

Social Work, White Supremacy, and Racial Justice

*Reckoning With Our History, Interrogating
Our Present, Reimagining Our Future*



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Epilogue

Justin S. Harty

Looking Back to Move Forward

The Social Work, White Supremacy, and Racial Justice (SWWSRJ) symposium was the latest collaborative effort to address Whiteness and racism within the profession of social work. The subtitle of the symposium, “Reckoning With Our History, Interrogating Our Present, Re-Imagining Our Future,” captures a legacy effort to collectively confront the profession of social work and resist the future it will bring if left unchecked. The legacy effort includes social work practitioners, students, educators, and researchers attempting to address racism within the social work profession. So, where do we go from here? Well, that is a complicated question. Ideally, the presentations and recommendations within the larger symposium could guide the future of social work on how to proceed in addressing racism within the profession. Realistically, social work has historically failed to learn from similar reckonings from the past. In this Epilogue, I share how we can move forward by looking back. Specifically, I share lessons from our past that, if we learn from them, can advance social work toward a future where we collectively confront White supremacy, racism, and colonialism.

Concurrently Address Whiteness, Racism, and Colonialism

To move social work into an antiracist and anticolonialist future, we must examine our profession’s attempts at addressing both. The profession of social work has historically struggled to address racism and colonialism (Curran et al., 2022; Stevenson, 2022; Wright et al., 2021). These efforts have failed because social work has decoupled links between White supremacy, racism, and colonialism. In doing so, the profession has ignored connections between slave trades and various forms of colonialism. Interestingly, the Asian American Task Force identified the divergent historical origins of racism as an issue that social work needed to consider in 1973. The report reads:

Asian Americans, along with other ethnic minorities, have certainly faced the wrath of racism in America. Historically, America has tolerated and in some

instances even welcomed minorities to the country during times of special need. Generally, this has consisted of a need for cheap labor. For example, the Blacks filled a need in the South to plant and harvest cotton; the Chinese filled a need to build the railways; and the Japanese, Filipinos, and Chicanos were needed for agricultural labors in the West. Yet, when these needs were met and the minorities began to compete for work with the whites, individual and institutional acts of racism came out in the open. (Council on Social Work Education [CSWE], 1973b, pp. 6–7)

This quote demonstrates that while Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) communities may all face racism, the function of racism differs among the groups. In this sense, a one-size-fits-all approach to addressing racism is insufficient for other BIPOC groups since racism has elements that are either common to or unique among specific racial groups based on the type of colonialism each group has been dominated and exploited by. For example, social work must understand how some racialized systems of colonization affect all BIPOC communities. This includes neocolonialism (economic, political, and social oppression), police colonialism (killing, repression, and suppression), and welfare colonialism (enforcement of repressive social order through welfare programs and social services). However, social work must also recognize that some forms of racialized colonization are unique to different BIPOC communities. This includes settler colonialism (Indigenous land theft), planter colonialism (Black enslavement), and imperial colonialism (political and economic dominance and exploitation of people with Native American, Alaskan, African, Mexican, Asian, and Indian ancestry). Ultimately, social work must target efforts in addressing racism and colonialism among BIPOC populations that are consistent with universal abolition causes (e.g., abolishing legal racism, systems of oppression, carceral systems, family separation) and common abolition aspirations (e.g., racial, social, economic, historical justice) but divergent abolition goals (e.g., Indigenous land reclamation, Black liberation, non-White immigrant citizenship). Therefore, to move the profession forward, social work must address White supremacy, racism, and colonialism simultaneously and uniquely based upon similar and divergent histories and goals of BIPOC populations (Harty et al., under review). If this approach is not taken, social work will continue to fail in addressing all three since racism and colonialism are historically linked to White supremacy.

Create Meaningful Reform and Engage in Abolition

Social work must examine the limits of reform and explore the possibility that abolition may be more effective in addressing the Whiteness and racism persistent in our profession. While recent social work discussions on reform versus abolition have

centered on policing (Hill et al., Chapter 25, this volume; Jacobs et al., 2021) and the child welfare system (Dettlaff et al., 2021; Roberts, 2022), we must now confront a new issue—reforming or abolishing social work licensing exams (DeCarlo, 2022). Like other contemporary social work dilemmas, this is not a new issue. Approximately 50 years ago, the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) and two CSWE task forces called for abolishing racist licensing standards and exams. In the late 1960s, the NABSW opposed social work licensure due to the inherent racism and discrimination that would exclude Black social workers from the profession and impact Black test takers (Bell, 2014; Garcia, 1990; Johnson, 1988). In the early 1970s, the CSWE Asian Task Force and Puerto Rican Task Force both expressed concern about racism and the exclusionary nature of social work licensing (CSWE, 1973b, 1973e). For example, in the CSWE Puerto Rican Task Force report, members argued that licensing would be racist and recommended that it be abolished: “The Task Force raised the question of public licensing and certification. They concluded that, at present, experience with them has led to the belief that they are, in effect, exclusionary and racist and should be abolished” (CSWE, 1973e, p. 13). If the profession had only listened to the NABSW’s and the two CSWE minority task force reports’ calls for abolishing social work licensing exams, perhaps the profession could have protected BIPOC social workers from decades-long racist licensing exams perpetuated by the Association of Social Work Boards. Recent debates have even gone as far as to question if social work as a profession must be abolished (Garrett, 2021; Maylea, 2021; Nissen et al., Chapter 21, this volume; Whelan, 2022). In short, the very soul of social work lies within our profession’s ability to reform if appropriate or abolish when needed.

Learn From Our Past

The American experiment of adopting British social work to the Republic failed. But how do we emerge from the ashes? We can begin by reckoning with social work’s troubled past. A dominant theme across the SWWSRJ symposium was the need to reckon with social work history to move our profession toward an antiracist future. The introduction to the SWWSRJ symposium states, “Social work in the service of antiracism cannot be stagnant” (Abrams et al., 2020). However, that is precisely what social work has been—slow to respond to calls against racism within the profession. Just how slow? From the closest large-scale social work effort to address racism in the profession, about 50 years slow and counting. Approximately 50 years before the SWWSRJ symposium, a similar effort to address racism within the profession occurred after the CSWE’s multiracial task forces formed. The five CSWE task forces (American Indian, Asian American, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican) were tasked with identifying issues around racism, discrimination, and oppression within social work and providing recommendations to be addressed (CSWE,

1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1973d, 1973e). Separated by 50 years, the five CSWE multicultural task forces and the SWWSRJ symposium have recommended that social work confront White supremacy and address racism by making curriculum changes responsive to racially and ethnically diverse populations; acknowledging the harm social work has committed against people and communities of color, including historical content that is reflective of social work's factual past; and abolishing racist social work practices (Crudup et al., Chapter 33, this volume; Martinez & Williams, Chapter 29, this volume; Perez & Nelson, Chapter 34, this volume; Whitaker, Chapter 11, this volume). The similarities between the CSWE multicultural task forces' 50-year-old recommendations and those contained within the SWWSRJ symposium demonstrate that social work has historically been resistant to learning from its past. To move forward to a future of social work, we must force the profession to change and grapple with its history to avoid another 50 years of inaction.

Acknowledge Past Atrocities

In a tweet responding to recent efforts to make critical race theory illegal to teach in schools, Chris Edley III (2021) said: "Can you imagine being so ashamed of your history that you would make it illegal to teach it to your children?" I cannot help but consider how this quote relates to the omission of atrocities that social work has committed. For example, racism in social work education made existing campus segregation a harsher experience, social work content and curriculum did not often cover Black issues, and racism in teaching institutions impacted Black social work faculty and lecturers in teaching roles when trying to obtain academic positions or tenure (Longres, 1972; Schiele, 2007; Solomon, 1976). In terms of racist social work practices, previous research has found that racism in our profession has led to denying or restricting services for Black clients, forcing them to address their needs on their own, providing low-quality services to Black clients, and ignoring how racism affects interactions with Black clients (Dominelli, 1989; Mirelowitz, 1979; Reid-Merritt, 2010; Solomon, 1976). While similar forms of racism within social work education and practice created problems for other racial and ethnic communities (CSWE, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1973d, 1973e), it also led to atrocities outside of the academic and training settings. For example, research conducted by Yoosun Park (2019) describes how social work was complicit in the forced removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. Additionally, Toraif and Mueller (Chapter 24, this volume) shared how social work was historically complicit in the exclusion of migrants, Indigenous boarding schools, and the eugenics movement. To move our profession forward, we must begin by acknowledging that social work has a deep history of contributing to racial harm against BIPOC communities and make active efforts to ensure that they do not continue in the future.

Teach an Inclusive Social Work History

To push social work into an antiracist future, it must be more inclusive of the contributions of BIPOC social workers and communities in the history of our profession. To achieve this aim, social work must understand three ways that the contributions of BIPOC social workers and communities continue to be covered and recovered. First, the contributions of BIPOC social workers and communities have historically been covered up and omitted from the null social work history. Much of the history of BIPOC social work contributions has been devalued in our profession and not included in our profession's history. When we learn about social work history, we often start with the English poor laws and skip over the critical contributions of the BIPOC social workers and the efforts they have made to ensure their communities' survival in the face of racism. Social work also skips over BIPOC efforts to ensure social welfare when the profession did not serve BIPOC communities during segregation and periods of oppression. Finally, social work history has also ignored periods of inaction during larger social movements when the profession sat idle while BIPOC communities were fighting for their freedom, liberation, and rights (Bell, 2014; Howard, 2017; Reid-Merritt, 2010).

Second, despite previous efforts to recover the histories and contributions of BIPOC social workers, our profession has been slow to include these histories. An essential contribution of some BIPOC social work historical researchers has been to document BIPOC social work history to correct omissions and inaccuracies in social welfare history. For example, historical research into Black social work history has demonstrated the many contributions of Black social workers (Brice & McLane-Davison, 2020; McLane-Davison, 2021; Schiele et al., Chapter 19, this volume). Black self-help and mutual aid were leveraged in social work history since Blacks were primarily excluded from participation in the White social service system of care. In response to, and independent of, being left out of dominant social work efforts, Blacks established parallel systems of services to ensure their welfare and meet the needs of the Black community (Carlton-LaNey & Hodges, 2004; Carten, 2021; DeLoach McCutcheon, 2019; Hounmenou, 2012; Howard, 2017; Luker, 1984). Black settlement houses and organizations were created to provide Black-focused social service and reform independent of and in response to the absence of support by White settlement houses (Bell, 2014; Jackson, 1978; Lasch-Quinn, 1993). Additionally, Black charity organizations, in the spirit of Black philanthropy, were also formed to provide support independent of White charities and sometimes in response to White charities that did not help Blacks (Jackson, 1978; Weisenfeld, 1997). In addition to other social workers and communities of color, these contributions must be included in our social work historical record if the profession is to enter into an antiracist future.

Third, social work must grapple with historical and contemporary efforts to cover up the history of Whiteness, racism, and colonialism (Gregory, Chapter 30, this

volume; Nakaoka et al., Chapter 35, this volume). This issue creates a pivotal barrier to reckoning with our past. While it is clear that we must acknowledge and teach our profession's racist history, we must do so during a time when larger efforts are being made to hide America's racist history. Recent efforts to hide historical racism and colonialism within the United States create barriers to confronting our profession's troubled past. These current efforts include bans on the use of critical race theory, forbidding the teaching of historical racial inequality and racism, avoidance of dialogue around antiracism and decolonization, and the rise of "alternative facts." We must also grapple with social work's complicity in hiding Whiteness, racism, and colonialism in our profession's history. To lead social work into an inclusive future, we must ask whose social work history we are telling. Is it a history that hides the racism contained in our profession? Is it a history of social work focusing on Eurocentric methods brought to the United States by the colonizers and ignoring methods sensitive to BIPOC cultures? Is it omitting local, national, and international BIPOC contributions to social work and social welfare history? We are lying about our history if the answer is yes to any of those questions. To move forward, social work must make more substantial efforts to be honest and inclusive of our profession's history.

Reengage Historical Research Methods in Social Work

Over the past few decades, social work has deserted historical research at a point when we need it the most. Despite history being central to the profession (National Association of Social Workers, 2021), historical research has faded in social work, social work dissertations have declined, historians of social work and social welfare in schools of social work are few, and the role of historical research for practitioners has been lost (Danto, 2008; Fisher & Dybicz, 1999; Graham & Al-Krenawi, 2010; Lasch-Quinn, 1993). The desertion of historical research in social work has severe consequences if it continues to be lost. For example, we risk losing the benefits of historical social work research that illuminates historical contributions of BIPOC social workers; roles of BIPOC traditions and ideas in social work; historic social work issues, responses, and solutions among BIPOC communities; and historical functions of philosophy, theory, and research in social work with BIPOC communities (Danto, 2008; Fisher & Dybicz, 1999; Graham & Al-Krenawi, 2010; Schiele, 2019). To move social work forward as a profession that confronts White supremacy and racism, we must recover the role of history in social work and acknowledge that social work historians are essential to defining a profession of social work, building a historical record from social work perspectives, adding a historical lens to contemporary social work debates, and leveraging our past to move the profession forward (Bell, 2014; Danto, 2008; Fisher & Dybicz, 1999; Graham & Al-Krenawi, 2010). We have reached a point in our profession where we must attend to our history to meaningfully address issues of justice, equity, diversity, and

inclusion in the future. In doing so, we must acknowledge that the history of social work is deeply entangled within structures of White supremacy and coloniality. Additionally, the control of social work history is a feature of the colonial matrix of power and White supremacy (Almeida et al., 2019; Andrews et al., 2019; Reisch, 2019; Thibault & Spencer, 2019).

In short, social work has forgotten history's significant role and failed to teach about the contributions of social workers and communities of color. Suppose we want to eliminate racism and dismantle inequality. In that case, we must reinstate the vital role of history in our profession and recover the historical contributions of BIPOC social workers and communities omitted in the dominant social welfare and social work history. Therefore, to move our social work profession forward, we must continue to recover social work's ignored past and document current events that will become our history in the future. These efforts must include incorporating BIPOC social welfare and social work history into research, teaching, and practice; researching and publishing contemporary BIPOC social work efforts that will become our history; and cultivating archives focused on local, national, and international BIPOC social work and social welfare contributions.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the 2020s, the shootings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Sean Reed, Tony McDade, Botham Jean, Atatiana Jefferson, and others forced America to grapple with our history of White supremacy, racism, and colonialism. America also had to reckon with White supremacist symbols and the removal of racist and colonialist monuments. To move social work forward, we must come to terms with the idea that our profession may be a lasting symbol of White supremacy. Perhaps the racist and colonialist monuments needing removal are social work syllabi, courses, interventions, and research that alienate and oppress BIPOC communities.

We must take action on six items to dismantle White supremacy, racism, and colonialization in the future of social work. First, we must learn from our past. The answers to address Whiteness, racism, and colonialism within social work are contained in voices from our past—social work has not been listening. Second, we must acknowledge past atrocities committed by social work against BIPOC communities. We are a profession built upon our successes and failures. We must recognize both, celebrate the good we have done, and repair our wrongdoings. Third, we must concurrently address Whiteness, racism, and colonialism within social work. This effort will ensure that social work confronts White supremacy and takes action against racism and colonialism common to, and unique among, BIPOC social workers and communities. Fourth, we must create meaningful reform, engage in abolition, or both. Social work history is full of recommendations for both reform and abolition. Given decades of reform work that at best has maintained the status quo and at worst made social work and social welfare issues

among BIPOC populations worse, we must consider what an abolitionist horizon holds for the future of social work. Fifth, we must teach an inclusive social work history. There is not one lineage of social work history—there are many. Not only do these include BIPOC histories, but also they include international, national, and local social work histories. We must teach them all. Sixth, we must reengage historical research methods in social work. As time marches on, the future of social work history is being created. History is happening now, and social work must document and record it. Not only will this effort lead to a more accurate social work historical record, but also it can serve as receipts to ensure the profession is staying true to its antiracism and anticolonialism ideals.

Reflection

In 50 years from now, will this symposium be remembered? How far will the ripple of change generated from this symposium spread into the future? When future historians research this symposium, what lessons will they learn from our past? When future social work historians research you, what story will they tell? The answers to those questions will be left up to what we each do with the knowledge gained from this symposium. Given everything we know about our past, our present, and our ideas for the future, where do we go from here? The answer to this question is provided by the authors of each chapter within this volume—you just have to listen.

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