If Everything is to Stay the Same, Everything has to Change:

Building Local Government Capacity to
Resist White Nationalism in Eugene, Oregon

Stefan Norgaard and Brady Roberts
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Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government
Academic Concentration Advisors: Professors Ryan Sheely and Julie Wilson
Faculty Advisor: Professor Cornell William Brooks
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Executive Summary

Despite its reputation as a liberal college town, numerous political extremist individuals and entities call Eugene, Oregon home. This PAE focuses specifically on organized White Nationalist individuals and groups that use the city as a jumping off point for political maneuvering. As a proxy for white nationalist ideologies in the area, we first examined hate crime statistics in the city. According to the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), a compilation of official data on crime in the United States published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Eugene is victimized by 42 hate crimes per 100,000 residents, per year, in a state with the *highest* rates of self-reported hate crimes in the United States. These metrics indicate not only the **presence of organized white nationalists** targeting a small minority community, but **deeper structural issues** necessitating an institution-wide response strategy.

To accomplish this task, we utilized a PDIA-inspired methodology, in which we broke down the 'wicked problem' of white nationalism and proposed several rapid-cycle interventions meant for quick adaptation, as well as long-term goals and outcomes of our interventions. Since PDIA methodology is intensely, *problem-driven,* a key to our analytical work was crafting, honing, and testing with partners four key *deconstructions* to the problem of White Nationalist organizing in Eugene. The deconstructions are:
1. The perceived **failure of government** to fully embrace racial, gender, ethnic, and spatial equity as a central mission to healthy democracy.
2. A pronounced **urban-rural divide** that too often segregates and inflames political and ethnic differences.
3. **Historical amnesia and erasure** in Eugene by current residents not in keeping with Eugene's past and to the detriment of forging a truth-driven historical narrative.
4. An **erosion of white identity** due to a collapsing timber industry and an educational system that validates myths of colonialism, while failing to equip young people with tools to have difficult conversations about race and tolerance.

The PDIA methodology also allowed us to craft broad and thematic solutions for problems, develop an analytic "solutions implementation framework," and hone specific recommendations. Thematic solutions are paired with specific problem deconstructions. As we recommend implementing these solutions, we do so according to a **PDIA solutions framework** that looks to current and informal practices in Eugene, and anti-racist actions in cities globally:
A. Existing practice
B. Latent practice
C. Positive deviance
D. External best practices

We view White Nationalism as a social disease, an ongoing public health problem, and as such we present Western States Center and the City of Eugene with an **implementation framework centered on a medical, emergency-room response**:
- **"Triage" and Rapid response** recommendations focus on immediate community threats;
- **Intensive care** recommendations consider healing processes, dialogues, and tasks forces across geography and identity groups to bridge the gap between immediate crisis and longer-term solutions; and
- **Inoculation** recommendations seek to change institutions, norms, practices, and systems, getting at the deeper causes of White Supremacy throughout Eugene's history, and enduring through to the present day.

Undergirding this framework is the idea of **primary care** a renewed commitment to the work of racial equity through constant assessment, analysis, and conversation between institutions.

Figure 1: *Solutions Framework*

We present Western States Center and the City of Eugene with a menu of options, some of which we further develop and one of which we fully build out. With a problem of the scope and size of contemporary White Nationalism, no one solution will serve as a "silver bullet." However, a variety of interventions that are asset-based, context-specific, and collaboratively honed have the potential to change the narrative around White Nationalism in Eugene. **Eugene can serve as a *regional and nationwide leader* in anti-racist reporting, activism, and broad-based democratic engagement.**
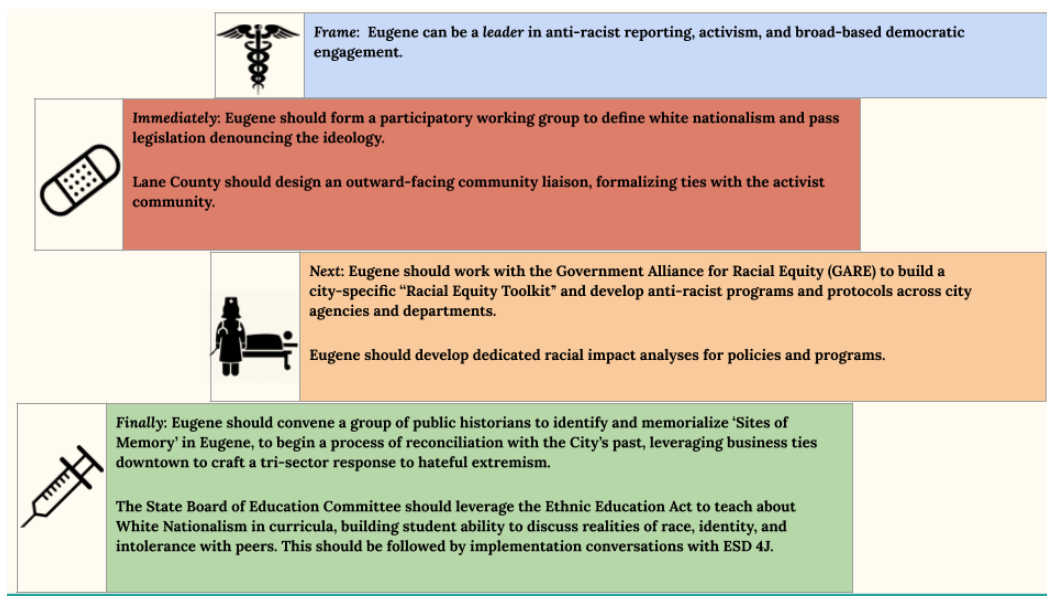
Figure 2: *Recommendations*

The Problem

Despite its reputation as a liberal college town, numerous political extremist individuals and entities call Eugene, Oregon home. This Policy Analysis Exercise (PAE) focuses specifically on organized White Nationalist individuals and groups that use the city as a jumping off point for political maneuvering. According to the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), a compilation of official data on crime in the United States published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Eugene is victimized by 42 hate crimes per 100,000 residents, per year. This figure far outpaces nearly every other city that submits crime statistics to the FBI, far ahead of peer cities such as Portland (roughly 3 hate crimes per 100,000 residents) and more than twice as many as Boston (with slightly over 20 hate crimes per 100,000 residents).[1] These insidious efforts increasingly dominate the political landscape and pose a threat to minority communities; indeed, White Nationalist activities threaten inclusive representative local democracy and the idea of local governance in Eugene, in neighboring localities, and well beyond.

At the same time, public attitudes toward *government* are increasingly driven by national-scale partisan politics, which have led to many dysfunctional government entities at the national and state levels. Local government has the potential to provide city and regional residents a bedrock set of protections and guarantees. Currently, however, many Eugene residents do not understand local government institutions and do not feel empowered to engage local government as citizens. How can local civic organizations and residents better position themselves to engage local government on challenging issues like White Nationalism? How can local government respond to White Nationalist activity in a way that strengthens, rather than weakens, local institutions, capacities and capabilities, and regional rights-based movements?

This PAE provides the nonprofit Western States Center (WSC) with a Problem-Driven Iterative Analysis (PDIA) framework for Eugeners - including but not limited to the City of Eugene and Lane County, Oregon - to build resources and capacity to organize against White Nationalist efforts. In particular, this PAE **frames the context** for *why* we see White Nationalism in Eugene, through socio-spatial, demographic, and political-economy lenses; **develops a comprehensive response strategy** using PDIA at all stages of local and regional preparedness to help build capacity among municipal elected officials and city employees to respond to White Nationalism; and **crafts specific policy recommendations and pilots one policy "tool"** as the city acts alongside residents, regional leaders, and civil society groups against White Nationalist actions and attitudes.

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[1] "Hate Crime Statistics: 2017." *FBI: UCR.* Accessed 11 February 2019. https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2017. *See also:* "Hate Crime Statistics: 2016," and "Hate Crime Statistics: 2015."

Research Questions

We ask the following **research questions** in our analysis:

1. **What types of useful infrastructure** should Western States Center and partners build for both elected municipal officials and city employees to respond to white nationalism?

Corollary Questions

What keeps government entities *and* elected officials quiet with regard to responding to white nationalism?

What markers of progress can the city point to in a long-term response plan?

How can other cities study and scale the work of peer cities?

What does **success** look like?

Figure 3: Corollary research questions

2. What **comprehensive response** strategy best empowers stakeholders with the City of Eugene at different stages of its relationship to White Nationalism? How can Eugene as a city lead in responding to White Nationalism on **leadership** and **policy**? What **best practices** in leadership and policy exist that Eugene ought to emulate? **What is preventing progress** on this critical issue, keeping people quiet or hesitant? And finally: What else is missing? The right conditions, local resilience, an analytic framework, key people?

3. "What does success look like?" when it comes to city responses to White Nationalism?

4. What **underlying features of white nationalism in Eugene, Oregon** make it unique or different? In what ways are instances of white nationalism, or the white nationalist socio-political landscape, similar to Eugene, Oregon and to other cities in Oregon and the United States?

5. Which **stakeholders**, across sectors, backgrounds, and neighborhoods, are most influential in Eugene when it comes to building capacity against white nationalism? How, to what extent, and at which level(s) do key stakeholders engage government? At a general level, visually and spatially, what is the **underlying political geography of white nationalist sentiment and activity** in Eugene? Why? What are the **current attitudes of people on the ground toward White Nationalism in Eugene?** What do people currently perceive as a threat? And what **blindspots** has the City of Eugene developed towards its own approach or history in this field?

6. **Finally, what are the *barriers* around local community responses** to White Nationalism? What *myths* around White Nationalism in Eugene, and City responses to White Nationalism, complicate a vision of success if unaddressed? In a Eugene context, do stakeholders understand the **existential threat posed by organized white nationalism**?

Successful tools resisting White Nationalism means that White Nationalism no longer disrupts the lives of residents in the community (Currently, marginalized communities might be often afraid to utilize public services or participate in civic life;[2] perceived structural and institutional barriers on the basis of class and race prevented individuals from fully utilizing public services.) WSC hopes to shift our understanding away from government interactions as transactional; government-citizen interactions are part of the problem, or **could be part of the solution**. These initial questions prompt a number of corollary questions, some of which are detailed in the figure above.

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[2] Varga, & Surratt. (2014). Predicting Health Care Utilization in Marginalized Populations: Black, Female, Street-Based Sex Workers. *Women's Health Issues*, 24(3), E335-E343.

Context

White Nationalism

White nationalism as a unique and contemporary social movement - underpinned by long-standing *ideologies* of White Supremacy - is the focus of our PAE. White nationalism has consistently been defined by academics as a belief system that interprets white heritage as a unique race and that this race should advocate for separate, defensible space and a defense of white American culture.[3] White, in this case, excludes Jewish Americans, Arab-Americans, and Hispanic Americans, which also serves to inform the anti-Semitic roots of white supremacy. At the core of this ideology is an explicit belief that Jewish people are a race of their own.[4] This ideology provides a convenient foil to otherize a historically-marginalized group victimized by dozens of conspiracy theories regarding global domination.

The contemporary *movement* of White Nationalism frames white supremacist ideology in the current mainstream political belief over immigration, foreign intervention, and globalization in implicitly cultural terms of 'the West versus the Rest.' White Nationalists believe Western Civilization is a construct unique to the inborn differences between whites and everyone else, and that Western Civilization must be inoculated from projects of dilution, including multiculturalism, immigration, and globalization. The anti-Semitic roots of White Nationalism are of particular interest to this PAE, as Eugene has been home to several high-profile anti-Semitic attacks and there are opportunities to engage the interfaith community as unique partners in forging anti-racist pathways into city governance.

In the aftermath of the 2016 election, there was a massive spike in American interest in White Nationalism, given the central role of individuals such as Iowa Representative Steve King (who recently referred to Mexican immigrants as 'dirt') and Steve Bannon, a senior advisor in the early Trump White House and campaign, who considered his call to serve on Trump's team as a chance to 'save Western civilization', during this election.[5] As these 'cultural puppeteers' emerged as public figureheads, feelings of polarization were legitimized by an institutional backing of the highest magnitude in the United States. One of the largest white nationalist websites, *Stormfront*, grew over 300% in a ten-year period and currently receives 30,000 unique views a day.[6] However, the city, as concept, has been especially impacted by these national trends: whether it is Charlottesville or Eugene, cities attract crowds and serve as a physical platform (a "*site of confrontation"*) for emboldened White Nationalists.[7]

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[3] See, for example: Fields, Barbara Jeanne. "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America." *New Left Review.* May 1, 1990; ProQuest, 109.

[4] Ward, Eric. Forcefully Opposing Anti-Semitism Must Be a Core Principle of the Movement to Combat White Supremacy. Tablet Magazine, December 3, 2017.

[5] Amaya, H. (2018). *White Nationalism and Publicness in the United States*. Javnost - The Public, 25(4), 365-378.

[6] Bjork-James, S., & Maskovsky, J. (2017). *When White Nationalism Became Popular*. Anthropology News, 58(3), E86-E91.

[7] The following investigative journalism pieces underscore the importance of "sites of confrontations" for far-right groups. Notes Jason Kessler, for example, who organized the Charlottesville "Unite the Right"

We seek to center white supremacist ideology into the challenges of governing a politically diverse city. We narrowly tailor the definition of White Nationalism to provide targeted recommendations regarding the unique contours of similar ideologies, without overly curtailing political expression or suffering from 'scope creep' in an effort to maximize the benefit to Western States Center and the City of Eugene. The national political atmosphere presents a unique opportunity to isolate White Nationalist movements and structure interventions around the local fight to prevent these ideas from spreading or negatively impacting vulnerable community members.

We seek to briefly contrast the *movement* of White Nationalism with two very related, but meaningfully distinct *ideologies*: White Supremacy and the alt-right. Like White Nationalists, White Supremacists do indeed believe in an inherent difference between what they view as separate races. However, they diverge in believing that 'white people' are biologically superior to other races and often more violently advocate for separatism, whereas White Nationalists are more engaged in the *political process*. Even the famous White Nationalist Jared Taylor, founder of the racist *American Renaissance* magazine, believes Japanese people to be racially superior to European and American whites.[8] White Nationalists seek political legitimacy, White Supremacists separatism. White Supremacy, while a

White Nationalism-
A movement that interprets white heritage as a unique race and that this race should advocate for separate, defensible space and a defense of white American culture.

White Supremacy-
An ideology that seeks to create institutions within government that privilege and reward whites, due to inherit genetic and cultural superiority.

Alt Right-
A newer ideology developed on the Internet in far right hatred that blends modern elements of white nationalism with more misogynist beliefs in gender roles in society.

Figure 4: Definition of key terms

critically relevant strain of far-right American extremism, is not the focus of our recommendations. Instead, we seek to address the insidious ways in which White Nationalists attempt to inject themselves into "legitimate" political discourse. Given the current discourse over immigration and similar issues, the opportunities presented to White Nationalists are stronger than ever before in recent American history.

This is also where this PAE diverges from the other literature on extremist ideology having a political resurgence in America: the discussion of the alt-right. While both the alt-right and White Nationalists organize extensively in digital space, the alt-right is often characterized as far more

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Rally: ""This entire community is a very far left community that has absorbed these cultural Marxist principles advocated in college towns across the country, about blaming white people for everything." *See more:* Park, Madison. "Why White Nationalists are Drawn to Charlottesville." *CNN*. 12 August 2017. Accessed 22 February 2019. https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/11/us/charlottesville-white-nationalists-rally-why/index.html

[8] Arudou, D. White supremacists and Japan: A love story. The Japan Times. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2018/03/07/issues/white-supremacists-japan-love-story/#.XFHvWlVpGUk

misogynistic in nature.[9] It has also existed for a shorter period of time (uniquely brought to national prominence by individuals such as Richard Spencer) and inspires a less clear response from city governments. Gender equity and combating the alt-right as central missions of local governance are critical projects, but not the focal point of this PAE.

Western States Center

Western States Center is a progressive nonprofit founded in 1987 that works with city governments on projects of racial equity and has a long history of Oregon-based activity. Headquartered in Portland, OR and led by Executive Director Eric Ward, Western States Center has recently started a new project on preventing extremist hateful ideologies from developing in municipal governments. Lindsay Schubiner is Program Director for this new initiative designed to counter the dangerous ascension of white nationalism and hate violence across the country.

Eric Ward brings 30 years of expertise in community organizing and philanthropy as well as a national reputation of expertise on the relationship between hate violence and preserving democratic institutions, governance and inclusive societies. Western States Center is well-poised to implement the analysis and recommendations we present here, given its new visionary leadership, its well-established presence in the region, and its extensive relationships with the City of Eugene and Lane County.

In the words of Western States Center, the 2016 election has strengthened the resolve of organized White Nationalists in America. Given the the region's long history of far-right ideology and identity, Eugene, OR represents a key present-day battleground over democracy, representation, and belonging in America. We share with Western States a shared passion for local governance, democratic experimentalism, and supplanting extremist ideologies and ethnonationalism with radically democratic, effective, and just governance.

Sociospatial and Demographic Context:

Eugene

Eugene, Oregon is a medium-sized city of 170,000 people at the south end of the Willamette Valley. Home to the University of Oregon, Eugene is generally considered to be a left-leaning, populist city with a long history of environmentalism and with what one employee called "fluency in advocacy."[10] The presence of a large college, the associated academic community, and an active arts scene has meant that Eugene has traditionally stood in contrast to much of the surrounding region, which is far more rural and conservative. However, local journalists,[11]

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[9] A. Herle, Personal Interview, December 7, 2018.

[10] Ileras van der Haeghen, J. (2019, January 25). Personal interview

[11] Noelle Crombie and Shane Dixon Kavanaugh, "Emboldened white nationalists? Look no further than this liberal Oregon college town," The Oregonian, December 29, 2017, https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2017/12/post_292.html

academics,[12] and policy leaders[13] have identified distinguishing features about Oregon and Eugene in particular as they relate to White Supremacy historically and White Nationalism currently.

Last year, the Eugene Police Department reported 72 instances of hate crimes,[14] which comprised nearly half of the total hate crimes reported in the state. This rate puts them far ahead of any other Oregon city and, in fact, above most cities in America. This rate is felt especially by the small African-American community of Eugene, which comprises 1.4% of the community yet 64% of the hate crime incidents.[15] The City has also been the scene of multiple high-profile anti-Semitic attacks, the most well known involving a gang of white nationalists led by Volksfront/American Front member Jacob Laskey throwing bricks with swastikas drawn on them through Temple Beth Israel's windows in 2002.[16]

Eugene, anachronistically, was also home to America's largest and most organized far-left domestic terrorist group, the Earth Liberation Front. The city's proud history of populism has inculcated extremist movements on both sides of the political spectrum. At its peak, ELF committed numerous acts of arson and vandalism that caused tens of millions of dollars in damages and were deemed terroristic in nature.[17] The organization was largely toppled in the mid-2000s during "Operation Backfire," led by the FBI. The city is still home to an active anarchist and eco-movement today.

Within the larger Lane County, there is a typical thin application of resources and programming seen in many rural counties, given chronic budgetary concerns. Lane County, despite being the size of Connecticut, is policed actively by only 3-4 sheriff officers at any given time[18] and is home to far more political diversity than the city of Eugene. Towns such as Springfield have different socioeconomic status groups, and towns like Creswell, and Cottage Grove, Oregon, are more rural by nature and present a more unique authorizing environment for any potential policy changes. While Eugene has active civic partnerships with its ethnic and faith communities, scaling these connections remains a challenge.

Oregon

Fifteen years before Oregon became a state in 1859, the then-territory passed an ordinance stating that slaveholders in Oregon could possess their slaves for three years in the nascent community, if they would then release them. The freed slaves, under penalty of whipping and

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[12] Alexander Reid Ross, *Against the Fascist Creep*, AK Press: Chicago, CA, 2017.

[13] Oregon Coalition Against Hate Crime, https://oregoncahc.org/, 2018.

[14] 2017 Hate Crime Statistics. FBI.gov. Retrieved January 16, 2019.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Racist Vandalism In Oregon Is Pulling Residents Into A Free Speech Fight. (n.d.). Retrieved January 29, 2019, from https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/albertsamaha/once-you-create-that-place-for-hate-then-it-takes-off

[17] Eco-terrorism in the West: A who's who of the convicted, the arrested, the missing. Retrieved January 29, 2019, from https://www.oregonlive.com/expo/news/erry-2018/08/3cc02205f06447/ecoterrorism-in-the-west-a-who.html

[18] Natt, D. (2019, January 25). Personal interview

imprisonment, would be required to leave the territory immediately.[19] Indeed, Oregon was the only state in the Union that expressly forbade black people from residing or owning property in the state; it was not until 1926 that black Americans could move to the state.[20] Oregon was also home to the largest and most politically organized Ku Klux Klan chapter in American history, with some 35,000 members out of a population of 780,000 in 1920.[21] Oregon's long history as a white supremacist project is at odds with the state's current reputation as a progressive, tolerant destination where environmentalism and green politics thrive. However, the legacy of removal, violence, and racism is reflected in the homogeneity of the state: only 2% of Oregon residents are black and Portland remains the whitest large city in America.

The state of Oregon has also made recent news for its outspoken extremist community and well-reported frequency of hate crimes. In early 2016, organized far-right militia members occupied the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge for 41 days,[22] citing government overreach and advertising the occupied territory as a new libertarian utopia. The occupation attracted national attention from the far-right community and highlighted the anti-democratic nature of many of these separatist movements. The occupation also harkened back to the numerous white separatist movements that organized in Oregon, including the State of Jefferson, the Cascadian Project, and the Pacific Republic movement, all of which have been historical (and ongoing) efforts to calve off Oregon as a distinct bioregion. This should give pause to policymakers, given the region's history of white separatist projets (including those outlined in Laufer's *State of Jefferson*).[23] [24]

Oregon also is the state with the highest incidence of hate crimes per capita. One report, from the Documenting Hate project,[25] noted that Oregon, among all polled states, is home to more hate crimes than any other state in the country. Our PAE situates itself in the current national debate over combating white nationalism, in the city with the highest police-reported occurrence of high crimes, in the State with the most self-reported hate crimes, and at a time when far-right extremists are increasingly emboldened for public action.

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[19] Brown, D. When Portland banned blacks: Oregon's shameful history as an 'all-white' state. Retrieved January 29, 2019, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/06/07/when-portland-banned-blacks-oregons-shameful-history-as-an-all-white-state/

[20] Novak, M. Oregon Was Founded As a Racist Utopia. Retrieved January 29, 2019, from https://gizmodo.com/oregon-was-founded-as-a-racist-utopia-1539567040

[21] Johnson, D; Taylor, Q; Weisiger, M. 'Report on the History of Matthew P. Deady and Frederick S. Dunn.' University of Oregon.

[22] Nagourney, A. (2018, January 19). A Defiant Rancher Savors the Audience That Rallied to His Side. The New York Times. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/24/us/politics/rancher-proudly-breaks-the-law-becoming-a-hero-in-the-west.html

[23] Hate-Filled Zone: The racist roots of a Northwest secession movement | Crosscut. Retrieved January 29, 2019, from https://crosscut.com/2015/07/hate-filled-zone-a-group-of-white-racists-wants-a-nw-secession-a-vile-dream-with-deep-historic-roots

[24] Laufer, Peter. *The Elusive State of Jefferson: A Journey Through the 51st State.* Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2013.

[25] Racist Vandalism In Oregon Is Pulling Residents Into A Free Speech Fight.

United States

This PAE is a unique response to the current lack of direction regarding White Nationalist at the Federal level by focusing on the role of local governments. City employees have a responsibility to humanize the people they serve, regardless of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, and religion. Working with a diverse mosaic of constituents, representing numerous political identities, faith communities, and ethnicities, we find that these workers have a critical role in defending the institutions upon which the foundation of our nation's democracy is built.

The President has recently proudly declared himself a 'Nationalist,' refused to condemn far-right organizers of the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, VA, and led the longest shutdown in government history over border wall funding.[26] Furthermore, numerous articles[27] [28] report that Trump's administration has de-emphasized a federal law enforcement response to far-right domestic terrorism, even in the aftermath of the deadly Pittsburgh synagogue shooting and multiple attempted mail bombings rooted in far-right conspiracy theories. Given the silence that is resonant at the federal level, cities like Eugene, which are interested in tackling the task of racial equity, have a unique opportunity and obligation to intervene.

As hate crimes in this country have continued to rise in the aftermath of the 2016 election[29] and the federal government fails to properly steward resources to combating white nationalism, Eugene could take the lead in creating a new norm of municipal advocacy and representation. Eugene can be at the forefront of racial equity, representative democracy, and transformative local leadership.

Economic and Environmental Context

Logging, Timber, and Lane County

As Oregon author and journalist Tara Rae Miner argues in her longform piece, "The State That Timber Built," there is no doubt that "logging the great forests of the Pacific Northwest is a central thread in the narrative" of Oregon's state formation.[30] Miner examines how "hard-nosed and hardworking" gyppo loggers first came to Oregon, whether as enterprising pioneers looking for

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[26] Allen, J. "In the dark corners of white nationalism, the talk is of Trump." https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/dark-corners-white-nationalism-talk-trump-n926221

[27] Ackerman, S and Woodruff, B. "'Homeland Security' Ignores White Terror, DHS Veterans Say" The Daily Beast. https://www.thedailybeast.com/homeland-security-ignores-white-terror-dhs-veterans-say

[28] Neiwert, D. "Trump's White House Is Turning a Blind Eye to White-Supremacist Terrorism" The Nation. https://www.thenation.com/article/trumps-white-house-is-turning-a-blind-eye-to-white-supremacist-terrorism/

[29] Lopez, German. 2018. "FBI: Reported Hate Crimes Increased by 17 Percent in 2017." Vox. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/11/13/18091646/fbi-hate-crimes-2017 (January 29, 2019).

[30] Miner, Tara Rae. "The State That Timber Built: What does Oregon owe the struggling timber communities that helped shape the state's identity?" *The Oregon Humanities Project.* 8 November 2013. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://oregonhumanities.org/rll/magazine/here-spring-2012/the-state-that-timber-built/

free land, or through monopolistic railroad companies buying, and then selling, granted federal land.

Oregon's white gyppo logger populations, living in the Cascadian hilly backcountry and intertwined in a "network of indebtedness," developed their own collective values of social independence distinct from urban American populations east of the Mississippi River, and distinct from urban merchants and traders along the Willamette and Columbia Rivers elsewhere in the state. Notes Barbara Fields, who writes about the social construction of white supremacist ideologies in 18th century America east of the Mississippi, Appalachian white yeomen *also* possessed values of social independence, leading to disdain for hired labor in the North and chattel slavery in the South. Just as in Fields' case of the US South, Oregon's white gyppo populations have their *own unique* values and lenses on whiteness and racism, typologically distinct from white working class populations in Appalachia, for example, or wealthier conservative elites in the U.S. South."[31]

The benefits from timber produced federal revenues for public infrastructure, schools and education, police services, and more. Timber production expanded dramatically as part of the World War II war effort. By 1947 "Oregon became the most timber-dependent state in the nation, with more than two thousand logging operations boasting a combined payroll exceeding all other employment sectors."[32] According to the State of Oregon's Office of Economic Analysis, jobs in timber, logging, and wood product paid over 35% higher than the state's median wage, and jobs often required nothing more than a high-school diploma.[33]

By the 1980s, Oregon's timber industry began to fall into decline (see figure below). The industry began to *slowly* hemorrhage workers - eventually over 40,000 across rural Oregon - and the sector never recovered. There are multiple reasons explaining timber's decline: the 1980s' recession saw new housing starts decline, and led to a reduced demand for wood products; the state of Oregon simply was running out of easily accessible private land for logging, and was working with the U.S. Forest Service and federal agencies to log increasingly remote and expensive geographies; federal laws pushed for by environmental groups increased the regulatory regime surrounding timber sales; and other timber industries, in Canada, elsewhere in the Southern United States, and even in Japan, increased in competitiveness. The decline in timber production was coupled with increasing levels of productivity and automation; even as the lumber and wood products industries began to recover or flatline in the 1980s and 1990s, many unemployed workers never saw their jobs return.[34] Even today, rural counties in Oregon have fewer economic opportunities, more poverty, and are more vulnerable to fluctuations in the national economy,[35] and populations in rural parts of the county are on average older than urban

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[31] Fields, Barbara Jeanne. "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America." New Left Review. May 1, 1990; ProQuest, 109.

[32] Miner, "The State that Timber Built"

[33] Lehner, Josh. "Timber Counties." *Oregon Office of Economic Analysis.* 28 May 2013. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://oregoneconomicanalysis.com/2013/05/28/timber-counties/

[34] Miner, "The State that Timber Built"

[35] "The Employment Landscape of Rural Oregon." State of Oregon. May 2017.

parts of the county.[36]   This is a common tale in areas of extractive monocultures across rural America.

Urban-Rural Divide

Today, rural Oregon *remains* dependent on timber and logging revenues to fund essential public services. Eugene and Lane County, Oregon, in particular, benefit from railroad and transportation network corridors (the Southern Pacific Railway and I-5, respectively) that bring natural resource products to market. And recent data show that rural Lane County is seeing a small but significant increase in employment in the "Education and Health" sectors. However, rural Oregon and Lane County remain, essentially, a resource developmental state.[37]

By contrast, the city of Eugene itself benefits from major employers in the "eds and meds" sector, including the University of Oregon (largest employer), PeaceHealth Medical Group, and other city and county government and educational services.[38] Note researchers from Portland State University, though 90 percent of Lane County is forestland, Lane County's population as of 2016 has reached 365,940, and is the fourth most populous county and the third most populous metropolitan statistical area (MSA) in Oregon.[39]

Figure 5: Oregon timber and lumber production

The Political Geography:

Politically, the decline of timber coincided with major victories by environmental activists, including putting the spotted owl on the list of Endangered Species relevant to the recently passed Endangered Species Act. Indeed, according to Andre and Velasquez at Santa Clara University's

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[36] "Data USA: Lane County, OR." *Data USA*. Accessed 22 February 2019.
https://datausa.io/profile/geo/lane-county-or/
[37] Lehner, "Timber Counties"
[38] "Overview: Lane County, Oregon." *Lane County Overview Profile.* Accessed 1 February 2019.
https://lanecounty.org/UserFiles/Servers/Server_3585797/File/Budget/FY%2017-
18%20Proposed/Overview.pdf
[39] Portland State University, Population Research Center - 2016 Annual Population Report)

Center for Applied Ethics, the "spotted owl issue" gained *outsized importance* in the late 1980s and 1990s and served as a "flashpoint" issue for economically depressed, traditional conservative communities, even though a myriad of factors were responsible for timber's decline.[40] Today, in addition to gaps in real and perceived economic opportunity, incomes, and education, considerable political differences exist between urban and rural
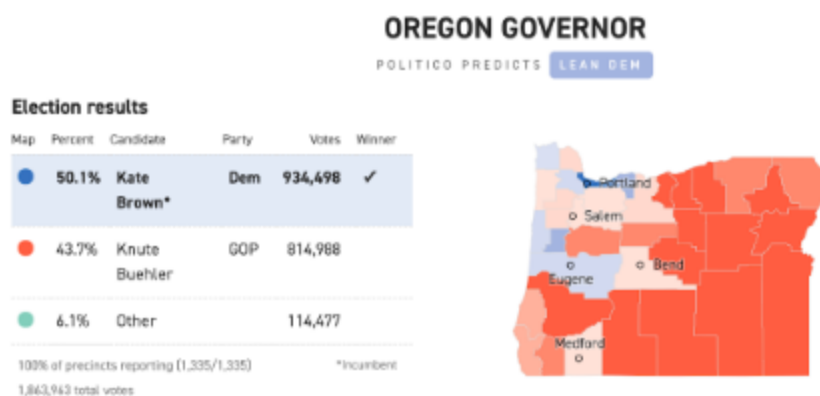
Figure 6: Oregon's urban/rural divide as shown in 2018 election results

Oregon, and in particular metropolitan Portland and Eugene and the rest of the state. A dominant narrative prevails--one in which out-of-touch urban liberals advocate for environmental protections (such as endangered species protections) *at the expense* of the rural economy, deepening extant political and spatial divides.[41]

Data from the 2018 Oregon Governor's race reveal, for example, a persistent urban-rural divide in political preferences and also indicate the heterogeneity of political preferences even within a "blue" county like Lane County; urban Eugene, in this case, was far more likely to vote for Democratic Governor Brown than rural Lane County and than other Lane County municipalities like Springfield or Creswell.[42]

Data from within Lane County confirm this trend. Data from 2010's Measure 67, for example, illustrate a pronounced urban-rural divide between the City of Eugene and the rest of Lane County.[43] Measure 67 proposed tax increases on corporations and on households earning over

[40] Andre, Claire and Manuel Velasquez. "The Spotted Owl Controversy." *Santa Clara University Center for Applied Ethics.* 13 November 2015. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://www.scu.edu/environmental-ethics/resources/ethics-and-the-environment-the-spotted-owl/

[41] "Oregon's urban-rural divide has deepened." The Oregonian. Accessed 11 February, 2019 from https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2019/01/oregons-urban-rural-divide-has-deepened.html

[42] "Oregon Election Results, 2018." *Politico.* Updated 1 February 2019. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://www.politico.com/election-results/2018/oregon/#OR-01

[43] There were two measures on the ballot together: Measures 66 and 67. Measure 66 was a proposed tax on high income earners, and 67 was a corporate tax. Both were referenda on legislatively passed bills, brought to the ballot by anti-government interests in addition to traditional anti-tax advocates. The "No" campaign tried to leverage anti-government sentiment.

$250,000 and individuals earning over $125,000 to help balance the state's budget, and it ultimately passed 54%-45%.[44] See figures 7 and 8 below.
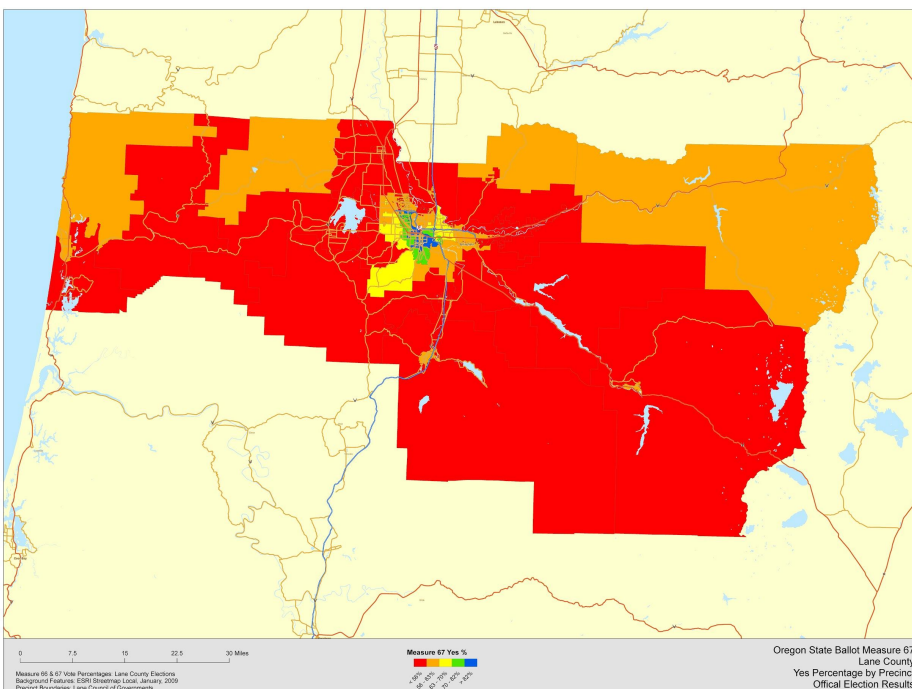
Figure 7: Measure 67 voting distribution, Lane County (Red indicates <56% yes; Blue indicates >80% yes)
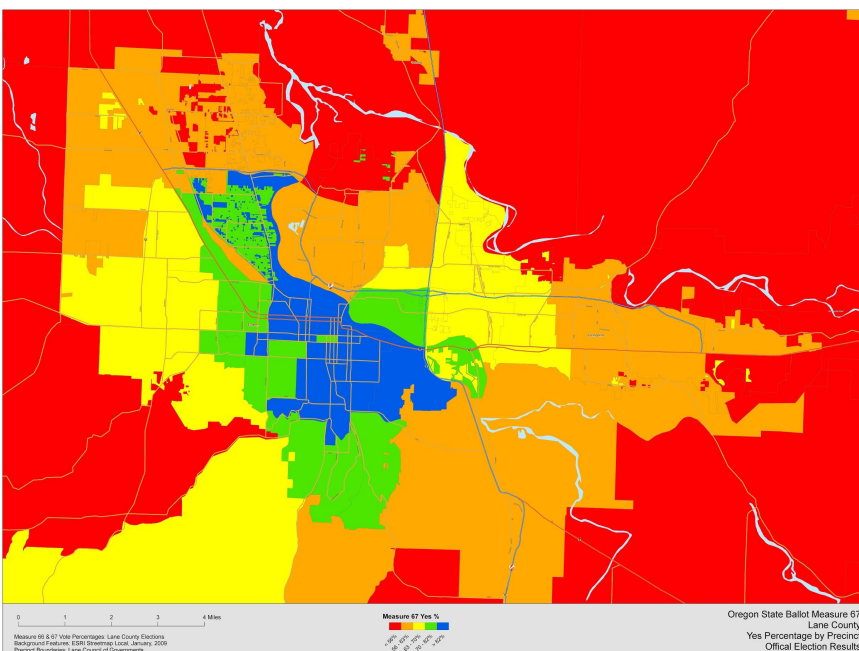
Figure 8: Measure 67 voting distribution, City of Eugene (Red indicates <56% yes; Blue indicates >80% yes)

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[44] Lindholm Company Blog. "Measure 67 Confirms Urban-Rural Split." 19 February 2010. Accessed 22 February 2019. http://lindholmcompanyblog.com/?tag=oregon-jan-2010-special-election

When we spoke with longtime former Eugene Mayor Kitty Piercy, she noted that city, county, and state leaders *all* need to think about inclusive economic growth and opportunity for rural Lane County residents (and for other rural Oregonians). At the same time, even within the City of Eugene, social justice and pan-identity inclusion are elusive. *Some* of the city's hate crimes and direct instances of White Nationalist organization certainly stem from key political-economic factors: the urban-rural divide, the decline of the timber industry, and political cleavages. However, other factors relate to inclusion and solidarity/support of local minority communities.[45]

Social Demographic Context

According to Lane County and the U.S. Census Bureau's 2015 American Community Survey, Lane County's residents identify their racial/ethnic background as 88.4% White; 2.5% Asian; 1.1% American Indian/Alaskan Native; 1.1% Black or African American; and 0.2% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Four point five percent of residents identify themselves as two or more races. Eight point one percent of the population identify themselves as Hispanic or Latino of

> [Eugene is] **still dealing with our history** and trying to do better... We have the Office of Neighborhood Involvement that is attuned to these issues and **partners with the community to solve them**. We're in a lot of ways **an example of what can be done.**
>
> -Eric Richardson,
> President of the Eugene NAACP

any race.[46] Yet an astounding number of hate crimes and incidents of racism are reported regularly by Eugene's small black community, with incidents reported as *doubling* between 2016 and 2017[47] (local NAACP chapter President Eric Richardson confirmed these remarks in a personal interview with us.[48]) Similarly, members of Eugene's LatinX Community, Jewish Community, and LGBTQI community feel regularly concerned and threatened by hate at the local level.

Hate Crimes and Bias

Richardson's remarks above raise an important point: in large part because of community concern around human rights and racial equity, there is a *greater attention being paid* to hate in crimes in Eugene than in many other places. The resulting data, however, raise red flags surrounding the scope and extent of hate crimes in the city. **Please see figures 9, 10, and 11 for data visualization of hate crimes in Eugene and nationally.**

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[45] Piercy, Kitty. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019. In the visuals above, **red and orange** indicate a heavy "no" vote on Measure 67; **green and then blue** indicate a substantial "yes" vote.
[46] "Overview: Lane County, Oregon." *Lane County Overview Profile.* Accessed 1 February 2019. https://lanecounty.org/UserFiles/Servers/Server_3585797/File/Budget/FY%2017-18%20Proposed/Overview.pdf
[47] Deffenbacher, Chris. "Hate and Bias Crimes in Eugene Doubled from 2016 to 2017, Report Shows." *The Register-Guard.* 23 September 2018. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://www.registerguard.com/news/20180923/hate-and-bias-crimes-in-eugene-doubled-from-2016-to-2017-report-shows
[48] Richardson, Eric. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.

Per the FBI's UCR statistics, Eugene is victimized by 42 hate crimes per 100,000 residents, per year. This figure far outpaces nearly every other city that submits crime statistics to the FBI, far ahead of peer cities such as Portland (roughly 3 hate crimes per 100,000 residents) and more than twice as many as Boston (with slightly over 20 hate crimes per 100,000 residents).[49] Pictured are the per capita statistics of Eugene, with selected peer cities.

The trend of hate crimes in Eugene and Oregon is on the rise and this trend is reflected in the graph below. While we have noted the rise of hate crime incidents in the aftermath of the 2016 election, noting the year merely correlates with President Trump's election, the Figure 10 highlights a noticeable spike in hate crimes in the state and region of concern.

Lastly, we wish to make clear the blatantly racist nature of most of these crimes. While the UCR notes numerous potential aggravating factors for an incidence of bias intimidation, Eugene residents are overwhelmingly targeted on the basis of their perceived race or ethnicity. Figure 11 demonstrates this disturbing pattern and animates our work in achieving racial and ethnic justice in the City of Eugene.
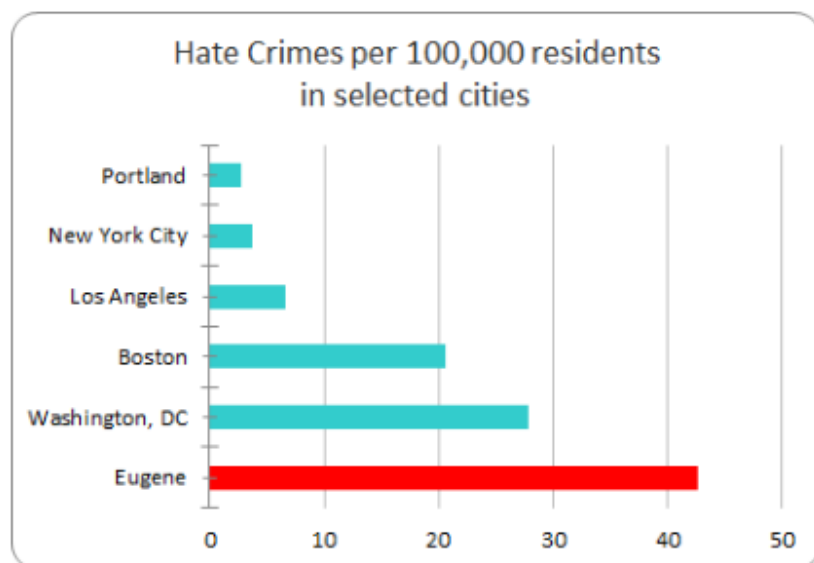
Figure 9: Hate crimes in Eugene and other cities

The Eugene Story-

Since 2016, Eugene has been home to **more hate crimes per capita** than any city in America. Hate crimes are **on the rise** in Eugene (and Lane County) and, overwhelmingly, **race and ethnicity** appear to be dominant motivation for these crimes. This is especially troubling, given the ethnic composition of Lane County.

Source: FBI UCR Crime Reporting Statistics.

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[49] "Hate Crime Statistics: 2017." *FBI: UCR.* Accessed 11 February 2019. https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2017. *See also:* "Hate Crime Statistics: 2016," and "Hate Crime Statistics: 2015."

Motivating Factor in Hate Crime in Eugene

Gender identity

Gender

Disability

Sexual orientation

Religion

Race and Ethnicity
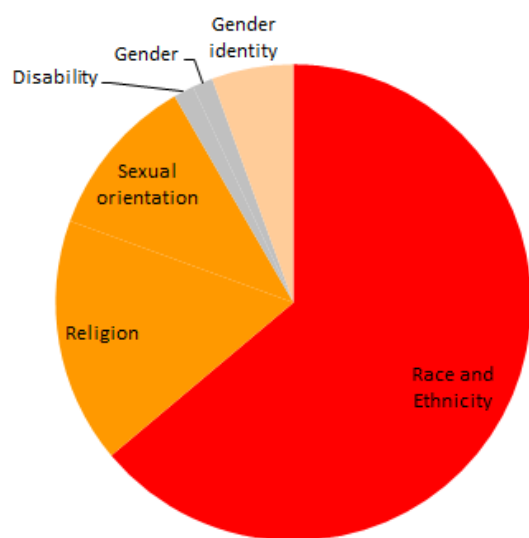
Figure 11: Motivating factor of hate crimes in Eugene

Hate Crime Totals from 2015-2017

Eugene   Lane County   Oregon
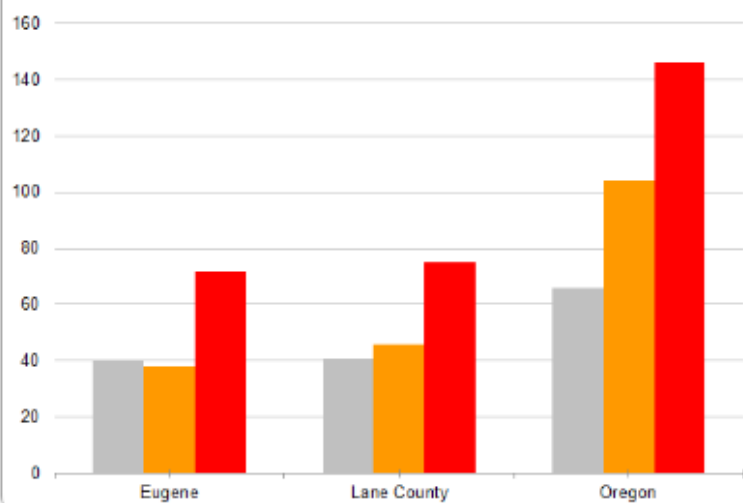
Figure 10: Hate crimes in Eugene, Lane County, and Oregon

Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) Brainstorm and Iteration

Figure 12: PDIA as an iterative process

Our iterative PDIA methodology was informed by interviews with expert-practitioners across our research timeline and numerous conversations with HKS Professors Ryan Sheely, Julie Wilson, Cornell William Brooks, Western States Center, and representatives from the City of Eugene, Lane County, and numerous identity-based nonprofit entities in Oregon.

We began by defining "The Problem" of White Nationalist organizing in and around Eugene, OR. We then deconstructed the problem, defined the problem's "scope," and identified action steps for solving the problem. Our Action Steps follow a "Hospital Triage Model" with differentiated recommendations for short-term crises and longer-term inoculation, for example.

Finally, we examined the "implementation design space" through which solutions might gain traction in a Eugene-specific authorizing environment. Our recommendations implementation framework considers, specifically: (A) Existing Practices in Eugene and surrounding jurisdictions; (B) Latent Practices in Eugene and surrounding jurisdictions; (C) Positive Deviance practices exhibited by Eugene City officials or administration, civic groups or residents, or other actors in the Eugene ecosystem; and (D) External Best Practices (that are nonetheless locally relevant) in a context different from, but applicable to, Eugene.

Hypotheses on the Problem

A problem of scope / extent:
White Nationalist (WN) entities and organizations seem to target Eugene, OR at greater rates than they do in other cities or regions (a problem of regional "scope" or extent). Eugene is a small town representing only 4.1% of the total population of Oregon, the City is host to 49.3% of its reported hate crimes. Yet Eugene is also Oregon's 3rd largest city, and for Oregon is considered a more major "urban agglomeration." National groups such as the American Identity Movement

(AIM) regularly target University of Oregon and other sites for radicalization. Furthermore, the City has been the victim of several high-profile and recent instances of racial intimidation, with numerous organizers (including 'Genocide' Jimmy Marr[50] and American Front's Jacob Laskey[51]) visible and active in the surrounding community.

A problem of data-reporting systems *beyond* the City of Eugene:

Eugene reports more hate crimes than places like neighboring Springfield, OR.[52] This might be a *good* thing, showing resident empowerment (a problem that exists in Eugene *and* elsewhere, but where Eugene can lead and model for others), technical capacity (system sophistication) and political will from the city (democratic responsiveness). This is a critically important point for many reasons. For one, we do not really know the incidence of hate crimes anywhere, but we can be confident that these crimes are under-reported, in Eugene and elsewhere.

A problem of pronounced systemic racism in Eugene:

 Racial "damage imagery" promotes an ideology that whites are superior, especially in demographically homogeneous places like Eugene. These racist ideologies are not focused solely on the Black community in Eugene. Recently, for example, the Eugene Police Department shot and killed a Latino Transgender individual at a Middle School,[53] sparking outrage from citizens and community groups. Eugene's longtime former Mayor, Kitty Piercy, told us that people of color in Eugene often feel "unwelcome" and "uncomfortable" in the city, and sometimes leave because of that.[54]

> # What is Systemic Racism–
>
> Systemic Racism refers to the institutional practices and outcomes that prejudice individuals on the basis of race. This form of racism is far less overt and is the product of public policy, voting behavior, and social values and practices. In Eugene, we see systemic racism in a few forms, including but not limited to:
>
> 1. Black Eugeners' High School graduation rates is approximately **only 50%**,
> 2. Black population only 1.4% of Eugene's general population yet representing **13% of the prison population**,
> 3. The Eugene community of color also suffers **64% of total hate crimes**, while only representing 21.8% of the Eugene population.
>
> Source: Hankerson, Gerland and Eric Richardson. Personal interview. December 6, 2019.

[50] Martin, N. Oregon neo-Nazi Jimmy Marr hospitalized after street fight. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/12/18/oregon-neo-nazi-jimmy-marr-hospitalized-after-street-fight

[51] Sunshine, S. Jake Laskey and the American Front | Political Research Associates. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from https://www.politicalresearch.org/2018/04/03/jake-laskey-and-the-american-front/

[52] Richardson, Eric. Personal interview. December 6, 2019.

[53] Price, M. T., Emily Goodykoontz, Zach. Former UO student and activist killed in Eugene Police shooting outside of Cascade Middle School. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from https://www.dailyemerald.com/news/former-uo-student-and-activist-killed-in-eugene-police-shooting/article_01b00d42-16d5-11e9-9d3d-1b6fea0d22de.html

[54] Piercy, Kitty. Personal interview. January 23, 2019.

Unique economic stagnation and vulnerability plague Eugene:
There is a profound alienation and vulnerability among many white Eugeners, particularly those who did not attend college and/or those who struggled with family issues like household violence and toxic masculinity from a young age.[55] White Nationalism is a symptom of this larger problem, that of material inequality between whites without a college degree and those in the professional / managerial class, which also relates to a symbolic loss of identity. Both material inequality and the loss of symbolic identity require unique and intertwined solutions to confront emergent White Nationalist ideology. The context of Eugene and Lane County is *particularly* intense in part because of the economic dislocation resulting from the timber industry coupled with urban-rural inequality as urban Eugeners enjoy relative prosperity and economic opportunity in industries like education and medical services.[56] The loss of an extractive industrial monoculture such as timber has meant the thorough disenfranchisement of swaths of Lane County, with younger men without postsecondary degrees disproportionately affected.

Global Authoritarianism is metastasizing in local governments, in Eugene and elsewhere:
Global authoritarian ideologies and practices are increasingly finding support in local contexts and populations, both because the federal systems "model" action and behavior locally, and because the shifting Overton Window at the highest levels gives permission to local transgressors to do the same. Mounk and Foa examine "The End of the Democratic Century" and hypothesize why autocracy is seeing global ascendance. They argue that "relative equality, rapidly growing incomes for most citizens, and the fact that authoritarian rivals to democracy were much less wealthy" help explain liberal democratic dominance in the 20th century, not just absolute wealth.[57] Mounk and Foa examine authoritarian populism's right-wing ascendance in *comparative* perspective, as does comparative political scientist Pippa Norris. Norris draws intricate links, for example, between President Trump in the United States and Bolsonaro in Brazil, Erdogan in Turkey, Viktor Orban in Hungary, or the BREXIT movement in the United Kingdom.[58]

Trust in the police has been eroded by the combination of cuts to community policing, militarization / "use-of-force" policies, and a tenuous relationship between the police, communities of color, and anti-racist activists:

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[55] "Interviews for the District 5, East Lane County Commissioner Seat." *Lane County Commissioner's Office: Candidate Statements*. 4 April 2017. Accessed 12 February 2019. https://www.lanecounty.org/UserFiles/Servers/Server_3585797/File/Government/BCC/2017/2017_AGEN DAS/041117agenda/W.1.A.pdf

[56] Miner, Tara Rae. "The State That Timber Built: What does Oregon owe the struggling timber communities that helped shape the state's identity?" *The Oregon Humanities Project.* 8 November 2013. Accessed 1 February 2019.

[57] Mounk, Yascha and Roberto Stefan Foa. "The End of the Democratic Century: Autocracy's Global Ascendance." Foreign Affairs. May/June 2018, pp. 33.

[58] Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and the Rise of Authoritarian Populism. New York: Cambridge University Press, Fall 2018.

It is a well-studied phenomenon that far-right extremists target local law enforcement as potential inroads to a larger platform and more abuse.[59] One FBI study notes that many law enforcement apparatus were founded as *de jure* extensions of white supremacist militias in many pioneer states.[60] While our interviews with the Eugene Police Department (EPD) indicate there is a departmental awareness of and desire to combat white nationalism, this history, combined with an overall shift in America towards militarization and away from community policing, has eroded the trust between police departments and the communities they serve.[61]

Another frame, however, advanced by interviewees within the Eugene community, is that there is a "three-way fight" to influence government between corporations, left-wing groups, and right-wings groups. Police, as government entities, are being courted actively by the left and right in different ways. There has been an enduring trend for police to situate and align themselves with right-ring activists. In this view, there is a real hesitance on the part of police to take seriously the threat of white nationalism *precisely because* police are self-interested in this fight.[62] Such a view certainly highlights barriers to forming partnerships. Furthemore, while many understand the government as neutral implementers of policy, the police in many communities have not remained apolitical. Recently, Portland police have made the news after text logs indicate an intimate working relationship between Joey Gibson, of the far-right Patriot Prayer and a Portland Police Lieutenant.[63]

Moreover, research by Political Research Associates (PRA)'s Cloee Cooper uses a data-driven approach to look at sheriffs and their relationships with anti-immigrant groups, gathering data from across the country. Cooper recently launched an investigation, for example, at "Border Summits" using scraped data online and from FOIA requests.[64] Cooper's research engaged the "Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association" (CSPOA) and researched in great depth the sheriffs who sent letters to the Obama Administration; Cooper later wrote on Ballot Measure 105 that looked at Sheriffs and the Anti-Immigrant movement, finding that the Federation for American Immigration Reform (founded by White Nationalist John Tanton) has extensively funded police officers to travel to the U.S. - Mexico border.

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[59] Downs, K. (October 21, 2016). FBI warned of white supremacists in law enforcement 10 years ago.Has anything changed? PBS Newshour. Retrieved February 1 from https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/fbi-white-supremacists-in-law-enforcement

[60] White Supremacist Infiltration of Law Enforcement. October 17, 2006. FBI Intelligence Assessment.

[61] Lacey, Nicola, and David Soskice. "Crime, Punishment and Segregation in the United States: The Paradox of Local Democracy." *Punishment & Society,* 2015, Vol. 17(4) 454–481.

[62] [Name Redacted]. Personal Interview. January 23, 2019.

[63] Shepard, K. (2019). Texts Between Portland Police and Patriot Prayer Ringleader Joey Gibson Show Warm Exchange. Willamette Weekly. Access February 20, 2019 from https://www.wweek.com/news/courts/2019/02/14/texts-between-portland-police-and-patriot-prayer-ringleader-joey-gibson-show-warm-exchange/

[64] Cooper, Cloee. "Support For Oregon's Ballot Measure 105 Reveals Collaboration Between Right-wing Sheriffs and Anti-immigrant Networks." *Political Research Associates.* 2 November 2018. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.politicalresearch.org/2018/11/02/support-for-oregons-ballot-measure-105-reveals-collaboration-between-right-wing-sheriffs-and-anti-immigrant-networks/

Complicity at the U.S. federal level - and in particular within the Trump Administration - gives White Nationalists a window:

We spoke with Eugeners who believe that the political climate surrounding President Trump's election *stoked a general increase* in hate crime incidents in Eugene. Data do show a marked yearly increase from 2015-2017 in the number of hate crimes reported, not just in Eugene but in Lane County and across the state of Oregon. Notes Reuben Zahler, a member of the Jewish Federation of Lane County whom we interviewed at Temple Beth Israel: "Leading up to the 2016 election, we started to see an uptick in anti-Semitic activity around the country, and that trend has persisted since the election...It seems very directly related to the election of the Trump administration...I am not suggesting the administration is behind the increase, but the new political climate in the country has fostered an increase of bias attacks on lots of vulnerable groups."[65]

Policy decisions of the Trump Administration also indicate a waning commitment to locating and confronting white nationalism in the United States. As one example, the Obama Administration awarded a $150,000 grant to *Life After Hate*, a group specializing in offering white nationalists and other extremists an opportunity to leave the movement and de-radicalize.[66] The group, founded by former skinhead and now-expert deradicalization practitioner Christian Picciolini, then learned the grant was being rescinded by the Trump Administration without a reason given.

Mainstream liberal and centrist Eugeners are too silent about key community issues and NIMBYist attitudes towards finding a solution:

The problem with White Nationalism may lie with mainstream liberal or progressive Eugene residents who refuse to see their own complicity in and privilege from White Supremacy. Interviews with University of Oregon Professor David Liebowitz, for example, reveal a persistent regime of spatial, demographic, and socio-economic "tracking" in Eugene public schools that separates white Eugeners from people of color, and segments certain neighborhoods with distinctive educational advantages.[67] Some Eugene schools offer immersion in languages such as French, Chinese, and Japanese; others struggle for basic educational services.[68] Eugeners, overall, fail to grasp the intersection of white supremacy (in which government institutions reward and privilege white citizens) and white nationalism (an articulated ideology to proactively form and protect these white institutions) in seemingly "apolitical" decisions about tracking, school choice, and unequal funding in infrastructure, public works, and territorial development. While making token concessions for the need to diversify schools, white Eugeners fail to see their own complicity in voting for and tacitly authorizing institutions that disempower residents of color.

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[65] Deffenbacher, Chris. "Hate and Bias Crimes in Eugene Doubled from 2016 to 2017, Report Shows." *The Register-Guard.* 23 September 2018. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://www.registerguard.com/news/20180923/hate-and-bias-crimes-in-eugene-doubled-from-2016-to-2017-report-shows

[66] Hall, M. (Feb 11, 2018). In the US, white supremacists have infiltrated police and military to get weapons training. Sydney Morning Herald. Retrieved February 1, 2019 from https://www.smh.com.au/world/north-america/in-the-us-white-supremacists-have-infiltrated-police-and-military-to-get-weapons-training-20180209-p4yzs5.html

[67] Liebowitz, David. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.

[68] Sundgrez, Evangelina. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.

Because of the *lack of inter-group contact*, white, upper-income Eugeners may to some extent mock lower-income whites and may unintentionally stoke the flames of White Nationalism, for example through classist insults. They may also fail to see moral and/or redemptive qualities in actors sympathetic to elements of White Nationalist organizing,[69] or opportunities for *their own* need to work to redeem American democracy and socio-spatial inequality. Though controversial among some academics, embracing social contact theory as a means of reducing inter-group conflict presents a path forward for Eugene that unites a community around shared values and dialogues.

Oregon's unique history - and in particular its tradition of populism and political activity on the "fringes" - has led to a political culture uniquely conducive to violence:
Oregon was founded as an explicitly white nationalist project, forbidding freed slaves and other minorities from living in or moving to the state until *1927*. This unique history of white ethnostate experimentalism is married to a 'separatist' mindset of many political extremists, owing to the state's uniquely isolated and rural spatiality (ongoing separatist projects like Cascadia and Jefferson continue this work).[70]

This separatism was especially highlighted when militia groups occupied the Malheur Wildlife Refuge in 2016, citing federal government overreach. The occupation attracted some local support, as many of these militia groups have supplanted local government authority.[71] Due to waning profitability of the timber industry, many counties are unable to fully support their community, with *de facto* governments (in the form of militia movements) taking root and gaining popularity with local residents.

Both far-left and far-right activist groups have traditionally called Eugene home. While we focus our work in this PAE on far-right white nationalists who have organized in and around Eugene (such as American Front or the Pacifica Forum), a history of Eugene would be incomplete without mentioning the deep ties some Eugeners have with far-left 'deep ecology' and the Earth Liberation Front. While ELF has been thoroughly infiltrated and the capacity reduced, many experts, including Portland State University professor Alexander Reid Ross,[72] note the sympathy Eugeners still have with anarchism and similar ideologies.

History, it seems, is repeating itself. While we not only note an increase in hate crime occurrences, movements such as *antifa* have grown in size and mainstream acceptability. As the response to violence becomes increasingly violent, it hinders the ability of civil society to foster meaningful empathetic dialogue around building networks and community. These efforts also undermine the proper role of government in a solution: recently, a bombing was attempted against the Eugene

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[69] There is much empirical work surrounding the humanizing benefits of sustained, inter-group contact. For one, see: Everett, Jim and Diana Onu. "Intergroup Contact Theory: Past, Present, and Future." *The Inquisitive Mind.* 2013, Issue 17, No. 2. Accessed 8 February 2019. http://www.in-mind.org/article/intergroup-contact-theory-past-present-and-future

[70] Laufer, Peter. "The Elusive State of Jefferson: A Journey Through the 51st State." Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2013.

[71] Sunshine, S. Trump's 'Second Amendment People'? Political Research Associates.

[72] Alexander Reid Ross. Personal Interview. January 22, 2019

Police Department.[73] Any solution must take into account the current levels of distrust, without overemphasizing the role of one organization at the exclusion of another.

In a City where the most prominent and beloved landmark, Skinner Butte, was an organizing ground for the Ku Klux Klan (the part of the butte now displaying an 'O' for the university used to feature the letters 'KKK,' see Figure 13 to the right) and a cross-burning location until as recently as 1996,[74] history ought to play a deep role in acknowledging the past and looking forward to the future. In a personal interview, CNN Correspondent Sally Kohn told us about the importance of this when

Figure 13: KKK sign displayed prominently on

comparing this ideal outcome to the current attitude of 'Hate Has No Home Here' NIMBYism, stating, "a compassionate approach [that is] morally correct, is rooted in the correct historical context of this country [and this city]."[75]

Eugene's problems are symptomatic of a hollowing out of American civil society:
The problem lies with a hollowing out of America's civic infrastructure, leading to polarization rather than dialogue, "fake news" instead of reasoned disagreement, and mis- and dis-information. This is tied, as well, to new technologies, like 4Chan and WeChat and Gab, that do not have "media gatekeepers." Digital spaces, particularly anonymous forums, exacerbated group polarization in the run-up to the 2016 election. This highly individualized, AI-driven communication is divisive but city governments are taking the lead in responding in this realm. An interviewee explained how the city of Dearborn, Michigan, for example, now responds in real time on social media in response to faulty or false accusations.[76] More generally, the city of Eugene could also consider targeting individualized, pro-social messages to individuals and groups.

Anonymity gives participants the opportunity to 'one-up' political opinions and more quickly move to extremes in digital discussion forums. Furthermore, due to online self-selection of in-groups (afforded by the voluntary and ideology-specific nature of online forums), the starting group predispositions were likely more homogenous and more extreme. Often referred to as 'echo

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[73] Bomb squad: Suspicious items near Eugene Police headquarters were 'incendiary devices'. KVAL. Retrieved February 1, 2-19 from https://kval.com/news/local/maintenance-crews-locate-suspicious-items-near-eugene-police-headquarters
[74] "U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals: SEPARATION v CITY OF EUGENE". FindLaw. August 20, 1996.
[75] Sally Kohn. Personal Interview. December 5, 2018.
[76] Ben Decker. Personal interview. 19 November 2019.

chambers,' these epistemic shortcuts [77] propagate extreme monocultures and close out potentially useful counter-information that seeks to deradicalize or moderate discussion.

While white nationalists are not solely focused on race, it is illuminating to narrow the scope of analysis down to one factor (race) to see how norms change and become extreme across digital space in the new era of epistemic bubbles. Early algorithmic pioneers on the Internet envisioned a truly democratic space,[78] one that was without identity-based prejudices around race or gender. However, as Daniels notes, organized white nationalists used this idealistic 'race-less' vision to introduce increasingly biased and dog-whistled racist articles and viewpoints,[79] under the guise of intellectual skepticism and outright propaganda. These opportunities afforded to white nationalists are features, not bugs, of current algorithmic orthodoxy in digital spaces. This brief look at the ability that white nationalists are afforded on digital spaces to stretch the Overton Window towards more explicit conversations around race and racial exclusion is cause for alarm enough to consider where else these views have been normed and what the political implications have been. While this PAE does not turn to digital space, it is an incomplete look at the present situation in Eugene without considering the increasing ability individuals have to resist intergroup interactions. It also presents a potential opening for Western States and actors in the City of Eugene to craft digital messages that 'pierce' these bubbles and deradicalize vulnerable individuals.

[77] C Thi Nguyen. (2018). *Cognitive islands and runaway echo chambers: Problems for epistemic dependence on experts*. Synthese, 1-19.

[78] Daniels, J. (2018). The Algorithmic Rise of the "Alt-Right". *Contexts*, 17(1), 60-65. John Barlow, an early founder of the Electronic Frontier Foundation stated in 1997, "places that should remain free of governments of the industrial world…"

[79] Ibid. Don Black, founder of Stormfront, pioneered this, founding martinlutherking.org, a racist and outright ahistorical propaganda site to smear Dr. King's legacy.

Problem Deconstruction

Deconstruction #1: "Government Failure"

People in general - and Oregonians across the political spectrum - have lost faith in government/democracy because it has failed to mitigate rising and persistent inequality, both within and between racial and ethnic groups, for the majority of Americans over the last 30-40 years.[80] One way to view this problem is that public-sector leaders and "knowledges" have prioritized a 'neoliberal' or 'development-over-people' agenda that has alienated Americans across the political spectrum. In this case, public-sector entities at all levels, including at the local level, require **normative value and knowledge realignment.**

Another way to view the problem is less about willful government *values* than it is about government *capability* – local democracy needs to do a better job at basic functions, like service delivery, education, or trash collection, and needs to do a better job with democratic community engagement too. The public sector has been "co-opted," in this view, by large corporate actors and lobbyists, and though they would like to address inequality and identity, they need **enhanced state capability to do so.** Mayne and de Jung write about "State Capabilities for Problem-Oriented Governance" and argue that effective public-sector bureaucracies need three (3) key "capabilities" to solve multi-faceted, "wicked" problems: a performance-review capability, a collaborative capability, and a data-analytic capability.[81]

Potential Interventions include:
- ❖ Require, institutionalize, and standardize a dedicated **"Racial Equity Analysis"** for all city policies and procedures in Eugene City Government, and, aspirationally, Lane County Government. Just as city governments across the country - including Eugene - typically complete economic cost-benefit analyses for city policies, programs, and procedures, this recommendation would call for a "racial impact analysis" too. The City of Portland's "Racial Equity Toolkit" includes significant guidance on this process, as Portland now integrates a racial equity analysis in their policymaking process.[82]
- ❖ Following the work of GARE and Race Forward, develop **"Racial Equity Toolkits"** with Racial Equity staff at different levels of public administration, and who themselves convene regularly and formally to share best practices and not common obstacles or barriers.
- ❖ Develop **context-specific "protocols" for community-driven responses to political extremism** and white nationalism, with clear delineations of responsibility across city agencies and departments.

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[80] Cassidy, John. "Piketty's Inequality Story in Six Charts." *The New Yorker.* 26 March 2014. Accessed 5 February 2017. https://www.newyorker.com/news/john-cassidy/pikettys-inequality-story-in-six-charts
[81] Mayne, Quinton and Jorrit de Jong. "State Capabilities for Problem-Oriented Governance." *Under Review, Citation Forthcoming.* Accessed 5 February 2019.
[82] Brooks, Danielle, et al. "City of Portland: Racial Equity Toolkit." *City of Portland: Office of Equity and Human Rights.* Accessed 22 February 2019. https://www.portlandoregon.gov/oehr/article/592297

❖ Hire a dedicated **civil-society and identity-group liaison in Eugene and Lane County** government to ensure community groups can air grievances and engage productively and frequently with public-sector officials, and not just when there is a crisis.

❖ **Engage the business community** - the Downtown Eugene Business Association, Chamber of Commerce, and anchor institutions like the University of Oregon - to craft a proactive response to the reputational dangers of Eugene being labeled a "haven" for white supremacy. This recommendation involves the City of Eugene making the "business case" for anti-racism, and *owning* a central convening and facilitative role with business groups specifically around the topics of race, racism, power, and their implications on economic development.

❖ Consider **deeper community engagement around hate crimes and bias *reporting* challenges**, in particular in lower-income communities and communities of color, and in neighboring Springfield, Crewswell, and Cottage Grove, Oregon.

Deconstruction #2: "Growing Spatial Segregation and an Urban-Rural Divide"

The election of 2016 threw into sharp contrast the growing divide between urban and rural America. Past political and cultural schisms, urban America has long been on the rise in terms of quality of life and wages, while rural America has stagnated.[83] Perhaps most indicative is polling data that suggest a suspicion towards the 'other half,' their politics, and their feelings about fellow Americans.[84]

Key to the inequality explanation include questions of **urbanization** or intra- and inter-state migration to large centers of economic activity, with rural and small-town whites feeling largely left behind. Additionally, the loss of heavy industries like Timber to this region further alienates white Eugeners and erodes stable, well-paid jobs for whites without a college degree. In addition to eroding wages and benefits, timber and logging represented major sources of *public-sector revenue streams* for jurisdictions in places like rural Oregon. According to interviews we conducted with Lane County officials, the County now only *actively* operates 3-4 full-time police officer vehicles at any given time, in an area roughly the size of Connecticut, due to budget constraints.[85] This leads to an absence of institutional support and presence in much of the area. This eroding tax base is sharply contrasted with the growing wealth of the city, anchored by the University of Oregon and a thriving entrepreneurial sector. Other counties without these anchor or urban centers may be faring worse. Material inequality, the urban-rural divide, and dwindling government capability are intricately linked challenges.

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[83] Florida, R. (Oct. 23, 2018). Wages Are Higher in Urban Areas, But Growing Faster in Rural Ones. CityLab. Accessed 5 February, 2019 at https://www.citylab.com/life/2018/10/wages-are-higher-urban-areas-growing-faster-rural-ones/571534/

[84] Badger, E. (May 22, 2018). Rural and Urban Americans, Equally Convinced the Rest of the Country Dislikes Them. New York Times. Accessed February 5, 2019 from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/22/upshot/rural-and-urban-residents-feel-disparaged-pew-survey.html

[85] [Anonymous Lane County Official]. Personal interview. 23 January 2019.

Potential Interventions include:

❖ In the immediate term, engage civil society groups including low-income community groups of color (NAACP, Centro) and also groups representing rural Lane County (Rural Organizing Project) to launch a **multi-year participatory planning, development, and growth vision for the greater Eugene and Lane County** areas centered on overcoming the urban/rural divide and growing spatial segregation. Examples of successful multi-sector and trans-geography visioning processes include Envision Utah's recent multi-year visioning process,[86] and the CORI Model.[87]

❖ **Engage the business community:** work with developers, the housing and construction communities, and local housing finance leaders to ensure equitable, affordable, and sustainable growth/development occurs in and around Eugene. Current development in Eugene needs to be more equitable. There also needs to be more sustainable and community-driven development outside of Eugene. We understand that these are delicate and deep-seated political issues for this context.

❖ **"De-Track" public school academic tracks** and also re-evaluating the fragmented county-wide district system, bringing urban and rural students in greater contact

❖ Invest in the rural economy by **investing in the knowledge economy** in rural parts of Lane County, **'re-skilling' dislocated workers**, and **expanding access** to education in remote parts of the County

Deconstruction #3: Historical Amnesia/Erasure

Historical Amnesia/erasure about Oregon and Eugene's racist past leads to denial, inaction, lack of awareness and ownership over a *shared* history, and lack of response to long-standing historical dynamics.

We have discussed at length the unique character of both Oregon and Eugene as central to the white supremacy project in America. Eugene has not properly acknowledged these uncomfortable truths, to the detriment of racial equity and building capacity to resist ethnonationalism in its community. This 'amnesia' of Eugene's role and complicity in the development of historical and modern white nationalist identity will prove a recurring barrier to root cause analysis and policy solutions if not addressed.

While we do not wish to simplify the problem in Eugene as merely a symptom of the 2016 Election, it is empirically true that hate crimes have been on the rise since Trump's inauguration.[88] We believe part of the problem of imagining a solution for the City of Eugene is the current reputation the City cherishes--one of liberal tolerance and metropolitanism. In fact, the City is routinely cited

[86] "Mission and History: Our Mission." *Envision Utah*. Accessed 23 February 2019. https://www.envisionutah.org/about/mission-history

[87] "Center on Rural Innovation: An Action Tank to Rebuild Rural America." *CORI*. Accessed 23 February 2019. https://ruralinnovation.us/

[88] Rubin, J. (November 14, 2018). Trump's Era of Hate. Washington Post. Retrieved February 5, 2019 from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/opinions/wp/2018/11/14/trumps-era-of-hate/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.5115f5c621ef

as one of the most LGBTQ-friendly cities in America,[89] complicating community buy-in that far-right extremism is a local problem that they must end. One interview subject expressed shock and skepticism that Eugene served as any sort of destination for white nationalist organizing.[90]

Conversations with Western States Center staff, and numerous advocates on the ground, indicate the importance of *actively confronting and addressing* the remnants of these historical legacies. Considering monuments, symbolic actions, and the "fame" or ideology public history is critically important.[91]

Law enforcement in the City is too overburdened with daily procedural responsibilities to seriously examine and reconcile its own historic complicity in advancing the white ethnostate in Oregon. One Eugene Police Officer we spoke to indicated that, presently, the problem was found on both the far-left and far-right, drawing a moral and historical equivalency between the two.[92] This attitude, while understandable given the day-to-day milieu of law enforcement in a medium-sized city, ignores the deep ties that white nationalists have traditionally enjoyed with law enforcement as well as the current inroads being made to introduce xenophobic and reactionary attitudes into local sheriffs departments. On the whole, far-right domestic terrorism is far more likely and deadly than religious extremism or far-left terror.[93] We have previously detailed Cooper's work on CSPOA and their cozy ties to both far-right groups and county law enforcement agencies. The group, founded by far-right state sovereigntist Sheriff Richard Mack, flies sheriffs (including Oregon-based employees) to the border to stoke nativist tendencies. One Oregon sheriff, Glenn Palmer, is publicly affiliated with the group and expressed vocal support for the Malheur occupiers.[94] We conclude this inability to confront the structural ties to white supremacy inherent in Eugene have historically prevented community resiliency against white nationalism, even as the current city's politics have changed.

This institutional 'denial' continues today. Because Eugene and Oregon have not fostered frank reckonings of their history, local residents know little about Oregon's origins or about prominent public sites, like Eugene's Skinner Butte outside downtown and its legacy as a Klan organizing location. Professor Kari Norgaard, a Sociology Professor at the University of Oregon, examines the lack of response to well-known public occurrences as the phenomenon of *socially organized denial*, by which information about the phenomenon is known in the abstract but disconnected

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[89] Eugene makes list of America's most gay friendly cities. KVAL News, Jan 11, 2012. Retrieved February 5, 2019 from https://kval.com/news/local/eugene-makes-list-of-americas-most-gay-friendly-cities

[90] [Anonymous Eugene Resident]. Personal Interview. 25 January, 2019.

[91] Lindsay Schubiner, Western States Center. Personal Interview. 20 February 2019.

[92] [Anonymous Eugene City Official]. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.

[93] Morlin, B. (September 12, 2018). Study shows two-thirds of U.S. terrorism tied to right-wing extremists. Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved February 5, 2019 from https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/09/12/study-shows-two-thirds-us-terrorism-tied-right-wing-extremists

[94] Potok, Mark and Lenz, Ryan, Line in the Sand, Intelligence Report of the Southern Poverty Law Center (Jun. 13, 2016).

from political, social, and private life, and most critically divorced from personal or public action.[95] Norgaard's writing sees this as emblematic of how citizens of industrialized countries are responding to global warming, but we argue that the framework applies in engaging the historical underpinnings of White Nationalist movements. It is, too often, easier and safer to deny or obfuscate the causal factors of present-day inequality, rather than confront and respond to these factors.

As Eugene and Lane County memorialize history, however, it is essential to do so soberly and cautiously. How do you memorialize sites of white nationalism? In Germany, public history frames the Holocaust and Nazi legacies comprehensively, yet monuments can also serve as rallying cries or "*sites* of confrontation" for White nationalist or Neo-Nazi groups, as has occurred in Germany. One interesting case to follow is that of the former Aryan Nations compound on Hayden Lake in Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, which is being given to the North Idaho College Foundation for operation as a Peace Park.[96]

Potential Interventions include:
- ❖ Direct city of Eugene and Lane County agencies, departments, and administration to consider Eugene and Oregon's history in a "Facing History" style curriculum that is locally based. These administrative entities should conduct a **full audit of policies, standards, and protocol** to tighten up practices. This might mean actively taking a stance against existing policies or procedures. (For example, the City and County should work with Oregon State DMV office to ensure people cannot purchase vanity license plates with hateful messages).
- ❖ City and county leaders should both give **license for creativity and ownership of solutions, and incentivize creativity and imagination**, especially for passionate or interested city employees.
- ❖ Launch a **public awareness campaign** in the style of the Equal Justice Initiative and the EJI public history project based in Montgomery, Alabama, to publicly acknowledge and **reconcile Eugene's history of white supremacy with its modern identity as a liberal college town.** Stevenson's nonprofit provides in-depth historical framing, discussion guides, and opportunities for local residents to get involved in the framing and telling of community history in Montgomery.[97]
- ❖ Consider **memorializing public space** with "sites of memory" both acknowledging Eugene and Oregon's past, but also lifting up unsung heroes and resistors.
  - ➢ Examples of specific sites include: Skinner Butte, a former location of KKK activism and meetings; and Mim's House, a downtown Victorian home where prominent African Americans would stay when they visited Eugene through the 1970s.

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[95] Norgaard, Karie Marie. *Living in Denial: Climate Change, Emotions, and Everyday Life.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011.

[96] Associated Press. "Former Aryan compound is now Peace Park." *Missoulian.* 22 January 2002. Accessed 23 February 2019. https://missoulian.com/former-aryan-compound-is-now-peace-park/article_b5afa680-3016-5eff-8c1d-a0027a8c6316.html

[97] "About Us." *Equal Justice Initiative, EJI.* Accessed 23 February 2019. https://eji.org/

- ❖ Work with identity-based civil society (Centro Latino Americano, NAACP) to **craft responses to white nationalism in terms of Eugene and Oregon's *history*, but also to adopt a positive narrative** to structurally and transformationally overcome it.
- ❖ Adapt and initiate **curricular tools in Eugene Public Schools** ("Facing History," and customize context-specific trainings based off of Hope Not Hate's (HNH) UK campaign, including the widespread testing and piloting of Western State Center's new education toolkit.

Deconstruction #4: Perceived Erosion of *White Identity*

Perceived Erosion of *White Identity* coupled with nascent political organizing and movement-building on the "White Right."

Rural America is one of the only places in America where mortality rates are growing.[98] The onset and spread of these 'diseases of despair' inform our understanding of the opioid crisis, anti-smoking campaigns, and more, yet do not broach the subject of far-right extremism. While we disagree with the characterization that poor white Americans are uniquely predisposed to these so-called 'diseases', we know that childhood trauma in the form of ACE scores[99] and poverty[100] correlate to political extremism. In this PAE, we posit that the rise of white nationalism is yet another symptom of the ongoing erosion of traditional economies and communities that have long-tied material success and mobility with a white identity. While ACE scores are not significantly higher in rural areas over urban areas,[101] we do note the poverty gap between urban Eugene and rural Lane County as a potential variable in explaining why the area is afflicted by extremist ideologies.

Labor organizing groups and entities, in the spirit of the early 20th century Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), have the potential to substantially address material interests of rural white Oregonians and connect them in a shared struggle with urban Oregonians of color. Trans-geographic labor movements can create other on-ramps for white Oregonians looking, rightly, for answers. Unfortunately, however, there are no longer many organizations doing this work, and the historical split between urban and rural private sector labor--in the case of Oregon represented by the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (LLLL)--represent acute challenges.[102]

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[98] Stein, E. M., Gennuso, K. P., Ugboaja, D. C., & Remington, P. L. (2017). The Epidemic of Despair Among White Americans: Trends in the Leading Causes of Premature Death, 1999-2015. American journal of public health, 107(10), 1541-1547.

[99] On the Origins of White Nationalism. By: Byrne, Peter, New Scientist, 02624079, 6/9/2018, Vol. 238, Issue 3181

[100] Graff, C. Poverty. Development, and Extremism in Weak States.The Brookings Institute.

[101] Amy Chanlongbutra, Gopal K. Singh, & Curt D. Mueller. (2018). Adverse Childhood Experiences, Health-Related Quality of Life, and Chronic Disease Risks in Rural Areas of the United States. *Journal of Environmental and Public Health*, 2018, 7151297.

[102] Lindsay Schubiner. Personal interview. 20 February 2019.

The White Right and White Nationalism are, according to Western States Center's Executive Director Eric Ward, political *movements* operating under *ideologies* of White Supremacy.[103] One of the contemporary organizing principles of White Nationalist movements today are rallying cries around the preservation of white identity. For example, Derek Black (since disavowed white nationalism), the son of grand wizard Don Black of the Ku Klux Klan and former host of KidsStormFront, said in 2011 on The Don and Derek Black Show, a radio program from Lake Worth, Florida: "How can anyone deny at this point that white America is basically slipping away?"[104] "Gen-o-cide," David Duke said at a Stormfront Conference in Summer 2011, "This is the murder of our very genes."[105] White nationalist movements differ widely in their approaches, tactics, and specific beliefs. But the underlying *ideology* propelling these movements is based on the following "logic" of White Supremacy:

1. White Americans are superior to non-white Americans, borne out in social-science data and other "facts";
2. The American "establishment" (schemers living in Washington, Democrats, Jews and Communists, the media) have systematically tilted an "even playing field" in favor of indolent-nonwhite "takers";
3. The result is a deep decline in White Americans' perceived political representation,[106] material and economic success, and (channeling Nell Painter's work), culture,[107] made visible daily through shuttered towns, declining life expectancies, addiction and overdose, and a white "fear" of the nonwhite, justifying self-defense and violence. In the context of Eugene and Lane County, the steep declines to median incomes and wages reinforce *daily* ideologies supporting the logic of "white genocide";
4. The natural call to action, in this case for White Nationalist movements against the establishment, is for white people to "stand up and fight"[108] and coalesce around white ideals to prevent the collapse of society.[109]

More to the point is what Jared Taylor, founder of *American Renaissance* and graduate historian from Yale University, says is the 'daily life' of white people, wherein, "[they] walk into a 7-Eleven, they are the only person who speaks English, they are the only white person...their country is changing in disagreeable ways...white people are waking up to the prospect of dispossession."[110] The day-to-day *humiliation* of living in a more racially conscious and upwardly mobile America

[103] Ward, Eric. "The Evolution of Identity Politics: An Interview with Eric Ward." *Tikkun Magazine*. 4 April 2018. Accessed 5 February 2018. https://www.tikkun.org/newsite/the-evolution-of-identity-politics-an-interview-with-eric-ward

[104] Saslow, Eli. Rising Out of Hatred: The Awakening of a Former White Nationalist. New York: Doubleday Random House, LLC, 2018, pg. 70.

[105] Saslow, pg. 71-72.

[106] See Pew Research data on racial identity affiliations over time, as well as: Tesler, Michael. *Post-Racial or Most-Racial: Race and Politics in the Obama Era.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. Accessed 23 February 2019.
https://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/P/bo22961444.html

[107] Painter, Nell. *The History of White People.* New York: W.W Norton and Company, 2011.

[108] Tenold, Vegas. Everything You Love Will Burn: Inside the Rebirth of White Nationalism in America. New York: Nation Books, 2018, pg. 197.

[109] Ross, Alex Reid. Personal Interview. 21 January 2019.

[110] Jared Taylor. Personal Interview Conducted by Khalil Muhammad. December 10, 2017.

animates the hateful far-right and only grew in prominence and intensity following the 2016 election.

Ross, Ward, and others of course note that White Supremacist ideologies have been active forces of social construction in American history since the nation's foundation. However, White National movements' strength and capacity waxes and wanes with the national ideological *terrain*, advanced through a federal permissive environment and the movement's own organizing efforts.

This explanation centers immigration and demographic change as a key reality facing the nation and Oregon since the 1965 Federal Immigration Act, marking increasing diversity within Oregon and in Eugene (Oregon and Eugene, despite being some of the most homogenous locations in the nation, are gradually getting more diverse).[111] Identity loss is also very much tied to one's *occupational identity*, so in this case something like a declining Timber industry matters for both material and identity implications. Inequality still matters in this deconstruction, but it might be more about *relative* rather than *absolute* inequality, with whites seeing themselves as superior. For example, Jeff Sessions discusses empathy, "gains," and empathy for Blacks vs. Whites as "zero-sum," saying: "Empathy for one party is always prejudice against another."[112] Norton and Sommers' Harvard Business School study ran iterated, simulated games, confirming that white respondents saw the games as "zero-sum," while people of color more often did not.

Potential Interventions include:
- ❖ Intentionally **consider how the University of Oregon, K-12 public schools, and city leaders *teach (perhaps unintentionally)* ideologies of race and racecraft**, exposing the hateful and damaging elements of white supremacist ideologies and contextualizing them in history.
- ❖ **The City of Eugene and Lane County should examine how some Social Science "facts" might inadvertently perpetuate racism and racial ideology** (for example about racial crime statistics, mass incarceration, or even notions of 'the achievement gap')
- ❖ **Strengthen and formalize ties within and among Eugene and Lane County's interfaith community,** including Temple Beth Israel, the Islamic Center, the local Unitarian Universalist church, and the Lutheran Church to build capacity within the city to respond to hate events and expand outward into the county. These ties should focus on moral/spiritual "redemption" rather than an "us versus them" exclusionary frame.
- ❖ Consider and further study, perhaps through focus groups or surveys at the Lane County level, the extent to which the lack of 911 emergency access in rural areas gives an opening to anti-government sentiment and forces, as well as the service gap in rural America more

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[111] Jaquiss, Nigel. "Oregon Is Gradually Getting More Diverse." *Willamette Week.* 12 February 2019. Accessed 23 February 2019. https://www.wweek.com/culture/2019/02/12/oregon-is-gradually-getting-more-diverse/

[112] United States Senator Jeff Sessions (R-Ala), July 13, 2009. Found in: Norton, Michael I. and Samuel R. Sommers. "Whites See Racism as a Zero-Sum Game That They Are Now Losing." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 2011 6: 215. DOI: 10.1177/1745691611406922

    generally. Consider opportunities and mechanisms for better county distribution of resources across wealthy and needier geographies.[113]

❖ Following conversations with Sally Kohn, **consider previously successful redemptive strategy from former gang members and try to re-fit them for purpose** in the context of former White Nationalists or key movement members.[114]

❖ Following important work in this space from UK-based Hope Not Hate, **move beyond "deprogramming" the negative or harmful ideologies of White Supremacy to instead promulgate, advance, and promote a comprehensive ideology** that is *better, positive, and inclusive.*[115]

What is the Scope of the problem?

There are *numerous* and indeed overlapping scopes through which Western States Center, Eugene, and other interested actors, entities, and organizations can view the challenges posed by White Nationalist organizing.

Eugene and WSC can view the challenges as specific to the **local context of Eugene** *neighborhoods*, and their city's capacities (this is a "contained" problem). White Nationalism affects, in this view, specific groups, entities, and communities in or near Eugene, and Western States' participation is principally mediated by a Eugene-specific context.

Another scope might be to look regionally at the **administrative area of Lane County.** Lane County contains many of the urban-rural inequities in close proximity to one another, where Eugene often serves as a "core central site" of White Nationalist organizing, as well as anti-right response. A challenge with working at the level of Lane County is that the county is perceived by those we spoke with to be under-resourced, and has limited experience and capacity working in the racial equity and inclusion space.[116] Many of the specific "White Right" extremists who have given Eugene trouble in the past, however, live in nearby Lane County communities like Creswell or Cottage Grove and visit Eugene as a metropolitan center.

An alternative way of viewing the "scope" of this problem is not at the county level, but at the ***State level in Oregon***. As we have discussed, Oregon has a distinctive history and set of historical relationships with White Supremacy. Moreover, as U.S. Supreme Court cases like *Hunter v. Pittsburgh* show, cities and counties in Oregon are often creatures of State statute and legislation.[117] Solutions at the state level might involve multi-city partnerships or convenings, bringing advocates and city leaders from Eugene together with places like Roseburg, Medford, Bend, and elsewhere.

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[113] Inspired by: Lindsay Schubiner. Personal Interview. 20 February 2019.
[114] Kohn, Sally. Personal Interview. 5 December 2018.
[115] Carter, Rosie. Personal Interview: Hope Not Hate. 7 November 2018.
[116] [Anonymous Lane County Official]. Personal interview. 23 January 2019.
[117] D. Hunter, Jr., [et al.] v. City of Pittsburgh. U.S. 161. (1907).

An alternative "scope for the problem is **sectoral rather than geographic in nature.** White Nationalist movements are a *multi-sector* problem and addressing them demands engaging government, civil society, all sorts of social movements (both sides of spectrum), and the business and faith communities. In any geographical context, for example in Eugene, the best solutions will likely draw on multi-sector problem solving with identity-based civil society and faith groups, as well as the private sector, frankly engaging "at the table."[118]

Another lens through which to view the project scope is that the challenges are large, but **specific to *America*,** and perhaps larger in whiter communities like Eugene. Such an argument engages with the claim that current White Nationalist movements are **time-specific in context,** geared toward a particular policy and normative environment in the Trump Administration. This sentiment was echoed by local Eugeners commonly.[119] Harvard Kennedy School Professor Khalil Gibran Muhammad might calls this national-temporal specific moment a "white backlash" moment.[120] This framing connects White Nationalism as an "American Democracy" problem, and is also centrally about the federal-local government relationship and local government's capability to serve as a *bulwark* against federal policy in unique times of crisis. Solutions stemming from this scope ask: "what can they [local governments] do" to stop unjust federal policies?

Finally, one can argue that racialization, racial ideology, and racecraft, as well as ideologies of racial superiority and IQ are *global* in nature. Argues theorist Nikhil Pal Singh: "America racialized the world."[121] Cultural attitudes surrounding whiteness, especially in our age of planetary urbanism and connected globalization, transcend boundaries of the nation-state, as well as Eugene, Lane County, Oregon and the United States. We also note the global *democratic slide* experienced in many parts of the world at this moment.

Ultimately, we choose to focus the scope of many solutions in the context of **Lane County, Oregon**, in large part because this bounded area encapsulates many of the spatial and material inequalities we see nationally in the United States. Working at the level of Lane County involves engaging with the challenges of multiple, overlapping jurisdictions: urban/rural, ecological, and material inequalities; and yet remains sufficiently "local" to include context-specific recommendations with Eugene in mind. While Eugene remains a key focus of our recommendations, situating ourselves within a broader county-wide context is critical.

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[118] Briggs, Xavier de Souza. "Democracy as Problem Solving: Civic Capacity in Communities Across the Globe." Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008.

[119] See conversations with Reuben Zahler, Laura Pulido, Alex Reid Ross and others. See also: Deffenbacher, Chris. "Hate and Bias Crimes in Eugene Doubled from 2016 to 2017, Report Shows." *The Register-Guard.* 23 September 2018. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://www.registerguard.com/news/20180923/hate-and-bias-crimes-in-eugene-doubled-from-2016-to-2017-report-shows

[120] Sailor, Steve. Khalil Gibran Muhammad: "No Racial Barrier Left to Break (Except All of Them)." *UNZ.* 15 January 2017. Accessed 5 February 2019. "http://www.unz.com/isteve/khalil-gibran-muhammad-no-racial-barrier-left-to-break-except-all-of-them/

[121] Singh, Nikhil Pal. Black Is A Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Moreover, we also hope to leave this PAE as a scalable resource for county governments across the country, as similar issues and divides affect their communities. Since this PAE is rooted in local history and resources, centering the scope at the county level also maximizes its usefulness to other actors in this space.

The Solutions: Broad and thematic

Framework: Extremism as a 'Social Disease'

Borrowing from conversations with experts such as Sally Kohn and existing research on so-called 'Diseases of Despair,' we hope to equip Eugene with a framework to chart policy recommendations to their temporal relevance. In doing so, we hope to avoid the myopic pursuit of police militarization or civil liberties infringement as a cure-all to extremist ideology. Instead, we hope users of this model will understand the

Triage Immediate Response	Intensive Care Aftermath of an Incident	Inoculation Institutional Rearrangement
What should Eugene do if they learn of an immediate threat to the community, such as a large White Nationalist gathering?	*What healing processes can the City design - task forces, dialogues across race, ethnicity, class, and geography - to overcome immediate and urgent tensions?*	*How does Eugene iteratively address the root-cause structural dimensions of White Nationalism: history, member, political economy, race?*

Preventative Care-Sustained, Ongoing Practices and Engagements *How can Eugene sustain momentum beyond any "crisis" and regularly affirm good work and progress?*

Figure 14: "Triage" solutions framework

ideology and its unique facets, as well as utilize precision and a palliative mentality in providing a community-wide solution to these issues. We use a medical model as we, in the spirit of a PDIA-informed methodology, wish to tailor policy recommendations to discrete elements of white nationalism in the City of Eugene to their proper audience. We also hope this model considers the authorizing environment, implementers, and potential for scalability, and also includes useful diagnostic frameworks for other cities to borrow and inform their equity practices.

Preventative Care (Underlying Themes/ Ongoing Engagements):

To successfully take on the task of addressing white nationalism on a regional scale, the City of Eugene and its associated partners in this task must take on a new identity and approach- the mentality of equity as preventative care. The City of Eugene will undoubtedly undergo shifts in political power on top of the unfortunate reality of additional incidents of hate activity. This model intends to take a longitudinal approach to white nationalism and is truly effective when the process of reconciliation of institutional experimentalism can be insulated from politics and take full effect.

Central to this is building a message around '*Eugene will lead the nation in equity work.*' We have already noted Eugene as a statistical outlier in reporting hate crimes to the FBI's UCR clearinghouse. We believe this indicates momentum at the City level to truly capture and document the full extent of white nationalist activity in the region. Rather than forcing city officials to take a recalcitrant, reactive stance to hate activity, this model allows Eugene to establish a programmatic vision for the future of equity work in this City and region. In this spirit, we advocate for **regular, formal stocktaking convenings of the Eugene advocacy community, business**

community, and education community. By doing so comprehensively (taking stock of the diverse community found in Eugene) and iteratively, these recommendations can become reality.

Policy work in racial equity is often focused on political myopia[122]- quick victories lacking a larger vision for an ideal policy environment, born out of necessity and mixed buy-in. In subscribing to this framework, we hope to offer a path of accumulating victories towards institutional rearrangement. Crucial to this is **wedding the momentum of current events with sustained pressure and activism from the broader region**. Making explicit links between immediate responses (Triage), healing/mediation processes (Intensive Care), and the broader work of intersectional structural change (Inoculation) under a broader mission of building a legacy of equity (Preventive Care) can fundamentally address the root causes underpinning the current political moment of emboldened white nationalism.

Triage (Short Term / Immediate Response):

First and foremost, the City needs clarity on developing **precise language** for what the City *means* by "White Nationalism," and needs to craft that definition in consultation with key multisector groups. The definition of White Nationalism should be clear, decently "bounded" and narrow, and then channeled into relevant city ordinances or legislation. A recent example here is Western States Center's advocacy for the city of Portland to pass a City Council ordinance first defining white supremacist and alt-right groups, and then condemning their actions.[123] Civil society groups ought to be at the table helping to define White Nationalism: groups like the Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE) and the UK-based Hope Not Hate (HNH) which are national in scope, but also local groups like the Eugene chapter of the NAACP, groups like Life After Hate made up of former (denounced) White Nationalists, faith organizations, and groups like the Rural Organizing Project representing rural Lane County.

As a matter of ideological - and practical - positioning, Eugene needs to **decide the city's "posture / approach" to White Nationalism**, ideally through a set of public and democratic exercises and visioning sessions. Indeed, Eugene will need to decide: is the city's stance one of denunciation in the spirit of "No Place for Hate" as advanced by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL),[124] or a "Not in Our Town" approach emphasizing city values, as advanced by members of Oregon Coalition Against Hate?[125] Or, perhaps, is the approach one more of empathy-building, compassion, or redemption? Saslow's account of Derek Black in *Rising Out of Hatred* notes that his story away from Stormfront and the White Nationalist movement came from compassionate

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[122] Mayne, Quinton. "Cities on a Hill?" Boston Review. Accessed 11 March ,2019 from http://bostonreview.net/forum/quinton-mayne-cities-on-a-hill.

[123] Gaves, Lincoln. "Portland City Council Passes Resolution Condemning Hate Groups." *KATU-2 News*. 8 February 2019. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://katu.com/news/local/portland-city-council-passes-resolution-condemning-hate-groups

[124] "No Place for Hate." *Anti-Defamation League.* Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.adl.org/who-we-are/our-organization/signature-programs/no-place-for-hate

[125] Riley, Theresa. "Standing Up To Hate In Portland, Oregon." *NIOT.* 3 August 2018. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.niot.org/blog/standing-hate-portland-oregon

friends inviting him to Shabbat dinner, not denunciations.[126] In deciding this stance, Eugene ought to consider drawing on the expertise of churches, religious and interfaith organizations for leadership, and also engage impacted groups like NAACP, Life After Hate, and Temple Beth Israel and the Jewish Community Response Committee.

After Eugene has decided on the definition and scope of White Nationalism, and finalized a normative stance in response to it, the city must then build on and expand current practices,[127] ultimately working to develop a **system and a set of protocols for response** for when instances arise. Another resource to turn to is Scot Nakagawa's *When Hate Comes to Town* framework from the 1990s, which included a movement of place-specific solutions to combating White Nationalism, updated to reflect current movements.[128] Alternatively, Eugene could think of their protocol as a longer term "playbook" to turn to (Our Solutions Implementation Framework provides more information here, including on city strengths, positive deviance, and external precedent best practices).

Following leadership from nonprofits like Race Forward and their Government Alliance for Racial Equity, or GARE, Eugene should consider developing **citywide Racial Equity Action Plans**; Portland has done so.[129] Indeed, *individual agencies and departments* can and should develop Racial Equity Action Plans that are specific to their scope and mandate. This includes thinking about using technology, finding where there is institutional and structural discrimination, and more. Some agencies, like the City Department of Transportation or Public Works, might not think that their work directly engages White Nationalism. However, participatory visioning or action sessions facilitated by Western States or groups like GARE can help city leaders from *across* agencies and departments think about anti-racism work in different ways.

Additionally, at the level of city policies and procedures, Eugene should develop a **Racial Equity "tool" for relevant city decision-making**, to ensure that, at a functional and structural level, the city is not worsening racial equity as it proceeds with policies and protocols. These tools might be in the spirit of The Sentencing Project's *Racial Impact Statements*,[130] which, like cities' economic impact analyses or like Environmental Impact Statements, seek to provide a "check" on city actions to ensure that there is no disparate impact across racial or ethnic identity groups in a city, even if unintentional or unconscious. As the city crafts this racial equity "tool," it should be sure to include local identity-based activists and groups like the NAACP and Centro Latino Americano in creating and framing discussions, and in monitoring its implementation.

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[126] Saslow, Eli. Rising Out of Hatred: The Awakening of a Former White Nationalist. New York: Doubleday Random House, LLC, 2018.

[127] Such actions can and should build on the City of Eugene Office of Human Rights and Neighborhood Involvement's Hate Crimes incident response plan: https://www.eugene-or.gov/DocumentCenter/View/35350/Hate-and-Bias-Incident-Response-Plan?bidId=

[128] Rabrenovic, G. (2007). When Hate Comes to Town: Community Response to Violence Against Immigrants. American Behavioral Scientist, 51(2), 349–360. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306063

[129] "Racial Equity Action Plans: A How-to Manual." *GARE.* 2019. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/racial-equity-action-plans-manual/

[130] Porter, Nicole. "Racial Impact Statements." *The Sentencing Project.* 1 December 2014. https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/racial-impact-statements/

First internally and within city government, then with other "elite" nonprofit groups and multisector partners, and finally with the general public, Eugene ought to host conversations about turning to and learning from history. Through dynamic, participatory sessions, Eugeners within and beyond city government can ask: **How has Eugene overcome the toughest/worst elements of its past?** Did that involve key actors or individuals in or engaging government? Was it largely dependent on exogenous events?

Eugene might want to ground this project in the case study of **LGBTQ justice and gay marriage** and the policy and institutional culture journey of going "from aspiration to reality," and the associated project of changing hearts and minds. Eugene was (and is) a leader in this domain, and groups like Basic Rights Oregon can help explain "how we got there."[131] The frame, here, might be something like: *with persistence, and with everyone's buy-in, things *can* get better.*

In all of the Triage work above, Eugene must engage multi-sector actors.   The business community is one essential stakeholder to be present at the table: Eugene city leaders, the City Council, and Mayor should engage the **City of Eugene Chamber of Commerce**, showing that "Hate is bad for business," economic development, tourism, and the city's reputation. A successful case to follow in this regard is the **Downtown Charlottesville Business Association** and the constellation small businesses in Charlottesville that stood up and responded to the "Unite the Right" rally in the city's downtown business district.[132] Eugene could develop a strategy alongside business owners and downtown developers, for example leading to interventions in the downtown business district's physical built environment, or through events or programming.[133]

At the city and county levels, and especially for contracting and procurement, Eugene should consider building on its Equity in Contracting (EIC) Program to intentionally expand its existing, robust **Minority and Women Owned Business (MWBE) program, and to considering lifting up rural Lane County firms** for contracting and procurement as well.[134] Eugene would likely need to work directly with *Business Oregon*, to the Oregon State Agency, which has an array of certification and financial support tools for qualifying businesses and their Minority Business Enterprise (MBE) and Women Business Enterprise (WBE) certifications.[135]

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[131] "Our History." *Basic Rights Oregon*. Accessed 25 February 2019.
http://www.basicrights.org/about/our-history/
[132] Paynter, Ben. "How Charlottesville's Small Businesses Supported Their Community Against White Nationalists." *Fast Company*. 16 August 2017. Accessed 25 February 2019.
https://www.fastcompany.com/40454069/how-charlottesvilles-small-businesses-supported-their-community-against-the-alt-right
[133] Eugene has an active downtown business association that actively considers the city's economic development image and reputation: http://www.downtowneugene.com/. The city also has an active small-business and merchant community: https://www.downtowneugenemerchants.com/
[134] "Equity in Contracting." *City of Eugene.* Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.eugene-or.gov/3279/Equity-in-Contracting
[135] "COBID and MWBE." *Business Oregon.* Accessed 25 February 2019.
http://www.oregon4biz.com/How-We-Can-Help/COBID/MWBE/

Finally, at the Triage level, Eugene ought to preliminarily **engage law enforcement officers within and adjacent to Eugene, and Lane County Sheriffs in particular.** This should include law enforcement officers from other cities as well as county sheriffs, and also include multi-municipality officials like state troopers. Questions of overlapping jurisdiction will complicate matters here, but Eugene must ensure any officers explicitly affiliated with White Nationalism (i.e. "bad apples") are engaged specifically. The recent case of officer text messages in Portland underscore how *not* engaging these Officers may only lead pushback later.[136] Working alongside dedicated staff at the Eugene Police Department who have long been committed to this work, Eugene should also develop explicit police "norms" toward race that officers must follow, and hold the Force to these.[137] As one example, the City of Helsinki, Finland now promotes extensive anti-racism training across their police department staff and even in pre-police academies.[138] Australia and New Zealand's Human Rights Commissions also conduct anti-racism training--with a cultural diversity component--for their countries' forces.[139] Questions of policy accountability and anti-racism can also involve partnership and coordination with local civil society groups. Groups and individuals most affected by ongoing police injustice (like the Eugene NAACP) can help oversee **police accountability and monitoring**, especially if compensated or awarded a paid contract for their efforts. Rather than create new entities, Eugene might also want to double down on its already successful Civilian Review Board, with trainings or other new programming.[140]

The City of Eugene's Police can be strong leaders in **monitoring and contributing to social media accounts,** including but not limited to Gab and 8Chan, and specifically by countering hate speech and threats and especially those with credible ties to Eugene. The City of Dearborn, Michigan, as one example, actively responds to White Nationalist posts on social media, for example after White Nationalist groups claimed the city was "governed by sharia law" on Gab and 4Chan.[141] Eugene, similarly, should consider both actively monitoring digital spaces for Eugene-specific falsehoods and threats, and actively (and publicly) responding.

Intensive Care (Aftermath of an Incident / Long Term):

As an intermediate measure, the City of Eugene must ensure that officials understand that once an event has passed and public attention has died down somewhat, **their work has only just begun**. In the aftermath of a high-profile hate crime, a large public demonstration, or a similar

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[136] Templeton, Amelia. "New Texts Offer Window Into Portland Officer's Relationship With Protest Groups." *Oregon Public Broadcasting.* 21 February 2019. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.opb.org/news/article/portland-police-jeff-niiya-protest-groups-new-report/

[137] [Anonymous City of Eugene Official]. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.

[138] "Anti-discrimination Trainings For Police Officers And Police College Students." *City of Helsinki.* Accessed 25 January 2019. https://www.helsinki.hu/en/anti-discrimination-trainings-for-police-officers-and-police-college-students/

[139] "Work to Begin On Anti-racism Training For Australian And New Zealand Police Forces."

[140] "Civilian Review Board." *City of Eugene.* 2019. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.eugene-or.gov/88/Civilian-Review-Board

[141] "Satirical Website Makes Up 'article' On Sharia Law For Humor; City Of Dearborn Not Amused By Falsehood; Sets Record Straight." *City of Dearborn.* 2015-2016. Accessed 25 February 2019. http://www.cityofdearborn.org/news-and-events/city-news/116-satirical-website-makes-up-article-on-sharia-law-for-humor-but-city-of-dearborn-is-not-amused-by-falsehood-sets-record-straight

event that gains and holds attention, the City of Eugene must utilize the opportunity to **convene civil society** to continue learning and programming opportunities and to **formalize links between siloed groups**. For instance, Eugene School District 4J, in conversation with the State Board of Education, could consider developing a **module for anti-racism training in schools**, piloted by the Western States Center. The Center already maintains teacher-oriented trainings for recognizing signs of white nationalist organizing and could expand this work to be more student-focused.

The city has a rich tapestry of local history, **yet it chooses to memorialize very few sites of racial relevance.** The City, in the aftermath of an event, **could engage questions of history, and historical and contemporary racism**. The Eugene School District 4J has already purchased a toolkit of this nature, 'Facing History and Ourselves,' yet does not actively implement it.[142] The city also has at its disposal a slew of experts in transformative pedagogy at the University of Oregon to help develop and pilot curricula around building tolerance, equity, and remembrance for Eugene's history of white supremacy. **Opportunistically**, the Eugene School District school boards, and State Board of Education officials, must reassess curricula prior to implementing the **Ethnic Education Act**[143] which mandates K-12 Ethnic Studies and could easily be supplemented with a module on Eugene's ongoing issues of political extremism.

In this vein, the city could also build on its nascent **'Culture of Commemoration'** by formalizing more memorials of past sites of racial violence. We cite research that formalizing memorials of past hate and discrimination can foster trust and reparations in a community grappling with a legacy of institutionalized violence.[144] This approach has received some recent press, with groups like the Equal Justice Institute (EJI) launching a public memorial campaign of the legacy of lynching.[145] With national momentum and numerous potential inroads for memorialization, the city could utilize an engaged activist community to nominate these sites and create programming around memorializing them. Inherent in this is also **lifting up** heroic voices from Eugene's past, especially those who are not currently memorialized in the city landscape. Through public space monuments, walking tours, and symbolic legislation, the ciity of Eugene can properly ensure it's full past is remembered and honored.

Perhaps most critically, the City of Eugene should understand in the aftermath of an incident **that these problems and individuals likely stem from regional challenges beyond their jurisdiction**. Numerous interviews cited the difficulty in crafting a Eugene solution, due to the

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[142] [Anonymous Resident]. Personal Interview January 24, 2019.

[143] June, S. (July 2, 2017). Oregon is Now the Only State to Have Required Ethnic Studies Curriculum for K-12 Students. Willamette Weekly. Retrieved February 24, 2019 from https://www.wweek.com/news/state/2017/07/01/oregon-is-now-the-only-state-to-have-required-ethnic-studies-curriculum-for-k-12-students/

[144] Staub, Ervin. "Reconciliation after Genocide, Mass Killing, or Intractable Conflict: Understanding the Roots of Violence, Psychological Recovery, and Steps toward a General Theory." *Political Psychology* 27.6 (2006): 867-94. Web.

[145] Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror. Equal Justice Institute. Retrieved February 25, 2019 from https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/

issues prevalent in Lane County.[146] [147] Cities like Springfield, Creswell, and Cottage Grove are all home to publicly identified White Nationalists, as well as data-reporting issues about hate crimes. Thinking experimentally, the city should strongly consider **creating a formal regional partnership** in the Eugene Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) to **tackle the issues of cross-jurisdictional data quality, political schisms in the sociospatial divide, and resource disparities in the rural Lane County.**[148] In doing so, the City of Eugene can craft a truly comprehensive response plan for this crisis and engage previously neglected metropolitan assets and entities. Sustained and robust inter-group contact is one of the best ways to increase "thick, rather than thin" tolerance across groups of different citizens.[149]

Lastly, Western States Center can work with civil society groups like WSC, NAACP, GARE, and others to **build progressive infrastructure within and across the anti-racist activity community.** Rather than focus on policy myopia of issue-by-issue debates, (climate change, immigration, justice for Muslim Americans) a civil-society coalition can ensure groups show up and stand with each other and see their solidarity as part of a larger "project" of reconstructing democracy. Presently, while numerous faith groups cite the *'expectation of solidarity'* within the community when one group is subject to faith-based harassment,[150] the City could **build ties and foster formalized relationships to build capacity for cross-identity solidarity**.

Inoculation (Institutional Rearrangement / Even Longer Term):

At the level of fundamental institutional rearrangements, bold imagination is required for Eugene to supplant the current *status-quo* operating practices and paradigms in the city. Indeed, in his book *Democracy Realized,* Roberto Unger provides a normative and aspirational framework (geared more toward the level of the *nation-state*) through which public-sector bodies can re-conceptualize their authorizing environments, aspirational goals, and governing mandates.[151] Such a vision can then translate to specific, racially equity minded policies that involve a longer term time horizon, possibly generational in scope. Eugene can marry a vision of "where it is headed" with more practical first-step policies in the direction of that vision.

Eugene could consider implementing, for example a set of **"de-Tracking" programs in Eugene Schools, coupled with pro-integration efforts to desegregate housing in a Eugene context.**[152] Again, literature shows the immense structural benefits to "sustained and genuine

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[146] [Anonymous Eugene Official]. Personal Interview January 24, 2019.

[147] Eric Richardson. Personal Interview January 23, 2019.

[148] Brenner, Neil. "Decoding the Newest "Metropolitan Regionalism" in the USA: A Critical Overview." *Cities* 19.1 (2002): 3-21. Web.

[149] Everett, Jim and Diana Onu. "Intergroup Contact Theory: Past, Present, and Future." *The Inquisitive Mind.* 2013, Issue 17, No. 2. Accessed 8 February 2019. http://www.in-mind.org/article/intergroup-contact-theory-past-present-and-future

[150] Emily Heilbrun, Margot Helphand, and Reuben Zahler. Personal Interview. 23 January, 2019.

[151] Unger, Roberto Mangabeira (2001). *Democracy Realized: The Progressive Alternative*. Utopian Studies 12 (1):266-267.

[152] Detracking means that K-12 Eugene schools would move away from the traditional system of separating students by ability and performance in various subjects that began in the early 20th century. For more information on the links between tracking and equity, see: Burris, C. C. & Welner, K. G. (2005).

inter-group contact."[153] Eugene is currently experienced as many separate Eugenes depending on one's race, class, or ethnicity, and these deep cleavages lie at the intersection of housing and opportunity. Following philosopher Kwame Appiah, one of the best ways to achieve diverse "cosmopolitanism" is simply communities "getting used to one another;"[154] the City of Eugene can combine active planning and housing integration efforts with school de-tracking to ensure inter-group contact not just at the level of the school, but within the classroom.[155]

Given that Eugene has a long history and an enduring current presence of 'extreme' political groups on both sides of the political spectrum, the City ought to **engage the far left, encouraging them to "claim" or make claims on (meaning to work collaboratively with) government.** As Noah Smith has documented, rather than respond productively to the grievances of the 1999 WTO Protests throughout the Pacific Northwest, government responded violently, giving groups reason for more suspicion.[156] The City of Eugene ought to proactively and intentionally reach out to members of these same groups, in sustained and bidirectional ways. Part of this might involve positive visioning sessions among **Antifa**, **Anarcho-Syndicalist** groups, trying to get them at the table and embracing a set of common values about the obligations and possibilities of government, as well.

In the very long term, Eugene will need to work with other progressive leaders in Oregon and nationwide to address the deeper, **structural issues of (1) inequality and (2) identity** that permeate across racial and class groups in Eugene. As a City, and along with Lane County, Eugene ought to implement dedicated **racial equity action plans** to ensure "equitable government" voice and policymaking along racial and socioeconomic lines.[157] A dedicated **racial equity core team** can serve as the coordinating "engine" around equity work jurisdiction-wide,[158]

Closing the Achievement Gap by Detracking. Phi Delta Kappan, 86(8), 594-598. https://www.colorado.edu/education/sites/default/files/attached-files/Burris%20%26%20Welner_Closing%20the%20Achievement%20Gap.pdf

[153] Everett, Jim and Diana Onu. "Intergroup Contact Theory: Past, Present, and Future." *The Inquisitive Mind.* 2013, Issue 17, No. 2. Accessed 8 February 2019. http://www.in-mind.org/article/intergroup-contact-theory-past-present-and-future

[154] Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers." *Global Ethics Network: The Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs.* 19 April 2013. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.globalethicsnetwork.org/profiles/blogs/cosmopolitanism-ethics-in-a-world-of-strangers-by-kwame-anthony

[155] David Liebowitz. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.

[156] Smith, Noah. "The Dark Side of Globalization: Why Seattle's 1999 Protesters Were Right." *The Atlantic.* 6 January 2014. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/01/the-dark-side-of-globalization-why-seattles-1999-protesters-were-right/282831/

[157] "Racial Equity Core Teams: the Engines of Institutional Change." Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE). Accessed 27 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/racial-equity-core-teams-the-engines-of-institutional-change/

[158] "Racial Equity Action Plans: A How-To Manual." Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE). Accessed 27 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/racial-equity-action-plans-manual/

and equity can be advanced through redesigning libraries,[159] economic and planning development processes,[160] contracting and procurement,[161] and public sector jobs and hiring.[162] The goal of these longer-term steps is not to duplicate existing successful work where it exists, but rather to ensure *every* policy process and output produced in Eugene and Lane County address *both* identity and economy, and further equity and fairness in both realms.[163]

To transformatively achieve equity, Eugene will need to think about deep, **county- or city-level public service and redistributive programming**. **"Targeted universalist"** policies or schemes that nominally help everyone, and therefore have all citizen's buy-in, but functionally benefit the most needy disproportionately. As an example progressive local Universal Basic Income (UBI) can bring big benefits to rural Lane County residents, and also lower-income Eugeners. The city of Stockton, CA has pioneered such a program under their new Mayor Michael Tubbs with help from various philanthropic entities.[164] Beyond income redistribution alone, job training and opportunity spreading will ensure pathways to ensure Eugeners without college degrees can live lives of dignity; institutions like Lane County Community College already have robust apprenticeship programming; new models can serve as a way to link equity work and the Knowledge Economy with job training and career readiness.[165]

Building an inclusive economy ought to include rural populations, particularly if the County commits to fostering an inclusive sociospatial landscape in the region. Part of this strategy must include outreach to rural entrepreneurs and ensuring the current economic schisms of the urban-rural divide do not worsen. The county and Western States could consider engaging with current models on fostering a rural economy to scale to the region.

The Center on Rural Innovation (CORI), headquartered in Vermont, is one such model that is actively seeking partnerships in other rural communities. The county has numerous resources to

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[159] "Advancing Racial Equity in Public Libraries: Case Studies from the Field." Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE). Accessed 27 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/advancing-racial-equity-in-public-libraries-case-studies-from-the-field/

[160] "Equitable Development as a Tool to Advance Racial Equity." Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE). Accessed 27 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/equitable-development-tool-advance-racial-equity/

[161] "Contracting for Equity: Best Local Government Practices that Advance Racial Equity in Government Contracting and Procurement." Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE). Accessed 27 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/contracting-equity-best-local-government-practices-advance-racial-equity-government-contracting-procurement/

[162] "Public Sector Jobs: Opportunities for Advancing Racial Equity." Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE). Accessed 27 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/public-sector-jobs-opportunity-for-advancing-racial-equity/

[163] "Racial Equity: Getting to Results." Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE). Accessed 27 February 2019. https://www.racialequityalliance.org/resources/racial-equity-getting-results/

[164] McFarland, Kate. "Stockton, CA, US: New Details Revealed in Planned Basic Income Demonstration." *Basic Income Earth Network.* 23 August 2018. https://basicincome.org/news/2018/08/stockton-ca-us-new-details-revealed-in-planned-basic-income-demonstration/

[165] "Construct Your Future: Apprenticeship Program." *Lane Community College.* *https://www.lanecc.edu/apprenticeship*

draw from that are critical to stewarding a nascent knowledge economy, including relatively inexpensive broadband access in rural Lane County, access to a world-class research university (University of Oregon), inexpensive real estate for capital investment, and a natural partner for scaling up development (the City of Eugene). Their model[166] pairs nonprofit venture capital for seed funding, university resources for accessible education, and a willing nonprofit (Western States) to steward early development. In formalizing these ties through outreach, financial support, and networking, Lane County can begin a regional strategy towards building an economy that is vibrant, diverse, and inclusive.

Another element of this strategy involves **venture capital:** 80% of all venture capital (a critical element to start and scale small business and innovation) resides in fours states,[167] with even less capital available to rural communities like great Lane County. The practice is also constrained by a lack of imagination in funding strategy and a *'profit over people'* mentality of maximizing returns. Western States Center could engage Eugene, Lane County, and Oregon to **pursue a pilot program** similar to the state of Colorado's Office of Economic Development, who recently began the first-ever **public venture capital fund specifically targeting the rural knowledge economy.**[168]

Lastly, Western States Center might try to expand the role that the University of Oregon plays in **accelerating the rural economy to scale**. The university presently operates a business and start-up accelerator, the University of Oregon Innovation Network[169]. However, its impact in the greater Eugene community is limited to its Regional Accelerator & Innovation Network (RAIN). The program could be **expanded to conduct outreach in rural areas and offer targeted grants for the knowledge economy in depressed economic areas**. This could include encouraging cross-racial and cross-spatial partnerships of diverse entrepreneurial proposals.

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[166] https://ruralinnovation.us/approach/

[167] Soergel, A. (2018). 4 States Control 80 Percent of Venture Capital Dollars. US News and World Report. Retrieved February 25, 2019 from https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/articles/2018-05-10/4-states-control-80-percent-of-venture-capital-dollars

[168] McKissen, D. (2017). Colorado's rural startup fund sets a model for the nation. Venture Beat. Retrieved February 25, 2019 from https://venturebeat.com/2017/11/06/colorados-rural-startup-fund-sets-a-model-for-the-nation/

[169] https://innovate.uoregon.edu/

Solution Implementation Framework

D. External best practice (to identify, translate, select and try, adapt, and diffuse)

C. Positive deviance (to find, celebrate, codify, and diffuse)

Technically correct solutions (we have seen them work) to solve the problem)

B. Latent practice (to provoke through rapid engagement, codify, and diffuse)

A. Existing practice (to scrutinize, understand, learn from, and potentially improve)

Administratively and politically possible (We can do them in our context)

Figure 8.1. The design space: where do we get ideas from?

Figure 15: PDIA-style implementation framework
This figure above, from Andrews et al., underscores the "implementation design space" through which solutions might gain traction in Eugene-specific authorizing environments. [170]

Andrews et al. note that many reform and policy initiatives limit themselves to an overly simple, binary narrative when thinking about how to make structural changes in the face of a deep, entrenched problem: (1) the status quo, or small deviations from the status quo, and in particular looking to specific people in the local context (in this case, Eugene) who might be key to pushing beyond the status quo and solving the problem; or (2) drawing from cases of success, or external best practices, in other contexts that are deemed to have solved *similar* problems in those other contexts, even as we are not sure they will apply in this local context of Eugene.[171] A key to PDIA methodology argues that there are more options for reformers to work with than just these two. PDIA practitioners use the concept "crawling the design space" to reference the crafting of *multiples*: multiple frames on the problem, multiple solutions to it, and specific, varying solutions to different sub-causes of the solution as well.

The available PDIA recommendations will vary depending on the available "change space": new practice ideas, for example, might be required when the problem scope is large, and where significant change space exists and can be exploited. These include permission across sectors or actors to divert from business as usual, or political leeway to try new approaches to problem-

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[170] Andrews, M., Pritchett, L., & Woolcock, M. J. V. (2017). Building state capability: evidence, analysis, action (First edition.). Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from http://bsc.cid.harvard.edu/building-state-capability-evidence-analysis-action, page 172.
[171] Ibid.

solving. Andrews et al. argue that ideas to improve *authority, acceptance or ability* will be more pertinent where change space is limited.[172]

A. Existing practice

To take stock of *existing practices* that are working in Eugene and beyond, we conducted numerous interviews with Eugene city employees and the activist community. Understanding the current landscape of existing practices is crucial in not only guiding solution development, but also identifying partners in implementation.

The City of Eugene:
Currently, the City of Eugene operates an effective Office of Human Rights and Neighborhood Involvement (HRNI). HRNI is primarily tasked with outreach to Eugene's neighborhood associations, planning cultural events, and coordinating data analytics regarding incidents of bias with the other city agencies. *Existing practices worth highlighting* in the City of Eugene include:

- Data-reporting metrics that accurately capture the problem of racial bias incidence in Eugene;
- Agencies such as HRNI hire members of the activist community into program management and leadership roles;
- Eugene has an active downtown business association that is committed to maintaining a positive image and reputation;
- Eugene operates an 'Equity in Contracting' program that focuses on minorities, women, and local entrepreneurs as preferred in providing city services.

The City of Eugene also has achieved major victories in the fields of energy and environmental sustainability, which is particularly notable given Lane County's recent history of extractive timber and wood processing. Former Eugene Mayor Kitty Piercy told us in an interview, for example, that a former colleague of hers told her "not to touch" the environment lest she be "labeled an eco-freak."[173] Mayor Piercy doubled down on the environment, however, and found that people all across Eugene's political spectrum embraced her leadership. Piercy advocated a "triple bottom line" approach (people, planet, and profit) and achieved major gains. Eugene's Business Community, according to Piercy, is forward-thinking, and willing to embrace strategic action and change.[174]

The University of Oregon:
Eugene benefits from having a vibrant intellectual community working on anti-racism and thinking deeply about political and social change at the University of Oregon, with scholars including Laura Pulido, Joe Lowndes, Gerland Berk, among many others. At the street level, this translates to a community actively willing to consider (and re-consider) the role of government and systems of oppression, and is paired with a young, more diverse student community of nearly 20,000. For

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[172] Ibid.
[173] Kitty Piercy. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.
[174] Kitty Piercy. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.

example, according to a University of Oregon student of color we spoke with, University of Oregon students led the charge to re-name and examine Dunn Hall on campus, while many Eugene community members were more hesitant to have that conversation in an effort to preserve the historical legacy of the University.[175]

Other Jurisdictions in Lane County and Oregon:
Lane County has found an Equity Champion in Equity and Access coordinator Mo Young, even though much of her work remains centered on internal review. When we interviewed Mo, she referenced a number of important, leading county practices that her office coordinates.[176] Lane County also centrally engages the Equity and Community Consortium (ECC) in and around Lane County, bringing together key members including County-wide public utilities and multiple different school-district jurisdictions. The ECC's members include the Bethel Public School District 52, City of Eugene, City of Springfield, Eugene Public School District 4J, Eugene Water & Electric Board, Lane Community College, Lane County, Lane Education Service District, Lane Transit District, Springfield Public School District 19, and the University of Oregon. The ECC's goals involve creating a trans-spatial equity-driven governing coalition to (1) develop and share information about equity and service to the community and to create opportunities for the mutual benefit of the participating agencies; (2) allow each agency to make informed, independent action-oriented decisions relying on information and idea exchange and mutual support that is created by the ECC; (3) share experience, progress and challenges associated with each agency's goals to improve and enhance internal working environments and creating more equitable workplaces; (4) improve equity with respect to each agency's goods, services, bids and employment; (5) develop a strategic framework that both recognizes the unique challenges of each agency, but also allows shared vision, community-wide action, and professional development opportunities whenever possible.[177]

The MOU for the Equity and Community Consortium also has developed, widely circulated, and continues to update a "Bias Response Flow Chart" used for Countywide response coordination to instances of hate and bias.[178] The Flow Chart protocols involve agencies within Eugene and across Lane County, including the Lane County Sheriff's office, the ECC, the Chief Administrative Officer of Lane County (CAO), the City's Human Rights Commission (HRC), and nonprofit and civil society groups like the Community Alliance of Lane County (CALC).

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[175] "Panel To Explore the Renaming Of Dunn Hall To Unthank Hall," *Around University of Oregon*. 6 November 2017. Accessed 1 March 2019. https://around.uoregon.edu/content/panel-explore-renaming-dunn-hall-unthank-hall
[176] Mo Young. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.
[177] "Memorandum of Understanding Among: Bethel Public School District 52, City of Eugene, City of Springfield, Eugene Public School District 4J, Eugene Water & Electric Board, Lane Community College, Lane County, Lane Education Service District, Lane Transit District, Springfield Public School District 19, University of Oregon To Establish the Equity and Community Consortium (ECC)." Retrieved from Mo Young. 12 February 2012. Accessed 24 January 2019.
[178] "Bias Response Flow Chart." Retrieved from Mo Young. 12 February 2012. Accessed 24 January 2019.

Lane County's Equity and Access Advisory Board serves as a county site convening conversations around racial equity. The Board has worked with the Lane County Sheriff's Office, for example, to prepare materials around hate crime incidents and reporting. And through the Board, Lane County has released critical and important statements condemning White Nationalist organizing and events. For example:

- Through the Equity and Access Board, the Equity and Community Consortium Co-Chairs regularly release statements. Examples include a compelling 2014 ECC statement surrounding Oregon's history,[179] and a 2012 statement on the importance of "speaking out to support those targeted by hatred."[180]
- More recently, the Equity and Access Advisory board released a statement after the 2016 election (titled "Reaffirming County Values"), and the shooting in Pittsburgh in November.[181]

On October 27, the Lane County Board of County Commissioners approved a recommended Human Rights, Equity, and Inclusion framework that included five key "equity focus areas." These include: (1) Create a Human Rights Advisory Body. (2) Institutionalize Equity Efforts, first through county staff collecting, evaluating, and sharing data on current county internal equity and access efforts. (3) Improve Recruitment, Selection, Retention and Advancement, through a recently created a recruitment position (Mo Young's position) tasked with addressing equity and access concerns in recruitment. (4) Require Annual Equity and Access training for Lane County employees (all Lane County Staff) for a minimum of 3 hours every year. Finally, (5) Engage Community Partners as an Equity and Service Resource, for example through participating in community milestone events and celebrations as thoughtful partners and participants.[182]

The state of Oregon has much statewide practice to draw from in the fight for LGBTQ rights, where the state has served as a national leader. The nonprofit organization Basic Rights Oregon led a sustained campaign of inclusion on this issue that saw victories in Eugene and statewide.[183] Furthermore, the state incentivizes equity in entrepreneurial development and wealth creation through programs such as COBID,[184] wherein business owned by historically marginalized populations are prioritizes for state contractual hiring. Indeed, we recommend the state and public bureaucracies across the state ask, "what worked here?" when tackling the challenge of contemporary White Nationalism.

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[179] Grimaldo, Gino and Larry Sullivan. "Remnants Of Racism Show Us We Must Do More." *The Oregon Register Guard.* 3 March 2014. Accessed 1 March 2019. https://www.registerguard.com/rg/opinion/31219279-78/community-lane-oregon-county-eugene.html.csp
[180] Gill, Colt. "Speak Out to Support Those Targeted by Hatred." *The Oregon Register Guard.* 13 June 2012. Accessed 1 March 2014. https://www.registerguard.com/rg/opinion/28214225-78/community-agencies-consortium-district-support.html.csp
[181] "Reaffirming County Values." Retrieved from Mo Young. 12 November 2016. Accessed 24 January 2019.
[182] "One Pager: Five Key Equity Focus Areas." Retrieved from Mo Young. 1 January 2019. Accessed 24 January 2019.
[183] "About Us." *Basic Rights Oregon*. Accessed 3 March 2019. http://www.basicrights.org/
[184] http://www.oregon4biz.com/How-We-Can-Help/COBID/

Core Capabilities:

Professor Jorrit De Jong and Quinton Mayne note in their Core Capabilities framework[185] how governments around the world are increasingly recognizing the power of problem-oriented governance as a way to address complex, mercurial, and boundary-spanning – "wicked" – problems. In the case of a place like Eugene, Oregon, for example, the boundaries of anti-racism work, health policy, racial justice, and environmental justice are blurred and intersectional, and truly solving one issue requires a boundary-spanning approach.

De Jong and Mayne, deviating from many conventional approaches, pay systematic attention to the question of the *state capabilities* that underpin problem-oriented governance. Mayne and De Jong find three capabilities that they see as "structurally conducive to problem-oriented governance: a performance-review capability, a collaborative capability, and a data-analytic capability."[186]

Following de Jong and Mayne, we ask: what are some of the iCAT "capabilities" that Eugene possesses or does not possess? Do these differ by agency or department?

- **Performance Review:** Staff in Eugene engage in a dynamic workplace, with opportunities for problem-solving and autonomy among the workforce. Numerous city employees mentioned their enthusiasm and autonomy in implementing new policies that are either timesavers or add a rich new dynamic to their work, such as racial equity.[187]
- **Collaborative:** For a city of 160,000 people, we found that city workers in Eugene have successfully "built alliances and shared responsibilities among actors within and outside the organization" to build support for the city's strategic goals and theory of change.[188] However, many of these ties rely on preexisting networks or particularly motivated city employees and could use a good deal of formalization. Furthermore, resources in the area, particularly in Lane County, are severely constrained. Cross-jurisdictional

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[185] Mayne, Quinton and Jorrit de Jong. "State Capabilities for Problem-Oriented Governance." *Under Review, Citation Forthcoming.* Accessed 5 February 2019.
[186] Ibid., 1-2.
[187] [Anonymous interview with Eugene, OR City Officials]. Personal interview. 25 January 2019.
[188] Mayne and de Jong, 16.

cooperation remains an aspiration for many in the city, yet the reality would require additional financial and human capital investments.

- **Data-Analytic:** We heard and perceived, anecdotally at least, that Eugene's IT Department has both systems capability and a culture of innovation compared to other city government IT departments. In our interviews with city IT officials, there was excitement to engagement on questions of White Nationalism, even as it was unclear the extent to which data-analytic innovations *alone* would improve the situation.[189] Further, Eugene's UCR hate crime statistics indicate an awareness and capacity to track a crime that is historically underreported (see graph).

Violent hate crime victimizations reported and not reported to police, 2004–2015

Rate per 1,000 persons age 12 or older
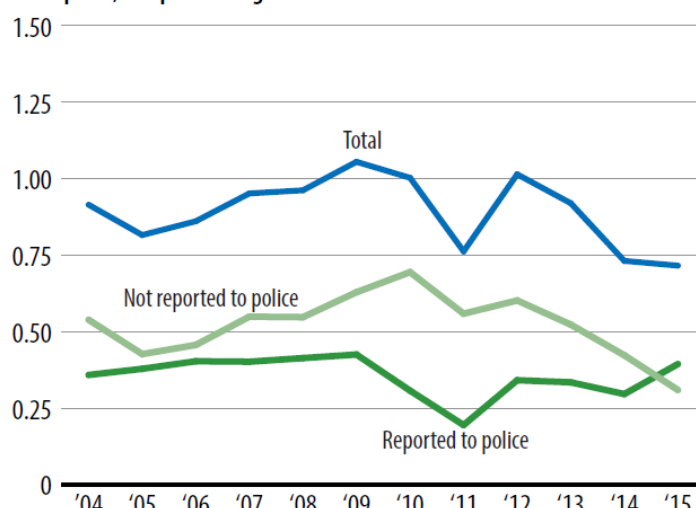
Note: Hate crime includes incidents confirmed by police as bias-motivated and incidents perceived by victims to be bias-motivated because the offender used hate language or left behind hate symbols. Estimates based on 2-year rolling averages centered on the most recent year. See appendix table 1 for estimates and standard errors.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statisics, National Crime Victimization Survey, 2004–2015.

Figure 16: Violent hate crime victimizations, reported, and unreported, 2004-2015

The iCAT Core Capabilities framework need not only be applied to government. Indeed, we ask: what are *civil society organizations'* current practices for engaging government? How is this working, as perceived by both government workers in Eugene and civil society (specifically WSC)? What core capabilities exist or do not exist in civil society?

- Eugene has a plethora of identity-based nonprofit organizations, including Centro Latino Americano and the Eugene NAACP chapter, that regularly **collaborate** on civic events, protests and statements, and in regular work. The data-analytic strengths of these nonprofits seem to vary greatly: we heard, for example, that the NAACP chapter is nearly all volunteer-run and operates on a "shoestring budget," and other groups noted funding constraints as reasons why organizations could not think beyond short-term challenges.[190]
- Eugene's interfaith community has extensive social infrastructure and deep ties to the community, and **staff at organizations like Temple Beth Israel** are given deep autonomy to forge networks and initiatives with other organizations, including of different ideological perspectives and across Oregon.

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[189] [Anonymous interview with Eugene, OR City Officials]. Personal interview. 25 January 2019.
[190] Eric Richardson. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.

- We noticed a persistent gap between the capacities of civil society in the City of Eugene, and elsewhere in Lane County. Although there are certainly some civic organizations in rural Lane County that have deeper capacities, like the **Rural Organizing Project**, these groups must cover vast geographies.

Our assessment of *Existing Practices* has been heavily informed by interviews with workers across the City of Eugene in different agencies and departments, as well as in Lane County and with a number of civil society groups and University of Oregon stakeholders. However, we continue to ask: what is Eugene *doing* about the problem of White Nationalism as is? What is distinctive about Eugene's approach? Eugene's response is multifaceted, and our analysis remains only partial and admittedly self-selected.

B.   Latent Practice

Latent practices are **tasks, solutions, and shortcuts** performed by the City of Eugene and others, but currently lacking a sense of formalization or rigor. They also represent informal, or non-codified actions by city leaders seek to solve deep problems even as structures and systems have not formalized such a response. These efforts likely stem from intelligent and thoughtful public servants or activists who seek out better solutions in their professional environment, yet have not codified their practices into policy quite yet. We wish to highlight *Latent Practices* in Eugene, and then recommend formalizing, codifying, or institutionalizing key aspects of them.

Civil society groups across Eugene talk about racism, anti-racist work, and solutions for multi-sector collaboration readily. For example, the 'expectation of solidarity' amongst the faith community has resulted in a tight-knit advocacy community that is aware of the challenges facing discrete communities in Eugene. Indeed, the **civic capacity and informal social infrastructure** in Eugene is present and pronounced, but most of the civic gatherings and communication is informal and not necessarily in coordination or conversation with City or County Government.

- ❖ Eugene can convene the region's advocacy and identity community, formally and regularly, first to **collaboratively define White Nationalism** as unique to the city context and then can work collaboratively to pass a city ordinance, or legislation, denouncing White Supremacist ideologies. The process of sustained convening can formalize and exploit this existing latent practice; in convening these stakeholders, the city can (and should) also build capacity for future, regular meetings and conventions with Government and the identity and advocacy communities.

According to interviews in Eugene, the City of Eugene Police Chief[191] regularly speaks with the faith community regarding public safety and any issues of policing, a practice new to the City. The Police Chief communicates *proactively*, not just when there is a crisis or responding to a crisis. Although this was mentioned specifically in the context of the Jewish community and

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[191] Emily Heilbrun, Margot Helphand, and Reuben Zahler. Personal Interview. 23 January, 2019.

Jewish Federation in Lane County, this latent practice could be extended to include dedicated and formalized proactive police contacts with identity communities across Eugene.

❖ Eugene can formalize law enforcement proactive and regular contact with identity groups and communities across the city, and can use conversations from the civil society working group to learn about, and communicate with, the *full range* of civic and identity groups in the city. Even small and informal groups ought to expect regular and proactive contact from EPD.

Finally, the City of Eugene and Lane County, internally, both have many dedicated staff members passionate about anti-racism work in general and about combating White Nationalism specifically. We heard from interviews at both the city[192] and county[193] level that many staff "want to do something about [White Nationalism]" when they see or learn about it, but do not often have the channels or insights into how to respond. This is a set of values and commitments, a key set of latent practices, that ought to be codified and made explicit into City commitments.

❖ The City of Eugene in particular can formalize these positive deviances by providing a dedicated and explicit internal commitment to racial equity across agencies and departments, and can complement these formalizations with racial equity staff across agencies and departments in the City.

C. Positive Deviance

Positive deviance is used to describe informal policies that have the potential to 'solve the problem' of white nationalism without being the norm city- or nation-wide. Identifying *positive deviances* means highlighting, celebrating, and normalizing what Eugene is doing better than anyone else and pushing for that to become a new standard to undergird all similar work. *Positive deviances* in Eugene include:

● Numerous activists[194] indicated that Eugene possessed some of the best data-reporting guidelines when it came to hate activities in the country. This perhaps explains why the comparative hate crime rate in Eugene is so high and perhaps indicates that communities of color value the presence of Eugene in investigating these incidences. Highlighting Eugene as exemplar in understanding and accurately recording hate crimes is critical in scaling solutions elsewhere and identifying allies in the City.

● There are a solid number of sympathetic Eugeners that "show up" in solidarity across issues. For example, we learned in interviews from members of the city's Jewish Community Response Committee (JCRC) that members of Eugene's small Muslim American and Palestinian community would "inevitably" call their synagogue to offer support after a crisis or incident.[195]

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[192] [Anonymous City of Eugene Official]. Personal Interview. January 25, 2019.
[193] [Anonymous Lane County Official]. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.
[194] Eric Richardson. Personal Interview. January 23rd, 2019.
[195] Reuben Zahler. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.

In sum, vulnerable Eugene, out of necessity ad proximity, have established a tight-knit and aware community that understands the intersectional response necessary to confronting all elements of hateful ideology. Think about the role of multi-faith coalitions, of city policies that are *proactive* on identity and inequality, and the role of the University of Oregon in spreading knowledge.

In **nearby Portland, Oregon**, the city has taken numerous steps to combat and address White Nationalism. Most notably, the city has recently passed, through a unanimous City Council Ordinance, a resolution denouncing White Nationalism and also defining it;[196] the city has also worked in partnership with GARE to develop a whole range of racial equity tools and responses.[197] Eugene has a different political, economic, and geographic context than Portland: it is significantly smaller, has a larger non-Hispanic White population, and is closer to a number of historically timber-dependent industries. Nonetheless, Portland and Eugene also share similar characteristics in terms of the political constraints surrounding both cities: they both operate within the same State political context, and both include many of the same key political leaders who engage both city contexts. And moreover, groups like WSC and the NAACP frequently collaborate across both geographies.

- ❖ We recommend Eugene follow Portland's lead in these two key ways above, by both developing racial equity tools across the city administration and working with GARE, and by passing a City Council resolution denouncing White Nationalism. While both recommendations are less comprehensive and catalytic in "solving the problem" than something like Coventry's Restorative Justice pilot, or Hope Not Hate's education modules, they are also more likely to be feasible in this political context.

D. External Best Practice:

External best practices are usually more familiar, according to Andrews et al., for stakeholders in the police design world. Looking to *other* geographies or zones as potential "sites of emulation" can help make more concrete ideas of "what success looks like." However, there are numerous challenges for external best practices work. For one, it is often unclear the extent to which local contextual factors like a city's unique history, population, demographics, or socioeconomic makeup inevitably or inextricably shape outcomes. Moreover, best practices analysis is vulnerable to the problem of "one right way" whereby what worked in one, external community is seen as the *only* way to make change. Notes Andrews et al., "There are usually multiple external good or best practice ideas to learn from, and the find-and-fit process should start by identifying a few of these—rather than settling for one."[198] Some best practices include:

Cities:

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[196] Stenvick, Ben. "Portland City Council Votes to Reject White Supremacy." *Portland Mercury: Blogtown.* 7 February 2019. Accessed 8 March 2019. https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/02/07/25797898/portland-city-council-votes-to-reject-white-supremacy

[197] "Training by Julie Nelson, Government Alliance for Racial Equity (G.A.R.E.)." *City of Portland: Office of Equity and Human Rights.* Accessed 8 March 2019. https://www.portlandoregon.gov/oehr/70059

[198] Andrews et al., "Building State Capacity," 175.

Coventry, United Kingdom:
A number of municipal entities, including cities and regions in the United States and globally, and successfully tackled problems of White Nationalism and a myriad of other multidimensional, "wicked" problems. The City of **Coventry, United Kingdom**, for example, piloted a successful multi-stakeholder collaborative approach to crime, public safety, and "social disorder" starting in 1998 under the leadership of a new Labour party government.[199] Coventry was rapidly deindustrializing at the time of Labour's initiative, and the city of 300,000 people Northwest of London had traditionally seen *law enforcement* as uniquely and monolithically handling questions of social disorder and crime prevention. The city's **Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership** created instead a *multi-agency body* across the city to lead on responding to the problem. The body included the U.K. Home Office, managing a national network of city partnerships. It also included local police, the National Health Service, public housing organizations, various volunteer groups, city planners, and public works staff designing street lighting and manager the collection of waste.[200] Later in the process, Coventry began working with groups closer to the ground: they engaged the Youth Offending Service (YOS) staff of case workers and the city's Youth Justice Board, and began pioneering **restorative justice practices** in the city.

Key lessons from Coventry are as follows: to see progress on large, multi-agency processes like the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership, cities should expect to wait years, and indeed in Coventry initial aspects of the process were "puzzling" for city staff and residents alike. Additionally, Coventry's partnership *evolved over time.* What began as a set of conversations within city administration soon expanded to civil society; in the case of Eugene, racial equity processes facilitated by groups like GARE might eventually expand to engage groups like the Eugene NAACP, Centro Latino Americano, and groups like SURJ and "Life After Hate." Finally, Coventry did not address concerns over "redundancy" and competition among and between agencies and departments given the potentially overlapping nature of work. Facilitation processes are key: agencies and departments need to see their place in a larger, citywide goal.

- ❖ Given the federal-local relationships with law enforcement in the United States, and given the nationwide police practices surrounding both militarization and police unions, as well as racially disparate treatment by police, there will be key structural constraints to implementing a Coventry-style restorative justice program. Indeed, any such policy might benefit from further political feasibility analysis by looking to US-based cases studies. Numerous jurisdictions in the US have implemented elements of restorative justice, though not to the extent that Coventry has. Examples include the city of Davis, CA, which operates a juvenile restorative justice program.[201] The city has informally attempted these practices, such as referring individuals who have committed hate crimes to the faith community, but these practices remain ad hoc.

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[199] "Going It Together: Coventry's Community Safety Partnership." *Kennedy School of Government Case Program.* CR16-06-1831.0. 1-2.
[200] Ibid., 5-6.
[201] "Juvenile Restorative Justice Program." *City of Davis, CA.* Accessed 8 March, 2019.
https://cityofdavis.org/city-hall/police-department/juvenile-restorative-justice-program

Cincinnati, Ohio and the Cincinnati Children's Medical Hospital (CCMH):
In Cincinnati, Ohio's CCMH Hospital in 2009, key staff leaders wanted to increase the rate, impact, and consistency of improvement and processes around *quality of care.* Dr. Kotagal worked alongside philanthropic entities including the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to receive a "Pursuing Perfection" grant that involved data-driven practices and processes to improve the hospital outcomes. For example, CCMH began systematically tracking health outcomes and the performance of their hospital in improving those outcomes, and did so in a transparent way. There were significant risks present for CCMH in publicly disclosing health process and outcome information, especially for specific medical procedures like cystic fibrosis facilitation for young children.

Notably, using PDIA methodology, CCMH searched for "positive deviance," looking *across the country* for entities and hospitals managing cystic fibrosis well. The humility - and transparency - in CCMH's approach allowed for an opportunity for the hospital to make data-driven strides in their quality of care and performance. The RWJF grant also helped the hospital hire 16 Quality Improvement Consultant (QIC) staff as part of a broader improvement science program.

Lessons from CCMH indicate that humility and transparency - both within and transcending an institution like City Government - are key first-steps when trying to solve a comprehensive problem. Additionally, CCMH learned a great deal from their organization's own PDIA-style search for positive deviance elsewhere. CCMH's emphasis on data-driven solutions may or may not apply in the context of Eugene and with White Nationalism: data can easily be interpreted as "objective" or "apolitical" when it is anything but; on the other hand, it can provide helpful benchmarks or metrics of *progress* as the city aims to make strides in solving an agreed-upon problem.

Coeur D'Alene, Idaho and the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC):
In the summer of 1999, the nation's attention turned to Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, a small city in the Idaho Panhandle, to watch a bizarre neo-Nazi spectacle. **Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler** proclaimed that "negroids" were not fully human and led massive public events and demonstrations. In the 1980s and 90s, the Aryan Nation "targeted minorities and inspired splinter groups that killed people, robbed banks and bombed Coeur d'Alene."[202]

However, a year after a major civic parade in along Sherman Avenue in the city's downtown, the group was brought to its knees by multiple lawsuits - most prominently from the Southern Poverty Law Center - that bankrupted the organization, took away their vast compound, and saw the group break off into other factions on the east coast.[203]

However, acts of hate continued in and around Coeur D'Alene, a city of about 45,000 people and

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[202] Guilhem, Matt. "Legacy Of Hate: The Specter Of North Idaho's Past Still Haunts Region." *Boise State Public Radio.* 2 October 2017. Accessed 6 March 2019.
https://www.boisestatepublicradio.org/post/legacy-hate-specter-north-idahos-past-still-haunts-region#stream/0
[203] Ibid.

that is 95%+ white. Aryan Nation activists tried to form a *different* compound in Hayden Lake, a tiny town home to about 600 people outside of Coeur d'Alene.[204] Butler, the former head of AN, and other followers had particular success recruiting formerly incarcerated members and also young people looking for work: "Butler put them to work in his printing press creating leaflets, and then sent them to distribute the literature in Coeur d'Alene and Spokane."[205]

Today, the City of Coeur D'Alene and Kootenai County have made a decision to celebrate, annually, the lawsuits against the Aryan Nations through public parades and a marble monument paying tribute to "all those involved in the historic case." The Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations spearheaded the effort, with the theme of "Never Again" and a reliance on continual collaboration with the justice system.[206]

In the context of Eugene, Coeur D'Alene provides numerous lessons and insights. For one, the city and county collaboration around memorializing resistance and opposition to hate in public space is notable. Moreover, the collaboration with civil society groups like SPLC and engagement with national legal entities helped bring the AN to justice. At the same time, however, the case provides warning into the cross-jurisdictional challenge. After the AN Compound and organizing in Coeur D'Alene was removed, for instance, AN leadership tried again to organize at Hayden Lake, and may well still operate through local Coeur D'Alene churches like "America's Promise Ministries."

Charlottesville, Virginia and the Downtown Business Association of Charlottesville:
After the infamous "Unite the Right" valley in Charlottesville and the murder of Heather Heyer, the City of Charlottesville came quickly under fire both for its ill-preparedness surrounding the violent riots and the poor management of the response. Notes the *New York Time*s: "Since the rally, nearly every official who held power at the time has resigned or retired. The city attorney, who concluded that there was no legal way to stop the rally, took a job in another town. The police chief stepped down in the wake of a critical report accusing him of failing to protect the public on the day of the rally. The city manager, who oversaw the city's response, will leave by the end of this year."[207]

Now, Charlottesville's Mayor is Nikuyah Walker, an anti-racist activist, and her priorities include both comprehensive economic development for *all* Charlottesville residents, and addressing deep socioeconomic disparities in the City. The Charlottesville business community, however, wants the city to remain known for tourism, brunch, and a welcoming destination that combines *Southern Heritage* (Jefferson's Monticello, and the University of Virginia campus) with *New South inclusion*

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[204] Day, Meagan. "Welcome to Hayden Lake, Where White Supremacists Tried to Build their Homeland." *Timeline.* 4 November 2016. Accessed 6 March 2019. https://timeline.com/white-supremacist-rural-paradise-fb62b74b29e0
[205] Ibid.
[206] "Community Celebrates Anniversary Of Aryan Nations Lawsuit." *KXIY News, Channel 4.* 13 September 2010. Accessed 6 March 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ByzeUjRjeAU
[207] Stockman, Farah. "Year After White Nationalist Rally, Charlottesville Is in Tug of War Over Its Soul." *The New York Times.* 21 July 2018. Accessed 9 March 2019.
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/21/us/white-nationalist-rally-charlottesville-mayor.html

(a welcoming district for all). According to *NPR*, David Pettit, a local attorney and a member of the downtown merchants' association, says finding common ground for discourse here is elusive: "Out of the events of last year has come a fair amount of pretty heated rhetoric relating to racial issues, socioeconomic disparity, housing, all of which are very legitimate issues," he says. "We're still not to the point of being able to coalesce around solutions."[208]

Mayor Walker has now begun working with the Charlottesville *business community* to paint a different vision of their city, while also recognizing history. Ben Paynter notes that the small businesses in the city had to decide whether to stay opened or closed after the Rally, and ultimately, many decided to close in solidarity with minority communities and out of protest of city administration.[209] The city's Downtown Merchants Association later embarked on a public-space branding campaign denouncing hate and noting that Charlottesville's downtown district is a "place for love." Ultimately, in this context the business community helped bring about political transition and changed, and memorialized in public space downtown values of inclusion. Most critically, the business community did not bow out, but joined in at the "decision making table" around anti-racism work.

The City of Seattle, Washington, and its Racial Equity Toolkits and Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI):
Seattle, Washington, has invested in extensive racial equity and civil rights at the level of city administration. Indeed, interviews with Seattle and former Seattle city workers indicate the extent to which the city is considered a regional and national leader in anti-racist work.[210] The City also has a distinctive history with regard to rights-based organizing. The University of Washington *Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project* explains: "Civil rights movements in Seattle started well before the celebrated struggles in the South in the 1950s and 1960s, and they relied not just on African American activists but also on Filipino Americans, Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, Jews, Latinos, and Native Americans. They also depended upon the support of some elements of the region's labor movement. From the 1910s through the 1970s, labor and civil rights were linked in complicated ways, with some unions and radical organizations providing critical support to struggles for racial justice, while others stood in the way."[211]

Seattle, today, has in its city administration a dynamic Office of Civil Rights (OCR) with a mandate that ranges from housing access and criminal justice and legal system work, to GARE-led racial equity toolkits, to a gender justice project, to a number of city-facilitated multi-stakeholder civil

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[208] Elliott, Debbie. "'Unite The Right' Rally Forced Charlottesville To Rethink Town's Racial History." 9 August 2018. Accessed 8 March 2019. https://www.npr.org/2018/08/09/637230082/unite-the-right-rally-forced-charlottesville-to-rethink-town-s-racial-history

[209] Paynter, Ben. "How Charlottesville's Small Businesses Supported Their Community Against White Nationalists." *Fast Company.* 16 August 2017. Accessed 9 March 2019. https://www.fastcompany.com/40454069/how-charlottesvilles-small-businesses-supported-their-community-against-the-alt-right

[210] Scott Winn. Personal Interview. 29 November 2018.

[211] "The Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project." *University of Washington*. Accessed 8 March 2019. https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/

society Commissions.[212] **Seattle's Racial Equity Toolkits are numerous and engage *very specific* city agencies and departments with racial impact analyses and directives relevant to city policies**. These range from the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods' Participatory Budget program; to specific tools around city policy on barriers to breastfeeding in public; to guidance surrounding racially disparate access to parks, and the Parks Department budget reductions and tradeoffs; to a dedicated School Attendance Campaign and associated discipline toolkit. RETs range from very broad - there is a "Source of Income Discrimination RET" - to very specific, as Seattle has also written a Hookah lounges citing and placement RET. Seattle will only continue to develop more racial equity tools with city staff across agencies and departments.

Eugene, given its scale, clearly have fewer resources to develop the number of policy-specific RETs that Seattle has crafted. However, Seattle's work so far offers key preliminary guidance for the City as it begins to craft RETs not at the level of general policy, but in specific city functions and practices.

Finally, Seattle's Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI) has developed a **Comprehensive Three-Year Plan** for dealing with racial inequities and disparities, and actively crafts a number of visions and strategies along with community groups. For example, Seattle has a developed a Racial Equity Fund in collaboration with civil society, that supports local groups doing on-the-ground racial equity work.[213]

The Equal Justice Initiative and Its Memorializing of Lynchings in Montgomery, AL:
The Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), led by **Bryan Stevenson**, has spearheaded a public memorial campaign to acknowledge the deep ties the nation has to lynching, racial terror, and *de jure* governments of white supremacy and racial terror. In an effort to instill a culture of commemoration into communities long-afflicted by hate, EJI has engaged municipalities and local governments to publicly place memorials and markers at sites previously staged as lynchings. As the extrajudicial lynchings became increasingly replaced by racially-disproportionate utilization of the death penalty, EJI began a campaign to enshrine the racial terror inherent in the fabric of our democracy. Says EJI, "power to end the silence and... to **begin the process of recovery.**"[214]

 Prior to their interventions, EJI reported over 4,000 victims of lynching in the United States, none of which had a permanent monument acknowledging the act. Meanwhile, the South is peppered with memorials commemorating the Civil War, Antebellum politicians, and white supremacist governments.[215] EJI also notes the diaspora caused by a regime of racial terror, one that continues to affect communities of color today. While Eugene has never been a site of stark Jim Crow state terrorism like the South, broad inequities in public commemoration exist in a city once

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[212] "What We Do." *City of Seattle Office for Civil Rights.* Accessed 8 March 2019.
http://www.seattle.gov/civilrights/what-we-do/race-and-social-justice-initiative/racial-equity-toolkit
[213] "Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI)." *City of Seattle.* Accessed 8 March 2019.
http://www.seattle.gov/rsji
[214] Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror. Equal Justice Institute. Retrieved February 25, 2019 from https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/
[215] Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror. Equal Justice Institute.

celebrated as the Ku Klux Klan's Pacific home[216] and the **invisible scars of racist government exist everywhere within the City**. The demographics of the state also lag behind the nation, a testament to the legacy of white supremacy laden in state institutions.

Finds Martha Minow, a legal scholar specializing in truth and reconciliation, normalizing a space for memory, reflection, and grieving can help victims "mo**ve beyond anger and a sense of powerlessness.**"[217] EJI's campaign has engaged communities, civil society, governments, and a national narrative to advance a mission of social and racial justice.

"Facing History and Ourselves" and Its Curricular Development Resources:
Dr. Mary Johnson, a senior historian with the nonprofit international educational and professional development organization "Facing History and Ourselves,"[218] said in an interview with Western States that "Municipal employees have a responsibility to humanize people they serve regardless of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, or religion."[219] Johnson argues that having a sense of responsibility can help people think through their public service roles. If city employees learn how to build skills in ethical reasoning, critical thinking, empathy, and civic engagement, these skills will be invaluable not just in anti-racism work but in building broader, collaborative capacity.

Dr. Johnson's framework around the **Universe of Obligation** is also worth considering in a Eugene context. This Universe might include factors that shape an individual's and nation's *identity;* they are sometimes used to exclude people from membership in various groups. History and critical curriculum can determine and help indicate who holds power in the nation, who is a part of one's "Universe of Obligation," which circles of individuals and groups are those toward whom obligations are owed, to whom rules apply, and whose injuries call for making amends. These curricular resources can apply in public-school contexts, and with trainings and modules for City workers.[220]

In the midst of historic levels of polarization and new pressures on our constitutional checks and balances, the reality that more than a quarter of the American public seems open to turning *away from democracy* should worry anyone who cares about a healthy, responsive political system. "Facing History" also offers guidance on **our growing partisan divide and the appeal of the strongman**. Curricular resources also consider the divide between those who value social order and cohesion vs those who value more fluid worldviews and are more open to change.[221]

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[216] Bull, Brian. Oregon Historical Journal To Highlight State's Racist Past. June 10, 2018. Retrieved March 8, 2019 from https://www.klcc.org/post/oregon-historical-journal-highlight-states-racist-past
[217] Minow, M. (1998). Between vengeance and forgiveness : Facing history after genocide and mass violence. Boston: Beacon Press.
[218] "About Us." *Facing History and Ourselves.* Accessed 8 March 2019. https://www.facinghistory.org/about-us
[219] Hoop, Brian. "Themes for symposium plenaries and workshops WSC symposium proposal." *Western States Center.* May 23, 2018. Accessed 8 March 2019.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.

Another "Facing History and Ourselves" curricular tool involves thinking critically about the role of **dehumanization of the victim as a tool for perpetuating violence**. Perpetrators of violence, we are told, dehumanize their victims. According to Johnson, however, the truth is worse. Our best and our worst tendencies arise precisely from seeing others *as* human. The sadism of treating human beings like vermin lies precisely in the recognition that they are not. The point is to disorient and humiliate. People are impelled to violence when they feel that to regulate certain social relationships, imposing suffering or death is necessary. State-inflicted violence, whether through concentration camps, police violence, hostage-taking children, violence against women - authoritarian regimes need subordinates willing to carry out orders. And they appear to have no trouble finding the people they need to carry out their acts of cruelty.[222]

In the context of the City of Eugene, "Facing History" could be a helpful partner in developing regionally specific history lessons peppered with critical action-based modules that consider current challenges to White Supremacy and White Nationalism. These curricular tools could engage Eugene's Public Schools, as part of the upcoming 2020 Oregon Ethnic Education Act; they could be geared for internal use by City Administration and staff, and funded by philanthropic organizations like the Meyer Memorial Trusts or or local funders; they could run in partnership with the University of Oregon or Lane Community College; or local museums and public spaces could present "Facing History" lessons. According to Western States Center and the Community Alliance of Lane County (CALC), **a traveling Anne Frank exhibit** was very formative; this could be displayed concurrently. Indeed, the City of Eugene and partner institutions could organize young adults of diverse backgrounds to be docents.[223]

United Kingdom-Based Organization, Hope Not Hate, and their Racial Tolerance Education Work and Modules:
The UK-based organizing nonprofit, HOPE not hate, has piloted several race-based tolerance modules to utilize in public schools in areas vulnerable to ethnonationalist radicalization. The organization, particularly in the wake of the rise of the British Nationalist Party (BNP) and the vote to leave the European Union.

These modules are designed to allow young organizers into classrooms to have short conversations with students, mainly white, working class Brits about racial tolerance and biases[224]. Another aim of these conversations is to provide the tools for young people to intervene at home, where many conversations of racial bias first occur.[225]

These models of intervention have meant that areas in the UK previously recruiting grounds for ethno-nationalists and far-right political organizers. In a Eugene context, where officials are aware

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[222] Ibid.

[223] Eric Ward, Amy Herzfeld-Copple, Lindsay Schubiner, and Brian Hoop. Personal Interview and Conversation. 22 January 2019.

[224] Jones, Owen. Personal interview. 15 January 2019.

[225] Herrle, Amber. "What to (Realistically) Expect When You're Expecting Nazis." Lawfare Blog. 11 August 2018. Accessed 1 January 2019. https://www.lawfareblog.com/what-realistically-expect-when-youre-expecting-nazis

of the inroads white nationalists attempt to make into communities with many young people[226]. The city could pair these racial tolerance modules with the existing 'Facing History and Ourselves' toolkits and WSC resources around recognizing white nationalism in schools and build a new narrative among young Eugeners that is aware of the City's history and equipped to have these conversations with more and more community members.
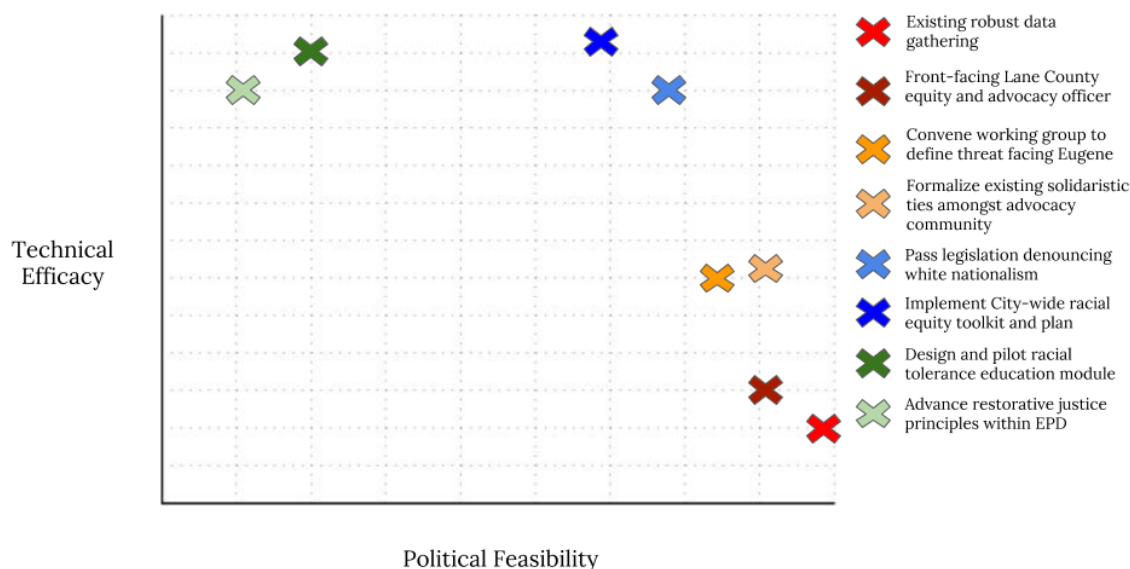
Figure 17: PDIA implementation analysis: technical efficacy and political feasibility

The figure above uses a PDIA-style implementation framework approach to map potential solutions and recommendations from Status-Quo practices (that currently exist in the Eugene context) to External Best Practices (that are proven to advance racial equity and counter White Nationalism, in other contexts).

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[226] Several anonymous Eugene employees mentioned the attempts individuals have made to radicalize young people in public place, such as the Eugene Public Library.

Findings and Toolkit Recommendations

Using our public-health Triage solutions framework, and bearing in mind constraints to both political feasibility and technical capacity in implementing solutions, we propose a six-step sequence of recommendations for racial equity and anti-hate in Eugene and Lane County.

Below, please see a figure outlining our topline typology and sequence of recommendations for the City of Eugene, Western States Center, and other civic groups in the Greater Eugene and Lane County area:
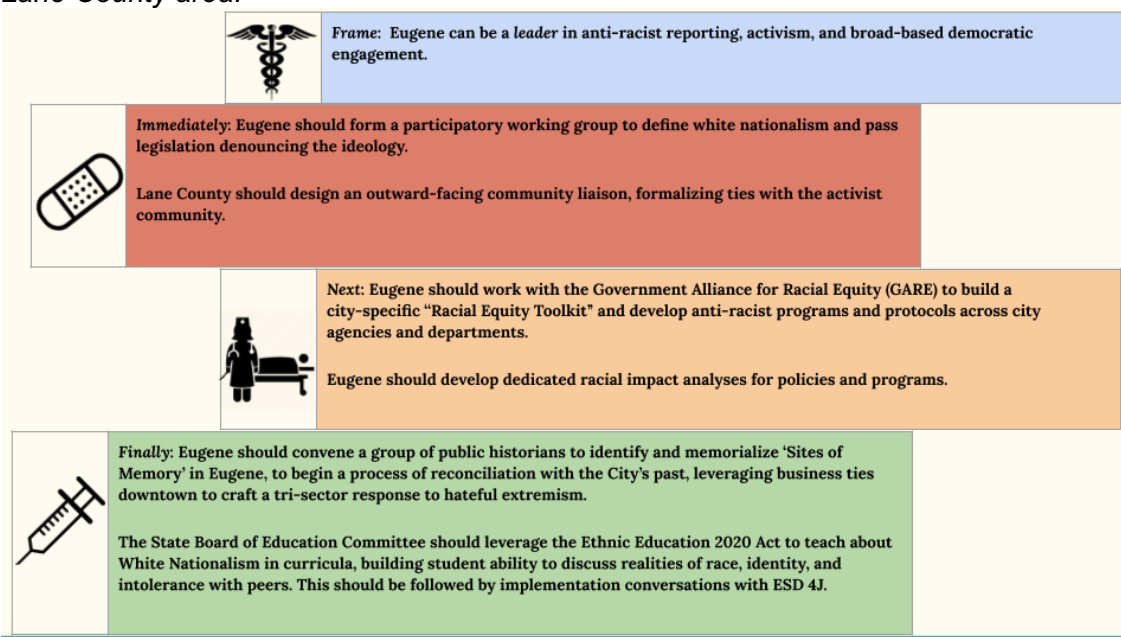
Figure 18: Recommendations summary

Concrete Recommendations: Summary

1. Convene a participatory working group to decide both (1) the **precise meaning/definition** that the city will use for White Nationalism, and (2) **codify the city's chosen approach** to the problem, for example through an ordinance or resolution. Ensure the **public** (including multi-sector civic organizations) is present at the table during and able to hold city leaders to account on implementation.
2. Design an **outward-facing Lane County position** committed to Equity, Access, and to support ongoing engagement with and among activist and community groups. Ensure groups from Eugene and rural Lane County are both active interlocutors with each other and public-sector agencies and departments.   Key groups to engage include the Eugene NAACP, the Rural Organizing Project, leaders from the Equity and Community Consortium, and local faith leaders.
3. In partnership with the nonprofit Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE), develop a **racial equity action plan** for all levels of city government, including through a central leadership "Racial Equity Team," and with Racial Equity representatives hired across agencies and departments in the city.

4. Couple the racial equity action plan with **concrete racial equity "tools," developed by GARE, community groups, and the City of Eugene together.** In particular, develop a **racial equity "analysis" tool** that seeks to mirror the cost-benefit analysis tool and which will be used for assessment of all city programs, policies, and practices.
5. Convene a group of public historians to identify, memorialize, and celebrate "**Sites of Memory"** in Eugene's public spaces, to begin a process of reconciliation with the City's past. Engage the **business community** and downtown Eugene associations to craft a tri-sector response to extremism.
6. Work with State Legislators developing the **Ethnic Education Act** to develop statewide curricular resources about how Oregon teaches its history. Consider opportunities to leverage the act with **public history** in Eugene and beyond, for example by collaborating with museums, public-space exhibits and programming, and community events.

Primary Care: Ongoing Commitment and Resources

Undergirding our entire recommendations framework is the notion of *primary care*, which presupposes that any social disease like White Nationalism will not be solved overnight, nor solved in one fell swoop. Indeed, **the successful combatting of white nationalism requires an ongoing commitment, and ongoing resources as well.** Cornell William Brooks recommends thinking about how cities plan for "low-risk but high-impact catastrophes" - it is not optional, and cities have to do it.[227]

Primary care in a Eugene context can build on best practices work in places like Seattle, and can leverage curricular and pedagogical resources from EJI, "Facing History," and Hope Not Hate. Primary care in Eugene will mean active, continuous, and participatory relationships between civil society and the city and county government, for example through the permanent sustaining of an external equity position, but also through roundtables, events, and convenings planned by city government.

The **framing** of primary care work in Eugene ought to be that Eugene has the potential to be a **regional and national leader** in anti-racism work and in combating White Nationalism specifically. Therefore, rather than viewing this work as combatting *suboptimal* city practices, the goal of Eugene's city policies and procedures should eventually transition to a city and regional leader. In later years, the city might envision hosting inter-city or multi-city, or even regional convenings where the city can share its vanguard approach to anti-racism work with peer locales.

Primary care also requires maintaining regular relationships with law enforcement and community activists and advocates, and also working with University of Oregon, Lane Community College, and legislators and staff with the State of Oregon. The conceptual underpinning of Primary Care is that any and all solutions must be sustained, and regularly monitored and evaluated through city-developed Key Performance Indicators (KPIs).

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[227] Cornell William Brooks. Interview and Conversation. 26 February 2019.

Triage: Short-Term Rapid Response

In the immediate short term, Eugene ought to convene a participatory working group to decide both (1) the **precise meaning/definition** that the city will use for White Nationalism, and (2) **codify the city's chosen approach** to the problem, for example through an ordinance or resolution. Eugene should ensure that the working group is participatory and open to the **public** (including multi-sector civic organizations, but also advocates, activIsts, journalists, academics, and regular citizens). Everyone interested in crafting solutions to this issue should be present at the table during the working group process, and able to hold city leaders to account on subsequent implementation.

The City of Portland, Oregon codified a definition of White Nationalism in a recent ordinance, and key civic groups were helpful in crafting an appropriate definition.[228] However, Eugene's approach should be even more inclusive and democratic, not least because the very process of bringing a wide variety of groups and individuals together will build social infrastructure and civic capacity.[229]

Second, Lane County should design an **outward-facing Lane County position** committed Equity, Access, and to supporting ongoing engagement with and among activist and community groups. Ensure groups from Eugene and rural Lane County are both active interlocutors with each other and public-sector agencies and departments. **We have outlined and designed a full position description in 'Toolkit Item #2'.** Key groups to engage in this position include the Eugene NAACP, the Rural Organizing Project, leaders from the Equity and Community Consortium, and local faith leaders. Law enforcement can and should also play a key role: law enforcement regularly, and preemptively, contacts certain community leaders and communities in Eugene as a matter of routine practice; this should be formalized and the outward-facing Equity and Access leader in Lane County can help different groups liaise with each other.[230]

Intensive Care: Long-Term Structural

The initial, "Triage" work can help build momentum, and consensus, in Eugene around defining the frame and scope of the problem of White Nationalism. Longer-term and structural work will quickly become essential for the city to meaningfully address the problem, however. The City should start first by ensuring that **the city's own house is in order**, at a structural level, by ensuring all city policies and practices include a dedicated commitment to anti-racism.

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[228] Stenvick, Ben. "Portland City Council Votes to Reject White Supremacy." *Portland Mercury: Blogtown.* 7 February 2019. Accessed 8 March 2019. https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/02/07/25797898/portland-city-council-votes-to-reject-white-supremacy
[229] Jorrit de Jong and Quinton Mayne, *Wicked Problems and the Structural Capabilities that the Public Sector Needs to Tackle Them,* [In Press: Please do not circulate without authors' permission]. See pp. 14, 15, 22.
[230] Emily Heilbrun, Margot Helphand, and Reuben Zahler. Personal Interview. 23 January, 2019.

In partnership with the nonprofit Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE), the City of Eugene ought to develop a **racial equity action plan** for all levels of city government, including through a central leadership "Racial Equity Core Team," and with Racial Equity representatives hired across agencies and departments in the city. The City of Seattle and Portland both engage GARE for this work and can serve as successful regional precedent example cases.[231] When we spoke with GARE's Director, Julie Nelson, she advocated that, on the public-sector end, cities need a **system and a set of protocols for response** when instances arise, a playbook to turn to. *Now* is the time for City Agencies and Departments to begin developing rapid-response protocols, even Departments that do not think their work centers on anti-racism could find their operations affected.

At the level of longer-term capacity-building, individual departments can and should develop **Racial Equity Action Plans** that are specific to their scope and mandate. This includes thinking about using technology, finding where there is institutional and structural discrimination, and more. GARE has developed *comprehensive* **Racial Equity "toolkits" for relevant city decision makers,** for this purpose.[232]

GARE recommends that cities develop "**Racial Equity Leadership Teams**" but GARE data show that quality varies tremendously. The most effective cities have "Racial Equity Leadership Teams" with legitimacy and authority from City leaders, made of up of department directors and deputy directors, and then core teams, with staff level and across city departments. They do coordinating, collaborating, and synergy development on city / county priorities. A city like Eugene could *also* structure Racism Equity Teams within each individual city department.   Finally, GARE recommends that jurisdictions like Eugene consider hosting racial equity "Summits," bringing together all racial equity teams across the departments; in bigger cities, close to 400-500 people attend these convenings, though Eugene may be smaller.

Eugene should consider coupling the racial equity action plan with **concrete racial equity "tools," developed by GARE, community groups, and the City of Eugene together and collaboratively.** In particular, Eugene should develop a **racial equity "analysis" tool** that seeks to mirror the cost-benefit analysis tool and which will be used for assessment of all city programs, policies, and practices. Again, the City of Seattle has developed tools of this nature with specific mandates for each individual analysis tool, sometimes as specific as Racial Equity Analyses for Hookah Lounge licensing that are wholly different from those in the Parks Department.[233]

Moving forward, Eugene could also considering working with GARE to develop cross-municipality "networks" about racial equity, and could ultimately share best practices.   Eugene could

[231] "What We Do." *City of Seattle Office for Civil Rights.* Accessed 8 March 2019.
http://www.seattle.gov/civilrights/what-we-do/race-and-social-justice-initiative/racial-equity-toolkit
[232] Nelson, Julie and Lisa Brooks. "Racial Equity Toolkit: An Opportunity to Operationalize Equity."
Government Alliance on Racial Equity. December 2016. Accessed 20 January 2019. Racial Equity
Toolkit An Opportunity to Operationalize Equity
[233] "Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI)." *City of Seattle*. Accessed 8 March 2019.
http://www.seattle.gov/rsji

collaborate with neighboring Springfield or Creswell, also in Lane County, or Portland, Oregon, or Corvallis or Ashland or Medford, Oregon, further afield. Living Cities launched a new and widely acclaimed "Racial Equity Here" that shares best practices across five cities; this model may be worth emulating.[234]

Inoculation: "Long-Long Term": Visioning

Recommendations at the inoculation level, or "long-long term level," are likely **inter-generational in scope** and have ambition for extensive structural change and the dismantling of racist ideologies. As such, many of these recommendations lie with the school system and with associated curricular, pedagogical, knowledge-based, and history/narrative frames, which undergird the historical justifications of, and stories about, racism and White Supremacy. These damaging cultural narratives legitimize harmful practices and actions, and demonize and marginalized minority groups in society. To be fully successful, of course, the scope of "narrative change" would need to be national in scale, if not global. However, Eugene, Oregon promulgates its own, regionally and locally specific narratives and histories and progress here has the potential to turn Eugene into a regional and national *leader* in anti-racism work.

Over the coming years, the City of Eugene ought to work with Eugene School District 4J, local museums and historic sites, and the University of Oregon to convene a group of public historians to identify, memorialize, and celebrate "**Sites of Memory"** in Eugene's public spaces, to begin a process of reconciliation with the City's past. Eugene, Oregon has a history of *de facto* enforcement of its status as a "Sundown Town," as evident in extensive historical research from Professor Walidah Imarisha and many others.[235] Moreover, Eugene's most prominent and beloved landmark *remains* Skinner Butte, which was an organizing ground for the Ku Klux Klan (the part of the butte now displaying an 'O' for the university, instead used to feature the letters 'KKK,' Figure 13) and a cross-burning location until as recently as 1996.[236] City of Eugene initiatives ought to prominently, honestly, and soberly acknowledge these **sites of memory**, and ought to develop narratives around each of these prominent sites in partnership with local historians, memory-politics academics, teachers, and community activists and civic leaders.

Sites of resistance and subaltern struggle *also* ought to be recognized and celebrated as such. For example, institutions such as Mim's House served as informal lodging for black visitors to the city for decades and is located downtown. Eugene City leaders and the City Council should centrally **engage the business community and downtown Eugene associations**, specifically DowntownEugene and the Downtown Eugene Merchants' Association, to craft a tri-sector response to extremism through memorializing public space.[237] A case to follow might be the

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[234] "Living Cities Launches New Multi-City Initiative To Improve Racial Equity." Living Cities. 25 May 2016. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/press/living-cities-launches-new-multi-city-initiative-to-improve-racial-equity/

[235] "Projects." *Walidah Imarisha*. Accessed 8 March 2019. http://www.walidah.com/projects-1

[236] "U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals: SEPARATION v CITY OF EUGENE". FindLaw. August 20, 1996.

[237] https://www.downtowneugenemerchants.com/

Downtown Charlottesville Business Association and the constellation small businesses in Charlottesville that stood up and responded to the "Unite the Right" rally in the city's downtown business district, there.[238]

Finally, the State Board of Education should work with State Legislators and the BoE Committee developing the upcoming State of Oregon **Ethnic Education Act** to ensure statewide curricular resources consider intentionally how Oregon teaches its history. The legislation will engage Oregon's statewide history and will aim to diversify history lessons by gender, racial, and ethnic identity group in Oregon. Notes *Willamette Week*, Oregon is now the *only* state in the nation to have a required ethnic studies education from K-12;[239] it remains unclear, however, what pedagogical and curricular frame the education will take, and the extent to which it will be locally specific.

More specifically, given realities of scope and mande, we recommend the following actions for the City of Eugene (alongside other, non-directly responsible entities like Lane County and community organizations):
- Appeal to the **committee appointed by the state Board of Education** last year. This committee is meeting regularly to create statewide recommendations by 2020, and once those are solidified, the room to engage will be restricted.
- Make a formal comment to the State Board of Education in 2020, as they vote to adopt the committee's recommendation.
- Engage in local school districts (especially 4J in Eugene) as to how they implement the recommendations locally. This would need to be done by spring of 2021 at the latest.
- Legislators look to be expecting a report-back in 2020 from the committee. This is another potential option, especially if the Legislature ends up holding hearings in addition to simply receiving the report.

Eugene leaders should ensure that **White Nationalism and white supremacy** are a part of this curriculum, both in its historical and contemporary forms. Moreover, the City should engage local Oregon historians and historical geographers, like Laura Pulido (whom we interviewed), to centrally and purposefully connect historical injustices with contemporary crises and movements.[240]

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[238] Paynter, Ben. "How Charlottesville's Small Businesses Supported Their Community Against White Nationalists." *Fast Company*. 16 August 2017. Accessed 25 February 2019. https://www.fastcompany.com/40454069/how-charlottesvilles-small-businesses-supported-their-community-against-the-alt-right

[239] June, Sophia. "Oregon is Now the Only State to Have Required Ethnic Studies Curriculum for K-12 Students." *Willamette Week.* 1 July 2017. Accessed 8 March 2018. https://www.wweek.com/news/state/2017/07/01/oregon-is-now-the-only-state-to-have-required-ethnic-studies-curriculum-for-k-12-students/

[240] Laura Pulido. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019.

Tracking Immediate Progress: Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)

Demonstrating the immediate impact that a new intervention creates remains a critical task for any public agency. Given that the recommendations of this PAE range from the **immediately implementable** in the current political environment, to the **far-ranging and structural**, *as well as* **correspond to distinct temporal 'buckets'** of city response, demonstrating efficacy will likely be a challenging task for the City of Eugene, Western States Center, and other actors. To this end, we have illustrated several Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) we feel are most **imminently likely to change,** and can show a rapid **'proof of concept'** to interested citizens and reticent city officials (see Figure 19 at right).

Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)

Community Engagement	Number of meetings the City has with a public agenda that relates to racial equity
Hate Crime Tracking	Number of reported incidents of racial bias and intimidation
Representative Engagement	Demographic composition of Eugene audience of public events and meetings
Improved City Relationships	Number of meetings held between advocacy organizations and City government
Employee Awareness	Surveyed attitudes of government employees of problem scope
Formalized Policies	Number of departments with formalized policies regarding equity work

Figure 19: Key performance indicators

We believe that these KPIs are imminently achievable with two of our immediate recommendations: **passing City legislation denouncing white nationalism** and **staffing a county-wide position**. Many of these initial KPIs hinge on *building inclusive representation and participation* within Eugene around conversations of equity and democracy, as well as ensuring the county and City **grasp the true extent of the issue** of white nationalism in the area.

Lastly, we feel as though KPIs are best utilized when they can be **adapted to the current political environment** and what remains aspirational in terms of public policy. We believe these initial KPIs represent the **'low-hanging fruit'** of demonstrating the benefit to comprehensive

racial equity platforms and likely do not represent what an end state might accomplish in terms of key metrics. This is especially true of KPIs such as 'Hate Crime Tracking' and 'Employee Awareness.' A case could equally be made for an *increase* in hate crimes following new policies (due to more empowerment in communities of color or broader reporting MOUs) or a *decrease* (due to an overall reduced capacity of white nationalist groups to harass and intimidate others). Similarly, by "**survey**," we mean 'flash polls' to gain immediate understanding of current government attitudes and current civil-society attitudes toward government, not extensive or commissioned survey instruments.

Above all, KPIs represent a conceptual tool that Eugene, Lane County, and other stakeholders can and use to track progress toward building capacity against white nationalism. They should be decided by and with local stakeholders, include indicators that are concrete, tangible, and expository of the city's agenda, and updated as needed. We provide below in Figure 19 a suite of sample indicators.

With this in mind, we understand that the difficult work of racial equity is distinct from the normal projects of city government. Said one anonymous interviewee, "**Change is extremely hard in Eugene.** Eugene 4J's last superintendent was "relieved of his position" because he made changes, and didn't have the conversations again and again and again...he was East Coast, wanted to have *results.* In Eugene, politics here is hard, and change is is hard. It's like you're killing someone."[241] Keeping this in mind, we feel as though these initial KPIs chiefly **gain buy-in and confidence from a diverse group of stakeholders**, including Eugene's community of color, city officials, politicians, and business leaders.

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[241] [Anonymous Interviewee]. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.

<u>Conclusion</u>

In this Policy Analysis Exercise (PAE), we examined ways for the Western States Center and the City of Eugene to build structural capacity against the problem of White Nationalism. Utilizing Problem Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) methodology, in concert with interviews, ethnography, and participant observation analysis in and around the Eugene community, we crafted *four key problem deconstructions* surrounding the vexing and multi-dimensional problem of White Nationalism: The deconstructions are:

1. The perceived **failure of government** to fully embrace racial, gender, ethnic, and spatial equity as a central mission to healthy democracy.
2. A pronounced **urban-rural divide** that too often segregations and inflames political and ethnic differences.
3. **Historical amnesia and erasure** in Eugene by current residents not in keeping with Eugene's past and to the detriment of forging a truth-driven historical narrative.
4. An **erosion of white identity** due to a collapsing timber industry and an educational system that validates myths of colonialism, while failing to equip young people with tools to have difficult conversations about race and tolerance.

We then turned to solutions and responses that Eugene and Western States should consider to combat White Nationalism and build robust, inclusive, and participatory democracy. Borrowing from conversations with experts such as Sally Kohn and existing research on "Diseases of Despair," we use a public-health Triage solutions framework. This framework recommends "blue-sky" solutions to local dimensions of White Nationalism through: **primary care,** sustained, ongoing practices and engagements**; Triage,** and short-term rapid**; Longer-Term Intensive Care** both in terms of healing processes after an incidents, and task forces and dialogues across group difference; and finally, **Inoculation,** recommending reform at the institutional and structural levels.

Our solutions, however, must engage real-world constraints and do so in terms of both political feasibility and technical capacity in implementing solutions. PDIA practitioners use the concept "crawling the design space" to reference the crafting of *multiples*: multiple frames on the problem, multiple solutions to it, and specific, varying solutions to different sub-causes of the solution as well. We examine cases, both within Eugene and beyond, that vary in their technical feasibility in the Eugene context, and in political palatability: (A) **existing / status quo practices** that are both technically and politically possible, but do little to solve the problem; (B) **latent practices** that exist and are possible, but are currently tacit or informal ands should be codified; (C) **positive deviance**, which involves close-by possibilities, either in Eugene or nearby in places like Portland, that have the potential to 'solve the problem' of white nationalism without being the norm City- or nation-wide; and (D) external best practices, that have effectively solved challenges of White Nationalism *in other contexts*, but may apply to Eugene in only limited ways. We graph our recommendations in accordance with this framework.

On balance, we develop a sequence of six recommendations bearing in mind both our Triage Solutions Framework and Implementation Constraints. We propose a six-step sequence of recommendations for racial equity and anti-hate in Eugene and Lane County. The recommendations are:

1. Convene a participatory working group to **define White Nationalism and cofidy the chosen approach through an ordinance or resolution;**

2. Design an **outward-facing Lane County position** committed to Equity and Access, and to support ongoing engagement with and among activist and community groups;
3. Develop a **racial equity action plan** for all levels of city government, including through a central leadership "**Racial Equity Team**," and with Racial Equity representatives hired across agencies and departments in the city;
4. Couple the racial equity action plan with **concrete racial equity "tools," developed by GARE, community groups, and the City of Eugene together;**
5. Convene a group of public historians to identify, memorialize, and celebrate "**Sites of Memory"** in Eugene's public spaces;
6. Work with State Legislators developing the **Ethnic Education Act** to develop statewide curricular resources about how Oregon teaches its history, and ensure White Nationalism in historic and contemporary forms is explicitly discussed

Frame: Eugene can be a *leader* in anti-racist reporting, activism, and broad-based democratic engagement.

Immediately: Eugene should form a participatory working group to define white nationalism and pass legislation denouncing the ideology.

Lane County should design an outward-facing community liaison, formalizing ties with the activist community.

Next: Eugene should work with the Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE) to build a city-specific "Racial Equity Toolkit" and develop anti-racist programs and protocols across city agencies and departments.

Eugene should develop dedicated racial impact analyses for policies and programs.

Finally: Eugene should convene a group of public historians to identify and memorialize 'Sites of Memory' in Eugene, to begin a process of reconciliation with the City's past, leveraging business ties downtown to craft a tri-sector response to hateful extremism.

The State Board of Education Committee should leverage the Ethnic Education Act to teach about White Nationalism in curricula, building student ability to discuss realities of race, identity, and intolerance with peers. This should be followed by implementation conversations with ESD 4J.

Figure 20: Recommendations summary

We acknowledge that racial ideologies and histories are deeply rooted in Eugene and elsewhere, and that these ideologies have been complexly interwoven with constructs of race and class over time. We are far from the first to propose anti-racist work, and will surely be followed by countless others. We understand that the complex work of democratic inclusion at the city-level necessitates tradeoffs and is not easy, financially and politically. Our recommendations, *at their absolute best*, will only continue to bolster a much longer term process of recognition, reconciliation, and, hopefully, healing across lines of difference in and around Eugene. We recommend, boldly and courageously, that Eugene, Lane County, and Western States Center bring people together with an aim to do so.

Appendices

Annotated Bibliography

Cooper, Cloee. "Support For Oregon's Ballot Measure 105 Reveals Collaboration Between Right-wing Sheriffs and Anti-immigrant Networks." *Political Research Associates (PRA):*

Cooper's article details the close ties between sheriffs operating in many rural municipalities and far-right organizations, such as the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA). Oregon in particular has been made a target for these groups and organizations such as CSPOA routinely conduct outreach to the more rural parts of the state and fly sheriffs down to the Southern border to 'learn' more about the threat posed by immigration. These networks are tapped to publicly denounce measures such as gun control laws or citizenship policies, under the guise of legal authority and democratic neutrality.

We felt Cooper's work was essentially to undergird the undemocratic nature of many white nationalist movements. Her findings indicate the tricky situation that well-intentioned governments may face in scaling their efforts to more rural locales and provide helpful contextual lessons for wedding equity work and inclusive democratic movements. We feel other entities interested in this type of work could use her work (and similar studies) to understand the authorizing landscape of their governments and avoid potential pitfalls.

Fields, Barbara Jeanne. "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America." *New Left Review.* May 1, 1990; ProQuest.

Fields' article is a fundamental, must-read historical and theoretical discussion of how racism as an ideology *comes about* and is *then sustained* through repeated, daily practices and interactions. Fields equates believing in biological racial difference to believing in Santa Claus, or witchcraft: the practice is collective, socially constructed, and relies on collective belief

justified by daily realities and lived experiences that themselves stem from expectations of

different. Fields argues that "One of the most important...absurd assumptions, accepted

implicitly by most Americans, is that there is really only one race, the Negro race." When many

Americans *believe,* consciously or subconsciously, in racial difference, it is easier to justify lived

realities around segregation, unequal treatment under the law, and more, under the construct.

Using a brilliant metaphor equating *racecraft* with "the rules of the road" and stopping at red

lights, Fields writes:

> "...power does somehow become authority. A red light, or the upraised palm of a traffic
> policeman, brings people to a stop (at least in places where people tend to obey them)
> not by the exercise of power—neither a light nor a hand can stop a moving automobile—
> but by the exercise of authority. Why? It is not an abstract belief or attitude that brings
> people to stop at a red light. Rather, people discover the advantage of being able to take
> for granted what everyone else will do at a busy intersection. Or, to be more exact, they
> have grown up in a society that constantly ritualizes that discovery—by making people
> stop again and again for red lights—without each person having to make the discovery
> anew by ad hoc calculation at every intersection. Both parts are necessary: the
> demonstrable advantage of stopping and the constant re-enactment of the appropriate
> conduct, a re-enactment that removes the matter from the realm of calculation to that of
> routine."

In the context of this PAE, Fields work reminds all us, including but not limited to public

servants, city employees, and municipal administration, to take a step back and think about the

ideological construction of race and the work this construction does in perpetuating racial

ideology. If, as Fields argues, racecraft requires ritualized daily behavior, this inspires hope:

public leaders (including but not limited to city leaders) can choose *not* to ritualize it, and serve

as a set of community examples for radical inclusion.

Laufer, Peter. *The Elusive State of Jefferson: A Journey Through the 51st State.*

Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2013.

Laufer, a professor of journalism at the University of Oregon, writes extensively on the

deeply white supremacist roots of the State of Oregon and the separatist tendencies of many

extant groups in the area. Being that Jefferson has explicit ethnonationalist roots, Laufer

provides an invaluable lesson on the ways in which these movements are complementary in nature. Lastly, the very roots of the name 'Jefferson' (the Founding Father and 3rd President was especially jingoistic and regional in his views for the era) suggest the inextricably white supremacist tendencies of the nation's founding.

We used Laufer's writing to more fully understand what makes Eugene such an interesting case study. Not being from the region, understanding the contextual landscape that perhaps affords more acceptance of separatist or nationalist movements in the region was critical in orienting ourselves towards solutions that might be more effective or acceptable to Eugeners. Other readers might find his book enlightening for similar regions and to more fully understand the 'spatial memory' of early pioneer America.

Mayne, Quinton and Jorrit de Jong. "State Capabilities for Problem-Oriented Governance." *Under Review, Citation Forthcoming.* **Accessed 5 February 2019.**

Mayne and de Jong offer a compelling framing of how governments, bureaucracies, and non-governmental entities can solve "wicked problems" through what they call "core capabilities": performance-review capabilities; data-analytic problem-solving; and collaborative capabilities. Mayne and de Jong outline how "wicked problems" are intersectional and multi-causal and require, inherently, "silo-busting" and collaborative work across agencies, department, and perhaps even sectors to effectively address the problem. They also examine performance review capabilities in the context of "theories of change" aksing: are ordinary city employees able to articulate, and in their own work *advance*, an organization's theory of change? This capability requires alignment of goal-setting and self-actualization between public leaders and other city employees around solving the "wicked problem." Finally, with regard to data-analytic problem-solving, Mayne and de Jong consider not just the ability of cities to develop, use, and find relevant quantitative datasets, but to effectively use *data-driven government* to facilitate wise and strategic decision-making. They are keen to note that data

take many forms and include qualitative/ethnographic, participatory action, and quantitative data, among other types.

In the context of Eugene, we have argued that White Nationalism and building capacity against the movement absolutely counts as a "wicked problem" that the city faces. As such, Eugene needs to work across agency and department, and with other sectors including the business community, nonprofits, fatih groups, and social movements, to do so. Our discussion of "Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)" also helps Eugene consider how one might be able to *measure*, or justify, progress toward solving this problem. Performance-review capabilities are also relevant for our toolkit items: Eugene city employees across agencies and departments ought to articulate, advance, and understand the city's approach toward inclusive democracy, and integrate city priorities into daily work.

Miner, Tara Rae. "The State That Timber Built: What Does Oregon Owe The Struggling Timber Communities that Helped Shape the State's Identity?" *The Oregon Humanities Project.* 8 November 2013. Accessed 1 February 2019.

https://oregonhumanities.org/rll/magazine/here-spring-2012/the-state-that-timber-built/

Miner writes on the deeply extractive nature of Oregon's founding. Being a state near-exclusively founded on resource extraction, Miner establishes the labor and plutocratic nature of early Oregon and ways this influences state politics to this day. More recently, Miner notes the tension between the government, lifelong Oregonians, and the environmental movement in dismantling the timber industry and fueling the ongoing political extremism in the area around Eugene. The birth and collapse of the timber industry in Oregon is still evident in employment figures in rural areas and provide context on ongoing cultural tensions in the region.

We used Miner's work to paint a full picture of the economic rebirth of Lane County. Being that our work focused on identifying and dissecting an 'urban-rural divide' in Lane County, Miner's reflections on the deeply space- and class-based tensions based on timber's collapse in

the region were crucial to this analysis. We believe this type of research is applicable to other regions of extractive monocultures and for more fully informing assumptions about rural America.

Muhammad, Khalil Gibran. *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America.* **Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.**

Muhammad's *Condemnation of Blackness* examines the historical construction of Black crime statistics as "social science 'facts'" that are used to justify and reinforce racial ideology. Muhammad's book looks first at Eugenicists and Biologists seeking to justifying smaller skull sizes in African Americans. Muhammad's work continues into the 19th and 20th century looking at the 1890 U.S. Census as a "referendum" for how far African Americans had come post-slavery and the Civil War, and even more recently comments on the use of "IQ" and other tests to demonstrate "intelligence." Throughout, Muhammad shows the circular logic underpinning these "facts": if neighborhoods have more police officers, who punish more punitively, and who are themselves prone to implicit and explicit racial biases, why are we surprised when specific black neighborhoods also tend to have "higher crime rates?" Argues Muhammad: "the link between race and crime is as enduring and influential in the 21st century as it has been in the past."

In a Eugene context, city government, NGOs, and the academy (University of Oregon, Harvard Kennedy School, and others) all ought to view with skepticism "data" showing or justifying racial difference. Moreover, Muhammad's book implores us to deconstruct *knowledges* about race and racism that are too often constructed by white Americans in places like elite universities and too often cloud or confuse our understanding of racecraft. Muhammad's book is particularly relevant in the context of K-12 education and Oregon's upcoming Ethnic Education Act: America (and Eugene) needs to teach its children a sober, honest account of racism and racial ideology, and of America's racial history.

Singh, Nikhil Pal. *Black Is A Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy.*
Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Singh's book is a brilliant account of the interweaving and at times adversarial struggles for racial, social, and economic justice in America. Singh provides an encyclopedic Atlas of the movements, actors, and visions for inclusive democracy historically in America, particularly focusing on subaltern and long-marginalized voices. An enduring theme of Singh's book are the following questions: ought one lead with economic redistribution for all (Socialist organizing) and then proceed with fighting racecraft? Should activists be advocating economic well-being, but specifically with and for *African American people (i.e. redistributive Black Nationalism)?* And what is the role for the international community and diaspora in these movements (i.e. Pan Africanist Congress, Congress for African Unity). Singh concludes by arguing that today, we have much to learn from past activism: "the struggles that [Black intellectual activists of the subaltern counterpublic] have advanced were not defined by the closure of an essential identity…they were worldly, heterogenous, insurgent, participatory, and disorderly" and we ought to follow their lead.

In the Eugene context, we see many of the intellectual movements Singh references at play in community life. Whether engaging folks like Eric Richardson at the Eugene NAACP, or Eric Ward at WSC, or economic-justice oriented progressives or anarchists who are white in Eugene, the struggle for democracy is made up of *diverse publics* and not one monolithic public. The challenge for Eugene is to recognize and respect differing worldviews and ideologies, and develop a coherent vision and plan around countering White Nationalism, developing inclusive democracy, and advancing justice that includes multiple (and at times disharmonious) voices in a participatory democracy symphony. It is not an easy task.

Toolkit Item #1: Sample City of Eugene Ordinance Condemning White Nationalism

The City of Eugene condemns white supremacist and alt-right hate groups
(Resolution)

WHEREAS, nationally, there has been a rise of white nationalist, white supremacist and alt-right hate groups, many of which have been emboldened by the words and actions of the current presidential administration; and

WHEREAS, *The New York Times* has cited Eric Kaufmann, a professor at Birkbeck University in London who studies how ethnicity intersects with politics, as providing the following definition of white nationalism: the belief that national identity should be built around white ethnicity, and that white people should therefore maintain both a demographic majority and dominance of the nation's culture and public life; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene resolves to convene a working group of public officials, elected representatives, advocates, members of the faith community, and University scholars to define white nationalism within a Eugene-specific context, and utilize this definition moving forward to craft policies addressing the threat; and

WHEREAS, like white supremacy, white nationalism places the interests of white people over those of other racial groups, and is an ideology focused on maintaining white political and economic, as well as demographic, dominance and it is at odds with our commitment to inclusion and multiracial democracy in Eugene, Oregon; and

WHEREAS, the Oregon Constitution states, "No law shall be passed restraining the free expression of opinion, or restricting the right to speak, write, or print freely on any subject whatever; *but every person shall be responsible for the abuse of this right'* (emphasis added); and

WHEREAS, while free speech is a core principle of American democracy, the agenda of white supremacist and alt-right hate groups seeks to destabilize American democracy, use fear as a control tactic, divide our community, and promote and ignite social animosities; and

WHEREAS, the State of Oregon has a racist governing history including entering the Union as a "whites-only" state," refusal to ratify the 14th and 15th amendment to the United States Constitution, and enacting black exclusion laws; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene, Oregon has a history of *de facto* enforcement of its status as a 'Sundown Town.' evident by historical research from Professor Walidah Imarisha and many others, and the important role that institutions such as Mim's House served as informal lodging for black visitors to the city for decades; and

WHEREAS, white supremacy groups called for the deportation of Japanese-Americans following Pearl Harbor, leading to government action that resulted in the forced

relocation of Japanese-Americans to incarceration camps with deplorable living conditions; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene has a racist governing history that has created disparities due to the long presence of the Ku Klux Klan in the City, tracking and disparate funding policies in it's public school system, and a long history of *de jure* whites-only housing covenants and a history of bias in government services, including policing, all of which have led to the gentrification and the decimation and demolition of historic communities of color; and

WHEREAS, Eugene has an invisible historical fabric of racial terror and discrimination, including monuments such as Skinner Butte's legacy as a Klan rallying site and the late 1940s demolition of Eugene's Ferry Street village; and

WHEREAS, Eugene has a documented history of white supremacist hate groups who have used intimidation and have committed violent repression of individuals in our community; and

WHEREAS, there has been a recent surge of alt-right hate group activity and hostility, here, in our home, conjuring painful memories of our City's past and causing harm to current residents; and

WHEREAS, the trauma inflicted on people of color by white supremacists and alt-right hate groups results in post-traumatic stress disorder and other psychological harm affecting educational, economic, and social outcomes; and

WHEREAS, Eugene is proud to be a Welcoming City, a Sanctuary City, and an Inclusive City for all, with a history of being a vanguard for LGBTQ civil rights; and

WHEREAS, our values are rooted in peace, respect, inclusivity and equity, and we derive our strength from our diversity; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene now celebrates and embraces our community, which includes people of all races, national origins, immigration or refugee statuses, heritages, cultures, religions, sexes, gender identities, gender expressions, sexual orientations, abilities, ages, and economic statuses; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene condemns hate groups, xenophobia, racism, white supremacy, anti-Semitism, islamophobia, homophobia, ableism, sexism, and other forms of bigotry; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene is committed to undoing and eradicating the effects of past systemically racist practices from City Government and all organizations contracted or affiliated with the City of Eugene; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene is committed to first understanding the extent of racial bias in City services and resolves to take stock of existing policy and equity practices; and

WHEREAS, the City of Eugene is proud to stand united against those who propagate

hate and incite fear and violence in our community.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the City of Eugene will not tolerate hate in any form and reaffirms its commitment to continue, in collaboration with Eugeners, pursuing policies and directing bureaus in the next year and beyond to ensure civil and human rights to all individuals.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the City of Eugene will work with community organizations to develop a training for all City staff on the history and impact of white supremacy, and how to identify white supremacy in all facets of life in this community.

Toolkit Item #2: Template Position Description for External Lane County Equity Officer

SALARY: Commensurate with experience
OPENING DATE: TBD
CLOSING DATE: TBD

DESCRIPTION:
Lane County Office of Equity, Access & Inclusion is recruiting for a dynamic person to join its Executive Team as the Equity and Advocacy Manager. The Office of Equity, Access & Inclusion is tasked with ensuring the county's commitment to equity, tolerance, and inclusion is realized. The Office of Equity, Access & Inclusion is currently comprised of one Equity and Access Coordinator, one Recruitment Coordinator, and one Equity and Advocacy Manager.

The ideal candidate will be passionate about racial equity with a focus on mobilizing and leveraging public opinion to craft policies; developing and setting goals and then collecting outcome data to measure success; developing strategic actions to monitor and address racial and ethnic disparities and to promote equity; encouraging building ties across identity groups and agencies of government within the County and it's municipalities; effectively engaging other Agencies; and continuing strong community partnerships.

As a member of the Office of Equity, Access & Inclusion, this person will be collectively responsible for creating and achieving strategic objects for the Office. The ideal team player will add immediate value to the team, contribute in a meaningful way, looking at issues from different perspectives, and focus on what would most help the Office succeed.

Lane County Office of Equity, Access & Inclusion handles all matters of ethnic, racial, and gender inclusion at the County level, including hiring and retention. This role is oriented towards a more front-facing goal of formalizing existing ties between the County and its stakeholders, as well as building capacity within civil society.

Following a 2016 town hall meeting, the County heard from community advocates that intra-agency training and community engagement remain critical needs for civil society. The Equity and Advocacy Manager would assist the Equity and Access Coordinator in coordinating trainings within Lane County (utilizing public dialogues to shape and design trainings) and serve as the County's chief liaison between our advocacy community and county government.

The County currently has a dedicated Equity and Access Coordinator that focuses on internal policies and practices in the County. This position will complement the Coordinator role and focus primarily on supporting, engaging, and convening Lane County's external advocacy, activist, and civil-society communities.

This is the first-line management level over classifications in a professional and/or technical discipline. This class is distinguished from lower-level jobs by the responsibilities for coordination of county resources and staff, and from management-level classifications by the emphasis on the performance of technical work and delivery of services. Incumbents are responsible for performing advanced and/or complex technical work in area assigned; providing technical direction and problem resolution related

to program services and activities; ensuring staff and program compliance with applicable laws, regulations, policy and procedure; and reviewing and preparing statistical and related reports.

** YOU ARE REQUIRED TO UPLOAD A RESUME AND COVER LETTER FOR THIS POSITION. If not attached, your application will not be considered. **

Schedule: Monday - Friday; 8:00am - 5:00pm

This is a non-represented position

In alignment with Lane County's Strategic Plan, incumbent(s) will be expected to demonstrate the following core behaviors: Passion to Serve, Driven to Connect, and Focused on Solutions.

The 2018-2021 Strategic Plan focuses on the areas that Lane County will pursue as a way to deliver on our vision for the residents of Lane County. To meet these challenges, we know that the basis of our efforts lies in leveraging our people and partnerships to achieve our Strategic Priorities. We also recognize that the quality and commitment of our staff is essential to a shared future where Lane County is the best place in which to live, work, and play.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES - DUTIES MAY INCLUDE, BUT ARE NOT LIMITED TO THE FOLLOWING:
These duties are a representative sample; position assignments may vary.

1. Supervises professional and technical staff to include: prioritizing and assigning work; conducting performance evaluations; ensuring staff are trained; ensuring that employees follow policies and procedures; maintaining a healthy and safe working environment; and making hiring, termination, and disciplinary recommendations.

2. Assists the day-to-day activities of Lane County advocacy communities, which includes planning, coordinating, administering, and evaluating programs, projects, processes, procedures, systems, and standards; ensures effective delivery of services; ensures compliance with Federal, State, and local laws, regulations, codes, and/or standards.

3. Prioritizes and coordinates the delivery of services and activities to achieve established goals and objectives. Assesses the outcomes and recommends process improvements.

4. Performs a variety of complex, advanced professional and technical work related to assigned area of responsibility; serves as a technical expert and provides technical direction and problem resolution related to services and activities.

5. Serves as a liaison with employees and external organizations; represents the County and/or section at a variety of meetings, public events, training sessions, on committees, and/or other related events.

6. Responds to and resolves concerns, complaints, and/or other related issues received from internal staff, the general public, outside agencies, and/or other interested parties.

7. Prepares, reviews, interprets, and analyzes a variety of information, data, and reports; makes recommendations based on findings; maintains applicable databases, files, and/or records.

8. Participates in the preparation and administration of the unit budget; prepares cost estimates and submits justifications for budget items; monitors and controls expenditures.

9. Performs other duties of a similar nature or level.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Knowledge of:
- Supervisory principles;
- Culturally competent practices;
- The role that culture plays in work relationships, operations and dynamics;
- Applicable Federal, State, and local laws, rules, ordinances, statutes, and regulations;
- Record keeping principles;
- Public relations principles;
- Basic budgeting principles;
- Project management principles and practices;
- Advanced principles and practices of assigned area of responsibility;
- Analytical methods and techniques;
- Report preparation methods;
- Area resources;
- Program/project management principles and techniques.

Skills in:
- Monitoring and evaluating the work of subordinate staff;
- Prioritizing and assigning work;
- Preparing and maintaining a variety of reports;
- Presenting information and recommendations;
- Compiling and analyzing data;
- Monitoring a budget;
- Working effectively with clients, co-workers, employees and supervisors from diverse backgrounds;
- Gathering, interpreting and behaviorally adapting to cultural contexts;
- Planning and managing projects;
- Analyzing situations, identifying alternative solutions, and recommending improvements;
- Conducting negotiations;
- Interpreting complex documents;
- Identifying emerging trends, needs, and services;
- Assessing the consequences and outcomes of services;
- Ensuring compliance with applicable policies, procedures, codes, laws and regulations;
- Using a computer and applicable computer applications;
- Communication, both verbal and written, sufficient to exchange or convey information and to receive work direction.

EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING; ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:
Positions in this class typically require:

- Bachelor's Degree in a related field and four years of professional experience directly related to area assigned, including lead or supervisory experience; or an equivalent combination of education and experience sufficient to successfully perform the essential duties of the job such as those listed above.
- This position may recommend a Master's Degree.

Notes:
This position strongly recommends five (5) years' experience in community-facing role working in diverse community, including, but not limited to, political/community organizing, communications, or nonprofit program management.

This position is subject to a full criminal offender information record check. If fingerprinting is required, the fee is paid for by the successful candidate and the expense is non-reimbursable. Offers of employment are contingent upon consenting to and successfully passing a drug screening test; negative results are reimbursable.

** YOU ARE REQUIRED TO UPLOAD A RESUME AND COVER LETTER FOR THIS POSITION. If not attached, your application will not be considered. **

TOBACCO FREE CAMPUS POLICY
The Board of County Commissioners wants to help Lane County be the healthiest county in the state. Effective October 1, 2018, any tobacco use, including vaping devices, will not be allowed inside or on the grounds of properties owned or occupied by Lane County including: All outdoor areas, parking lots, County vehicles, and personal vehicles while on County property.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
Lane County is an Equal Opportunity Employer. We value diversity, equity, and inclusion as essential elements that create and foster a welcoming workplace. All qualified persons will be considered for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, age, political affiliation, disability or any other factor unrelated to the essential functions of the job.

If you wish to identify yourself as a qualified person with a disability under the Americans with Disabilities Amendment Act and would like to request an accommodation, you may request an accommodation during the online application process, or request an accommodation by contacting the Department of Human Resources prior to the recruitment close date at 541-682-3124.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE:
Under Oregon law, armed forces veterans may be eligible for preference in employment or promotion, if you think you qualify please submit a copy of your DD214 or 215 (long form / Member Copy-4) that reflects your honorable separation status, and if disabled, a public employment preference letter from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. These documents must be electronically attached to your online job application, at the time of submittal, to receive preference. If we do not receive the necessary information as described, we will NOT be able to grant you veteran points/preference you request.

HOW TO APPLY:
Please visit our jobs site at https://www.governmentjobs.com/careers/lanecountyor to submit an online application. Applications and any requested supplemental information must be received by 5 p.m. on the closing date.

APPLICATIONS MAY BE FILED ONLINE AT:

http://www.lanecounty.org

125 E 8th Avenue
Eugene, OR 97401
(541) 682-3124

laura.vinson@co.lane.or.us

Position #201900046
EQUITY AND ADVOCACY MANAGER
LV

Equity and Advocacy Manager Supplemental Questionnaire

1. YOU ARE REQUIRED TO UPLOAD A RESUME AND COVER LETTER FOR THIS POSITION. If not attached, your application will not be considered.

    ☐ I agree
    ☐ I disagree

Toolkit Item #3: Eugene City Government One Pager

Inclusion: Eugene and You

Easy steps for equity in the City of Eugene

Why does inclusion matter?

Eugene is a tolerant, accepting place for all members of our community. However, many studies have shown that perceived intolerance from government employees can:

1. Increase barriers to finding appropriate City services;
2. Discourage residents from seeking City assistance; and
3. Worsen relationships between communities and their officials.

Eugene City employees can easily fold inclusive practices into their day-to-day- it's easy and requires no extra work!

For instance, some of your colleagues regularly call local faith leaders or nonprofit employees to ensure their perspective is incorporated into decision making- this handout has similar tips and starting materials for your work.

How can I talk to my coworkers about this topic?

Ask Questions	Ask your coworkers- **'Do we focus enough on this? What else can we do in this area?'**
Gather Voices	Convene meetings about inclusion with your department- **What don't we talk about in groups?**
Study the Topic	Create a book club or send around articles from popular authors on this subject- **What are experts saying?**
Reach out across Jurisdictions	Email or call other departments- **What are they doing that we could adopt, or vice versa?**
Elevate your Concerns	Talk to supervisors and elected officials- **How can we scale these practices to a larger audience?**

Helpful tips for inclusion and your profession

Get a second opinion. If you run into a situation where you believe another perspective matters, don't hesitate to talk to coworkers or call a member of Eugene's advocacy community for help.

Get involved beyond the city. As the public face of Eugene, you can advance inclusion simply by being kind to your neighbors of all backgrounds, attending local events, and treating everyone with dignity and respect

Look for improvement. Inclusion happens when people start small. How is your job important to the community? How can everyone incorporate a lens of inclusion into even small tasks and duties?

Understand hate takes many forms. City government is on the front line of stopping hate from growing in a community. If someone's behavior or attitude troubles you, call an expert or elevate your concerns to your supervisor.

Did you know Eugene has a dedicated Office of Human Rights and Neighborhood Involvement (HRNI)? If you ever want to know more about inclusion, call HRNI for another perspective and an inclusion lens!

What next?
Source: Anti-Defamation League

Click here for helpful conversation starters with your coworkers

w/s/c

Methodology and Research Design

We conducted our research, and accordingly our methodological contributions, in stages.

Stage 1: Understanding the Terrain
- We conducted a **literature review** on White Nationalism, the American West, local government and multi-sector *governance*, the political geography of "hate"
- We commenced **desk research**, including historical and archival research, social movement sociological theory, urban studies and planning literature, and political science literature (specifically: "power" literature, and urban politics).
    - A key part of our Desk Research included research on local government, local governance, and local civic capacity.
- **Community / stakeholder map(s)** (of people): White Nationalism, and resistance to hate, in Eugene and its environs. ***Note: as per IRB protocol guidelines, any stakeholder map did not include individual names or personal information unless they are public leaders and the information is publicly accessible.*** We focused on positions, organizations, and the relationship between individuals, organizations, and groups.
- We conducted **qualitative interviews** with experts, policymakers, and practitioners of all ages and backgrounds. Utilizing a **snowball methodology** has allowed us to connect with additional practitioners not incorporated into our initial work.
- We conducted **ethnographic fieldwork** in Eugene, Portland, and Lane County, engaging in participant observation data collection with local residents, community members, civic leaders, city government employees, and elected officials.
    - Ethnographic fieldwork occured in both public and private locations and group settings. Examples included: informal conversations, nonprofit public and/or civic events, and religious multi-faith experiences.

Stage 2: Policy Analysis, Options, and Recommendations
- We developed a '**Policy Analysis Framework'**: As a "wicked problem,[242]" White Nationalism in Eugene has numerous causes that are both historical and contemporary, and which interact with each other in complicated ways. We developed a Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) framework, inspired by Andrews et al., to "diagnose" the problem of White Nationalism in Eugene and frame the problem in historical perspective.[243] Notes Andrews et al.: "PDIA is about building capability through the

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[242] By 'wicked problem,' we are not referring to the morally unacceptable nature of white nationalism. Rather, per Andrews et al., we refer to a problem that is difficult to solve due to incomplete, contradictory, and protean requirements that are often difficult to reflect in policy and attract resistance to confront and resolve.

[243] Matt Andrews, et al. "Building capability by delivering results: Putting Problem-Driven Iterative

process of solving good problems. It's not about finding the solution and then replicating that solution; it places emphasis on the process of solving problems, not the solutions themselves."

- We **explored policy options:** We considered and preliminarily investigated a *wide range* of potential policy solutions for building city capacity against White Nationalism. Although our PAE focus is specific to Eugene, we aimed for more generic policy solutions that other municipalities and jurisdictions might be able to use initially. As we developed policy options, we did so while considering our "Triage Framework" of solutions:

  - ***Crisis/Rapid Response;***
  - ***Triage/Emergent; and***
  - ***Inoculation/Planning.***

    Note: for more information surrounding our Policy Options framework, including how we came up with each "level" of solution, what each entials, and examples, please see our section titled "The Solutions: Framework," and our solutions themselves.

- We recommended different policy solutions for different "levels" regarding the challenge of White Nationalism, with an eye to a "menu" of solutions that can *collectively* build capacity in resisting White Nationalist activities and actions.
- We developed **policy analysis and recommendations:** Using a "winnowing" process, we chose a *frame* and *scope*, of the problem that best meets WSC's needs of building municipal capacity against White Nationalism in Eugene and other contexts. Similarly, stemming from conversations with WSC, City of Eugene leaders, and other experts and practitioners, we narrowed in on a sequence of six steps. Using the PDIA framework and informed by our interviews and desk research, we then analyzed *how different policy options* best meet WSC and the City of Eugene's various needs. Policy solutions, and the overall policy analysis, all advanced solutions at the different levels of the triage framework: "Crisis/Rapid Response, Urgent/Emergent, and Planning/Inoculation." Ultimately, we sought to *recommend* a menu of solutions at each level of urgency for city leaders in Eugene and elsewhere. We utilized a PDIA-informed framework to chart the current landscape of anti-extremism policy to note implementable best practices, scalable latent policies, and codifiable positive deviations.[244] Finally, in the Appendix we offer or "build out" several such recommendations.

Adaptation (PDIA) principles into practice," *OECD*, A Governance Practitioner's Notebook: Alternative Ideas and Approaches, OECD 2015 123. https://www.oecd.org/dac/accountable-effective-institutions/Governance%20Notebook%202.3%20Andrews%20et%20al.pdf

[244] This framework is inspired by the following PAE: Santiago Pulido-Gomez, *Teachers for Peace: Policy for Teacher Preparation in Municipalities in Colombia,* 27 March 2018, Harvard Kennedy School PAE Master's Project. https://www.dropbox.com/s/kr7po8pgr0qnu5a/PulidoGomez%2C%20Santiago.%20PAE%20-%20Teachers%20for%20Peace.pdf?dl=0. Pg. 41. See also: Andrews, M., Pritchett, L., & Woolcock, M. J. V. (2017). *Building state capability: evidence, analysis, action* (First edition.). Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from http://bsc.cid.harvard.edu/building-state-capability-evidence-analysis-action

Stage 3: Preliminary Community Toolkit

- **Multi-Pronged Implementation Strategy:** Stemming from our policy analysis and associated policy recommendations, we offered implementation guidance for the policy options at all response levels. Specifically, we "built out" a strategic implementation plan for one solution at the crisis, urgent/emergent, and inoculation levels. These tools draw on *precedent best practices* from around the world.
- **Two Capacity Building "Tools":** Finally, across the three levels of policy triage and the associated implementation strategy for each level, we chosecrafted two distinct policy recommendations; a sample piece of legislation and a county-level equity position.

We drew on the development literature, and in particular the Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA) framework by Matt Andrews, Lant Pritchett, Salimah Samji and Michael Woolcock for our preliminary Policy Analysis Framework. White Nationalism is a deeply rooted problem that itself stems from multiple sub-problems. This fishbone "problem" diagram underscores the methods of problem-driven analysis of the PDIA framework:
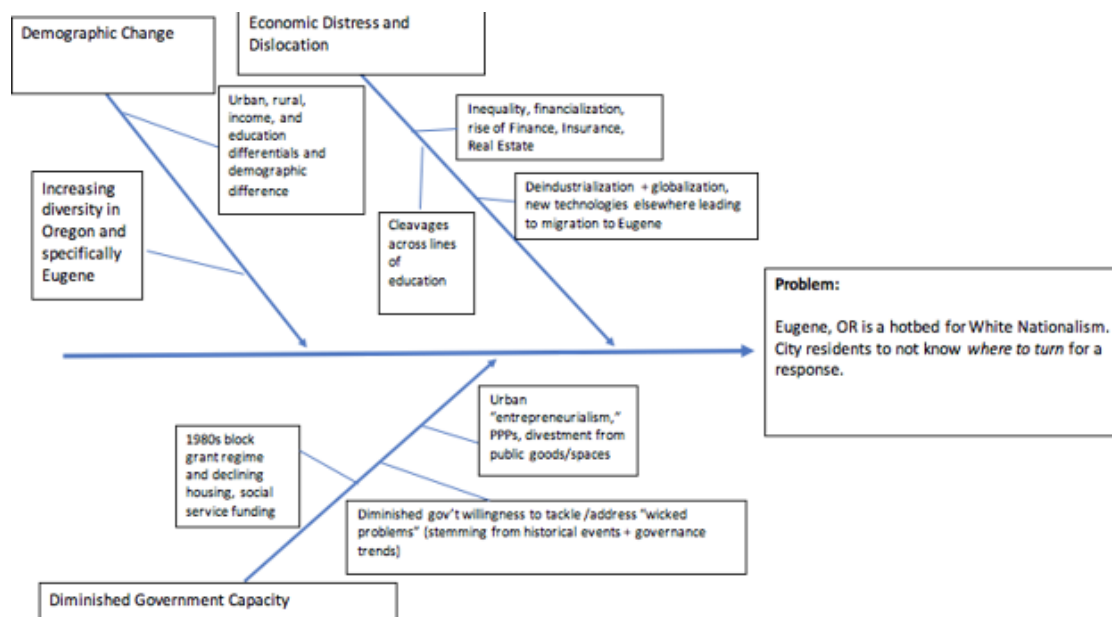
Figure 21: Problem deconstruction

We conducted rapid and iterative policy analysis throughout our investigation and included prototyping of toolkit items and potential recommendations early on. For example, we returned to "Understanding the Terrain" often throughout the project, to inform analysis and toolkit recommendations and prototype, and as an end in and of itself: to best understand the complex problem and White Nationalism. Similarly, we have returned to our understanding and framing of "the problem" often throughout our work.

Our preliminary **Literature Review** on White Nationalism, the American West, local government and multi-sector *governance*, as well as the political geography of "hate", helped us check our assumptions and understand the specific context of Eugene, Oregon. Similarly, **Desk research**, including historical and archival research, social movement sociological theory, urban studies and planning literature, and political science literature (specifically: "power" literature,

and urban politics) helped ensure that our project (1) does not duplicate existing work, and (2) adds something useful to broader academic and policy conversations.

Desk research is also informed by de Jong and Mayne's *Wicked Problems and the Structural Capabilities that the Public Sector Needs to Tackle Them.*[245] In particular, we diagnosed the City of Eugene's capacity to effectively "solve" the problem of White Nationalism through what De Jong and Mayne call "core structural capabilities." These include: performance review capacities, data-analytic capacities, and collaborative capacities.

In January, we conducted in-person **qualitative interviews** with experts, policymakers, and practitioners of all ages and backgrounds. **Snowball methodology** allowed us to connect with further practitioners, and examples include: staff from the City of Eugene, Lane County, and various local civil society groups like the NAACP and Centro Latino Americano. We also used this methodology to connect with national organizations. Examples include: specific staff from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), Data & Society, Political Research Associates (PRA), and more. We also conducted participant-observer **Ethnographic fieldwork** in Portland and Eugene, engaged in informal conversations with Portland and Eugene residents, community members, civic leaders, city government employees, and elected officials.

Our policy analysis was informed by the following scholars and publications:
- Carl Patton, David Sawicki and Jennifer Clark. *Basic Methods*
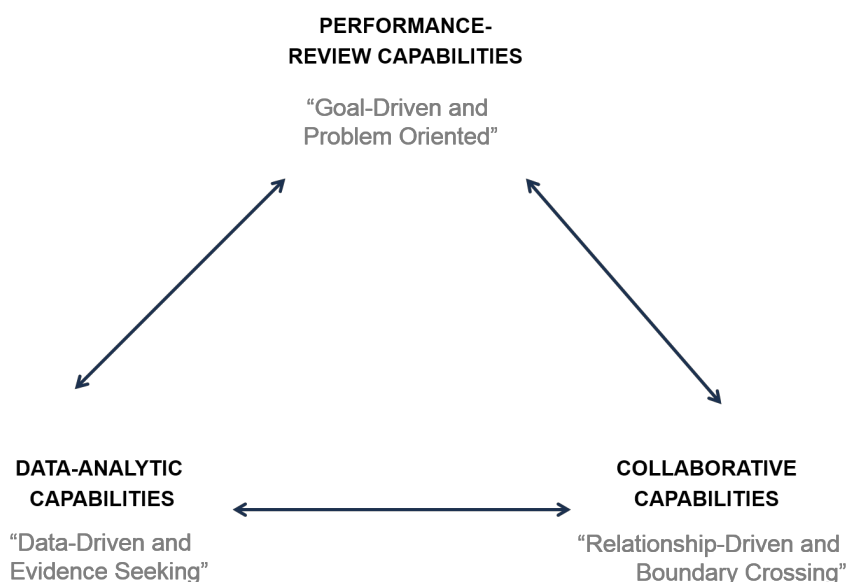
Figure 22: Core state capabilities framework
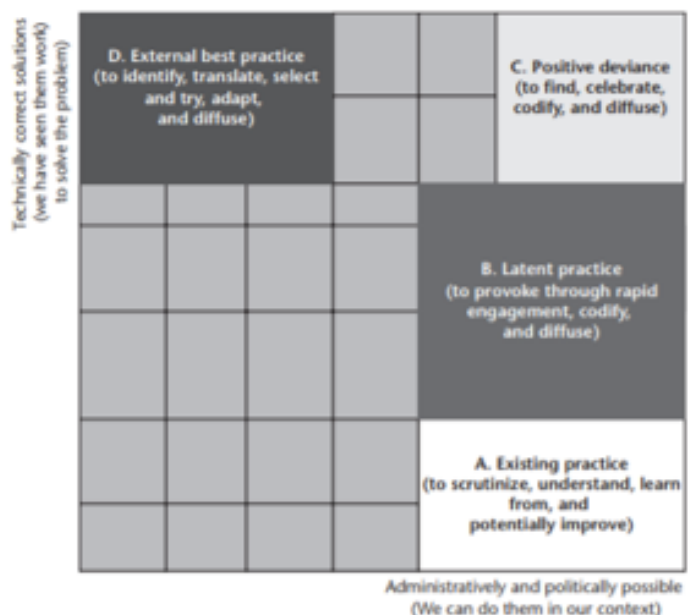
Figure 23: PDIA-style implementation framework

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245 Jorrit de Jong and Quinton Mayne, *Wicked Problems and the Structural Capabilities that the Public Sector Needs to Tackle Them,* [In Press: Please do not circulate without authors' permission]. See pp. 14, 15, 22.

of Policy Analysis and Planning, 3rd Edition. Pearson: March 2012
● *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving*, by Eugene Bardach

Pictured above is a figure from Andrews et al. (2017)[246] that we utilized in our final evaluation of the design space for potential recommendations we made. By conducting research into best practices, as well as conducting field interviews of community members and city officials, we highlighted best practices, latent policies, and positive deviance within the current global landscape of anti-extremism to 'chart' Eugene's development from a Rapid-Response stage to an Inoculation stage.

	Performance Review Capability	Collaborative Capability	Data-Analytic Capability
Dimensions	Ability to articulate a theory of chance Ability to learn and adapt, motivate performance improvement, and produce accountability for performance	Ability to forge cross-silo and state-society relationships. Ability to deepen, strengthen, and leverage relationships for performance	Ability to collect, process, and diffuse types of information and data Ability to use and leverage information and evidence for performance
Criteria for Competence	Dynamic approach to making theory of change progressively more coherent and complete Feedback mechanisms in place to enable performance leadership	Breadth of the collaboration matches the scope of the problem Depth of the collaboration enables effective interventions.	Availability of large volume and variety of timely, analyzable data. Existence of positions and processes to apply data-driven evidence to performance.
Observable Features	Explicit formulation of strategic goals and theory of change, meetings to discuss changes and adaptations. Organizational alignment (business process, human resource management, information systems, resource allocation, etc.) informed by strategic goal orientation.	Work processes and routines, pooled resources, shared information, backbone support organization, level of autonomy, incentive and accountability structures around the shared goal, level of depersonalization.	Data analyst position, integration of data analysts into departments, existence of physical and electronic assets used to collect, store, access, analyze, interpret, and publish data. Regular data use and interpretation in meetings on all levels, data dashboards.

Figure 24: Core capabilities table

[246] Andrews, M., Pritchett, L., & Woolcock, M. J. V. (2017). Building state capability: evidence, analysis, action (First edition.). Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from http://bsc.cid.harvard.edu/building-state-capability-evidence-analysis-action

In Summary: Research Design Diagram:

In reviewing the Figure 25 flow chart, below, we aimed to convey through our sub-bullets that our research design process is **not linear, but rather iterative,** returning frequently to the Problem Diagnosis and "Understanding the Terrain" phases even as we forged ahead with policy analysis and prototyping. Indeed, we also brainstormed and envisaged prototypes and policy options and recommendations *throughout* our research process, including as we Understand the Terrain.

Stage 3: Preliminary Community Toolkit and Final, Built-Out Solution

- Informed by and stemming from specific policy recommendations
- Helps answer Policy Problem(s) and Research Questions
- Continue and return to: Understanding of the Terrain as needed to build out these items.
- Change or revise Policy options and associated criteria and recommendations based on findings from proto-typing

Policy Problem(s) and Research Questions

Stage 1 Methodology: Understanding the Terrain

- Prototyped Policy Options generation and blue-sky possible recommendations
- Revise Policy Problem(s) and Research Questions

Stage 2 Methodology: Policy Options, Evaluative Criteria, and Generating Recommendations

- Informed by Understanding of the Terrain and Interviews / Ethnographic work
- Return to expert interviews to check assumptions on this stage
- Revise and update policy problem(s) and research questions at this stage

Stage 1 Methodology: Stakeholder Interviews, Ethnographic Fieldwork, and PAR methodology exercises with city gov't leaders

- Informs Understanding of the Terrain
- Revise Policy Problem(s) and Research Questions

Figure 25: Research design flow chart

Internal Review Board (IRB) Approval Materials

Participatory Action Research (PAR) Consent Form[247]

Study Title: Building Capacity to Resist White Nationalism in Eugene

Researcher: **Stefan Norgaard and Brady Roberts**

Faculty Advisor: **Professor Julie Wilson**

Version Date: **December 18, 2018**

Key Information

The following is a short summary of this study to help you decide whether or not to be a part of this study. More detailed information is listed later on in this form.

Why am I being invited to take part in a research study?
We invite you to take part in a research study because, as a city employee of Oregon, you have a unique and authentic perspective of local politics, community cohesion, and the City's role in effectively governing diverse communities.

What should I know about a research study?
- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- Your participation is completely voluntary.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.

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[247] We present the methodological underpinnings of a Participatory Action Research (PAR) session, for use either in a multi-hour roundtable within city government as part of a session or set of sessions engaging city employees and elected officials from various backgrounds in city government including, but not limited to: elected officials, agency and department staff across issue areas, city employees, city-adjacent employees (contractors). PAR sessions could also bring together multi-stakeholder groups, including: the public, private, and nonprofit sectors; the faith community; key civic and business associations, roundtables,and chambers of commerce; and key activist and/or identity-based community groups dealing intimately with challenges of white nationalism. We did not conduct a PAR workshop while working in Eugene, but did receive IRB approval to do so, and include our plan of action here for future researchers.

- Your refusal to participate will not result in any consequences or any loss of benefits that you are otherwise entitled to receive.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Why is this research being done?
We are researching the effects of political extremism on community cohesion and democratic participation. We are specifically interested in how Eugene OR is uniquely affected by political extremism and **ways the city can better serve its citizens**.

How long will the research last and what will I need to do?
We expect that you will be in this research study for a two-hour session with other City officials, asked questions, and asked to engage with the opinions of others.

You will be asked to reflect on how you see your City uniquely affected (or unaffected) by political extremism on a national scale, as well as ways you believe the City of Eugene could better deliver city services.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?
We are asking you to reflect on challenging political times in your community. While we do not believe there are direct or serious risks, we do wish to note that these topics can be challenging to discuss. Furthermore, we recognize the sensitive political nature of these topics and the antagonism they often attract. To this end, your responses will be confidential and no personal information will be collected or attached to your responses.

More detailed information about the study procedures can be found under ***"What can I expect if I take part in this research".***

Will being in this study help me in any way?
While no direct benefits are being offered, our research will contribute to Eugene's city resources. Your reflections on how Eugene could better serve you and your community may be adopted as a part of future training for city employees. We hope that these sessions could begin further conversations and policies around effective service delivery.

Detailed Information

The following is more detailed information about this study in addition to the information listed above.

What is the purpose of this research?
We invite you to take part in a research study because, as a city employee of Oregon, you have a unique and authentic perspective of local politics, community cohesion, and the City's role in effectively governing diverse communities. We will use this session, among other conversations, to inform a larger project on building local capacity in Eugene to resist political extremism and organized political violence. This 'toolkit' will come at the conclusion of months of research, stakeholder interviews, observation, and synthesis.

This session is one of many we are conducting in hopes of painting a realistic picture of Eugene and government service delivery, particularly as it relates to managing the needs of diverse communities. Your thoughts, sentiments, and statements may be used to inform our analysis and better equip City officials to provide services to their community. Any quotes used will be made anonymous and will not be attributable to you. If you wish to opt out of this process at any time, please let us know now or within the next two weeks at the email address that you were contacted from.

How long will I take part in this research?
This session will last about two hours. During this time, we will ask some baseline questions regarding your attitudes and experiences and ask you to engage with fellow participants. We hope this will be a free-flowing conversation that we will not need to intervene in or guide. Your responses may factor into future city government training, but you will not be asked for another interview.

What can I expect if I take part in this research?
If you accept the invitation to be a part of this research project, you will receive a request to attend a 'participatory interview session' (about two hours long). You will then be given a location of the interview, along with a confirmation of time. We will ask you to keep this information confidential, to ensure the privacy of yourself and other subjects.

Once you arrive at the interview location, we will ask some baseline questions regarding your attitudes and experiences and ask you to engage with fellow participants. If time allows, we may pose some follow-up questions. These questions will range from your perception of city performance in Eugene, as well as your thoughts on political extremism in the community.

We would like to audio-record for our notes. And we would like to take photographs that will be used to inform research and thinking later on about the session and ideas it generated.

You will not be contacted for future research.

What happens if I say yes, but I change my mind later?
You can leave the research at any time it will not be held against you.

If you choose to change your mind mid-interview, the interview will immediately cease, your responses thus far will be deleted, and you will not be contacted again.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me? (Detailed Risks)
There are some risks you might experience from being in this study. They include the risk of psychological distress, due to the sensitive political nature of these topics. We understand the risk inherent with having your thoughts on political extremism made public. To this end, we have ample privacy and confidentiality protections in place and do not have to disclose anything you are uncomfortable within the group setting.

If I take part in this research, how will my privacy be protected? What happens to the information you collect?

Efforts will be made to limit the use and disclosure of your Personal Information. Interview responses will be stripped of your name, a pseudonym will be applied, and any potentially PII will be housed on an encrypted USB drive.

By law, the study team must release certain information to the appropriate authorities if at any time during the study there is concern that physical harm is a possibility or if any threat is made against you or researchers. Also, as you are in a group setting, we ask for discretion and privacy, however cannot guarantee others in the group will not disclose information.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the research team at EugeneORStudy@gmail.com.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Harvard University Area Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may talk to them at (617) 496-2847 or cuhs@harvard.edu if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Signature Block for Adult subject (Your signature documents permission to take part in this research).

_____

Signature of Subject

_____   _____

Printed Name of Subject   Date

_____   _____

Signature of person Obtaining Consent   Date

_____

Printed name of person obtaining consent

Participatory Action Research (PAR) Study Tools and Questions

Study Tool 1: Sample Participatory Session Visualization
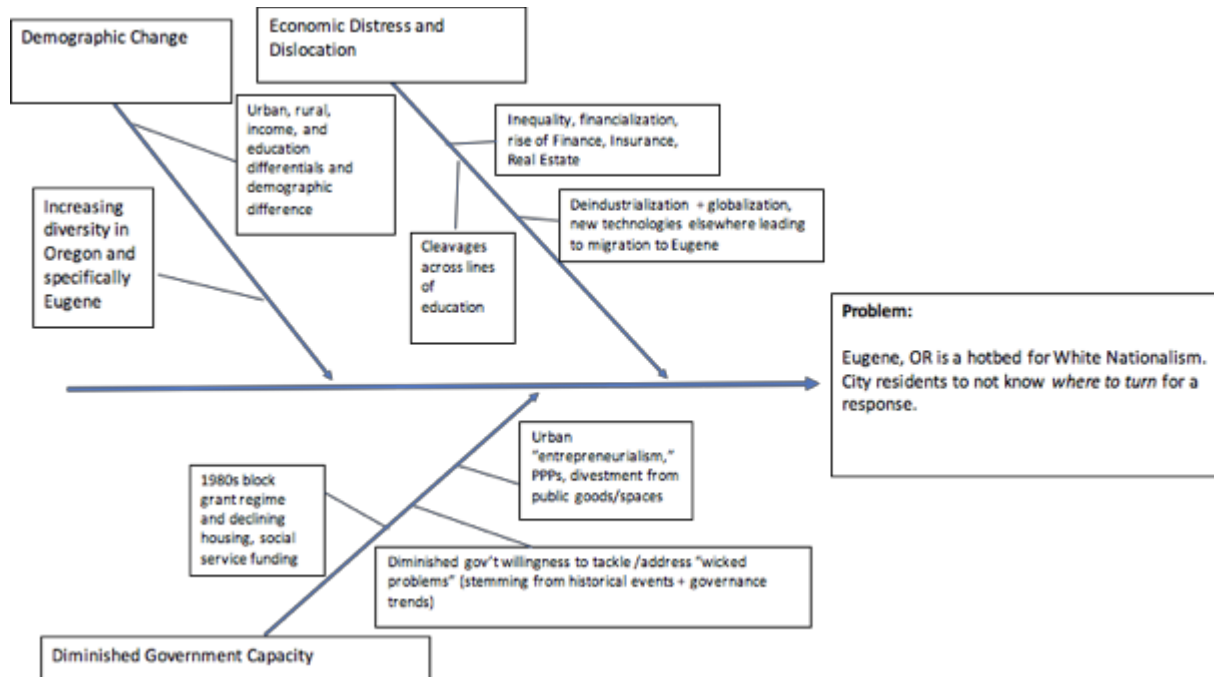
Figure 26: Problem deconstruction

Study Tool Two: Sample Set of Participatory Session Questions, General Guide:

- In what realms does your unit/team/agency/department effectively respond to crises or challenging situations? Why?
- What would you say are the 3-5 most urgent challenges facing Eugene right now?
- If you had to use only a few words, what would you say defines the "culture" of Eugene?
- If you had to use only a few words, what would you say defines the "culture" of Eugene's *City Government*?
- In what way do you feel limited, if at all, in your *personal* ability to stop extremist organizing efforts in your community?
- In what way do you feel limited, if at all, in your *professional institution's* ability to stop extremist organizing efforts in your community?
- What do you think could best help the City of Eugene stop extremist organizing efforts in your community?
- As an municipal entity, what tools do you have at your disposal to combat extremist organizing activity? Were an incident to arise, who would you call, or which tools would you rely on?

Ethnographic Research Standard Consent Form

Study Title: Building Capacity to Resist White Nationalism in Eugene

Researcher: **Stefan Norgaard and Brady Roberts**

Faculty Advisor: **Professor Julie Wilson**

Version Date, *as approved by Harvard Internal Review Board (IRB)*: **December 18, 2018**

Key Information

The following is a short summary of this summary and script we will read aloud to **public/private/community** events to help you decide whether or not to be a part of this study. More detailed information is listed later on in this form.

Script:

*We are two researchers working with a nonprofit organization in Eugene on issues of city government and are doing a research study. We are going to sit in on the following **public/private** event/meeting/gathering and will be taking notes on some elements of the conversation. We are curious to learn about your thoughts on Eugene and the City's role within the current political climate. Our hope is that we can use what we learn from the event today, including all of your opinions, along with the opinions of other community members, to give Eugene recommendations and strategies on how to better serve its citizens. Specifically, we are interested in learning more about political extremism in your community, how it affects you and your neighbors, and what the City can do better.*

*We will be listening and learning during this event, and may ask questions and participate ourselves to learn more. Your participation in this study would be totally optional, anonymous, and any field notes will not include names. We will also be audio recording and will take selective photographs, in **public** settings, and we will focus on photographing elected officials and public*

leaders who are used to photographs. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to let me know now or at any point during the event. If you do not want to be included or participate, please let us know at any time.

Why am I being invited to take part in a research study?
We invite you to take part in a research study because, as a resident of Oregon, you have a unique and authentic perspective of local politics, community cohesion, and challenges in Eugene/Portland.

What should I know about a research study?
- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- Your participation is completely voluntary.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.
- Your refusal to participate will not result in any consequences or any loss of benefits that you are otherwise entitled to receive.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Why is this research being done?
We are researching the effects of political extremism on community cohesion and democratic participation. We are specifically interested in how Eugene OR is uniquely affected by political extremism and ways the city can better serve its citizens.

How long will the research last and what will I need to do?
We will be observing conversations in specific public and/or private spaces relevant to the City of Eugene and community building in the city. We will be in Eugene for 5 days and observing at events up to 3 hours in length over the course of those days.

You will be asked to engage in community events and public meetings as you ordinarily would. In our engagements, we may ask you to reflect on how you see your community uniquely affected (or unaffected) by political extremism on a national scale, as well as ways you believe the City of Eugene could better design city services.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?
We are asking you to reflect on challenging political times in your community. While we do not believe there are direct or serious risks, we do wish to note that these topics can be challenging to discuss. Furthermore, we recognize the sensitive political nature of these topics and the antagonism they often attract. To this end, any responses will be confidential. However, please do note that any conversations will take place in a group setting that is either public or private.

More detailed information about the study procedures can be found under *"What can I expect if I take part in this research".*

Will being in this study help me in any way?
While no direct benefits are being offered, our research will contribute to Eugene's city resources. Your reflections on how Eugene could better serve you and your community may be adopted as a part of future training for city employees.

Detailed Information

The following is more detailed information about this study in addition to the information listed above.

What is the purpose of this research?
We invite you to take part in a research study because, as a resident of Oregon, you have a unique and authentic perspective of local politics, community cohesion, and challenges in Eugene/Portland. We will use our observations here, among others, to inform a larger project on building local capacity in Eugene to resist political extremism and organized political violence. This 'toolkit' will come at the conclusion of months of research, stakeholder interviews, observation, and synthesis.

How long will I take part in this research?
We will be observing conversations in specific public and/or private spaces relevant to the City of Eugene and community building in the city. We will be in Eugene for 5 days and observing at events up to 3 hours in length over the course of those days.

What can I expect if I take part in this research?
If you accept the invitation to be a part of this research project, you will see us taking notes, listening, and potentially engaging or talking with specific individuals during this public and/or community event.

Through the observation and note taking, our hopes are to paint a realistic picture of Eugene and political extremism. Your thoughts, sentiments, and statements may be used to inform our analysis and better equip City officials to provide services to you and your community. Any quotes used will be made anonymous and will not be attributable to you. If you wish to opt out of this process at any time, please let us know at any time.

We may ask you if you would like to speak with us for a longer, follow-up interview of approximately one hour, which is of course optional.

We would like to audio-record public events and community meetings for our notes. We will also take photographs that will inform our research and analysis later on.

You will not be contacted for future research.

What happens if I say yes, but I change my mind later?
You can leave the research at any time, and it will not be held against you in any way.

If you choose to change your mind, we will continue our observation and focus on other people at the events or meetings. Your engagements, actions, and responses thus far will be deleted, and you will not be contacted.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me? (Detailed Risks)

There are some risks you might experience from being in this study. They include the risk of psychological distress, due to the sensitive political nature of these topics. We understand the risk inherent with having your thoughts on political extremism made public. To this end, we have ample privacy and confidentiality protections in place and do not have to disclose anything you are uncomfortable with.

If I take part in this research, how will my privacy be protected? What happens to the information you collect?

Efforts will be made to limit the use and disclosure of your Personal Information.

Any of our observation field notes and other information collected will not include your name, a pseudonym will be applied, and any potential personal information will be housed on an encrypted USB drive.

By law, the study team must release certain information to the appropriate authorities if at any time during the study there is concern that physical harm is a possibility or if any threat is made against you or researchers.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the research team at EugeneORStudy@gmail.com.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Harvard University Area Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may talk to them at (617) 496-2847 or cuhs@harvard.edu if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Signature Block for Adult subject

Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.

_____

Signature of Subject

_____   _____

Printed Name of Subject   Date

_____   _____

Signature of person Obtaining Consent   Date

_____

Printed name of person obtaining consent

Standard Project Email Description

For the most part, we will engage Eugene Community members at town halls and community meetings, asking for audio consent and explaining our project in person.

In person, we informally use the following template language to recruit people to interview:

Hello there,
How are you? I am working with a nonprofit organization in Eugene on issues of city government and am doing a research study. I am curious to hear your thoughts on Eugene and the City's role within the current political climate. My hope is that I can use your opinions, along with the opinions of other community members, to give Eugene recommendations and strategies on how to better serve its citizens. Specifically, I am interested in hearing more about political extremism in your community, how it affects you and your neighbors, and what the City can do better.

If you have time, I would love to sit down with you for about an hour to hear your thoughts. Your participation in this study would be anonymous and would be scheduled around your availability. We could chat now, or, if you would prefer, I can follow up with more information and find a time that works for you. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to let me know now or at any point during the interview.

By Email: We will also use email to engage some participants, especially those with whom we have been connected by other contacts (i.e. "snowball" method) – these community members should know these connection points. An email script follows:

Good Afternoon _____-,

My name is [first name]. I am working with a nonprofit organization in Eugene on issues of city government and am doing a research study. I am curious to hear your thoughts on Eugene and the City's role within the current political climate. I received your contact information from [point of contact], who said you might be willing to speak with me. My hope is that I can use your opinions, along with the opinions of other community members, to give Eugene recommendations and strategies on how to better serve its citizens. Specifically, I am interested in hearing more about political extremism in your community, how it affects you and your neighbors, and what the City can do better.

If you have time, I would love to sit down with you for about an hour to hear your thoughts. Your participation in this study would be anonymous and would be scheduled around your availability. If you are interested, please let me know and I can follow up with more information and find a time that works for you. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to respond to this email with queries.

Hope to hear from you soon and thanks so much for
your time, [Name]

Qualitative Interview Standard Consent Form

Study Title: Building Capacity to Resist White Nationalism in Eugene

Researcher: **Stefan Norgaard and Brady Roberts**

Faculty Advisor: **Professor Julie Wilson**

Version Date: **December 18, 2018**

Key Information

The following is a short summary of this study to help you decide whether or not to be a part of this study. More detailed information is listed later on in this form.

Why am I being invited to take part in a research study?
We invite you to take part in a research study because, as a resident of Oregon, you have a unique and authentic perspective of local politics, community cohesion, and challenges in Eugene/Portland.

What should I know about a research study?
- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- Your participation is completely voluntary.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.
- Your refusal to participate will not result in any consequences or any loss of benefits that you are otherwise entitled to receive.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Why is this research being done?
We are researching the effects of political extremism on community cohesion and democratic participation. We are specifically interested in how Eugene OR is uniquely affected by political extremism and ways the city can better serve its citizens.

How long will the research last and what will I need to do?
We expect that you will be in this research study for an hour of interviews and follow-up questions.

You will be asked to reflect on how you see your community uniquely affected (or unaffected) by political extremism on a national scale, as well as ways you believe the City of Eugene could better design city services.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?
We are asking you to reflect on challenging political times in your community. While we do not believe there are direct or serious risks, we do wish to note that these topics can be challenging to discuss. Furthermore, we recognize the sensitive political nature of these topics and the antagonism they often attract. To this end, your responses will be confidential.

More detailed information about the study procedures can be found under ***"What can I expect if I take part in this research".***

Will being in this study help me in any way?
While no direct benefits are being offered, our research will contribute to Eugene's city resources. Your reflections on how Eugene could better serve you and your community may be adopted as a part of future training for city employees.

Detailed Information

The following is more detailed information about this study in addition to the information listed above.

What is the purpose of this research?
We invite you to take part in a research study because, as a resident of Oregon, you have a unique and authentic perspective of local politics, community cohesion, and challenges in Eugene/Portland. We will use your interview, among others, to inform a larger project on building local capacity in Eugene to resist political extremism and organized political violence. This 'toolkit' will come at the conclusion of months of research, stakeholder interviews, observation, and synthesis.

Your interview is one of many we are conducting in hopes of painting a realistic picture of Eugene and political extremism. Your thoughts, sentiments, and statements may be used to inform our analysis and better equip City officials to provide services to you and your community. Any quotes used will be made anonymous and will not be attributable to you. If you wish to opt out of this process at any time, please let us know now or within the next two weeks at the email address that you were contacted from.

How long will I take part in this research?
You will be interviewed for about an hour. During this hour, we will ask some baseline questions regarding your attitudes and experiences, as well as some follow-up questions. Your responses may factor into future city government training, but you will not be asked for another interview.

What can I expect if I take part in this research?
If you accept the invitation to be a part of this research project, you will receive a request for an interview (about an hour long). You will then be given a location of the interview, along with a confirmation of time. We will ask you to keep this information confidential, to ensure the privacy of yourself and other subjects.

Once you arrive at the interview location, you will be asked a series of questions regarding your attitudes and experiences, as well as some follow-up questions, if time allows. These questions will range from your perception of city performance in Eugene, as well as your thoughts on political extremism in the community.

We would like to audio-record for our notes.

You will not be contacted for future research.

What happens if I say yes, but I change my mind later?
You can leave the research at any time it will not be held against you.

If you choose to change your mind mid-interview, the interview will immediately cease, your responses thus far will be deleted, and you will not be contacted again.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me? (Detailed Risks)
There are some risks you might experience from being in this study. They include the risk of psychological distress, due to the sensitive political nature of these topics. We understand the risk inherent with having your thoughts on political extremism made public. To this end, we have ample privacy and confidentiality protections in place and do not have to disclose anything you are uncomfortable with.

If I take part in this research, how will my privacy be protected? What happens to the information you collect?

Efforts will be made to limit the use and disclosure of your Personal Information.

Interview responses will be stripped of your name, a pseudonym will be applied, and any potentially PII will be housed on an encrypted USB drive.

By law, the study team must release certain information to the appropriate authorities if at any time during the study there is concern that physical harm is a possibility or if any threat is made against you or researchers.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the research team at EugeneORStudy@gmail.com.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Harvard University Area Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may talk to them at (617) 496-2847 or cuhs@harvard.edu if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Signature Block for Adult subject

Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.

_____

Signature of Subject

_____   _____

Printed Name of Subject   Date

_____   _____

Signature of person Obtaining Consent   Date

_____

Printed name of person obtaining consent

Qualitative Interview Standard Question Guide

We conducted interviews stemming from the following interview question guide, as approved by Harvard's Internal Review Board (IRB) and differentiated for different groups of interview subjects.

The **following script of interview questions** guided our expert/practitioner interviews:

GENERAL
- Why, in your words, is white nationalism a problem in your community?
- Why is Eugene uniquely afflicted by this issue?

CITY EMPLOYEES
- In what realms does your unit/team/agency/department effectively respond to crises or challenging situations? Why?
- What would you say are the 3-5 most urgent challenges facing Eugene right now?
- If you had to use only a few words, what would you say defines the "culture" of Eugene?
- If you had to use only a few words, what would you say defines the "culture" of Eugene's *City Government*?
- In what way do you feel limited, if at all, in your *personal* ability to stop extremist organizing efforts in your community?
- In what way do you feel limited, if at all, in your *professional institution's* ability to stop extremist organizing efforts in your community?
- What do you think could best help the City of Eugene stop extremist organizing efforts in your community?
- As an municipal entity, what tools do you have at your disposal to combat extremist organizing activity? Were an incident to arise, who would you call, or which tools would you rely on?

ELECTED OFFICIALS
- What would you say are the 3-5 most urgent challenges facing Eugene right now?
- If you had to use only a few words, what would you say defines the "culture" of Eugene?
- If you had to use only a few words, what would you say defines the "culture" of Eugene's *City Government*?
- What do you think is the most important element of your response when a resident complains about potential extremist organizing activity?
- As an elected official, what tools do you have at your disposal to combat extremist organizing activity? Were an incident to arise, who would you call, or which tools would you rely on?

COMMUNITY MEMBERS
- What do you think of current events - social and political trends - happening in this country?
- What do you think of recent social and political trends happening specifically in Eugene?
- What are the biggest problems facing your community?
- To what extent to you resonate with the following sentence: "Eugene is a welcoming city for all?" Do you agree or disagree? Why or why not?
- What is your "race"?

- How important would you say race is to you identity?
- To what extent to you resonate with the following sentence: "*Some* laws in Eugene are unfair to whites?" Why or why not?
- Do you believe whites in America suffer from discrimination? Why or why not?
- Do you believe that people of color in America suffer from discrimination? Why or why not?
- In what ways could Eugene do better as a city to be welcoming for all types of people?
- What do you think of your municipal (city) government? What role(s), if any, do they play in your life?
- What role do you think the City of Eugene *could play* in making Eugene a more welcoming city?
- If not the City, are there other nonprofits, organizations, neighborhood groups, or movements that you would turn to in a time of crisis.

POLICY EXPERTS

- Do you see White Nationalism as a uniquely American issue, distinct from from far-right extremism or fascism?
- What factors, historical and contemporary, might explain recent white nationalist actions in Eugene, Oregon?
- What *policy tools* might city governments or other multi-sector organizations use to combat extremism?
- What role can City Governments play, or what role have City Governments historically played, in combating white supremacy or white nationalism?
- What role can nonprofits, social movements, private firms, community groups, or other organizations play in combating white nationalism? Do you have any examples of this having been done effectively?

Debrief Script- Thank you for participating in this interview. We appreciate the insight you have provided regarding your unique insight into your City and its ability to better serve residents.Your interview is one of many we are conducting in hopes of painting a realistic picture of Eugene and political extremism. Your thoughts, sentiments, and statements may be used to inform our analysis and better equip City officials to provide services to you and your community. Any quotes used will be made anonymous and will not be attributable to you. If you wish to opt out of this process, please let us know now or within the next two weeks at the email address that you were contacted from.

Qualitative Interview Review and Main Findings

Hope Not Hate (HNH):

We spoke with the United Kingdom based nonprofit Hope Not Hate (HNH UK)[248] on three occasions, first with Rose Carter,[249] who is a researcher and runs the organization's programmatic work. Rosie recommended organizations like Western Cities and the City of Eugene build capacity against white nationalism by moving *beyond* the "counter-protest" and towards a long-term, positive vision. Rosie cited data from scholars Foa and Mounk (2016) showing "democratic deconsolidation," or increasing normative tendencies toward authoritarianism; in other words, fora like the World Values Survey indicate that people in the US, UK, and Europe are increasingly susceptible toward the new right / "alt-right," as well as toward traditional fascism. Groups like HNH recommend organizations like WSC, the local NAACP, and City of Eugene do *more* than street fights, focusing, for example, on *regional* "Holiday Hunger" drives or discussing through public fora family rights, other rights, or issues of service delivery.

Rosie also connected us with three colleagues at HNH: **Joe Mulhall,[250]** who runs the education work for HNH in schools; **Nick Spooner,[251]** who directs key elements of HNH ground-level organizing; and **Owen Jones**,[252] who runs HNH's nascent U.S. operations. We learned about HNH's education work, which involves running a number of trainings, for example on "How to have difficult conversations." HNH's trainings are local and placed-based; they focus less on the "anti-racism" work and more on inclusive growth and youth development work. HNH, even though from the UK, looks to the US's civil rights movement and other examples (German public consultation processes for building mosques, for example) and they ensure keeping school trainings age-appropriate and focused on concrete actions rather than vague ideology. HNH is working actively in 300+ schools and poll over 15,000 people to inform their approach and curriculum.

Nick Spooner conducts digital organizing and has developed some of HNH's famed "rapid response" toolkits.[253] One such popular toolkit could be geared specifically for a local, Eugene-specific context. HNH also has developed an extensive set of briefing documents contextualizing *the alternative right* as a complement to proximate rapid-response needs for city entities and other institutions.[254] HNH regularly engages local governments by trying to "integrate" the Council to rapid-response situations and by providing elected officials data. They believe the real leadership will come from CBOs closer to the ground, though they are also moving to the U.S. space themselves; Owen Jones runs this work.

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[248] More about Hope Not Hate can be found here: https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/
[249] Carter, Rosie. Personal interview. 7 November 2018.
[250] Mulhall, Joe. Personal interview. 3 December 2018.
[251] Spooner, Nick. Personal interview. 20 November 2018.
[252] Jones, Owen. Personal interview. 15 January 2019.
[253] "Right Response." *Control, Alt-Right, Delete.* Accessed 29 January 2019.
https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/updates/right-response/
[254] "The International Alternative Right." *Hope Not Hate.* 2018. Accessed 31 January 2019.
https://alternativeright.hopenothate.com/

Harvard Shorenstein Center's Ben Decker (11/9):
Ben Decker is a journalist who works with the Harvard Kennedy School's **Shorenstein Center** and has published in *The New York Times* on mis- and dis-information in the 2018 election,[255] on conspiracies in the Trump Campaign,[256] and on the identities of some Charlottesville protestors.[257] Broadly, Decker writes on mis- and disinformation and tracks "fake news." Decker has examined how Department of Justice deprioritization of White Nationalism coincided with Trump's election, and noted the extent to which funds dried up. Decker helped us pose key questions for our investigation:

- Should city governments actively respond / engage on online fora, places like 4Chan, especially if language is local or spatially specific?
- Are there ways for cities to show or screen effective town-wide deradicalization films, and couple screenings with programming and dialogs? Are there other opportunities for civic dialogue around the issue?
- Interfaith groups were essential to leadership after Charlottesville and this may be a good model to follow in Eugene as well, not just defensively but in building proactive capacity.

Decker also recommended that we invest in counter-doxing services like Privacy Duck (we did) and provided helpful recommendations on that process.

"When Hate Comes to Town" Toolkit author, Scot Nakagawa (11/19):
Scot developed the **"When Hate Comes to Town" toolkit** in the 1990s and did so for the **Center for Democratic Renewal**, which no longer exists. It was also developed for the **Northwest Anti-Klan Network** and the **Northwest Coalition for Human Dignity.[258]** The toolkit is largely out of date now, but produced a useful "social map" model, like an anthill, of the groups and organizations operating nationally and in the Pacific Northwest. Nakagawa alerted us to how white-nationalist groups have used, and use, covert organizing approaches, for example digitally and using music and "suggested" posts on youtube. Before, White Nationalists used fax machines, but now entities like the Dark Web and Reddit are mainstays. Argues Nakagawa, "White Right" activists routinely meet with alienated, suburban young White men, and supported the development of the Neo-Nazi skinhead archetype in American culture. Much of this stemmed from an anti-capitalist alienation, including from more sympathetic Leftist and anarchist activists on the "Left." Notes Nakagawa, Oregon's unique history and geography of white supremacy exacerbated the problem here, specifically.[259] In a Eugene context, organized, vigilante White

[255] Bank, Justin. "Election 2018 Digital Misinformation Roundup." *The New York Times.* 20 October 2018. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/20/us/politics/2018-digital-misinformation-roundup.html

[256] Bank, Justin, Liam Stack and Daniel Victor. "What Is QAnon: Explaining the Internet Conspiracy Theory That Showed Up at a Trump Rally." *The New York Times*. 1 August 2018. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/01/us/politics/what-is-qanon.html

[257] Victor, Daniel. "Amateur Sleuths Aim to Identify Charlottesville Marchers, but Sometimes Misfire." *The New York Times.* 14 August 2017. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/14/us/charlottesville-doxxing.html

[258] For more information on Nakagawa's work, this interview with *The Nationa's* Laura Flanders provides helpful commentary: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=48QvmF2zFZU

[259] "Roots of Oregon's White Supremacy: An Interview with Scot Nakagawa." *Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon.* 24 May 2017. Accessed 29 January 2019.

Nationalists have played a significant role historically and to the present day. These organizations shift the Overton Window rightward, for example on immigration where now immigrants' humanity has been called into question. Nakagawa, as well as many interviewees, encouraged us to think about places like Cottage Grove, OR, that are severely suffering from declines to the Timber industry.[260]

Nakagawa was a victim of a hate crime himself once in the 1990s, and was unable to find the perpetrator and received little sympathy from the police. He believes that getting mayors, City Council members, and public leaders to attend major marches and demonstrations helps change narratives that this is "one radical group versus the other," and instead shows the public in places like Eugene that there is a broad-based, majority commitment against hate (public marches of 10,000 strong, for example, matter).

Khalil Gibran Muhammad, Professor of History, Race, and Public Policy, HKS; Suzanne Young Murray Professor, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study
Professor Muhammad encouraged us to think about the role of history and cycles of history; the racecraft of white supremacy, which has been (and continues to be) actively constructed, going back to slavery; and how both have fed an "ideology" of whites who believe they are inherently superior to others. That white supremacist system waxes and wanes, depending on terrain. And this is an inseparable part of not just American political systems, but economic systems. **Muhammad shared with us his longer interview with "high-brow" and "white advocate" Jared Taylor.[261]** He also encouraged us to consider reading the following books and engaging the following material:
- Tenold, a Norwegian journalist, who was embedded for six years with Matt Heimbach, and other White Nationalist and White Supremacist groups;[262]
- Eli Saslow, who has has also written another memoir, about Derek Black, as someone who left White nationalism from the heart of the movement (Stormfront, son of Don Black);[263]
- And Prof. Muhammad's own piece in *The Nation* last year, inspired by his meeting Derek, titled "Racism by the numbers."[264] It connects white nationalism to Social Science research, and claims that white liberals still need to come to terms with ideas that are, in fact, a "middle ground" set of pretty dominant ideas. These include the achievement gap, black crime statistics, and racial "damage imagery."

http://www.apano.org/blog/2017/05/24/roots-of-oregons-white-supremacy-an-interview-with-scot-nakagawa/
[260] Cottage Grove is a city of around 8,000 people in Southern Lane County, Oregon, about 35 minutes from Eugene.
[261] Taylor, Jared. "Interview with Jared Taylor." Interviewed by Khalil Gibran Muhammad. 10 December 2017.
[262] Tenold, Vegas. Everything You Love Will Burn: Inside the Rebirth of White Nationalism in America. New York: Nation Books, 2018.
[263] Saslow, Eli. Rising Out of Hatred: The Awakening of a Former White Nationalist. New York: Doubleday Random House, LLC, 2018.
[264] Muhammad, Khalil Gibran. "How the Alt-Right Uses Social Science to Make Racism Respectable: It's a Strategy Long in the Making. *The Nation.* 15 January 2018. Accessed 29 January 2019. "Rahttps://www.thenation.com/article/how-the-alt-right-uses-social-science-to-make-racism-respectable/

Western States Center Board Member and Former Nonprofit Worker and City of Seattle Employee Scott Winn:
We interviewed Scott Winn on November 29, 2018; he has lived in Portland for 25 years but is now in Seattle. Winn was a founding board member for people for an environmental justice organization called the **Community Coalition for Environmental Justice**, that worked on environmental racism and included anti-racist whites and social justice advocates. Winn also worked for eight years at the **Race and Society Justice Initiative** and the "**Coalition of Anti-Racist Whites**." The Coalition of Anti-Racist Whites has received grant assistance from WSC in the late 1990s for community development. Winn now also serves on the board of WSC. Finally, Winn worked for the **City of Seattle's Race and Social Justice Initiative** for eight years. Scott advised us that the biggest key to equity work is about changing "decision-making," and in particular ensuring that those most impacted by racism are central to decision making in the equity space. Winn argued there must a key nexus of connection between *community groups* doing social justice work and city workers; we are intentionally engaging with Eugene civil society groups like the NAACP, Centro Latino Americano, and Jewish Federation for this reason.

Hate groups were not on Scott's radar when he was a city worker. In Seattle, isolated acts of hate crimes occur, which people would denounce, but there was no incorporation of individual hate crimes into overall strategy, or deeper thinking about tactics to engage with them. From his perspective as a city worker, Winn argues that City workers can and must create spaces for *community groups and community* members to be heard, deepening democracy. City employees can help hold cities and leaders accountable to expressed or declared values, especially when current practices are in contradictions with stated values.

Winn argues that Oregon's extremist left and antifa groups (with more anarchist frames) *also* both undermine government and feed into the right's narrative about it. Data are inconclusive here: hate-crime statistics show far fewer incidents of hate and violence from Left-affiliated extremists versus those on the right,[265] but violence from Leftist and Anarchist organizations has long existed in Oregon.[266] Extremist left anarchy in turn reinforces cycles of privatization and public-sector disinvestment. The policy recommendations, here, are for activists, civil society, and city workers to *claim* local government as a potential site of justice and democracy.

CNN Contributor and Author, *The Opposite of Hate*, Sally Kohn[267]:
We interviewed **Sally Kohn on December 5, 2018**. Kohn provided practical and "solutions-oriented" Eugene-specific strategies. Kohn has engaged the group **Life After Hate**, which

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[265] Kaste, Martin. "Fact Check: Is Left-Wing Violence Rising?" *National Public Radio News*. 16 June 2017. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.npr.org/2017/06/16/533255619/fact-check-is-left-wing-violence-rising

[266] Michel, Casey. "How Liberal Portland Became America's Most Politically Violent City." *Politico.* 30 June 2017. Accessed 1 February 2019. https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/06/30/how-liberal-portland-became-americas-most-politically-violent-city-215322

[267] Kohn, Sally. *The Opposite of Hate: A Field Guide to Repairing Our Humanity.* New York: Algonquin Books, Apr 10, 2018.

includes former White Nationalists Christian Piccolini or others, and focused on redemption and advocacy from their perspective (she recommends us finding a Eugene or Oregon-specific case study or story). Kohn recommends turning to the city's history, with a frame of: "we've been here before and we have overcome this." Kohn also recommends looking at analogous case studies, like Eugene's gay marriage / LGBTQ rights story and associated victories. The *state* has gotten better, and has overcome its history.[268]

Kohn encouraged us to think practically: one of the impediments to movements' or government's' response to hate is that they need to choose an approach. Municipalities tend to default to a "No Place for Hate" stance, but do not always have the initial conversation: "what ought our attitude towards these people be?" And "How are we all complicit in creating these conditions?" Rather than communicating *exclusion* (to anyone), Kohn argues that communities ought to invest in practical and moral redemption. This compassionate approach is morally correct, *and* it's rooted in the correct historical context of this country. Finally, Kohn recommended the city case of Coeur D'Alene, ID, as a place that has responded to hate in the past.

Race Forward and the Race Forward "Government Alliance for Racial Equity" (GARE):
We have spoken with Race Forward and GARE on multiple occasions, including with **Julie Nelson,** Race Forward (December 5, 2018), who is the Director of the Government Alliance for Racial Equity, or GARE, which is imbedded in the Race Forward nonprofit organization. We have also connected with **Rachael Wyant,** who is the GARE Network Manager (December 12); **Nora Liu,** who works on RACE's Racial Equity Action Plans locally in the Portland / Eugene, Oregon context (January 3); and **Amalia Alarcon Morris** (December January 9). Nelson developed Race Forward's GARE coming from a lifelong set of experiences in government: she previously served in other government positions including the City of Seattle's Human Services Department, Administrative Services and Public Utilities Branch, and Housing and Urban Development Department; and with Pima County Community Services in Tucson, Arizona.

GARE believes that in Eugene the general public needs more precise language to specify what we mean by "White Nationalism" in differing contexts and when there are different groups and actors. And on the public-sector end, cities need a **system and a set of protocols for response** when instances arise, a playbook to turn to. *Now* is the time for City Agencies and Departments to begin developing rapid-response protocols, even Departments that do not think their work centers on anti-racism could find their operations affected.

At the level of longer-term capacity-building, individual departments can and should develop **Racial Equity Action Plans** that are specific to their scope and mandate. This includes thinking about using technology, finding where there is institutional and structural discrimination, and

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[268] The state has some very liberal leaning policies, such as marijuana laws and physician-assisted suicide laws—Sally recommended that these be included/may fit into the historical context.

more. GARE has developed *comprehensive* **Racial Equity "toolkits" for relevant city decision makers,** for this purpose.[269]

GARE recommends that cities develop "**Racial Equity Leadership Teams**" but GARE data show that quality varies tremendously. The most effective cities have "Racial Equity Leadership Teams" with legitimacy and authority from City leaders, made of up of department directors and deputy directors, and then core teams, with staff level and across city departments. They do coordinating, collaborating, and synergy development on city / county priorities. A City like Eugene could *also* structure Racism Equity teams within each individual city department.   Finally, GARE recommends that jurisdictions like Eugene consider hosting racial equity "Summits," bringing together all racial equity teams across the departments; in bigger cities, close to 400-500 people attend these convenings, though Eugene may be smaller.

Moving forward, GARE is also hoping to develop cross-municipality "networks" about racial equity, to share best practices. Eugene could collaborate with neighboring Springfield or Creswell, also in Lane County, or Portland, Oregon, or Corvallis or Ashland or Medford, Oregon, further afield. Living Cities launched a new and widely acclaimed "Racial Equity Here" that shares best practices across five cities; this model may be worth emulating.[270]

Political Research Associates (PRA):
We interviewed Cloee Cooper, a Research Analyst at **Political Research Associates (PRA),** an organization based in Somerville (Interview date: December 6). After we publish our PAE, we may visit PRA in person to share our findings with Cloee and senior staff over lunch. Cloee uses a data-driven approach to look at sheriffs and their relationships with anti-immigrant groups, gathering data from across the country. She recently launched an investigation, for example, at "Border Summits" using scraped data online and from using FOIA requests.[271]   Cloee has engaged with the "Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association" (CSPLA) and researched in great depth the sheriffs who sent letters to the Obama Administration; Cooper later wrote on Ballot Measure 105 that looked at Sheriffs and the Anti-Immigrant movement, finding that the Federation for American Immigration Reform (founded by White Nationalist John Tanton) funds police officers to travel down to the U.S. - Mexico border.

Cloee also mentioned PRA partners with the Oregon-based **Rural Organizing Project (ROP)** and they are working with immigrant-rights orgs in Oregon, Washington, and elsewhere,

[269] Nelson, Julie and Lisa Brooks. "Racial Equity Toolkit: An Opportunity to Operationalize Equity." *Government Alliance on Racial Equity*. December 2016. Accessed 20 January 2019. Racial Equity Toolkit An Opportunity to Operationalize Equity
[270] "Living Cities Launches New Multi-City Initiative To Improve Racial Equity." *Living Cities.* 25 May 2016. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.centerforsocialinclusion.org/press/living-cities-launches-new-multi-city-initiative-to-improve-racial-equity/
[271] Cooper, Cloee. "Support For Oregon's Ballot Measure 105 Reveals Collaboration Between Right-wing Sheriffs and Anti-immigrant Networks." *Political Research Associates.* 2 November 2018. Accessed 31 January 2019. https://www.politicalresearch.org/2018/11/02/support-for-oregons-ballot-measure-105-reveals-collaboration-between-right-wing-sheriffs-and-anti-immigrant-networks/

countering ICE. We have been in touch with ROP's Jessica Campbell and look forward to connecting soon.

Cloee is concerned about the gulf between academia, data-driven Social Scientists, and "experts" who are concerned with "getting it right," and public media narratives that often over-generalize or simplify White Nationalist movements on the ground. Cloee and PRA believe that data are incredibly important to understand the ideologies and scopes of contemporary threat, and the operations behind or in response to threats, so that responses can be adequate.

For solutions, PRA believes there needs to be an alternative "push" for broad-based multi-racial democracy. Progressives and Left-Liberals in America need to build solidarity *across movements* to build deeper infrastructure: movements must not fight issue-by-issue, but instead link the cases of immigrant rights, Arab Justice, Black Lives Matter, and other identity-based movements with broad-based grievances about neoliberalism, privatization, and economic inequality, as well as shifting demographics in this country. However, Cooper notes that short-term urgency may merely require first playing on the "defensive" to block key measures.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP):
Through connections with our PAE Faculty Advisor, Professor Cornell William Brooks, we interviewed the NAACP's **Gerald Hankerson and Eric Richardson** (first by Skype on December 6, and then in person at the Eugene / Lane County NAACP in person on January 23). Presidents Hankerson and Richardson are both NAACP Regional Director Presidents, for King County/Seattle and in Lane County and Oregon, respectively. President Richardson, born and raised in Eugene, notes that the community is predominantly white, and most Eugeners are well-meaning progressives. However, the community has seen a longstanding, multi-generational neglect of the black population in Eugene and all of Oregon. Eugene's black community is tiny (1.4% of the city and hovering around 2,000 people); the black community experiences systemic problems related to services and mobility. According to President Richardson, Eugene's black population is overrepresented in the prison population (13% of prisoners and 1.4% of the population); and there is a 50% graduation rate.[272]

Presidents Hankerson and Richardson have a solution to the crisis of White Nationalism in their communities: fund trans-racial progressive civil society and groups like the NAACP. The Eugene Chapter is entirely volunteer run, and though the NAACP does good organizing work in the community, they are chronically underfunded. Despite the astronomically *enormous* rates of Hate Crimes in Eugene committed against the city's black community, white Supremacy is, for Black Eugeners struggling daily, in many ways a back-burner issue.[273]

Grounded in the liberatory tradition of the Black Freedom Struggle, groups like NAACP can help City governments across the country "own" their contribution to America's civic tradition. The

[272] These statistics were cited by NAACP President Richardson. More information here: https://olis.leg.state.or.us/liz/2017R1/Downloads/CommitteeMeetingDocument/98845
[273] Lopez, German. 2018. "FBI: Reported Hate Crimes Increased by 17 Percent in 2017." Vox. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/11/13/18091646/fbi-hate-crimes-2017 (January 29, 2019).

NAACP advocates Eugene and Oregon centrally engage the city, region, and state's racist *history*[274] and have an honest conversation about the city and state's institutional complicity in systems of white supremacy at all levels (not just in a select few extremist "lone wolf" white nationalist terrorists).[275] Notes Richardson, in its current form, we cannot separate White Nationalism from law enforcement, and governing institutions as they are operating in general right now.

Brookings Institution:
On December 7, we engaged with **Amber Herrle**, a Project Manager at the **Brookings Institution** and independent researcher in Anthropology and using ethnographic methods. Notes Herrle from her original research, White Nationalists too often see themselves as above law enforcement, with a mission that is "larger" than the law (defending a people, as opposed to a community). Herrle recently conducted research on a White Nationalist group in Indiana of about 1,000 members.   Ethnographically, she examined members' family lives, high school experiences, and feelings about their hometowns. Her research focuses on "manhood" and masculinity.

Herrle's research found that White Nationalist groups often exploit notions of "manhood," creating false realities. Herrle found that White Nationalists are often from similar backgrounds, with supportive parents who were not at home; they usually did not go to college. They see themselves as fierce fighters, fighting "for their neighbors."[276]

In the context of our research in Eugene, Herrle argued that it takes *privilege* to expect ordinary citizens to respond in real time to hate and White Nationalism. People are busy worrying about their own lives, or are intimidated by White Nationalist movements; some are even sympathetic to their cause, or some combination of the above.

City of Eugene, Office of Human Rights and Neighborhood Involvement (HRNI), and Equity and Access Office
Over the course of multiple phone, Skype, and conference calls, as well as in-person meetings **(January 25, 2019)**, we engaged the **City of Eugene's Office of Human Rights and Neighborhood Involvement (HRNI) and the City's Equity and Access Office**. The City HRNI has identified specific "troubling characters"[277] and notes that though many of them do not live in Eugene, they view the city as a "staging ground" for hateful activity, in part because of the city's

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[274] Novak, M. Oregon Was Founded As a Racist Utopia. Retrieved January 29, 2019, from https://gizmodo.com/oregon-was-founded-as-a-racist-utopia-1539567040
[275] Brown, D. When Portland banned blacks: Oregon's shameful history as an 'all-white' state. Retrieved January 29, 2019, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/06/07/when-portland-banned-blacks-oregons-shameful-history-as-an-all-white-state/
[276] Herrle, Amber. "What to (Realistically) Expect When You're Expecting Nazis." *Lawfare Blog.* 11 August 2018. Accessed 1 January 2019. https://www.lawfareblog.com/what-realistically-expect-when-youre-expecting-nazis
[277] These include individuals including Jimmy Marr and Jacob and Gabe Lasky, among others. Most are currently in jail. For more information about Laskey and others, please see: https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2018/09/oregon_white_nationalist_sente.html

liberal bent, university community, and comparative prosperity.   HRNI also helped either connect us with or reference us information about *numerous* community and civic organizations in Eugene, underscoring the community-civil society relationships surrounding white nationalist responses. One such organization includes the Eugene chapter of Showing Up for Racial Justice, or SURJ; the City partners with SURJ on "Upstanding Bystander Training" regularly.[278] HRNI staff also recommended we visit specific city locations for our participant-observation work - including the public library and specific bars in the Whiteaker Neighborhood in town.

Like many of our interviewees, HRNI staff noted the challenges of cross-jurisdictional collaboration. The university and Lane County Community College, for example, have their own hate crime reporting system but geared to students. Lane County does *not* have such an effective system. HRNI recommends county-wide universal reporting. HRNI staff also noted that the city has a vested interest in *downplaying any major community issues*. Politics is everything, and Eugeners do *not* want to hear that Eugene is "hateful" / "hate-filled," or has a reputation as such. HRNI also praised leadership from the 12-member and county-wide Equity and Community Consortium.[279]

Specific HRNI Equity and Access staff respond consistently to hate and bias calls, and especially to Spanish calls. Staff speak Spanish and have extensive community relationships.[280] For example, HRNI Equity and Access have worked with folks at Centro, nonprofits, and service-oriented folks, doing everything from victims support services, to making sure people get the right resources for a hate crime incident that went to trial.

One of the key challenges for HRNI and Equity and Access is *community education,* and in particular making sure folks in marginalized communities know about their office. Outreach is prioritized to latino, working class, and vulnerable communities (for example, mixed-documented families). HRNI staff go out to community events and promote a "protection for individuals" ordinance, something independent and beyond Oregon's state law.

HRNI's Outreach work is to ensure the community knows their office exists. They seek to communicate: "We're here to help in the same way, regardless of your immigration status. You can report in numerous ways: online, in-person, or by phone."[281]

City of Eugene, Eugene Police Department (EPD)
We interviewed an Lieutenant with the **City of Eugene Police Department** on **January 25, 2019.** The interview began with the Lieutenant questioning our assumptions: he asked what *evidence* we have surrounding Eugene's challenges with "political extremism," separating broader verbiage

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[278] "Showing Up for Racial Justice." *Showing Up for Racial Justice.* Accessed 8 February 2019. http://www.showingupforracialjustice.org/
[279] We had a chance to engage Eugene School District 4J, one of the ECC members. More about the ECC here: https://lanecounty.org/government/county_departments/county_administration/equity_access_and_inclusion/equity_community_consortium_partners
[280] [Anonymous City Officials 1 and 2]. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.
[281] Ibid.

of "extremism" from more specific and data-driven indices of hate crime bias and reporting.[282] The Lieutenant also noted that in Eugene, "we have hate-motivated crimes, extremism 'across the board'" citing Leftist and anarchist political activity including groups like the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) or Forest Defenders (considered environmental terrorism).[283]

With regard to specific incidents of hate and bias reporting, the Lieutenant argued that the city of Eugene has established strong relationships across the board, including with communities of color, faith-based communities, immigrant communities, and protected classes as defined by city code. The EPD is very collaborative when it comes to incidents and crimes that affect those populations and works actively with the Office of Human Rights and Neighborhood Involvement (HRNI). The Lieutenant notes that the City of Eugene's *Hate and Bias Response Toolkit* informs action, and that simple flow charts communicate information to the public, including for example that EPD is not the "moral police" when it comes to free speech. There are numerous instances, however, where an incident is *not* "criminal" in nature but nonetheless warrants response from or collaboration with HRNI.

The Lieutenant argued that, when it comes to Eugene this is "A very engaged community, one where everyone is participating. People are 'fluent in advocacy' here, with high expectations for their performance of the local government." Comparing Eugene with a city like Cincinatti, the Lieutenant noted that the quality of the officers here is "night and day," and that all officers undergo training programs about hate and bias incidents.

The Lieutenant differentiated Eugene from other, neighboring jurisdictions: for one, at the Lane County level, sheriffs are elected. Electing County sheriff's gives them accountability to voters above and beyond city or county government administration. He also argued that Lane County sheriffs used to to be one of the most highly paid sheriff offices in the entire nation because of the revenues generated from cutting trees on federal land. That has all changed over the past years. Lane County Sheriffs have seen post-2008 tax revenue decreases, with consequences including years without pay raises, layoffs, the loss of non-unionized jobs, and increases in the cost of living. Both EPD and Lane County are having to do more, with fewer staff.

City of Eugene, Office of Information Technology (Eugene IT)
On January 25th, we spoke with a group of city employees at the **Office of Information Technology** at the Eugene Public Library. **The employees, who requested to be identified as Lara and Chris**, spoke to us regarding their views on adopting a digital platform for our work, as well as adopting a racial equity framework into the day-to-day operations of municipal employees. Earlier in our work, we had explored the option of an 'app' or otherwise digital reporting tool, similar to the current technology used to report potholes. Lara and Chris expressed reservations about this idea, citing difficulty in scale, adoption, and follow-through. We agreed with this

[282] "City of Eugene." *2017: Hate and Bias Report.* 10 March 2018. Accessed 8 February 2019. https://www.eugene-or.gov/3643/Hate-and-Bias-Report
[283] Janofsky, Michael. "11 Indicted in Cases of Environmental Sabotage." *The New York Times.* 21 January 2006. Accessed 8 February 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/21/politics/11-indicted-in-cases-of-environmental-sabotage.html

assessment and have since moved past this option as a suitable means of addressing Eugene's current problems. While Eugene possesses apps such as iBike Eugene, to spatially map incidents of infrastructure failure, an app for hate crime reporting is likely outside of the realm of current practicality. Furthermore, Lara and Chris shared our concerns that this wasn't merely a problem to 'tech' a solution to, but rather one more insidious and structural in nature.

Next, we spoke to Lara and Chris about their relationship with the community and capacity to 'take on' more projects, especially ones that often don't attract universal buy-in, such as a racial equity plan. Lara and Chris cited extant relationships with the University of Oregon they utilize to bring more people into city government and to act as messengers of city change. These relationships also assist them in building capacity temporarily (through internships and enrichment opportunities) and could help accomplish future large projects for the City's IT infrastructure, such as Envision Eugene, a 2020 project for the upcoming Track & Field World Championship.

Lastly, we asked Lara and Chris about their general thoughts of 'asking more' of city employees, already taxed in the daily milieu of their positions. They expressed very positive views on the project of racial equity and how employees might wish to adopt these goals into their daily operations. They positively reacted to the scope of our PAE, a medium sized city, stating that they possess a unique opportunity--one where they had creativity, influence, and the ability to change the mindsets of a lot of residents in a short amount of time. Furthermore, they expressed a *willingness* and an *enthusiasm* to incorporate a racial equity framework into how they provide City services. Said Lara, "People actually care here...if they have a creative idea, they can run with it...extra time is dedicated to these overall projects[284]."

Former Mayor, City of Eugene, Kitty Piercy
We spoke with **former Mayor of Eugene, Kitty Piercy,** during our time in the City, on January 23rd. She served as Mayor for 12 years and enjoys a legacy of being one of the most respected and beloved public figures in Eugene, given her long-time advocacy for social justice, her close ties with the business community, and her stellar tenure as Mayor of Eugene during a strong period of demographic and economic growth. She spoke to us, broadly, about the local political history of Eugene, her lessons learned as a career public servant, and her vision for racial equity in her hometown.

Mayor Piercy, a Democrat, noted Eugene as a 'divided town,[285]' as the City has long been dominated by extractive monocultures (the timber industry) of Republican control, while cultivating a liberal reputation as a college town. To overcome these divides, Mayor Piercy recalled her *ability to have difficult conversations* with a diverse spectrum of residents who felt left out of the community discourse. Mayor Piercy noted the intense feelings of isolation certain members felt, *on both sides of the political spectrum*, that their way of life was being eroded. This is crucial to understand when we think of *who* is hearing about the problem, *why* they might disagree, and

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[284] [Anonymous City Officials]. Personal Interview 25 January, 2019.
[285] Kitty Piercy. Personal Interview. 23 January, 2019.

how to incorporate a larger vision of equity and inclusion in the City of Eugene as it continues to modernize.

Next, Mayor Piercy described the political situation in Eugene as one that heavily relies on the business community for buy-in on policy changes. She noted the overall political process as one that 'requires finding someone who really cares...and empowering them to bring change to their agency[286].' Mayor Piercy also succinctly noted the best way to accomplish change was: create incentives for the major advocacy organizations, get on the City Council's radar, and scale your ideas across agencies. She also stressed the importance of including the business community in decisions, as they are a risk-averse entity who are often very concerned with their reputation to visitors.

Eugene's Centro Latino Americano and Assistant Director Trevor Whitbread
We spoke with Centro's **Trevor Whitbread (Assistant Director)** on **January 23, 2019.** Whitbread opened the conversation by noting that despite its reputation, Eugene, OR is *no* liberal bastion. He described an anecdote that had occured just that week about a crew of Latino landscapers, in front of a local grocery store. White men drove in front of them at their worksite, swearing. They got out of his cars, making death threats and apparently yelling: "I could decapitate you, and no one would do anything about it."[287] Whitbread was featured in the news media investigation; he expressed disappointment that the individuals who made the threats went uncharged and continue to walk free.

Whitbread and Centro have a positive, collaborative relationship with the City of Eugene and HRNI, but note "limits to what [HRNI] can or cannot do as city employees." Centro often sees the city as not wanting to ruffling feathers, or appears "pro-victim." White fragility at an institutional level, and the fact that elected officials do not want to discuss this issue may explain that tense dynamic.

Whitbread also criticized City of Eugene hiring practices and onboarding, citing these and other practices as perhaps responsible for the comparatively low city composition of minority workers. Centro, according to Whitbread, provides "catch-all" programming resources for Eugene and Lane County's Latino Community: they work on issues of discrimination, wage theft, legal resources (people have need but have no attorney), substance use, mental health issues, and more. Centro has deep relationships as immigrants themselves, and with undocumented people. They provide resource navigation. Whitbread argues there is a difference between *reporting hate crimes* and "*actually doing something about it.*" Whitbread also references a recent incident where the

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[286] Ibid.

[287] Whitbread, Trevor. Personal Interview. 23 January 2019. See also: Campbell, Brendan et al. "Rising Hate Drives Latinos and Immigrants into Silence," *Hate In America: News21.* 15 August 2018. Accessed 8 February 2019. https://hateinamerica.news21.com/rising-hate-drives-latinos-immigrants-into-silence/

Eugene Police shot and killed a Transgender LatinX individual at a local middle school,[288] citing it as another example of systemic discrimination in city practices and policies.

Jewish Federation of Lane County, and Jewish Community Relations Committee (JCRC)
On January 23rd, we had a long and far-ranging conversation with representatives of **the Jewish Federation of Lane County (JFLC)**. Representing the organization was **Margot Helphand, president of JFLC, Reuben Zahler, Chair of the Jewish Community Relations Council and Professor of History at the University of Oregon, and Emily Heilbrun, representing the Community Alliance of Lane County (CALC)** at Temple Beth Israel (TBI) in Eugene. The location and audience were especially important, as the Jewish Community of Eugene has explicitly been targeted in this building by white nationalists in the community.

Representatives of the JCRC spoke on the very palpable xenophobic tendencies of Eugene, citing poor treatment of the small Muslim community, fear within the Jewish community to enroll children into publicly searchable databases (such as TBI's Hebrew School program), and the legacy of white supremacy on the interfaith community. However, they did cite the very strong expectation of solidarity held by the interfaith community, including informal check-ins on one another's' places of worship at night. They also commended the City for recent inroads made to formalize ties between law enforcement and the interfaith community.

Central to our chat was discussion of the capacity of Eugene's civil society (the interfaith community, racial advocacy group, and more) to *take on more work and do the job of implementing solutions.* The JCRC, for all the work they do in building ties across faiths, resettling refugees, and working pro bono with the City of Eugene, is entirely unpaid and operates on a volunteer basis. Central to gaining buy-in from this community is answering the fundamental question of **'what's in it for me?'** Helphand explicitly wondered how the City might serve as a coordinating or convening body for all the groups across Eugene.

Lastly, our conversation concluded with an understanding of the very precarious position TBI and the JCRC has in this community. Says Prof Zahler, "We have to lock our building and station armed guards, this is our reality. Both the far-Left and Right can be anti-Semitic...and that's hard for the Left to hear."[289] All parties noted the relative **comfort** of 'white liberalism' in Eugene and the often-reactive stance the City takes to hate crimes. Zahler suggested that perhaps residents could spearhead the creation of a list of businesses known for mistreating black customers, if the City proved unwilling to step in formally. We view JCRC as a willing participant in the changes we propose, noting the relative privilege they possess as intermediaries between communities of color and the City, being a marginalized group that is relatively better staffed and at a higher capacity than some other community groups.

Lane County, Office of Equity and Access

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[288] KVAL-13 Eugene. "Police Shoot, Kill Man Outside Eugene Middle School." *KVAL-13*. 11 January 2019. Accessed 8 February 2019. https://kval.com/news/local/police-shoot-kill-man-outside-eugene-middle-school
[289] Emily Heilbrun, Margot Helphand, and Reuben Zahler. Personal Interview. 23 January, 2019.

We spoke with a **Lane County official representing the Office of Equity and Access on January 23, 2019.** This position, and the Office, is a new creation in Lane County (starting in September 2016). Although this work is nascent at the County level, staff are eager to deepen equity and access work. The greatest challenge in Lane County is that the work is tremendously under-resourced. For example, property crimes don't get investigated at the County level, and if hate crimes are not designated for very specific reasons, they will also not be investigated. The Lane County Official shared with us the County's Five Point Equity Focus as originally outlined in the Lane COunty Equity and Achievement Plan (LEAP).[290]

The Lane County Equity and Access team worked with community stakeholders to develop key priorities:
1. Improve recruitment, retention and advancement priorities internally, with Lane County;
2. Establish a culture in Lane County that asks tough questions (hard diversity vs. soft diversity), gets at the real issues, and is addressing the moral/professional/ethical commitment to equity and inclusion; and
3. Engage in courageous conversations

This Lane County Official also helped create a human rights advisory body, with 15 community members, including 5 rural members. This committee advises the county on how they ought to operate, for example on how to discuss hate and bias, and requiring at least three hours of diversity training. The Officials make sure to attend community events often, engaging with county-level civil society. So far, within the County workforce, the response to equity work has been mostly positive. Ninety-three percent of staff attended a recent diversity training, for example.[291]

However, despite initial progress, intense challenges remain. One key challenge is jurisdictional coordination and management in Lane County. Our interviewee mentioned that there are ten overlapping Law Enforcement Operations (LEOs) in Lane County, 12-13 incorporated cities, 16 school districts, and around a dozen municipalities.[292] Currently, there is no unified hate crime "tracking" system; they vary by jurisdiction. Moreover, Lane County is responsible for a very messy swath of land, and under-resourced county-level LEOs only look at unincorporated space. On balance, there is no unified method of reporting hate across multiple jurisdictions, especially give that these jurisdictions vary ideologically as well. This official argued that the jurisdictional challenges are both financial and values-based, in nature.

In terms of solutions, the Lane County Official advocated for a somewhat simple proximate solution: Lane County ought to convince 12 jurisdictions, or agencies within jurisdictions, to each put $10,000 into a common pot of county money, covering a full-time external-facing Equity position at the County level, and supplemental training for law enforcement.[293] Although civic

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[290] Lane COunty, Oregon. Order and Resolution No. 16-12-06-06. Available from Lane County Upon Request.
[291] [Anonymous Conversation with Lane County Official]. Personal interview. 23 January, 2019.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Ibid.

groups originally *called* for an external-facing Equity and Access coordinator, needs and demands were high enough internally.

Eugene would happily expand its hate crimes reporting tool, but doing so would require additional resources from the County (Eugene is not resourced for County-level engagement, nor is that their job). Such a "tool" could coordinate across jurisdictions: if an incident were to happen in X location, the "tool" would divert to Y personnel. Currently, unlike Eugene, Lane County has no such system, nor broad-based education on what constitutes a hate crime for community members or public officials.

Eugene School District 4J School Board Member Evangelina Sundgrenz
We engaged Eugene School District 4J School Board Member **Evangelina Sundgrenz** on **January 25, 2019**. ESD-4J is a member of the 12-member and county-wide Equity and Community Consortium.[294] Sundgrenz also has a child in ESD public schools, and sees herself as a bonafide progressive: she is a Equality PAC Board Member, and is a "Basic Rights Oregon" candidate ("Basic Rights Oregon" is an association of progressive candidates statewide, focusing on but not limited to LGBTQ rights).[295] Sundgrenz notes that, since school-board elections are in May and not November, turnout motivation is a constant challenge and it "depoliticizes the elections."[296] In part because of the election cycle, and community-wide dynamics, Sundgrenz cites herself as the only person of color on the school board, the youngest school board member, one with nonprofit and for-profit sector experience, and with a trans-racial daughter just beginning in Eugene public schools.

Sundgrenz discussed with us how Eugene School District is one of the *best* districts in a state with chronically underfunded education, whether viewed in terms of staff salaries, healthcare, or spending per student. In the past election cycles, voters just approved another $320M bond, 70% of which came from property taxes and put the onus on property owners. It passed. In Oregon, property tax rates are capped, with a redistributive state "kicker"; Sundgrenz viewed the kicker as more of a barrier to intra-district equity than a promoter of broader or statewide equitable education spending.[297]

Sundgrenz also spoke highly of the Ethnic Education Act (developed by a coalition of multi-identity minority groups in Oregon) - which will be ready by 2020, for implementation in 2021. This Act presents a tremendous *opportunity* for Oregonians to learn - and be taught - *their* history, notes

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[294] We had a chance to engage Eugene School District 4J, one of the ECC members. More about the ECC here:
https://lanecounty.org/government/county_departments/county_administration/equity_access_and_inclusion/equity_community_consortium_partners
[295] "Our Mission and Vision." *Basic Rights Oregon.* 2019. Accessed 8 February 2019.
http://www.basicrights.org/about/our-mission-and-vision/
[296] Sundgrenz, Evangelina. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.
[297] KGW Staff. "Oregon 'kicker Law' Triggered Amid Budget Shortfall." *KGW News*. 16 May 2017.
Accessed 1 February 2019. https://www.kgw.com/article/money/oregon-kicker-law-triggered-amid-budget-shortfall/440173112

Sundgrenz.[298] Major details of the legislation are still forthcoming, however. Sundgrenz notes that despite Eugene's reputation as a "white" town, the Latino Community is *far larger* than many think. But since the LatinX community lives mostly in Bethel, Junction City, Springfield, and North Eugene, they are out-of-sight and out-of-mind.

Eugene 4J has a deep commitment to multilingual education. They have two Spanish immersion schools, in North Eugene and Santa Clara. There is a "bougie" Spanish immersion school, and then also a lower income one. Moreover, intra-school segregation is a major concern. Sundgrenz discussed the challenges of school "choice," with parents driving their children up to 45 minutes each way for specific schools. 4J, according to Sundgrenz, has a persistent challenge related to Black girls. At some point, her perception is that parents pull them out of the district completely, either for homeschool or private school.[299] Sundgrenz hopes the District will look further into data-supported challenges like these. Finally, the challenge in Eugene (and elsewhere in the State) surrounding concealed-carry firearms makes her and many district parents nervous, especially with the presence of well-known White Nationalist extremists living locally in the community.

Academic and author of *Against the Fascist Creep*, Alex Reid Ross
On January 22, we spoke to **Alexander Reid Ross,** Instructor of Geography at Portland State University and Author of *Against the Fascist Creep* about the greater regional context of far-right organizing efforts in the Pacific Northwest, as well as the informal Leftist responses to this violence. Alex began by discussing some of the history in Portland- one where far-right groups (such as Patriot Front) are routinely confronted by organizations such as the IWW and Antifa. Alex noted the long history of right wing infiltration into Portland government (such a police chief who erected a Nazi memorial in a public park) and the ways in which this might affect city services, such as City inaction in dealing with areas of chronic nuisance flooding that are communities of color.

Alex then took our conversation back to the founding history of Oregon, one of nativist labor organizing (through the AFL), Chinese Exclusion, and race-based rioting up through World War II. Alex also made the important note that Eugene and portland are likely not special, with regards to open displays of racism: "[The data] does not map onto everyday racism; only speaks to organized extreme hate; rich people don't have any interest in joining *de classe* racist organizations.[300]

We concluded our discussion with Prof Reid Ross by discussing the legacy of the ecology movement on the far-right moment in the Pacific Northwest. The ecology movement fostered this reputation for a populist left wing politics, but this energy can and has be co-opted by right wing or reactionary figures. For instance, Reid Ross noted the transition from Cascadian black metal musician Michael Moynihan from a Holocaust-denying figure in the neo-Nazi power metal scene to a deep ecologist extremist who currently advocates for a radical return to agrarianism, more in accordance with left wing groups such as ELF.

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[298] Sundgrenz, Evangelina. Personal Interview. 25 January 2019.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Alexander Reid Ross. Personal Interview. 21 January, 2019.

Academic, Chair of Ethnic Studies, Professor of Geography, Laura Pulido (writing a forthcoming Atlas of White Supremacy in Oregon)
We spoke with **Professor Laura Pulido, a Professor of geography at the University of Oregon**, on January 24th with respect to her work on building a *'culture of commemoration'* in the State of Oregon and on what the state choose to *recognize* and *ignore*. Professor Pulido wondered aloud, "What do we choose to preserve and what memories do we highlight[301]?" Pioneer legacies and culture are still problematic to the vision of fully embracing one's expansionist and imperialist legacy on lands once dominated by indigenous people. Pulido also notes the institutionalization of the white space through projects like Cascadia or Jefferson.

The case study of Eugene was contrasted with Atlanta, a City with a long history of white supremacy, who dramatically rebranded as 'A City Too Busy to Hate.' The conversation ended by noting the images of Mother Pioneer and Father Pioneer and the ongoing issues of digital hate towards minority members of the University staff.

Academic, Professor of Education Policy and Leadership, David Liebowitz
On **January 25, 2019** we spoke with **David Liebowitz**, an Assistant Professor of Educational Methodology, Policy and Leadership at the University of Oregon. He studies the challenges facing schools with concentrations of traditionally underserved students and effective leadership strategies to address these challenges. Liebowitz has experience as a middle school principal in Chelsea, Massachusetts and has been a policy advisor to the Massachusetts Secretary of Education and the New York Commissioner of Education. He also spent a year as a policy analyst at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris assessing the effectiveness of resource utilisation in OECD systems.

We spoke with Liebowitz about the feasibility of implementing transformative pedagogical tools to help students understand and confront structural racism. These efforts include broader usage of curricular tools like "Facing History and Ourselves" and more rapid-response tools like Western States Center's toolkit surrounding educator responses to racism.[302] Liebowitz noted that the potential for transformative pedagogy varies tremendously depending on educator ideologies, perspectives, and their willingness to have difficult conversations. Liebowitz also urged the Eugene and Lane County schools to think about innovative ways to implement "de-tracking" and choice-based segregation schemes. Though well-intentioned, these school choice models segregate students by race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status. One of the best ways to increase "thick, rather than thin" tolerance across groups of different students, Liebowitz argued, is sustained and genuine inter-group contact.[303]

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[301] Laura Pulido. Personal Interview. 24 January, 2019.

[302] "Facing History and Ourselves: About Us." *Facing History.* Accessed 8 February 2019. https://www.facinghistory.org/

[303] Everett, Jim and Diana Onu. "Intergroup Contact Theory: Past, Present, and Future." *The Inquisitive Mind.* 2013, Issue 17, No. 2. Accessed 8 February 2019. http://www.in-mind.org/article/intergroup-contact-theory-past-present-and-future

Director of Governance and Partnership, MercyCorps, Sanjay Gurung

While in Portland, we spoke with **Sanjay Gurung**, the Director of Governance and Partnership at **MercyCorps,** an international humanitarian non profit that assists countries and governments recover from catastrophes and instability. We felt Sanjay would be a refreshing international perspective on work we are trying to accomplish domestically around the idea of structural and institutional change. Since Sanjay's work chiefly deals with 'starting nearly from scratch,' he proved a very stimulating conversation where ideas were far-ranging and under' blue sky' authorizing environments.

Sanjay spoke on the challenges facing Portland, which ring similar to Eugene. Portland is home to a very loud, vocal far-right called Patriot Front, led by a young man named Joey Gibson. This group, while not based in Portland, organizes here and presents a challenge to city officials combating hate.

MercyCorps also operates a community center that acts as a 'summer school' for local school kids who are interested in learning more about global development, empathy, and humanitarianism. We are curious regarding ways to incorporate civil society as an anchor to community change and Sanjay's reflections on MercyCorp's position in the community gave us much to consider.

Mapping White Nationalism in Eugene: A Bronfenbrenner Ecology Model

We engage American Psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Theory* to understand how the specific ideologies, aspirations, and "inherently qualities" of White Nationalist and extreme-right political groups intersect with Eugene's broader community and institutional environment.[304] Bronfenbrenner's theory examines child and adolescent development but we find that the *framework* underpinning his analysis applies in a variety of institutional contexts and with a number of issues (as do other scholars).[305]

Preliminary, Bronfenbrenner defines the ***microsystem*** as the "smallest and most immediate environment" in which a child lives. In the case of White Nationalist organizations, this might involve some of the most intimate micro-geographies in a part of Eugene or Lane County. Bronfenbrenner underscores that *even among siblings,* for example, child development can occur in remarkably different ways due to micro-factors. In the case of our inquiry, this might include local civic or community organizations in places like Cottage Grove or Creswell, Oregon, neighbors, school curricula, or other different micro-interventions.

Bronfenbrenner's ***mesosystem*** involves " the interaction of the different *microsystems* which the developing child finds himself in. It is, in essence, a system of microsystems and as such, involves linkages between home and school, between peer group and family, or between family and church."[306] These interacting micro-systems can also broadly involve the interactions between different key institutions, like the intersections between key civic groups (churches, synagogues, mosques) and government, or the interactions at a daily level between workplaces or labor unions and political ideologies. Of course, the micro-system of the school and school curriculum also engages with daily realities of the built environment - including racial, ethnic, class, and geographic segregation - that individuals experience in Lane County.

A level up, Bronfenbrenner's **Exosystem** involves the intersection of *two or more different settings*, which may or may not even impact the child directly. In this case, for example, the intersection between different jurisdictions of government or the intersection between market, state, and civil society groups in Lane County may create a tense or harmonious network of "settings," of which the child is unaware but nonetheless shape and structure daily interactions. The State of Florida's Department of Health considers the **exosystem** to communities and

[304] Psychology Notes HQ. "What is Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory?" 3 November 2013. Accessed 24 February 2019. https://www.psychologynoteshq.com/bronfenbrenner-ecological-theory/
[305] Erikkson, Malin. "Different Uses of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory in Public Mental Health Research: What is Their Value for Guiding Public Mental Health Policy and Practice?" *Social Theory & Health*, 2018, Volume 16, Number 4, Page 414.
[306] Psychology Notes HQ. "What is Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory?" 3 November 2013. Accessed 24 February 2019. https://www.psychologynoteshq.com/bronfenbrenner-ecological-theory/

societies as they intersect and engage one another vis-a-vis a developing child, or in this case an extremist organization or entity.[307]

Bronfenbrenner's **macrosystem** is known as the "largest and most distant collection of people and places to the child that still exercises significant influence on the child."[308] This system is where **global attitudes, values and beliefs** in the society at large begin to impact the relationships between institutions and community groups in a specific setting or set of settings. Notes Eriksson, for example, this is also where the **influence of macro-structural political and economic systems begins to impact child development.** For example, "children in war-torn areas will experience a different kind of development than children in communities where peace reigns."[309]

In the context of Eugene and Lane County, the macro-system includes everything from ideologies and values around race, class, and social mobility, to the lived consequences of ideologies like neoliberalism and the decline of extractive monocultures like Timber on identity. Culture matters here, too: the **macrosystem** is where cultural values of toxic masculinity come into play, and also where and how political dimensions of white entitlement intersect and engage class and geography.

Finally, Bronfenbrenner's discussion of the **chronosystem** brings in another dimension: *time*. Time helps compare the present (and aspirational futures) to memories of the past, and can also occur in cycles or linearly. The Chronosystem, in Bronfenbrenner's model, might involve parents' change in employment status or relative family stability, for example.

In the context of White Nationalism in Lane County and well beyond, the chronosystem brings in dimensions of *melancholy and nostalgia*, for a time when certain social groups may have experienced greater relative (or even absolute) wealth or social status. Intersections of the chronosystem and the macrosystem also help explain slogans like "Make America Great Again!", or notions of *white genocide* as promulgated by Stormfront and David Duke.[310]

Please see the following page for a visual "mapping White Nationalism" system map, using Bronfenbrenner's model as a guide:

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[307] Paquette, Dede and John Ryan. "Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory." *Florida Department of Health.* Accessed 24 February 2019. http://www.floridahealth.gov/alternatesites/cms-kids/providers/early_steps/training/documents/bronfenbrenners_ecological.pdf
[308] Psychology Notes HQ.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Saslow, Eli. Rising Out of Hatred: The Awakening of a Former White Nationalist. New York: Doubleday Random House, LLC, 2018, pg. 70-72.

Mapping White Nationalism: An Ecological Systems Approach:

Figure 27: White Nationalism: An Ecological Model

Community and Stakeholder Map

Below, please find a draft of key communities and stakeholders in and around Eugene working in the anti-racism and racial equity space:
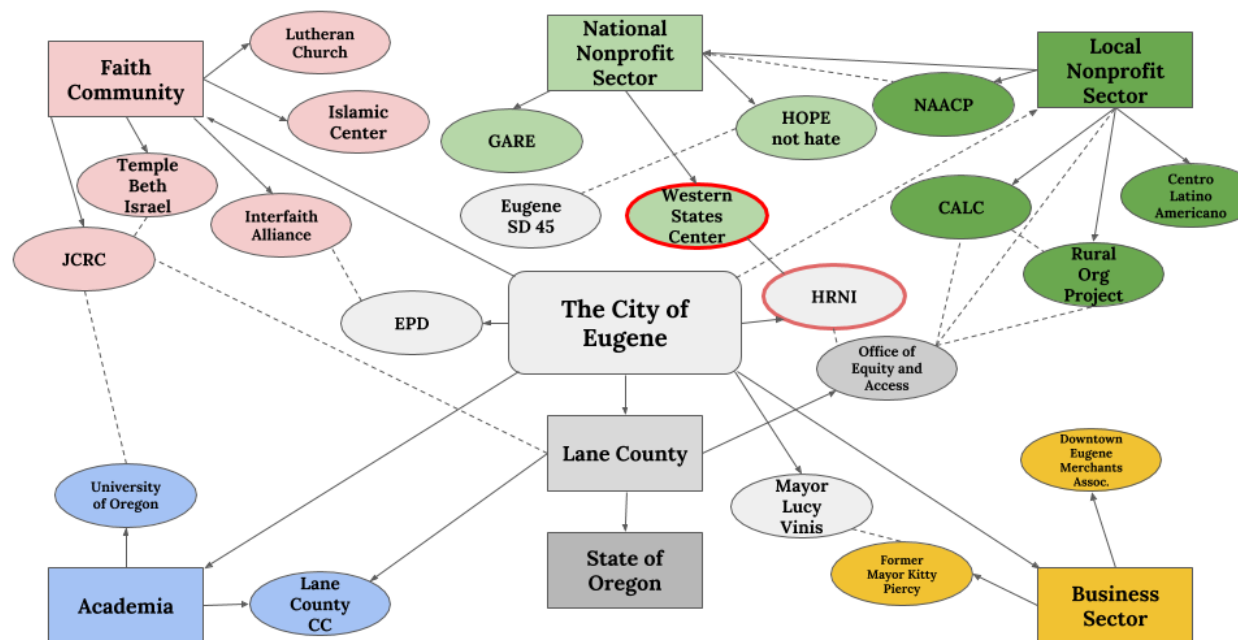
Legend:
PINK = faith community
LIGHT GREEN = national nonprofit sector
DARK GREEN = local nonprofit sector
BLUE = academia
GREY = public sector and government
ORANGE = business community

Figure 28: Community and stakeholder map

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