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Angela Onwuachi-Willig

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Celebrating Critical Race Theory at 20

Angela Onwuachi-Willig*

The year 2009 marks the twentieth anniversary of the first Critical Race Theory (CRT) workshop. On July 8, 1989, more than twenty scholars "who were interested in defining and elaborating on the lived reality of race, and who were open to the aspiration of developing theory" gathered together at a workshop in Madison, Wisconsin. The 1989 workshop, which was spearheaded by Kimberlé Crenshaw and organized by her, Neil Gotanda, and Stephanie Phillips, also included as its participants Anita Allen, Taunya Banks, Derrick Bell, Kevin Brown, Paulette Caldwell, John Calmore, Harlon Dalton, Richard Delgado, Linda Greene, Trina Grillo, Isabelle Gunning, Angela Harris, Mari Matsuda, Teresa Miller, Philip T. Nash, Elizabeth

* Professor of Law, Charles M. and Marion J. Kierscht Scholar, The University of Iowa, angela-onwuachi@uiowa.edu. B.A., Grinnell College; J.D., University of Michigan Law School. Thanks to Dean Carolyn Jones of The University of Iowa College of Law for her support of the CRT Speaker Series and to Professors Anthony Alfieri, Lani Guinier, Alex Johnson, Jr., Dorothy Roberts, and Gerald Torres for participating in our lecture series. Additionally, I thank Dean Carolyn Jones, The University of Iowa Office of the Provost, Dean Christopher Edley of the U.C. Berkeley School of Law, Dean Kevin Johnson of the U.C. Davis School of Law, Dean Jeremy Paul of the University of Connecticut School of Law, Dean Beto Juarez of the University of Denver Sturm College of Law, Dean Dennis Lynch of the University of Miami School of Law, and Dean John Attanasio of Southern Methodist University School of Law for their support of the Critical Race Theory 20 Conference/Workshop. Assistant Dean for Finance and Administration Gordon Tribbey, Heidi Van Auken, Mary Sleichter, and my research assistants, Jonathan Brayman, Christie Canales, and Nicole Nellessen, provided invaluable assistance. The University of Denver Sturm College of Law provided amazing assistance with the conference website, and Professors Hillary Sale, Peggie Smith, and Adrien Wing, and many of their research assistants, provided invaluable help with the CRT 20 events. I also thank the editors of the Iowa Journal of Gender, Race, and Justice, especially Michelle Wheelhouse, for their support and assistance. Additionally, I am grateful to the editors of the Iowa Law Review, especially Matt Donnelly and Ashley Powell, for their help and support and for their work in publishing this twentieth-anniversary CRT issue. Finally, I give special thanks to my husband, Jacob Willig-Onwuachi, and our children, Elijah, Bethany, and Solomon, for their constant love and support.

Patterson, Benita Ramsey, Robert Suggs, Kendall Thomas, and Patricia Williams.²

In 2008, a committee of relatively junior scholars, including Mario Barnes, Jennifer Chacón, Rose Cuisson Villazor, Kaaryn Gustafson, Melissa Murray, Camille Nelson, Catherine Smith, and me, Angela Onwuachi-Willig, as its chair, sought to renew and reinvigorate the discussion started by the pioneering scholars who attended the first workshop in 1989. We planned and organized a conference/workshop entitled “CRT 20: Honoring Our Past, Charting Our Future” to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of these scholars’ first historic meeting during the weekend of April 2–4, 2009.³

Our reasons for planning a celebration of the first CRT workshop were vast and varied. The first CRT workshop resulted in the continued growth of an intellectual movement that has made significant contributions to the American and international legal academies.⁴ The impact of CRT on legal scholarship, law professors, practicing attorneys, law students, and the members of the public whose lives and experiences CRT works to address has been tremendous.⁵ Each one of us has our own stories, both as individuals and as parts of collectives, about CRT’s influence in our lives. One of the large influences of CRT has been its demonstration of how scholars can use narrative experiences to reflect upon and challenge legal conditions.⁶ Given this CRT tradition, it is only natural that I provide my own personal narrative, which reveals one small portion of CRT’s impact.

2. Crenshaw, supra note 1, at 1361 n.19.
3. We cannot take full credit for the event. One of the original workshop attendees, Professor Angela Harris of the U.C. Berkeley School of Law, suggested the gathering to us.
4. See Mutua, supra note 1, at 333–41 (describing CRT as “[o]ne of the most significant developments in law on issues of race and ethnicity in the last twenty years”); see also Kevin R. Johnson, Roll Over Beethoven: “A Critical Examination of Writings About Race,” 82 TEX. L. REV. 717, 719–34 (2004) (defending the new directions of CRT as it continues to grow).
6. See Leslie Espinoza & Angela P. Harris, Afterword: Embracing the Tar-Baby—LatCrit Theory and the Sticky Mess of Race, 85 CAL. L. REV. 1585, 1630 (1997) (“Critical theorists tell stories, both ‘real’ and ‘fictional.’ Arguably, the most significant impact of critical theory has been the reformation of legal analytical practices through the use of stories.”); Alex M. Johnson, Jr., Defending the Use of Narrative and Giving Content to the Voice of Color: Rejecting the Imposition of Process Theory in Legal Scholarship, 79 IOWA L. REV. 803, 830–51 (1994) (contending that narrative can powerfully explicate legal issues); George A. Martinez, Philosophical Considerations and the Use of Narrative in Law, 30 RUTGERS L.J. 683, 683 (1999) (arguing that narrative is a useful “way to
For me, CRT was a lifeline in law school. In fact, but for CRT, I may have never become a lawyer. Although I came to CRT as part of the second generation (arguably the third7) during law school, I had no idea what the scholarly field was when I began to study law in 1994. To be honest, I had no real idea what it meant to be a lawyer. I knew one lawyer in my life—a black municipal-law attorney, who was a friend of one of my high-school history teachers and who hired me and another black student to observe his practice one summer. Despite that one experience, my view of an attorney before I went to law school was that of a civil-rights attorney, namely Thurgood Marshall.8 Also, because an undergraduate professor had encouraged me to become a college professor and then suggested that I at least consider becoming a law professor when I decided to become a lawyer, I also went to law school with the image of a law professor in mind. For these reasons, I imagined myself at the beginning of law school as either a future civil-rights attorney or law professor.

During law school, I would learn that there were many more possible avenues for practicing attorneys, including minority attorneys. Yet, it was not these possibilities, but instead CRT, that would continue to keep me in law school. During my first few days of law school, I felt so alienated, alone, and, according to some, too preoccupied with justice and change that I began to wonder if there was a place for me in the law. It was not until I met a group of 2Ls who were part of a CRT Reading Group that I truly began to see law as a potential professional home for me. It was these 2Ls who introduced me to Professor Derrick Bell’s9 The Space Traders,10 a fictional tale about the

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7. Some would argue that there are three generations of CRT scholars, with the first generation consisting of scholars such as Professor Derrick Bell, who were providing critical analyses of the intersection between race, law, society, and power before the field received its official name.


9. Professor Derrick Bell was the first black person to become a tenured professor at Harvard Law School. He is consistently noted as one of the founders of CRT and is widely recognized for his protest against, and refusal to return to, Harvard Law School during the 1980s because of its failure to hire a woman of color. This protest ultimately resulted in the termination of Professor Bell’s job at Harvard Law School. Tracy E. Higgins, Derrick Bell’s Radical
government's decision to accept an offer from aliens to trade all Blacks\textsuperscript{11} in return for the following:

- gold, to bail out the almost bankrupt federal, state, and local governments; special chemicals capable of unpolluting the environment, which was becoming daily more toxic, and restoring it to the pristine state it had been before Western explorers set foot on it; and a totally safe nuclear engine and fuel, to relieve the nation's all-but-depleted supply of fossil fuel.\textsuperscript{12}

*The Space Traders* spoke to my experience as a black woman in the United States, and it helped fill a void of silence about race that seemed to be never-ending during my time in law school. The reading group's discussion of *The Space Traders* nourished my soul, and I began to think, "There just may be a place for me in the law yet." The CRT Reading Group and its members continued to nourish me throughout my time in law school. Eventually, the group spun into the formation of the *Michigan Journal of Race and Law*, which has since produced six law professors of color from its founding group, all engaged in scholarship about race and law.\textsuperscript{13}

CRT continued to play a prominent role in my career after law school. As a law clerk, CRT sharpened my analysis, especially of employment-discrimination cases with concepts such as intersectionality\textsuperscript{14} and anti-
essentialism, and it heightened my understanding of the role of stereotypes and unconscious bias in search-and-seizure and excessive-force cases. It also influenced my practice as a management-side, employment associate, where I learned much about the importance of stories, including those people on the "other side"—the plaintiffs—and where I learned even more about my own privilege as an attorney. Additionally, on a personal level, CRT provided a framework in which I could better understand the daily microaggressions that I experienced as the only racial minority (or one of very few) in corporate environments and the pressures of working one's identity that come with those environments.

Just as The Space Traders and other CRT articles had filled a hole in the law for me as a law student and later as an attorney, the participants in the first CRT workshop in 1989 filled a void of silence about race in legal academia by creating a space where scholars could give voice to, read, and engage critical scholarship that touched upon the meaning of race, racism, and the law to people of color in the United States and the world. Not only did these pioneers give voice to the voiceless, but they did so by making discursive moves, such as elevating and explicating narrative as a tool for justice and undertaking theory production and engagement. In many ways, to use a phrase from the late writer and activist Audre Lorde, these CRT scholars dismantled the master's house with the use of his own tools.


15. Anti-essentialism fights against the notion that there is "a unitary, 'essential' . . . experience [that] can be isolated and described independently of [gender,] race, class, sexual orientation, and other realities of experience" for any identity group, such as women. Angela P. Harris, *Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory*, 42 STAN. L. REV. 581, 585 (1990); see also Emily M.S. Houh, *Toward Praxis*, 39 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 905, 924-28 (2006) (defining both intersectionality and anti-essentialism).


17. Devon W. Carbado & Mitu Gulati, *Working Identity*, 85 CORNELL L. REV. 1259, 1262-63 (2000) (describing how women and people of color attempt to alter their racial identities in order to prevent discrimination and preempt stereotyping in the workplace). Their claim is that "the social meaning of, for example, a black person's racial identity is a function of the way in which that person performs (presents) her blackness" such that Blacks can choose to accept or reject societal expectations of behaving "conventionally"—that is, in accordance with predominant stereotypes. Carbado & Gulati, supra note 14, at 1771-72.

Although the research and writing of these scholars first entered legal and academic discourse in the areas of civil-rights and constitutional law, the work of CRT's pioneers forever changed all areas of legal scholarship, from education to criminal procedure to immigration to international human rights to tax law. Indeed, CRT gave birth to other progressive, anti-subordination movements, such as Latina/o Critical Theory. Over time, the contributions of these pioneers and other CRT scholars became mainstays in legal literature. For example, CRT has influenced my field of employment discrimination enormously. Professor Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality has provided the foundation for understanding discrimination at the intersections of identity categories, such as race and sex. And, Professor Charles Lawrence's work on unconscious bias has helped us develop a deeper understanding of disparate-impact theory as a tool of anti-discrimination law.

For more than twenty years, the work of CRT scholars has offered indispensable guidance to any person who has sought to use his or her scholarly voice to fight the silence about the interaction of race, racism, and the law. The importance and need for voices in CRT persists even after the election of the nation's first black president, Barack Obama. As we enter a new era—what some have identified as a post-racial era, where silence about race is being promoted as the only appropriate response to injustice, we need to hear these voices again and anew, and we need to return to CRT origin stories and examine where CRT is headed as a movement, and as a tool, for justice. The articles in this issue provide a start for us in performing these important tasks.

For example, in his article *Liberal McCarthyism and the Origins of Critical Race Theory*, Professor Richard Delgado explores competing stories of CRT's origins. In particular, he focuses on what he refers to as the Harvard story, the Berkeley story, and the Los Angeles story. Additionally, he highlights the underexplored story of a series of tenure denials of radical, mostly white Marxist and socialist professors in the late 1960s and early 1970s, arguing:

[that this] wave of what [he] call[s] liberal McCarthyism occurred because America's guardians foresaw the arrival of growing numbers of black and Latino applicants knocking at the doors of

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21. See *supra* note 14 and accompanying text.

22. See *supra* note 5 and accompanying text.

America's leading colleges and universities. . . . [applicants who were] poised to become the nation's first large generation of black and brown schoolteachers, social workers, mayors, college professors, lawyers, executives, and doctors.24

Delgado then draws the link between these tenure removals and the rise of Critical Legal Studies and CRT, adding yet another origin story to CRT's history. As Delgado states, this "examination of our beginnings and the stories we tell about them . . . yield insight into our current condition as well as the forces that may shape us in the years ahead."25

Then, as if hearing the call from Delgado, Professors Alfieri, Johnson, and Cho all provide their insights into the current condition of race and racism in our society and what lay ahead for us as lawyers involved in the anti-subordination project. For instance, in his article *Jim Crow Ethics and the Defense of the Jena Six,*26 Professor Alfieri raises important points about how CRT can be utilized as a tool for justice. In so doing, he applies central tenets about identity performance and the social construction of certain identities to highlight troubling questions about the use and function of race within the professional norms, practice traditions, and ethics rules of the criminal-justice system. To do so, he situates his analyses within the context of the 2006 prosecution and defense of the Jena Six in LaSalle Parish, Louisiana and examines the norms of practice under de jure and de facto conditions of racial segregation, a set of norms that he calls "Jim Crow legal ethics."

Professor Johnson also heeds Delgado's call to respond to contemporary and future issues in CRT. In his article *The Re-Emergence of Race as a Biological Category: The Societal Implications—Reaffirmation of Race,*27 Johnson explores the comeback of medical researchers and practitioners' study of race as a purely biological concept—which stands in stark contrast to CRT and other social-science scholars' understanding of race as a social construct. Johnson challenges us to question the propriety of such a return to the study of race as purely biological, and he argues that "the ideal and practical resolution to this debate is to focus on ethnicity, rather than race, in biomedical research."

Finally, in her article *Post-Racialism,*29 Professor Sumi Cho warns against the dangers posed to movements for racial equality by a growing conversation and invocation of "post-racialism." She describes post-racialism

24. *Id.* at 1508–09.
25. *Id.* at 1506.
28. *Id.* at 1556.
as "the 'race card' of whites, deployed with obligatory reference to Barack
Obama's presidency in an effort to trump the moral high ground held by
survivors of racial discrimination in a country with centuries of racial
injustice and inequality." With an insightful analysis, Cho speaks to the
next generation of CRT scholars, noting the different challenges that they
may face in their efforts to tear down racial hierarchies and asserting what
today's "post-racial" pushes for equality will require from them. She writes:

Heightening the contradictions between the rhetoric and reality of
rights and demanding redistribution and structural transformation
has been central to Critical Race Theory's first two decades. . . .
Activist-scholars committed to Critical Race Theory in the future
must persevere and thrive, by grounding their work in an
unflinching, rigorous, and always-deepening racial critique that
situates racial oppression and resistance thereto within the context
of material conditions and allied social forces. . . .

The next generation of race crits would also do well to see the
transformative critical-race project through Wallerstein's
imperative of building social movements among the understrata of
those historically left out. Although this imperative may cause some
initial discomfort among professionals in academe; I have no
doubt, based on Critical Race Theory's track record, that many will
respond sincerely and effectively to reject the "politics of
respectability" in legal academic circles that dictate an illusory
divide or distancing between scholar and community, and to work
towards empowering communities that have yet to embrace the
"Audacity of Hope."

Really, what the CRT Speaker Series and CRT 20 itself taught us—the
generation after its founders and those thereafter—is that we are both the
children of CRT and its progenitors. The fact is that, while the founders' 
movement shaped us as scholars, teachers, and activists, we now are helping
to shape the movement by continuing to produce work that challenges the
racial status quo. The CRT Speaker Series and the CRT 20
conference/workshop are proof of the constitutive relationship between the
original organizers and us. At The University of Iowa College of Law, we
celebrated what the founding participants in the CRT movement gave us,
but we also evinced our role in continuing the project. By doing so, perhaps,
we are not only solving real problems but helping to sustain the next
generation of CRT scholars.

Now, let's get back to charting the future.

30. Id. at 1598.
31. Id. at 1648-49.