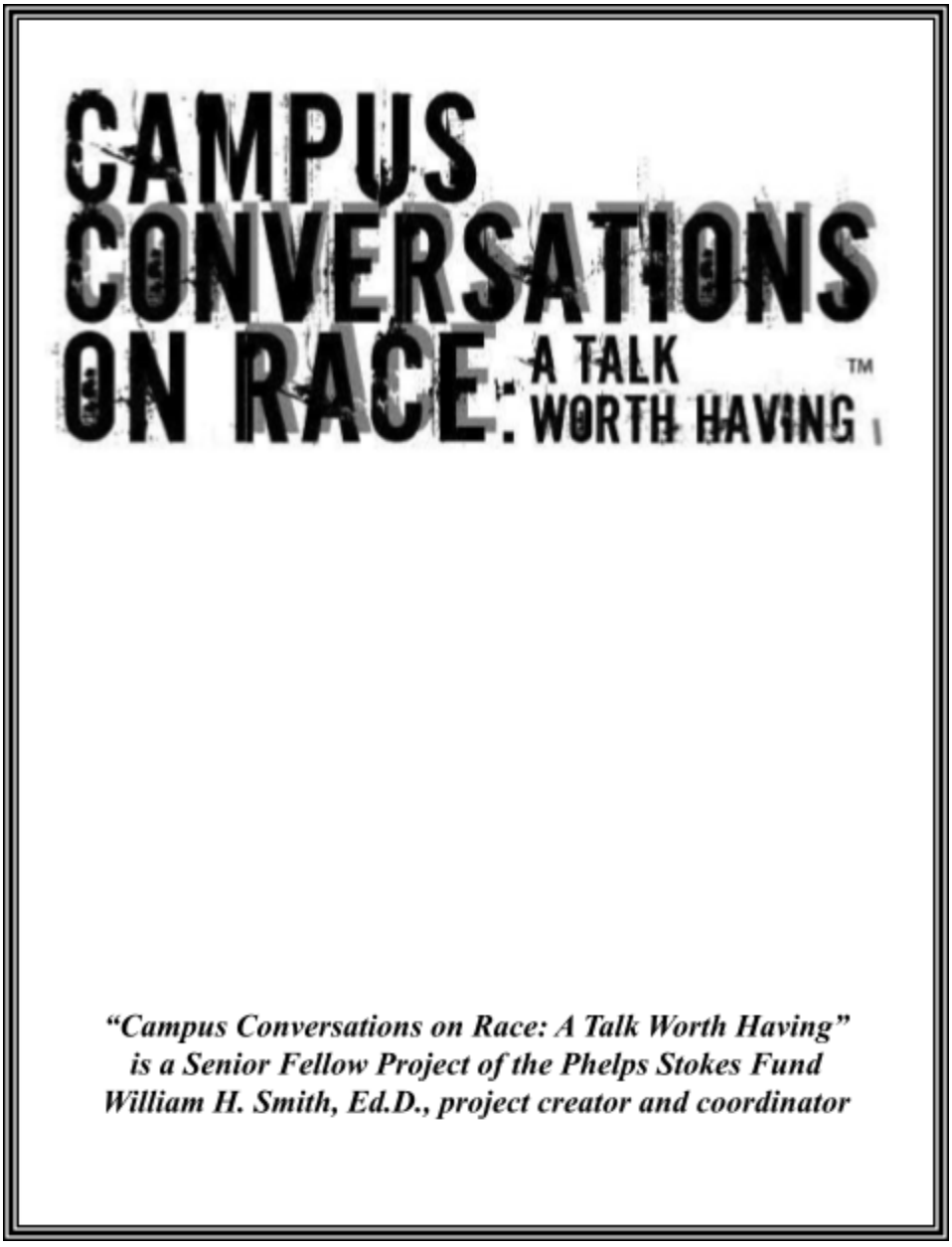
CAMPUS CONVERSATIONS ON RACE: A TALK WORTH HAVING™

5th Edition

PARTICIPANT GUIDE

NATIONAL CENTER FOR RACE AMITY

Towards E Pluribus UNUM®


CAMPUS
CONVERSATIONS
ON RACE: A TALK
WORTH HAVING
™
"Campus Conversations on Race: A Talk Worth Having"
is a Senior Fellow Project of the Phelps Stokes Fund
William H. Smith, Ed.D., project creator and coordinator

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This handbook and its revised edition was prepared with the gracious assistance of a growing list of organizations and individuals: the United Church of Christ, Massachusetts Conference, the Race Unity Desk of the Regional Baha'i Council for the Northeastern States, the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the United States, the Phelps Stokes Fund, and the Center for Diversity in the Communication Industries at Emerson College. Their support and encouragement of this project is deeply appreciated.

Additionally, gratitude and thanks are extended to the following individuals and organizations for their ideas, work, and support of this handbook and the previous editions upon which it is based.

INDIVIDUALS CONTRIBUTING TO THE INAUGURAL EDITION

Ken Bowers, writer/editor
Valerie Cunningham and Lee Jones, historical fact sheet researchers
Barbara Fowlkes, technical editor
Hoda Hosseini, Ph.D., scientific fact sheet researcher
Phyllis Ring, writer/editor
Haigo Setrakian, writer/campus trainer
William H. Smith, Ed.D., project coordinator and writer/editor
Reverend Nancy Taylor, writer/editor

Second Edition Student Editorial Team
Lauren Amar
Lydia Bradley
Preeta Iyer
Martin Meccouri
Anna Sumilat

Third Edition Student/Faculty Contributors
Cathryn Edelstein, faculty
Virginia Hunter, student
Martin Meccouri, student

ORGANIZATIONS

Dialogue Group of the Boston Chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR): Shelley Berman, Lucile Burt, Dick Mayo-Smith, Lally Stowell, and Gene Thompson for the paper, "A Comparison of Dialogue and Debate."

Study Circles Resource Center, a project of the Topsfield Foundation, for portions of study sessions one through five, and the bibliography on Racism and Race Relations in America. Address: P.O. Box 203, Pomfret, CT, 06258.

Phelps Stokes Fund – Funding for Revisions for the 2nd Edition through the Phelps Stokes Senior Fellows Program. 1400 Eye Street, NW, Suite 750, Washington, D.C. 20005 www.psfdc.org

Table of Contents

Participating in Campus Conversations on Race

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 requires earnest personal introspection. Those who step forward to engage in campus conversations on race are taking a courageous step in their own development which will not only benefit themselves but the school community and society as a whole.

Young people have long been the vanguard of social change in America. The momentous achievements of the civil rights movement were largely driven by the courage and sacrifice of American youth who devoted their lives to promoting social justice and racial harmony. As you summon the courage to participate in campus conversations 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 is the idea 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 *Participant Handbook for Campus Conversations on Race: A Talk Worth Having* is designed to encourage students to work together during five conversational sessions in small groups of six to twelve students. The conversations will center on case studies that are presented in this handbook and will be discussed in each session. 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. In addition to the case studies there are several informational resources at the end of the handbook: the historical and scientific fact sheets, a bibliography and a resource list. Lastly, all participants are asked to complete the *Campus Conversations on Race* evaluation form at the end of session five. The form is also at the back of this handbook.

Campus Conversations on Race Ground Rules

1. All participants are invited to express their own ideas about the topic.

2. The co-facilitator's role is to keep the discussion focused and productive.

3. 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 more than others are asked to make efforts to ensure that every person has an opportunity to speak.

4. 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.

5. Disagreements may arise, but they should in no way be personalized. Personal attacks of any kind are never helpful and are unacceptable. Let's make every effort to hear each other respectfully and to work together in search of 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.

Helpful Phrases

The following are examples of some key phrases to use while participating in 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.

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 side(s) in order to find meaning, agreement, and understanding.	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, which can then be re-evaluated.	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 position as the best solution and excludes other solutions.
Dialogue fosters open-mindedness: an openness to being wrong and to change.	Debate fosters closed-mindedness: a refusal to consider the other side and a resistance to change.
In dialogue, one submits one's best thinking, knowing that other people's reflections will help improve 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 incorporate them into a workable solution.	Debate assumes that there is a right answer and one side 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: race relations and racism – experiences, perceptions and beliefs

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 goes downtown to buy groceries. The group quickly walks past a black man with tattered clothes and assumes that he will ask them for change. When a white man with tattered clothes approaches them, he is able to converse with them briefly before they realize he is asking for change.

Case 4
A white man has been going out with a black woman for several months. When his parents come to visit him at school, he doesn't tell her that they are coming, and he 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, because she feels it will make her more attractive.

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 and never shows them houses in other sections of town.

Discussion resources articles

Page 1: All Brains are the Same Color by Richard E. Nisbett, *NY Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/09/opinion/09nisbett.html?scp=1&sq=all+brains+are+the+same+color&st=nyt

Page 6: DNA Pioneer's Genome Blurs Race Lines by John Schwartz, *NY Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/12/science/12watson.html#

Page 8: Segregation Growing Among U.S. Children by Eric Schmitt, *NY Times*
http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9A05EFDC1E38F935A35756C0A9679C8B63

Page 10: On College Campuses, Students Continue to Struggle with Ethnic Tensions and Racist Attitudes by Vanessa Jones, Boston Globe
http://www.boston.com/lifestyle/articles/2007/12/05/theyre_sitting_right_next_to_us/

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 abuse. 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 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, 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 treating 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 race issues even worse. Some minorities have made economic progress, but there is still a long way to go. For example, people of color who are 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 cities are more likely to face other problems like drugs, 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 are not white just don't have the same chances to make good lives 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 racial problems.

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 feels the consequences when any one part of it suffers. Unbiased investigation, 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. 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.

Discussion resources articles

Page 13: Supreme Court Reconsiders Pivotal Louisiana Case on Racial Selection of Juries by Linda Greenhouse, *NY Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/05/washington/05scotus.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=racial+selection+of+juries&st=nyt&oref=login

Page 15: On Race and Census: Struggling with Categories That No Longer Apply by Brent Staples, *NY Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/05/opinion/05mon4.html

Page 18: A Poverty of the Mind by Orlando Patterson, *NY Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/26/opinion/26patterson.html?scp=4&sq=poverty+of+the+mind&st=nyt

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?

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 still faced by minorities on a daily basis. Whites also need to recognize the many privileges they have 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 among 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 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 only make real progress on race-related issues when people of all races accept responsibility for their own lives and 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, and everywhere else. 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, 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 ways 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 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 goodwill 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. All people 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 beneath them to gain equality. In order to change this, people of color should be elected into political offices. This would allow a better balance among races in America.

Discussion resources articles

Page 22: Breaking Through Adoption's Racial Barriers by Lynnette Clemetson and Ron Nixon, *NY Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/17/us/17adopt.html?scp=4&sq=adoptions+racial+barriers&st=nyt

Page 27: Dallas is First Big Texas City to Elect a Black to Be Mayor by Sam Howe Verhovek, *NY Times*
http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=990CE2DD1530F93BA35756C0A963958260&scp=1&sq=black+to+be+mayor+dallas&st=nyt

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.

15489968. As you listened to others discuss what has shaped their views, what new insights and ideas did you gain?
15489969. What common concerns emerged in this discussion?
15489970. 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?

View 1:
The government should enforce laws that combat 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 itself 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 thirty 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 only 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 enacted this sort of policy 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, a change of heart and perspective in individual lives will go furthest toward establishing true unity in the United States. 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 universal values of acceptance, appreciation, and respect 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.

Discussion Resources Articles

Page 29: Illinois: Court Rejects Slave Reparation Claims by the Associated Press, *NY Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/14/us/14brfs-SLAVE.html

Page 30: History, Principle and Affirmative Action by Stanley Fish, *NY Times*
http://select.nytimes.com/2007/07/14/opinion/14fish.html

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.

15506928. As you listened to others discuss what has shaped their views, what new insights and ideas did you gain?
15506929. What common concerns emerged in this discussion?
15506930. 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

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 owned by minorities.
- Buy and display art in your home by artists of color.
- Subscribe to minority-oriented publications.
- Organize or 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 from 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 of a different background from 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 at large. 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 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.

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 eighteenth 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 petitioned 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, twenty thousand black troops (four times the number in the American army) left with the British to seek freedom in England, Jamaica, and Nova Scotia – the first stirrings of the underground railroad.

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

1808 U.S. Congress prohibited the importation of slaves, but it continued illegally.

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 escaped 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 well-known 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 Thirteenth 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 that served in the Civil War. Commanded by white officers, their 20-year service on the Great Plains was invaluable and largely unrecognized in the advancing settlement of Euro Americans in the West, but went largely unrecognized.

1867 The Ku Klux Klan was founded at a meeting at the Maxwell House Hotel in Nashville by a group of Southern businessmen, former 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 under which Democrats agreed to vote in favor of Hayes as president, if he would 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 ending 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–1950s, including the landmark case of Brown v. Board of Education.

1919 There were 26 race riots this year (the "Red Summer") with many deaths and injuries. Some black communities destroyed by white mobs. 76 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 the 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 The Brown v. Board of Education case 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 onto the streets, beginning 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 by his mother at an open-casket funeral.

1961 The Twenty-Third Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granted the predominantly black residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote in presidential elections.

1964 Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman (an African American, a Jew, and a white Christian who made up a civil rights team) were murdered by white racists and buried in an earthen dam in Mississippi.

1964 The Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution removed "qualifications" that prohibited blacks from voting in some states.

1965 On February 21, Malcolm X was assassinated shortly after he had begun to address an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom. Malcolm was pronounced dead at 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. The report 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 the twelve states with more than 15%. The District of Columbia had 65.84%. Montana (.30%) and Idaho (.33%) had the smallest black populations among the 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. 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 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 reality 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, and shape of eyes, as well as psychological and behavioral traits. Superior or inferior status is then 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 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 ideology 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. Since then, scientists have been trying to undo racism that has been perpetuated using five-hundred-year-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 makeup. No matter how one tries to divide humanity, many people 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."

"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, wind, proximity to the equator, 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 the 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. Its primary function is to protect the upper layers of the skin from such hazards as radiation, infections and skin cancers. The genes of our primitive ancestors were programmed to produce dark skin, and the group of Africans who later migrated north into Europe developed a variant gene that gave them slightly lighter skin. The trend continued for generation after generation, eventually producing very fair-skinned people, such as the Swedes.

"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 "Indian blood" has no scientific basis.

8. Do certain population groups possess superior intelligence?

No. Intelligence Quotient (IQ) tests meant to measure inherited mental capacity are flawed. Comparing the average IQs of 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

Researched and compiled by Dr. Hoda Hosseini, e-mail: shh@interpoint.net.

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.

Reference

Bennett, Lerone. *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America.* Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1982.

Christian, Charles M. *Black Saga: The African American Experience* [a chronology]. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1995.

Franklin, John Hope and Alfred A. Moss Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.,1988.

Giddings, Paula. *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America.* New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1984.

Loewen, James W. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong.* New York: The New Press, 1995.

Pierson, William. *Black Legacy: America's Hidden Heritage.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993

Salzman, Jack, David Lionel Smith and Cornel West, Editors. *The Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History.* New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996.

Books and Periodicals

Applied Research Center, *RaceFile.* Contact ARC for more information about this a bimonthly publication. 1322 Webster Street, Suite 402, Oakland, CA, 94612.

Austin, Bobby William, ed. *Repairing the Breach: Key Ways to Support Family Life, Reclaim Our Streets, and Rebuild Civil Society in America's Communities.* Report of the National Task Force on African-American Men and Boys. Dillon, CO: Alpine Guild, Inc., 1996.

Baker, Richard. *Los Dos Mundos: Rural Mexican-Americans, Another America.* Salt Lake City: Utah State University Press, 1995.

Barber, Benjamin R. *Strong Democracy.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Berry, Wendell. *The Hidden Wound.* San Francisco: North Point Press, 1989.

Brooks, Roy L. *Rethinking the American Race Problem.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Bullard, Sara. *Teaching Tolerance.* New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Carson, Clayborne and David J. Garrow, Gerald Gill, Vincent Harding, Darlene Clark Hine, general eds. *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader: Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts from the Black Freedom Struggle, 1954-1990.* New York: Penguin Books, 1991.

Coleman, Jonathan. *Long Way to Go: Black and White in America.* New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1997.

Cose, Ellis. *Color-Blind: Seeing Beyond Race in a Race-Obsessed World.* New York: Harper Collins, 1997.

Cox, Anna-Lisa. *A Stronger Kinship: One Town's Extraordinary Story of Hope and Faith.* New York: Little Brown and Company, 2006.

Curry, George E., ed. *The Affirmative Action Debate.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996.

Dalton, Harlon L. *Racial Healing: Confronting the Fear Between Blacks and Whites.* New York: Doubleday, 1995.

Edley, Christopher, Jr. *Not All Black and White: Affirmative Action and American Values.* New York: Hill & Wang, 1997.

Fine, Michelle with Lois Weis, Linda C. Powell, and L. Mun Wong, eds. *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

Franklin, John Hope, and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African-Americans* (7th edition). New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.

Funderburg, Lise. *Black, White, Other: Biracial Americans Talk About Race and Identity.* New York: W. Morrow and Co., 1994.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., ed. *Bearing Witness: Selections from African-American Autobiography in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., and Cornel West. *The Future of the Race.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1996.

Hacker, Andrew. *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal.* New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1992.

Hartman, Chester, ed. *Double Exposure: Poverty and Race in America.* Foreword by Bill Bradley and Preface by Julian Bond. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997.

Kingwell, Mark. *A Civil Tongue: Justice, Dialogue, and the Politics of Pluralism.* State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.

Kivel, Paul. *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice.* Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1996.

Kozol, Jonathan. *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools.* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1991.

Lapp, Frances Moore and Paul Martin Du Bois. *The Quickening of America.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994.

Lerner, Michael and Cornel West. *Jews & Blacks: A Dialogue on Race, Religion, and Culture in America.* New York: Penguin Group, 1996.

Loewen, James W. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

Loury, Glenn C. *One by One from the Inside Out: Essays and Reviews on Race and Responsibility in America.* New York: Free Press, 1995.

Mankiller, Wilma and Michael Wallis. *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People.* New York: St. Martin=92s Press, 1993.

Marable, Manning. *Beyond Black and White: Transforming African-American Politics.* London: Verso Books, 1995.

McDougall, Harold A. *Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

National Association of Human Rights Workers. *Journal of Intergroup Relations.* Contact the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, 220 Parsons Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the United States. *The Vision of Race Unity: America's Most Challenging Issue.* Wilmette, IL: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1991.

Nies, Judith. *Native American History: A Chronology of a Cultures Vast Achievements and Their Links to World Events.* New York: Ballantine 1996.

Page, Clarence. *Showing My Color: Impolite Essays on Race and Identity.* New York: Harper Collins, 1996.

Piatt, Bill. *Black and Brown in America: The Case* . New York University Press, 1997.

Poverty & Race Research Action Council. *Poverty & Race.* No charge for this bimonthly newsletter, but donations are encouraged. Contact PRRAC, 1711 Connecticut Avenue NW, #207, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 387-0764, fax (202) 387-0764. prrac@aol.com.

Reddy, Maureen T., ed. *Everyday Acts Against Racism: Raising Children in a Multiracial World.* Seattle: Seal Press, 1996.

Rothenberg, Paula S., ed. *Racism and Sexism: An Integrated Study.* New York: St. Martinís Press, 1988.

Rutstein, Nathan. *Racism - Unraveling the Fear.* Washington, D.C.: The Global Classroom, 1997.

Rutstein, Nathan. *Healing Racism in America: A Prescription for the Disease.* Springfield, MA: Whitcomb Publishing, 1993.

Salzman, Jack with Adina Back and Gretchen Sullivan Sorin, eds. *Bridges and Boundaries: African-Americans and Jews.* George Braziller, 1992. Published in association with The Jewish Museum, New York, 1109 5th Avenue, New York, NY 10128; (212) 423-3200.

Smith, Anna Deavere. *Fires in the Mirror.* Foreword by Cornel West. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1993.

____. *Twilight Los Angeles, 1992.* New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1994.

Steele, Shelby. *Content of our Character: A New Vision of Race in America.* New York: St. Martin Press, 1990.

Stout, Linda. *Bridging the Class Divide (And Other Lessons for Grassroots Organizing).* Boston: Beacon Press, 1996.

Study Circles Resource Center. *Focus on Study Circles.* Contact SCRC for a free subscription to this quarterly newsletter.

Takaki, Ronald. *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1993.

____, ed. *From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Tatum, Beverly Daniel. *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria and Other Conversations About Race.* New York: Basic Books, 1997.

Taylor, Bonnie J. and the National Race Unity Committee. *The Power of Unity: Beyond Prejudice and Racism, Selections from the Baha'i Writings.* Wilmette, IL: Baha'i Publishing Trust, 1986.

Terkel, Studs. *Race: How Blacks and Whites Think and Feel About the American Obsession.* New York: The New Press, 1992.

Thernstrom, Stephan and Abigail M. Thernstrom. *America in Black and White: One Nation Indivisible.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.
Thompson, Becky and Sangeeta Tyagi, eds. *Names We Call Home: Autobiography on Racial Identity.* New York: Routledge, 1996.

West, Cornel. *Race Matters.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

Williams, Juan, with the Eyes on the Prize Production Team. *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*. A companion volume to the PBS Television Series. New York: Viking Penguin, 1987.

Wilson, William J. *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

____. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.

Contact Study Circles Resource Center for copies of the following publications:

Campbell, Sarah. *When a church is burned in our town ...: A Guide for Community Dialogue and Problem Solving.* Pomfret Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1997. (This condensed manual was produced in conjunction with the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice for use in community-based programs.)

Campbell, Sarah. and Mark Niedergang. *Youth Issues, Youth Voices: A Guide for Engaging Youth and Adults in Public Dialogue and Problem Solving.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1996.

Flavin, Catherine. *Working in the USA: Making a Living, Making a Difference.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1997. (This guide was prepared for the State of the Union Labor Day special, That's Why They Call It Work. The State of the Union series is part of the PBS Democracy Project.)

Flavin-McDonald, Catherine, and Martha L. McCoy. *Facing the Challenge of Racism and Race Relations: Democratic Dialogue and Action for Stronger Communities.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1997. (This book is the 3rd edition of SCRC's widely used study circle guide, *Can't We All Just Get Along? A Manual for Discussion Programs on Racism and Race Relations,* 1992, 1994.)

Leighninger, Matt and Mark Niedergang. *Education: How Can Schools and Communities Work Together to Meet the Challenge? A Guide for Involving Community Members in Public Dialogue and Problem Solving.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1995.

Leighninger, Matt and Mark Niedergang. *Confronting Violence in Our Communities: A Guide for Involving Citizens in Public Dialogue and Problem Solving.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1994.

McCoy, Martha L., Catherine Flavin, and Marci Reaven. *Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity: A Guide for Building Stronger Communities through Public Dialogue.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1997.

Scully, Pat and Matt Leighninger. *Changing Faces, Changing Communities: Immigration & Race, Jobs, Schools, and Language Differences.* 2nd edition. Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, 1998. (This compact discussion guide was produced jointly by SCRC and Congressional Exchange for use in community-wide study circle programs.)

Study Circles Resource Center. *Planning Community-wide Study Circles: A Step-by-Step Guide.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1996.

Study Circles Resource Center. *Study Circles in Paired Congregations: Enriching Your Community Through Shared Dialogue on Vital Issues.* Pomfret: Topsfield Foundation, Inc., 1995.

Other Resources for Discussion

Accrediting Commission for Senior Colleges. *Dialogues for Diversity: Community and Ethnicity on Campus* is a publication from the Project on Campus Community and Diversity of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. Priced at $16.50, it can be ordered from Oryx Press at (800) 279-6799.

Boyd, William M., III, *Can the Races Talk Together?* Poynter Report, Spring 1993.

Bradley, Senator Bill, "How America Can Make Brotherhood Work." *Reader's Digest*, 75th Anniversary Issue, August/September 1997. To order a copy, call (800) 467-6346.

Gallegos, Aaron, ed. *America's Original Sin: A Study Guide on White Racism* (expanded edition). Published and distributed by Sojourners, 2401 15th Street NW, Washington, DC 20009; (202) 328-8842; fax (202) 328-8757. The cost of the guide is $10.00 per copy; a reduced rate is offered for orders of 10 or more copies.

Reese, Renford. *Colorful Flags: Breaking Down Racial Mistrust.* A human relations module aimed at breaking down communication barriers and fostering respect. Available from the Center for Multiethnic and

Transnational Studies, University of Southern California; (213) 740-6902, or fax (213) 740-5810.

Roe, Jon and Robert C. Nelson. *How Can We Be Fair? The Future of Affirmative Action.* Dayton: National Issues Forums Institute, 1995. For price and ordering information, contact Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, P.O. Box 1840, 4050 Westmark Drive, Dubuque, IA 52004-1840; (800) 228-0810.

Schwartz, Edward A. *Building Community in the American Tradition.* Contact the Institute for the Study of Civic Values, 1218 Chestnut Street, #702, Philadelphia, PA 19107; (215) 238-1434. edcivic.@libertynet.org or http://libertynet.org/community/phila/nol.html.

Southern Institute for Education and Research at Tulane University. *When the Future Was the Past: A Discussion Guide on the Plessy Decision and Its Aftermath*, Second Edition, 1996. For more information, contact the Southern Institute, MR Box 1692, 31 McAlister Drive, New Orleans, LA 70118-5555; (504) 865-6100; fax (504) 862-8957; so-inst@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu.

____. "Race and the American City." Statement on the Senate floor. The Congressional Record, March 26, 1992.

____. "Race Relations in America: The Best and Worst of Times." Speech given at Town Hall, Los Angeles, CA. January 11, 1996.

Briand, Michael K. Building Deliberative Communities. *Pew Partnership for Civic Change*, 1995. For information, contact Pew Partnership for Civic Change, 145-C Ednam Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903; (304) 971-2073, fax (804) 971-7042.

Building Bridges with Reliable Information, 2nd ed. The National Conference, 1997. For information, contact The National Conference, 71 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1100, New York, New York 10003; (212) 206-0006; fax (212) 255-6177.

Cisneros, Henry G. "Valuing the Differences: Diversity as an Asset." Remarks to the 98th National Conference on Governance, Los Angeles, California, November 13, 1992.

City Lore, *The Culture Catalog*, a bi-annual mail order catalog geared to young people, featuring books, videos, and audiotapes. Also includes how-to books on oral history, folklore, storytelling, and more. For a free copy, contact City Lore, 72 E. First Street, New York, New York 10003, (800) 333-5982, fax (212) 529-5062.

Clinton, William Jefferson. "Remarks by the President at the University of California at San Diego Commencement," June 14, 1997. Washington, DC: The White House Virtual Library, 1997. (This speech launched the President's initiative on race.)

Coughlin, Ellen K. "America's Dilemma." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 8, 1995.

Diversity & Governance: Changing Populations and the Future of Cities and Towns. Washington, DC: National League of Cities, 1991. Contact the National League of Cities, Publication Center, P.O Box 491, Annapolis Junction, MD 2070; (301) 725-4299; fax (301) 206-9789.

Du Bois, Paul Martin and Jonathan J. Hutson. *Bridging the Racial Divide: A Report on Interracial Dialogue in America.* Interracial Democracy Program of the Center for Living Democracy (CLD). Available for $10 per copy ($8 for 10 or more). For information, contact the Center for Living Democracy, 289 Fox Farm Road, Brattleboro, VT 05301; (802) 254-1234, fax (802) 254-1227. Or visit the CLD website, www.livingdemocracy.org.

Edley, Christopher, Jr. "Racial Healing from the Grass Roots Up: Forget Partisan Politics, Focus on Community." *U.S. News & World Report*, November 18, 1996.

Franklin, John Hope. *Ethnicity in American Life: The Historical Perspective. An article from Experiencing Race, Class, and Gender in the United States,* edited by Virginia Cyrus. Mountainview, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1996. Distributed by Publishers Group West, Emeryville, California, (800) 788-3123. A teachers manual is also available.

Guinier, Lani. "Democracy's Conversation." *The Nation,* January 23, 1995.

Jackson, Jesse L., Jr. "Why Race Dialogue Suffers." *The Nation,* March 31, 1997.

Johnson, Kevin and Andrea Stone. "Affirmative Action: Four Groups Views." *USA Today*, March 24, 1995.

Kemp, Jack and J.C. Watts, Jr. "Better Than Affirmative Action Op-Ed," *The Washington Post*, Tuesday, July 8, 1997.

Kennedy, Randall. "My Race Problem and Ours." *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 1997.

Khouri, Ghada, with Mary Ramadan, and Marvin Wingfield. *1995 Report on Anti-Arab Racism: Hate Crimes,*

Discrimination & Defamation of Arab Americans. American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 4201 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20008; (202) 244-2990, fax (202) 244-3196.

Lemann, Nicholas. "The Other Underclass." *Atlantic Monthly,* December 1991.

McCoy, Martha L. "Art for Democracy's Sake: The Potential of Public Art to Foster Civic Dialogue." *Public Art Review*, Issue 17 (Vol. 9, #1), Fall/Winter 1997.

McCoy, Martha L. "Study Circles: A Public Setting for Prejudice Reduction and Conflict Resolution." *FORUM*, Fall 1996. For more information, contact National Institute for Dispute Resolution (NIDR), 1726 M Street NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20036-4502; (202) 466-4764; fax (202) 466-4769; nidr@nidr.org.

McCoy, Martha L. and Robert F. Sherman. "Bridging the Divides of Race and Ethnicity." *National Civic Review*, Spring/Summer 1994.

McIntosh, Peggy. "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." *Peace and Freedom*, July/August 1989.

Okubo, Derek. *Governance and Diversity: Findings from Los Angeles.* Denver: National Civic League Press, 1993.

Pass It On: Volunteer Recruitment Manual. Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, 1994. For information, contact BBBSA, 230 North 13th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107, (215) 567-7000.

People For the American Way. *Democracy's Next Generation II: A Study of American Youth on Race.* Washington, DC: 1992. For price and ordering information, contact People For the American Way, 2000 M Street NW, Suite 400, Washington DC 20036; (202) 467-4999. Abridged version also available.

Porter, Jeanne L. *Building Diverse Communities.* Pew Partnership for Civic Change, 1995. For information, contact Pew Partnership for Civic Change,145-C Ednam Drive, Charlottesville, VA 22903; (304) 971-2073, fax (804) 971-7042.

Pogrebin, Letty Cottin. "From our Heads and our Hearts: Connecting with Black Women." *Lilith*, Winter 1991.

Ruenzel, David. "Crucial Conversations: Study Circles Help Students Talk Constructively about Race." *Teaching Tolerance*, Spring 1997.

Schoene, Lester P., Jr. and Marcelle E. DuPraw. *Facing Racial and Cultural Conflict: Tools for Rebuilding Community*, 2nd Edition, 1994. Program for Community Problem Solving, National Civic League. For further information, please call or write the Program for Community Problem Solving, 915 15th Street NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20005; (202) 783-2961.

Searles, Priscilla. *Free Men: The Amistad Revolt and the American Anti-Slavery Movement: A Teacher's Guide.* NHCHS Program Copyright: 1989. For purchasing information, please write to the Amistad Committee, Inc., 311 Temple Street, New Haven, CT 06511; (203) 387-0370.

Sehested, Ken. *Walk Together Children: An Ecumenical Resource for Congregations in Partnership Across Racial Lines.* Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America, 1997. P.O. Box 280, Lake Junaluska, NC 28745; (704) 456-1881, (704) 456-1883. bpfna@primeline.com.

Southern Poverty Law Center, *Teaching Tolerance.* A free magazine mailed each semester to over 300,000 teachers. Offers success stories, lessons, and practical tips. Contact SPLC, P.O. Box 548, Montgomery, AL 36101-0548; (334) 264-0286; fax (334) 264-3121.

Steele, Claude M. "Race and the Schooling of Black Americans." *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1992.

White, Otis. "How to Reach Across Racial and Economic Barriers." *Community Leadership Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 3. (c) 1995 The Community Leadership Co. P.O. Box 1687, Decatur, GA 30031-1687. (404) 880-7241; fax (404) 880-7246. 71053.2400@compuserve.com. Visit their website: www.webcom.com/~pcj/clql.html.

Study Circles Resource Center
P.O. Box 203, 697 Pomfret Street
Pomfret, CT 06258
(860) 928-2616; fax (860) 928-3713
scrc@neca.com

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

Campus Conversations on Race evaluation form

Please complete and return this evaluation form to the group leaders

Names 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?

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 their 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

Notes