Intersecting Viruses: A Clarion Call for a New Direction in Diversity Theorizing

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Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this article is to provoke diversity scholars to think about the implications of the confluence of the racial disparities in the effects of the Coronavirus and the persistence of racial inequality for a new direction of theorizing in the field.

Design/methodology/approach: Drawing upon three major analogies between the Coronavirus and the virus of racism, the author discusses their similarities as a means to think about why racism persists despite efforts to eradicate it. The history of racism in the United States forms a key part of the discussion.

Findings: The current theoretical tools diversity scholars primarily use to address racial inequality in organizations may only at best mitigate, not eradicate, racism in organizations. There is a need to direct theoretical development toward the concepts of racialization and deracialization.

Research limitations/implications: The views and proposals for new theorizing reflect the author's positionality and biases. It also relies on three of the many possible analogies that can be made between racism as a virus and the Coronavirus.

Practical implications: Understanding racism through the lens of racialization and deracialization can help organizations and the leaders of them to identify the structures that embed racism and also how to change them.

Social implications: Understanding racism and processes of racialization is critical to achieving racial equality. Organizations are one of the main societal institutions that shape and perpetuate the racism and inequality among African-Americans and other people of color experience. Awareness of the continuing effects of racism is critical to anticipating how virus pandemics increase the vulnerability of marginalized racial groups to greater health risks and precariousness.

*Originality/value:*This essay provokes diversity scholars to engage in reflexive discomfort about the current path of theorizing in the field. It suggests ways that the concept of racialization can be used descriptively and normatively to theorize racism in organizations. In addition, it proposes deracialization as a frame for supplanting the ideology of White supremacy and theorizing nonracial organizations.

Keywords: African-Americans; Racism; Racialization; Black lives matter; Coronavirus; Deraciaization

Introduction

As if it was not enough that the Coronavirus exposed racial disparities in infection rates and deaths, we received another reminder of the ever present realities of racism. The graphic videotaped murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, sparked protests across the United States. In addition to the global support of these protests, we saw outcries against the racism existing in other nations, reminding us of its pandemic

quality. Their confluence can either claim more victims without social justice and equality or be the wake-up call that shatters the delusion that race does not determine access to all the rights and resources human beings need to have what Butler (2015) refers to as a "liveable life."

The confluence of the racial disparities revealed by the Coronavirus and the murder of George Floyd triggered my thought that perhaps 'virus' could be a useful analogy to understand the persistence of racism and what we need to do differently as a field. That is, could an analogy be made between what I refer to as the virus of racism and the Coronavirus infection foster new thinking about the challenges we face to eradicate racial inequality in the workplace? Of course, the most obvious similarity is that they are both pandemics affecting theentire world. Bear with me as I am thinking out loud. I am very aware of the dangers of using analogies but also of their value in exploring similarities between phenomena to think differently about a target object (Forišek, and Steinová, 2012). To be honest, my retreat to this approach helped calm raw emotions of anger and despair that made it difficult to write.

My aim is to provoke diversity scholars to think more deeply about the elephant in the room.   Despite 50 years of theorizing diversity and difference, racial inequality (as well as other forms of inequality) persists in organizations (Nkomo, *et al.*, 2019). Of course, there has been incremental change (e.g. improvements in representation) but the racism virus reproduces itself just when we think progress is being made. I also believe the confluence of persistent racism and the differential racial effects of the Coronavirus is another signpost that our field is indeed at the critical juncture described in Nkomo, *et al.,* (2019).

Standing at a critical juncture provides an opportunity for deliberate thought about future paths. There is also an extraordinary opportunity for change because black, brown and white protesting voices in the United States and others across the world are naming and calling for an end to systemic racism.   And they appear not to be alone. Many sectors of society from

business to arts and culture appear to be aware of the depth of the problem beyond a few biased individuals. I believe this moment in time gives us as diversity scholars long concerned about inequality in organizations an extraordinary opportunity to add our voices to this unfolding movement. What theoretical and practical contributions can we make to what is hopefully a broader awareness of systemic racism? I begin this essay with a discussion of three analogies between the virus of racism and the properties of the Coronavirus. I use this approach to illustrate the historical trajectory of racism and efforts to achieve racial equality in the United States.   I conclude with some thoughts about theorizing race and racism(s) in organizations.

Analogies Between the Coronavirus and the Virus of Racism

　　Analogy 1: Caught by Surprise. The first analogy that resonates for me is the surprise expressed by some about racial disparities and the emergence of the Coronavirus. There was striking commentary from the media and leaders when data revealed hospitalizations and death rates among African-Americans and Latinos were twice that of white people (Shah, *et al.*, 2020).   For example, the Governor of New York State seemed to be surprised by this disparity, asking at one of his daily briefings, "Why are more African Americans and Latinos affected?" and then went on to pledge to get to the bottom of this discrepancy (Budryk, 2020). This expression of surprise by some leaders that those most racially disadvantaged in society would likely experience the greatest effects from the pandemic was also evident in other countries (e.g. in Britain where Black people are four more times likely to die from the virus than whites). These claims of surprise were made despite extensive academic knowledge about the social, health, education, employment, and economic status of racial minorities and the readily available trail of racism in the United States from its birth as a nation to the present (e.g. Bailey, 2017; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Feagin, 2013; Hacker, 2010; Kozol, 2012; Sears, *et al.,* 2000; Shropshire, 2012). A number of scholars in our field have explicitly revealed the significance of race in corporate America dating back to the 1970s (e.g. Brown and Ford, 1977).   There is

also the historic 1968 Report of National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (also known as the Kerner Report) prepared in response to the black unrest that swept American cities in 1967. The comprehensive report offered an analysis of racial disparities and concluded, "*Our nation is moving towards two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.*" (Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968:1). The Report also offered specific recommendations to political leaders for addressing racial inequality.

Victims of systemic racism have been pointing to these disparities but have been either ignored or silenced as was George Floyd when he pleaded, "I can't breathe." The #BlackLivesMatter and other current and historical social movements have long protested against endemic racial inequality and injustice in the United States (e.g. Chong, 2014; Dennis, 2016; Joseph, 2006; Lowry, 2017; Sullivan, 2009; Taylor, 2016). For myself and other Black Americans, George Floyd's murder was all too familiar. Others may have forgotten but we collectively remember and shed tears for all the other Black men and women (and children) murdered by the police. Every time it happens, we know it could have been me or my husband, wife, partner, son, daughter, brother, sister, mother, father, Uncle, Aunt, cousin, niece, nephew, grandson, granddaughter, grandfather, grandchild or a friend. The surprise expressed by others can only be read as a denial of the existence of racism (racial equality has been achieved) or how its normalization cloaks its visibility.

Similarly, epidemiologists, virologists, and journalists have been warning leaders for decades about the real possibility of a global virus pandemic (e.g. Garrett, 1994; Dejon, *et al.,* 1997) but some leaders were still surprised by its appearance. For example, President Donald Trump stated on different occasions that the Coronavirus "came out of nowhere" and "blindsided the world" (Epst, 2020). Yet, a study published in *Nature* in 1997 noted that the introduction of new influenza type-A viruses, carrying different combinations of the viral envelope glycoproteins haemagglutinin (H) and neuraminidase (N), had led to three major

pandemics of influenza in humans this century (i.e. Spanish flu of 1918, the Asian flu in 1957 and Hong Kong flu in 1968) and concluded, ". . . *the identification of the H5N1 influenza A virus and its presently unknown pandemic potential, should be the basis for an intensive monitoring of the epidemiology and the clinical manifestation of infection with this virus by the international World Health Organization*" (deJong, *et al.,* 1997:554). Other articles point to the very effects the virus is causing now (De La Barrera and Reyes-Terán, 2005).

Analogy 2: How they spread. A second relevant analogy is how viruses spread. The Coronavirus like many other viruses is dependent on hosts to replicate. Likewise, racism spreads through individuals and institutions. Children are not born with racist beliefs or behaviors but they come into a world already contaminated by racism. Through processes of socialization by families, educational systems, and social media, children soon learn about race, racial differences, and ideas about supposed racial superiority and inferiority. A substantial body of research has found that children in the United States become aware at a very early age of physical and racial differences among people and also learn prevailing social attitudes towards these differences (e.g. Clark, 1955; Van Ausadale and Feagin, 2001).

Organisations are also significant hosts of the racism virus. They produce and reproduce racism and racial subjugation through inequality regimes embedded within everyday structures, practices and processes that become normalized (Acker, 2006). More concretely, it is difficult, for many black and brown employees to do virtual work as a way of minimizing exposure to the Coronavirus because of the types of jobs they hold. According to the United States Bureau of Labour (2020), only 19.7% of African-American employees can work from home, compared with 29.9% of white employees. Further, African-Americans are more likely to be employed in occupations in the *essential* workforce, such as public transportation, food and care services, and low-skilled hospital jobs.

But it is very important to understand the origins of racism to fully understand its global spread and institutionalization in all spheres of society. There is not a single origin but the literature points to ideas emerging from scientists and colonialism. The concept of race appeared innocuously in the efforts of physical scientists like Linneas in the 18th century to apply categorization schema developed for the animal, plant and insect world to humans (Banton, 1998). However, as Goldberg (2000:154) points out these efforts at race categorization reflect modernity's focus on difference as central to development of knowledge. But race categorization soon led to a race hierarchy. During the early 19th century, scientists like Cuvier and Arthur de Gobineau who authored the book, *The Inequality of the Races (1853-1855)* propagated the idea that the unequal development of human societies could be explained by hierarchical biological differences that placed the white race above yellow and black races (Banton, 1998; Gobineau and Collins, 1915). The enslavement of and conquest of the lands of 'non-white' races by European imperialists and colonizers were justified by declaring colonization as a civilizing mission undertaken by a superior white race (Lake and Reynolds, 2008; Loomba, 2005). The spread and strengthening significance of white people as the supreme race prompted W. E. B. DuBois (1920/2004) to write about the emerging tidal wave of whiteness in the early 20th century that created a global color line between the darker and lighter races of men (sic). He argued that whiteness was global in its power and reach (Lake and Reynolds, 2008: 2).

Sustained efforts in both the United States and Europe to entrench hierarchical differences among the world's races in terms of both physical and behavioral traits are also evident in the early days of industrialization and were reflected in the jobs workers could hold as well as in management practices (Fluehr-Lobban, 2006; Roediger and Esch, 2012; Nkomo and Ariss, 2014). Whiteness became synonymous with a highly, capable, ambitious and efficient worker who had the right to skilled and managerial jobs while black and brown

workers were relegated to menial, low wage jobs (Foner and Lewis, 1989; Nkomo and Ariss, 2014).

Analogy 3: Capacity to Survive. The last analogy, I want to discuss is the capacity of viruses to mutate and survive. Most viruses die when they are unable to find hosts or a vaccine is developed. However, there are viruses that have the capability to evade the immune response by mutating to establish persistent infections. Scientists are warning that pandemic-like viruses may be with the world for the foreseeable future with only intermittent virus-free periods. Additionally, there is nascent research suggesting that the Coronavirus may be mutating in a way that enhances its infectiousness (Carey and Glanz, 2020). Racism in the United States also mutates and has demonstrated resilience, changing form over time despite efforts to eradicate it. These mutations require some detailing to reveal periods of progress in racial equality only to be followed by resurgent racism. Historian Carol Anderson argues this pattern is triggered by black advancement and demands for full and equal citizenship (Anderson, 2016).

The first twenty Africans arrived in the United States in 1619 after being violently captured and shackled for the hazardous and brutal middle passage trip to enslavement (Hannah-Jones, 2019). Two-hundred and forty-four years later the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the Reconstruction Acts (1863-1867) granted enslaved people freedom from slavery, full citizenship and the right to vote (black freedmen only).

Scholars characterize the era as a preview of the possibilities for a truly democratic America for all of its citizens. In addition to advancing freedom for former slaves and determining the conditions for the South's return to the Union, the 14th amendment of the constitution cemented the meaning of citizenship and rights attached to it. Over 1,000 black freedman held political offices at all levels of government (Gates, 2019). There were also glimmers of interracial labor solidarity against worker exploitation, a recognition of the

importance of public welfare services including universal state-funded public schools for all children, and the passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1866 followed by another in 1875 (Franklin, 1970; Rosenberg, 1988). The 1866 Act confirmed all people born in the United States are citizens regardless of color, race or previous servitude and equal protection under the law; while the 1875 Act declared that:

> "*all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude. The second section provided that any person denied access to these facilities on account of race would be entitled to monetary restitution under a federal court of law*"

(https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRightsAct1875.htm).

The Reconstruction Era of hope for equality across the country was followed by the Redemption Era led by 'redeemers'—a coalition of Southern conservative, pro-business Democrats and members of the elite planter class who pursued the tripartite goals of regaining political power, re-establishing white supremacy in the South, and ensuring freedmen and freedwomen would become a cheap source of labor to restore the economic prosperity of the region. The brevity of progress towards racial equality during Reconstruction is eloquently captured in the words of W. E. B. DuBois, "*The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery*" (DuBois, 1998: 30) The Redemption Era ushered in a violent resurgence of racism halting the advancement of black people and reversing their citizenship rights. It saw the rise of white supremacist

groups in the former Confederate states that included the Ku Klux Klan and paramilitary organizations like the White League and the Red Shirts (Gates, 2019). The re-establishment of white supremacy and the denial of racial equality was not just accomplished by these groups but was also aided by social scientists who developed and perpetuated a 'racial science' to prove that black people were biologically inferior to white people (Gates, 2019:56). Black people who had dreamed of owning their own land and freedom from the control of white plantation owners became either exploited landless agricultural labor in the South or low wage workers in the North (Foner and Lewis, 1989).

This post-Reconstruction period has been described as the nadir of American race relations—the point at which racism was worse than any other period in the nation's history (Logan, 1954). Black people suffered violent physical and psychological brutality that included lynchings, massacres and the destruction of their communities in the South and mid-west. The massacre of Black people in the prospering communities of Greenwood known as the 'Black Wall Street' (Tulsa, Oklahoma) and Rosewood (Florida) are two among the many that occurred during the early 20th century.[1] Radical Republicans and black legislators were harassed, attacked and often forcibly removed from office (Emberton, 2013; Hogue, 2006). The 1875 Civil Rights Act was declared unconstitutional in 1883 by the Supreme Court (Klarman, 2006). The Jim Crowism that followed continued the onslaught against racial equality through laws, violence, culture wars, and racist propaganda epitomized by the premiere screening of *Birth of a Nation* on February 18, 1915 in the White House at the request of President Woodrow Wilson (Franklin, 1979). The erection of Confederate monuments during the Jim Crow Era was not just about celebrating war heroes but a reminder of white supremacy (Cox, 2017).[2] Northern states used different strategies but not less potent forms of segregation and exclusion.

After years of struggle for civil rights and almost 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ushered in new hope for racial equality. Despite the progressiveness of the Act, subtle or what scholars describe as modern, aversive racism (Aiken, *et al*., 2013; Brief *et al*., 2000; Dovidio and Gaertner, 2004) replaced the overt racism of Jim Crowism but was not less harmful to African-Americans.   Forty-four years after the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the election of Barack Obama in 2008 as the first black President of the United States was interpreted as a sign that America was finally a post-race nation (Tesler and Sears, 2010). Black people were hopeful but not deluded that America had moved beyond race. But clearly, his election triggered white backlash just as progress during the Reconstruction Era was followed by resurgent racism. A mere four years after his second term, the country is facing a new resurgence of overt, violent racism and a country headed by a President that engages in racist rhetoric while fuelling and condoning white supremacy (Konrad, 2018).

Implications for Research and Pedagogy

I am not certain if the murder of George Floyd and the racial disparities revealed by COVID-19 will become the 21st century nadir of race relations in the United States. But it seems we are again at a low point, although I am very aware of the reality that black and brown people in the United States and across the globe experience continuous racism.   But like many who are outraged by the current state of racism and those who have resisted and struggled over the years for racial equality and justice, I remain hopeful that racism can be defeated.   What does this mean for us as diversity scholars?

There are two discourses about the aftermath of Coronavirus. One is getting back to normal; while the other rejects a return to normality and instead asks us to envision a different future.   A return to normal is not the choice we should make as diversity scholars. Returning to normal means continued reliance on a narrow set of theoretical tools and

concepts that include social identity theory, information processing theory, diversity climate, implicit bias, social categorization, and micro-aggressions. Like the current strategies being used to fight the Coronavirus, they can at best only mitigate racism, not eradicate it. We have to seriously consider whether they are just too timid for the virulent persistence of systemic racism.

What would be required to envision a new direction for our field? First, we have to name the problem. The current diversity and inclusion paradigm suggests the problem is one of getting more black and brown bodies into already existing organizational structures and working to adjust the climate. This assumes organizations are not deeply racialized and racist entities (Ray, 2019). We may have our own fragility about naming systemic racism. A rudimentary search of the journals in which we publish our research reveals a general avoidance of the term.   At the moment where we find ourselves, we cannot afford to ignore systemic racism in organizations.

I propose that we need an agenda for theorizing and researching systemic racism in organizations. The space limitations for this essay preclude full discussion of such an agenda, but I will attempt to sketch a broad outline of its complexity. Drawing from the literature on race, racialization, decolonization, coloniality, postcolonial feminism, cultural studies, and critical race theory, I suggest two critical theoretical projects that are descriptive and normative. First, greater attention should be given to revealing the often concealed assumptions and processes that systematically lock certain 'racial' groups into marginalized positions in organizations. I stress this as a beginning step because one of the analogies discussed earlier is the tendency to deny a problem exists—viewing organizational practices, policies and ways of managing as 'racism neutral' Embarking on this aspect of the project requires understanding the concepts of race, racialization, and systemic racism, particularly their interconnections and transnational scope.

The challenge of the meaning of race is the dichotomy between seeing it as non-existent (i.e. no such thing as 'race') versus defining it as a social construction with debilitating consequences (Banton, 1977). The latter definition seems to have gained ascendancy in the sense that we have to evoke race in order to eradicate it. Scholars struggle with whether the concept has any utility since there is no such thing as race (Hochman, 2019) Thus, we need to reflect upon how we are using the concept in diversity and inclusion scholarship. Currently, we have mostly used it as a demographic variable as pertaining to black or brown people, or as identity (i.e. racial identity).

Next, we have to grapple with the concept of racialization. Its meaning is highly contested (e.g. Banton, 1967; Barot and Bird, 2001; Goldberg, 1992; Hochman, 2019; Jurji and Solomos, 2005). However, its potential value to the agenda of studying the effects of systemic racism in organizations is its focus on racialization processes that can be applied to groups, individuals, and social structures while capturing the relevance of agency, temporality, and history (Hochman, 2019; Garcia, 2003). Garcia (2003: 285) offers a summary of the link between race and racialization stating, "race" is something one has, "racialization is something that is done to a group, by some social agent, at a certain time, for a given period, in and through various processes, and relative to a particular social context. Garcia's (2003) explanation stresses the need for attention to general and localized racialization processes for different nations and groups and active agents of racism. Further, systemic racism can then be understood as the hierarchical assignment of racial groups to inferior and superior categories and using it as the determinant of their social, economic, political and human standing (Fields, 2001: 1). Racism is systemic because it operates through the confluence of institutions, culture, history, ideology, and overt and covert processes and practices that generate and perpetuate racial inequality. The historical lens is relevant because as argued by decolonial scholars like Quijano (2000) and Grosfoguel (2007)

the large majority of exploited and oppressed workers are precisely those members of races and ethnicities into which formerly colonized populations were categorized and this continues to influence contemporary racial inequalities. Thus, we should not think of racism in the singular but of racisms. For example, this paper has focused on racism in the United States. While overall effects of racism can be generalized (i.e. oppression, inequality and subjugation), the processes and mechanisms of how it is achieved depends on the historical, economic, and socio-political context of a nation.

Second, it is not enough to reveal racism in organizations. We also have to theorize the otherwise. How do we then deracialize organizations? I am not using the concept in the sense of how it has been used in the United States to push the idea of crossing over race (e.g. cross over music that appeals to both blacks and whites or a racial minority politician who attracts white voters) as noted by Hochman (2019). Nor is deracialization the mere opposite of racialization just as decolonization is not the opposite of colonization (Fanon, 1967). Creating the otherwise requires lateral thinking. Deracialization means, intellectually and practically, imagining and creating emancipatory non-racial organizations that free all of us from the strictures of systemic racism.

There are no ready prescriptions for achieving the otherwise, but identifying questions relevant to this project may be a good start. Here are a few that come immediately to mind. Systemic racism rests upon the twin pillars of white supremacy and capitalism. This suggests two things. Removal of the ideology of white supremacy is the first salvo towards reversing the dehumanization of those deemed as inferior beings. This false racial hierarchy has been used to justify oppression and subordination. How do we undo the acceptance of race as a determinant of employment status and experiences? Relatedly, how non-racialism can be institutionalized *a priori* in the emergent work on post-capitalist and humanistic forms of organizing workplaces? How should moral values and social justice feature in efforts to

eradicate racism (Opie and Roberts, 2017). How can we avoid superficial deracialization as the end goal of organizations (e.g. re-branding racist packaging—removing Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben from USA products)?

Those who have been excluded because of their race have obvious motivations to resist racism. But what would motivate those who benefit from racism in organizations to act for its end? That is, how do we supplant the power race holds for their status? How do we build and foster solidarities across racial groups and inequalities to imagine a collective solidarity for change? How does racism intersect with patriarchy, heteronormativity, classism and other systems of oppression? These questions are critical to ensuring the solidarity we are seeing in the current protests is sustainable. Solidarity requires an active struggle to construct a uniting bridge built from multiple differences (Mohanty, 2003). Roediger (2016) cautions scholars to proceed carefully because solidarity is a concept fraught with both possibilities as well as difficulties.

Practically, both of these projects suggest the need to reflect upon changing how we teach diversity and inclusion in universities and in corporate training. The fact that the police officer who murdered George Floyd had like many others across the United States participated in mandatory diversity training suggests its typical content floats above the depth of systemic racism. If racism is systemic in its effects in organizations, how can it become a core module/course in business and management education? What kind of content must these courses include?

Conclusion

Our field has experienced an evolutionary path moving from equal opportunity and affirmative action to diversity and now to diversity and inclusion (Nkomo, et. al., 2019). The urgency posed by intersecting viruses suggests this is not the time to defend or justify what we have theorized but to embrace with humility the limitations of our theorizing and

rethink what we earnestly thought would work. It is time we think radically about where we go from here. Hopefully, by sharing my views limited by my own positionality and biases will encourage reflexive discomfort—the willingness to engage with uncertainty about the adequacy of diversity theory for ourselves and others (Boler, 1999). If we claim the workplace as our scholarly domain, then we need to reflect upon how we can better equip ourselves to theorize the reality of persistent racial inequality in the United States as well as across the globe, recognising that we are moving into unknown territory as none of us have lived in a world without racisms.

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[1] The worst massacre at the time in relatively unknown. It took place in Elaine, Arkansas after black sharecroppers tried to organize to pool money to buy land. The governor brought in an army of white veterans armed with machine guns (assisted by vigilantes) to hunt, murder, and slaughter black people. It is estimated that between 250 – 853 people were killed. Many were burned in their homes including women and children (https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/30/opinion/elaine-massacre-1919-arkansas.html.).Thousands of Black people were killed by white mobs (often in conjunction with state law enforcement) from Tulsa to D.C. in what is known as the Red Summer of 1917 when at least 97 lynchings were recorded, thousands of black people were killed, and thousands of black-owned homes and businesses were burned to the ground. Fire and fury fueled massacres in at least 26 cities, including Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Illinois; Omaha, Nebraska; Elaine, Arkansas; Charleston, South Carolina; Columbia, Tennessee; Houston, Texas; and Tulsa, Oklahoma. (https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/2020/06/remembering-red-summer-white-mobs-massacred-blacks-tulsa-dc/).

[2] The United Daughters of the Confederacy was established in 1894.   Their mission was to preserve and uphold the memory of Confederate veterans as part of the South's ideological strategy. One of their major achievements was the building of memorials and monuments throughout the South.