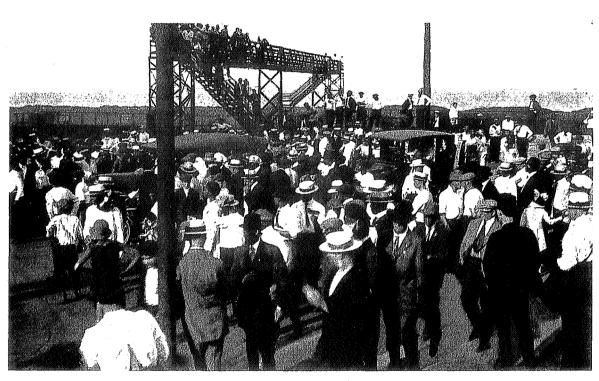
THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO

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CHICAGO RACE RIOT—BEGINNING OF THE RIOT

WHITES AND NEGROES LEAVING TWENTY NINTH STREET BEACH AFTER THE DROWNING OF EUGENE WILLIAMS

# THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO

# A STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS AND A RACE RIOT

BY
THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON
RACE RELATIONS



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS CHICAGO ILLINOIS



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### **FOREWORD**

There is no domestic problem in America which has given thoughtful men more concern than the problem of the relations between the white and the Negro races. In earlier days the colonization of the Negro, as in Liberia, was put forward as a solution. That idea was abandoned long ago. It is now recognized generally that the two races are here in America to stay.

It is also certain that the problem will not be solved by methods of violence. Every race riot, every instance in which men of either race defy legal authority and take the law into their own hands, but postpones the day when the two races shall live together amicably. The law must be maintained and enforced vigorously and completely before any real progress can be made towards better race relations.

Means must be found, therefore, whereby the two races can live together on terms of amity. This will be possible only if the two races are brought to understand each other better. It is believed that such understanding will result in each having a higher degree of respect for the other, and that such respect will form the basis for greatly improved relations between the races.

The Commission on Race Relations, composed of distinguished representatives of both races, has made the most thorough and complete survey of the race situation that I have seen anywhere. While its field of study was necessarily limited to Chicago, the conditions there may be regarded as fairly typical of conditions in other large cities where there is a large colored population.

The report does not pretend to have discovered any new formula by which all race trouble will disappear. The subject is too complex for any such simple solution. It finds certain facts, however, the mere recognition of which will go a long way towards allaying race feeling. It finds that in that portion of Chicago in which colored persons have lived longest and in the largest numbers relatively there has been the minimum of friction. This is a fact of the first importance. For it tends to show that the presence of Negroes in large numbers in our great cities is not a menace in itself.

There is one recommendation (No. 31) to which I desire to call special attention: that a permanent local commission on race relations be created. When as Governor of Illinois I withdrew troops from Chicago after the riots, I was not at all persuaded that all danger of their recurrence was past. I kept observers from the Adjutant General's office on the ground to watch for any signs of fresh trouble. The Commission on Race Relations was appointed, and conditions at once began to improve. The activities of this Commission, composed of the best representatives of both races, were, as I believe, the principal cause for this improved condition.

Causes of friction, insignificant in themselves, but capable of leading to serious results, were discovered by the Commission and by its suggestion were removed in time to avoid grave consequences. Gross exaggerations of some fancied grievance by either the one race or the other were examined into and were found to rest upon nothing else than idle rumor or prejudice. In the light of truth which the Commission was able to throw upon the subject, these grievances disappeared. In other words, misunderstanding, which had been so prolific a source of trouble between the races, was greatly reduced.

The report contains recommendations, which, if acted upon, will make impossible, in my opinion, a repetition of the appalling tragedy which brought disgrace to Chicago in July of 1919.

Men may differ as to some of the conclusions reached, but all fair-minded men must admit, I think, that the report of the Commission on Race Relations is a most important contribution to this important subject.

FRANK O. LOWDEN

### INTRODUCTION

On Sunday, July 27, 1919, there was a clash of white people and Negroes at a bathing-beach in Chicago, which resulted in the drowning of a Negro boy. This led to a race riot in which thirty-eight lives were lost—twenty-three Negroes and fifteen whites—and 537 persons were injured. After three days of mob violence, affecting several sections of the city, the state militia was called out to assist the police in restoring order. It was not until August 6 that danger of further clashes was regarded as past.

To discuss this serious situation and means of preventing its recurrence, a group of eighty-one citizens, representing forty-eight social, civic, commercial, and professional organizations of Chicago, met on August 1, 1919, at the Union League Club. Mr. Charles W. Folds, president of the Club, presided. Brief addresses were made by Mr. H. H. Merrick, president of the Chicago Association of Commerce, Dr. Graham Taylor, Miss Harriet Vittum, Major John S. Bonner, Mr. Charles J. Boyd, and Rev. William C. Covert.

Resolutions were passed and given to the press, and the following letter to the Governor of Illinois was authorized:

To His Excellency, Frank O. Lowden Governor of Illinois

DEAR SIR: A meeting was held today at the Union League Club to take up the matter of the present race riots.

This meeting was attended by 81 representatives of 48 prominent civic, professional and commercial organizations, such as Chicago Medical Association, Chicago Bar Association, Federation of Churches, Association of Commerce, Packing House Industries, Urban League, Woman's City Club, Chicago Woman's Club, Foreign Language Division, representing foreign-born population, etc.

A resolution was adopted unanimously, appointing the undersigned as a committee to wait upon you and ask that you appoint at your earliest convenience an emergency state committee to study the psychological, social and economic causes underlying the conditions resulting in the present race riot and to make such recommendations as will tend to prevent a recurrence of such conditions in the future.

The committee would welcome an opportunity to meet you at any time convenient to yourself and to talk over with you details and give you such information as has been gathered through these various organizations.

Respectfully,

CHARLES W. FOLDS
GRAHAM TAYLOR
WILLIAM C. GRAVES
HARRIET E. VITTUM
T. ARNOLD HILL
FELIX J. STREYCKMANS

In response to this and other urgent requests by various citizens and organizations, and pursuant to his personal knowledge of the situation derived from investigations made by him in Chicago during the period of the riot, Governor Lowden announced on August 20, 1919, the appointment of a Commission on Race Relations, consisting of twelve members, six from each race, as follows—Mr. Bancroft being designated by him as chairman:

Representing the white people: Edgar A. Bancroft, William Scott Bond, Edward Osgood Brown, Harry Eugene Kelly, Victor F. Lawson, Julius Rosenwald.

Representing the Negro people: Robert S. Abbott, George Cleveland Hall, George H. Jackson, Edward H. Morris, Adelbert H. Roberts, Lacey Kirk Williams.<sup>1</sup>

In announcing the appointment of this Commission, Governor Lowden made public the following statement:

I have been requested by many citizens and by many civic organizations in Chicago to appoint a Commission to study and report upon the broad question of the relations between the two races. These riots were the work of the worst element of both races. They did not represent the great overwhelming majority of either race. The two are here and will remain here. The great majority of each realizes the necessity of their living upon terms of cordial good will and respect, each for the other. That condition must be brought about.

To say that we cannot solve this problem is to confess the failure of self-government. I offer no solution of the problem. I do know, however, that the question cannot be answered by mob violence. I do know that every time men, white or colored, take the law into their own hands, instead of helping they only postpone the settlement of the question. When we admit the existence of a problem and courageously face it, we have gone half-way toward its solution.

I have with the utmost care, in response to the requests above set forth, appointed a Commission to undertake this great work. I have sought only the most representative men of the two races. I have not even asked them whether they had views as to how the question could be met. I have asked them only to approach the difficult subject with an open mind, and in a spirit of fairness and justice to all. This is a tribunal that has been constituted to get the facts and interpret them and to find a way out. I believe that great good can come out of the work of this Commission.

I ask that our people, white and colored, give their fullest co-operation to the Commission. I ask, too, as I have a right to ask, that both races exercise that patience and self-restraint which are indispensable to self-government while we are working out this problem.

During an absence of the chairman, due to ill health, Governor Lowden requested Dr. Francis W. Shepardson, director of the State Department of Registration and Education, to serve as acting chairman. On Mr. Bancroft's return and at the Commission's request, the Governor appointed Dr. Shepardson a member and vice-chairman of the Commission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For biographical data see p. 652.

The Commission's first meeting was held on October 9, 1919. Nine other meetings were held during the remainder of that year to canvass the possible fields of inquiry, and to provide for the organization of studies and investigations.

The Commission was seriously handicapped at the outset by a complete lack of funds. The legislative session of 1919 had ended before the riot, and the next regular session was not to convene until January, 1921. The Commission felt that it could not with propriety seek to raise funds on its own appeal. To meet this situation a group of citizens offered to serve as a co-operating committee to finance the Commission's inquiry and the preparation and publication of its report. This Committee, consisting of Messrs. James B. Forgan, chairman, Abel Davis, treasurer, Arthur Meeker, John J. Mitchell, and John G. Shedd, gave effective aid, being most actively assisted by Messrs. R. B. Beach and John F. Bowman, of the staff of the Chicago Association of Commerce. Without the co-operation of these gentlemen and the resulting financial assistance of many generous contributors the Commission could not have carried on its work. It here expresses its most grateful appreciation.

The Commission organized its staff, inviting Mr. Graham Romeyn Taylor, as executive secretary, and Mr. Charles S. Johnson, as associate executive secretary, to assume charge of the inquiries and investigations under its direction. They began their work on December 7, 1919.

While the Commission recognized the importance of studying the facts of the riot, it felt that even greater emphasis should be placed on the study and interpretation of the conditions of Negro life in Chicago and of the relations between the two races. Therefore, after a brief survey of the data already collected and of the broad field for its inquiries, it organized into six committees, as follows: Committee on Racial Clashes, Committee on Housing, Committee on Industry, Committee on Crime, Committee on Racial Contacts, Committee on Public Opinion.

Along all these lines of inquiry information was sought in two general ways: through a series of conferences or informal hearings, and through research and field work carried on by a staff of trained investigators, white and Negro. Thus both races were represented in the membership of the Commission, in its executive secretaries, and in the field and office staff organized by the executive secretaries.

It is not without significance that in securing office quarters the Commission found several agents of buildings who declined to make a lease when they learned that Negroes as well as whites were among the prospective tenants. They stated their objections as based, not upon their own prejudices, but upon the fear that other tenants would resent the presence of Negroes. Office space at 118 North La Salle Street was leased to the Commission by the L. J. McCormick estate, beginning February 1, 1920. When these offices

were vacated, May 1, 1921, the agents of the estate informed the Commission that no tenant of the building had complained of the presence of Negroes.

By March 1, 1920, the staff of investigators had been organized and was at work. The personnel was recruited as far as possible from social workers of both races whose training and experience had fitted them for intelligent and sympathetic handling of research and field work along the lines mapped out by the Commission.<sup>1</sup>

The period of investigations and conferences or informal hearings lasted until November, 1920. The work of compiling material and writing the various sections of the report had begun in October, 1920. Including its business meetings and thirty conferences the Commission held more than seventy-five meetings; forty of these were devoted to the consideration of the text of the report.

The executive secretaries with their staff collected the materials during 1020, and soon after presented the first draft of a report. This was considered and discussed by the Commission in numerous sessions, and the general outlines of the report were decided upon. Then a second draft, in accordance with its directions, was prepared by subjects, and a copy was submitted to each member of the Commission for suggestions and criticisms. Afterward the Commission met and discussed the questions raised by the different members, and determined upon the changes to be made in substance and form. After the entire report had been thus revised, the Commission in many conferences decided what recommendations to make. These recommendations. with a summary of the report, were then prepared, and were reviewed by the Commission after they had been sent to each member. After full consideration they were further revised and then adopted by the Commission. In all these conferences upon the report, all of the Commissioners, with one exception, conferred frequently and agreed unanimously. Mr. Morris, on account of his duties as a member of the Constitutional Convention, did not attend any of these conferences upon the report, summary, or recommendations, and does not concur in them.

The Commission received the cordial assistance of many agencies, organizations, and individuals. The Chicago Urban League placed at its disposal a large amount of material from its files. It also gave a leave of absence to the head of its Department of Research and Investigation, Mr. Charles S. Johnson, the Commission's associate executive secretary. Many citizens, representing widely divergent lines of interest, who were invited to attend conferences held by the Commission, gave most generously of their time and knowledge. The L. J. McCormick estate donated three months' office rent. Messrs. George C. Nimmons & Company, architects, contributed valuable services, including study and supervision by Frederick Jehnck of their office,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The members of this staff, with the previous training and experience of each, are listed in the Appendix, p. 653.

in preparing maps and charts designed to present most effectively data collected by the Commission. The Federal Bureau of the Census made available advanced data from the 1920–21 censuses. Superintendent Peter A. Mortensen and many principals and teachers in the Chicago public schools co-operated in the extensive studies of race relations in the schools; and the Committee of Fifteen provided a report showing important facts in the study of environment and crime. The various park boards, many municipal, county, and state officials, superintendents and others connected with industrial plants, tradesunion officers, and leaders in many civic and social agencies greatly facilitated investigations in their respective fields. To all these the Commission returns sincere thanks. But, perhaps, the greatest debt of gratitude is due Mr. Ernest S. Simpson, who generously and devotedly gave his spare time for many months to the editing of this report.

The Commission's letter to Governor Lowden summarizing its work, and his answer follow:

January 1, 1921

Honorable Frank O. Lowden Governor of Illinois

SIR: Following the race riot in Chicago in July and August, 1919, in which fifteen white people and twenty-three Negroes were killed and very many of both races were injured, you appointed us as a Commission on Race Relations "to study and report upon the broad question of the relations between the two races." We have completed the investigations planned as a basis for this study, and are now preparing a final report of our findings, conclusions and recommendations. This report will soon be ready.

The Commission began its work in October, 1919, and for eleven months has had a staff of investigators assisting it in its activities. While devoting much effort to the study of the Chicago riot as presenting many phases of the race problem, the Commission has placed greater emphasis upon the study of the conditions of life of the Negro group in this community, and of the broad questions of race relations. It therefore organized itself into six committees on the following subjects: Racial Clashes, Housing, Industry, Crime, Racial Contacts, and Public Opinion.

In these fields the Commission's work has been done along two main lines:

- (a) a series of conferences, at which persons believed to have special information and experience relating to these subjects have been invited to give the Commission the benefit of their knowledge and opinions;
- (b) research and field work by a trained staff of investigators, both white and Negro, to determine as accurately as possible, from first-hand evidence, the actual conditions in the above fields.

The series of conferences, numbering thirty, covered a wide range of topics, such as: the race riot of 1919 as viewed by the police, the militia, the grand jury, and state's attorney; race friction and its remedies; contacts of whites and Negroes in public schools and recreation places; special educational problems of Negro children; Negro housing, its needs, type, and financing, and its difficulties in mixed areas; Negro

labor in relation to employers, fellow-workers, and trade unions; Negro women in industry; the Negro and social agencies; Negro health; Negroes and whites in the courts and in correctional institutions; and the Negro and white press in relation to public opinion on race relations.

Of two hundred and sixty-three persons invited, one hundred and seventy-five attended these conferences and presented their information and views. They represented both races and various groups and viewpoints; they included educators and teachers, real estate men, bankers, managers of industrial plants, housing experts, trades-union leaders, social workers, physicians, park and playground directors, judges, clergymen, superintendents of correctional and other institutions, police, militia, and other public officials, and newspaper editors.

The research and field work done by the staff of investigators covered in general the same broad range. The character is indicated by a bare outline of the work in the six main fields:

Racial Clashes: 1919 Chicago riot, seventeen antecedent clashes; three minor clashes in 1920; brief comparative study of Springfield riot in 1908 and East St. Louis riot in 1917.

Racial Contacts: In schools, transportation lines, parks, and other recreation places; contacts in mixed neighborhoods; adjustment of southern Negro families coming to Chicago; survey of Negro agencies and institutions.

Housing: Negro areas in Chicago and their expansion 1910–1920; 274 family histories showing housing experience, home life, and social back-ground, including families from the South; 159 blocks covered in neighborhood survey; financing Negro housing; depreciation in and near Negro areas; 52 house bombings, 1917–1920.

Industry: Data covering 22,448 Negroes in 192 plants; 101 plants visited; quality of Negro labor; the widening opportunities and chance for promotion studied; special study of trades unions and the Negro worker.

Crime: Police statistics of arrests and convictions of Negroes and selected nationalities compared and analyzed for six years<sup>1</sup>; also juvenile court cases; 698 cases (one month) in three police courts studied, including detailed social data on Negro cases; also 249 sex cases (two years) in criminal court; record of eleven penal institutions; environmental survey of Negro areas.

Public Opinion: Files of white and Negro newspapers studied to analyze handling of matters relating to race relations; study of rumor and its effects, and of racial propaganda of white and Negro organizations.

We believe that the large volume of information collected will prove, when properly set forth, of great value not only in Chicago but in other communities where public-spirited citizens are endeavoring to establish right relations between the two races. This end can be attained only through a more intelligent appreciation by both races of the gravity of the problem, and by their earnest efforts toward a better mutual understanding and a more sympathetic co-operation.

Hoping that our appreciation of the trust you have reposed in us may appear in some measure in the aid our report may give toward working out better race relations, we are,

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed by members of the Commission and its Executive Secretaries)

<sup>1</sup> In the final revision of the report, the Commission decided that the police statistics were, as a rule, too unreliable to be made a basis of conclusions.

# STATE OF ILLINOIS OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR Springfield

January 3, 1921

MY DEAR MR. BANCROFT:

I have received and read with great interest your letter of January 1st transmitting to me a detailed statement of the work of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations appointed by me after the race riot in Chicago in 1919, which is signed by yourself as chairman and by the other members of the Commission.

I am greatly pleased to know that the Commission has been able to accomplish so much through its investigations and that there has been such hearty co-operation on the part of many citizens to make the inquiry in this important field as valuable as possible.

I shall look forward with more than ordinary interest to the appearance of the completed report in printed form. I suggest that the Commission arrange for its publication as soon as possible in order that your findings and recommendations may be made available to all students of race relations in our country.

I desire to express to you and through you to the members of the Commission my great appreciation of the service which you have rendered to the people of Chicago and of Illinois in connection with the Commission. I have been advised from time to time of your continuing interest, your fidelity in attendance upon the meetings of the Commission, and your earnest desire to render as accurate a judgment as possible.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) FRANK O. LOWDEN

Hon. Edgar A. Bancroft Chairman, Chicago Commission on Race Relations

In accordance with Governor Lowden's suggestion the Commission herewith presents its report, with findings and recommendations, hoping that it may prove of service in the efforts to bring about better relations between the white and Negro races.

# The Need for Diversity in the Fight for Justice

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- Juan Thomas



# THE NAACP: A CENTURY IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or NAACP, is America's oldest and largest civil rights organization. Founded in 1909, it was at the center of nearly every battle for the rights and dignity of African Americans in the twentieth century. Today, the NAACP honors its heritage of activism and continues to work for civil rights.



Silent protest parade http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a34294

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 1895

Booker T. Washington delivers a speech at the opening of the Cotton States and International Exhibition in Atlanta, Georgia. This speech calls for a moderate approach to race relations, with an emphasis on gradual economic and social advancement for African Americans. After the speech, the scholar W.E.B. DuBois sends a note to congratulate Washington on the speech.

#### 1909

A group of white activists, including the descendants of abolitionists, issues a call for a conference to protest discrimination and violence against African Americans. Some 60 people, seven of whom are African American, sign the call, which was released on the centennial of Lincoln's birth. The call leads to the first meeting of the National Negro Conference, held on May 31 and June 1, in New York City.

#### 1910

The National Negro Conference adopts the name National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The organization names as president Moorfield Storey, a white constitutional lawyer and former president of the American Bar Association. W.E.B DuBois is selected as the director of publications and research.

#### 1916

The NAACP establishes an anti-lynching committee. In 1918 this committee releases the booklet Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918.

#### 1917

After a deadly race riot in East St. Louis, the NAACP organizes the Silent Protest March in New York, N.Y. Over 10,000 African American men, women and children march to the sound of muffled drums while marchers carry banners calling for justice and equal rights.

#### 1918

Walter White, the Assistant Field Secretary of the NAACP, travels into the south and sends back reports on lynching and other violence against African Americans. Included in his reports are notes on the lynching of fifteen year old Sammie Smith in Nashville, Tennessee.

#### 1920

James Weldon Johnson, the noted writer and diplomat, becomes the first African American to head the NAACP. Also this year the NAACP begins to fly a flag from its office with the words, "A Man Was Lynched Yesterday".

#### 1929

NAACP celebrates its 20th anniversary at the annual conference in Cleveland. By this time, there are 325 branches across the country.

James Weldon Johnson http://www.loc.gov/pictures/ item/95517919/

#### 1931-1941

During the Great Depression, the NAACP begins to focus on economic justice.

Walter White, a friend and adviser to First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, meets with her often in attempts to convince President Franklin D. Roosevelt to outlaw job discrimination.

#### 1932

The NAACP sends staff to investigate complaints about the treatment of laborers working on the War Department's Mississippi River Flood Control Project. Their report on conditions there, Mississippi River Slavery–1932, is followed by a pay raise and shortened hours for many Mississippi levee camp laborers.

#### 1935

Charles Hamilton Houston is named NAACP chief counsel. His strategy on school-segregation cases will pave the way for his protégé Thurgood Marshall to prevail in 1954's Brown v. Board of Education. One of the cases Houston will litigate is the case of Donald Murray, who in 1935 became the first African American student admitted to the University of Maryland law school.

### 1936

Walter White writes to the track and field star Jesse Owens to encourage him not to participate in the Olympics in Berlin. Owens decides to go to the Olympics, where he wins four gold medals.

#### 1939

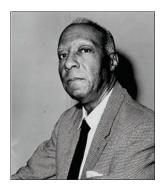
Marian Anderson performs at the Lincoln Memorial after being denied permission to sing at the Daughters of the American Revolution's (DAR) Constitution Hall. Eleanor Roosevelt resigns from the DAR in protest and helps arrange the concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

#### 1941

The NAACP decides to support A. Philip Randolph's proposed mass March on Washington to protest discrimination in defense industries and armed forces.

#### 1944

The NAACP has 430,000 members, the largest in the association's history. In the Smith v. Allwright voting rights case the Supreme Court states that Lonnie Smith of Houston, Texas, was illegally denied the right to vote in a 1940 primary election. Thurgood Marshall describes his work on this case in a detailed, and often humorous, memo with the subject "Saving the Race."



A. Philip Randolph http://www.loc.gov/pictures/ item/97519529/

#### 1947

Harry S. Truman addresses the NAACP's thirty-eighth annual conference, in Washington, D.C. A year later he will sign two executive orders: One institutes fair employment practices in the federal government and the second directs the armed services to provide equality of treatment and opportunity to all personnel.

#### 1954

In the Brown v. Board of Education decision the Supreme Court states unanimously that school segregation is unconstitutional.

#### 1957

Daisy Bates, the president of the Arkansas State Conference of NAACP Branches, leads the fight to desegregate Arkansas schools. In September, Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, is integrated.

#### 1970

The NAACP affirms its commitment to universal suffrage and begins work to amend the Voting Rights Act.

#### 1989

NAACP holds a Silent March to protest U.S. Supreme Court decisions that have reversed many of the gains made against discrimination. This is modeled after the 1917 Silent Protest protesting against the East St. Louis riot.

#### 2001

The NAACP joins a class action lawsuit against the state of Florida alleging voter irregularities in the 2000 presidential election.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

The documents in this set can be used to help students explore the history of the NAACP and the many different struggles in which the organization participated. Study several items and discuss what can be learned from them about any of the following.

- Issues;
- Strategies the organization;
- Victories and setbacks;
- Motivations;
- · Participants.

For any of the above, what changed over time? What questions do the items raise? Choose a specific time period reflected by materials in the set – what else was happening in the United States at that time? Write a letter responding to a letter, memo, or page of notes. You might comment on what the person wrote, ask the person questions, or reflect on how the person's actions have influenced your life. Focus on a particular activity reflected in the materials. How would life be different for you if that activity had not occurred?

### ADDITIONAL RESOURCES



NAACP: A Century in the Fight for Freedom

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/



#### From Slavery to Civil Rights: A Timeline of African American History

http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/civil-rights/



The African American Odyssey: A Quest for Full Citizenship

http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aaohtml/exhibit/aointro.html



### **Civil Rights Themed Resources**

http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/themes/civil-rights/

#### Civil Rights Resource Guide

http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/civilrights/home.html

### PRIMARY SOURCES WITH CITATIONS



"Silent protest parade, 1917." Photograph. N.Y.: Underwood & Underwood, 1917. From Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog.

http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a34294



Battey, C.M. "Booker T. Washington." Photograph. 1917. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a26544

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE IG OF ATLANTA EXPOSI Sept. 18th, 1895. Washington, Booker T. Address by Booker T. Washington, At Opening of Atlanta Exposition. Manuscript. September 18, 1895. From the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division Booker T. Washington Papers.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/prelude.html#obj1



DuBois, W.E.B. W.E.B Dubois to Booker T. Washington. Letter. September 24, 1895. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division Booker T. Washington Papers.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/prelude.html#obj2



"William English Walling, a NAACP Founder." Photograph. [Between 1910 and 1936]. From Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division *NAACP Collection*.

http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.23824

The celebration of the widespread and grateful a f it takes no note of and and women to whom the gr Besides a day of rejoi e one of taking stock of

Villard, Oswald Garrison. "Call" for a National Conference to Address Racial Inequality. Manuscript. February 1909. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division Roy Stannard Baker Papers.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html#obj2

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Until lest May, Sam
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White, Walter. *Notes Concerning Lynching*. Manuscript. [1924]. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division *NAACP Records*.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/the-new-negro-movement.html#obj15



Cole, photographer. "NAACP Officials Celebrating Twentieth Anniversary." Photograph. June 26, 1929. From Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division *NAACP Collection*. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.05523



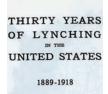
Marshall, Thurgood. *Defending Voting Rights in Texas*. Memorandum. November 17, 1941. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division *NAACP Records*.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/world-war-ii-and-the-post-war-years.html#obj5



Conditions are yet week, Minnie Jean's the school with her assistant principal Bates, Daisy Bates to Roy Wilkins. Letter. December 17, 1957. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/the-civil-rights-era.html#obj16



Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States. New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, April 19, 1919. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html#obj32



"Flag, announcing lynching." Photograph. [1936.] From Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division *NAACP Collection*.

http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3g04734



Schulyer, George Schuyler to Walter White. Letter. December 23, [1932]. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records. Wilkins, Roy. Roy Wilkins to Walter White. Letter. January 5, 1933. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/the-great-depression.html#obj5



Murray, Donald. *No Trial and Tribulations*. Manuscript. ca. 1936. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division *NAACP Records*.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/the-great-depression.html#obj15



White, Walter. Walter White to Jesse Owens. Letter. December 4, 1935. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/the-great-depression.html#obj19



Marian Anderson singing at Lincoln Memorial. Photograph. World Wide Photo: April 9, 1939. From Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs *NAACP Collection*.

http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.23838



Walter White. Walter White to Eleanor Roosevelt. Letter. April 12, 1939. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/the-great-depression.html#obj21



Randolph, A. Philip. *A. Philip Randolph to Walter White*. Letter. March 18, 1941. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/world-war-ii-and-the-post-war-years.html#obj1



"George E.C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit, congratulating each other, following Supreme Court decision declaring segregation unconstitutional." Photograph. Associated Press: 1954. From Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division New York World-Telegram & the Sun Newspaper Photograph Collection.

http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c11236



At the Ballot Box. Poster. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: [between 1970 and 1980]. From Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division *Yanker Poster Collection*.

http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.19870



*NAACP's Symbolic Silent March.* Poster. D.C. NAACP Branch: 1989. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division *NAACP Records*.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/a-renewal-of-the-struggle.html#obj14



Mfume, Kweisi. *Kweisi Mfume to Amy T. Billingsly*. Letter. January 30, 2001. From Library of Congress, Manuscript Division NAACP Records.

http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/towards-a-new-century.html#obj9

#### Resources on the Founding of the NAACP, Implicit Bias, and Black Lawyers

#### Websites

- https://www.naacp.org/nations-premier-civil-rights-organization/
- http://springfieldnaacp.org/about-us/history/
- https://www.history.com/topics/civil-rights-movement/naacp
- https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html
- https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-4849
- Written in Black and White: Exploring Confirmation Bias in Racialized Perceptions of Writing Skills, by Dr. Arin N. Reeves (April 2014) <a href="https://nextions.com/portfolio-posts/written-in-black-and-white-yellow-paper-series/">https://nextions.com/portfolio-posts/written-in-black-and-white-yellow-paper-series/</a>
- <a href="https://ipo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Implicit-Bias-White-Paper-2.pdf">https://ipo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Implicit-Bias-White-Paper-2.pdf</a>
- <a href="https://www.americanbar.org/groups/litigation/initiatives/task-force-implicit-bias/implicit-bias-toolbox/powerpoint">https://www.americanbar.org/groups/litigation/initiatives/task-force-implicit-bias/implicit-bias-toolbox/powerpoint</a> references/

#### **New Articles**

- https://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/17/us/politics/17obama.html
- <a href="https://news.bloomberglaw.com/daily-labor-report/davis-polk-hit-with-race-bias-retaliation-suit-by-black-lawyer">https://news.bloomberglaw.com/daily-labor-report/davis-polk-hit-with-race-bias-retaliation-suit-by-black-lawyer</a>
- <a href="https://news.bloomberglaw.com/us-law-week/lawyers-are-uniquely-challenging-audience-for-anti-bias-training">https://news.bloomberglaw.com/us-law-week/lawyers-are-uniquely-challenging-audience-for-anti-bias-training</a>
- https://www.2civility.org/implicit-bias-color-blind-clothing/
- <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/03/28/lawyering-while-black-maryland-deputy-accused-attorney-being-suspect-complaint-says/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/03/28/lawyering-while-black-maryland-deputy-accused-attorney-being-suspect-complaint-says/</a>
- <a href="https://abovethelaw.com/2015/02/implicit-bias-the-silent-killer-of-diversity-in-the-legal-profession/">https://abovethelaw.com/2015/02/implicit-bias-the-silent-killer-of-diversity-in-the-legal-profession/</a>

#### **Books**

- Tsedale M. Melaku, You Don't Look Like a Lawyer: Black Women and Systemic Gendered Racism (2019)
- Patricia Sullivan, Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement (2010).
- J. Clay Smith, Jr., Rebels in Law: Voices in History of Black Women Lawyers (2000)
- J. Clay Smith, Jr., Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844-1944 (1999)

# Implicit Bias & Debiasing

#### ABA SECTION OF LITIGATION

With enormous respect for their work, and gratitude for their generosity in letting us incorporate and build from their materials, these materials follow the approach of ABA CRIMINAL JUSTICE SECTION ET AL., BUILDING COMMUNITY TRUST: IMPROVING CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

1

1

# Roadmap of the Presentation

#### **INTRODUCTIONS**

- □ IMPLICIT BIAS, including
  - Implicit Association Test (IAT)
  - Significance for leaders of legal profession and system of justice
- DEBIASING

**CONCLUSIONS** 

2

- Facilitator/Faculty
- Objectives & Norms
- Cultural group introductions, concept + individual

# **INTRODUCTIONS**

3

3

# Facilitator Introduction



4

# **Objectives**

- 1. Understand what implicit bias means and how it may influence our decisions.
- 2. Understand that being implicitly biased does not necessarily mean we act in explicitly biased ways.
- 3. Learn to recognize some behaviors that may suggest bias or differential treatment.
- **4.** Learn some techniques that help debias perceptions and improve interactions.

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### Norms

- □ Confidentiality
- Breaks / or individual leave & rejoin
- □ Phones off
- □ What else?
- □ Do we all agree?



6

# Introductory Exercise: Cultural Groups



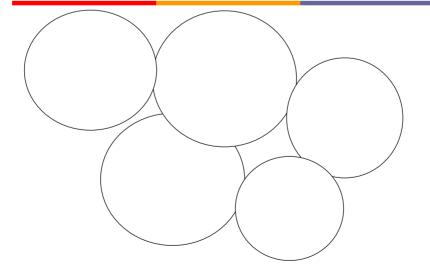
# What are your cultural groups?

"... groups of people who consciously or unconsciously share identifiable values, norms, symbols, and some ways of living that are repeated and transmitted from one generation to another."

7

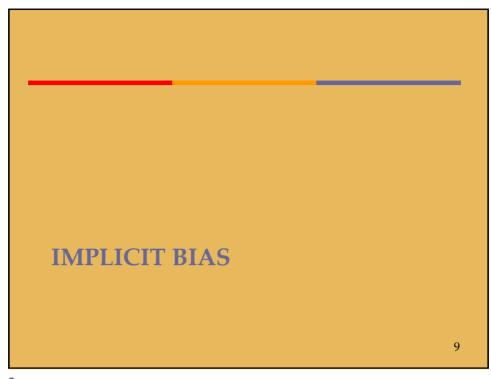
7

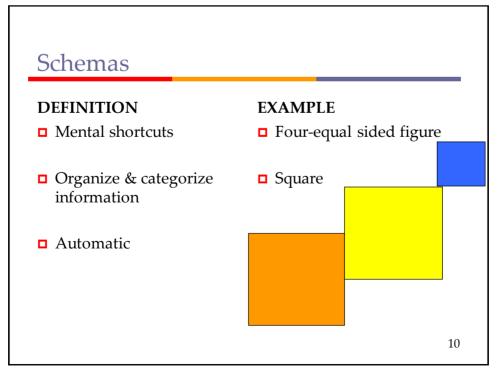
### Five Circles Exercise: CULTURAL GROUPS



8

Q





# **Professor Schema**

#### **Students re: Professors**

- Know their subjects
- □ Prepare for and attend class
- Have office hours
- ☐ Give and grade assignments and exams

#### So Students

- □ Rely on schema to
  - predict and explain prof's actions
  - fill in gaps if prof's actions are ambiguous
- But may eventually change based on individual performance

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### **Shorthand Schemas**



Helpful in some situations, but...



...can lead to discriminatory behaviors, inequity, and unfairness.

2

# Implicit Social Categories/Cognition

#### **FROM**

- Parents/Families
- Friends/Peers
- School
- Media

- □ Direct or vicarious experiences
- □ Positive or negative associations



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# Implicit Bias Defined

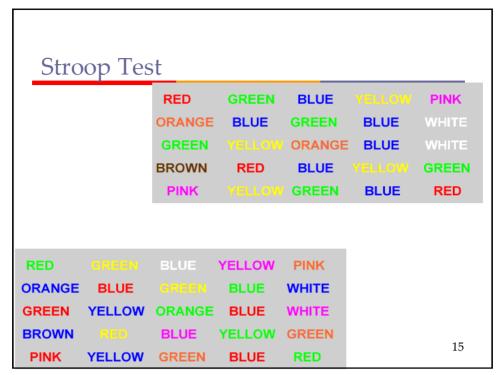
- EVERYONE HAS SCHEMA/IMPLICIT BIAS
  - a preference for a group (positive or negative)
  - often operating outside our awareness
  - based on stereotypes and attitudes we hold
  - that tend to develop early in life
  - and tend to strengthen over time

#### **Attitudes**

Evaluative feelings that are positive or negative

#### **Stereotypes**

Traits we associate with a category



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# **Implicit Association Test**

- □ Computerized test, 2 keys
  - Typically 2 social and 2 evaluative categories, e.g., White/Black and pleasant/unpleasant;
  - Closely associated categories, easier & quicker to sort together...
  - So faster reaction times show implicit connections.



# Implicit Association Test

- □ TAKE THE TEST
- □ Project Implicit, <a href="https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/">https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/</a>
- □ ANSWER QUICKLY!



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# **Implicit**



# **Explicit Biases**

- Implicit biases sometimes differ substantially from stereotypes and attitudes we expressly self-report.
- □ Some research shows IAT is a better predictor of behavior than explicit self-reports
- BUT STILL
  DOESN'T
  NECESSARILY
  MEAN you act with
  your implicit biases

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# Systemic Concerns & Implications

- □ THE PROFESSION is 90% WHITE
- □ IMPLICIT BIAS ← CAN AFFECT EVERY DECISION POINT IN A CASE

- Employment
- Litigators
- Prosecutorial discretion
- Juvenile justice
- Shooter bias
- Judge's opinions
- Sentencing
- Jury selection
- Evidence

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19

So what do we do about it?

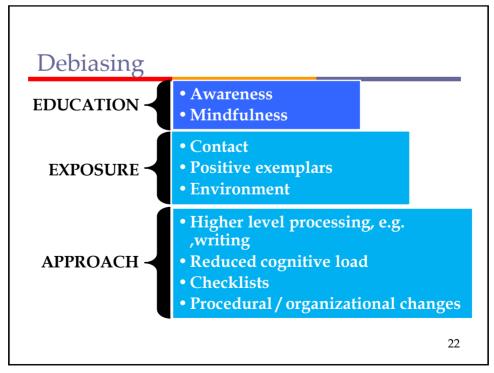
**DEBIASING** 

# The good news is—

"Motivation to be fair makes a difference."

21

21



### Education

- Awareness
- Mindfulness

For example, take and consider IAT results.

Be aware and remain mindful; intuition and implicit responses are valuable, but some decisions require a more explicit kind of thinking, a stare not a blink.

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### Exposure

- Contact
- Positive exemplars
- Perspective taking

Make contact with positive, diverse colleagues and exemplars and practice taking the "other" perspective; all contribute to decreasing implicitly biased response.



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# Approach

- Higher level processing
- Reduced cognitive load, slower decisionmaking
- Checklists
- Procedural / organizational changes
- Micro-messaging

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# Approach: Stare not Blink

- Use checklists
- □ Consider explicit predetermined criteria
- □ Write instead of discussing off-the-cuff



26

# Approach: Change Process

- Consider procedural or organizational changes.
- Insist on appropriate accountability.

	2010	2011	
Recruit	~	~	
Retain	~	•	
Promote		•	
Messaging		•	
Environment		•	
Mentors Exemplars	~	•	
Etc.			

27

27





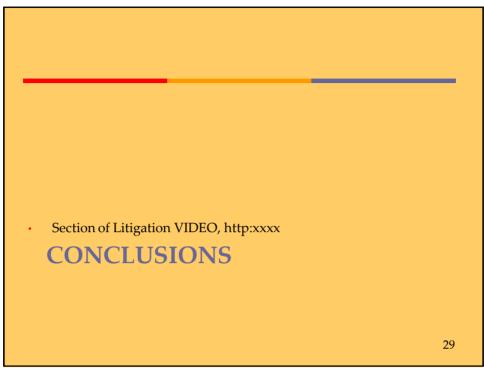


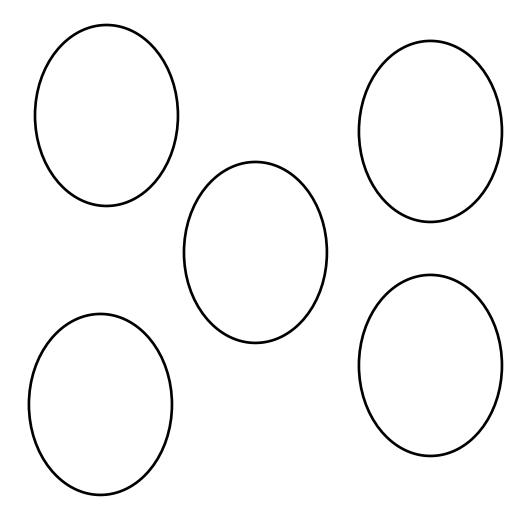




NOTICE YOUR MESSAGING & ENVIRONMENT Small messages can be affirming or inequitable.

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# Making Sense of Your IAT Results

COMMON REACTIONS TO THE IMPLICIT ASSOCIATION TEST

#### THE KIRWAN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF RACE & ETHNICITY

For some people, receiving the results of an Implicit Association Test (IAT) can bring forth a level of relief or self-reinforcement. This is particularly true when one's implicit preferences align with one's explicit beliefs. However, for many people there is disconnection between espoused beliefs and the results of the IAT. If this is your experience, you may be left wondering how to make sense of your IAT results.

This document provides a research-based typology of some common reactions to the IAT.<sup>1</sup> Regardless of what reaction(s) you may have, it is important to know that your feelings are normal and you are not alone in feeling this way. While we all have biases that may or may not align with our deeply held explicit beliefs of justice and equity, what speaks to the content of our character is how we choose to act in the face of learning about the implicit biases that we possess.

#### **Common Reactions to the IAT**

#### Disbelief

- It is common for people whose results conflict with their worldview to experience a level of disbelief and defensiveness about their results.
- What to do if you're experiencing disbelief: If you are experiencing these feelings, remind yourself that our implicit biases are often different from our explicit beliefs. Therefore, regardless of your results, it is important to remember that our implicit biases are not measures of whether or not we are good people, but rather what messages and experiences we have internalized over a lifetime. Moreover, research suggests we have the capacity to alter our unwanted implicit associations.

#### Disregard

- Perhaps you're questioning whether or not your score would be different if you're right or left-handed? Or maybe you're thinking that it may be possible to somehow outsmart the test? If so, rest assured that you are not the first person to have these thoughts.
- o What to do if you're experiencing disregard: Check the evidence—more than a decade of research exists analyzing various components of the IAT and its functioning. Although debates persist in the academic community, by and large the IAT has been found to be a reliable and valid measure of one's automatic associations.<sup>2</sup> Researchers have even assessed whether or not people are able to "fake out" the IAT.<sup>3</sup> Remind yourself that while it is sometimes easier to disregard a challenging result, learning comes from embracing and moving through discomfort in order to engage in self-reflection.

#### Acceptance

- o For some, it is relatively easy to come to a place of acceptance of their results.
- What to do if you're experiencing acceptance: If you're able to quickly come to a place of understanding of your results and why you possess the associations that you do, the next step is to move toward action. This can be finding ways to change associations that don't align with your explicit beliefs and/or finding ways to ensure that your unwanted biases are not unintentionally yielding unwanted effects.

#### Discomfort

- Some individuals feeling discomfort may accept the accuracy of their IAT results, but are upset or uncomfortable with their results. Uneasiness with one's results can lead to reflection, questioning, and/or uncertainty.
- What to do if you're experiencing discomfort: If you are made uncomfortable by your results, you're likely accepting the validity of the IAT. This is a major step in beginning to correct your biases. Take the time to look into what your biases indicate and realize that society shapes our biases. Also, discomfort can foster the inclination to take action.

#### Distress

- Feelings of distress come with elevated concern with one's results, sparking reflection on personal responsibility. This can sometimes manifest through embarrassment, guilt, shame, and/or a desire for action.
- What to do if you're experiencing distress: If you are feeling distress, think of how taking action to combat these biases may change your role in harboring potentially harmful biases. Taking steps to change your biases and championing bias mitigation in your environment may also help.

#### **Reflection Questions**

- What feelings or reactions did you have upon learning your IAT results?
- Reflect on your life experiences that may have influenced your results. Consider your childhood and family upbringing; the neighborhoods in which you've lived; elements of your career path; media messages; your family and peer networks; etc. How might these experiences have shaped your biases, with or without your conscious awareness?
- How might knowing your IAT results affect your future actions and decisions, both in your role at your workplace and in other aspects of your life?

#### **Citations**

- 1. Clark, P., & Zygmunt, E. (2014). A Close Encounter with Personal Bias: Pedagogical Implications for Teacher Education. The Journal of Negro Education, 8392), 147-161.
- 2. Greenwald, A. G., & Nosek, B. A. (2001). Health of the Implicit Association Test at Age 3. Zeitschrift für Experimentelle Psychologie, 48(2), 85-93.
- 3. Steffens, M. C. (2004). Is the Implicit Association Test Immune to Faking? Experimental Psychology, 51(3), 165-179.

**Dr. Peter Cole** is a historian of the twentieth-century United States, South Africa and comparative history who teaches the Department's **\_courses\_**on African American History [History 314], Urban America [History 300], Civil Rights [History 402G], and the Gilded Age/Progressive Era [History 353], as well as the US survey course [History 106], <u>graduate seminars</u> [History 510 and 511], special topics courses on South Africa and comparative history, and the undergraduate historical methods course [History 201 and 491]. Prof. Cole also holds an appointment as a Research Associate in the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP) at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa.

His latest book is *Dockworker Power: Race and Activism in Durban and the San Francisco Bay Area* (University of Illinois Press, 2018). Often missed in commentary on today's globalizing economy, workers in the world's ports can harness their role, at a strategic choke point, to promote their labor rights and social justice causes. Cole brings such overlooked experiences to light in an eye-opening comparative study of Durban, South Africa, and the San Francisco Bay Area, California. Pathbreaking research reveals how unions effected lasting change in some of the most far-reaching struggles of modern times. First, dockworkers in each city drew on longstanding radical traditions to promote racial equality. Second, they persevered when a new technology--container ships--sent a shockwave of layoffs through the industry. Finally, their commitment to black internationalism and leftist politics sparked transnational work stoppages to protest apartheid and authoritarianism. A portion of this research, on how San Francisco longshore workers participated in the struggle against apartheid, is available as a <u>poster</u>.

Dr. Cole also is the author of <u>Wobblies on the Waterfront: Interracial Unionism in Progressive-Era Philadelphia</u> (University of Illinois Press, 2007), editor of <u>Ben Fletcher: The Life & Writings of a Black Wobbly</u> (Charles H. Kerr, 2007), and co-editor of <u>Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW</u> (Pluto Press, 2017). His scholarly work has been published in journals including <u>International Review of Social History, Journal of Civil and Human Rights, Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies, Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas, Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society, and various anthologies and encyclopedias. Cole also writes for popular magazines and newspapers online including <u>Washington Post, TIME, Miami Herald, San Francisco Chronicle, Mail & Guardian</u> (Johannesburg), <u>Boom, Africa Is A Country, Jacobin, In These Times, JSTOR Daily, Black Perspectives</u>, and more.</u>

Dr. Cole has won multiple awards and grants. At WIU, these include an International Faculty Fellowship, University President's Excellence in Diversity Award (for Teaching), Research Council Grant, Faculty Summer Research Stipend (three times), and College of Arts & Sciences Faculty Mentoring Award. In June 2018, Cole taught at the University of Tübingen, having won the Germany Residency in American History jointly presented by the Organization of American Historians, Fritz Thyssen Foundation, and University of Tübingen. He won a Rotary Internation fellowship to participate in a Group Study Exchange to Thailand in 2008. He also participated, in 2000, in a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Summer Institute on "The Civil Rights Movement" at Harvard University.

Dr. Cole was born and raised in South Florida. When not working, he enjoys trail running, rock climbing, road biking, yoga, backpacking, vegan cooking, and traveling. Did he mention traveling? He joined the Department of History in 2000.

**Prof. Adam Green** is a part of many organizations including: Faculty Affiliate, Center for the Study of Race, Politics, and Culture Faculty Board Member, Karla Scherer Center for the Study of American Culture, Senior Fellow, and the Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts, the College. He earned his PhD. In 1998 from Yale University. He specializes in Modern US History, African American History, Urban History, Comparative Racial Politics, and Cultural Economy.

Prof. Green also has three publications which are: *Selling the Race: Culture and Community in Black Chicago*, 1940–1955, "Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007," *C-Span2 BookTV Discussion* [video, 22 minutes], Coeditor Charles Payne. *Time Longer than Rope: Studies in African American Activism*, "1850–1950. New York: New York University Press, 2003".

**Masah S. SamForay** is the founder of The Foray Firm, with locations in Joliet, Illinois, Homewood, Illinois and Houston, Texas.

She is highly experienced in managing family law cases, including complex child support, custody, visitation and divorce. As one of The National Black Lawyers – Top 100, Atty. SamForay received both her Juris Doctorate and Bachelor of Arts from Indiana University – Bloomington. She is licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court of Illinois. Atty. SamForay serves on the Illinois State Bar Association Board of Governors. She is also the 2019 Chair of the Racial and Ethnic Minorities in the Law Committee, and an active member of the Family Law Section Council. Atty. SamForay is a Co-Founder and Past-President of the Black Bar Association of Will County, and she previously served on the Board of Directors of the Black Women Lawyers' Association of Greater Chicago, Inc. She is also active in the Cook County Bar Association, where she is the 2016 Chair of the Family Law Committee.

Outside of the legal community, Atty. SamForay is very active in her community and holds a number of appointments for organizations with a focus on women, children, and underserved populations. Atty. SamForay was appointed by former Illinois Governor Bruce Rauner to the Board of Trustees of Governors State University, and she is currently the President-Elect of the Rotary Club of Chicago Southeast.

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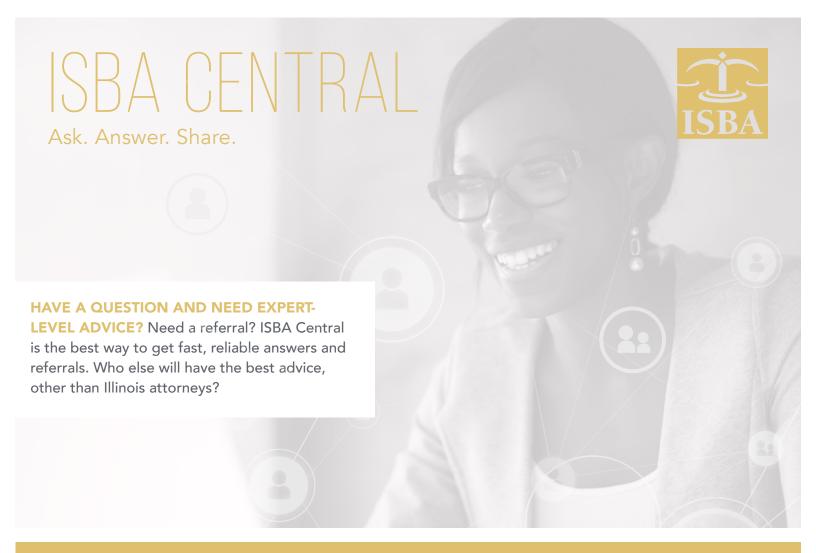
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