Beyond the Boundary of Race:  
The Abolition of Race as the Radical Theological  
Disruption of Racialized Relationships  

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Summary  
The author invites the reader to think critically and creatively about what the abolition of race might mean, and where this might leave us as social and spiritual beings in this very provocative essay.  

Unless you understand white supremacy, everything you see will confuse you.  
—Jawanza Kunjufu  

Introduction  
“Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” is one of the most famous phrases in the United States Declaration of Independence. If it is true that we are fundamentally relational beings, the key to success in the quest for life, liberty, and happiness is located in our social relations. However, our relationships are profoundly structured according to a political system of racialization that creates and maintains a social organization based on white supremacy. White supremacy is defined as a complex multi-dimensional system of white racial domination. This politicized racial structure causes something social, spiritual, and psychological to happen that chronically disrupts the emotional reward of happiness. Unhappiness itself is a sociopolitical critique that reveals an intolerable state of human relationships. Ironically, white supremacy disrupts happiness for both those who are radically advantaged by racial structures and those radically disadvantaged by racism. The constant disruption of happiness inherent to a political system of white supremacy teaches us to live either in denial or with hopeless tolerance of our systemic racialized relationships. The phenomena of racial identity and racialized relationships are integral and inseparable concepts that shape our self-concept and experiences, and thus, our epistemological foundations. Using an interdisciplinary approach, I will apply theories found in whiteness studies, critical pedagogy, and pastoral psychology to present a framework that proposes a radical theory of race abolition. This paper seeks to explore a reality where the system of white supremacy is dismantled. What possibilities for human relationships exist beyond the boundary of race? How might a relational world without racialized relationships look? How can we radically disrupt race as a belief system and social category? I want to think critically and creatively about what the abolition of race might mean, and where this might leave us as social and spiritual beings. I begin with this supposition: the system of white supremacy is a maladaptive disorder that impinges upon the agency of human beings in psychosocial, spiritual, historical, legal, material, economic, religious, and national/international contexts.  

Whiteness Studies  
Race puts theory on a very specific pedagogical path. Using whiteness theory in the examination of race is an attempt to know, articulate, and experience more accurately what has been rendered normal, invisible, or sublime in the way race is practiced, rehearsed, and performed in the world. Relative to the construction of hierarchical categories of race, whiteness studies theorize that coercion and dialectical cooperation between the administrative political state, law, punishment, authority, capitalism, and systems of power have created and standardize racial categories and content. Racial categories support oppressive anti-democratic forces of exclusion, that is, fewer voices have entry into the public domain, and aesthetic (common sense) guidelines for what is good, beautiful, intelligent, sane, and tasteful are very narrow.
Theorizing about the power that these guidelines reflect through race may provide a way to make visible how whiteness constructs make natural and enduring social structures based only on phenotypes. It also stages investigation into the ways phenotypical-based social structures stick as formative beyond the boundary of race knowledge with resulting material and psychological effects that advantage some and severely disadvantage others.

Whiteness studies engage theoretical discourse that demystifies whiteness, white-raced identification, and white racism. Whiteness studies are challenged by the construction of white as utopia. That is, white is a distortion of reality in pursuit of “some state of affairs not yet realized but which guides thought and action.” Whiteness refers to a way of organizing supportive and complex structures to ensure a particular way of living. Educator Peter McLaren defines whiteness as follows:

Whiteness is a socio-historical form of consciousness, and given birth at the nexus of capitalism, colonial rule, and the emergent relationships among dominant and subordinate groups. Whiteness constitutes ideas, feelings, knowledge, social practices, cultural formations, and systems of intelligibility that are identified with or attributed to white people and that are invested in by white people as ‘white.’

Whiteness is an investment in racialized activities that promote white supremacy and white privilege. Whiteness studies critique race in order to cultivate the ability to question, deconstruct, and then reconstruct knowledge in the interest of emancipation. Critical educator Zeus Leonard defines three characteristics of whiteness that are helpful in understanding how whiteness has managed to render itself as racially normative and yet atypical to those whiteness “others” both in character and constitution:

1. **An unwillingness to name the contours of racism**: inequity is explained by reference to any number of alternative factors rather than being attributed to the actions of whites.
2. **The avoidance of identifying with a racial experience or group**: whiteness draws much of its power from ‘othering’ the very idea of ethnicity. A central characteristic of whiteness is a process of ‘naturalization’ such that white becomes the norm from which other races stand apart and in relation to which they are defined.
3. **The minimization of racist legacy**: seeking to ‘draw a line’ under past atrocities as if that would negate their continued importance as historical, economic and cultural factors.

Positing race as the central organizing system of the modern world, whiteness scholar Richard Dyer states that “race is never not in play.” White supremacy inextricably binds beliefs in racial inferiority and superiority to our institutions, fields of “knowledge,” imagination, psychology, emotionality, sexuality, spirituality, language, and politics for the purpose of deploying power practices that achieve certain political ends.

Philosopher Charles Mills makes this critical analysis of white supremacy: “white supremacy is the unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today.” Mills makes three claims: the existential claim—white supremacy exists; the conceptual claim—white supremacy is a political system; the methodological claim—white supremacy can be theorized as based on a “contract” between whites, a Racial Contract. Based on Mills argument that “white supremacy is the unnamed political system,” thinking about systems has the potential to demystify the system of white supremacy in a way that could lead to its abolishment.

Pastoral psychologist and counseling professor Archie Smith, Jr. defines systemic thinking “as a way to think about multi-personal and reciprocal influences, making connections between our social location, immediate life situation, and the wider world of which we are a part.” There is a theoretical opportunity to think systemically about connections between suffering, violence, exploitation, hierarchy, and race.

The Construction of Race

Critical race theorists have for the most part shown that race is socially, emotionally, and legally constructed: race is a “fluctuating” social construct. Race can be understood as a social construct that conveys an essential identity.
for the purpose of creating a relationship politic of white privilege. Its social meanings are constantly being formed and transformed under the pressures of political struggle.

As a graduate student, clergy woman, and educator, I am in critical engagement with educational institutions, pedagogical theories, and religious institutions that fundamentally support white supremacy. For instance, whiteness is so effectively concealed in pedagogy that educational institutions very effectively reproduce the racialized “system of society as a whole.” Pastoral counseling theory relevant for people who are “othered” by a system of white supremacy must fundamentally deconstruct the spiritual, emotional, and psychological damage it causes. In other words, racialization causes the very psychological maladjustments that must be healed.

The system of white supremacy postulates that there is nothing wrong with a social system of race or having a racialized system that favors whites. Instead, a system of white supremacy says that there is something wrong with people socially constructed as non-white. The system of white supremacy tends to attribute problems to individuals rather than to itself as the system beyond the boundary of race influencing the interaction patterns of persons within the system. Systemic interaction patterns of white supremacy are conscious and intentional, yet also operate on an unconscious level because contemporary practices which support white supremacy are successfully imbedded in institutional policies and procedures, and the collective social psyche.

Critical engagement with theories of pastoral care and counseling conceptualize ways to address social relations repeatedly and transgenerationally marred with the violence, war, greed, poverty, genocide, suicide, obsession, self-loathing, and other-hating of a normalized and unnamed system of white supremacy. A challenge in creating an alternative and liberative relationship system is that the system of white supremacy has been repeatedly successful in its reproductive capacity to develop environmental conditions, contexts, religious beliefs/practices, and cultural patterns that sustain white rule. Viewed in this light, the system of white supremacy is like a family system, that is, a meaning-making model that responds to therapeutic intervention. Interventions such as changing patterns of behaving, creating dialogue, mutuality, and trust, and reframing problems as solvable that were once defined as unsolvable can be directed toward the whole system supporting white supremacy.

The system of white supremacy has made race an immutable, omnipotent, invisible, creative force that has spiritual, material, theoretical, and psychological effects. White supremacy has made race an idol. Race has become a force of the heart with impressive power. In the United States of America, modern Christianity is largely race-based in theory and practice. I question whether it is possible to be Christian in such a race infected world. A system of white supremacy is thoroughly at odds with Jesus’ radical theological disruption of oppressive social relationships. Yet, Christianity is so influenced by the system of white supremacy that race-based relationships have been normalized in modern Christian practice. In the last 400 years, a racialized Christianity has supported slavery, expropriation, colonialism, Jim Crow, holocaust, patriarchy, racism, and apartheid.

Race presents itself as an always existing category of identity and relationship, so much so that many people cannot imagine not being “raced” and having their social relationships organized racially. How can we disrupt the racialized structures of white supremacy that grants privilege to persons socially constructed as white, and radically disadvantages those who have been socially constructed as “other?” What processes of education, social relationships, and theological practice might exist beyond the boundary of race, wherein new social bonds are established that disrupt the dominate/subordinate binary that white supremacy cultivates and structures to benefit itself? Race is neither scientific nor common sense. Race is a social construct mystified through biological definitions and notions of common knowledge. Race is at the very least about the power to limit social interactions and access to resources.
Theories of Whiteness Abolition and Whiteness Reconstruction

American history professor Noel Ignatiev is a leading voice for the theory of whiteness abolition. He states that “abolitionism is first of all a political project; the abolitionist studies whiteness in order to abolish it.” He says, Whiteness has nothing to do with culture and everything to do with social position. It is nothing but a reflection of privilege, and exists for no reason other than to defend it. Without the privileges attached to it, the white race would not exist, and the white skin would have no more social significance than big feet.

Historian David Roediger insisted that: “It is not merely that whiteness is oppressive and false; it is that whiteness is nothing but oppressive and false… Whiteness is the empty and, therefore, terrifying attempt to build an identity based on what one isn’t and on whom one can hold back.” White abolitionists do not want to “win over” more whites to oppose racism: “The task is to gather together a minority determined to make it impossible for anyone to be white. It is a strategy of creative provocation.” Whiteness reconstructionists postulate a rearticulation of whiteness. Terms such as redeploying, reconstruction, deconstructing, and rearticulation of whiteness are all used to re-envision persons socially constructed as white. Reconstructionists want to retain something called ‘white race and white identity’ and become better white people; striving for an even better “Son of God” status in its quest to right all wrongs.

What conditions would have to be (or become) true for white as a race to be abolished or reconstructed?

The reconstruction of people viewed socially as white will require what educator Paulo Freire calls critical dialogue. Freire emphasizes the importance of people being able to name their own worlds, in dialogue with others, rather than having names imposed upon them. Additionally, people viewed socially as white will have to learn to become responsive listeners, cultivate empathy, and recover the humanity lost through the delusion of superiority brought on by systemic transgenerational advantage; while also being willing to engage critical dialogue about the world view, experience, and reality of persons socially constructed as “other.” Persons socially constructed as white will have to doubt themselves, not believe their narratives, reframe their history, create new theory, and question their reality. Human beings socially constructed as white would have to become insightful about complexity, uncertainty, innovation, coordinated action, and incorporate activity and alliance from those whom whiteness has “othered.” Unconscious and internalized race-based activities would also have to change. On the level of cognition, mental structuring, emotional transmission, hierarchy, and non-verbal communication must be deconstructed. However, I have found that it is not change that is resisted, it is being changed; that is, transforming the internal (personal) and external (interpersonal or social) meaning-systems.

Whiteness reconstruction gives whiteness a theoretical solution to the dilemma of being white and self-aware. With reconstruction, white persons get relief from the undesirable consequences of a system of white supremacy, such as emotional tension, pain, guilt, paranoia, and operational stress. Whiteness reconstruction tries to improve the quality of racialized life while broadening white peoples’ positive interactions in the world. Whiteness reconstruction mitigates its managing, controlling, terrorizing, and organizing role, while still “othering” people who resist a system which structures white privilege. However, it is my contention that new and improved white persons will not lead to a new system of relationship. A reconstruction of whiteness will not deal with the larger issue of the condition of the racialized soul.

On the other hand, white race abolition seeks to weaken the fundamental power of white embodiment. Whiteness abolishment escalates tacit racial assumptions in order to advance acting as a white ‘race traitor.’ White race abolition pushes hard on the re-enforcing, inter-relational, multi-stimuli of
whiteness structures by acting against white privilege. However, because of
the complex, naturalized, multi-systemic, relational nature of white supremacy,
I doubt it is possible to subvert white privilege on its many fronts. As
a system, whiteness’ ability to adapt, change, nullify its symbolic violence,
and recreate itself on all its fronts of conscious and unconscious privilege
would make it difficult, if not impossible, to abolish itself. I30 The questions
arise: What is our relational stake in race? Why has race and racial identity
been made sacrosanct? I do not believe the theories of whiteness abolition or
whiteness reconstruction provide the critical discourse to address the white
‘race’ problem. I propose that whiteness cannot be abolished without also
abolishing race.

What is at Stake: A Metaphorical Analysis of White Supremacy

A way to understand the historical events of racial domination is by metaphorically
examining it as a disease of addiction. This will provide a creative
way to talk about the phenomenology and symptomatology of white supremacy.
Using this metaphor, it will be helpful to think of white supremacy
as the illicit drug manufacturer and white privilege as the hallucinogenic
drug. Linking white supremacy with addiction through metaphorical association
may help articulate properties inherent in it that reinforce human
tendencies toward domination. Educator and writer bell hooks writes:
A culture of domination necessarily promotes addiction to lying and denial.
Part of our contemporary crisis is created by a lack of meaningful
access to truth. When this collective cultural consumption of, and attachment
to misinformation is coupled with the layers of lying individuals do
in their personal lives, our capacity to face reality is severely diminished
as is our will to intervene and change unjust circumstances.31

White supremacy, like addiction, creates social relations fueled by
pathological lying. There have always been persons targeted for abuse, oppression,
or conquest in social relationships; however, the target has not always
been racialized. To state this through a lens of an addictive disease process,
the creation of white supremacy was a movement from enjoyment of
white privilege to dependence upon white privilege. When white privilege
moved into a state of dependence it became a spiritual disease, as well as a
disease of the brain. In a sense, white supremacy manufactured a race-based
privilege that became a chronic, relapsing brain disease characterized by
compulsively seeking and using white privilege, despite harmful psychosocial,
political, spiritual, and governance consequences to self and “others.”32
As a spiritual disease it precipitated disconnection and isolation from God
and “others.” White privilege dependency became privilege tolerant, that
is, it needed more and more white privilege to receive the same pleasurable
or utopia effects.33

The material, psychological, and physical privileges of white privilege
caused persons being socially constructed as white to lose more and more of
their ability to influence their own thoughts and behavior. That is, the epistemology
of white supremacy began to structure thought, behavior, and re-
relationships in a way that supports the chronic use of white privilege. In the
process, a spiritual deadening takes place that enables white supremacy to
reframe and justify cruel acts against “others” to secure its own privilege.
During this period, the socio-cultural crisis inherent in dominant/subordinate
relations begins to codify the way certain human beings interact with
“others,” even as “other” becomes a fluctuating category dynamic enough
to meet the demands of white privilege.

White supremacy violently re-enforces its world-view of those “othered”
through conquest, slavery, colonialism, expropriation, genocide, and
apartheid.34 An age of white supremacy maintenance begins when those
benefiting from white privilege experience problems as African Americans
and peoples of colonized countries resist their white oppressors. It is a period
characterized by the use of weapons of mass destruction, torture, and
political terrorism against the “other.” It is a period of mass political resistant
leading to reparations, litigation, civil rights, indigenous protests, Afrocentrism,
freedom fighting, feminism, and environmentalism.35
The most significant aspect of white supremacy maintenance is that relationship problems are characterized by denying the problem rests in the system of white supremacy. One begins to see social problems common with addiction, such as systemically becoming more anxious and suspicious, fearful, co-dependence, anti-social, and immature in social relationships. White privilege intoxication causes a loss of control in other aspects of life, such as empathy and morality. White privilege endemic results in natural resource exploitation, nuclear weapon proliferation, climate crisis, ethnic cleansing, medical epidemics, political instability, education crisis, and volatile global markets. This can be assessed as a period of emotional volatility, chronic pleasure-seeking, depression, memory loss, cynicism, and passive-aggressiveness for users of white privilege. I am metaphorically positing the addiction of white privilege as ontological dependence on the ideology of white supremacy. I am categorizing white privilege as a maladaptive addictive disorder because its use leads to the predictable outcome of social and emotional misinterpretation of the world, that is, a state of delusion.36

One could say that white misunderstanding, misrepresentation, evasion, and self-deception on matters related to race are among the most pervasive mental phenomena of the past few hundred years, a cognitive and moral economy psychically required for conquest, colonization, and enslavement - to a significant extent, then, white signatories live in an invented delusional world, a racial fantasyland, a "consensual hallucination."38

As a disease of the spirit, white privilege devours a meaningful way to connect to God or create bonds with those it has "othered" beyond the ways in which their relationship serves the benefactors of the system of white supremacy. However, the maladaptive effect that white privilege has in common with other substance use disorders is the belief that life is actually better with its use. Also, in common with the generally accepted addictive disorders is secrecy surrounding its use:

Concerning (the) centrality of racial exploitation to the U.S. economy and the dimensions of the payoff for its white beneficiaries from one nation’s Racial Contract—this very centrality render(s) the topic taboo, virtually undiscussed (by) most white political theory. These issues cannot be raised because they go to the heart of the real nature of the polity and its structuring by the Racial Contract. White moral theory’s debates on justice in the state must inevitably have a farcical air, since they ignore the central injustice on which the state rests.39

However, those whose social, cultural, political, religious, psychological, spiritual, and economic lives have been diminished through a relational system of white privilege can be radical non-participants in the system of white supremacy by radically rejecting the oppressive projections of socially positioned racialized relationships.

A Theory of Race Abolition from a Black Perspective

It is not white as a racial category that must be reconstructed or abolished; it is the category of race as a social construct that must be abolished. I propose a theory of race abolishment that begins with persons racialized as black. Black persons are in a better position to disagree with the "misinterpretation" of the world as it has been defined by white supremacy.40 Must race be the eternal centering norm that guides all social relationships? Is race more important than freedom?

Blackness is a social structure of oppression, exploitation, imperialism, punishment, and patriarchy. David Roediger’s assertion that whiteness is not merely oppressive and false; it is nothing but oppressive and false leads to this corollary: It is not merely that blackness has been oppressed and falsified: it is that blackness has been nothing but oppressed and falsified.41 Race abolition is a way to critically engage the long term theological project of justice, mercy, and love. Race abolition would be a multiphase process in which beyond the boundary of race the goal is the creation of racially inert social relationships and structures. Race abolishment is a way to re-contextualize relationships and radically disagree with racism.

In proposing race abolition I am not asserting a color-blind discourse.
The discourse of color-blindness is the very ideological weaponry of ‘postcivil rights’ racial wars as society ‘struggles with important implications for the life chances of those still confronting the historical legacy and current manifestations of white supremacy in the United States.’42 “Color-blindness is not merely ideology about race, but about defense of a currently unequal status quo.”43 Discourse for race abolition not only exposes and amplifies the reality of race-based social relations; it attends to conceptualizing the processes of white favoritism in order to challenge the idea of the innocent white bystander.

The abolition of race is radical resistance to the status quo. However, abolishing race would cause intense psychosocial and physical distress for everyone participating in the system of white supremacy. Resurrecting the spiritually dead from distorted thinking is dangerous. Race abolishment would cause the world community to face some atrocities and truths that have never been addressed, or even admitted. We will all be exposing ourselves to more suffering. In order to abolish the social construction of race, racialized people would have to examine the ways in which we are co-dependent on race, and in fact, receive secondary gains from our racial social construction. An example of a secondary gain is the knowledge embedded in the social location of those who are “othered.”44 However, I believe we can abolish race and still carry out the construction of ideas and the meaningmaking activity that infuses everyday life.45

White identity is completely dependent on encounters with the signified “other.” Whiteness does not exist without it’s “other,” that is, white is the trafficker of black. Psychiatrist Frantz Fanon said, “Let us have the courage to say it outright: It is the racist who creates his inferior.”46 We begin the theological project of race abolition, that is, we begin to create ourselves when in our encounters with those who are socially constructed as white we openly express conceptual frameworks and feelings with direct, honest, and immediate communication. We engage the project of race abolition:

• when we ask our theories to fulfill liberatory functions;
• when we refuse to keep secrets;
• when we live, learn, and lead through the world-view that informs our communal reality;
• when we set realistic expectations for being human;
• when we trust ourselves;
• when we continuously self-posit, self-sustain, and let-ourselves-happen in tension with the others such that our self-consciousness is bound to no determinant existence;47
• when we affirm the many expressions of our sexuality;
• when we play;
• when we persistently engage the pain of race, and challenge personal pleas that deny white race privilege and racism;
• when we seek spiritual and emotional healing;
• when we let go of anguish and begin to repair some of the social, economic, environmental, and legal damage white supremacy is causing;
• when we relentlessly name and resist white supremacy.

Abolishing race is to step out of the dominant/subordinate binary. Abolishing race does not mean losing one’s black body inheritance. Stuart Hall helps identify why it is possible to abolish race and maintain black body inheritance of cultural traditions and aesthetics. Hall identifies three significant modes, historical experiences, and memories that black bodies encode: 1) black body style, 2) the deep structure of black body music, and 3) how black people have used our bodies to work on ourselves as the “canvases of representation.”48 Black body aesthetics tell counter-narrative stories, and have distinctive black body expressivity which will continue.49 At the heart of this paper is the theory that people with politically black bodies can take responsibility for our own lives as theoretical emancipators and practitioners of freedom.

Race is a power structure that can be radically disrupted, just as identity can undergo transformation. As previously stated, it is a theological project of emancipation. Leonardo points out that “we talk about race as identity when we could talk about race as a structure of power—a power structure that can be disrupted.”50 Identity could be talked about as a way to engage theoretical discourse, and how we act in that world in relationship to one
another. How can we disrupt structures that support white supremacy and abolish race? The following chart is one way to think conceptually about limiting the growth of white privilege while strengthening conditions to abolish race.

![Diagram A](image)

Conclusion

Developing our multiple identities means performing, framing, and conceptualizing more and more activity as racially inert. We would have to stand within the multi-faceted tension of racial re-enforcement, and our own resistance to non-raced identity, while at the same time developing multiple identities. The possibility of disrupting racism by reducing and eliminating race exists. I think that racism depends on race, and that without race white supremacy would not have the power to impose racism. It would be necessary to build up more and more historical experiences of positions and relationships that do not adhere to the system of white supremacy so that the racialized position becomes permanently altered. Crucial to race abolition is building racially inert opportunities into complex interrelated systems and relationships. This could lead to the radical disruption of race-based relationships.

Let me close by saying that race abolition for me is not first and foremost a materially based theory, or utopian based theory. It is a spiritually based argument with emancipatory consequences that focuses on disrupting the many inter-related systems of white supremacy. Implementation is the challenge of this race abolition theory. Such work must be engaged as a collective struggle for freedom. However, this theoretical experiment helps me begin to move from hopelessness to hopefulness for a way to conceptualize an end to racism. Embedded in my body are narratives of raced-based relationships that spiritually, emotionally, cognitively, and kinesthetically align with my very being. As devastating as it would be for me—as unsure of the world in which I might be placing myself; I find I would be willing to abolish my blackness as a God project of emancipation, and a radical politic of inclusion.

NOTES

1. This famous phrase may be based on the writings of English philosopher, John Locke (1689), who in Two Treatises of Government expressed that “no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions.”


8. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992) 4; and Leonardo, *Race, Whiteness, and Education*, 7: “In Foucault’s sense race requires discourse analysis of the deployment of power and language practices in order to achieve certain political ends.” This paper purposes a study of race from a Structural-Strategic Family Therapy point of view, where the focus is on the interaction patterns, triangles, alliances, coalitions, dyads, benefits, symptoms, organizational patterns, hierarchies, decision making practices, and life cycle of race as a system. The goal of this approach is to change the interaction patterns, the power/disenfranchised binary, the sequence, the rules, and the meaning of family interaction.


10. Ibid., 7.

11. Ibid., 1.

12. Smith and Riedel-Praefflin, 11.

13. Ibid.

14. Ian Haney Lopez, *White by Law* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 13. “Race is not an independent given, but rather a social construction at least in part fashioned by law.” On one level race is clearly a social construct. There is no such thing as a Negro or Caucasian race. There are only people who have certain characteristics associated with people who predominate certain geographic locations.

15. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1990), 178; “To grant the educational system the absolute independence which it claims or, on the contrary, to see in it only the reflection of the state of the economic system or the direct expression of the value system of ‘society as a whole’, is to refuse to see that its relative autonomy enables it to serve external demands under the guise of independence and neutrality, i.e. to conceal the social functions it performs and so to perform them more effectively.”


17. Ibid., 78.


20. Leonardo, *Race, Whiteness, and Education*, 29–33. “A scientific discrediting of race is insufficient because the racial mind is hardly scientific: it is ideological. This means that a theory of ideology is necessary,” 30.

21. Lopez, 5–15. “Race is something which must be measured in terms of what people believe… The operation of law does far more than merely legalize race; it defines as well the spectrum of domination and subordination that constitutes race relations,” 9–15.

23. Ibid.


25. Ignatiev, 5–6.


27. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Continuum Press, 1970), 1. “While the problem of humanization has always, from an axiological point of view, been humankind’s central problem, it now takes on the character of an inescapable concern. Concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization, not only as an ontological possibility but as an historical reality.” Social relationships of domination and subordination lead to a state of dehumanization.

28. I am using soul to mean the complete life of being, based on the common definition of the Hebrew word nephesh.

29. Ignatiev.

30. Bourdieu and Passeron, 4–11, Bourdieu says the power to exert symbolic violence is the power to impose meaning and conceal the power relations which are the basis of its force.


33. Ibid.

34. Mills, chapter 1.

35. Ibid., 4, “These issues hardly appear in mainstream political philosophy, but they have been central to the political struggles of the majority of the world’s population,” beyond the boundary of race.


37. Mills, 18.

38. Ibid., 18–19, “These phenomena are in no way accidental, but prescribed by the terms of the Racial Contract, which requires a certain schedule of structured blindesses and opacities in order to establish and maintain the white polity.”

39. Ibid., 39.

40. Ibid.


43. Ibid.


45. Ibid., 123.


49. Ibid., 471.


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