Our country has already gone through an historic election season. Senator Clinton became the first woman to make a serious run for the Democratic nomination for president. And of course, Senator Obama became the first African American to receive the nomination for president from a major party. These historic events have pushed Americans to make sense of where we are as a country on issues of both race and gender. Every major news outlet was covering the story of whether or not we were ready for an African American president or for a woman president. During much of the early part of the primary season, the self-congratulatory pieces by the media and many pundits claimed that we were in a post-racial society, especially after Senator Obama did so well in states like Iowa, which are overwhelmingly white.

This celebration was interrupted, however, as issues of racism and sexism took center stage and could no longer be ignored. Apparently, race still does matter in our country and sexism is not dead. In many ways, the pundits not only made the wrong assertions, but often asked the wrong questions and used inadequate criteria to understand the complexity of race and gender. At times, the assessment was often contradictory. It was not unusual to find in the same media outlet a story about how a number of white Democrats would not vote for a black candidate and then another story claiming that our society is now at a place where color blindness is a reality. This assessment of racial progress was devoid of the reality of everyday
Executive Notes (continued from page 1)

American life. A discussion of the continued segregation and re-segregation of American schools was absent. No mention was made of the widening wealth gap between white Americans and black or Latino Americans. The targeting of communities of color for predatory and sub-prime mortgage loans did not make the agenda. And the link between the explosive growth of incarceration in the United States despite declining crime rates and the overrepresentation of blacks and Latinos in American prisons received no attention.

As important as the Obama-Clinton race has been, the effort to understand race and gender by simply looking at the support for Obama and Clinton is incredibly misplaced. This celebration of American racial progress was interrupted by increasing numbers of white voters stating that they would not vote for a black man for president. But even the understanding of this reality was largely inadequate. The issue was described as Obama’s problem, not America’s problem. There was little attention paid to how white resentment was not just being discovered, it was being organized and used for political gain. This is not new. Elite whites have a long history of organizing the resentment of working class whites for political purpose. The elites in the Democratic Party used this approach in the 1880s and 1890s to drive a wedge between blacks and whites to garner white votes for their own ends. The great purveyor of popular democracy, Andrew Jackson, helped create solid white support by disenfranchising black voters. His democratic efforts were decidedly racist.

This story has a modern version that is just as disturbing but more complex. White America has indeed moved toward embracing and internalizing racial equality as a value. A three-part strategy was developed in the 60s and perfected in the 70s and 80s. It is known as the Southern Strategy and the recent version is most closely affiliated with the Republican Party. Few pundits question how the South moved from being solidly Democratic to being the foundation of the Republican Party. But what is this strategy? The strategy works on the ambivalence of the American people: the value of racial equality and racial resentment on one hand, and on the other hand, the desire to protect institutions and policies that have served them well. For this strategy to work, there must be internal conflict.

Which of these values become salient depends on priming. When an issue is clearly racist, the majority of white America will not support it — and this is new since the 60s. So, in order for this strategy to be successful, racial progress on a national level must be backed through the use of symbols and messages. These symbols and messages must be clear enough to organize the resentment, but not so obvious as to violate the more modern aspiration of equality. Most Americans, while not consciously aware of this strategy, have been the victims of it.

When President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act in 1964, he noted that he had just given the Republican Party the South for a generation. To exploit the South’s resentment and racism and win national elections, the Republicans had to appeal to both the sense of growing equality in the country while organizing white racial resentment — parts one and two of the strategy. The final part of this strategy was to support policies and institutions that would continue undermining real racial progress in how groups were situated. Nixon’s opposition to busing and support for law and order were examples of this. He put a new stamp on the Supreme Court that took the teeth out of Brown by allowing segregation between the cities and suburbs. So, we can now celebrate the idea of integrated schools while maintaining the reality of segregated schools.

In 1980, Reagan kicked off his presidential campaign in Philadelphia, Mississippi, where civil rights workers had been killed in 1964. He announced that he was for states’ rights, a code phrase that signaled to the southern white voter that Reagan’s sentiments were aligned with them in regard to opposition to federal enforcement of civil rights for blacks. The Republican Party recently apologized for using the Southern Strategy, but then continued using it. What the pundits have missed is how implicit bias and resentment have been used in the election cycle. This is done both through messages and through institutional and policy choices.

Great work is being done to better understand implicit bias, the conflicted nature of the American people, and what effect the interactions of institutions and policies have in maintaining and producing unfair racialized outcomes. These practices are not captured or understood by the old metrics of racism. They are not predicated on explicit intent or racist behavior. But the results are similar.

Without a new way to understand the dynamic of racialization and sexism, we will limit the historical significance of Senators Obama and Clinton’s race for the Democratic nomination for president. We must look at our implicit bias and our institutional arrangements. We must understand and recognize Southern Strategy and bring an end to it.

Executive Director

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE
The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity is a university-wide interdisciplinary research institute. Its goal is to deepen our understanding of the causes and solutions to racial and ethnic disparities and hierarchies. This includes an explicit focus not only on Ohio and the United States, but also on the Americas and our larger global community. Our primary focus is to increase general understanding that, despite many differences, human destinies are intertwined. Thus, the institute explores and illustrates both our diversity and common humanity in real terms.

The institute brings together a diverse and creative group of scholars and researchers from various disciplines to focus on the histories, present conditions, and the future prospects of racially and ethnically marginalized people. Informed by real-world needs, its work strives to meaningfully influence policies and practices.

The institute also focuses on the interrelatedness of race and ethnicity with other factors, such as gender, class, and culture, and how these are embedded in structures and systems. Collaboration with other institutions and organizations around the world and ongoing relationships with real people, real communities, and real issues are a vital part of its work.

The institute employs many approaches to fulfilling its mission: original research, publications, comparative analyses, surveys, convenings, and conferences. It is part of a rich intellectual community and draws upon the insight and energy of the faculty and students at Ohio State.

While the institute focuses on marginalized racial and ethnic communities, it understands that these communities exist in relation to other communities and that fostering these relationships deepens the possibility of change. It is the sincere hope and goal of all of us that the institute gives transformative meaning to both our diversity and our common humanity.
Development

The work of the Kirwan Institute is made possible by the generous support of numerous people and organizations. New external funding includes the following:

W.K. Kellogg Foundation
The African American Male Project
Advanced Racial Equity Planning Project

The Ford Foundation
General operations
The Diversity Advancement Project
The Integration Initiative

The President’s Council (of Cleveland)
Regionalism and its effects on African Americans in Cleveland

Public Interest Projects
Fulfilling the Dream Fund
(National Fund)
“A New Paradigm for Affirmative Action: Targeting Within Universalism”

The Tides Foundation
Core operating support

The Open Society Institute
School Desegregation Project
Core operating support

Democracy Alliance
General operating

For more information on making a commitment to excellence with a donation to the institute, please contact:

Heather A. Schwenker
Director of Development
Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity (614) 688-5429
schwenker.4@osu.edu

John Powell Receives Krasnoff Award

During the ERASE Racism’s Annual Spring Benefit held June 4, 2008, our Executive Director, John Powell, received the Abraham Krasnoff Courage and Commitment Award. The award was established in June 2006, in honor of its first recipient, Krasnoff, a founding board member of ERASE Racism. Award recipients reflect Krasnoff’s bold leadership, wise counsel, generosity, and steadfast commitment to addressing institutional racism. Like Krasnoff, Powell shares ERASE Racism’s zeal for racial equity and is making a difference in the fight against racism.

Elsadig Elsheikh joined the staff of the Kirwan Institute in 2008 as a research associate for the international program with a focus on racial/ethnic dimensions of various conflicts around the world. Before coming to the Kirwan Institute, Elsheikh worked with various grassroots and advocacy organizations in fields of Internal Displaced Persons, indigenous population, human rights, immigration, anti-racism, and social mobilizations in Sudan, Greece, Colombia, and the United States.

He received his MA in social justice and sustainable development and a graduate diploma in conflict transformation across cultures both from the SIT Graduate Institute in 2008. In 2005, he received a BA in political science and international studies from the Ohio State University, and prior to that he studied international relations at the Pandelion University in Athens, Greece.

Research Interests: The political economy and formation of the nation-state in the Third World; the impacts of globalization upon indigenous populations; and issues of colonialism, class, and power structure in the context of the global South.
Super Tuesday (continued from page 1)

prevent the initiative from reaching the ballot. Anti-affirmative action activists again were unable to attain the required number of signatures for their petition. Challenges against the wording of the petition and, like in Oklahoma, the validity of tens of thousands of signatures contributed to this defeat.

Connerly cashes in by opposing AA

While Connerly equates his opposition to affirmative action with the fight for equal opportunity and ending discrimination, it is difficult to overlook the organizations that are pouring money into the campaign and the extent to which Connerly benefits monetarily.

Three of Connerly's most notable supporters are the conservative Bradley, Olin, and Scaife foundations which fund a wide array of right-wing activism. With the help of the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Connerly set up the American Civil Rights Institute (ACRI) and the American Civil Rights Campaign, two non-profits which serve as front organizations for his campaign. An article in the Sacramento Bee stated that Connerly made $700,000 in 2003, including $400,000 in speaking and consulting fees. According to the article, “Connerly’s personal earnings account for about 30 percent of the roughly $7.2 million in total revenues received by his two non-profits since 1999.”

During his campaign to eliminate affirmative action in California, Connerly received support from prominent right-wing individuals and organizations including media mogul Rupert Murdoch, the late Joseph Coors, and the Heritage Foundation. In addition, public works contractors and the construction industry have supported Connerly because elimination of affirmative action reduces competition from minority-owned businesses.

So in actuality, there is a large network of individuals and groups on the political right seeking to dismantle affirmative action for which Connerly serves as the popular public face. This is in spite of the fact that Connerly’s real estate corporation, Connerly & Associates, Inc., has benefited financially from affirmative action in contracting.

What’s next?

These recent developments show the importance of battles taking place even before the initiatives reach the ballot, especially considering that whenever Connerly’s initiatives have made it to the ballot, they have been successful. Challenging manipulation of the petition process in signature collection and use of language (for example, co-opting terms popularly associated with civil rights) has proven to be essential. This is in addition to engaging with local communities by creating broad-based coalitions that proactively seek to preserve affirmative action.

Trying to rebound from the setbacks, Connerly and his supporters turned to Colorado, Arizona, and Nebraska. While signature collection continues in both Arizona and Nebraska, the Colorado initiative has been approved and will appear on the ballot this November. Defenders of affirmative action in the state have disputed the use of the term “civil rights” in the initiative and allege there are irregularities in the petitions submitted.

If and when the initiatives make it to the ballot stage, some of the debates will be slightly different than in the states that previously passed similar initiatives. Unlike in California and Michigan where attention was given to the admissions policies of flagship public universities, the debates in three states currently being targeted could center around admissions at professional schools. According to Inside Higher Ed, the impact of an affirmative action ban is likely to be felt the most by these schools.

Combating anti-AA frames

Although some of the messages may change, Connerly and others opposing affirmative action will continue to talk about discrimination and disparity as something of the past and will paint their initiatives as the path to ending discrimination and toward a color-blind future.

Framing of this sort is essential in how affirmative action is perceived by the public. The inability in Washington and Michigan to preserve affirmative action is to a considerable extent due to the way the counter-campaigns framed the issue. The attempt in both states to re-frame affirmative action as something that benefits white women failed to gain traction with voters. According to Kimberle Crenshaw, a law professor at UCLA, “Foregrounding (white) women in the frame does little to erase the omnipresent racial subject that serves as a lightning rod for most of the stereotypes associated with affirmative action.” An approach that counters the color-blind approach with race-conscious messages is supported by research conducted at the Kirwan Institute by Philip Mazzocco and Daniel Newhart in the report “Dangers of Not Speaking About Race” (reported on the Kirwan web site).

It is necessary to utilize positive approaches such as the “Decline to Sign” campaign used in Oklahoma rather than respond defensively to charges of “reverse racism” from the political right. Prevailing stereotypes like affirmative action benefiting only African Americans and other myths about how the policy functions must consistently be countered. For example, the notion that affirmative action provides an unfair benefit for minorities over whites, can be countered with the statement that the starting positions in society are themselves unfair and minorities face many additional obstacles along the way (Crenshaw, “Framing Affirmative Action”).

While maintaining affirmative action is crucial in keeping doors open for minorities in employment and education, it is just one necessary implementation in the larger project of achieving racial equality. The discussion around race should not begin and end with affirmative action and vice versa. True racial justice happens at the grassroots level and is part of a transformation that permeates all aspects of society.
Poverty and Racism Are a Violation of Human Rights

Lidija Knuth, Research Fellow, The International Program

Poverty is closely linked to racism. Both racism and poverty constitute human rights violations.

It is necessary that we finally take the perspective that it is our right—a human right—to demand better and more efficient policies and laws to realize equality and an adequate standard of living for everybody. Human rights are defined as “inalienable entitlements constituting the ground-rules for human development.” The human rights framework reflects the crucial interdependence of economic, social, and cultural rights on the one hand, and civil and political rights on the other.

Indeed, poverty and inequality can undermine human rights by fuelling social unrest and violence and increasing the precariousness of social, economic, and political rights. Likewise, people’s access to and control over productive resources are often determined by a country’s legal framework and institutions and linked to discrimination. Like human rights, poverty is multifaceted and complex. It involves both material factors, referring to meeting basic needs as well as nonmaterial ones such as rights, participation, and human dignity.

Because of these links, anti-discrimination and anti-poverty policies, programs, and projects can benefit from broadening the focus to include human rights. We need to start promoting the introduction of a basic human rights education in all school curricula. This will help people better understand their rights and increase their choices and income-earning capacity.

At the same time, advocating for the development and implementation of equal opportunity laws will empower people to gain more equitable access to productive resources. However, eliminating racial, ethnic, and other types of discrimination as forms of human rights violations requires significant social change. We know that it cannot be achieved solely by enacting anti-discrimination laws, as important as such laws are.

It was largely the search for an effective international response to racism that produced the main components of the United Nations human rights regime. The claim that poverty is a human rights violation is mainly based on the right to an adequate standard of living of everybody. It is an integral and inalienable human right affirmed in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

There is a need to visualize a greater level of integrated human rights approaches to achieve equality, non-discrimination, and an adequate standard of living. We are all responsible for making our contribution to this and indeed, adopting a human rights approach to our work on anti-racism and poverty elimination is crucial as we move forward.

Subprime Lending, Foreclosure, and Race: National Convening

Subprime lending, surging foreclosures, and instability in the housing market threaten to severely widen racial disparities and damage the entire U.S. economy. The Kirwan Institute has launched an outreach, advocacy, and research initiative to focus on the subprime lending and foreclosure crisis from a structural perspective.

The initiative will include seeking solutions from leading thinkers and key stakeholders in the various domains impacted or implicated by the crisis. The initiative will tackle the subprime lending-foreclosure phenomenon as an example of a structural crisis. It will assess how the interaction and involvement of many structures and institutional entities contributed to the growth of the sub-prime market and growing foreclosures.

The subprime and foreclosure crisis illustrates the power of utilizing a structural analysis to both diagnose and prescribe solutions to complex societal problems. The initiative will also identify the legal, policy, legislative, and community responses needed to counter the phenomena.

On October 2 and 3, 2008, the Institute will convene advocates, researchers, policy makers, funders, and other key stakeholders to explore the racial dimensions of the crisis and identify the critical solutions needed to address this significant civil rights challenge. Attendance will be by invitation only and limited. For more information about attending, please contact Jason Reece (reece.355.osu.edu) or Christy Rogers (rogers.441@osu.edu).
Monday, June 2, 2008

Barack Obama and Exceptional Black People

Hasan Kwame Jeffries, Assistant professor in the Department History with a joint appointment at the Kirwan Institute

With Barack Obama on the cusp of securing the Democratic nomination for President of these here United States, it appears that white Americans (at least those who don’t live in Appalachia or think that Ann Coulter is the second coming of Mother Theresa) are in fact ready for a black President. But does this mean that white Americans are ready for black people? Dramatic pause…Jeopardy music…. buzzer…..time for the answer….Nope. I hate to burst the bubble of those who believe that “We Americans” (and by “We Americans” I don’t mean everyone, just white Americans, kind of like the framers of the US Constitution when they wrote “We the people”) are on the cusp of a post-racial society, because we aren’t. We aren’t even close. But how can this be if “We Americans” are ready for a black President?

The truth of the matter is that ordinary white Americans over the last few decades have shown a remarkable ability to embrace African American super celebrities. When it comes to Oprah Winfrey, Tiger Woods, Magic Johnson, or Michael Jordan race no longer matters. They are considered extraordinary individuals who have mastered their craft. They are admired and idolized for their professional accomplishments. Until now, the colorblindness that African American peak performers have enjoyed has been limited to those in the arts, entertainment, and sports. What we’re seeing in this presidential election is the application of this phenomenon to electoral politics. Barack Obama has become a super celebrity, and if you don’t believe me, ask any of the 75,000 people who came out to hear him speak in Portland recently.

As a super celebrity, Obama benefits from the personal exposure that ordinary African Americans don’t receive. This enables white Americans to get to know him—his character, his views, his values. Even if this exposure is only superficial—sound bites on CNN or YouTube—it’s enough to humanize him, and in the process, ordinary white Americans see that the dominant stereotypes about African Americans simply don’t apply, to him at least.

And here is the rub. Most white Americans see African American super celebrities as different from African Americans as a whole. These African Americans are not just exceptional individuals; they are exceptions to the group. They are articulate, well-mannered, hardworking, family oriented, and most importantly, uninterested in speaking about white supremacy. This is why Rev. Jeremiah Wright troubled so many white people, even staunch Obama supporters. Rev. Wright, in their eyes, represented the real black America—he was angry, unpatriotic, unchristian, and secretly hated white people. Those on the far Right pointed to Obama’s pastor and said, “See, we told you Obama was black. And you know what that means—he’s angry, unpatriotic, unchristian, and secretly hates white people. So don’t even think about voting for him. Better yet, you better hide the women and the children!” And many months earlier, Rush Limbaugh warned white Americans not to be fooled by the Jedi mind tricks of this “magic Negro” who has snookered so many people into believing that he is something other than a black man. On the Left, when the Rev. Wright “controversy” surfaced, quite a few asked, “Could this be true? Is Obama really like the rest of them? We thought he was different.” Consequently, they called for Obama to renounce, denounce, reject, forsake, or forswear his pastor. And when he finally did after Rev. Wright’s performance at the National Press Club, they said, “Whew, that was close. For a second, we really thought Obama was like the rest of them. Welcome back to colorblind stardom.”

So, when will we know that America is ready not just for a black president, but for black people? When white Americans realize that the personal characteristics that they admire most about Barack Obama are not his alone, but are shared widely by African Americans. Obama is an exceptional African American, but he is not an African American exception.
Talking about Race... and Biology (Again)

By Andrew Grant-Thomas, Deputy Director

That race is “socially constructed” is widely seen as a truism in social science circles. For decades, theorists of race and ethnicity have pointed to scientific findings (like hormonal and chromosome research), social convention (the “one-drop rule” and racial “passing”), and both routine and hi-profile dustups over the content of particular identities (“Is Obama ‘black’ enough?”) in support of their insistence that race is something other than a biological or otherwise essential condition.

Racial meanings, we have said, do not inhere in our bodies, but instead depend on particularities of history, geography, and politics.

To be sure, we rarely act as if race were constructed. We talk about the growing number of “mixed-race” children in the United States and wonder at the “real” identities of people who are racially ambiguous. Social scientists, historians, and journalists write about whites, African Americans, Asian Americans, Arab Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans as if these were natural, well-defined, and stable categories of people that have always existed as such. And how often have we heard that the United States will become a minority-majority country by 2050 or soon thereafter—as if our children and theirs necessarily will know themselves as we know ourselves?

However, if we generally behave as if race were an essential and objective fact, and specifically a biological one, for some time now that conventional wisdom has lacked the imprimatur of science. Today, however, the scientific consensus about the relationship between race and biology is rapidly fraying. (For one helpful set of reflections, see “Is Race ‘Real’?”, a forum sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, at raceandgenomics.ssrc.org.)

It is critical that we remain vigilant as the effects of that change ripple into the cultural mainstream.

In 1994, the publication of The Bell Curve marked open, popular re-engagement with the relationship between race and genetics and its implications for social outcomes and social policy. A decade later, the FDA approved a race-targeted drug for the first time, a heart failure medication (BiDil) for African Americans. Recent developments in genetic science lead some to argue that race remains a useful proxy for genetic variations meaningful in the health context. Roughly 500,000 people have sought to trace their genetic ancestry in the last six or seven years. Some, otherwise white-identified, have sought to use the results to portray themselves as minority candidates in applying for jobs and school placements. Others have used DNA results to claim scholarships, casino money, and health services reserved for Indians.

Last fall, Nobel Laureate James Watson, who helped discover the double-helix structure of DNA in the 1950s, admitted in a newspaper interview that he was “inherently gloomy about the prospect of Africa” because “all our social policies are based on the fact that their intelligence is the same as ours, whereas all the testing says not really.”

Sentiments like these—especially from so prominent a figure, and in the context of a long, unhappy, history of scientific thought in the service of racist ideology—have renewed concerns about the destructive attitudinal and policy ends the re-emerging conceptualization of race-as-biology could be made to serve. But such remarks and this history are reasons not to run from the emerging work and rhetoric, but instead to engage it, understand it, ask our own questions, and shape our own thoughtful and informed messages to help inform the understanding of others.

What, then, is the evidence for a biological basis to race? What do we know, what don’t we know, and what remains to be learned?

What is the relationship between race, understood in biological terms, and race, defined in sociological terms? How do we best anticipate, monitor, and respond to the impact of the emerging findings—and their inevitable misinterpretation—on implicit and explicit racial attitudes, institutional policies, and collective practices? How can we take advantage of the promise of genetic science without falling prey to the pitfalls of biological reductionism?

The debate is engaged and promises to grow only more heated and consequential. The time to add our voices is now.

Kirwan Institute Small Grants Program

Clair Robertson, PhD, Departments of History and Women’s Studies, College of Humanities, The Ohio State University

“The Saint Lucia Oral History Project: Preserving the Past to Inspire the Future,” May 2008. $5,000

This qualitative investigation seeks to understand how Saint Lucia has managed to avoid the racial/ethnic tensions characterizing so many Caribbean Islands, given a colonial past in which the British practiced “divide-and-conquer” policies utilizing class, ethnic, and race discrimination to establish a hierarchical society. Robertson made her first research trip to St. Lucia in 1999, to collect oral histories and to determine the feasibility of carrying out a larger project aimed at preserving the memories of several generations of St. Lucians who know stories about the past that younger persons have not learned. She returned in 2002–2003, and interviewed some 250 elderly St. Lucians ranging from ages 68–112. These interviews comprise a collection of 420 CDs and will establish a baseline oral history that covers most aspects of economic, social, and cultural life on the island. Small grant funding will assist in this phase of the project.

Madhuri Sharma, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Geography, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, The Ohio State University


This project has a very strong potential to contribute meaningfully to the growing body of research on how the arrangement of urban space in the United States is influenced by race and ethnicity. Small Grant funding will support Phase III of the project in which a qualitative mixed-method investigation will be conducted to determine how households make decisions about where, how, and with whom to live. Methodologies in this phase of the project include archival research, participant observations, in-depth interviews, and formal surveys in Columbus, Ohio, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. A central question of this project is “Do household perceptions differ according to their own characteristics, racial/ethnic composition, and neighborhood/housing characteristics?”
Second issue of Race/Ethnicity:
Multidisciplinary Global Contexts Available

The third issue of Race/Ethnicity, “The Dynamics of Race and Incarceration: Social Integration, Social Welfare, and Social Control,” will be published in Autumn 2009. The issue begins with our “classic” piece, a widely cited excerpt from “Panopticism” in Michel Foucault’s Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. This selection looks at constant visibility as a manifestation of power exercised over those who are made visible. This mechanism of discipline is used on patients in hospitals, students in schools, workers in factories, soldiers in barracks, and prisoners in prisons. Those considered dangerous are placed in “segmented, immobile, frozen space.” The articles in this issue examine the space of prisons and the processes to place targeted populations within that space.

Topics include the relationship between incarceration and civil rights in the United States; the mismatch between existing reentry reform proposals and the racial structures that propel mass incarceration; the increasing incarceration of migrants in the European Union; the overrepresentation of minorities in the criminal justice system in Britain and Wales; post-apartheid prison practices in South Africa; federally sentenced aboriginal women in Canada; and a retrospective look by a former corrections director on his career in correctional administration.

An examination of who gets imprisoned, why, and the effects of incarceration on individual lives and society requires that we critically examine societal attitudes toward race and ethnicity, as well as the impacts of class and economic access in regard to control, integration, and welfare. The articles in this issue raise questions that must be addressed if incarceration is to serve as a first step toward rehabilitation and redemption rather than the final step toward social marginalization and exclusion.

For more information about the journal or to subscribe, go to raceethnicity.org.

Communities of Opportunity:
Recent Projects by the Institute Addressing Housing, Community Development, and Opportunity Mapping

Columbus Neighborhood Revitalization Assessment

Many opportunity-deprived, inner-city neighborhoods are struggling to revitalize in the face of significant structural challenges. Kirwan researchers synthesized the trends, challenges, and opportunities for Columbus’ distressed core communities at the request of the Columbus Foundation.The study’s findings are based on quantitative and qualitative research, including demographic analysis, interviews with key stakeholders, meta-analysis of plans written for core communities, and review of best practices literature. The study provides an assessment of the issues, dynamics, and opportunities for neighborhood revitalization, as well as strategy and policy recommendations to promote continued revitalization in Columbus’ core neighborhoods.(229,866),(780,940)

Atlanta Opportunity Mapping and Neighborhood Revitalization Study

The Kirwan Institute is preparing an opportunity analysis for the Atlanta metropolitan region, the City of Atlanta, and the neighborhoods of Vine City and English Avenue. The analysis will include an assessment of neighborhood indicators of opportunity in the context of minority businesses, subsidized and affordable housing, economic opportunities, educational opportunities, poverty, public transportation, and neighborhood trends.

Massachusetts Neighborhood Opportunity Mapping Initiative

The institute is conducting a statewide neighborhood opportunity analysis with the Massachusetts Law Reform Institute and is funded by the Massachusetts Legal Assistance Corps.

Technical Assistance and Outreach: Jefferson County, Kentucky, (Louisville) School District

The institute is assisting the Jefferson County, Kentucky, school district in finalizing their student assignment plan in the wake of the recent Seattle/Louisville Supreme Court decision. The institute is providing mapping assistance and recommending best practices for creating diverse successful school.
workplace. A racially integrated student body also ensures that a diverse group of leaders are trained and educated to make better decisions on issues affecting our multicultural society. The Supreme Court found student body diversity to be a compelling interest for colleges and universities because it "better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepares them as professionals." Affirmative action programs are integral to any strategy aimed at creating and maintaining a diverse student body.

Why should employers use affirmative action in hiring?

While overt discrimination is somewhat uncommon, discriminatory treatment in hiring still exists. It is often subtle, and the employer may not even consciously intend to discriminate. The results of this type of discrimination, however, are serious. One study, for example, found that minorities faced a 30 percent chance of discrimination across all occupational categories, and women faced a 23 percent chance of discrimination. Affirmative action programs in hiring are needed to counter these discriminatory practices. In addition to countering often subtle discrimination, affirmative action programs in hiring provide employers with a more diverse workforce. In Grutter v. Bollinger, 65 Fortune 500 companies filed an amicus brief, stating that "[b]ecause our population is diverse, and because of the increasingly global reach of American business, the skills and training needed to succeed in business today demand exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints.""
For instance, in Michigan, a U.S. District Court found that Connerly’s campaign “engaged in systematic voter fraud by telling voters that they were signing a petition supporting affirmative action.”11 Connerly originally targeted five more states (Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, Nebraska, and Oklahoma) for ballot initiatives in the 2008 election, but coalitions supporting affirmative action have kept it from qualifying for the ballot in Missouri and Oklahoma. Similar coalitions are actively working to protect affirmative action from this initiative in Arizona, Colorado, and Nebraska.

### Q7: What is the state of affirmative action programs currently?

Seventy percent of the American public supports affirmative action programs designed to help blacks, women, and other minorities gain access to better jobs and education.2 Consistent with this widespread support, many educational institutions and employers voluntarily employ affirmative action programs.

Many universities evaluate applicants using a multi-factor approach, with race and/or gender being one factor considered in the admissions decision. This type of program was approved by the Supreme Court in *Grutter v. Bollinger.*8 Employers also use affirmative action programs to recruit a diverse workforce. Microsoft Corporation, for instance, has actively moved to increase minority representation; its minority domestic workforce increased from 16.8 percent in 1997 to 25.6 percent in February 2003.9

Though affirmative action programs are utilized by many organizations and supported by the majority of the population, the debate surrounding them continues. In California, Washington, and Michigan, voters have passed ballot initiatives which amend the state constitutions to make affirmative action illegal. A California businessman named Ward Connerly has organized these initiatives, funded by private donors including Rupert Murdoch and John Moores, Sr.10 Their campaigns have utilized outright voter fraud to get the initiative onto the ballot.

### Q8: Is the United States the only country in the world that uses affirmative action programs?

Many countries around the world use affirmative measures to address problems of discrimination and subordination. For example, the Indian Constitution explicitly provides affirmative action programs aimed to provide equality to oppressed castes, and the South African Constitution also endorses affirmative action. In 2000, the European Union adopted two directives, the “Racial Equality Directive” and the “Employment Equality Directive,” which provide for positive action measures.

International treaties also embrace affirmative measures. Both the International Covenant for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Covenant for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women mention and provide affirmative measures. The United States is one country among many that employs affirmative action programs in response to discrimination problems.

### Endnotes
5 *The Opportunity Agenda,* supra note 2, at 21-23.
6 *Id.* at 48.
Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts

CALL FOR PAPERS

Volume 2, Number 2 (Spring 2009)

Race and Secondary Education: Content, Contexts, Impacts

Papers must be received by September 30, 2008 to be considered for publication in this issue.

The editorial staff of Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts invites submissions for the second issue of its second volume that will focus on “Race and Secondary Education: Content, Contexts, Impacts.” Race/Ethnicity uses a classic piece as a point of departure for treatments of critical issues within the field of race and ethnic studies. Announcement of the classic piece is forthcoming.

While the classic piece establishes the thematic parameters of each issue, authors are under no obligation to actively engage the arguments posed by that work.

The second issue of Volume 2 explores the implication of race and ethnicity in systems of secondary education across the globe. The issue opens with an excerpt from Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paulo Freire that underlines the distinction between oppressive and transformative forms of education. According to Freire, whereas oppressive forms of education discount the experiences and cultures of those being educated, transformative forms engage all participants in dialogue.

The outcome of the struggle of developing countries and marginalized populations to participate in the transformation of their society depends on whether the educational environment is oppressive or transformative.

We focus this issue on secondary education, which provides many children with their final, formal education, and on the character and content of that education. In doing so, we recognize that formal learning environments must be considered within larger cultural, societal, national, and even global contexts to account for the content and impact of the educational experience. We welcome the insights of educators and other practitioners, as well as those of researchers, on the dynamics of teaching and learning both within and beyond the United States and the West.

Topics of inquiry may include, but are not limited to, the following:

• Access: Who’s being left behind in the educational process; how and why?
• Equity: What are the biggest barriers to, and best practices for, achieving equal opportunity in education?
• Value: What are children learning about their place in society and the world, and how do those formal and informal lessons differ by race, ethnicity, gender, and class?
• Reform: What needs to happen?

Volume 3, Number 1 (Autumn 2009)

Race and the Global Politics of Health Inequity

Papers must be received by December 31, 2008 to be considered for publication in this issue.

The editorial staff of Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts invites submissions for the first issue of its third volume that will focus on “Race and the Global Politics of Health Inequity.” Race/Ethnicity uses a classic piece as a point of departure for treatments of critical issues within the field of race and ethnic studies. Announcement of the classic piece is forthcoming.

While the classic piece establishes the thematic parameters of each issue, authors are under no obligation to actively engage the arguments posed by that work.

Health outcomes around the world vary dramatically across lines of race, ethnicity, gender, class, place, and nationality. At the national extremes, the residents of countries such as Japan, Singapore, and Andorra can expect to live more than four decades longer than those in Zimbabwe, Liberia, Swaziland and other Sub-Sahara nations. On average, black American males can expect to live nine years fewer than white Americans. We know that the distribution and quality of medicine and health care matter. However, we also know that at the population level factors such as social structure, economic inequality, and globalization have much greater influence on the population and sub-population variations we see.

The first issue of Volume 3 explores the implication of race and ethnicity in health outcomes around the world, with special attention to the social, economic and political foundations of health inequity. We invite submissions that respond to questions that include, but are not limited to, the following:

• How and why do race, ethnicity, gender, class, place and nationality matter in shaping population health?
• In what ways does globalization shape health outcomes?
• What is the relationship between social, political, and/or economic inequalities and the distribution of health outcomes within and across countries and regions?
• What roles do multinational corporations play in the distribution of health outcomes within and across countries?
• What roles are played by governmental and intergovernmental policies, practices, and social ideologies around the production and distribution of medicine, food, weapons, patents, health care infrastructure, and so on?
• What kinds of reforms—at the international, national, and sub-national levels—would be needed to significantly reduce the rates of sickness and early death among the world’s most marginalized populations?

Please send manuscript submissions to Eavon Mobley (mobley.2@osu.edu). See raceethnicity.org/styleguide.html to prepare your document. Submission of cover artwork that relates to the issue’s theme is welcome. See raceethnicity.org/coverart.html.

The call for papers for the Spring 2010 issue on labor will be announced soon. Submissions are being accepted at this time.

The editors invite theme suggestions for upcoming issues. We also invite proposals from groups interested in suggesting a theme and in serving as guest editors for that issue of the journal. Please e-mail your suggestions and/or proposals to Eavon Mobley (mobley.2@osu.edu).
Uchechi Amadi is a summer research intern with the Kirwan Institute and a 2008 graduate (magna cum laude) of the Ohio State University. While studying honors Journalism and Political Science, serving as a Land Grant Opportunity Scholar, and working part-time in the Ohio State admissions office, Amadi developed an interest in socio-economic diversity, fair housing and welfare policies, and other issues concerning discrimination. An internship with a non-profit organization solidified her interests. She hopes to examine how these issues intersect with U.S. law during her time at Columbia Law School, which she will enter in the fall. After law school, she hopes to work in civil rights or employment law.

Micah Dillard is joining the Kirwan Institute staff as an intern for the summer 2008. He is currently attending Metro High School, which is a partnership among The Ohio State University, Educational Council, Battelle, and Franklin County’s sixteen school districts. After his tenure at Metro High School, Dillard plans to attend Ohio State for an undergraduate degree in the Social Sciences and then Georgetown University for a graduate degree. Dillard received an Academic Achievement Award from his home high school, Linden-McKinley, by maintaining an “A” average and passing all five parts of the Ohio Graduation Test. Dillard plans to travel abroad after he completes his graduate program. When he returns, Dillard wants to teach social sciences on the college level. During his internship at the Kirwan Institute, Dillard will conduct research on digital inequality.

Anamita Gall is a recent graduate of Bowling Green State University (BGSU) with a BA in Film Production (cum laude) 2008. She received an associate degree in Graphic Design from the Barbados Community College in 2003. Gall was the BGSU undergraduate representative at the annual Popular Cultural/American Cultural Association Conference in March 2008. In addition to her academic pursuits, she also served as the president of the Caribbean Association, and as the co-founder and president of the Inter-Ethnic Student Center Committee. In recognition of her work, Gall was awarded Student Leader of the Year for 2007-08 by the undergraduate student government.

Treisa Martin joined the Kirwan Institute staff as a legal intern in May 2008. She graduated from Marshall University in 2005 (magna cum laude) with a BA in Psychology. Martin is working on a JD at Capital University Law School, where she serves as an associate notes editor for Capital University Law Review. Martin is the author of a Capital University Law Review article, which analyzes the recent Supreme Court decision in Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District.

Melissa Sherry joined the Kirwan Institute as an intern in June 2008. She recently graduated with honors from The Ohio State University (magna cum laude) with a BS in Psychology and a BA in Communication. Sherry was a recipient of Ohio State’s Maximus Competition Medalist Scholarship given to top honors students and the 2008 College
Summer 2008 Interns

of Arts and Sciences Certificate for Excellence in Outstanding Scholarship. For the last six months, she interned for the Ohio Department of Health, working on a project that explored problems in racial and ethnic data collection. Sherry plans to pursue a master’s in International Health.

William Sturkey (sturkey.3@osu.edu) is a PhD student in History at The Ohio State University. He joined the Kirwan Institute as a summer intern in June 2008. Sturkey graduated from Ohio State in 2005, with a BA in History and African American Studies. While at the university, he won the Gwen Kagey Research Award for his paper “What is Race?” He received his MA in Afro-American Studies from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2007, where he wrote an award-winning thesis that examines education for activism in 1960s Mississippi. Sturkey is currently working on expanding this study for his dissertation.

Sarah Kozel Silverman is serving as research intern with the Kirwan Institute during summer quarter 2008. She graduated from Ohio State University in 2005 with a BA in Psychology, Spanish, and Jewish Studies. In 2007, she earned an MA in Educational Psychology and is currently pursuing a PhD in the same field. Silverman’s research interests span a variety of disciplines, but focus on philosophical approaches to psychology, reciprocating influences of psychology and policy, and political psychology. She has conducted research in these domains with an emphasis on multicultural education and teacher education for multicultural school settings.

Konstantin Vössing is currently in the process of completing his PhD in the Department of Political Science at Ohio State. He studied at the Universities of Bonn (Germany) and Reims (France), and received an MA from Ohio State. His research and teaching interests focus on comparisons between advanced industrialized societies, in the areas of political development and contentious politics. For his dissertation, he developed a comprehensive explanation for the formation of social democratic parties. A second research project he currently pursues deals with the effects of group identities on attitudes toward European integration.

Caitlin Watt is a legal intern for the summer 2008. She graduated from the University of Michigan—Ann Arbor in 2005 with a BA in English Language and Literature, minoring in Political Science. Watt transferred to Ohio State’s Moritz College of Law for the 2007–08 year from American University’s Washington College of Law in the District of Columbia. She has spent her summers in between educational programs as an intern for the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C., a field organizer for the Michigan Democratic Coordinating Committee during the 2004 election, and as a legal intern for the UAW during the organization of the Foxwoods Casino in Connecticut.
International Program of the Kirwan Institute

The institute’s international program was launched almost a year ago and is still in its nascent stages. There are two aspects to our international work: collaborating with regional partners in exchanging knowledge and experiences on the issues of race and ethnicity; and working at the international level with international organizations such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The main objectives of the international program are to build an international network to fight against racism and discrimination and to promote social inclusion both nationally and internationally. We have embarked upon four specific activities.

**Networking**

We are mapping at a global level research institutes, peoples’ movements, non-government organizations, and individuals who study marginalization and discrimination. Our goal is to create broader participation by identifying partners, build regional and global coalitions, and develop a share framework that can be used in each particular location with potential applications to other sites. Our objectives are to examine and share the cultural, economic, political, and social experiences of racial and ethnic minority groups in the countries of various regions, and to assess mechanisms to enable effective participation by marginalized groups in influencing political actions. While the institute acts as a research arm and conducts research and policy advocacy, our partner groups will set their own agendas and organize locally.

**Comparative Analysis of and Best Practices in Countries**

We plan to come up with criteria such as the marginalization and discrimination of minorities in Big Emerging Markets (BEMs), democracies, or other countries. We would identify three or four indicators such as housing, education, or the growth and perpetuation of inequality, etc., for closer scrutiny. Some of the questions that we ask include: Are there large marginalized communities in these countries? Does the marginalization have a similar or comparable pattern? Is the marginalization in one country relevant to the other cases compared? As a corollary to this, we would also look at what these countries are doing to address disparity, marginalization, opportunity impediments and so forth, and prepare a list of “best practices.”

**Collaboration with Transnational Organizations**

The institute is collaborating with two potential project partners, the European Coalition of Cities against Racism (ECCAR) and the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization (UNESCO). We are working on a proposal for a best practices database for the housing sector. The goal is to collect data on projects in the housing sector.
that have successfully been carried out by European partner cities. We intend to show implications of the housing sector with other areas such as education and employment.

**REPORT TO U.N. ADDRESSES RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES**

In preparation for an upcoming U.N. review of United States’ compliance with the international race discrimination treaty, the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity has joined a coalition of more than 250 civic groups and scholars in a report detailing the continuing problem of racial discrimination.

The United States has not taken seriously the duty under Article 2 of CERD to affirmatively address racial discrimination. Instead, the United States has rationalized racial discriminatory effects as not covered by U.S. law. Sometimes these effects are caused by explicit government policies. At other times they are caused by private actors. Frequently, it is a combination of both. The United States must look at how racial discrimination manifests as a consequence of policies and practices in multiple domains.

The report, titled *The Structural Racism Report to the CERD Committee*, was submitted to the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) in preparation for the CERD Committee’s February 2008 review of U.S. compliance with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). The United States ratified the CERD treaty in 1994, and the U.S. State Department issued its most recent report to the CERD Committee this past April—more than four years late. The institute’s report acknowledges that there are programs at every level of U.S. government designed to address racial discrimination in domains such as housing, education, health care, employment, transportation and so on. However, these programs are not appropriately linked. Pursuant to CERD, the United States should monitor these programs to incorporate feedback, make adjustments, and improvements to nullify policies that continue to perpetuate racial discrimination.

The report is one of more than a dozen reports on criminal justice, education, health, poverty and voting rights being submitted to the CERD Committee today by the U.S. Human Rights Network on the occasion of International Human Rights Day, to highlight the growing importance of international human rights standards in the United States.

The report is available at kirwaninstitute.com/publications/ki_pub_docs/cedr_final.pdf.
YES, I want to support the KIRWAN INSTITUTE for the Study of Race and Ethnicity

- Fostering critical and creative thinking on concepts about race and ethnicity
- Examining hierarchies and systems of control, domination, and oppression
- Exploring the interrelatedness of race and ethnicity to other foci such as gender and class
- Examining the cultural, economic, political, and social experiences of racial and ethnic minority groups
- Interrogating the material conditions of life and achievement among groups who are systematically subjected to systems of domination and oppression

Funds donated in support of the initiatives and programs of the Kirwan Institute are appreciated.

I support the Kirwan Institute with the following gift:

- $1,000
- $500
- $250
- $100
- $50
- $25
- Other

I would like to become a special donor to the Kirwan Institute with a gift of $ __________

Check payable to The Ohio State University Foundation/Kirwan Institute

Credit card (check one)  Mastercard  Visa

Account # ____________________________________________
Expiration date _______________________________________
Signature (required) ___________________________________

Please contact me about my giving plans.

Name ________________________________________________
Phone number _________________________________________
E-mail _______________________________________________

Please mail this completed form, along with your gift to:

The Ohio State University Foundation
1480 W. Lane Ave.
Columbus, OH 43221

GIVE ONLINE at giveto.osu.edu