

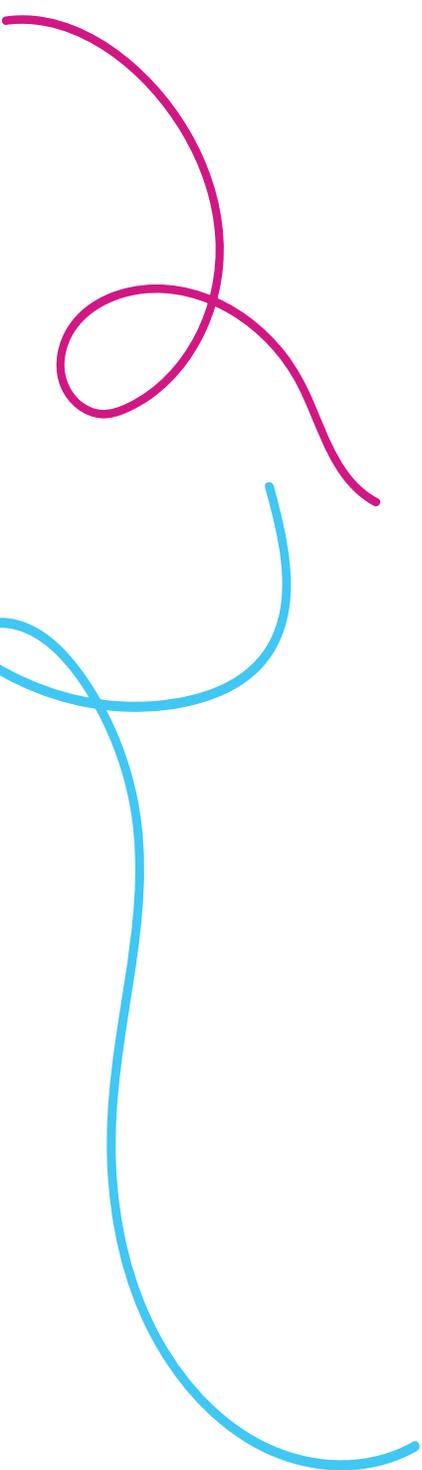


Mosaic
CHURCH

What is a Christian Antiracist Church?

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Antiracism*

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Hello!

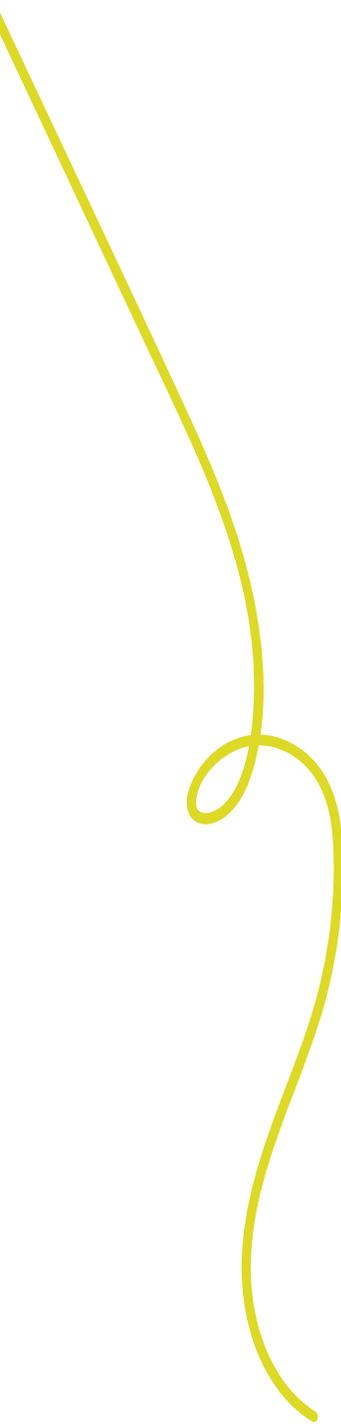
Thanks so much for checking out Mosaic Church. We understand how important it is to know about a church before visiting. We think this might be especially true of us, as you may be wondering what in the world a Christian antiracist church is and if it's a place for you or not. We are hoping this short e-book will help show you just that.

Right off the bat, we want to say that Mosaic is a place for everyone, including you. But we also want to be realistic that it's going to require humility and a learner's spirit. This document is meant to help get you up to speed.

We want to start out by saying we are a gospel-centered church.

Gospel meaning the good news of Jesus Christ to save us from our sins. Sin is our rebellion against God. The good news is that Jesus died on the cross and rose from the dead and if we put our faith in him and receive his grace, we will be forgiven and saved from our sins and spend eternity with him. Jesus loves us so much he doesn't want to leave us in our sins though. In this love, he calls us to obey him and his will. We don't obey in order to be saved; we obey because we love Jesus! Both Jesus and the New Testament letters tell us we become citizens of God's kingdom when we put our faith in Jesus. This means we are a part of rooting out sin in our lives and in this world's kingdoms, helping usher in God's kingdom (think: heaven here on earth) to the best of our abilities (Matthew 6:10). This applies to all sin, and we'll certainly address many of them on Sunday mornings at Mosaic as we come back to the gospel time and time again. But the sin of racism in particular is one that the American Church has long overlooked and ignored.

Because of this, and the disastrous consequences of such inaction, we are committed to being an antiracist church. Not because this is the only



sin that matters, but because it's been so long neglected and one that has put us on autopilot in a way where we don't even realize what this sin has done to us and to our communities. Racism and antiracism are certainly not the only things we will talk about at Mosaic, nor will they ever displace the gospel as our church's foundation. But we will be vigilant and intentional about being disciplined in a way that dismantles this long-neglected sin. Because without consistent intentionality, we'll simply maintain the autopilot that has been conditioned into us.

We also highly value being a gospel-centered, neighborhood resource and friend in the inner city. We hope to create jobs and help people own their own homes and provide access and opportunity where racism has deprived it. Without an understanding of what racism is and what it's done to our inner cities, this primary mission of ours can easily be misconstrued. That's another reason why this e-book is so important—so we have a shared knowledge base and language as we go about bringing God's kingdom here, to our neighborhood, together.

One of our highest goals as a multicultural church is to be a safe place for People of Color to be in diverse community and share their experiences of being Black or Brown in America. We are not content to simply be multicolored or to ask People of Color to assimilate to majority White culture. If people in marginalized racial groups are not able to share their authentic selves with people from the dominant, majority culture, we have failed as a multicultural church. While we have a multicultural leadership team, music team, and preaching rotation, our founding and primary preaching pastor is White. Because of the natural human nature to gravitate toward the familiar, and because we live in a dominant White culture, we realize we will have to be extra intentional to help create the safe place we are aiming for.

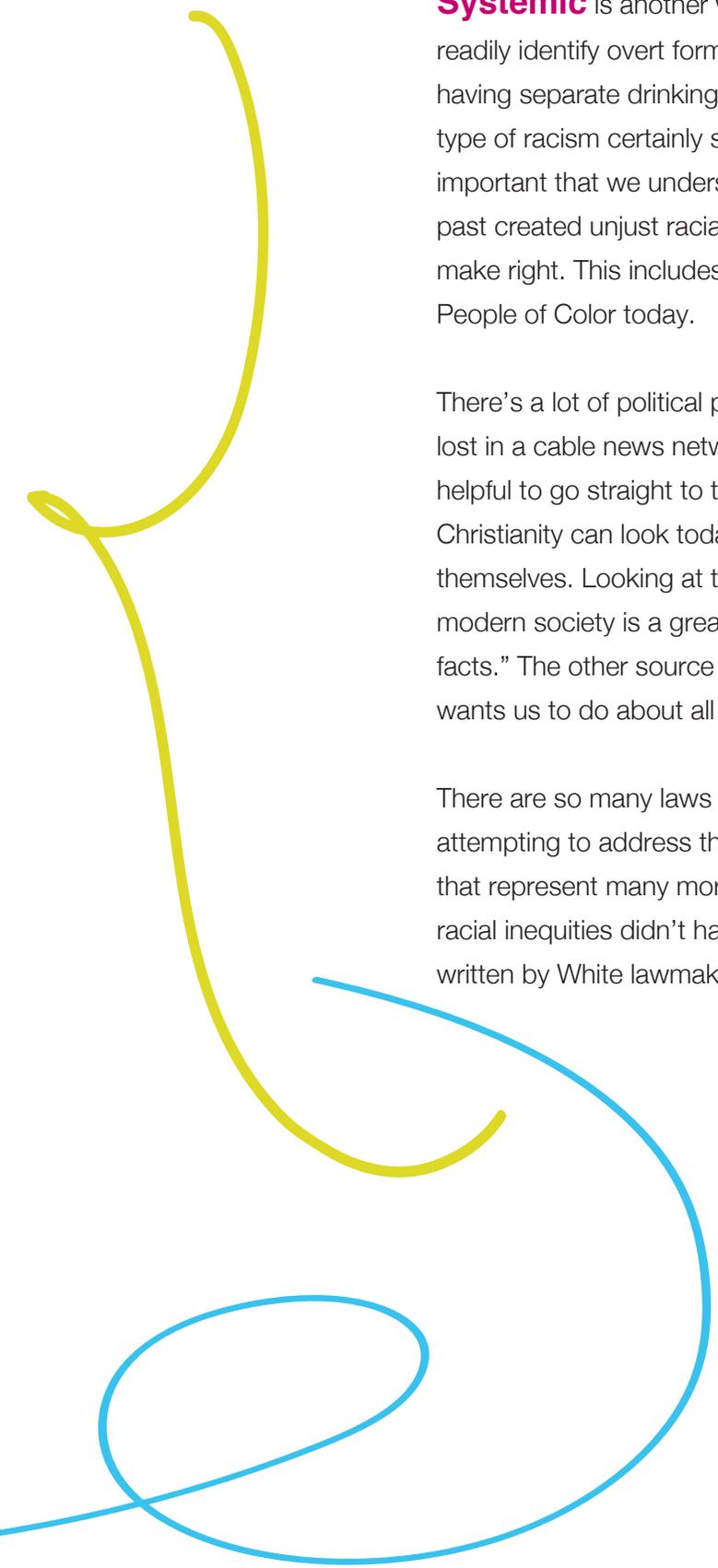
Some in our congregation have been on a Christian antiracist journey for decades while others are just beginning to realize the need for such a journey. We hope this document serves as a quick catch-up to help newcomers to this journey understand what we're after and feel comfortable jumping in as a participant.



We've already used the phrase **Christian antiracism** a few times.

Some don't like the term *antiracism* because they want to know what you're for, not against. But the risk in using a different term is that our efforts get watered down. Racism has many forms in its manifestations, one of them being systems and organizations that give power, influence, and resources to White people, but not to People of Color. We have to intentionally guard against this happening at Mosaic. We have to be intentionally anti-*this*. Antiracist. Antiracism gives us language to hold ourselves accountable and to fight against our autopilot tendencies. When someone is sick and we want them to be well, we use the terms *antibacterial* or *antibiotic* in order to be specific. If a bacteria is attacking the body, we are *anti* that bacteria, so that one can be well. Racism is attacking our country, the church, and individuals, and thus we are antiracist, so that we can be well and become who God intended us to be.

The basic idea of antiracism is that we are being intentional about dismantling racism. This is different than being “non-racist,” which doesn't do anything to stop all the racism that exists in our country and has shaped it to be what it is today. As Christians, we are convicted by commands in the Bible and by the Holy Spirit that we are to be a part of dismantling and stopping the systemic sin of racism. The *Christian* in Christian antiracism is also a key word. As Christians, we fight against racism differently than the world does. First and foremost, we are to live and lead with the humility of Jesus and the fruits of the Spirit (love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control, from Galatians 5:22-23). We have a wide on-ramp for people who want to learn more about racial reconciliation, justice, and antiracism. This is in contrast to the self-righteousness often seen in secular culture, where people are quick to “cancel” others who aren't on the same page as them. Our Christian calling is also what leads us to being antiracist, which we'll explain in more detail below.



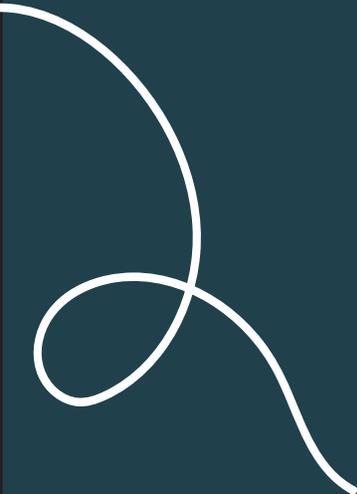
Systemic is another word that deserves a closer look. Most of us can readily identify overt forms of racism such as the KKK, the N-word, or having separate drinking fountains labeled “White” and “Colored.” While this type of racism certainly still exists and we stand against it, it’s very important that we understand how the many racist laws of our country’s past created unjust racial inequalities today, injustices the Bible tells us to make right. This includes how these systems continue to work against People of Color today.

There’s a lot of political propoganda out there today and rather than getting lost in a cable news network’s opinion on these things, we think it’s most helpful to go straight to two sources to best understand what antiracist Christianity can look today. The first place we’ll go is to the laws themselves. Looking at the federal and state laws that helped form our modern society is a great way of being objective and looking at “just the facts.” The other source we’ll go to is the Bible and see what God says he wants us to do about all of this.

There are so many laws we could look at, and this document is in no way attempting to address them all. We’d like to simply give a few examples that represent many more, with our point being to show that modern day racial inequities didn’t happen by chance, but by very intentional laws written by White lawmakers.

The Laws

(Several of these statistics and citations were found at <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/reports/2019/08/07/472910/systematic-inequality-economic-opportunity/>)



The brutality of slavery cannot be overstated. But one makes a serious mistake today in thinking that everything became good and equal for African Americans once slaves were freed in 1863. You hear this assumption when a White person says something like, “Well I never owned any slaves, so don’t blame me for racism,” or, “Slavery happened a long time ago; we need to stop dwelling on it.”

No one would argue with the fact that slaves had an inequitable financial standing in comparison to Whites. But there’s lots of arguing about the inequity today between Whites and Blacks and where this inequity comes from. What you’ll see consistently in what follows are laws that intentionally and forcefully kept Blacks from advancing economically (from slavery to today), while often overtly funding the financial advancement of Whites. This doesn’t mean individual White people didn’t work hard to earn what they have, but it does mean there are generations of laws on our country’s books that gave opportunities to White people that People of Color did not get. We want to look at those laws now so we have a shared understanding of what we’re up against in our efforts to bring equity and biblical justice.

After slaves were freed, Federal officials encouraged Black people to stay in the South and enter into contracts doing the same work for the families that previously enslaved them.¹ This was called sharecropping and usually left a laborer in the same economic position he or she was in as a slave.

Post-Civil War Reconstruction took place in the South from 1866-1877 and for a brief period African Americans were allowed to vote, acquire land, seek their own employment, and use public accommodations.² Reconstruction

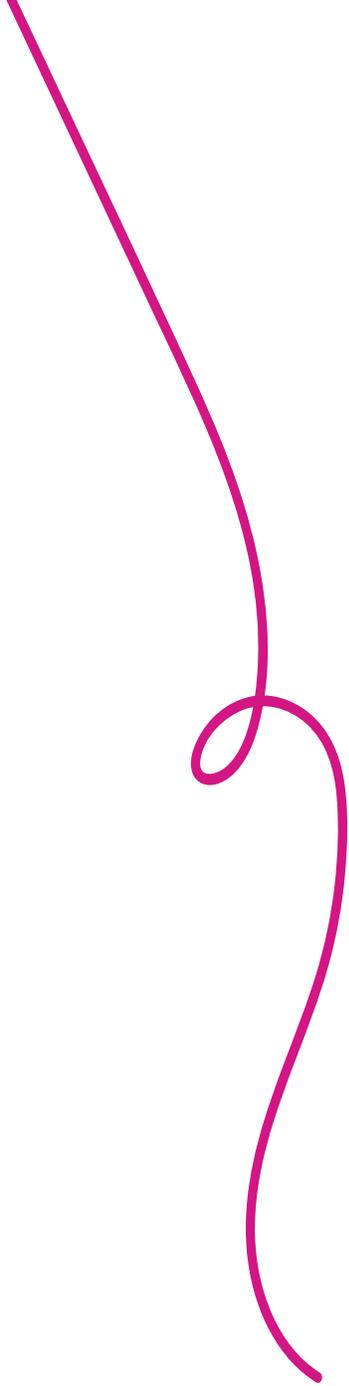


collapsed largely because Southern Whites violently opposed it. Once Federal troops withdrew in 1877, a long period of lynching and Jim Crow laws took its place as Blacks quickly lost the legal and economic rights they briefly held.

On October 15th, 1883, The United States Supreme Court ruled in Civil Rights Cases of 1883 that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. The Court ruled that the 14th Amendment prohibited states, but not citizens, from discriminating.³ This gave legal clearance for Whites to discriminate against Blacks however they willed.

States such as South Carolina enacted strict “Black Codes” that fined Black people if they worked in any occupation other than farming or domestic servitude.⁴ If they broke these laws or abandoned their jobs after signing a labor contract, they could be arrested and, thanks to a loophole in the 13th Amendment, forced back into unpaid labor on White plantations.⁵

The roots of Jim Crow laws began as early as 1865 and lasted until 1968 (That’s over 100 years!). They were meant to marginalize African Americans by denying them the right to vote, hold jobs, get an education or other opportunities. Those who attempted to defy Jim Crow laws often faced arrest, fines, jail sentences, violence, and death. This era was dominated by the Ku Klux Klan, a White secret society that terrorized Black communities and seeped throughout White culture, with members in law enforcement and the highest levels of government. Public parks were forbidden for African Americans to enter, and theaters and restaurants were segregated. Segregated waiting rooms in bus and train stations were required, as well as water fountains, restrooms, building entrances, elevators, cemeteries, even amusement-park cashier windows. Laws forbade African Americans from living in White neighborhoods. Segregation was enforced for public pools, phone booths, hospitals, asylums, jails, and residential homes for the elderly and handicapped. And of course, the Black version of these amenities were always a much less resourced version of the White. It was not uncommon to see signs posted at town and city limits warning African Americans that they were not welcome there.⁶ Nazi Germany was inspired by America’s Jim Crow laws and used them to build the Nuremberg Laws, which were the



legal groundwork for the persecution of Jewish people during the Holocaust and World War II.⁷

The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (a.k.a. the Wagner Act) expanded union rights nationwide, affording workers higher wages, improved benefits, job security, and better working conditions. However, the Wagner Act excluded domestic and agricultural workers and permitted labor unions to discriminate against workers of color, meaning Blacks didn't receive this government-funded advancement while Whites did.⁸

Similar to the Wagner Act, the New Deal's Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 boosted wages and improved working conditions for thousands of White workers, but it largely excluded African American workers from receiving these benefits by exempting many domestic, agricultural, and service occupations.⁹

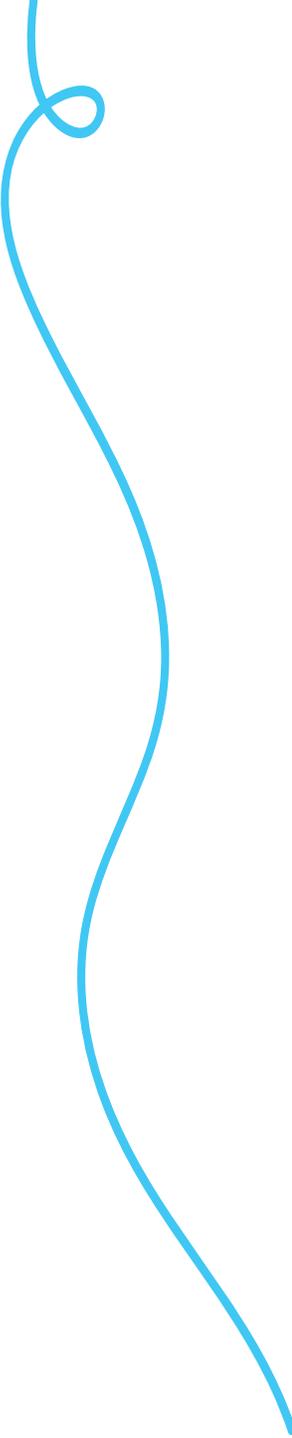
Redlining— For decades, many banks in the U.S. denied mortgages to people, mostly People of Color in urban areas, preventing them from buying a home in certain neighborhoods or getting a loan to renovate their house. The practice — once backed by the U.S. government — started in the 1930s and took place across the country.¹⁰ The Home Owner's Loan Corporation defines its Fourth Grade or D rating, signified by red on the map as: *those neighborhoods in which the things that are now taking place in the C neighborhoods, have already happened. They are characterized by detrimental influences to a pronounced degree, undesirable population or an infiltration of it. Low percentage of homeownership, very poor maintenance, and often vandalism prevail. Unstable incomes of the people and difficult collections are usually prevalent. The areas are broader than the so-called neighborhoods and others will lend only on a conservative basis.*¹¹

The result of redlining was that White citizens were able to get federally backed mortgages to purchase valuable and appreciating properties in the new suburbs, while Black citizens were forced to stay in the red zones as renters or in purchasing a home that had very little appreciation of value.

The FHA endorsed the use of restrictive racial covenants that did not allow Blacks into a neighborhood and provided a higher positive rating to areas that used them since “these provided the surest protection against undesirable encroachment and inharmonious use.”¹² The FHA’s underwriting manual also states that a thorough restrictive covenant should enforce the “prohibition of the occupancy of properties **except by the race for which they are intended.**”¹³ The FHA provided government insurance for mortgages on “4.4 million homes, totaling nearly \$29 billion” from its inception in 1934 to 1957.¹⁴

In Grand Rapids, the “Area Description” forms of the Home Owner Loan Corporation cited “A” areas as well as “restricted” communities whose inhabitants were “native White, White-collared” with a zero “Negro” population. Ottawa Hills was rated an “A” section and dubbed the “best residential area within the city limits” because it remained “highly restricted” and devoid of “Negro’s.” Alger Heights and Burton Heights also received high ratings in part by having a zero Black population.¹⁵ It took only 1 percent Black occupancy for a neighborhood to receive a “D” rating.¹⁶

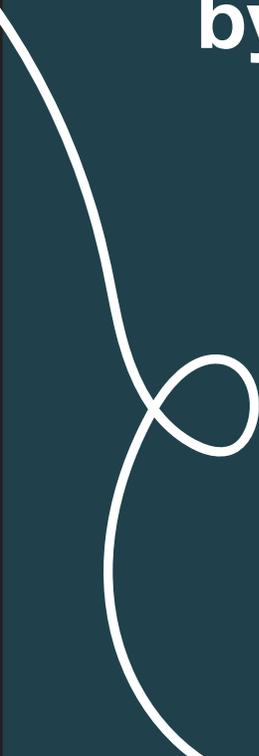
One initiative that further cemented disparities in housing was the G.I. Bill. It was meant to provide benefits to World War II veterans upon their return home from the war, which is did for almost 10 million vets. It was crafted and implemented in a way that the 1.2 million Black returning veterans were almost completely shut out of its benefits. These benefits given to White veterans included free college or vocational school tuition, including a cost-of-living stipend. Almost 49% of college admissions in 1947 were veterans. It gave unemployment benefits, medical care, and guaranteed loans for homes, businesses, and farms. Brand new suburban towns were created and built almost exclusively by G.I. Bill mortgages on new homes. Banks refused to loan money to Blacks for these homes and schools wouldn’t accept Black applicants. Many of the new neighborhoods prohibited Blacks from moving in. By 1956, 4.3 million home loans worth \$33 billion had been handed out.¹⁷ There was, writes historian Ira Katznelson, “no greater instrument for widening an already huge racial gap in postwar America than the G.I. Bill.”¹⁸



In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which eliminated hiring discrimination in the defense industry and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission.¹⁹ It's important to understand that up to this point, it was fully legal to not hire a Black person simply because they were Black. In Grand Rapids in 1910, Dutch immigrants made up 60% of the booming furniture industry's workforce and Polish immigrants made up 25%. Dutch immigrants made 8% higher wages than Polish. Meanwhile, Blacks remained on the outside looking in, unable to get furniture jobs. The city's two leading industries, furniture and automobile manufacturing, refused to hire Black workers.²⁰ As a Grand Rapids resident, you should consider the opportunities and financial implications on your life today if your grandfather or great-grandfather was one of these Dutch or Polish furniture workers versus if your grandfather was the Black Grand Rapids citizen who was refused a job because of his skin color.

Managerial racism has continued to exist long after it was deemed illegal. In 1960, the average salary for Black high school graduates working in Grand Rapids was below \$43 per week, or "barely a living wage," mainly because the jobs consisted of unskilled positions and offered minimal opportunities for advancement. Meanwhile, White high school graduates' average salary was \$63 per week.²¹ Today, White applicants are far more likely to be offered interviews than Black and Latino/a applicants, regardless of educational attainment, gender, or labor market conditions.²²

There are many more examples we could list of laws that have created inequity between Whites and People of Color. Our list is meant to show the general trend that racial inequity didn't come about randomly, but was intentionally crafted by sinful, racist lawmakers and society. Just like with any other sin in our lives, in repentance we as Christians are not content to allow this sin to continue. Let's take a closer look at some factual data about the inequities created by sinful systemic racism.



The inequity created by these laws

At \$171,000, the net worth of a typical White family today is nearly ten times greater than that of a Black family at \$17,150.²³

Homeownership is a significant way of amassing wealth and passing it on to the next generation. 73% of Whites own their own home, compared to 47% of Latino/a or Hispanics, and 42% of Blacks.²⁴ Reflecting on the redlining laws mentioned above, the typical homeowner in a neighborhood that was red-lined for mortgage lending by the federal government has gained \$212,000 less in personal wealth generated by property value increases than one in a greenlined neighborhood over the past 40 years. Black homeowners are nearly five times more likely to own in a formerly redlined neighborhood than in a greenlined.

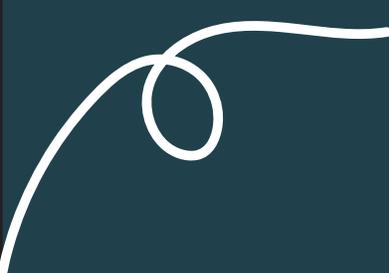
Like homeownership, inheritance is another significant way wealth is passed from one generation to the next. 23% of White families (heads aged 30 to 59) have ever received an inheritance, compared to nearly 11% of Black families and nearly 6% of Hispanic families. Among those receiving an inheritance, the mean amount received was nearly three times as large for White families. The conditional mean inheritance of White families was \$236,000, compared to \$83,000 for Black families and \$86,000 for Hispanic families. At the median, an inheritance increases wealth by more than \$100,000 for White families and only \$4,000 for Black families.

We see these inequities when we drive through the financially thriving suburbs and see mostly White bodies and drive through the financially struggling inner city and see mostly Black or Brown bodies. We often live under the American assumption that we all started from the same starting line, so differences in socioeconomic success are the result of those who worked

hard and those who didn't. We see from these laws and statistics that this assumption about starting lines is far from reality.

When we hear from the Bible, we realize that creating a starting line with a huge head start for one skin color is a type of injustice that God speaks passionately against.

The Bible



The Bible is full of God's mandate for justice. We often avoid these verses in the United States because they hit too close to home. This is the exact reason we need to look to God's Word to guide us in our discipleship path of following Jesus. Justice for the oppressed is something God takes very seriously, and at Mosaic we aim to obey and follow God in our context.

Isaiah 42:1-4

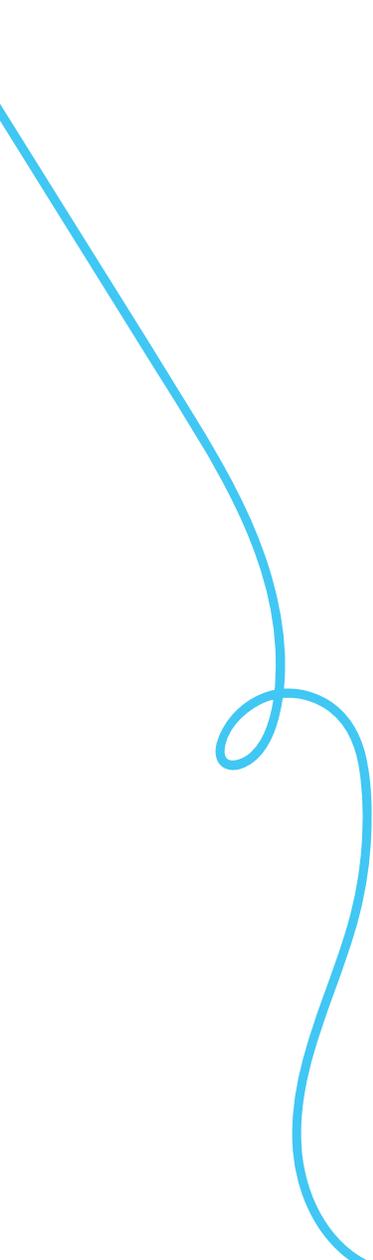
Behold, My Servant, whom I uphold;
My chosen one in whom My soul delights.
I have put My Spirit upon Him;
He will bring forth justice to the nations...
He will faithfully bring forth justice.
He will not be disheartened or crushed
Until He has established justice in the earth...

Psalm 10:17-18

O LORD, You have heard the desire of the humble;
You will strengthen their heart, You will incline Your ear
To vindicate the orphan and the oppressed,
So that man who is of the earth will no longer cause terror.

Isaiah 58:6-10

Is this not the fast which I choose,
To loosen the bonds of wickedness,
To undo the bands of the yoke,
And to let the oppressed go free
And break every yoke?
Is it not to divide your bread with the hungry
And bring the homeless poor into the house;
When you see the naked, to cover him;
...And if you give yourself to the hungry



And satisfy the desire of the afflicted,
Then your light will rise in darkness
And your gloom will become like midday.

Isaiah 61:8

For I the Lord love justice; I hate robbery and wrong...

Deuteronomy 10:18

He executes justice for the fatherless and the widow, and loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing.

Deuteronomy 16:20

Justice, and only justice, you shall follow, that you may live and inherit the land that the Lord your God is giving you.

Deuteronomy 27:19

Cursed be anyone who perverts the justice due to the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow. And all the people shall say, "Amen."

Isaiah 1:17

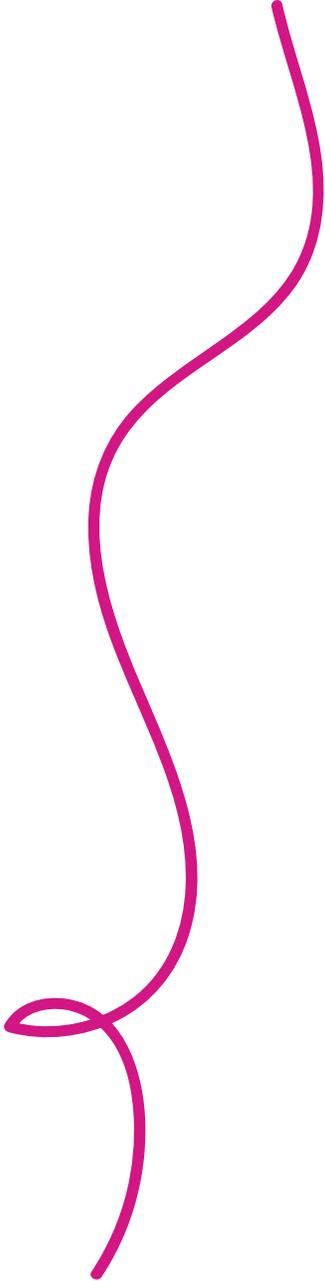
Learn to do good; seek justice, correct oppression; bring justice to the fatherless, plead the widow's cause.

Amos 5:24

But let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream.

Micah 6:8

He has told you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?



Matthew 23:23

Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you tithe mint and dill and cumin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law: justice and mercy and faithfulness. These you ought to have done, without neglecting the others.

Proverbs 21:3

To do righteousness and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.

Psalms 103:6

The Lord works righteousness and justice for all the oppressed.

Psalms 89:14

Righteousness and justice are the foundation of Your throne;
Lovingkindness and truth go before You.

Psalms 140:12

I know that the LORD will maintain the cause of the afflicted and justice for the poor.

Proverbs 18:5

It is not good to be partial to the wicked or to deprive the innocent of justice.

Matthew 12:18

Here is my Servant whom I have chosen, the One I love, in whom I delight; I will put my Spirit on Him, and He will proclaim justice to the nations.

Luke 4:18-19

The Spirit of the Lord is on me,
because he has anointed me
to proclaim good news to the poor.
He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners
and recovery of sight for the blind,



to set the oppressed free,
to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor.

Jeremiah 22:13-17

Woe to him who builds his palace by unrighteousness,
his upper rooms by injustice,
making his own people work for nothing,
not paying them for their labor.

He says, 'I will build myself a great palace
with spacious upper rooms.'

So he makes large windows in it,
panels it with cedar
and decorates it in red.

"Does it make you a king
to have more and more cedar?
Did not your father have food and drink?
He did what was right and just,
so all went well with him.

He defended the cause of the poor and needy,
and so all went well.

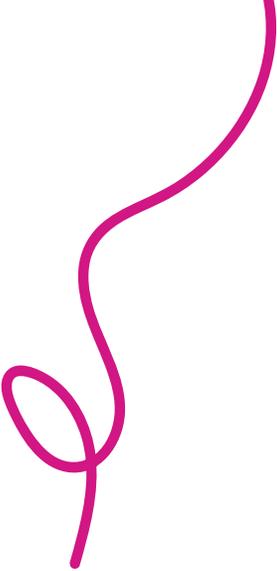
Is that not what it means to know me?"
declares the LORD.

"But your eyes and your heart
are set only on dishonest gain,
on shedding innocent blood
and on oppression and extortion."

We also see a lot in the Bible that compels us to be a multi-ethnic church. We overcome and work against injustice in Jesus' name, creating a community of equality. We believe this was Jesus' hope and prayer for the New Testament Church.

John 17:20-23

(Jesus speaking) "My prayer is not for them alone. I pray also for those who will believe in me through their message, that all of them may be one,



Father, just as you are in me and I am in you. May they also be in us so that the world may believe that you have sent me. I have given them the glory that you gave me, that they may be one as we are one—I in them and you in me—so that they may be brought to complete unity. Then the world will know that you sent me and have loved them even as you have loved me.”

Ephesians 2:14-16

For he [Jesus] himself is our peace, who has made the two groups one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility, by setting aside in his flesh the law with its commands and regulations. His purpose was to create in himself one new humanity out of the two, thus making peace, and in one body to reconcile both of them to God through the cross, by which he put to death their hostility.

Galatians 3:26-28

So in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith, for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.

Revelation 7:9

After this I looked, and there before me was a great multitude that no one could count, from every nation, tribe, people and language, standing before the throne and before the Lamb.

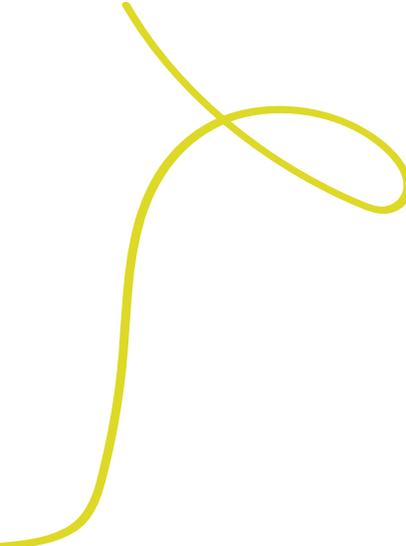


Christian Antiracism is for People of Color & White People, in Community

If we closely look at our world, country, or city regarding issues of race, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to make the very accurate assessment that something has gone wrong — very wrong.

The racial tensions are mounting on a daily basis. The very real fear that many White folks have about the changing demographics are leaving many spiritually paralyzed. We must look at all the historical data that has precipitated these tensions. We also must become aware of the many encouragements from Scripture that inform us that God has some very definite things to say about how we are to navigate these very choppy waters.

There is an element that we've not given a lot of attention to. This is the idea of how this shaping of a false identity has served as an impediment to the body of Christ being one with each other. God created each of us with our true identity as his image bearers (Genesis 1:26-27), and Jesus' clear desire was for his Church to be one (John 17:20-23). Satan has used racism to move us away from that image, both in how we view others and in how we view ourselves. There have been two very distinct groups of people who have come into being as a result of the societal formation we have become accustomed to living with. As we journey down the Christian antiracism path together, we often refer to these two groups as being shaped by Internalized Racial Superiority and Internalized Racial Oppression. There is overwhelming evidence of this very intentional misshaping. White folks and People of Color have succumbed to this misshaping.

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This shaping was not authored by God, but by this society we live in. We need each other to rewrite the narrative. This is why it's so important for People of Color and White people to come together in community to do this work together, helping each other, and creating the biblical vision of Church we see in the New Testament.

We would like to explore these concepts at length with you and propose that turning these false identities into God-fearing, Jesus-following, Holy Spirit-driven disciples could create an environment where fresh ministry can take place. We believe this will also be a testimony to a lost and dying world looking for hope. Imagine being a part of a body of believers that are willing to truly live out what it means to be image bearers of God.

We at Mosaic want to give close scrutiny to these distorted identities and step up to the plate for doing some serious introspective work, anticipating the work of the Holy Spirit. We see this as an integral part of our sanctification journey. Our goal is to become our true authentic selves that God created us to be, not clones in a society that is spinning out of control. It's the most provocative journey you will ever go on. We believe that God has given us some very good insights as to how to understand racism and what to do about it as the Church.

Conclusion



So, at Mosaic we're going to talk about racial righteousness. It won't be the only thing we talk about, as it's only a part of our discipleship into the way of following Jesus. But the construct of race is arguably the strongest influencer on each of us today and the one we most ignore. It's the one most likely to have us on autopilot, without even knowing it, giving greater reason to be intentional about working through it.

We are living in a society that was built on one racial group being privileged above all others. It's important to recognize that this statement is not coming from a political talking head or agenda, but from the very laws of our land. Note how the above laws we listed explicitly say the words "White," "Negro," or "undesirable population" and mention neighborhoods "by the race for which they are intended." Antiracist activists didn't invent these categories—our lawmakers did. We believe we can talk about these realities, and work against their injustices, in multi-ethnic community. We believe that when received with the right openness, White people can be in a conversation about what is without shutting down from feelings of shame or blame, and we will do our best at Mosaic to create a learning environment like that. We believe the context of this e-book highlights the statistical and factual reality across racial groups so that we can accurately navigate the way forward toward the equity and justice God demands of his people.

This e-book only scratches the surface of the Black/White divide in our country. The work of antiracism also encompasses the injustices and oppression faced by all People of Color, including Native American, Asian, Middle Eastern, and Latino/a. We hope this brief e-book is only the beginning of a much longer journey and conversation for all of us as we seek God's heart for the oppressed.

We have all inherited the unjust, lopsided, racialized society we live in. We are convicted by Scripture and the Holy Spirit that it's up to all of us to help fix what this sin has broken in us and in our culture. We feel that being a gospel-centered, multicultural church that is focusing on urban community development is a key way we can work toward being a part of the solution, and we invite you to join us.

If you want to see what a gospel-centered antiracist church looks like, our humble prayer and hope is that you will experience one in action if you come and visit Mosaic Church.

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¹⁶*Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁷<https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/gi-bill> & <https://www.history.com/news/gi-bill-black-wwii-veterans-benefits>

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²¹*Ibid.*, 99.

²²Lincoln Quillian and others, “Meta-analysis of field experiments shows no change in racial discrimination in hiring over time,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 114 (41) (2017): 10870–10875, available at <https://www.pnas.org/content/114/41/10870.full>.

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