Racial Healing

Healing from Intersectional White Supremacy Culture and Ableism: Disability Justice as an Antidote[1]

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In this exploratory article, we build on the existing literature to identify and discuss the patterns of white supremacy culture (WSC) that are pervasive in our organizational spaces. We argue that because WSC, racism, and ableism are deeply intersectional forms of oppression, our social equity approaches must include a disability justice (DJ) lens, which centers the leadership of multiply marginalized disabled, queer, trans*, Black, Indigenous, and negatively racialized People of Color (QTBIPOC). Using an embodied approach, we invite our readers into a deeper reflection and critical analysis of the intersectional manifestations of white supremacy culture and ableism in organizational spaces. We explore the ways in which the 10 principles of disability justice could serve in creating supportive countercultural norms, values, and behavioral practices needed to create the conditions for healing from white supremacy culture.

Introduction

[Heavy Content: Trigger Warning] The phrase "white supremacy" often elicits imagery and news stories of violence, such as mass shootings by white supremacists of Black, Indigenous, and negatively racialized People of Color in their workplaces and places of worship, or the events such as the January 6, 2021 attack on the U.S. Capitol by an angry white supremacist mob. However, less investigated are the covert and normalized aspects of white supremacy that exist by design and prevail across our organizational cultures. Even less investigated and more invisibilized and normalized is the intersectionality of white supremacy culture (WSC), and ableism (see, Annamma, Ferri, and Connor 2018; Brown 2017, 2021).

In this exploratory article, we build on the existing literature to identify and discuss patterns of white supremacy culture (WSC) that are pervasive in our organizational spaces, including in progressive public and nonprofit organizational spaces. We draw connections between the existing critical academic scholarship and disability justice movement framework to argue that WSC, racism, and ableism are deeply intersectional forms of oppression. Therefore, our social equity ap-

proaches must include a disability justice (DJ) lens which centers the leadership of multiply marginalized[2] disabled,[3] queer, trans*,[4] Black, Indigenous, and negatively racialized People of Color (QTBIPOC). To demonstrate the actionable praxis of disability justice (DJ) in public administration (PA), we explore its 10 foundational principles as pathways for creating countercultures that could support organizations in resisting oppression and becoming sites of healing (Haines 2019).

Before we dive into definitions of the key terms and share our reflections and analyses, we offer a brief description of our intention for an embodied approach in writing this article.

An Embodied Approach

This article is for everyone: It is for racial justice advocates who seek to practice inclusive and liberatory approaches in their work. It is for disability equity advocates who are invested in the liberation of all disabled people. It is for public administration (PA) scholars and educators who seek to nurture a nuanced approach to equity for our learners. It is for PA students and learners who care deeply about an education that will support their liberatory social justice journeys and who need to find ways of navigating the intersectionality of ableism, racism, and other "isms" in higher education contexts. It is for PA practitioners who are looking for frameworks, perspectives, tools, and ideas to support their inner change as well as their collective change work in pursuit of social justice and equity. And, finally, it is for end users of public services who desire tools and strategies to support their relationships with public administrators and the organizations they serve.

An equitable and inclusive society benefits all people,

and this article is written with the hope of furthering our collective work toward the co-creation of an equitable and inclusive society. With that hope and intention in mind, we invite all members of the PA community and our broader society—Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC), white folks, queer folks, cis and trans* folks, folks of the global south and of the global north, folks who experience privilege, allies, advocates, accomplices, disabled folks, those who see themselves in equity work, and those who feel left out by equity work—to read, experience, and explore this article. We write it with love and care for you as our reader and our global PA community.

In approaching our perspectives and analysis, we strive to center and follow the leadership of those most impacted. We acknowledge that social justice, at its core, is healing justice (Black Lives Matter Healing Justice Working Group n.d.; Hemphill 2020). We recognize that movement toward social justice necessitates the work of developing a liberatory consciousness rooted in the values of interdependence, allyship, belonging, accountability, and decolonizing solidarity (see Blessett et al. 2019; Brown 2017, 2021; Gooden 2014; Guy and McCandless 2020; Harro 2018a, 2018b; Kluttz et al. 2020; Love 2018; Menakem 2017; Mingus 2010, 2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2022; Morris 2017; Piepzna-Samarasinha 2018).

At the same time, we acknowledge the heavy weight of these topics, particularly for multiply marginalized disabled, queer, trans*, Black, Indigenous, and negatively racialized People of Color (QTBIPOC). We also acknowledge that all people, and especially multiply marginalized people, are not consistently invited to take space for processing all the ways these topics impact their bodyminds, such as emotionally, psychologically, intellectually, and physically. Separating our cognitive experience of oppression from that of our bodies limits

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2. We humbly adopt "multiply marginalized" as the term of art used by Collins (2008) to describe the compounding effects of intersectional forces of domination, exploitation, invisibilization, erasure, and oppression experienced by folks who are located at the intersection of multiple marginalizing social identities.

3. In this work, we recognize there is a critical role for both person-first language (PFL) (e.g., person with autism) and identity-first language (IFL) (e.g., autistic person). Many disabled people view disability as being a core part of their identity, much like race and gender. However, many community members prefer PFL. We recognize that the decision to choose PFL or IFL is deeply personal and should be determined by the individual, especially in those communities that prefer IFL as a form of resistance (Brown 2011). Out of respect for the diversity of the community, we use both approaches in this article. We avoid euphemisms such as "special needs" or "differently abled."

4. We use the terminology trans* to indicate the broad array of gender diversity within the category of "trans-ness," including but not limited to transgender men and women, trans-masculine, trans-feminine, non-binary, gender fluid, genderqueer, and agender individuals (Catalano, Blumenfeld, and Hackman 2018).

our ability to fully understand how oppression hurts all beings and encourages detachment. In the words of Aurora Levins Morales (1998, 67):

> It is part of our task as revolutionary people, people who want deep-rooted, radical change, to be as whole as it is possible for us to be. This can only be done if we face the reality of what oppression really means in our lives, not as abstract systems subject to analysis, but as an avalanche of traumas leaving a wake of devastation in the lives of real people who nevertheless remain human, unquenchable, complex and full of possibility.

Therefore, as we share our perspectives, analysis, and reflections, our approach is invitational. Throughout the article, we avoid explicit or graphic descriptions of violence against marginalized bodies of color. We will continue to offer heavy-content warnings, offer prompts to pause, and embodied practices to connect with our bodyminds[5] (Irizarry 2022; Love, Gaynor, and Blessett 2016; Menakem 2017). If you are able and willing, bring a notebook/paper and pen/pencil to practice journaling. We will invite readers to take space to breathe, to move bodies in ways that feel accessible and comforting, whether by rocking, stretching, or any other forms of movements that offer readers comfort and a sense of intentional and mindful focus (Dana 2021; Menakem 2017).

We will seek to interrupt the common practice of exploring issues of oppression analytically, cognitively, and intellectually, without inviting curiosity about, and engagement with, the reactions of our bodies. We will use embodied practices of pausing, movement, journaling, and of gently noticing signs of being triggered, such as difficulty taking full breaths, an urge to rush or escape, clenched muscles, or elevated heartbeat. We will invite readers to honor their capacity by moving at a pace that feels accessible; to step away if necessary, and to return when their bodyminds feel ready enough. We rely on these practices to avoid disembodiment or disconnection with our bodyminds and to support a practice of embodied intentionality (Dana 2021; Haines 2019; Menakem 2017).

We recognize that this is a lengthy article. Our intention is to serve and reach a diverse and broad group of readership and, hence, offer enough context for claims, voices, and perspectives for those who are new to embodied reading and reflection practice and the concepts of white supremacy culture and disability justice. At the same time, we hope this article serves those who are familiar with these concepts to dive deeper into the liberatory consciousness-raising work. We invite readers to both skim/skip through parts that feel familiar and read/re-read parts that are salient to their contexts and at their own pace. To support such a both/and approach to reading we offer suitable headings and subheadings throughout the article. We invite readers to reflect on the following four prompts: 1) As you read/listen to this article, reflect and journal about your intrinsic "why" (i.e., intrinsic motivation/purpose) for reading/listening to this article. 2) Notice what idea/concept/theory/practice is salient for you in this moment, given your current context. 3) Are/were any of your existing assumptions challenged or validated? 4) Are/were there any limitations or contradictions that you would like to name?

We also acknowledge that the descriptions, interpretations, analysis, and perspectives shared in this article are both strengthened and subject to limitations in terms of our own intersectional (advantaged and disadvantaged social) identities and perspectives as well as our developing work of building liberatory consciousness as it relates to white supremacy culture and disability justice. This acknowledgment is not a statement that diminishes our work and writing; rather, it helps us humbly contextualize and clarify for our readers that we do this work within a larger context, collective, and ecosystem of liberatory social justice work.

The Intersectionality of White Supremacy Culture (WSC) and Ableism: A Disability Justice (DJ) Perspective

The theory and praxis of disability justice (DJ) has adopted and centered intersectionality as one of its core principles. Critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term "intersectionality" (Crenshaw 1989).

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5. With deep humility and gratitude, we wish to acknowledge that these practices are our adaptations inspired from our learnings with teachers Resmaa Menakem in the Foundations of Somatic Abolitionism program; Rev angel Kyodo williams, Staci Haines, Deborah Dana, and Dr. Sara King of the Embodied Social Justice Leadership Program; and many teachers of the Integrative Somatic Trauma Therapy Program with the Embody Lab.

Recently, she described it as "a lens, a prism, for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other." She added, "We tend to talk about race inequality as separate from inequality based on gender, class, sexuality, or immigrant status. What's often missing is how some people are subject to all of these, and the experience is not just the sum of its parts." (Crenshaw 2020, 2) *[Pause:* we invite you to take a deep breath, if that feels accessible, and let these statements land in your bodyminds.]

Disability justice recognizes that "ableism, coupled with white supremacy, supported by capitalism, underscored by heteropatriarchy, has rendered the vast majority of the world invalid" (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019, Principle 1). Disability justice applies the intersectional lens to help us understand that ableism, global anti-Blackness, racism, and white supremacy culture are "mutually inclusive and mutually dependent" on each other and every other form of oppression. Racism and white supremacy culture (WSC) cannot exist without ableism, and ableism depends on anti-Black racism (Annamma et al. 2013, 2018; Chin 2021; Dolmage 2011; Erevelles 2014; Lewis 2022, see pages 6 and 24; Schalk 2022; Taylor 2015). [Pause: we invite another pause here to let these statements land in your bodyminds; re-read the statements in this paragraph and pause.] To explore the operationalization of intersectional ableism, racism, and WSC, let us dive into their definitions. We humbly ground this article in T.L. Lewis's (2022, 1) working definition of ableism, which offers a sharp intersectional analysis.

> [Heavy Content Warning] Ableism is: "a system of assigning value to people's bodies and minds based on societally constructed ideas of normalcy, productivity, desirability, intelligence, perfectionism, and fitness. These constructed ideas are deeply rooted in eugenics, anti-Blackness, misogyny, colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. This systemic oppression leads to people and society determining people's value based on their culture, age, language, appearance, religion, birth, or living place, 'health/wellness', and/or their ability to satisfactorily re/produce, 'excel' and 'behave'. You do not have to be disabled to experience ableism. Ableism impacts us all." (T.L. Lewis's 2022 definition with minor adaptations by authors). [Pause: we invite you to take a deep breath, move, and/or journal about your

embodied reaction/response: How is this landing for you? Are you feeling tense or at ease; tight or open or both at the same time? What feelings and emotions are coming up for you: curious, angry, sad, seen/recognized, hurt, pain, calm? These are all welcome; simply notice them and when you feel ready to process them be curious about them.]

Like ableism, racism has a long, demonstrated history of being used to interpret human differences and develop rationales and justifications (often based in ableist assumptions) for creating and maintaining unequal socio-economic arrangements (see Bell et al. 2016; Ray 2019; Ray, Herd, and Moynihan 2022). Racism is an intersectional and pervasive system that advantages positively racialized groups (i.e., whites) and disadvantages negatively racialized groups (i.e., Black, Indigenous, and People of Color). Racialization is the process of ascribing positive or negative racial meaning to objects, people, and processes (Ray et al. 2022).

Tema Okun (2021), whose work is central to our argument, refers to white supremacy culture (WSC) as "the widespread ideology baked into the beliefs, values, norms, and standards of our groups (many if not most of them), our communities, our towns, our states, our nation, teaching us both overtly and covertly that whiteness holds value, whiteness is value" (4). [Pause: we invite you to hold on to this definition and give it the time it needs to land and to process. It may take days, weeks, months, or years to fully metabolize this definition.]

In describing how WSC informs and shapes us, our relationships, and our humanity, Okun (2021) writes:

> It teaches us that Blackness is not only valueless but also dangerous and threatening. It teaches us that Indigenous people and communities no longer exist, or if they do, they are to be exoticized and romanticized or culturally appropriated as we continue to violate treaties, land rights, and humanity. It teaches us that people south of the border are "illegal." It teaches us that Arabs are Muslim and that Muslim is "terrorist." It teaches us that people of Chinese and Japanese descent are both indistinguishable and threatening as the reason for COVID. It pits other races and racial groups against each other while always defining them as inferior to the white group. (p. 4)

In describing the impact of WSC, Okun (2021) refers to it as a "project of colonization" that

> colonizes our minds, our bodies, our psyches, our spirits, our emotions . . . as well as the land and the water and the sky and the air we breathe. White supremacy tells us who has value, who doesn't, what has value, what doesn't in ways that reinforce a racial hierarchy of power and control that diseases and destroys all it touches (3). [Pause: we invite you to re-read the last sentence of this quote, take a deep breath, move your body in ways that feel comforting (e.g., rock, hum, walk) and/or journal thoughts, ideas, feelings, experiences that are surfacing to your attention and awareness (Menakem 2017).]

These definitions and discernments shed light on the pervasiveness of racism, white supremacy culture, and ableism as intersectional systems of oppression. Racialized ableism and ableist racism exploit binary, socially constructed, superficial, and dehumanizing pseudo-logics such as those based on the color of skin and the types of bodies to define "who is fully human and who is not"; "who is worthy (of love, belonging, and care) and who is not"; "who is desirable and who is not" (Brown 2017, 2021; Lewis 2022; Okun 2021; Sins Invalid 2019). To attempt to address the harms of WSC without an ableism analysis would be to leave in place the conditions that made the harm possible. Ableism creates conditions for bodyminds to be devalued and deemed disposable.

[Heavy Content: Trigger Warning] Historically, ableism has been used intricately and purposefully to build and maintain a centuries-long history of racialization entrenched in white supremacy "that sanctioned the enslavement, institutionalization, criminalization, and sterilization of Black people for profit, dominance, and control . . . Entrenched in the capitalist political system that drove the value and worth of the Black enslaved body, ableism determined whether the enslaved worker was "productive or useful-in the fields, in labor and reproduction, through sexual exploitation, in the house of the master, or . . . in medicine." (Chin 2021, 696–697). Pseudo-scientific theories weaponized disability to maintain ableist racism and white supremacy. For example, in 1851, Dr. Samuel Cartwright made up theories of "Drapetomania" and "Dysaesthesia Aethiop-ica" asserting that enslaved laborers had diseases in their bodies and minds that caused them to run away/escape from the slaveholders (Brown 2021; Chin 2021, 698). Ableism or disability oppression manifests in the United States colonialism and settler colonialism wherein entire nations of Native peoples were labeled as mentally defective or diseased and intellectually inferior to the whites (Brown 2021; Chin 2021). [Pause: take one or more deep breaths as needed and move your body in ways that feel comforting.]

[Heavy Content: Trigger Warning] Ableism is used to justify and rationalize racism, colonization, and oppression of bodyminds in different forms based on explicit or implicit logics that define certain bodyminds as "normal" and "blessed" and certain others as "abnormal," "damned," or "evil" and thus deserving of dehumanization, stigmatization, marginalization, invisibilization, and erasure (Brown 2017, 2021; Chin 2021; McRuer 2006; Ostiguy, Peters, and Shlasko 2016; Wong 2020). For example, ableism intersected with global white supremacy, anti-Semitism, racism, classism, ageism, patriarchy, sexism, heterosexism, and trans* oppression to culminate in the pseudo-science of eugenics, which sought to eradicate reproduction of the "undesirables" (Brown 2017; 2021; Chin 2021; Ostiguy et al. 2016). In the context of the United States, eugenics was a mainstream scientific movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The power dynamics embedded in eugenics remain pervasive. For example, the legacy of eugenics shows up in the ableist logics of who is beautiful, healthy, intelligent, and a valued member of society deserving of safety, dignity, care, and belonging. These logics have been evident throughout the COVID-19 pandemic response (Brown 2021; Ostiguy et al. 2016). [Pause.]

[Heavy Content: Trigger Warning] In contemporary organizational contexts, ableism, racism, and WSC operate as interlocking systems of oppression, often as unconscious biases, to determine, for example, who is or is not "worthy" and 'desirable" of hiring, mentoring, coaching, sponsoring, and promotion. These interlocking systems also determine 1) who is or is not "intelligent and deserving of respect and dignity" in academic and so-called "professional" settings; and 2) which communities are or are not "fully human" and "worthy" of resources, care, and belonging. Manifestations of this are seen throughout the public and nonprofit sectors, includ-

ing the racial funding gap in both nonprofit and federal funding, and in racial disparities in nonprofit leadership (Kunreuther 2017; Dorsey, Bradach, and Kim 2020; Kunreuther 2017). In these instances, ableism, racism, and WSC intersect to shape which individuals are seen as potential leaders and which communities are perceived as trustworthy enough to receive funding. [Pause: statements written in the above paragraphs are truths we need to acknowledge, state, and re-state; they may be painful reminders of many forms of intergenerational, historical, institutional, and personal traumas (Menakem 2017) experienced by minoritized and marginalized folks. These can evoke many difficult emotions and embodied feelings. We invite you to practice self-care. Take one or more deep breaths as needed and move your body in ways that feel safe, free, and comforting (e.g., shake it off and/or place your hands on your hearts while taking deep breaths; rock front and back and/or side to side; the invitation is to make this practice your own.]

White Supremacy Culture (WSC) and Racialized Organizations

Okun's (2021) analysis, which is central to this article, helps us clearly and concretely identify and describe the key patterns and characteristics of ableist WSC that are pervasive in our organizations and institutions across public, private, and nonprofit sectors. Using Figure 1, we offer our interpretive description of WSC patterns and characteristics as identified by Okun (2021). We invite you to read these characteristics with pauses and notice your embodied responses/reactions. At each pause, note either mentally, or by journaling, the images, sensations, energy, thoughts, and feelings that show up within you. Do they have a flavor of curiosity, openness, ease, and comfort, or is there a flavor of tightness, unease, and discomfort? Are you feeling the energy, the vibration of resonance or dissonance, or both? (Dana 2021; Menakem 2017).

As may have come to your awareness from this brief exploration, in most of our workplaces, our classrooms, across public, nonprofit, and private sectors, the 15 cultural and behavioral norms of WSC are pervasive, often considered desirable, and even required standards and measures of so-called professionalism, progress, success, and performance. Attempts to challenge and counter these behavioral norms often meet strong resistance, backlash,

and suppression. We have so deeply embedded into our workplace cultures and value systems these 15 taken-for-granted assumptions, behaviors, and norms that they have become powerfully invisible to an uncritical eye.

Okun's (2021) analysis of the prevailing characteristics and patterns of WSC aligns with the theories of institutional racism, critical theories of white institutional spaces (e.g., Embrick and Moore 2020; Moore 2020), and racialized organizations (e.g., Ray 2019; Ray et al. 2022). These theories examine "hierarchies of power, racialized social values and practices, and embedded white logics" (Embrick and Moore 2020, 1940). The theories emphasize that in a racialized social system embedded in the political, structural, and cultural assumptions and norms of white supremacy, "space becomes contested ground for who belongs and who does not, who has access to the resources of the space and who does not" (Embrick and Moore 2020, 1939).

Over the past two decades, scholars have explicitly examined how systemic white supremacy is reproduced and sustained by racialized space. In the post-Civil Rights era, materially important social, organizational, and institutional spaces (such as educational, workplace, worship, leisure, entertainment, and other organizational spaces) that had been exclusively white spaces, experienced demographic changes once people of color were legally guaranteed a limited measure of access (Anderson 2015; Embrick and Moore 2020). Ture and Hamilton (1992, 5) coined the term "institutional racism" to explain "the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices" through social institutions in the post-Civil Rights era. It became important to critically examine racialization processes and white spaces beyond the contexts of geographical neighborhoods (e.g., residential segregation) to include institutional and organizational contexts (e.g., schools, educational programs, organizational departments, government agencies) (Bell 2016; Bonilla-Silvia 1997; Crenshaw 2011, 2020; Embrick and Moore 2020; Hardiman et al. 2007; Harro 2018a; Moore 2020; Ray 2019; Ray et al. 2022).

Critical theories and analyses of racialized organizations and white institutional spaces replace the assumptions of race-neutral organizations with a perspective that organizations constitute, and are constituted by racial processes. Organizations play a central role in the institutionalization of white spaces and in the racialization process. They have the potential to shape and be shaped by, both macro-level structures and policies and micro-level behaviors (e.g., in-

Figure 1. An Interpretative Description of the 15 Characteristics of White Supremacy Culture (WSC)

Fear	• WSC exploits fears of not belonging, of not being enough. In WSC, fear is used to disconnect, manipulate, and perpetuate the colonial divide and conquer strategy to serve the benefit and profits of the few at the expense of the many. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Sense of Urgency	• In WSC, urgency manifests in an out-of-balance emphasis on expediency and efficiency, often at the expense of inclusion and equity. Urgency reinforces privilege for those who think and move quickly and discourages reflection and connection with our bodies. Faster is characterized as inherently better, regardless of the quality of the outcome. (Okun 2021, 2022).
Perfectionism	• A belief that "perfect" is both attainable and desirable. Mistakes are seen as personal failings, rather than opportunities for discovery and learning. A tendency to identify flaws or problems without appreciating what is right or is working well. (Okun 2021, 2022)
One Right Way	• Tendency to maintain attachment to protocol, tradition, and one "correct" way of doing and being. This manifests in assuming a community must assimilate into dominant culture, including use of language, relationship with time, and manners of dress. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Denial & Defensiveness	• Claiming the right to define what is and is not oppression, sometimes characterized in a refusal to accept another's assertion of the presence of White supremacy or oppression in a space. Manifests in a focus on protecting power over addressing harms, naming intention instead of acknowledging impact. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Binary & Either/Or Thinking	• Seeing incidents, experiences, and people as good or bad, without nuance. Seeing incidents of inequity as isolated events, rather than systemic. The belief in and practice of simplifying complex things and framing issues as having a "right" or "wrong" answer. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Fear of Open Conflict & Right to Comfort	• Politeness is valued over honesty. The internalization of the idea that one's comfort is of utmost importance and that discomfort and conflict cannot be tolerated. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Progress Is More / Quantity Over Quality	• This is observed in how we define success. A focus on breadth over depth, quantity over quality, rather than a focus on growth, learning, and deepening relationships. Transactional deliverables are ranked above meaningful engagement or qualitative goals. (Okun 2021, 2022)

Sources: Okun 2021, 2022 [6]

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6. We would like to acknowledge that these descriptions are based on our interpretations of Tema Okun (2021). We invite readers to refer to the original work of Tema Okun (2021) cited in this article.

Individualism	• The myth that individuals achieve success independently, without help, while pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps. Focus on single charismatic leaders or individual achievements is maintained over collective definitions of success. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Worship of the Written Word	• Information and knowledge that is not written is not valued. Writing in a way other than "Standard American English" is seen as incorrect or less intelligent. Ways of knowing and communicating outside of writing are not honored. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Paternalism	• The ability to define the best course of action or lead decision-making processes is reserved for those who already hold power. One's access to power, particularly in the form of wealth, is perceived as proof of one's sound judgment and qualification to make decisions for others. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Objectivity	• The belief that emotions are inherently irrational and should not be part of decision-making or group processes. Attachment to the idea that there is such a thing as being "neutral". (Okun 2021, 2022)
I'm the Only One	• Connected to individualism, this is the belief that if something is going to be done right, "I" have to do it. This manifests in little or no ability to delegate work to others and share power. (Okun 2021, 2022)
Qualified	• "Qualified" often manifests in the form of saviorism. It is the idea that those with money, access to formal education, land, and political power are qualified to save, fix, help, and improve the world. (Okun 2021, 2022
Power Hoarding	• Ideas from people with less positional power are treated as a threat, decision-making is opaque, and resources are hoarded using a "scarcity" rationale. Sharing power is discouraged, because power is seen as a limited resource. (Okun 2021, 2022)

dividual biases and prejudices) (Blessett et al. 2019; Bonilla-Silvia 1997; Crenshaw 2011, 2020; Embrick and Moore 2020; Gooden 2014; Guy and McCandless 2021; Heckler 2019; Okun 2021, 2022; Ray 2019; Ray et al. 2022; Riccucci 2021; Starke, Heckler, and Mackey 2018).

For example, Ray's (2019, 27) theory of racialized organization highlights that "the racial order is reproduced via multiple organizational mechanisms." The state (at macro-level) relies on organizations to govern. Organizations are not race-neutral; rather, organizations are racialized by the virtue of being a part of the larger racialization process and infrastructure (Ray et al. 2022). Furthermore, individual (micro-level) racial biases gain their power from connection to organizational (meso-level) resources. By themselves, individual (micro-level) behaviors of racial prejudice may not have a significant impact. However, when these are practiced in connection with larger organizational (meso-level) processes such as racialized tracking, stereotyping, segregation of jobs and pay inequities, exclusion, and discrimination, these individual practices help shape the larger racial order (Ray 2019).

Ray's (2019) theory of racialized organizations has been recently applied to public administration to reveal

the racialized nature of administrative burdens (i.e., racialized burdens) (see Ray et al. 2022). From the lens of racialized burdens, seemingly small administrative requirements have a substantial impact in terms of restricting access to basic rights, benefits, and services (Ray et al. 2022). The effects of racialized burdens are distributed unevenly with the harshest impacts affecting social groups that are farthest from access to power and resources. This is particularly true for multiply marginalized groups, members of which disproportionately experience coercive state action. Racialized burdens result from long-standing patterns of deliberate exclusion and inequality that remain unexamined, taken for granted, and unintentionally—or perhaps, consciously—incorporated into policy with a "colorblind" glossing. Consider, for example, the shift from overt racism that allowed for legal exclusion of marginalized groups to facially neutral bureaucratic requirements that disproportionately affect racially marginalized groups. [Pause: we invite you to take a deep breath and process this literature with your head and your heart. Pause to connect with the humanity of public servants as well as communities impacted by the racialized nature of our institutions and organizations).

These critical scholarships help us understand that our organizations are immersed in the waters of white supremacy culture (WSC), and we need to start/renew/deepen the work of repair and racial healing by first naming and understanding this truth (Blessett et al. 2019; Brown 2021; Embrick and Moore 2020; Gooden 2014; Okun 2021; Ray 2019; Ray et al. 2022). In the following sections, we share our observations, reflections, and analysis by identifying patterns of WSC in public administration. We provide perspectives on how disability justice (DJ) principles could interrupt the harms of WSC, create conditions for healing, and aid the transition of public organizations to sites that resist oppression. We begin with an introduction to DJ and its 10 principles.

Disability Justice: A Prism and Practice

Disability justice is the "second wave" of the disability rights movement (Sins Invalid 2019, 16) that began to emerge in 2005 through the work of Black, brown, queer, trans*, sick, and disabled disability activists, artists, and visionaries such as Patty Berne, Mia Mingus, Stacey Milbern, Eli Clare, Leroy Moore, Alice Wong, Anita Cameron, and Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha (Annamma et al. 2018; Brown 2017, 2021; Chin 2021). Disability

justice (DJ) is not an academic theory. It is a praxis and a movement-building framework developed with a goal to help envision the ways of organizing and approaching social equity that centers the lives, needs, and leadership of multiply marginalized people with disabilities. These include disabled, queer, trans*, and gender non-conforming and/or Black, Indigenous, and negatively racialized People of Color that were marginalized in the white-dominated, single-issue organizing of the mainstream disability rights movement (Brown 2017, 2021; Chin 2021; Lewis 2022; Piepzna-Samarasinha 2018; Sins Invalid 2019).
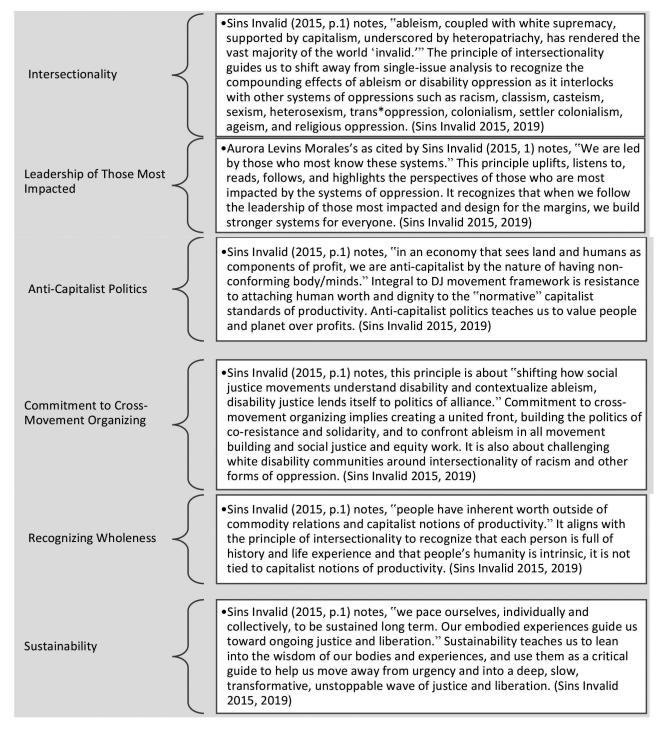
DJ critiques extend and deepen the disability rights framework, a framework that has been limited in its focus on the single issue of disability and uses mostly legal and rights-based approaches to justice. DJ deepens the disability rights movement by advocating for transformative systemic and cultural changes that strive for "collective access and collective liberation" of multiply marginalized people with disabilities. (See Chin 2021 for a deeper discussion on the historical context, strength, and limitations of the disability rights movement.) In describing the strengths and limitations of the disability rights movement, Sins Invalid (2019, 15) notes,

> [Heavy Content Warning] "While a concrete and radical move forward toward justice for disabled people, the disability rights movement simultaneously invisibilized the lives of disabled people of color, immigrants with disabilities, disabled people who practice marginalized religions (in particular those experiencing the violence of anti-Islamic beliefs and actions), queers with disabilities, trans and gender non-conforming people with disabilities, people with disabilities who are houseless, people with disabilities who are incarcerated, people with disabilities who have had their ancestral lands stolen, amongst others." [Pause: if it feels accessible, take a deep breath, and move to let these statements land in your bodyminds.]

Through its 10 principles, disability justice centers intersectionality, embraces wholeness, rejects capitalism's "normative" interpretation of productivity, encourages sustainability, celebrates a culture rooted in interdependence and collective access, and calls for "collective liberation." We offer an interpretive description of these 10 principles in Figure 2.
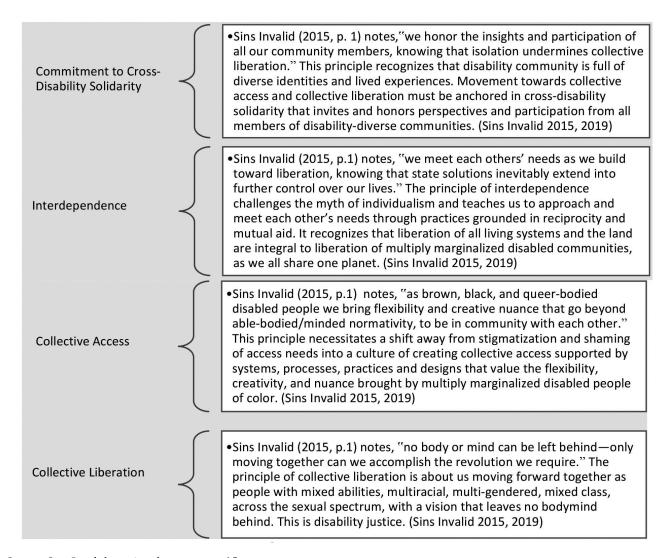
The 10 principles of DJ are a prism and a practice. They offer both an analytical lens to deepen under-

Figure 2. An Interpretive Description of the 10 Principles of Disability Justice

Intersectionality	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, "ableism, coupled with white supremacy, supported by capitalism, underscored by heteropatriachy, has rendered the vast majority of the world 'invalid.'" The principle of intersectionality guides us to shift away from single-issue analysis to recognize the compounding effects of ableism or disability oppression as it interlocks with other systems of oppressions such as racism, classism, casteism, sexism, heterosexism, trans*oppression, colonialism, settler colonialism, ageism, and religious oppression. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Leadership of Those Most Impacted	• Aurora Levins Morales's as cited by Sins Invalid (2015, 1) notes, "We are led by those who most know these systems." This principle uplifts, listens to, reads, follows, and highlights the perspectives of those who are most impacted by the systems of oppression. It recognizes that when we follow the leadership of those most impacted and design for the margins, we build stronger systems for everyone. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Anti-Capitalist Politics	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, "in an economy that sees land and humans as components of profit, we are anti-capitalist by the nature of having non-conforming body/minds." Integral to DJ movement framework is resistance to attaching human worth and dignity to the "normative" capitalist standards of productivity. Anti-capitalist politics teaches us to value people and planet over profits. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Commitment to Cross-Movement Organizing	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, this principle is about "shifting how social justice movements understand disability and contextualize ableism, disability justice lends itself to politics of alliance." Commitment to cross-movement organizing implies creating a united front, building the politics of co-resistance and solidarity, and to confront ableism in all movement building and social justice and equity work. It is also about challenging white disability communities around intersectionality of racism and other forms of oppression. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Recognizing Wholeness	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, "people have inherent worth outside of commodity relations and capitalist notions of productivity." It aligns with the principle of intersectionality to recognize that each person is full of history and life experience and that people's humanity is intrinsic, it is not tied to capitalist notions of productivity. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Sustainability	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, "we pace ourselves, individually and collectively, to be sustained long term. Our embodied experiences guide us toward ongoing justice and liberation." Sustainability teaches us to lean into the wisdom of our bodies and experiences, and use them as a critical guide to help us move away from urgency and into a deep, slow, transformative, unstoppable wave of justice and liberation. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)

standing of oppression and its impacts and a guide to the development of liberatory and anti-oppressive practices. The deeply intersectional nature of DJ resists WSC's reductionist "either/or" approach to anti-oppression work and centers racism *and* ableism as co-constituted systems that are at the core of WSC's harms (Chin 2021).

Disability justice is liberatory in orientation, inviting us to go beyond the disruption and dismantling of oppressive systems and moving toward the generative and creative work of building the world we envision and desire (Suarez 2018). This orientation is fundamentally different from the many diversity and inclusion efforts that have increased in number in recent years. The goal is not to teach organizational members to be good hosts that invite mem-

Commitment to Cross-Disability Solidarity	• Sins Invalid (2015, p. 1) notes, "we honor the insights and participation of all our community members, knowing that isolation undermines collective liberation." This principle recognizes that disability community is full of diverse identities and lived experiences. Movement towards collective access and collective liberation must be anchored in cross-disability solidarity that invites and honors perspectives and participation from all members of disability-diverse communities. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Interdependence	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, "we meet each others' needs as we build toward liberation, knowing that state solutions inevitably extend into further control over our lives." The principle of interdependence challenges the myth of individualism and teaches us to approach and meet each other's needs through practices grounded in reciprocity and mutual aid. It recognizes that liberation of all living systems and the land are integral to liberation of multiply marginalized disabled communities, as we all share one planet. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Collective Access	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, "as brown, black, and queer-bodied disabled people we bring flexibility and creative nuance that go beyond able-bodied/minded normativity, to be in community with each other." This principle necessitates a shift away from stigmatization and shaming of access needs into a culture of creating collective access supported by systems, processes, practices and designs that value the flexibility, creativity, and nuance brought by multiply marginalized disabled people of color. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)
Collective Liberation	• Sins Invalid (2015, p.1) notes, "no body or mind can be left behind—only moving together can we accomplish the revolution we require." The principle of collective liberation is about us moving forward together as people with mixed abilities, multiracial, multi-gendered, mixed class, across the sexual spectrum, with a vision that leaves no bodymind behind. This is disability justice. (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019)

Sources: Sins Invalid 2015 and 2019, 23–26 [7]

bers of marginalized and minoritized communities to come and assimilate as guests. Instead, DJ principles—intersectionality, leadership of the most impacted, anti-capitalist politics, cross-movement organizing, recognizing wholeness, sustainability, cross-disability solidarity, interdependence, collective access, and collective liberation—invite and instruct us to share power, co-create the way forward, and create space for our organizations and ourselves to be changed by the process. [Pause: notice if these statements are causing resonance or dissonance or both.]

Disability Justice (DJ) in PA: An Antidote to White Supremacy Culture (WSC)

Public service organizations that are committed to acknowledging, repairing, and transforming the systems entrenched in structural and institutional racialization, WSC, racialized ableism, and other intersectional forms of oppression may find guidance and support in the 10 principles of DJ. In doing this work, it is important to acknowledge that movement theories and visions such

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7. Similar to Figure 1, for Figure 2, we acknowledge that the descriptions of the 10 Principles of Disability Justice are based on our interpretations of Sins Invalid's (2015, 2019) original work. We invite readers to refer to the original work of Sins Invalid (2015, 2019) as well as the works of disability justice movement leaders and visionaries, such as adrienne maree brown, Mia Mingus, Patty Berne, Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, Lydia X. Brown, T.L. Lewis and others. Each offers interpretations and integrations of disability justice principles.

as disability justice are dedicated to, and oriented toward, transformative change. The goal is to end oppression and build and sustain liberatory systems. Many of our public and nonprofit sector organizations, although engaged in public service and social equity work, contain the contradiction that the work is conducted within systems entrenched in capitalism. This is an economic system that relies on frameworks and tactics that perpetuate oppression, dehumanization, and exploitation of living and planetary resources. As authors of this article, we too hold this contradiction at the front and center of our hearts and minds as we reflect on, explore, and imagine values, norms, and practices guided by the 10 principles of DJ to counter and heal from WSC.

Figure 3 offers a thematic representation of the harms of WSC. Figure 4 thematically depicts DJ principles that could serve as antidotes to WSC harms. In these two graphics and in the following discussion, we identify three prominent patterns of harms in WSC, namely 1) a scarcity mindset, 2) domination, and 3) a savior complex (Okun 2021). We propose three countercultural norms that are rooted in DJ principles, each of which can serve as antidotes to these harms. First is replacing a scarcity mindset with an abundance mindset; second is countering tactics and habits entrenched in domination with decolonizing solidarity. Third is countering a savior complex by starting where hurt lies the most.

Figure 3. Thematic Description of the Harms from White Supremacy Culture

Note: Authors' Interpretation of Okun 2021.

Figure 4. Thematic Description of the Disability Justice Principles as Antidote to the White Supremacy Culture

1. An Abundance Mindset: An Antidote to Scarcity Mindset

(*guiding DJ principles*)

- Intersectionality
- Sustainability
- Recognizing Wholeness
- Interdependence

Disability Justice

3. Starting Where Hurt Lies the Most: An Antidote to Savior Complex

(*guiding DJ principles*)
- Intersectionality
- Following Leadership of Most Impacted
- Collective Access
- Collective Liberation

2. Decolonizing Solidarity: An Antidote to Domination

(*guiding DJ principles*)
Intersectionality
- Anti-capitalist Politics
- Following Leadership of Most Impacted
- Interdependence
- Cross-Movement Solidarity
- Cross-Disability Solidarity,
- Collective Access
- Collective Liberation

Note: Authors' Interpretation of Okun 2021 and Sins Invalid 2019.

1. Replacing a Scarcity Mindset with an Abundance Mindset

The norms and characteristics of WSC that contribute toward a scarcity mindset include perfectionism, only one right way to do things, a constant sense of urgency, quantity over quality, progress is bigger, and more. Those in the dominant groups continue to hold power by creating and finding ways to justify and perpetuate these unsustainable expectations and norms. For example, dominant groups exploit a scarcity mindset, particularly "quantity over quality" and "a constant sense of urgency," to justify efficiency over social equity

and non-participatory decision making over democratic and collaborative approaches. When operating out of a mindset of scarcity and urgency, diversity, justice, and equity are sacrificed, making it difficult to inclusively seek inputs from stakeholders, communities, and groups that are most impacted by a problem (Alkadry, Blessett, and Patterson 2015; Blessett and Gaynor 2021; Heckler 2017, 2019; Okun 2021; Starke et al. 2022).

The pervasive demand for more and more out of fewer and fewer resources permeates public sector contexts under the garb of management reforms. It contributes to win-lose competitions, unsustainable practices,

and "the pressure to get things done" (Alkadry et al. 2015, 1192–1193). These, in turn, perpetuate reduced motivation, burnout, and organizational turnover for employees (e.g., see Alkadry et al. 2015; Bakker 2015; Burnier 2009; Esteve et al. 2017). The pressure to get things done is often motivated by unexamined values of efficiency and economy and is carried out at the cost of democratic values of care, social equity, and inclusion. The logic of technical rationality and pressure to get things done is exploited as a cover to neglect the ethics of care and to invisibilize or neglect the historical and relational context in the delivery of public services (such as housing, voting, education, employment) (Alkadry et al. 2015; Burnier 2009; Stensöta 2011, 2015).

Alkadry et al. (2015, 1192) note:

> Since Frederickson's (2010) call for making social equity the fourth pillar of public administration, efforts have been put forth to ensure that administrators are more cognizant of how their respective actions affect all groups in society. However, the culture of competition has likely yielded a new–old creed of administrators who are so focused on a need to produce results—get things done—that they could overlook the unethical implications of their actions.

A scarcity mindset reinforces a constant sense of threat and urgency in our nervous systems. We operate from a place of fear and deficit instead of safety and connection that is necessary for our nervous system to engage in collaborative creativity and a playful approach to problem-solving (Dana 2021; Haines 2019). It reinforces the "imposter phenomenon" and fears that "I am not enough," "my contribution is not enough," and "my success is not enough" (Brown 2018, 2022; Okun 2021).

In scarcity-driven cultures, the hyper-focus on "quantity over quality" shows up in how we measure success and how we value progress (Okun 2021). These norms show up in organizational and classroom cultures that value quantitative goals over qualitative goals: how many over how well; efficiency over equity; numbers over relationships; short-term over long-term; and profit over people and planet.

Albert Einstein famously said, "We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them." In contradiction, scarcity-driven cultures tend to work from an internalized "either/or" binary thinking and taken-for-granted assumptions that there is "only one right way" to do things. This leaves limited or no space for creative thinking and adaptability, both of which are needed for solving the inequities facing public service organizations. It is difficult to slow down and to take pauses for building the intentionality and creative problem-solving capacities necessary for doing the work of repair, racial healing, and envisioning liberatory systems and practices.

Antidote: An Abundance Mindset

Disability justice (DJ) principles of intersectionality, recognizing wholeness, interdependence, and sustainability may foster an abundance mindset, which could serve as an antidote to a scarcity mindset. An abundance mindset supports the work of racial healing, transforming systems of inequities, and reclaiming one's sense of agency that is deprived in scarcity-driven WSC.

We acknowledge that adopting an abundance mindset and centering interdependence is easier said than done. We are often surrounded by messages of scarcity and placed in positions that make us feel there simply is not enough to go around. We are led to believe that centering one marginalized or minoritized group must come at the expense of another. Learning to increase our awareness of these messages is a valuable first step toward practicing interdependence, nurturing an abundance mindset, and learning to recognize wholeness and embrace sustainability. Ann Russo (2019, 2) offers reflections that may support our consciousness-raising efforts and interrupt the binary thinking that leads us to believe that well-being is a zero-sum game. The questions she poses support our efforts to heighten our awareness of the way we move through interlocking and mutually reinforcing systems of oppression:

> I am often haunted by the questions Aimee Carillo Rowe poses in her book *Power Lines*; she asks, "Whose well-being is essential to our own? And whose survival must we overlook in order to connect to power in the ways that we do?" I would suggest that these questions are integral to building theory, research, and action against the entrenched violence that shapes the conditions of our lives. They reveal how much our choices—as individuals, organizations, and communities—are often embedded within these systems, rather than resistant to them. They are questions thus that compel

us to become more critically aware of and to take accountability for the impact of the ways we imagine, embody, and live the world that we envision for a future not yet here.

These DJ principles also align with and extend the praxis for public ethics of care (PEC) that help to operationalize the values of social equity in public administration (e.g., Burnier 2003, 2009, 2021; Dolamore 2021; Edlins 2021; Irizarry 2022; Love et al. 2016; Stensöta 2011, 2015; Trochmann and Millesen 2022; Tronto 2010). Public ethics of care (PEC) acknowledges that humans are interdependent beings, which puts relations and responsibilities at the heart of any ethical analysis. As Stensöta (2011, 7) notes, "We are, and need to be, related to each other as humans, but we also have relations and responsibilities to other entities such as our surrounding context and nature."

Aligned with these core notions of PEC, DJ principles of intersectionality, recognizing wholeness, interdependence, and sustainability invite us to share power and foster generative relationships as we do the work of repairing broken bonds and building trust with marginalized and minoritized communities. The praxis of these DJ principles necessitates engaging with the communities we intend to serve from a place of humility, curiosity, empathy and care (e.g., Blessett et al. 2019; Burnier 2003, 2009, 2021; Dolamore 2021; Edlins 2021; Irizarry 2022; Love et al. 2016; Piepzna-Samarasinha 2020; Sins Invalid 2019; Stensöta 2011, 2015; Trochmann and Millesen 2022; Tronto 2010).

The DJ principles of wholeness and intersectionality invite us to shift away from single-issue analysis in our social equity approaches. The field of PA has evolved in its application and integration of the tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to reveal how systematically and by design, racism and whiteness are embedded in public policy and public administration (e.g., Alkadry et al. 2015; Blessett 2020; Blessett and Gaynor 2021; Blessett et al. 2019; Conyers and Wright 2021; Crawford 2021; Gooden 2014; Gourrier 2021; Guy and McCandless 2020; Heckler 2017, 2019; Nickels and Leach 2021; Ray et al. 2022; Starke et al. 2018). Most recently, PA scholars have renewed calls to deepen social equity theory and praxis in a way that embraces the nuanced and complex lens of intersectionality most broadly and inclusively (Blessett 2020; Blessett et al. 2019).

By bringing the intersectional marginalizing impact of oppression experienced by people with disabilities into the foreground, the DJ principles expand and deepen the application of CRT to recognize and include the insights and perspectives of QTBIPOC with diverse (apparent and nonapparent) disabilities. DJ counters the shame and stigma associated with human experiences of disability and it recognizes disabled people as whole people (Brown 2021; Sins Invalid 2019). It is a humble practice to recognize that each person is full of history and life experience. From this wisdom, DJ teaches us to trust our bodyminds, our lived experiences, and our unique contexts as resources in finding our way out of scarcity-driven cultures and into cultures driven by an abundance mindset. It guides us to overcome the "pressure to get things done" and embrace the pauses, slowing down, rest, restoration, nourishment, and intentionality needed for organizations to become sites of healing (Alkadry et al. 2015; Brown 2017; Sins Invalid 2019). As Dr. Bayo Akomolafe (n.d., 1) notes, "The times are urgent; let us slow down."

We invite a deep breath here and practice of reflection. If you are able and willing, journal your reflections on the following prompt: "What practices can help me/us unlearn habits based on the internalized scarcity mindset and learn new habits and behaviors that embrace an abundance mindset? Why is this practice important for me/us as a collective?" You may reflect on these habits and behaviors in the context of your everyday life, your workplace, and/or your classroom. As a starting point, we share some of our reflections next in Textbox 1.

2. Replacing "Domination" with "Decolonizing Solidarity"

Organizational scholars such as Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1979) have called attention to the pervasiveness of "powerlessness" across institutions and organizations. Although public and nonprofit sector organizations intend to serve democracy and social justice, which are rooted in sharing power, we are not immune to the pandemic of powerlessness. Powerlessness manifests through power-over approaches embedded in domination (Kanter 1979; Mastracci and Adams 2018; Trochmann and Millesen 2022).

WSC approaches power from win-lose or zero-sum perspectives instead of understanding power as an infinite resource that grows with sharing (Kanter 1979; Okun 2021). Based on fear, the domination tactics under WSC include the right to comfort, fear of open con-

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Textbox 1. Reflections on Disability Justice in Practice—Abundance Mindset

Organizations can practice the DJ principle of sustainability by regularly exploring the question, "What can we stop doing?" rather than "What more can we do / what else can we add?" This question invites a sustainability mindset in the contexts of program development and management. Nonprofit leaders may invite their funders to join them in exploring how they can make a deeper impact with existing programs and community relationships, rather than being spread thinner by launching new initiatives. Managers may check in with employees by asking, "Which responsibilities or assignments are draining or burdensome? What can we take off your plate to support you in getting all your work done and still being able to live a full life?"

Organizational leaders and program managers can also practice the principles of sustainability, wholeness, interdependence, and intersectionality by reviewing their evaluation processes through a disability justice lens. Indications of WSC and ableism can be seen in evaluation systems that reward speed, intensity, and volume over other qualities such as depth, intention, and quality. For example, in some academic settings, short time frames for the completion of an assignment are perceived as more rigorous, even though more time could lead to more thoughtful work. Some nonprofit funders evaluate program success in terms of the number of people served, rather than the depth of relationships cultivated through that service.

Organizations can further practice the DJ principles of wholeness and intersectionality, by identifying opportunities to embrace and affirm the entire identities of their employees and community members. For example, as organizations seek to diversify their leadership, are they emphasizing single identities or the whole person? Frequently, when organizations focus on disability representation, they recruit white disabled people. Programs to encourage greater participation of women tend to center white, cis, nondisabled women. Similarly, initiatives that center race tend to focus only on racial identity and exclude consideration of immigration status, disability, class, gender, and so on. Inviting wholeness and intersectionality into the process of designing and administering programs, policies, and initiatives creates conditions for organizations to develop a more complete picture of the communities they serve and honors the wholeness of everyone impacted.

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flict, denial, and defensiveness, worship of the written word, paternalism, one right way to do things, power hoarding, either/or binary thinking, and the myths of individualism and objectivity (see Okun 2021).

Deeply entrenched beliefs in the myths of individualism and objectivity create barriers to collaboration, cooperation, alliances, and solidarity, all of which require intentionality and nurturing human relationships, particularly in diverse social identity settings. Individualism breeds isolation, which conflicts with the core human needs for safety, connection, and belonging (Haines 2019; Okun 2021). White supremacy culture weaponizes the myth of objectivity and neutrality to suppress, invalidate, and justify impatience with a range of human emotions, viewpoints, experiences, contexts, and histories, particularly for multiply marginalized BIPOC populations (Okun 2021).

The characteristics of white supremacy culture surrounding "either/or" thinking perpetuates domination through binary thinking of "with us or against us," "good or evil," and "right or wrong." There is a lack of skills, practice, and comprehension for a more nuanced, complex, "both/and" way of sensemaking. Fear of open conflict and the "right to comfort" get in the way of generative approaches to conflict management and transformation, creativity, innovation, and problem-solving. Those who raise issues that cause discomforting conflict are scapegoated for bringing their authentic selves to work. Difficult conversations are avoided at all costs to protect the comfort and status quo of those in power (Gooden 2014; Okun 2021; Starke et al. 2018).

Social equity scholars acknowledge that the right to comfort (both emotional and psychological), and fear of conflict, are widely pervasive. The right to comfort and fear of conflict in the context of PA is reflected in the ways we avoid discomfort, confusion,

and anxiety around white supremacy, whiteness, and racism. Susan Gooden (2014) calls this "a nervous area of government" (Blessett and Gaynor 2021; Gooden 2014; Irizarry 2022; Love et al. 2016; Starke et al. 2018).

The nervousness around critical conversations about race and intersectional racism is reflected in the scant attention offered to these topics in PA teaching and scholarship. With respect to teaching, for example, Hewins-Maroney and Williams (2007) revealed that only 14% of MPA curricula addressed topics of race and racism. Similarly, in their content analysis of websites of 120 MPA programs, McCandless and Larson (2018) found only 12 (10%) of the programs emphasized social equity. With respect to scholarship, Gooden (2015) found that within its first 75 years, public administration's oldest and leading journal, *Public Administration Review* had only 4.26% (208 out of 4,073 total publications) of its total publications focusing on social equity issues.

The "administrative racism cycle" helps explain these WSC characteristics in MPA programs, classrooms, and scholarship. Starke et al. (2018, 7) describe how a newly graduated MPA enters public service perceiving discussions of race and racism to be uncomfortable. Feeling ill-equipped to have these conversations in their workplace, racial and social equity analysis is worsened rather than improved by graduates (Berry-James et al. 2021; Gooden 2015; McCandless and Larson 2018). This phenomenon contributes to the perpetuation and reproduction of the racial contract, particularly among white people, that the issues of race and racism should be raised in a manner that favors white comfort by prioritizing safe spaces over brave spaces.

Because they fear conflict, when new MPA graduates and public administrators are confronted with ethical dilemmas around racially discriminatory and socially inequitable outcomes, they are likely to reproduce and perpetuate the administrative racism cycle by leaning into technical rationality. New MPA graduates and public administrators use technical rationality to rationalize the cognitive dissonance that occurs when behaviors contradict beliefs and values. This avoids feeling the pain caused by unethical and racially discriminatory outcomes of their decisions. This, in turn, renews their agreement with the racial contract of avoiding white discomfort and leads to a continuation of the administrative racism cycle (Love et al. 2016; Starke et al. 2018)

Antidote: Decolonizing Solidarity

Disability justice principles rooted in intersectionality, leadership of those most impacted, anti-capitalist politics, commitment to cross-movement solidarity and cross-disability solidarity, interdependence, collective access, and collective liberation serve as antidotes to the characteristics of white supremacy culture. These principles serve as guiding stars to find pathways for decolonizing solidarity. To operationalize decolonizing solidarity involves dismantling and unlearning colonial practices and mindsets that orbit around white colonial knowledge, leadership, privilege, power, and bodies (Kluttz et al. 2020; Morris 2017). Anti-capitalist politics envisions an economy that puts the planet and people before profit (Sins Invalid 2019). Collective liberation envisions leaving no bodymind behind and necessitates an integrated understanding of love and justice. The vision of collective liberation helps us discern that justice implies change at both social and organizational levels as well as change that is closer to home at interpersonal, intrapersonal, and individual levels. As Rev. angel Kyodo williams (n.d.) notes, "love and justice are not two. Without inner change, there can be no outer change; without collective change, no change matters."

Allies and accomplices may notice, "One of the formidable barriers to owning up to how we are implicated in systems of oppression is the binary framework of guilt/innocence that pervades the dominant culture in the United States" (Russo 2018). These barriers may manifest in a reluctance to take ownership of one's power, whether it is positional or identity-based. Organizations are not immune from this sensation and may feel hesitant to own their power to shape change. Interestingly, the guilt/innocence binary may also manifest in a desire to "fix" and "save." When allies and accomplices, particularly those with privilege, notice behaviors and patterns of thinking that align with this innocent/guilty binary, a valuable practice is to refuse innocence and embrace accountability (Russo 2018). Committing to disrupting legacies of silence, saying "the quiet part out loud," and seeking to be in a reciprocal relationship with the most impacted may support a shift toward relational accountability.

Patty Berne and colleagues at Sins Invalid originally developed the disability justice principles to serve cross-movement social justice organizing. The principles facilitate a shift in how disability is understood and how

ableism is contextualized. The wisdom of principles that emerged out of grassroots disability justice movements is relevant to racial healing, disability, and social justice work all around, including in organizational contexts across public, private, and nonprofit sectors. The values, which are anchored in commitment to intersectionality, interdependence, cross-movement, and cross-disability solidarity, could serve as antidotes to harmful myths of individualism and objectivity. They acknowledge the need for and power of human connection that manifests in cross-interest alliances and the solidarity that centers non-normative, non-conforming bodyminds (Sins Invalid 2019).

The learnings from these principles can be integrated and applied in diverse organizational contexts to disrupt and dismantle white supremacy culture, to meet the situation and those impacted in the moment, to embrace the unsettling and transformative change that is necessary to decolonize solidarity in order to achieve collective access and collective liberation. DJ teaches us that access needs are not shameful; they reflect the strength and resilience of human adaptability. Access for one creates more access for all. When we commit to collective access we create conditions for fostering flexibility and creativity to participate as a whole person. We commit to normalizing giving and receiving support. We understand that creating conditions of collective access is an ongoing practice, not a destination; that collective access is the floor not the ceiling for racial healing and collective liberation (Sins Invalid 2019). It is not about performative, check-in-the-box approaches to fulfill legalistic requirements; it is an ongoing continuously adaptive act of organizational love, care, reciprocity, and commitment. DJ practitioner Kebo Drew of the Queer Women of Color Media Arts project notes:

> The world is ableist and disabling and things happen to us as POC. But at the same time it allows us to be way more brilliant than if we weren't. We're moving at a pace that is real. We built the work around our bodies rather than the other way around. I can only sit in a chair for two to three hours a day at this point? Ok, no sitting in chairs. Or, everybody's office has an ergonomic chair, everybody has a set-up so we don't have to hurt. Reminding each other to drink water, sit down, we're

moving together. Anytime there's a new person we have to orient them to this because it's so different. It's better for our organizing community. It affects how we do fundraising because we're thinking about healthcare, retirement. DJ really means, I love you! How can I show you I love you? But it's slow to build because the world isn't set up that way." (A quote by Kebo Drew, cited in Piepzna-Samarasinha 2020, 46)

We invite another pause here to slow down, take a deep breath, and practice reflection. We invite you to journal your reflections on the following prompt: What skills and habits would I/we have to learn and unlearn to practice decolonizing solidarity in everyday contexts of our lives and work, and why? What barriers and challenges could I/we anticipate in building and sustaining the practice of radical accountability and decolonizing solidarity? How is this practice rewarding for me/us? As a starting point, we share some of our reflections in Textbox 2.

3. Replacing "Savior Complex" with the Wisdom of "Starting Where Hurt Lies the Most"

In addition to serving as tactics of domination, the white supremacy characteristics of paternalism, notions about who is qualified, the belief that there is only one right way to do things, the right to comfort, and fear of open conflict also perpetuate a savior complex dynamic. When operating from the savior complex, those in power view themselves as capable of making decisions without accountability and/or respecting the viewpoints and lived experiences of those who are most impacted by those decisions (Okun 2021). Okun 2021 observes, "Those without power do not really know how decisions get made and who makes what decisions, and yet they are completely familiar with the impact of those decisions on them." Even when those in power and authority have benevolent intentions of public service, conscious or unconscious assumptions steeped in WSC manifest through internalized domination and a savior complex where those in power and privilege seek to lead, rescue, and fix the oppressed.

Antidote: Start Where the Hurt Lies the Most[8]

In all our work, our meetings, our classrooms, our events, our programs, our policies, our algorithms, les-

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8. We are deeply grateful to civil rights legend Ruby Sales (2020) for her framing and offering of the question 'Where does it hurt?' We understand from her teachings that such an inquiry is necessary and could serve as a helpful starting point for any social justice and equity work.

Textbox 2. Reflections on Disability Justice in Practice—Decolonizing Solidarity

Access is often the entry point for organizations in doing disability justice work (Piepzna-Samarasinha 2020). Often, this work begins with the realization that not all spaces are accessible to all people (typically with an emphasis on physical disabilities). As organizations incorporate DJ principles of intersectionality, anti-capitalist politics, interdependence, leadership of the most impacted, cross-movement solidarity, cross-disability solidarity, collective access, and collective liberation into their analysis, their understanding of accessibility deepens to include the many supports humans need to facilitate full access to their environments. Access needs may include sensory rooms to cope with environmental overstimulation and/or recover from a triggering event, soft lighting, bright lighting, sound amplification, food, breaks, child/elder/family care support, movement, and many other accommodations.

A simple and effective practice to begin with is the Access Check-In. Access Check-Ins interrupt ableist norms by reminding us that all humans have access needs and that those access needs are frequently changing (Reinholz and Ridgway 2021). Our awareness of our own access needs often depends on whether or not those needs are being met. For example, in an Access Check-In, each participant is invited to share their name and any access needs that are not being addressed. They may say something like, "My name is Aurelia, my pronouns are she/they, and I need any written materials to be read aloud or provided in a text file, so I can use a screen reader." A non-disabled participant may be tempted to say, "My name is Michael, my pronouns are he/him, and I don't have any access needs," but this is not accurate. A more accurate statement would be, "My access needs are currently being met," because while we all have access needs, our societal norms and built environments are typically designed for the access needs of people furthest from marginalization and oppression. The practice of Access Check-In at the planning and preparatory stages as well as at the beginning of our meetings and other gatherings communicates the message that everyone's participation is valued, that accessibility is a shared responsibility, and normalizes the fact that access needs may change over time and in different contexts.

Similarly, organizations throughout the public and nonprofit sector can adopt a version of Access Check-Ins for community events, in one-on-one meetings with colleagues or direct reports, and any other gatherings. Regularly asking, "How can I create ease for you?" "How can I support your participation and engagement" can serve organizations in deepening their relationships with community members, communicates care, and communicates a commitment to inclusion. Asking this question on an ongoing basis shifts our perception of access as a one-time concern to an essential practice.

Access Check-Ins are only valuable if they are backed up by a commitment to make a good-faith effort to meet access needs. For that reason, we suggest organizations explore the ways their budgeting practices are including or excluding disabled people. Do you budget for accommodations? How are accommodations categorized? Are they a program expense or an essential operating cost, like electricity? How do you plan for structural care needs, such as childcare, interpretation, translation, and physical alterations to meeting spaces?

sons from DJ can be applied and integrated to value and center the contexts, needs, and experiences of multiply marginalized QTBIPOC with disabilities. Such an approach to justice and equity, anchored in the principles of solidarity, centers those who are closest to the margins of inequitable systems of oppression and fosters well-being for all. This approach to solidarity and equity work leaves no one behind and starts where hurt lies the most (powell, Menendian, and Ake 2019; Protonentis, Chordiya, and Obey Sumner 2021; Sales 2020; Sins Invalid 2019).

"Curb cuts" are a beautiful example of the practice

of disability justice. Many of our cities now have curb cuts, thanks to the disability rights and disability justice movements that centered access for wheelchair users. By centering the access needs for those most impacted, curb cuts have positively impacted and improved access for all people, including sick people, elders, people pushing strollers, delivery people with heavy packages, people using skateboards and so on (powell et al. 2019; Protonentis et al. 2021). DJ teaches that equity work which puts the margins in the center is not a zero-sum game; it is a win-win for all.

One of the core DJ principles that teaches us to rise above savior complex and helps us shift away from "DO-ing" toward "BE-ing" in right relationship with each other is following the leadership of those most impacted. Those impacted by systems of harm understand the problem in ways those in privilege and power cannot. Those impacted by systems of harm are not only intimately familiar with harm; they frequently have developed creative adaptive strategies to address it. Their leadership and wisdom can best guide us to solutions (powell et al. 2019; Sins Invalid 2019). In the words of Rep. Ayanna Pressley (2018), "The people closest to the pain should be the closest to the power, driving and informing the policymaking."

When we follow the leadership of those most impacted, when we target support where it is needed the most, when we create conditions that make equity and inclusion accessible for those left behind to participate and contribute fully, everyone wins. Following the leadership of those most impacted can guide our path toward repair and foster racial healing. At the same time, when we ignore challenges faced by the most vulnerable among us, those challenges magnify many times over and become a drag on economic growth, prosperity, and collective well-being (Protonentis et al. 2021).

We want to acknowledge that these are intense undertakings. We are inviting a profound shift in thinking that opens the door to deep and complex exploration and unlearning. From an organizational perspective, few, if any, organizations have infrastructure in place to support changes of this magnitude. Finding opportunities for change may feel mystifying and signs of progress may be slow to appear. While navigating and coping with these difficult contexts, first, we need to remember to pause and acknowledge that this makes sense. These changes are difficult and messy; important things usually are. Feeling daunted is an appropriate and un-

derstandable response. Second, the invitation is for us as individuals and as a collective to *start where it moves*. Every inch that we travel toward equity and justice has value, from our personal consciousness-raising work to vast organizational initiatives. Start gently, sustainably, and celebrate every victory.

We invite a final pause here to take another mindful deep breath and/or movement and practice reflection. We invite you to journal your reflections on the following prompt: Why do I/we need, and how can I practice, interdependence, a sustainable pace, and leadership of those most impacted? Why and what challenges and barriers must I/we anticipate/expect in the practice of equity that centers those most impacted by inequities? What resources and support systems will I/we need in this equity journey? What are the sources of rewards and nourishment for me/us? As a starting point, we share some of our reflections below in Textbox 3. We also offer a set of questions to support the continued practice of DJ. These are inspired by the works of brown (2017), Piepzna-Samarasinha 2020; and Sins Invalid (2019) and based on our experiences as educators and practitioners of social justice.

Conclusion

As of this writing, the world is three years into the COVID-19 pandemic. Throughout the pandemic, we have seen and felt the consequences of WSC's pervasive presence in our organizations. Many of the patterns of WSC such as denial and defensiveness, individualism, power hoarding, either/or thinking, only one right way to do things, a right to comfort, and progress is bigger and more, have been reproduced throughout the pandemic response. In what ways might the experience of the pandemic have differed if our public service organizations had been oriented toward disability justice (DJ) principles of intersectionality, recognizing wholeness, sustainability, anti-capitalistic politics, interdependence, leadership of the most impacted, cross-movement organizing, cross-disability solidarity, collective access, and collective liberation? How might the flexibility, creative nuance, and deep commitment to collective well-being that is at the heart of DJ have served us in navigating through the pandemic? How might they serve us in the months, years, and centuries ahead?

Racism, and ableism, perpetuated via white supremacy culture are deeply intersectional forms of oppression

Textbox 3. Reflections on Disability Justice in Practice—Start Where Hurt Lies the Most

Disability is vast and complex, so it is understandable that when organizational leaders begin to incorporate disability justice into their practices, they can feel overwhelmed. A common reaction is rooted in perfectionism, one of the characteristics of WSC. When faced with the daunting task of addressing access needs, particularly when some access needs appear to be in conflict with each other, a common reaction is to give up and declare, "We can't make things perfect for everyone, so we won't try to get it right for anyone." A reaction that makes sense, especially since we are conditioned to accept WSC as normal and even ideal.

When feeling overwhelmed or discouraged, we invite practitioners to pause and lean into DJ principles of interdependence, sustainability and the leadership of the most impacted. No one person or one organization is responsible for meeting everyone's access needs. No one person is expected to know how to practice every principle of DJ in every context. DJ is relational and rather than its principles being the foundation of policing or lecturing, its principles are invitations to live and work in community. Starting where it hurts most (or following the leadership of the most impacted), means looking for wisdom and guidance from those most impacted by these intersecting systems of oppression. In an organizational context, this can take the form of critical reflection on the way power operates in the organization. Helpful reflection questions are: Whom do we exist to serve? To whom are we accountable?

In the context of the public sector, we are often accountable to people and organizations that hold more power, resources, and privilege than the communities we exist to serve. This invites an exploration of ways to be creative with shifting power in the direction of "the people closest to the pain" (Pressley 2018). Community Advisory Boards that are comprised of multiply marginalized community members, participatory budgeting processes that center QTBIPOC with disabilities, and community engagement and accountability efforts that reframe community members as partners in program design and management instead of simply recipients of services are examples of intentional approaches to shift power and honor the wisdom and leadership of the most impacted.

In a management context, this can look like centering the experience of multiply marginalized employees when evaluating organizational culture, practices, policies, and norms. Centering the experiences of employees at the intersection of multiple forms of oppression creates conditions for leaders to better understand barriers to inclusion and belonging, and to co-create solutions that can be universalized throughout the organization.

A deeper practice of DJ principles such as "interdependence," "cross-movement solidarity," "cross-disability solidarity," "collective access and collective liberation" also invite us, as educators, scholars, and practitioners of public service committed to racial healing and social justice to shift toward an approach of integrating inner and collective change work. It teaches us to ask a set of questions such as:

- In what ways am I/are we following the wisdom and leadership of those most impacted?
- In what ways am I/are we vigilant of overt and covert ways of engaging in tokenizing extractive relationships with those most impacted by inequities? (e.g., extracting from the stories and lived realities of those who experience oppression for one's learning and other gains)?
- In what ways am I/are we moving toward building a right and generative relationship with those most impacted by inequities and oppression (human and nonhuman peoples and our planet)?
- In what ways am I/we creating conditions to practice trust and vulnerability?
- In what ways am I/we replacing micro-aggressive behaviors with micro-affirmations and micro-inclusions?
- In what ways am I/we practicing to start from a place of trust that people know what they need and believe their answer?
- In what ways am I/we replacing "cancel culture" in our classrooms and organizations with a culture rooted in compassionate transformation for an incremental, sustainable, transformative, long-term work of repair and racial healing?

and the cause of profound historical, intergenerational, persistent institutional and personal trauma (Annamma 2013, 2018; Brown 2017, 2021; Lewis 2022; Menakem 2017, 2021). Our pathway toward liberation and healing from these oppressions requires a nuanced, gentle, creative, and intersectional approach grounded in an unwavering commitment to the collective (Sins Invalid 2015, 2019; williams, Owens, and Syedullah 2016). DJ and its 10 foundational principles offer a guiding vision toward that path. It supports us in creating space to (re) examine our assumptions and co-create the world we want and need. Just as WSC discourages creativity by telling us there is only one right way forward, that resources are scarce, and that we cannot tolerate discomfort, DJ encourages us to invest in our imaginations, to find abundance through interdependence, and to honor the wholeness and wisdom of those most impacted by systemic oppression. As we face the promise, problems, and possibilities of the future, practicing disability justice may help us build the resilience, flexibility, and deep care we need to thrive.

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