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Adult Education in Racialized Spaces: How White Supremacy and White Privilege Hinder Social Justice in Adult Education

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INTRODUCTION

Adult education practice is informed by the geographic spaces in which learning centers are located and in which outreach activities take place. Throughout American history practices such as redlining, lynching, zoning, and police brutality have been used to enforce racial segregation (Loewen, 2005; Rothstein, 2018). Thus, segregated spaces are products of white supremacy that continue to complicate the work of adult education. Such racialized spaces can create fear and unease for People of Color (POC) while fostering environments where whites remain ignorant regarding others because they have little to no authentic engagement across the color line. This dynamic exacerbates a variety of social problems related to employment, politics, and education. The purpose of this paper is to explore how white supremacy's shaping of spaces in the Midwest affects adult educators working for social justice. While racialized spaces have been established across the entire United States (Rothstein, 2018), each region has a unique history that creates variations on how contemporary spaces remain racialized. This paper specifically looks at racialized spaces within central Indiana, not to argue that it is an especially racist area in need of special attention, but to provide an example of how racialized spaces affect adult education in one area. Additionally, studies on race and space bounded within other U.S. geographical contexts, as well as around the world, are encouraged and would provide vital points for regional comparison.

This paper combines autoethnography and critical race spatial analysis (CRSA) to explore Anderson's (2015) concepts of white, Black, and cosmopolitan spaces, and how the interaction between race and space affect adult educators. In the discussion of white spaces, the first author narrates his experience as a white adult educator when his employer relocated to a reputed sundown town, and how members of the host

community communicated hostility to adult educators of color. The discussion of Black spaces begins with the first author's reflection on socializing forces which contribute to white people's fears of predominantly Black neighborhoods, and continues with the second author's reflections on white adult educators' problematic behaviors while visiting Black spaces. Finally, this paper explores the second author's efforts, as a Black adult educator, to build consciousness to counter traditional approaches to community engagement established by white supremacy and deficit understandings within the Black population of a diverse, low-income neighborhood.

Before presenting the autoethnographic writing, we will describe recent innovations in the practices of Critical Race Spatial Analyses and Autoethnography. We will also provide a brief review of historical literature regarding how white supremacy has affected the construction of space in the Midwest. After presentations of autoethnographic evidence and analysis, we will discuss conclusions and implications for adult education and human resource development.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND CRITICAL WHITENESS STUDIES

A grounding in critical race theory (CRT) informs this project. As such the researchers proceed from the understanding that racism is a normal part of the American~~s~~ social fabric that affects people's daily lives in innumerable ways (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). We place a special emphasis on critical white studies (CWS) which derives from CRT and places a distinct emphasis on the role of whiteness in sustaining racial oppression (Bohonos, 2019a; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Yosso, 2006). In particular, we draw on the notion of whiteness as property (Harris, 1993) and the concept of white spaces (Anderson, 2015).

Harris (1993) argues that whiteness functions as property as its possession confers a range of benefits, both material and immaterial. These benefits include free access to public spaces and attending abilities to enjoy education, commerce, employment, and leisure associated with these areas. Whiteness also affords its owners the right to exclude POC through the creation of segregated spaces. Historically this right to exclude was often enforced through law and policy, while in the contemporary era, exclusion continues through the social constitution of white spaces.

White spaces consist of overwhelmingly white areas in which Black people generally perceive themselves as unwelcome. Geographically speaking, white spaces dominate the American landscape and stand in contrast to both Black spaces—which whites tend to view with fear— and cosmopolitan spaces where amicable race mixing is most likely to take place (Anderson, 2015). White relationships to Black spaces tend to be characterized by avoidance and derision, while Black people must frequently navigate white spaces if they wish to access educational and employment opportunities, as well as other vital goods and services. The historical legacy of formal segregation combines with informal practices of exclusion to make Black access to white spaces frequently exhausting, painful, humiliating, and dangerous. This paper explores the experiences of adult educators who must navigate white and Black spaces, and also suggests that a key aspiration of adult education praxis should be the cultivation of cosmopolitan spaces of integration (Anderson, 2015). Following the example of influential critical race theorists (Harris, 1993; Gotanda, 1991; Vélez & Solórzano, 2017), we capitalize names of marginalized racial or ethnic groups while leaving white uncapitalized throughout the paper. This practice is rooted in the assumption that whiteness' privilege and property functions are at least as important as its standing as a racial label, and un-capitalizing white is intended to be a counter-hegemonic practice that highlights these aspects of whiteness.

> *White relationships to Black spaces tend to be characterized by avoidance and derision.*

REVIEW OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE: RACISM IN INDIANA'S HISTORY AND CULTURE

In discussing the history of racism in Indiana, there are four threads of the state's history that must be addressed: its deep association with the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), the state's last recorded lynching that transpired in Marion in 1930, the lasting effects of sundown communities, and practice of redlining in urban areas such as Indianapolis. The tapestry woven from these threads provides the backdrop to our explanation of contemporary racial division and segregation in central Indiana and the greater Indianapolis metro area. To orient the reader to the racial climate in central Indiana, this paper will combine references to literature with autoethnographic notes and personal reflections about the spaces in which we worked. It is important to orient the reader to the prevalence of racism in Indiana's past and present because it informs the larger cultural context influencing the norms within which adult educators work. We will start by discussing the impact of the KKK and lynching on Indiana's history and culture. Next, we will introduce the reader to the concept of the Midwestern sundown town and the historical practice of redlining.

Lynching and the Klan in Indiana History

In the 1920s, Indiana had the densest Klan membership of any state in the union with an estimated membership ranging between 20% and 30% among eligible whites (Carr, 2006; Moore, 1991). Membership represented a cross-section of the white protestant male population of the state and included most of the state's political elite. Members included sheriffs, judges, mayors, prosecutors, and school board officials. Additionally, for most of the 1920s, the Klan controlled the governor's office, state senate, and the house. Many women and children participated as members of parallel women's groups that supported Klan activity (Carr, 2006; Moore, 1991).

In the 1920s, Klan Grand Wizard D.C. Stephenson exerted a massive influence on state politics and on the Klan nationwide, but he was eventually discredited by a rape/murder scandal at the height of his power. His fall led the majority of the state's Klan members to leave the organization. Carr (2006), however, argued that it is dangerous to associate exodus from the Klan as evidence of changed opinions regarding race and exclusion of others. It merely reflects a loss of faith in the organization and its leader.

Marion, Indiana, was the site of one of America's most well-known lynchings on August 7, 1930. In this act of racial terror, a group of between 25 and 50 active white participants murdered two Black men while between 10,000 and 15,000 people enjoyed the carnival-like atmosphere surrounding the event. Eyewitnesses reported that the two Black men accused of raping a white woman were killed and mutilated even before the nooses were tied around their necks and their corpses were hung. Many in the town sought souvenirs from the event, including strips of clothes ripped off the deceased men's backs and short segments of rope cut from the nooses used in the hangings (Carr, 2006). No one was ever arrested or tried in connection with the crime. In her work about the legacy of the hanging in Marion and surrounding Indiana communities, Carr (2006) noted the continued prevalence of the Klan, skinheads, and other hardcore white supremacist groups in Indiana. She also explained that some who remember the lynching continue to brag about it in circles where they feel safe to do so. Carr also noted that Marion is not an atypical central Indiana town, and it does not appear to be any more racist than similar towns in the region. It is just one example of the many sundown communities in the Midwest where Black people and others were made to feel unsafe and unwelcome. Additionally, she explained that many in younger generations are blind to the racist history of the region or even their own families. She cited herself as an example by relating a personal narrative about finding her grandfather's KKK membership card.

Sundown Communities

The homogeneity of most Hoosier communities, many of which have only gotten whiter since the high point of the Indiana Klan, serves to protect the traditions, history, and culture of that period. While Indiana was not a slave state, it should be remembered that many whites opposed slavery in Indiana, not because they were opposed to whites holding Black people as chattel but rather because they did not want Black people entering the state at all or because they feared economic competition from slave labor. After the Civil War, many of the Black people who had previously lived in Indiana were expelled as more and more Hoosier communities became sundown towns (Loewen, 2005).

Loewen (2005) defined "sundown communities" as communities that are all-white or majority-white and actively discouraged Black people and other minority groups from residing in their town, city, or suburb. Exclusion could be enforced through violence, including lynching in the early 20th century, mob violence and threats in the middle 20th century, community-wide obstruction of investigations of white on Black violence as recently as the 1990s, and police harassment and unequal enforcement of laws into the present day. Other non-physically violent techniques such as restrictive covenants, thinly veiled threats, careful cultivation of racist reputations, semi-sanctioned schoolyard bullying of minority children, posting of signs demanding that all Black people be out of the town by sundown, extra-legal ordinances enforced by police and local businesses, and a host of other measures were or are used to exclude Black people and other minorities from sundown towns (Loewen, 2005). The name "sundown town" is derived from the aforementioned signs, some of which remained posted into the 1970s, that contained variations on phrases like "whites only after sundown" or "Nigger, Don't Let The Sun Set on You in This County" (Loewen, 2005, p. 195).

In the present era, sundown towns continue to rely on their reputations to exclude Black people and reinforce them by taunting Black athletes who enter the town to compete in high school athletics, supporting police departments with differential arrest rates that target minorities, using questionable real-estate practices, and socially shunning outsiders. Indirect methods of discouraging outsiders from entering the area include refusing to maintain public roads and maintaining private drives for residents only, making areas difficult to navigate through such tactics as refusing to post street signs and refusing to give directions to strangers, restricting access to parks and other public spaces to residents of the county, and refusing to zone areas for low-income or government-assisted housing. Hiring practices are also used to keep outsiders away. Some of these are formal, such as only allowing residents of the municipality to apply for jobs in the fire department, police force, or local civil service. Others are informal, such as giving preference to students from the local high school when filling customer service positions rather than giving jobs to outsiders.

Black people are not the only group who have faced exclusion from sundown communities. To varying degrees, other people groups such as Jews, American Indians, Asians, religious minorities, immigrants, lower-class whites, hippies, individuals who are considered cultural deviants, homosexuals, and "swarthy whites" have also faced hostility when entering these areas (Loewen, 2005). Loewen (2005) estimated that more than half of Indiana towns either are or at one time were sundown communities. Carr (2006) explained that her interest in writing about Marion, Indiana, stemmed from fond childhood memories of visiting her grandparents in this historic town. While she had long been aware that a lynching had taken place in the town, it was not typically discussed around her. It was not until she found her grandfather's Klan membership card that she questioned the supposed quaintness of the community's history. She questioned the quietness or apathy with which many white Indiana residents related to their own communities' history of racism and wondered if this behavior is not "another hood to wear" (Carr, 2006, p. 78) that perpetuates racism by failing to confront it. Carr argued that the ignorance and apathy among moderate and liberal

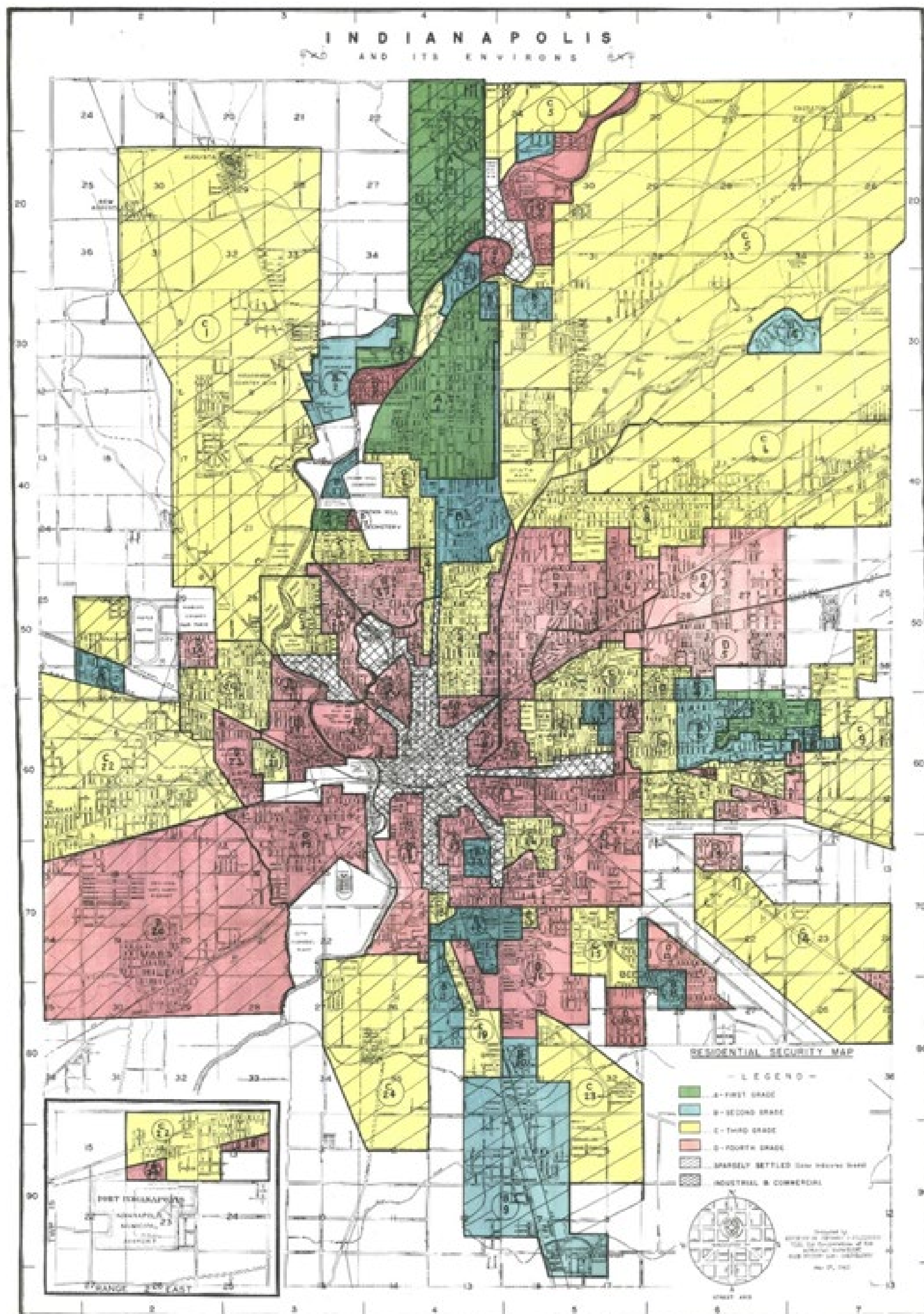
whites are exploited by white supremacists who work tirelessly in central Indiana to advance their aims and who are paying attention when other whites are not.

Black Spaces Within The City Of Indianapolis

By the 1930s, a significant Black population called Indianapolis home. As in much of the country, in urban areas white and Black spaces were created through government interventions at federal, state and local levels including inequitable access to mortgage subsidies or outright barring of Black people from buying homes or acquiring mortgages in restricted areas (Rothstein, 2018). Local real-estate and banking practices complimented governmental initiatives. One of the dominant agencies engaged in this work in the 1930s and 1940s was the homeowners loan corporation (HOLC). This organization restructured elements of the home mortgage market while working to provide guidance and education to people involved in real estate transactions. Its maps infamously used red ink to shade areas described as being "infiltrated" or "occupied" by "Negros" and labeling them as "Hazardous." Map 1 depicts a HOLC rendering of Indianapolis (Map 1, courtesy of Nelson, Winling, Marciano, Connolly, et al., Accessed April 20, 2019). The HOLC's negative depictions of Black neighborhoods contributed to stagnating or declining housing values for Black homeowners and combined with other racist practices contributed to turning these areas into economically impoverished Black spaces that most whites in the area continue to regard as dangerous ghettos.

The search for employment in the North during the Depression and Second World War drew many Black people to the North in events known as the Great Migration. The resulting increase in the Indianapolis population strained established Black neighborhoods. Contrary to popular white supremacist opinions that assume that cultural or moral deficiencies among Black people caused the economic hardships in these communities, Black communities decline resulted from the unfair landlord tactics, overcrowding due to limitations placed on where Black people could live, and the unavailability of homes that met reasonable living conditions (Pierce, 2005). This reflected a nation-wide trend where authorities created slum-like conditions in formally respectable Black neighborhoods (Rothstein, 2018). In such efforts, forced overcrowding led to higher rates of double occupancy and artificially inflated housing costs in Black areas, which left residents with less disposable income to maintain properties. Additionally, municipalities frequently created hardship in Black areas by taxing residents at proportionally higher rates compared to white areas, and by enforcing zoning restrictions in ways that located disproportionate numbers of polluting industries, strip clubs, and liquor stores in or near Black areas. According to Mullins (2006), such marginalizing practices make racism "seem appropriate or at least utterly distant from the present" (p. 70). When these histories go unmentioned or are sanitized, it hides the enormous impact that race-based practices have played in carrying out white supremacy. For example, in Indianapolis, many white families facilitated the detrimental practice of blockbusting (Capps, 2015) by moving out of the Loving Neighborhood (pseudonym) toward the greener pastures of more affluent suburbs in the city. According to Capps (2015), blockbusting is the racist practice used by whites in real estate to prevent marginalized communities from renting or purchasing property in particular neighborhoods. Through the creation of fear, real estate agents entice whites to sell their homes at a loss and then hike the price at above-market prices to sell to Black people. This occurred right after Black people were allowed into restricted and segregated areas of the neighborhood. This forced more rental properties for the area and emptied homes which further contributed to the decline of the Loving Neighborhood (The Polis Center, 2001).

Later in this paper, the discussion of Black and cosmopolitan spaces explores contemporary white socialization into fear of these Black areas, and cross-racial social interactions of adult educators who navigated redline areas in Map 1.



Map 1. Nelson, Winling, Marciano, Connolly, et al., Accessed April 20, 2019. *Mapping Inequality*

METHODS

Critical Race Spatial Analysis

Critical race spatial analysis (CRSA) seeks to expand interrogations of the historical and social constructions of race and racism by foregrounding spatial dimensions of injustice.This work builds on a tradition of critiquing the ideological and racialized implications of space that date back to Du Bois (1903/2017) and embraces Soja's (2009, 2010) concept of spatial justice. Soja argues for geographers to move away from seeing space as a "container or stage of human activity or merely the physical dimensions of fixed form, to an active force shaping human life" (p. 2) and promotes the notion that physical and social aspects of space shape one another in a socio-spatial dialectic. Pratt (1991) has similarly encouraged anthropologists to move away from neutral representations of space and to pay attention to the ways the cultures meet, share, and clash in different spaces. Work in this tradition emphasizes the asymmetry of power relations in spaces whose history have been shaped by slavery, colonialism, or other oppressive forces. CRSA applies these critical approaches to the study of space in educational contexts by advancing scholarship dedicated to "foregrounding the color-line, underscoring the relationship among race, racism, history, and space" and "challenging race-neutral representations of space" (Vélez & Solórzano, 2017, Kindle location 502) while exposing and resisting oppressive spaces instantiated by white supremacy.

CRSA seeks to expand interrogations of the historical and social constructions of race and racism by foregrounding spatial dimensions of injustice.

Educational researchers have used this method to explore ideological implications of mapping (Annamma, 2017), classroom spaces (Blaisdell, 2017), economic exclusion (Hidalgo, 2017), redlining (Solorzano, 2017), and school reform (Waitoller & Radinsky, 2017), and have called for this method's application to other areas of education. Our paper applies CRSA to adult education by exploring racialized histories and current perceptions of geographical spaces that surround adult learning centers.

CRSA embraces a multiscalar approach to understanding space which recognizes the connection between global, regional, and local constructions of space (Vélez & Solórzano, 2017). This paper uses historical literature to provide the Midwestern regional context before employing autoethnography and ethnographic mapping (Murchison, 2010) to craft cartographic narratives (Knigge & Cope, 2006) that animate lived experiences within local spaces where adult educators work. Qualitative mapping is a departure from much of the CRSA literature which focuses on the lived experiences of students. This paper focuses on the experiences of adult educators as they navigate racialized spaces surrounding their workplaces.

Autoethnography

Narrative researchers use autoethnography to relate personal accounts from the perspective of lived experience (Creswell, 2013) allowing everyday phenomena to contribute to the development of theory (Grenier, 2015). Many researchers have applied this method to the study of adult education. These include research relating to teaching undergraduate organizational diversity courses (Collins, 2015), the effect of parenthood on academic workplaces (Riad, 2007), feminist resistance to oppressive forms of masculinity in the workplace (Haynes, 2013; Katila & Meriläinenn, 2002), coping with vicarious trauma in adult education (Nikischer, 2019, and the deployment of bigoted humor in white male-dominated workplaces (Bohonos, 2019b).

While autoethnography is often conceived of as an individual exercise, research teams have demonstrated the value of combining perspectives on lived experiences through collaborative forms of autoethnography (Bohonos & Otchere, 2018; Ellison & Langhout, 2016; Grenier & Collins, 2016; Katila & Meriläinen, 2002). Ellison and Langhout (2016) argue for the particular insights coauthored autoethnographies can

provide when addressing whiteness and racisms. Following their approach, this paper presents autoethnographic writings of each of the coauthors to allow for more nuanced depictions of social spaces they shared. In this paper, we use multi-positional autoethnography (Bohonos & Otchere, 2017) which is the practice of integrating reflexive writing from researchers with diverging positionalities. This approach allows us to combine Black and white men's perspectives on how white supremacy affects adult education spaces.

Procedures for Study

Bohonos (2020; 2019b) originally collected data that forms the empirical foundation of this paper to be background information for a study about workplace racism in central Indiana. The original purpose was to provide readers of this study with an introduction to the social, historical, and spatial dimensions of Indiana's culture that would facilitate a deep understanding of workplace racism in the region. Early readers of that study suggested these representations of space would be better utilized if conceived of as data related to the socio-spatial environment of the region, rather than as simple background. Following this advice, Bohonos began exploring the literature around Spatial Justice (Soja, 2008), CRSA (Vélez & Solórzano, 2017) and Contact Zones (Pratt, 1991) and reconceptualizing his writing about space in more analytical terms. Serendipitous discussions with the Duff led to the realization that his years of ethnographic work in the same region would allow him to contribute additional layers of both narrative data and analysis. So, data was collected in two stages. In stage one, the Bohonos wrote detailed accounts related to spatial dimensions of racism in central Indiana. In stage two, the Duff contributed narrative data that complimented or complicated Bohonos' original representations of the space. Both authors wrote autoethnographically regarding their personal experiences with racialized spaces which were based on either headnotes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) or personal journals. Excerpts from the Bohonos' writing were purposefully selected from a larger body of autoethnographic journals to give readers a visceral feel for racialized dynamics related to space in central Indiana. The Duff's autoethnographic accounts were written as a response to and engagement with the Bohonos' outline and draft manuscript. Owing to the authors' different positionalities, this allowed for elements of interracial dialogue to develop in the text which created spaces for both Black and white perceptions of spaces in central Indiana to form complementary evidentiary bases.

EVIDENCE AND ANALYSIS

The autoethnographic analysis below presents accounts related to the racialization of space and its effect on adult education. The first describes ways in which communities surrounding adult education centers can constitute white spaces and, in the process, create hostile work environments for Black adult educators. The second explores the socialization which pushed a white adult educator towards attitudes of deficit and fear regarding predominantly Black residential communities. The third explores the possibility that adult education praxis can create spaces for cosmopolitan spaces of integration and attending difficulties.

White Spaces: Relocating an Adult Education Center to a Suspected Sundown Town

In this section, we use CRSA to explore the role that white supremacy plays in shaping rural and small urban spaces typically perceived as "safe" by white Americans. It highlights how race and space mutually constitute each other (Delaney, 2002; Vélez & Solórzano, 2017) with white-dominated spaces shaping the

expression of bigotry and the social actions of the dominant racial group marking locations as white (Anderson, 2015; Kobayashi & Peak, 2000). The following autoethnographic excerpts demonstrate how micro- and macroaggressions combine with historical legacies and community reputations to create spaces that are hostile to African American adult educators who enter them.

Autoethnography. In his online database of suspected sundown towns, Loewen (2016) listed 249 in Indiana alone. However, I consider Loewen's list incomplete. An example of one town left off his list is Knightsville (pseudonym). The following autoethnographic writing explains how Knightsville intersected with my work at an adult education center that bussed many learners of color to our residential facility where they took GED classes and the hostility the community-directed toward Black people. This center served a racially diverse group of learners from across the state and had originally been located on a military base outside of Indianapolis where students would sleep in old barracks at night while taking classes during the day.

> When it was announced that a residential GED center I worked for would be relocating to Knightsville, it kicked off a fury of discussion among Black employees who were aware of the city's reputation and historic connection to white supremacy. Some believed the past was in the past, others argued that the rural area we had been working in was already pretty racist and didn't expect things to be much worse in Knightsville, and others immediately began applying for new jobs out of fear. Most of the Black employees ultimately made the move with the organization. When we arrived, our center, which served large numbers of minority clients, was not greeted kindly by most of the residents. Conversations with community members revealed that many assumed that students taking GED classes through our organization were convicts. One way that Knightsville residents made our Black employees feel unwelcome was by refusing to give directions to local establishments.
>
> In one incident that I witnessed, a Black man stopped at the local gas station to ask for directions to a diner. The two cashiers as well as several customers all insisted that there was no diner in town. The man left the station. When I realized what had just happened, I followed him out to his car to explain that he was only a block from the local diner. And that everyone in town knew where it was. He looked nervous and apprehensive. I tried to put him at ease by engaging in a little small talk, and found out that he was in town interviewing for a job with my organization. I wished him luck, and we parted ways. (Bohonos)

While the effort to make this man feel uncomfortable and unwelcome was rather subtle, other examples are much more lurid.

> One day, shortly after the move to Knightsville, a group of coworkers and I went for lunch at the town's only diner. Heads turned when I walked in accompanied by six or eight Black coworkers. We ordered and ate our lunch. When the meal was finished, I got up to go to the restroom. When I returned to the table, my coworkers told me we had to leave and nervously rushed out of the restaurant. After we left, one of my coworkers explained that a 20-something-year-old white man wearing camo and chains had walked into the restaurant, sat down at my vacated seat, and asked if he could serenade the table with a song he wrote. My coworkers could not remember the verses, but the chorus was, "All dogs go to heaven, but all niggers go to hell." (Bohonos)

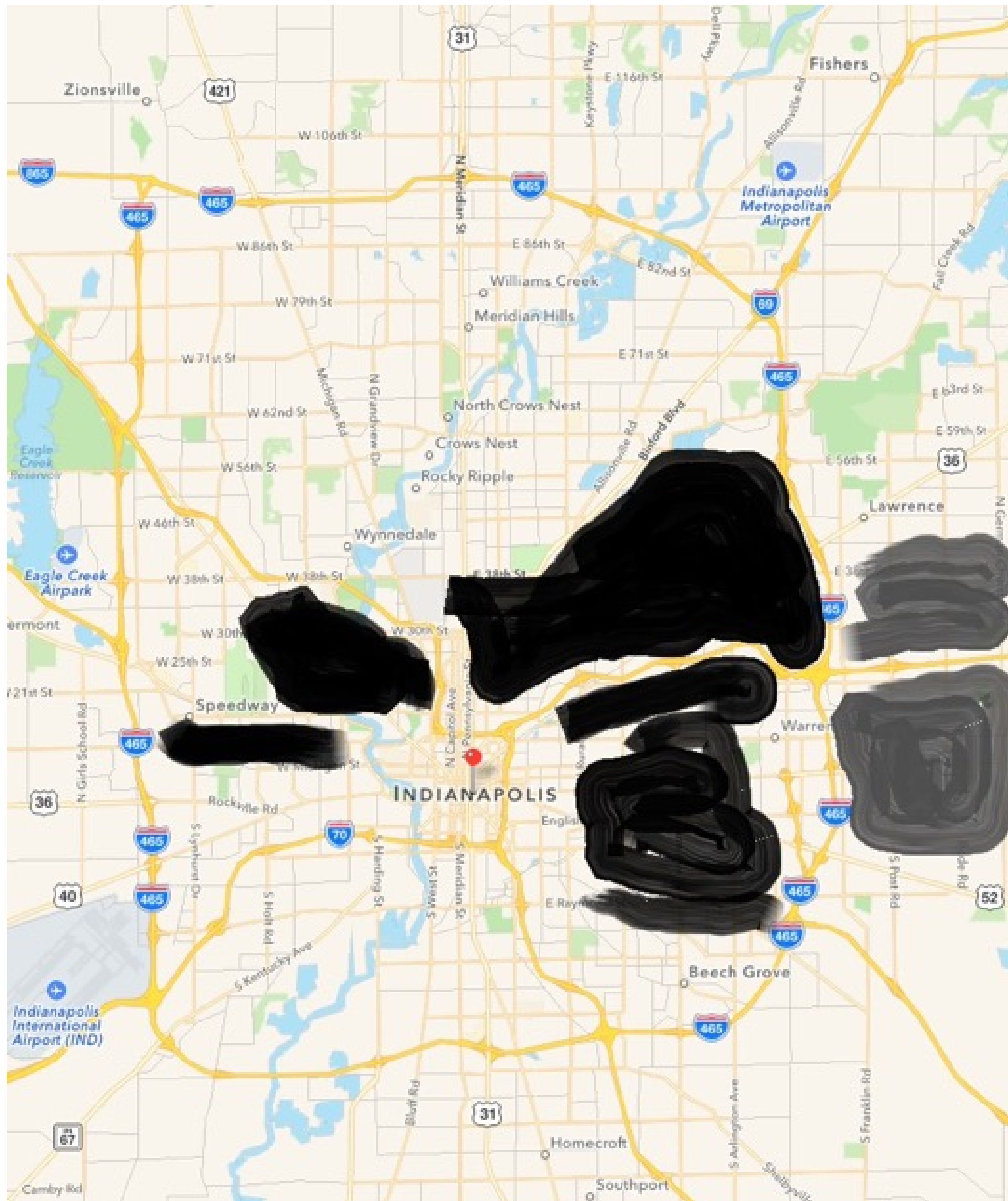
Analysis. Anderson (2015) argued that whites often experience cognitive dissidence when they encounter Black bodies in white spaces leading to a variety of actions that work to put them “in their place.” This can include the use of racial slurs, admonitions to “go home” (Anderson, 2015), and refusing to give directions (Loewen, 2005). Many Black people consider microaggressive sanctions for entering white spaces as the cost of doing business essential to their lives, but when caught off guard, the overt enforcements can be disorienting and highly distressing. The proceeding excerpts demonstrate that both subtle and overt forms of discrimination affected Black employees of this education center. Their need to traverse and navigate hostile white spaces that surrounded our workplace could have only caused pain and apprehension during their commutes and on their lunch breaks.

Whites often experience cognitive dissidence when they encounter Black bodies in white spaces

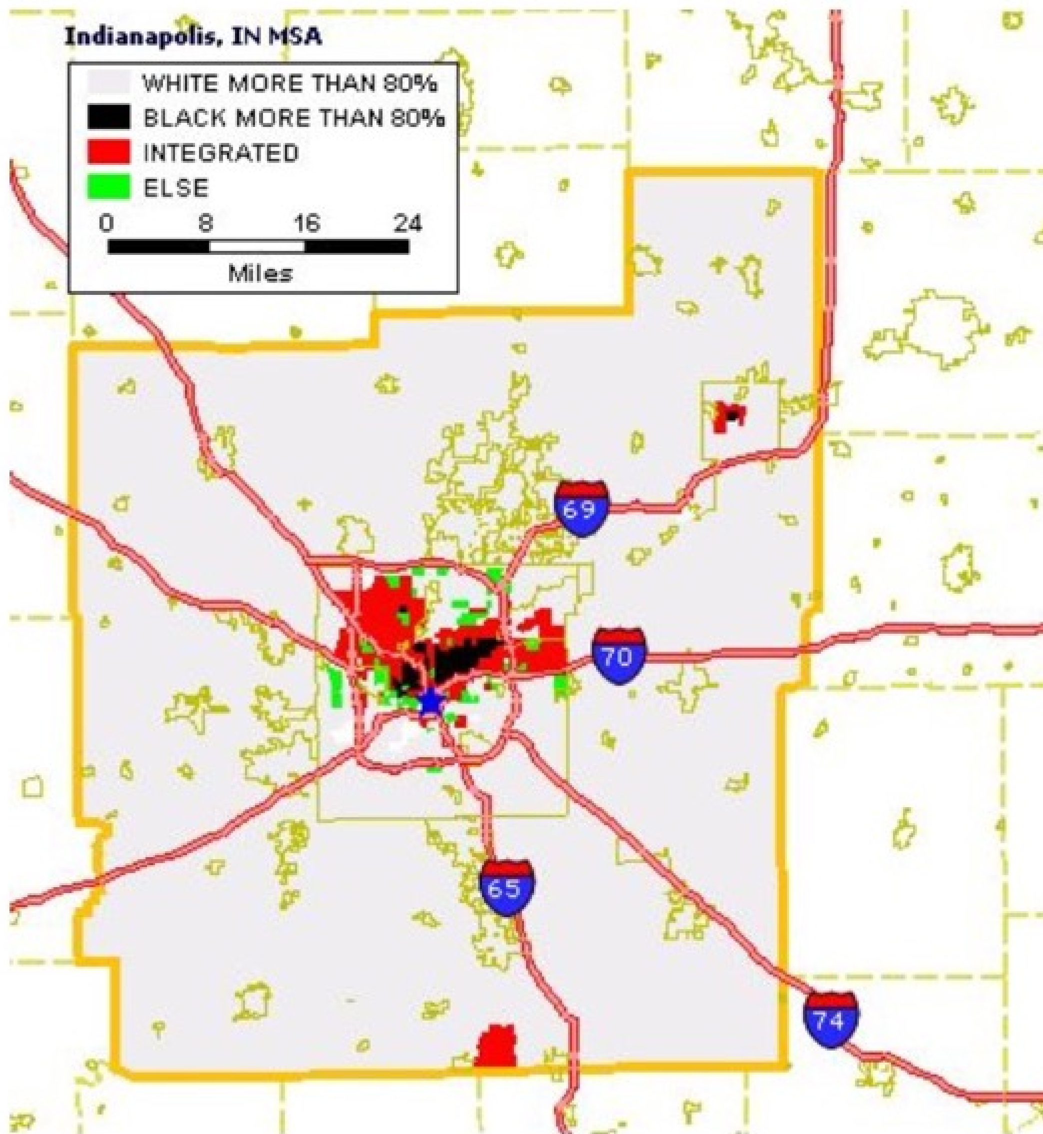
Black Spaces and White Socialization into Fear

CRSA uses qualitative data to connect everyday experiences with broad social phenomena, infuse maps with nuanced meanings, and can explore contemporary effects of historical redlining practices on education (Vélez & Solórzano, 2017). The following section uses autoethnography and map editing to explore how contemporary whites work to socialize each other into fears regarding Black spaces in ways white liberals often prefer to imagine as only occurring in the historical past. This analysis also compares contemporary white fears of certain urban neighborhoods, represented in hand-drawn edits to Google maps, to contemporary maps of racial segregation. This process produces a cartographic narrative (Knigge & Cope, 2006) which connects the autoethnographer’s lived experiences to contemporary and historical maps.

Autoethnography. Previous to starting my career in adult education, I worked in an almost exclusively white organization, which provided services in mostly white residential areas but occasionally served more diverse areas in the city of Indianapolis. My workmates and other whites instilled in me a mental map of which areas of Indianapolis were dangerous and should generally not be visited by whites. This mental map was developed based on admonitions from white coworkers who would say things like, “What the hell were you doing there, trying to get killed?” after I had mentioned that I had visited some friends who lived on 42nd Street and N. Spinder Avenue. Or when former colleagues would hear that I bought a house near 28th and Outlong (pseudonyms) and asked if I was sure the area was safe for white people. My mental map was also developed through casual references to things like high crime rates and low-quality schools. To give the reader a general feel for where the boundaries of perceived safety are among whites, we produced map 2 by downloading a Google Map of Indianapolis and using Microsoft Paint to blackout areas of the map that the Bohonos was taught to avoid. We used solid black shading to indicate areas that whites regarded as highly dangerous and to be avoided at all costs. The gray areas were still considered sketchy by many whites, especially upper-class whites. Working-class whites were more likely to speak fondly of childhood memories in the gray areas while representing them as currently being “in decline.” Construction of these ethnographic maps follows the recommendation of Murchison (2010) that maps can be used to show human movement (or in this case, aversion to movement) and demonstrate how people conceptualize space.

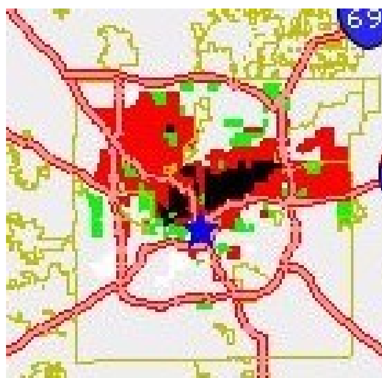


Map 2. After drawing this map, we were sure that any long-time resident of Indianapolis would see the racial implication of the shaded areas. But in order to make these implications clear to outsiders, we decided to include map 3 and map 4. Map 3 was created as part of a University of Wisconsin project to raise awareness about residential segregation in large U.S. cities (Maps of the African American and white Populations in the Indianapolis, IN MSA, 2002). In this map, blacked-out areas represent spaces that are 80% or more Black, while red spaces are at least 20% Black. All other spaces are less than 20% Black. Map 3 is a cropping of map 2 to bring it into roughly the same viewing area as map 1. By comparing our freehand representation of areas generally regarded as dangerous by whites to the statistical representations from the University of Wisconsin, it is easy to see that the 80% Black areas of Indianapolis were all considered dangerous and that many of the areas with 20% Black residents or more were also regarded as dangerous. Similarly, comparisons of Maps 2-4 to Map 1 clearly shows the contemporary effects of historical redlining practices.



Map 1. Racial Mix of Block Groups in the Indianapolis, IN MSA

Map 3. Racial Mix of Block Groups in the Indianapolis, IN MSA. IN Maps of the African American and White Populations in the Indianapolis, IN MSA, Employment and Training Institute, School of Continuing Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2002).



Map 4. Racial Mix of Block Groups in the Indianapolis, IN MSA (2002). IN Maps of the African American and White Populations in the Indianapolis, IN MSA, Employment and Training Institute, School of Continuing Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2002).

The official legend for map 3 designates it as a map of racial mixing in Indianapolis. To Bohonos, this map represents the opposite. Living and working in the 80% white areas, he learned that many of the red areas and all the black areas were to be driven over, not stopped in, and ideally not thought about. Residents of Black areas were treated as if they did not exist or at least as if they should not matter to the lives of whites. In the rare times when whites planned trips into Black areas, their imaginations transformed residents of these areas into objects of fear and danger.

> Generally, white residents of the white areas only entered Black areas a few times a year (or less) to visit certain attractions such as the State Fair Grounds or a Museum. Visits to attractions in Black areas were often accompanied by speeches about the “danger” or “seediness” of the area, and warnings about the importance of sticking together, keeping the car doors locked, not wandering off, and moving directly from the parking lot to the attraction without delay or deviation. (Bohonos)

When whites visit these neighborhoods to do work related to adult education, they often bring their fear and stereotypes with them in ways that undermine their credibility. The following reflection captures Duff’s observations of white visitors to poor prominently POC areas.

> What I noticed about many of my white colleagues is how they rarely attend evening and weekend events in the Loving Neighborhood. When they do, I find it humorous at times watching them engage this foreign world, and how surprised they seem to be when they realize that there are white residents who live in the neighborhood. I sometimes wonder about their motives during the occasions when they do attend these meetings and hurry to leave instead of hanging around afterward to try and connect with and learn about the residents and their community. (Duff)

Analysis. The discussion of the Bohonos’ socialization into fear of Black neighborhoods and the autoethnographic mapping project shows the continued legacy of attitudes developed in the Jim Crow era. As the majority of professional adult educators are white, such fears and prejudice inevitably affect adult education efforts. The effect may be especially poignant when white adult educators enter spaces, they have been socialized into seeing as “ghetto,” dangerous, and otherwise deficit. In addition, Anderson (2015) argues that Black people are often seen as taking the ghetto with them into white spaces; such prejudice undoubtedly shows up when Black learners seek services in white spaces. The observations of Duff underscore the importance of training aimed at defusing stereotypes and developing community engagement skills for adult education *before* they seek to partner alongside a community, particularly if the

residents represent a marginalized population. Unfortunately, white privilege, power, and supremacy drive many adult educators' assumptions that they and other community partners already know what they need to know to *help* the neighborhood. This disposition serves as a hindrance to their adult education efforts and further oppresses the community they claim to serve. When white "allies" refuse to invest time in Black communities they wish to "help," they reflect a white liberal tradition that pervaded reconstruction, Jim Crow and civil rights era educational efforts (Anderson, 1998; Charron, 2009;). Given that Woodson (1933) clearly warned whites against such behavior nearly 100 years ago, these oppressive iterations of *well-intentioned* liberalism provoke frustration in community members and others who take the time to learn the lessons of history.

White privilege, power and supremacy drive many adult educators' assumptions

Cosmopolitan Spaces of Integration: Potential and Thwarting

Anderson (2015) argued that cosmopolitan spaces where people mix amicably across racial lines provide venues for integration. When this type of race mixing breaks down stereotypes and fosters interracial collaborations, communities have a reason for optimism regarding racial progress in their areas. Cosmopolitan spaces can include schools, parks, farmers' markets and virtually any other places where people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds can find common cause. In this paper's final autoethnographic episode, the Duff describes how problematic white behaviors undermine adult educators' attempts to foster such cosmopolitan spaces.

Autoethnography. The following account describes events during and after a community meeting in the Loving Neighborhood that was previously predominantly white, but has gradually shifted towards greater diversity. This area has been the target of many revitalization campaigns over the years. For example, the Building Better Neighborhoods programs, developed by then-mayor Stephen Goldsmith, invested $190,000.00 into the community in the form of a planning grant where community leaders would be trained, and a social service program would be developed. A year later, Operation Weed and Seed, which included a 16.3 million dollar investment was enacted to help diminish the increasing crime in the community and support efforts of economic development (Polis Center, 2001). To date, almost thirty years later, almost no evidence of either program exists within the Loving Neighborhood. Residents could benefit from adult education that would inform them about ways to build capacity within their community and build on their assets and interests (Simpson, Wood, & Daws, 2003) so that they can more effectively advocate for and develop sustainable programs for community development that do not depend on external partners (Chaskin, 2001). Efforts to encourage a mindset of capacity building have been met with great resistance by many of the residents, external partners, and stakeholders who still seem to believe that projects conceived by outsiders and the money that comes with them are the most effective means for improving the neighborhood's quality of life.

Loving is currently one of the more racially integrated areas of the city with a population that is about 1/3 Black, 1/3 white, and 1/3 Latinx (Green & Gooden, 2014). This demographic mixing suggests the possibility that adult education efforts could develop cosmopolitan spaces of integration. However, the following account demonstrates how white privilege and white supremacy can undermine such efforts turning potentially egalitarian spaces into spaces of racial marginalization and oppression.

> My goal as an adult educator in this community has been less of encouraging adults to participate in traditional programs such as workforce development and degree-granting opportunities, and more on informing them of the inequities that have historically,

> currently, and pervasively contributed to their marginalization. I adopted this approach when I realized early on that residents and business owners were facing a threat to their community at a fundamental level that needed to be addressed. This neighborhood experienced a regular cycle of outsiders pouring money into the community (Polis Center, 2001) assuming approaches based on their preconceived notions would spur on economic development and neighborhood revitalization. Instead, this community was left with little if any evidence that money had been invested. I quickly began to realize that this "duping" and "hoodwinking" consistently occurred because many of the people who lived and worked in this community were unaware of systemic cycles of oppression which contributed to the blight in their communities for decades.
>
> In addition to the external challenges in this neighborhood, internal challenges also existed which hindered neighborhood progress. One example of this occurred in a particular neighborhood meeting where an intense conversation was brewing, and an adult Black male resident attempted to speak three times. After about the fourth attempt to make his claim, the gentleman, who is very soft-spoken, decided to voice his frustration about being cut off whenever he was given the floor. It is important to note that as this gentleman was sharing, he never raised his voice. He simply stated his concerns about being interrupted on this particular evening every time he shared his thoughts. The matter of his concern became more intense when he pointed out the person who continually chopped his words. Despite the fact that this woman was white, immediately denied the accusation, and became incensed, the gentleman stood his ground. Finally, as a last-ditch effort and in the traditional spirit of white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018), the white woman and her fellow community resident, who was also a white woman, left the meeting. As this conversation diverted the meeting into a discussion on respecting others, I pointed out to the group that encounters such as what this gentleman experienced is what POC face on an ongoing, daily basis.
>
> Although the group listened and presented understanding dispositions, an email that followed the next day generated by the secretary who is also a white woman made it clear that there was a lack of understanding of the undergirded reality of racism. The email was couched as a list of rules about respect during neighborhood meetings, but read as an attempt to insulate whites from uncomfortable discussions about race while diminishing the voices of Black participants. What was needed was a reckoning with racism, but the 'rules' sent in this email virtually ensured that no such discourse would occur. Thus, adult education was hindered as two neighbors left when they were confronted about their role in racism and when the group perceived the issues as a lack of respect as opposed to considering that the meeting privileged whites and marginalized nonwhites. (Duff)

Analysis. This narration demonstrates several ways that various dimensions of racism can disrupt the efforts of organizers and adult educators to instantiate spaces of integration. These included repeated racial microaggression, defensive emotional displays intended to mute conversations about racism, and an inequitable deployment of rules to maintain white authority.

Racial microaggressions frequently pervade formal meetings spaces and serve to marginalize POC (Brookfield, 2014). In the example provided, a white woman enacted microaggressions (Solorzano, 2000) by repeatedly interrupting a Black community member. Left unchecked, this behavior could limit or even silence the voices of Black participants thus undermining any potential to cultivate spaces of integration. Additionally, traditional white discourses of addressing racism framed in phrases such as "respecting one another" and "culturally insensitive behaviors" were used in an email by a white woman with the attempt to thwart future incidents from occurring. Instead of educating the white residents about the reality of racism

in this community space, an email was instead sent out which helped them to feel comfortable. This allowed whites to side-step an opportunity to reflect on their privilege and their potential to be complicit in marginalizing acts (Fanon, 1963).

Defensive emotional displays are a frequent tactic employed by whites when they become unconfortable with discourse about racism (DiAngelo, 2018; Giles, 2010; Matias, 2016). By crying or making other theatrical emotional displays they effectively draw attention away from POC who are attempting to engage them with dialogue. In this case, the white woman engaged this strategy but was thwarted by the Black man's gentle persistence. The emotional fragility demonstrated by this woman—as highlighted by her dramatic exit from the meeting—sought to undercut a necessary discussion about racism. To foster spaces of integration, adult educators and other activists must be prepared to confront invocations of white privilege and educate participants about diverse ways racism can enter into integrated spaces.

Defensive emotional displays are a frequent tactic employed by Whites when they become uncomfortable with discourse about racism

IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

Adult educators need to carefully consider the spaces in which their workplaces are located and the spaces created while they work. To be effective in their roles, they need to study local and regional histories while paying special attention to patterns of oppression and marginalization that affect communities they aspire to serve.

Given the frequency with which federal agencies such as the Department of Labor (DOL) or the Military sponsor educational programs housed in residential facilities in white-dominated rural areas like Knightsville, future research should explore the effect of living in white spaces on residential learners of color who are often bused to these facilities from inner-city areas.

When operating learning centers in Black spaces, adult educators should maintain awareness of the biases community outsiders may bring with them, and develop strategies to disrupt negative dominant discourses about the area. Adult educators should also strive to foster spaces of integration while being mindful that such efforts can be derailed by racism and are often coopted by the force of gentrification (Anderson, 2015).

The conceptual division of space into Black, white, and cosmopolitan, while useful for some forms of research, needs to be expanded to better account for the experiences of other POC. In certain locations, particularly within with Midwest and old South, the historical significance of Black-white racial segregation will require research to extend beyond an understanding of the binary. This may be much less the case in locations within regions such as the Southwest and West Coast whose racial/ethnic segregation hinged more strongly on divisions between white and Latinx or Asian groups. In either case, continued demographic shifts will require researchers to trouble the Black-white binary while grappling with its continued effect on the way racism is structured and conceived in the United States. One effective strategy for troubling the binary will be for researchers to cultivate deep understandings of their local histories and cultures of discrimination, and to explain to readers how the local situation informs the construction of racialized spaces at the micro- and meso- levels. Such locally situated research on race and racism will allow for cross-regional and cross-national comparisons of racism, which can in turn lead to more effective organization and advocacy among geographically separated people who labor against oppressive and marginalizing conditions.

Future Research for Human Resource Development

As a subfield of adult education which has a legacy of focusing on learning-related employment and situated in traditional corporate, governmental, and nonprofit environments, human resource development (HRD) needs to further explore how white spaces affect people's experiences at work. Given that most employers in America are white enough to constitute white spaces regardless of location, the movement of jobs to suburban white spaces, and the development of research, technology, and innovations "parks" which tend to be constituted as white spaces, Black people and other POC may not have equal access to employment. The cultivation of cosmopolitan spaces of integration (Anderson, 2015), therefore, should be considered a key objective of efforts to combat inequities in employment. Future research should consider how organizational norms and the general ordering of our society compels Black people to enter or traverse hostile spaces to earn a paycheck, it is likely that continued prevalence of occupational white spaces will contribute to the continued tilting of the labor market in favor of whites (Bohonos, 2020). Research should also include assessments of how thoroughly social justice issues, including racism, are being taught in HRD training programs (Bohonos, Otchere, & Pak, 2019).

CONCLUSIONS

From central Indiana's history of racial violence to contemporary forms of exclusion and segregation, racism permeates every aspect of our culture. With patterns of racial division so deeply ingrained into our daily lives, it is a near inevitability that such patterns would evidence themselves in all workplaces, including adult education. Adult educators need to develop strategies for successfully navigating white and Black spaces while working to foster integration in cosmopolitan spaces. Part of this strategy should include a willingness of white adult educators to recognize and decenter their privilege in a way that challenges white supremacy in all spaces they encounter. This includes the development of a heightened sensitivity towards and a willingness to address microaggressions and other forms of racism that POC face on an ongoing basis.

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