CAMPUS CONVERSATIONS ON RACE: A TALK WORTH HAVING

5th Edition

CO-FACILITATOR TRAINING GUIDE

CAMPUS CONVERSATIONS ON RACE: A TALK WORTH HAVING™

The National Center for Race Amity

Campus Conversations on Race: A Talk Worth Having
originated as a Senior Fellow Project of the Phelps Stokes Fund
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Co-facilitating a Campus Conversation on Race Is a Heroic Deed

Discussions about race and race prejudice have never been comfortable or easy. Such prejudice is, after all, a corrosive force that has bitten into the fiber and attacked the whole social structure of American society. Ridding ourselves and our communities of race prejudice and healing the wounds sustained from it, require an effort of heroic proportions. Those who step forward to assist in this process by co-facilitating campus conversations on race are offering heroic deeds of service that benefit their own school community, and ultimately humanity as a whole.

Youth have long been in the vanguard of social change in America. The momentous achievements of the Civil Rights Movement were largely driven by the courage and sacrifice of young people, including the giving of their lives to promote social justice and racial harmony. As you summon the courage to act, by hosting and facilitating a campus conversation on race, you are not alone. In the weeks and months to come, many others will step forward, collectively representing a potent force that will render a vital service to campuses across the nation.

An important underpinning of conversations on race, wherever they may be held, is the perspective that race reconciliation and amity are the next steps in America's development. This viewpoint casts a reassuring perspective on the issue: the recognition of the nobility of all human beings and the organic oneness of all peoples. These principles are also expressed in the motto of the United States of America:

E Pluribus Unum – Out of Many, One

Overview

The *Handbook for Campus Conversations on Race: A Talk Worth Having* is designed to encourage 2-3 students to work together to organize and co-facilitate five conversational sessions in small groups of six to twelve students. It is hoped that each participating campus will have multiple Campus Conversations on Race occurring at the same time. Co-facilitators can be of the same ethnic/cultural background, though efforts should be made to have co-facilitators be from diverse ethnicities whenever possible. This handbook offers you guidance and support as you co-facilitate a series of dialogues on race in your dorm or some other campus location. In this handbook, the words "conversation" and "dialogue" are used alternately to denote the process that you and your fellow students will be engaged in during these sessions.

The handbook provides suggestions through a sample flyer inviting fellow students, session agendas with case studies and viewpoints to stimulate discussion, detailed steps for conducting the dialogue sessions and sample questions that the co-facilitators can use to get the discussions started. A list of ground rules for all participants and a reference page that contrasts dialogue with debate will help you set the stage for constructive conversations. In addition, appendices provide a variety of background information: historical and scientific fact sheets, and a bibliography and resource list.

Forms and methods for evaluation by both participants and co-facilitators are also included at the end of the handbook. Evaluations are useful at several levels:

- Content of the sessions
- Outcomes and new insights gained by participants and hosts
- General feedback for improving the handbook

Co-facilitating a Campus Conversation on Race

What is a Campus Conversation on Race?
It is an opportunity for students to come together to talk about race. It is an opportunity to explore, experience and learn the views on race held by others. The goal of the dialogues is to bring about intimate discussions on race unity on campuses across America.

Why host a Campus Conversation on Race?
Because racism has evolved to be a complex and subtle part of American society and youth can bring the energy, passion and courage to address it. For meaningful change to take place, individuals and communities need to assert positive leadership.

Students who arise to host a conversation on race on their campuses can demonstrate a positive force for change that will be felt first on their campuses, but whose effects will penetrate throughout America as minds and hearts are changed one at a time.

What is the role of co-facilitators?
The co-facilitators' role is essential to the dialogue's success. In making every effort to create an atmosphere of openness and trust, the co-facilitators also guide the discussion in a manner that helps participants gain understanding about the unity of the human family.

Co-facilitators are good listeners. They respect and encourage all participants to share their experiences, knowledge and opinions. Although the co-facilitators' role is not to "instruct," it is good to have some familiarity with the topic in order to bring forward views and ideas that may not come up automatically in the discussion. Because of the key role and many duties involved in hosting, it is very important to have more than one host to share these responsibilities. Your college will likely have organizations such as a cultural diversity desk or round table and/or various organizations promoting the interest and cultural appreciation for African American and other non-European American students. Co-facilitators can often be found by contacting these organizations. Again, it is suggested but not required that co-facilitators be of different ethnic backgrounds.

How can I get the word out?
Word of mouth is the primary means of notifying students of events that are occurring on campuses and, thus, it is important that you tell as many people as you can about the upcoming event with as much advance notice as possible. Remind them to tell their friends. It is also helpful to tell professors and residential staff (RAs, etc.) about the event, as they may be willing to bring their students or residents to the dialogues.

It may also help to print out small invitations and flyers to hand out to people you know who may be interested in coming.

Creating an invitation to attend a conversation on race is a significant task. You want students to respond and attend and you want them to perceive the invitation as an act of caring on your part. You also want them to recognize the value of participation to their own well-being and that of their friends, families, the broader community and ultimately the country.

Some things to Consider in Getting the Word Out –

- Plastering one's campus with flyers - is a popular way of advertising an event. (flyers should be posted at least one week prior to your event, if they are to be effective. Suggestions for a sample flyer are on the next page.)
- Word of mouth among peers, RAs. professors
- Post emails on campus email bulletin boards
- Press release and notices to all campus media

Keep the following suggestions in mind as you develop flyers, poster and the like as invitations.

1. Think about the qualities of those students you know and appeal to what you understand to be their interest in the well-being of your campus.

2. If you are religious, pray for assistance before beginning to create the invitation flyers and notes.

3. Keep the invitation short, one page or less.

4. Include the date, time, address and your telephone number. Ask them to confirm that they are coming, if possible, but that this is not essential. Emphasize that they are welcome to come, even if at the last minute.

5. Suggest that they share the invitation with others. Some people may want to bring someone else along to increase their level of comfort initially.

6. Don't hesitate to invite people on campus that you do not know well. Since you do not know them, you cannot assume what their response will be. At the very least, they will know of your concern for race unity and America's future. Remember that the tone and the content of your flyer can express a great deal in themselves.

7. Address fellow students respectfully and thank them for considering your invitation. Do not be overly familiar, even if you know them well. Respectfulness will help convey the sincerity of your efforts.

Guiding Principles for the Dialogue Co-facilitators

True dialogue is characterized by free interaction in a constructive and trusting atmosphere. The importance of perceiving the needs and capacity of the participants cannot be overemphasized. As a facilitator, use wisdom in choosing which specific materials to share at the meetings. It is important to remember that you might not be able to cover every issue in a single session. Indeed, it might take several sessions to begin to address the topics of race prejudice and race unity in a meaningful way.

The following points may help you to provide the trusting and positive environment that can promote the success of these discussions.

- **Conduct the dialogue in a spirit of genuine service.**

Sustained effort on the part of many to heal America's race prejudice will undoubtedly bring us closer to our goal of racial unity. Your participation as a co-facilitator of a Campus Conversation on Race is a genuine act of service to others.

- **Show sensitivity.**

The need to be sensitive to the feelings and opinions of others is a key to success in the dialogue sessions. When you show courtesy and kindness in your interactions and treat others with dignity and care, you provide a powerful role model for others in the group. The guiding principle for all is to seek the truth, rather than to insist upon one's own opinion or view.

- **Demonstrate flexibility.**

In addition to being sensitive to the needs of others, it is important not to hold too strongly to a preconceived agenda for the conversation. Be ready and willing to move with the flow of the discussion, as long as it is constructive and positive.

- **Don't claim perfection.**

To reach the ultimate standard of unity, we all still have work to do. At the same time, we have made significant achievements that are a cause for hope for the future, otherwise we would not be engaging in this type of conversation in the first place. Feeling humility in the face of this difficult task is to be expected, but you can also be confident that those who act upon the spiritual principle of the oneness of humanity can achieve dramatic results.

- **Recognize the need for long-term commitment.**

The achievement of racial unity is a long-term commitment – not only through dialogues, but in every aspect of our lives. Rather than becoming discouraged, if initial efforts do not quickly yield the hoped-for results, encourage participants to remain constant in our pursuit of this all-important goal. As we do so, it helps to recognize that we all have to work against the inherited tendencies, corrupt instincts, fluctuating fashions and false pretenses of the society in which we live.

- **Practice patience and wisdom.**

The issue of race is a very difficult and emotional one for many people. This makes it all the more important to use the greatest possible understanding, tact and patience in conversations with others about it.

How to Deal Effectively with Challenges

Ideally, everyone attending the Campus Conversation on Race will participate with a lively spirit of respect and cooperation. But, as with any group process, especially with a topic as challenging as race, difficulties may arise. Here are some possible scenarios and suggested ways to respond to them.

Participants are quiet, and don't contribute to the dialogue:
Be sure not to put participants on the spot. Rather, draw them out with good eye contact and watch for non-verbal cues that they may wish to speak. For some, it may just take time for them to feel ready to share. Once they do, responding with interest to their comments is helpful, as is talking informally with them before or after the session.

Lack of focus, discussion wanders off topic:
While it is important to allow the group to own the discussion and not be too rigid in sticking to an agenda, participants may become frustrated, if only a few people are taking the discussion in an obscure direction. This is where it helps to be prepared with the background materials offered in this handbook to help refocus the discussion. However, if participants as a whole seem genuinely interested in a different topic, see where it can progress. Provide a bridge from the new topic using facts or information related to the main topic, where possible.

Someone puts forth misinformation, or participants dispute about facts, but no one present knows the answer:
Ask whether anyone is aware of conflicting information. If no one offers a correction, you can supply one. If no one knows the facts, the point can be set aside, if not essential. If it seems central to the discussion, participants can be encouraged to look it up and perhaps bring the information back with them to a future session. You can also remind the group that even experts often disagree and there may be no generally accepted answer.

Someone dominates the discussion:
Invite input from others and remind participants that the group wants to be sure that everyone has a chance to share. If the individual persists or goes into lengthy discussion, it may be necessary to interrupt, especially if the focus is straying from the topic, and ask that the group hear first from those who haven't spoken, before those who have spoken share again.

Lack of interest, no one or only a few people participate:
This may occur, if someone dominates the discussion, or if too little time is given for response after questions are posed. People need time to think, reflect and get ready to speak up. It may help to pose a question and go around the room, so that everyone has a chance to respond, coming back to those who need more time. Sometimes, people are just tired or have had a hard day. Another reason for lack of enthusiasm may be that the group seems to be in agreement and isn't coming to grips with tensions inherent in the issue. In this case, try to bring other views into the discussion, especially if no one else has raised them.

Tension or open conflict, participants argue or get angry:
Address tension directly. Remind participants that disagreement and conflict of ideas can lead to the discovery of truth. Explain that, for conflict to be productive, it must be focused on the issue. It is acceptable to challenge someone's ideas, but not acceptable to challenge them personally. You must interrupt personal attacks, name-calling or put-downs as soon as they occur. This is where establishing ground rules at the outset is important. These discourage inappropriate behaviors, while emphasizing room for and acceptance of all views. (If conflict arises, you can appeal to the group to help reinforce the ground rules.)

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Campus Conversations on Race Ground Rules

A. All participants are invited to express their own ideas and thoughts on the topic.

B. The co-facilitators' role is to keep the discussion focused and moving.

C. It is important that everyone's views be heard. Each person is asked to listen carefully, without interrupting, as others share their views. Those who tend to speak often are asked to make efforts to ensure that every person has an opportunity to speak.

D. If a comment or view is troubling to a member of the group, even if the speaker clearly intended no offense, listeners are invited to express how that view made them feel.

E. Disagreements may arise, but they should in no way be personalized. Personal attacks of any kind are never helpful and are not acceptable. Let's make every effort to hear each other respectfully and to work together in a search for truth. Challenge and question ideas, rather than the individuals who present them. It helps if we are willing to examine our own beliefs in light of what others say.

Phrases that Facilitate

The following are examples of some key phrases to use while leading a discussion:

- That's an interesting idea.
- I'm glad you brought that up.
- How can we build on that idea?
- What else do we need to consider?
- Does anyone agree or disagree?
- What has your experience with this been?
- Thanks for your comment; does someone else have something to say?
- Good point, let's get back to that later.
- I hear you, but that comment may not be appropriate now.

Hosting the First Session

To help establish an atmosphere that will lead to a productive conversation, give close consideration to the following suggestions.

Making Preparations

- Meet with your co-facilitator to plan the first meeting.
- Send out a flyer that projects warmth and sincerity.
- If sufficient time elapses between your invitation and the actual date of the first session, send a friendly reminder card with just the pertinent information.
- If you are religious, pray for guidance and assistance before student guests arrive.
- Provide light refreshments, if possible.
- Be sure to greet everyone warmly.
- Be conversational – make time for "small talk" before the meeting begins, and encourage people to introduce themselves to each other.

When It's Time for the Conversation to Start: *Read one of the scientific or historical facts or other quotation on race to begin the session (found in the back of the Handbook)*

1. Offer introductions.
Ask everyone to introduce themselves and give some background, including why they came to the meeting, what hopes they have for the outcome and what apprehensions, if any, they may have. This stage is a critical one, not only as an ice-breaker, but as a means for you to gauge the sensitivities and attitudes of the participants. Even if some of those attending know each other well, there is bound to be a certain amount of awkwardness, given the topic. Careful observation during introductions can help you tailor the agenda and guide the discussion along a positive track. If anyone expresses anxiety or apprehension, show understanding and reaffirm your intent to have a positive and meaningful discussion.

2. Review the conversation's purpose.
Repeat the points in the meeting invitation flyer that describe the purpose of the conversation. This helps to orient everyone to a common goal. If you did not invite participants during the introductions to share their motivation for coming and what they hope to gain from the sessions, ask them at this time.

3. Set a time limit for the sessions.
Early on in the first session, possibly right after introductions, state how long the session will last. It is suggested that the initial session be planned for about 90 minutes. Be sure to close within a set time limit. This helps you to keep the meeting on track and flowing in a constructive manner. You can plan the subsequent sessions based on your initial experience and the group's interest.

4. Review the Campus Conversations on Race Ground Rules. Have sufficient copies of the Campus Conversations on Race Ground Rules available at the beginning of the first meeting. Have one or more members of the group read them aloud. Invite participants to share any questions or comments they may have about the Ground Rules. Also, ask them to consent to possible additions to these rules, as necessary.

5. Review the Dialogue vs. Debate Resource Sheet. Remember Dialogue is not debate.

Have sufficient copies of the Dialogue vs. Debate Resource Sheet available to pass out after the reading of the ground rules. This

should also be read aloud. Invite comments or responses.

6. Help make the gathering a true conversation.
When wondering whether to intervene, err on the side of non-intervention.

Co-facilitators should not talk after each comment or answer every question; allow participants to respond directly to each other. *The most effective leaders often say little, but are constantly thinking about how to move the group forward.*

Pose questions to help make the dialogue more productive.

Don't be afraid of silence. It may take time for someone to answer a question.

Try to involve everyone.

7. Explore people's personal connection to or interest in the issue.
Ask group members to discuss why this issue is important to them. You might ask one of the following questions:
"Why are you concerned about this issue?"

"How have your experiences or concerns influenced your opinions about this issue?"

8. Cover a range of views.
It is important that the co-facilitators and those attending encourage a wide range of viewpoints and have fair discussion on all of them without being judgmental. Co-facilitators need to ask fellow students how their views are based on their own life experiences, reading and knowledge. Encourage the group not to be overly influenced by one particular personal experience or anecdote. Summarize the discussion occasionally or encourage review of the content, using wisdom as you express your own values.

9. Reserve adequate time for closing the conversation.
Wrap up by asking the group for last comments and thoughts, or invite participants to share discoveries they have made as a result of the discussion. Remind the participants of the date for the next meeting and thank everyone for their contributions.

How to Use the Session Materials

The materials on the following pages provide concepts and questions that can help guide the Campus Conversation on Race over five or more sessions. Because the issue of race prejudice is complex, and building race unity is an ongoing process, it is recommended that, if possible, the group commit to holding a series of dialogue sessions over a span of time, covering these materials sequentially. The frequency of the sessions can be determined by the needs and schedules of the participants.

To help facilitate the discussions, you might want to make copies for each participant of the case studies and viewpoints presented in the sessions. You might also want to have copies of the fact sheets and bibliography available for participants who are interested in pursuing further reading or study.

Use the Historical Fact Sheet and Scientific Fact Sheet in this handbook to supplement dialogue sessions and provide background information. In addition, you might want to use the fact sheets themselves as the basis for a full session.

A Comparison of Dialogue and Debate

Dialogue	Debate
Dialogue is collaborative: two or more sides work together toward common understanding.	Debate is oppositional: two sides oppose each other and attempt to prove each other wrong.
In dialogue, finding common ground is the goal.	In debate, winning is the goal.
In dialogue, one listens to the other's side(s) in order to understand, find meaning and find agreement.	In debate, one listens to the other side in order to find flaws and to counter its arguments.
Dialogue enlarges and possibly changes a participant's point of view.	Debate affirms a participant's own point of view.
Dialogue reveals assumptions for reevaluation.	Debate defends assumptions as truth.
Dialogue causes introspection on one's own position.	Debate causes critique of the other position.
Dialogue opens the possibility of reaching a better solution than any of the original solutions.	Debate defends one's own positions as the best solution and excludes other solutions.
Dialogue creates an open-minded attitude: an openness to being wrong and an openness to change.	Debate creates a closed-minded attitude: a refusal to consider the other side and a resistance to change.
In dialogue, one submits one's best thinking, knowing that the other people's reflections will help improve it rather than destroy it.	In debate, one submits one's own best thinking and defends it against challenge to show that it is right.
Dialogue calls for temporarily suspending one's beliefs.	Debate calls for investing wholeheartedly in one's beliefs.
In dialogue, one searches for basic agreements.	In debate, one searches for glaring differences.
In dialogue, one searches for strengths in the other positions.	In debate, one searches for flaws and weaknesses in the other position.
Dialogue involves a real concern for the other person and seeks to not alienate or offend.	Debate involves a countering of the other position without focusing on feelings or relationships and often belittles or depreciates the other person.
Dialogue assumes that many people have pieces of the answer and that together they can put them into a workable solution.	Debate assumes that there is a right answer and that someone has it.
Dialogue remains open-ended.	Debate implies a conclusion.

Adapted from a paper prepared by Shelley Berman, which was based on discussions of the Dialogue Group of the Boston Chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR). Other members include Lucile Burt, Dick Mayo-Smith, Lally Stowell and Gene Thompson.

Session One (Follow the "Hosting the First Session" instructions on page 13)

Preparation:

The first session begins with a number of "housekeeping" items that are important to the overall success of the conversation. The housekeeping aspect of Session One should take about 15 to 25 minutes. Address the issues in steps 1-9 outlined in the previous section Hosting the First Session.

Race Relations and Racism: Experiences, Perceptions and Beliefs

The purpose of this session is to share some personal experiences, stories and perspectives about race relations, and to think about how race affects us on a day-to-day basis. It's not always easy to talk about race relations. A commitment to the process – open, thoughtful, focused discussion – can help us make progress. By listening to one another's stories, we can gain insights into our own beliefs and those of others, and come to new understandings of the issues we face.

Beginning the Discussion

1. Relate a story or give an example to illustrate how your background or experiences have contributed to your attitudes about race relations.
2. Have you experienced racism personally? Have you seen it in practice? How has it affected you or people you know?
3. You probably have heard expressions of prejudice from family members, friends, co-workers or neighbors. How do you think they learned their prejudice? How do you feel when you hear these expressions? How do you react?
4. How often do you have contact with people of other races or ethnic groups? Under what circumstances – at work, at social events, in stores, in other places?
5. Do you have friends of other races? If not, why? If so, how did you get to know them?

Looking at the Cases

Read over the list of cases on the next page. Choose a few to discuss. The following questions may be useful for your discussion:

- What is your first response to each of these cases?
- What, if anything, do you think the people described in each case should do?
- What, if anything, do you think organizations – such as businesses, congregations and civic groups – should do?
- What, if anything, do you think the government should do?
- What, if anything, would you do, if you were the person involved? If you were looking on?
- Tell a story about something that happened to you or a member of your family. Why is it important to you? Is it an example of a common experience or not?

Evaluation of the Session

Save about 10 minutes at the end of the session for participants to informally evaluate the session and provide any feedback that might help facilitate the next session.

Session One Cases

Case 1
A white student refers to the neighborhood surrounding the college as "the ghetto" and rarely leaves campus.

Case 2
A cultural diversity club has no white members.

Case 3
A group of students from a city college go downtown to buy groceries. The group quickly walks past a black man with worn looking clothes, assuming that he will ask them for change. When a white man with worn looking clothes approaches them, he is able to converse with them briefly before they realize he is asking for change.

Case 4
A white male has been going out with a black female for several months. When his parents come to visit him at school, he doesn't tell her that they are coming and avoids her until they are gone.

Case 5
An African American woman, who works at a mostly white university, notes that some of her white co-workers are more likely to find fault with her when she wears braids in her hair and dresses in African fashions.

Case 6
An Asian American student has cosmetic surgery on her eyes so that they'll have a more "Anglo" look, feeling that she'll be more attractive this way.

Case 7
You and your date are walking to your car after seeing a late movie. You see a group of young black men coming toward you. They are wearing baggy clothes and talking loudly. Fearing a confrontation, you cross the street.

Case 8
A group of white students is looking for a house. Their real estate agent steers them toward houses in white neighborhoods never showing them houses available in other sections of town.

Session Two

Dealing with Race: What is the Nature of the Problem?

Many of us share a desire to improve race relations and to end racial inequality. But, when we are asked to describe the kinds of problems our society is facing with race, our answers vary a lot. We sometimes disagree about the nature of our racial problems, what caused them and how serious they are. It makes sense, then, to talk about what we are facing before we talk about solutions.

This session presents a range of viewpoints to help participants have an open conversation that explores different understandings of our racial problems. Each view is written in the voice of someone who supports that position. **The viewpoints are not presented as truths; rather, they are provided as a starting point for this discussion.** Other viewpoints are likely to emerge as the dialogue unfolds. As you sift through the views, remember to give a fair hearing to the ideas that arise.

Note to the co-facilitators:
As you think about how to use the time available, remember that the viewpoints are the heart of this discussion. To structure a two-hour discussion, you might spend 20 to 30 minutes discussing the questions under Beginning the Discussion, 60 to 80 minutes discussing the viewpoints, and 20 to 30 minutes on the wrap-up questions. To help participants talk more about our perceptions of progress, this session also offers another set of questions at the end under For Further Discussion: How far have we really come? Some groups may decide to hold an extra session to address these questions.

Beginning the Discussion

As a group, use brainstorming to come up with some definitions for the following list of words: race, racism, institutional racism, and reverse discrimination. As you define these words, be sure to give examples where you can.

Looking at the Viewpoints

1. Which one of the viewpoints comes closest to your own? Why? What other views would you add?

2. Imagine that you are in a conversation with a person who holds views that you oppose. What stories or personal experiences would you share to let that person know why you look at the issue the way you do?

3. Take a viewpoint with which you disagree and try to make an argument in favor of it. What experiences, beliefs and values might lead a reasonable person to support the views that are different from your own?

Note to the co-facilitators:
Before your group discusses the views, you may want to ask for volunteers to read each view aloud, or ask participants to read the views to themselves. As you go over the views, suggest that participants keep questions like these in mind:

- What might be important to someone who holds this view?

- What are the pros and cons of this view?

Session Two Views: What is the nature of the problem?

View 1:

History is at the root of the problem.

According to this view, certain groups of people were treated unjustly in the past and the effects of that history are still with us today. For example, Native Americans and African Americans have never had a fair chance to get ahead. When Europeans arrived on this continent, they banished Native Americans from their lands. As a result, many Native Americans live in extreme poverty today. Think about how much our treatment of African Americans still affects us. Over a period of more than 300 years, more than 250 years of slave labor, and 100 years of Jim Crow segregation, blacks suffered horrible abuses. Because of this history, the group as a whole is lagging behind. Today, it may be possible for some African Americans to get ahead, but it is unrealistic to expect everyone to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. Though people today are not directly responsible for what happened in the past, our history remains a source of pain, injury and conflict.

View 2:

The real problem is institutional racism.

Racism is firmly established in the institutions of our society. Power continues to be used in a way that favors whites and works against people of color. This happens in our businesses, agencies, government, the media, schools, the criminal justice system and more. This kind of institutional racism can be direct and intentional. For example, much of our housing was deliberately segregated on the basis of race. But institutional racism can also be indirect, unplanned and hidden, which makes it even harder to deal with. For example, when a supermarket closes a branch in a poor urban neighborhood where many people of color live, they no longer have access to basic, essential services. While there are laws against racial discrimination, there are no laws against closing a store. In all kinds of ways, American institutions continue to limit opportunities for people of color and treat them as second-class citizens. It has been this way for so long that white people don't even know how much the system favors them.

View 3:

The problem is that many people of color lack economic opportunity.

Our real problem with race often come down to unequal money, jobs and opportunities. Economic inequality makes our problems with race even worse. Some minorities have made economic progress, but there is still a long way to go. For example, people of color who are in the middle class still face barriers to advancement and too many people of color live in poverty. Poor people in the cities, especially blacks and Latinos, live in an economic wasteland. They lack hope, good role models, good schools and good jobs. The collapse of the low-wage economy has wrecked neighborhood businesses and reduced the number of jobs for poor people who have few marketable skills. These people suffer the most from changes in our nation's economy, including the loss of manufacturing jobs. Without opportunities to get ahead, poor people in the cities are more likely to face other problems like drugs and violence, gangs, and teen pregnancy. It is too easy to think of race relations as a matter of getting along better. People who are born poor, and who are not white, just don't have the same chances to make a good life for themselves.

View 4:

The problem is that too many people of color are not taking advantage of the opportunities available to them.

According to this view, internalized racism keeps many minorities from moving forward. Many people of color feel defeated by their race before they even try to succeed as individuals. Lacking confidence, some minorities expect too little of themselves, that is, their ambitions are often modest

compared to their abilities. Because of the self-doubt that racism has helped to create, others engage in certain kinds of behavior that get in the way of their success. For example, drug use and irresponsible sexual behavior make it very unlikely that some people will succeed in school or at work. Still others seem to have just given up, because they see themselves as victims. In the worst cases, people of color try to use race to get special treatment or they point to the country's history of race relations as a way of avoiding responsibility for their own actions. As long as people of color feel helpless or second-rate, they won't have the confidence to seize opportunities to get ahead. For that reason, our country will continue to have problems that fall along racial lines.

View 5:
The problem arises from blind imitation of the past and a lack of understanding of the oneness of the human race.
According to this view, race prejudice, America's most fundamental social problem, arises from unquestioned beliefs and attitudes rooted in centuries of inaccurate and incomplete information. From its inception the United States embraced a contradictory set of values –proclaiming devotion to equality and justice, while also enshrining slavery within the Constitution. The resulting legacy of racism has produced an unconscious and inherent sense of superiority among whites and suspicion among people of color that has made the divide between the two especially difficult to bridge. Like a silent disease that devastates society, racism affects everyone, whether they are aware of it or not. Much like the human body, our nation, as a whole, feels the consequences when any one part of it suffers. Unbiased investigation into truth, however, unfailingly reveals the oneness of the human race, a principle of life that all of the sciences confirm. The oneness of humanity is both a material fact and a spiritual principle that defines the ultimate goal of life on this planet.

View 6:
The problem is that white people won't educate themselves.
According to this view white people won't educate themselves and change the way they think about minority groups in the United States. White people, as the privileged majority, have enjoyed dominance and ignorance of other races and cultures since the birth of the nation. Even today, they only relate to racial minorities with a superior attitude of charity or disdain and ignorance. The best possible outcome would be for some kind of mandatory training in social equity and racial awareness at historically white institutions like universities, corporate offices, and government.

Evaluation of the Session

Save about 10 minutes at the end of the session for participants to informally evaluate the session and provide any feedback that might help facilitate the next session.

1. As you listened to others discuss what has shaped their views, what new insights and ideas did you gain?
2. What common concerns emerged in this discussion?
3. Which of the ideas raised here seem most promising? Why?

In preparation for the next session, think about these questions:

- What can we do to make progress on our campus and in the community?
- When it comes to strategies to improve race relations and to eliminate racism, what sorts of proposals do you know about?
- Try to identify a broad range of possibilities. What are the pros and cons of the various approaches?

Session Three

Dealing with Race: What should we do to make progress on race relations?

Race is something with which we all deal. Yet there is little consensus on what we should do about the racial problems we face. The goal of this session is to think and talk about possible directions for change.

The heart of this session is a range of viewpoints on how our society might address and make progress on race relations. The views invite you to consider a variety of approaches. Each is written in the voice of someone who supports that position. They are not presented as truths; rather, they are provided as a starting place for this discussion. Other perspectives are likely to emerge as the dialogue unfolds. As you sift through the views, the most important thing is to give a fair hearing to the ideas that arise.

Note to the co-facilitators:
Before your group discusses the views you may want to ask for volunteers to take turns reading each view aloud or ask participants to read the views to themselves. As you go over the views, suggest that participants keep questions like these in mind:

- What might be important to someone who holds this view?
- What are the pros and cons of this view?

Session Three Views: What should we do to make progress on race relations?

View 1:
We must fight prejudice and build interracial understanding.
We must work to improve racial understanding, end prejudice and build solid relationships among people of different races. We need to be aware of the ways that race affects our lives. Whites should think about the kinds of discrimination minorities still face on a daily basis. Whites also need to recognize the many privileges they have, just because they are white. For example, whites usually are not afraid that police will treat them unfairly just because of their skin color. People of color also have to play an active role in building bridges between the races. It's important for them to stay open-minded when white people reach out personally, in the workplace or in the community. All of us must speak out against prejudice or racism whenever we hear it or see it in action in our daily lives, among our friends, at work or in public settings. Together we can end prejudice by looking hard at our ideas about race, by building relationships across racial lines and by refusing to tolerate racist behavior.

View 2:
We must overcome our doubts, stop thinking of ourselves as victims and take responsibility for our own lives.
According to this view, we need to admit how internalized racism still affects us all and we need to get past it. The best way to undo the effects of racism is through individual accomplishments. We will make real progress on race-related issues only when people of all races accept responsibility for their own lives and really strive to fulfill their potential. In the end we can promote racial equality by holding everyone to the same high standards in school, at work, everywhere. Only then will people of color feel truly confident in their abilities. We must think about what each person can do to solve our most pressing problems, such as crime and vandalism, babies being born out of wedlock, low academic achievement, drugs and guns. We also need to talk about right and wrong. We should turn to our families and our faiths for moral guidance and positive examples. Solutions to our race problems will be found in the way we lead our lives and the kinds of choices we make.

View 3:
People of color need to find strength in their own values and traditions.
According to this view, people of color make the greatest strides when we band together and pool our resources. In the past institutions rooted in our unique traditions have nurtured and empowered us. For example, the black church has been a great resource and inspiration for many African American leaders. In the future we should strive to build cultural, political, social and economic institutions that appreciate and emphasize the richness of our own cultures. Decades of working, picketing and praying for improved race relations have taught us that trying to educate racist people is not the best use of our energy. We should put our energy and talents to work where they are needed and valued, and where they benefit our own people. We may need to set up our own schools and businesses, and develop a new power base, so we don't have to fight racism wherever we turn. This may mean having very little contact with whites. When we focus on our own communities, we will draw strength from each other in a way that validates our heritages.

View 4:
Whites and people of color must understand that no real change will come about without close association, fellowship and genuine friendship among diverse people.
According to this view, progress toward unity has been painfully slow and marked with repeated setbacks, in large part, because there are few opportunities for people of color and whites to cultivate genuine friendships. Because racism runs deep in American society, it cannot be overcome without

conscious, persistent and sustained effort. Close association and the mutual regard it can produce are among the best means to banish prejudice. Rather than expect that unity will be established only after other problems have been solved, it is important to understand that social development itself depends on good feeling and unity among all people. Such an attitude needs to be grounded in moral truth that all acknowledge and accept, which will breathe life into their common effort to live in harmony. People of color and whites share a responsibility to build a society in which the rights of all are respected and guaranteed. Indeed, when this is accomplished it will not only prove beneficial for America's progress, but will be a significant step toward establishing peace in the world.

View 5: We should elect people of color into political offices.
The reason why there has been a continued imbalance between people of color and whites is because mostly white men hold political power. Those in power would never pass laws that would allow those who are socially underneath them to gain equality. In order to change this around people of color should be elected into political offices. This would allow a better balance between races in America.

Evaluation of the Session

Save about 10 minutes at the end of the session for participants to informally evaluate the session and provide any feedback that might help facilitate the next session.

1. As you listened to others discuss what has shaped their views, what new insights and ideas did you gain?
2. What common concerns emerged in this discussion?
3. Which of the ideas raised here seem most promising? Why?

In preparation for the next session, think about these questions:

- When it comes to race, what direction should our public policies take?
- What goals and values should shape our policies?
- What are the positive advantages and benefits of diversity?

Session Four

What kinds of public policies will help us deal with race relations?

No one believes that the government alone has the answer to the race question. Still, almost every conversation about race relations comes around to public policies and their impact on us. Because policies affect race relations on our campus and in our country, it is important to have a voice in determining their direction.

The purpose of this session is to begin a productive conversation on the general direction our public policies should take. What kinds of public policies will help us deal with race relations? This session presents a range of possible answers. The goal is not for participants to become experts in one particular policy area, such as affirmative action, or to agree on an answer. Instead, the goal is to examine the various views and learn from each other's ideas. Ultimately, this discussion will lay the groundwork for future actions we take and for our interactions with public officials at all levels.

Note to the co-facilitators:

Before your group discusses the views, you may want to ask for volunteers to read each view aloud or ask participants to read the views to themselves. As you go over the views, suggest that participants keep questions like these in mind:

- What might be important to someone who holds this view?
- What are the pros and cons of this view?
- What kinds of public policies will help us deal with race relations?

Session Four Views: What kinds of public policies will help us deal with race relations?

View 1:
Government should limit its efforts to enforcing laws against discrimination.
According to this view, the government's only obligation is to make sure that individuals of all races have a fair chance to compete for jobs, promotions and admission to schools. It should not mandate preferences based on race because that is a form of discrimination. Even when preferential treatment is motivated by good intentions, it goes against our principles of fair play. Policies like affirmative action, which strive for equal results rather than equal opportunity, have gone too far. But there is an important role for government: enforcing the existing laws against racial discrimination. We already have good anti-discrimination laws that apply to housing, schools, jobs and bank lending. These laws need to be better enforced. We should improve the government agencies that deal with discrimination so that they can investigate complaints quickly and efficiently. By making sure the rules of the game are truly the same for everyone, regardless of race, the government will do a great deal to promote racial equality.

View 2:
We still need public policies that take race into account.
According to this view, race still needs to be a deciding factor in our public policies. First, we need to make racial equality a primary goal of public policies in all areas: education, jobs, housing, health care, transportation and more. Second, we need policies that take race into account for hiring, school admissions, housing and government contracts. By leveling the playing field these policies help us deal with our long history of oppression and with current-day discrimination. Affirmative action, for instance, is moving us in the right direction. It has enabled minorities and women to make big gains. It has encouraged people to try harder to find qualified minorities and it has provided opportunities for talented people to work to reach their potential. But 30 years of that policy is just a beginning; white men have been given preference in education, employment and property ownership for hundreds of years. Until our country becomes a place where race doesn't affect a person's chances for success, we will need to take race into account in our public policies.

View 3:
We should make reparations to African Americans for slavery.
According to this view, our government has never acknowledged how wrong it was to legalize and condone slavery for so many years. We cannot put a Band-Aid on the deep wounds that are the source of today's racial inequality. In fact, an apology for slavery should be just a beginning. Slavery and its effects must be acknowledged and paid for. This could take the form of payments to descendants of slaves, such as free college education for several generations. We have done this sort of thing before. For example, the U.S. government apologized to Japanese Americans, who were interned in camps during World War II, and paid reparations to them and their families. Making amends for past injustices is also important to other racial and ethnic groups including Native Americans. Until we make amends to African Americans, we cannot make real progress in race relations. We can only make progress if we pay our debts.

View 4:
The most useful policies will be those that help break down the invisible barriers that keep whites and people of color apart.
According to this view, the solution to racial prejudice ultimately rests on the common recognition of the oneness of humankind and education is key in this process. While governmental and institutional support is essential, it is a change of heart and perspective in individual lives that will go farthest toward establishing true unity in America. In order to succeed, all people

require a sense of dignity derived from a genuine regard by others for their stature as human beings. No economic or political plan can take the place of this essential human need, nor can businesses, schools or even governments provide it in isolation from the supportive attitude of society as a whole. In this regard, education is the shortest route out of prejudice. A national program of education that emphasizes the values of acceptance, appreciation for differences and respect for all people, would be an important step toward the elimination of racism. It should include an historical perspective of the progress of whites and people of color. This would be enhanced by policies that actively support and provide opportunities for diverse Americans to get to know one another.

Evaluation of the Session

Save about 10 minutes at the end of the session for participants to informally evaluate the session and provide any feedback that might help facilitate the next session.

1. As you listened to others discuss what has shaped their views, what new insights and ideas did you gain?
2. What common concerns emerged in this discussion?
3. Which of the ideas raised here seem most promising? Why?

In preparation for the next session, think about these questions:

- What kinds of concrete steps can you take in your everyday life by yourself and with others to improve race relations on your campus and in the broader community?
- What do you think is most needed on this campus?

Session Five

Moving from Words to Action

The next step, which is the most crucial and is the focus of this final session, is moving from words to action.

1. As co-facilitator of the Campus Conversation on Race, read or ask the group the following question:

   How can we move from words to action to promote race unity in our individual lives, on our campus and in our communities?

2. Next ask the group to recall what you covered in the previous sessions. With the help of the participants, summarize the key points and themes that emerged in the earlier sessions. Post the main points on a flip chart or chalkboard for all to see, or ask a recorder to keep careful notes.
3. Then start a brainstorming session using questions 1-3 in the section Looking at the Action Ideas and Examples. Ask participants to think of action steps on three levels: steps that could be taken by individuals, small groups and institutions. Ask the group to throw out ideas for each category and record them word for word on paper. Don't stop to evaluate or judge the ideas at this point; the idea with brainstorming is simply to generate ideas.
4. When you are done you will have three lists. Revisit the lists one at a time. Help participants hone in on a few favorites. The bullet points in question 1 below can help to focus the discussion.

Looking at the Action Ideas and Examples

For the following questions think of action steps on three levels – that is, actions that you can take as individuals, in small groups and in institutions:

1. What two or three ideas seem most practical and useful?
   - What would it take to turn these ideas into reality?
   - What resources are already in place that could help us move ahead?
   - What else do we need to find out? What other groups should we link up with?
2. The struggle to improve race relations has a long history in this country. How has change come about? That is, what strategies and actions were most helpful in the past? What kinds of efforts are needed ? Why?
3. What current efforts on our campus and local community are helping people and institutions to work on race? Share stories or projects you know about. Are those efforts working? Why or why not? How can we join or build on the effective efforts that are already underway? What else can we do?
4. Finally, have the group decide if there are group actions that some or all of them would like to take as a group and, if so, decide on a time and place to pursue the idea(s). Also ask the participants to enter their action in the "Outcomes" section of the evaluation form in the back of the handbook. Remember that all decisions to act are voluntary. People are likely to choose a wide variety of paths – from education and personal growth to strategic collective action. The important thing is to give participants a chance to reach out, in their own way, and to realize that they are an integral part of resolving issues of race in society.

Note to the co-facilitators:
In this session participants fulfill the process of deliberation. Your job is to help them find ways to connect their discussions with specific action strategies. Refer the participants to the Ideas for Individual and Group Action on the next page as a resource for their brainstorming.

Ideas for Individual and Group Actions

Build interracial relationships.

- Volunteer to serve at centers that offer support to new immigrants.
- Visit or join a church community whose cultural background is different from your own.
- Patronize businesses that are owned by minorities.
- Buy and display art in your home by artists of color.
- Subscribe to minority-oriented publications.
- Organize/participate in Race Unity Day on your campus. (www.raceunityday.org)
- Suggest to your campus administrators that Conversations on Race, Mosaic Partnerships or other race relations activities be started among the professional staff.
- Be a mentor to young people from ethnic and racial backgrounds different than yours.
- Patronize businesses that have diverse staff.
- Join a fraternity or sorority that has diverse ethnic membership and seek opportunities to meet newcomers in the community. Reach out, especially if they are from a different background than yours.
- Attend an event in support of Martin Luther King Day.

Learn more about race and race relations.

- Take a class on race relations, ethnic studies, African American Studies or other courses that offer insight to ethnicities other than your own. Read some of the books and papers cited in the bibliography of this handbook.
- Attend concerts, plays and museum exhibits that relate to the themes of race relations and diversity.
- Listen to and share stories about personal and family histories that are related to the history of race relations in our country.
- Seek out information about race relations in your community and in the country. Check the facts. What do you know about the racial makeup of your community? Do your perceptions match the facts?

Pay attention to politics in your community. Take leadership on race relations.

- Approach top campus student leaders and administration and encourage them to foster more campus conversations about race.
- Speak up when people take positions that work against racial understanding and communication.
- Find out about your representatives in government. Are your representatives responsible leaders on race issues?
- Vote and encourage others to vote. As elections near, volunteer to work on voter registration drives or work to get out the vote.

Evaluation of the Campus Conversations on Race Sessions

Save about 20 minutes at the end of the final session for participants to talk about what their participation in the Campus Conversation on Race has meant to them. It is important for participants to have a chance to look back to assess how they've been affected by the dialogue and to hear how the program has influenced other participants.

You are encouraged to use the evaluation forms at the back of this handbook to help participants record and evaluate their participation in these conversations. This information will also help in revising future editions of this handbook.

Historical Fact Sheet

In developing Campus Conversations on Race, the adage, "knowing where we come from helps us get where we're going," certainly applies. The following timetable lists some historic events that have influenced our collective national thinking about race.

1502 Portugal delivered first African slaves to Western Hemisphere.

1526 In the first successful slave revolt in North America, imported black slaves liberated themselves from their Spanish owners in the territory that was to become South Carolina and they fled to live among the native people.

1641 Massachusetts was the first colony to legalize slavery.

1643 New England Confederation laid the foundation for future fugitive slave laws by requiring the return of runaway slaves to their owners.

1700s The international slave trade was the most profitable enterprise in the world during the 18th century. England, France, Holland, Portugal and Spain were the financial and industrial centers of the world, all directly responsible for the African slave trade and slave labor in the Americas.

1773-1779 African slaves in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut petition for their freedom and for an end to slavery.

1776 The Declaration of Independence was signed – half of the signers were slave owners, including Thomas Jefferson. George Washington and Patrick Henry ("Give me liberty or give me death") were among those founding fathers who did not free their slaves.

1777 Vermont was the first state to abolish slavery.

1782-1783 After the Revolutionary War, 20,000 black troops, four times the number in the American army, left with the British seeking freedom in England, Jamaica and Nova Scotia – the first stirrings of the underground railroad.

1804 Ohio passed the first of a succession of Northern Black Laws. The constitutions of Illinois, Indiana and Oregon barred black settlers.

1808 U.S. Congress prohibits the importation of slaves; the importation continued illegally, however.

1821 Liberia was founded by the American Colonization Society to remove African Americans from the United States. Its capital, Monrovia, was named for President James Monroe.

1825-1860 The Underground Railroad coordinated an escape system of hundreds of safe "stations" to help escaping slaves reach Canada and Mexico.

1829 Georgia prohibited the education of slaves and free blacks; other southern states enacted similar laws, including laws to prohibit the sale or gift of books or pamphlets to blacks.

1839 Amistad became one of the most renown slave mutinies. Based on their religious convictions, abolitionists organized the necessary material and legal assistance to win freedom for the slaves.

1859 Abolitionist John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry was the first major armed uprising against slavery by a white American.

1860-1895 One out of four cowboys were black during the western expansion.

1861-1865 The Civil War was fought between the northern and southern United States.

1865 The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution ended slavery.

1865 President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth while attending a play in Washington D.C.

1866 The African American Ninth and Tenth Calvary Regiments, called the Buffalo Soldiers, were organized from the remnants of African American units who served in the Civil War. Commanded by white officers, their service on the Great Plains for over 20 years was invaluable and largely unrecognized in the taming and settlement of the West.

1867 The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was founded at a meeting at the Maxwell House Hotel in Nashville by a group of Southern businessmen, formerly Confederate officers, clergymen and other prominent citizens. Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former slave trader and Confederate Commander, was elected as its first president.

1867-1877 During the period known as Reconstruction, the federal government sent army troops into the South to protect the rights of newly freed African Americans after the Civil War. The Freedman's Bureau, considered the first welfare agency, provided food, shelter, and medical assistance and established schools for newly freed slaves.

1877 Rutherford B. Hayes became president. Due to a dispute over electoral votes in the 1876 election, a political deal was struck in which Democrats agreed to vote in favor of Hayes as president, if he would agree to remove federal troops from the South and allow home rule. The removal of the federal troops ended the protection of African Americans in the South, essentially ended Reconstruction and opened the door for the proliferation of Jim Crow laws.

1896 Plessy v. Ferguson legalized the doctrine of "separate but equal," marking the beginning of Jim Crow laws and the acceptance of overt racist behavior by allowing white superiority to be institutionalized throughout the United States.

1909 The NAACP, an interracial organization dedicated to challenging Jim Crow laws and practices was formed. The Legal Defense team was led by Thurgood Marshall throughout the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, including the landmark case of Brown v. Board of Education.

1919 Called "The Red Summer," there were twenty-six race riots in this year with many deaths and injuries and some black communities destroyed by white mobs. Seventy-six blacks were reported lynched this year (the number had varied between 36 and 161 lynchings per year since 1882).

1939 First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from Daughters of the American Revolution in protest of that organization's refusal to allow world renowned African American opera soprano, Marian Anderson, to sing in Constitution Hall. Ms. Andersen was subsequently invited by Interior Secretary Harold Ickes to sing at the Lincoln Memorial.

1948 President Truman's Executive Order No. 9981 required the "equal treatment and opportunity" for black men and women in the armed forces. Two years earlier, the NAACP had deplored the "blow-torch killing and eye-gouging" of Negro veterans freshly returned from a war to end torture and racial extermination, saying that American Negroes were disillusioned after "all the flamboyant promises of post-war democracy and decency."

1954 Brown v. Board of Education in Kansas overturned the "separate but equal" doctrine. After this courtroom victory, ongoing nonviolent struggles rapidly gained momentum. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. brought the black church into the movement and into the streets to begin the modern civil rights movement.

1955 Emmett Till, a black teenager, was brutally murdered in Mississippi for allegedly whistling at a white woman. This further stimulated organized protest by African Americans against widespread oppression and abuse of blacks. Till's swollen, mutilated body was displayed in an open casket funeral by his mother.

1961 The 23rd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granted residents (predominantly black) of the District of Columbia the right to vote in presidential elections.

1964 A Civil Rights team of an African American, a Jew, and a white Christian – Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman – were murdered by white racists and buried in an earthen dam in Mississippi.

1964 The 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, followed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, removed "qualifications" that prohibited blacks from voting in some states.

1965 On February 21, Malcolm X was assassinated at 3:10 P.M., just after he had begun to address an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom. Malcolm was pronounced DOA at Vanderbilt Clinic, Columbia Presbyterian Hospital.

1965 President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, which authorized the President to send federal examiners into the South to register voters. The Act prevented literacy tests and other forms of unanswerable questions formerly used by Southern registrars to prevent African Americans from voting.

1965 President Lyndon Johnson signed Executive Order 11246, which required federal contractors "to take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed without regard to their race, creed or national origin."

1968 On April 3, Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his last speech, "I've Been to the Mountaintop." On April 4, he was shot and killed at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, TN.

1968 The Kerner Report was released by a federal government commission, which investigated the urban riots that had recently occurred in Harlem, Watts, Chicago, Newark and Detroit. The report warned that the United States was "moving toward two societies, one black one white… separate and unequal."

1978 The U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision in the case of the University of California at Davis Regents vs. Allan Bakke. Bakke, who was white, sued the medical school on grounds that he was denied admission because the school had a quota system for minority applicants. The Court ruling struck down quotas in college admissions, while allowing that race could be one of several factors taken into consideration in screening college applicants.

1990 Nelson Mandela was released from Robin Island Prison after serving 27 years of a life sentence. He went on to become President of South Africa in 1994.

1990 According to the 1990 Census, Mississippi (35.56%) and Louisiana (30.79%) had the largest black populations among twelve states with more than 15%. The District of Columbia had 65.84% black. Montana (.30%) and Idaho (.33%) had the smallest black populations among ten states with less than 1%.

1991 Black motorist Rodney King was viciously beaten by police. The incident was captured on home video and broadcast nationally.

1992 White police who conducted the Rodney King beating were acquitted. This set off rebellion, protest and riots by African Americans and Hispanics in Los Angeles, CA. During the upheaval a white truck driver was savagely beaten by a group of African Americans, but he was rescued by several other neighborhood African Americans.

1997 President Bill Clinton issued a call for a national dialogue on race.

1998 Ordinary citizens began organizing Campus Conversations on race unity. Town-wide dialogues had been initiated some three years prior.

2000 U.S. Congress passed a joint resolution establishing "Days of Honor," recognizing the achievements of minorities in the military during World War II.

2003 The U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision in the University of Michigan Affirmative Action Case. While barring mechanical formulas that include race, the court nevertheless endorsed the concept of affirmative action in college admissions.

Scientific Fact Sheet

America is obsessed with the notion of the existence of separate "races" and confused by its implications. Thanks to spectacular advances in many branches of science, such as molecular biology, genetics, anthropology and physiology, most scientists regard the Oneness of Humanity as a scientific reality and they offer convincing proofs for the basis of this principle.

Changing our thinking about "race" requires a revolution in thought as profound and unsettling as anything science has ever demanded. The following information serves as an impetus for a major paradigm shift in how we internalize and promote the truth of the Oneness of Humanity.

1. What is *race*?

The origin of the word *race* is unclear. Some trace it to the Latin *radix*, meaning "root" or "stock," and some others trace it to the Italian *razza*, which means "breed" or "lineage." It is used to designate any aggregate of people who can be identified as a group. According to this usage, persons who have a common ancestry or who share common beliefs or values, or any social or cultural traits, are considered a "race."

By its definition, the word *race* is divisive. The term attempts to classify subspecies of human beings according to:
physical characteristics such as skin color/hair texture, shape of eyes,
psychological and behavioral traits that are made to associate with these superficial characteristics, and
superior or inferior status is attributed to these traits.

2. When was mention first made of *races* as separate biological groups?

Human beings have always come in a variety of hues and statures. The ancient Egyptians, Vikings and Chinese, while fighting and conquering in every corner of the globe, never thought that the people they encountered were biologically different. For most of recorded history the idea of "race" did not exist. This idea entered the social and scientific consciousness during the Age of Exploration and the "discovery of the New World." Before Europeans took to the seas there was no mention of race.

The habit of sorting the world's people into distinct groups was first introduced by Swedish taxonomist Carolus Linnaeus, who in 1758 declared that the human species was divided into four basic groups. Later German anatomist and naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach added an additional category and then redefined all five groups based on geography and appearance. Within his variety, the "Caucasians" were at the top of the hierarchy of worth (based oddly enough upon perceived beauty), and the "Negroid" at the bottom. These doctrines of racial superiority were then used to justify the expansion and colonization of Africa, Asia and the Americas. The Europeans further developed racist thought in order to establish and maintain slavery, especially in the Americas. German Nazis took modern racism to the extreme in the mid-twentieth century with the Jewish Holocaust.

"[The] roots and growth of [a ranked hierarchy of races] lie in nothing more "real" than the conquest, dispossession, enforced transportation and economic exploitation of human beings over five centuries that racial categorization and racist social ordering have served to expedite and justify. As part of [this] legacy … millions of people today continue to accept inherited racial categories as fixed in nature."

(from *Race*, by Roger Sanjek, professor of anthropology, Queens College)

"Prior to the sixteenth century, the world was not race-conscious and there was no incentive for it to become so. The ancient world was a small world … and physical differences … were not very marked. … Even when the existence of such physical differences was recognized, they had no immediate social connotations. … It was only with the discovery of the

New World and the sea routes to Asia that race assumed a social significance. Even the Crusades failed to make Europe race-conscious. … Europeans have not been content merely to accept their present social and political dominance as an established fact. Almost from the very first, they have attempted to rationalize … and prove to themselves that their subjugation of other racial groups was natural and inevitable."

(from *The Study of Man*,
by Ralph Linton, anthropologist)

3. Do scientists now consider race a fact?

Almost all branches of science officially stopped dividing people into races in the mid-1930s. Every day since scientists have been trying to undo racism that has been perpetuated using five-centuries-old outdated scientific methods and doctrines. For example, in 1952, anthropologist Ashley Montagu called race "man's most dangerous myth."

The genetic markers that supposedly divide the human species into races represent only a minute fraction of our total genetic endowment. No matter how one tries to divide humanity, many do not fit into any one category, because extensive migration and intermixing of people has occurred, causing genetic material to pass between widely separated human populations.

"Race has no basic biological reality."
(Jonathan Marks, biologist, Yale University)

"Misconceptions about race have led to forms of racism that have caused much social, psychological and physical harm. These misconceptions have their origin in various papers and books that depend heavily on old and outmoded biological concepts of race."

(Leonard Lieberman, anthropologist,
Central Michigan University)

"… differentiating species into biologically defined 'races' has proven meaningless and unscientific as a way of explaining variation, whether in intelligence or other traits."

(Statement of the American
Anthropological Association)

"Vast new data in human biology, prehistory and paleontology … have completely revamped the traditional notions [of race]."

(Solomon Katz, anthropologist,
University of Pennsylvania)

"'Race' is a social construct derived mainly from perceptions conditioned by events of recorded history, and it has no basic biological reality."

(C. Loring Brace, biological anthropologist,
University of Michigan)

"We the researchers are taking action to correct a legacy of misconception about the biology of race in which earlier generations of researchers provided the raw material for serious claims of racial superiority. They liked to concoct a biological basis for mistreating people."

(John Ladd, anthropologist, Brown
University)

"Racism can be viewed solely as a social problem, although at times it has been used by politicians as a purportedly 'scientific' tool. It is an emotional phenomenon best explained in terms of collective psychology. Racial conflict results from long-suppressed resentments and hostilities. The racist responds to social stereotypes, not to known scientific facts."

(from an anthropology textbook
by William A. Haviland)

"The concept of race, masking the overwhelming genetic similarity of all peoples and the mosaic patterns of variation that do not correspond to racial divisions, is not only socially dysfunctional but is biologically indefensible as well."

(from Evolutionary Biology,
by D. J. Futuyma)

4. Does science agree with the principles of the Oneness of the Human Race and Unity in Diversity?

"We are one species, one people. Every individual on this earth is a member of Homo sapiens, and the geographical variations we see among peoples are simply biological nuances on the basic theme. The often very deep differences between cultures should not be seen as divisions between people. Instead, cultures should be appreciated for what they really are: the ultimate declaration of belonging to the human species."

(Richard Leakey, renowned paleontologist)

Dr. Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, a Stanford Medical School scholar and one of the world's leading geneticists, has compiled a definitive atlas (*History and Geography of Human Genes*) of the genetic profiles of over 1,800 population groups around the world. This work is the most comprehensive survey ever compiled of how humans vary hereditarily. In another one of his books, he states:

"The difference(s) between races are … very limited. … [T]he genes that react to climate are those that influence *external features. … It is because they are external that [they] strike us so forcibly, and we automatically assume that differences of similar magnitude exist below the surface. … This is simply not so: the remainder of our genetic make-up hardly differs at all.*" [Emphasis his.]

"Since all human beings are of one species and since all populations tend to merge when they exist in contact, group differentiation will be based on cultural behavior and not on genetic differences."

(from *The Biology of Race*, by James King)

"We must remember that what unifies us outweighs what makes us different. Skin color and body shape, language and culture, are all that differentiate the peoples scattered across the earth. This variety, which testifies to our ability to accept change, adapt to new environments and evolve new lifestyles, is the best guarantee of a future for the human race. … This diversity, like the changing face of the sea or sky, is minute compared with the infinite legacy we human beings possess in common."

(from *The Great Human Diasporas*, by Francesco Cavalli-Sforza)

"All members of the species Homo sapiens are related by common ancestral roots. … [T]he biological oneness of the human species does not mean genetic uniformity. Genetic variation among members of the same species is a healthy and necessary condition of life. Adaptation, evolution and survival depend on these variations."

(Shidan Lotfi, molecular and cellular biologist)

5. According to current scientific findings, what is the origin of modern man?

"Most scientists have come to accept the evolutionary theory based on DNA evidence: that modern humans originated in Africa about 270,000 years ago. Researchers at Yale, Harvard, and the University of Chicago have traced the genetic roots of the human family … to the existence of an 'African Eve.'"

(*Journal of Science*, October 1996)

"Among the peoples of various continents, Africans have been shown to be by far the most heterogeneous group. It is reasonable to expect that the oldest population will display the greatest diversity."

(from *The Great Human Diasporas*, by Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza)

"All humans appear to have had a 'black' [African] ancestry, no matter how 'white' some may be today."

(from an anthropology text by William A. Haviland)

6. How does science explain human variation, that is, differences such as skin color or height?

Anthropologists attribute our superficial physical traits or phenotypes to adaptation to different environments, such as temperature, humidity, proximity to the equator, wind and many other factors. This is what is referred to as natural selection. For example, northern Europeans have developed long, narrow noses to warm extremely cold, damp air to their body temperature; whereas the larger, long noses of Middle Easterners and Northern Africans have evolved from moistening the dry air before it reaches their lungs. Eskimos generally have more rounded and squat bodies as an adaptation to cold climates, so they can retain body heat, and the Tutsi of Rwanda are the tallest of human

species because they inhabit regions of intense, arid heat and consequently need to dissipate heat more effectively.

Human skin owes its color to the presence of melanin, whose primary function is to protect the upper layers of the skin from such hazards as radiation, infections and skin cancers. The particular color of a person's skin represents a tradeoff between the hazards of too much vs. too little solar radiation; for example, skin cancer on the one hand, and rickets and osteomalacia on the other. The genes of our primitive ancestors were programmed to produce dark skin. The group of Africans who later migrated north into Europe, by a flip of the genetic dice, developed a variant gene that gave them slightly lighter skin. The trend continued for generation after generation, eventually producing other fair-skinned people, such as the Swedes.

Little evidence exists that visible differences have practical advantages. These differences have arisen simply because we are a restless, adventurous, hopeful, migratory species whose intelligence and quest for survival have allowed us to survive in almost every corner of the globe.

"Skin color genes are turned off and on very quickly in evolution. People can go from black to white, or white to black, in 10,000 years."

(Jonathan Moore, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida)

7. Does blood have anything to do with our color?

No. The four blood types (A, B, AB and O) are universal and found in all human populations. An Irishman with Type A blood can receive and give blood to a Ugandan of the same blood type. Blood has nothing to do with the transmission of hereditary material. Therefore, it makes no sense to describe a person's ancestry in terms of blood; for example, saying that someone has one-fourth Indian "blood" has no meaning based on fact.

8. Do certain population groups possess superior intelligence?

No. Intelligence Quotient (IQ) Tests meant to measure inherited mental capacity are so seriously limited that comparing average IQs for various "racial" groups is an erroneous practice and is being discounted as an unreliable indication of a person's ability to learn. Evidence for the intellectual superiority of different population groups (the Bell Curve study) is based on inadequate and culturally biased measures of intelligence, as well as a failure to account for the fact that the children in question grew up in different environments. The few studies performed in which children of different ethnic backgrounds grew up in similar environments revealed *no* differences in their level of intelligence.

"The attempt to measure 'racial' differences in intelligence is impossible and. therefore, worthless."

(Jerry Hirsch, behavioral geneticist, Washington University)

9. The Oneness of Humankind is a scientifically established reality; science can no longer be used to justify racism.

"The oneness of humanity is a spiritual truth abundantly confirmed by science."

(from *The Vision of Race Unity*, National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the United States)

"Make thine own self the measure of the others, and so abstain from causing hurt to them."

Buddhism

"Do not to others what ye do not wish done to yourself; and wish for others, too, what ye desire and long for, for yourself."

Hinduism

"None of you truly believes until he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself."

Islam

"Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Judaism

"And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

Christianity

"…choose thou for thy neighbor that which thou choosest for thyself."

Baha'i Faith

"Seek the realities underlying the oneness of the world of humanity and discover the source of fellowship and agreement which will unite mankind in the heavenly bond of love."

Baha'i Faith

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Bibliography on Racism and Race Relations in America

Editor's note: This bibliography offers a sampling of available works on the topic of race in the United States. This list was selected primarily from recent works to reflect aspects of the current national dialogue. In addition, many of these sources were very helpful to us as we developed this handbook.

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The Study Circles Resource Center (SCRC) helps communities use study circles – small group, democratic, highly participatory discussions – to involve large numbers of people in public dialogue and problem solving on critical issues such as racism and race relations, crime and violence, education, American pluralism, and youth issues. SCRC staff members work with community leaders at every stage of creating a community-wide study circle program: helping organizers network between communities; working to develop strong coalitions within communities; advising on material development; and writing letters of support for funding proposals. SCRC also provides free discussion materials to organizers of carefully designed community-wide study circle programs. (Please call for more information or assistance with your study circle program.)

Videos

"Hear Ye! Hear Ye! In Pursuit of a United America"

90 Minute, 3 part program. Panelists discuss the following topics: "Superiority and Suspicion: Walls that Divide Us"; "The Role of Education in Eliminating Race Prejudice"; "Visioning Race Unity"; "America in the Year 2020."

Panel includes: Elizabeth Bagdon, Attorney, Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education; Jessica Henderson Daniel, Ph.D., Psychologist, Children's Hospital and Judge Baker Children's Clinic; Rev. Ray A. Hammond, M.D., Chairman of Ten Point Coalition of Boston and Co-Pastor of Bethel A.M.E. Church; Robert C. Henderson, Ed.D., Secretary-General, National Spiritual Assembly of Baha'is of the United States; Peggy Macintosh, Ph.D., Co-Director, National SEED (Seeking Educational Equity and Diversity); Orlando Paterson, Ph.D., Sociologist, Harvard University; Leonard P. Zakim, Executive Director, New England Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League. The video comes with a study guide for each of the three topics. $15 includes shipping and handling.

Make check payable to: Phelps Stokes Fund

Mail to: CCOR c/o Phelps Stokes Fund
1400 Eye Street, NW. Suite 750
Washington D.C. 20005

Notes:

Campus Conversations on Race – Evaluation Form

Please complete and return this evaluation form to the group leaders

Name of co-facilitators 1) _____ 2) _____

Participant Background

Age:_____ Gender: _____ Major: _____ Year of Graduation:_____

Check appropriate ethnic/racial background:

_____ African American

_____ Asian American

_____ Euro American

_____ Native American

_____ Multiracial

_____ Other

General

Check the comment which most closely describes your experience in the Campus Conversation on Race:

1. Had you thought about conversing about race with anyone outside your family and close friends prior to being invited to this Campus Conversation on Race? ____yes ____no

2. Number from 1 to 5, with 1 being the highest priority, the topics you think are the greatest importance America's future.
   ___War ___Unemployment ___Race Relations ___Immigration ___Environment

3. Check all comments that most closely describe your experience at the Campus Conversation on Race: ____It was not what I expected but I enjoyed it. ___It was not what I expected and I did not gain from it. ___I learned from the experience. ___It has given me greater insight to issues of race.
   ___I am glad I attended. ___It has motivated me to want to be more active in promoting race unity. ____I would likely attend similar events if invited.

4. After attending the Campus Conversation on Race, are you less likely or more likely to increase your activity related to issues of race and equity?
   ___less likely ___more likely ____don't know

5. How many sessions did you attend? ___One ___Two ___Three ___Four ____Five

Session Content

6. What did you like best about the content of the sessions?

7. What would you suggest to improve the session content?

Outcomes for Participants and Co-facilitators

8. What actions or activities have these sessions inspired you to initiate personally?

9. What actions or activities have these sessions inspired you to initiate with others in your group?

10. How has participation in these sessions changed your views and ideas?

(continued on other side)

11. Did your group decide to take collective action? If yes, please briefly describe your plans.

12. Would you recommend to a relative or friend to attend a Campus Conversation on Race, if one were offered on his/her campus? Check One:

_____1	_____2	_____3
Would not recommend	Would consider recommending	Would definitely recommend

Feedback on the Handbook

13. What did you like best about this handbook?

14. What suggestions do you have to improve the handbook?

15. Would you be interested in being trained as a co-facilitator to conduct student sessions on Campus Conversions on Race? Yes / No

Comments
Please add any further comments that you feel would be helpful feedback to others who will either co-facilitate or participate in future conversations on race.

(Optional)
Name:_____ E-Mail Address:_____

Please return this form to your group leader