Adding Race to the Katrina Narrative

A summary of “Towards a Transformative View of Race: The Crisis and Opportunity of Katrina” from the book There Is No Such Thing as a Natural Disaster: Race, Class, and Hurricane Katrina

By Hasan Kwame Jeffries, Ph.D., Faculty Affiliate

Talking about racism is unbelievably difficult for Americans. This national problem was abundantly clear during the crisis created by Hurricane Katrina. When the storm devastated New Orleans late last summer, the mainstream media initially focused exclusively on the destructive force of the storm and completely ignored the role of racism. Television personalities presented an endless array of equations for calculating and assessing potential storm damage, but none of these formulas included racism as an input variable. Even after the floodwaters forced thousands of the city’s black residents onto rooftops and compelled thousands more to wade through toxic sludge to reach high ground in the Central Business District, no one mentioned racism.

The lack of an explicit focus on racism did not mean that it was absent from the public discourse. On the contrary, racism was a part of practically every broadcast, but it was implicit rather than explicit. To describe what they were seeing, newscasters drew upon a bevy of racist stereotypes. Racism informed depictions of the city’s black residents as victims of a storm rather than survivors of a terrible calamity. To be a victim is to be helpless, but to be a survivor is to possess courage and creative skills. The former denies agency, while the latter acknowledges it. Racism led to the criminalization of black survival behavior and the celebration of similar acts by others. African Americans searching for food, water, childcare necessities, and basic medical supplies were selfish looters, but doctors, police, and white tourists doing the same were selfless heroes. Racism also made it acceptable for the city’s black residents to be dubbed refugees rather than evacuees as they sought safety and shelter in nearby towns and American cities, as though they were not citizens of this country.

That racism plagued initial Katrina coverage is not a surprise. The mainstream media has never been known for its advanced thinking on matters involving race. Neither is it a surprise that early on the media avoided discussing racism explicitly. At first, the major news outlets skirted the issue because they deemed it irrelevant. Poor blacks represented the overwhelming majority of those trapped in the city not because they were black but because they were poor, and as poor people they did not have enough sense to heed pre-storm evacuation warnings. What’s more, the mainstream media, much like most of white America, consider discussions of racism divisive and seek to avoid conversations in mixed company whenever possible.

The endless parade of forlorn black faces and desperate and angry black voices emanating from the city, however, made it obvious even to the most skeptical observer that race was a part of the unfolding story. Less obvious, though, was whether or not racism was involved. Consequently, when the mainstream media finally broached the subject, they did not seek...
is equally true of our concept of the self as it is of our social concept of the racial self. However, we do not get rid of difficult social facts by ignoring them. This is regression at its worst and colorblind racism at its worst. It confuses process with goals.

If we are to restructure how race operates in our society, we must first understand how it operates and what work it is doing for us. It is not blindness that we need but consciousness. It is not just consciousness at an internal individual level, but also awareness of what work our institutions, systems, and cultural meaning are doing. It is clear, for example, that the spatial segregation that limits opportunities in education, employment, and other important life areas is produced largely through spatial arrangements and meaning. Space is how we develop fiscal resources for schools and other critical services and therefore takes on a particular meaning that cannot be understood at the internal psychological level. We must begin to understand how racialized meaning and systems not only have identity for non-whites but also how they have distributed identity for whites and impacted the structures that we inhabit in a largely unconscious manner.

We must also begin to understand how the past continues to shape the present and the future. For example, the racialized production of wealth through institutions like home ownership in suburban white communities has a powerful explanatory and life producing role today. Wealth is largely intergenerational. On average, whites have roughly 10 times the wealth of blacks and Latinos. This is nothing short of inherited racialized advantage that does not depend on personal attitudes. It is also important to address and understand how structures, informed by our racialized history and meaning, restrain life opportunities for whites and stress our democracy. Many scholars have asserted that we cannot understand our inadequate health care system or weak support for labor unions without understanding our racial history and meaning.

An understanding of race requires that we begin to understand how the racialized space of whiteness both benefits and injures whites and non-whites and that this system is not dependent on conscious racism to do its work.

So, if race is a socially abstract concept, why is it impossible to talk about America—past and present—without talking about race? It is because we have been talking about and thinking about race in a way that creates durable boundaries—both real and ideological—around space and people, around our very being. These racialized outcomes should not be surprising when we consider that the concept of modern race gained salience in America as a way to justify slavery at a time when Christianity no longer provided the necessary boundaries. Despite this history—or perhaps because of it—we cannot abandon the conversation on race. If we do so, we run the risk of energizing colorblind racism, trivializing social and economic disparities that are fueled by race, and reinforcing prevailing notions of group privilege and social hierarchy.

At the Kirwan Institute, we are embarking on an innovative project that we call “a transformative agenda around race.” Research and scholarship in this project will investigate and engage new ways to collectively think about and talk about race, ethnicity, and social justice. This new focus, which will touch on all of our research and policy efforts, includes a search for the correct frames to sustain a collaborative and inclusive dialogue about race and to help us understand that, despite many differences, human destinies are intertwined.

This issue of UPdate contributes significantly to our transformative agenda. Dr. Phillip Mazzocco, former postdoctoral fellow at the Kirwan Institute, answers important questions about the dangers of not talking about race and how the frames and the texture of racial dialogue impact attitudes and outcomes. A historical argument for a dialogue on race and class—not class alone—is provided by Legal Research Associate Stephen Menendian. Dr. Hasan Kwame Jeffries, who holds a joint appointment in The Ohio State University Department of History and the Kirwan Institute, discusses how our conception of race forms the narrative of Hurricane Katrina in the book chapter, “Towards a Transformative View of Race: The Crisis and Opportunity of Katrina.” Research Associate Denis Rhoden illustrates the impact of race on access to opportunity structures such as affordable housing and good schools in metropolitan regions.

Finally, we are launching a new column aptly called “Talking about Race” that will focus on the intersections of race and popular culture. Our inaugural article by Andrew Grant-Thomas, deputy director, and Angela Stanley, research associate at the Kirwan Institute, discusses the recent racialization of the popular television show Survivor.

John A. Powell
Executive Director

ABO U T T H E I N S T I T U T E

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 of and solutions to racial and ethnic disparities and hierarchies. This includes an explicit focus on Ohio and the United States, but also 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, conventions, 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.
Talking About Race

Survivor and the Reality of Race in America

by Andrew Grant-Thomas, Deputy Director and Angela Stanley, Research Associate

Survivor: Cook Islands premiered September 14 on CBS. As always, this season’s version of the hit reality TV show pits “tribes” of contestants against each other in a series of mental and physical challenges. For the first time, however, the basis of tribal identity was race.

The premise had prompted considerable unease. Given our nation’s history, isn’t racial segregation, especially imposed segregation, a painfully cynical proposition at best? What about the risk of reinforcing ugly stereotypes? Will viewer support line up along racial lines, too? Above all, doesn’t the explicit attention to race subvert the ideal of colorblindness toward which we should be striving and are in fact moving?

The critics are right to be troubled, but they’re troubled mostly for the wrong reasons.

Racial segregation remains a fact of American life. In Ohio’s largest regions, including Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Dayton, more than two-thirds of us would have to move somewhere else for our neighborhoods to become fully integrated. Color-consciousness affects the policies we support, the people we marry, worship, and socialize with, the quality of our children’s schools, and even the television programs we watch. Can any serious observer of our turbulent national debate around immigration doubt that race and ethnicity continue to matter?

The real danger posed by Survivor: Cook Islands is not that it violates the principle of colorblindness, but that it will encourage the fiction that members of racial and ethnic groups compete on a level playing field.

The host of the show, Jeff Probst, stressed that it would present an “equal opportunity game.” We can take him at his word, but let’s not confuse virtual reality with the world we live in.

In the real world, the choices we make help shape the opportunities we enjoy. But those choices are constrained or facilitated, sometimes to an enormous degree, by institutional policies and practices beyond our immediate control. Look into almost any U.S. metropolis, and you'll find African Americans and Latinos living in neighborhoods lacking their fair share of quality jobs and schools, strong public transportation systems, reliable police protection, and accessible parks and recreation areas.

But isn’t it the case that many people, whites and nonwhites alike, simply choose to live and socialize with others like themselves? Decades of research and testing in housing markets across the country suggest otherwise. Honestly, why would anyone choose to segregate themselves away from good jobs and good schools?

The segregation of people into neighborhoods that provide very different levels of opportunity won’t be echoed in the organization of Survivor: Cook Islands, nor will the dominance of middle-class and affluent white Americans in the institutions and social networks that distribute opportunity in this society.

Survivor’s producers have wedged their show into our charged debate about race as a means of earning themselves a larger viewing audience as a result. One Survivor fan site immediately favored the white tribe to win at odds of 7-3.

In the real world, many black and Hispanic Americans would welcome those odds.

Development

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Hurricanes Katrina and Rita in Year Two: The National Alliance to Restore Opportunity

More than a year has elapsed, but the devastation wrought by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita is still evident. Aside from just the physical destruction, the hurricanes clearly exposed patterns of concentrated poverty and economic segregation as the most marginalized citizens in the Gulf Coast region bore the brunt of the storm. The costs of the hurricanes and recovery efforts have fallen most heavily on the poor and people of color, but rebuilding efforts have done little to address the stark divisions that existed prior to the hurricanes. Race and class issues are again impacting the residents of New Orleans as many of the city’s impoverished African American residents face tremendous obstacles to returning to their former communities.

For these reasons, among others, it is important to apply a critical lens to the different policies proposed and enacted by various government agencies on all levels. In this respect, the Kirwan Institute has played an important role as a primary organizer in the National Alliance to Restore Opportunity to the Gulf Coast and Displaced Persons. The National Alliance is a coalition comprised of faith-based and social justice oriented organizations seeking to promote a just, equitable, and sustainable reconstruction of the Gulf Coast region.

Specifically, the National Alliance has supported local initiatives and empowered groups working both locally and nationally on equitable redevelopment of the Gulf. Central to this work is the call for greater federal involvement and assistance for the Gulf Coast and implementation of policies that produce greater fairness in the rebuilding. The alliance provides a unique opportunity for various entities interested in promoting racial equity and social justice to pool resources and cooperate across organizational lines. The hope is that this model of inter-organizational collaboration can foster greater cooperation not only with respect to the Gulf Coast rebuilding effort but also with respect to national problems that similarly have race, poverty, and social and physical infrastructure problems at their core.

The National Alliance is also pressing for a national commission to increase transparency in the rebuilding process to assure a fair rebuilding process that addresses the needs of those still displaced by the storm. The National Alliance has undertaken a variety of activities to achieve this goal, including research, support for conferences and convenings, media outreach, technical assistance to local organizations, public awareness activities, and capacity building.

The National Alliance’s research activities include fact sheets utilized to inform the public and assist advocates in the region to lobby for greater assistance. The alliance has completed weekly research/news updates that compile all recent redevelopment news and are distributed to more than 1,000 advocates. By providing an overview of news relevant to the post-Katrina and Rita Gulf Coast, the weekly updates help keep individuals and organizations associated with the National Alliance informed about the current situation in the region. In addition, the group has worked with the NAACP and other organizations to produce research on housing issues and housing policy reform needed in the Gulf. For a copy of this report, please visit www.naacp.org/advocacy/gcac/nola_report.

Public education activities have included the placement of opinion editorials in regional and national newsletters, maintenance of the www.linkedfate.org website, and sponsorship of Katrina commemorative services. In addition, members have organized a national petition calling for greater federal commitment to the region and have met directly with federal legislators to advocate for more assistance.

The group also has sponsored several events in the region to foster further collaboration and build capacity among advocacy organizations. In October 2006, the alliance sponsored the Deep South Symposium’s conference on ongoing environmental justice issues in New Orleans. Two months prior, the alliance sponsored the “Drowning on Dry Land” African American clergy bus tour of the Gulf, which was organized by the Gamaliel Foundation. The alliance also has scheduled strategic planning meetings to be held in New Orleans for the purpose of generating a set of guiding principles and fostering trust between various groups working on different levels. The goal of these events and upcoming meetings is to work collaboratively in order to build momentum to address the tremendous challenges facing Katrina’s victims and to draw attention to the less dramatic, less noted, but nonetheless similar problems facing many of our nation’s metropolitan areas.
Katrina Narrative
(continued from page 1)

to discover how racism contributed to this catastrophe, but only if it was a factor.

Pundits and reporters on both the right and the left concluded quickly and confidently that racism played no role in the disaster. After all, Mother Nature is colorblind. Katrina did not target New Orleans because it was 68 percent African American. The city just happened to be in the path of the hurricane. People, not storms, create racism and there was absolutely no evidence that anyone had engaged in a willful act of purposeful discrimination. The city’s black residents had received the same advance warning as everyone else. In addition, no one forced them to stay put. On top of that, the city was run by black elected officials. How could racism be a factor if the mayor and the chief of police were African American?

African Americans, both inside and outside of the disaster zone, knew intuitively and experientially that racism was at play, but they talked about it strictly in personal terms. They pointed to President Bush and the incomprehensibly slow pace at which he marshaled federal resources to respond to the crises, hence Kanye West’s comment that “George Bush doesn’t care about black people”—the same people who dismissed racism balked at this insinuation. Conservatives conceded that the administration’s response was inadequate but argued that it was merely a function of bureaucratic ineffectiveness. Progressives, meanwhile, attributed it to the president’s personal ineptitude. Besides, President Bush never said anything racist about the city’s black residents, nor did he order federal personnel to treat them any differently than others impacted by the storm.

Those who rejected racism as a contributing factor to the disaster, as well as those who acknowledged its involvement, focused so much of their attention on identifying or dismissing the racist behavior of individuals, including the president, that the overall discourse on the role of racism lacked substance. For the most part, there was no discussion of the myriad ways that racially determined social, economic, and political factors converged, long before Katrina made landfall, to make New Orleans ripe for a disaster that would hit the city’s black residents the hardest. Generally, just about everyone failed to discuss local patterns of residential segregation. They ignored the fact that grossly disproportionate numbers of African Americans lived in neighborhoods that were below sea level. Some pointed out that African Americans comprised 98

Kirwan Institute Focuses on the African American Male

The Kirwan Institute recently received a $200,000 grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation of Battle Creek, Michigan. The grant will fund an 18-month comprehensive review of the research literature on disparities that impact African American males; the last such review took place more than a decade ago by Dr. Edmund W. Gordon. The Kirwan Institute will examine gaps in the research literature, identify areas of investigation that show promise for casting new light on the circumstances that shape the well-being of black males, and investigate the dynamics that support successful outcomes for members of the group. Special attention will be placed on studies that create a better understanding of how and why some black males avoid risks and social pressures that beset other black males.

Currently, a national advisory board is being assembled to guide the research review. The board includes representation from various disciplines that examine research on African American males specifically. Experts who have signed on thus far are Dr. Olatokunbo (Toks) S. Fashola, Dr. Margaret Beale Spencer, Dr. Ronald Ferguson, and Dr. A.J. Franklin, among others. The Ohio State University scholars and researchers who study issues that impact African American males also have agreed to contribute to this project, such as Dr. Gwendolyn Cartledge, Dr. Ralph Gardner III, Dr. James Moore III, and Dr. Stephen Gavazzi. The institute is planning a conference on African American males at The Ohio State University in early March.

The African American male research project will also include interviews with leading experts from various fields (i.e., mental health, incarceration, education, and public health), a book and other reading materials focused on new approaches to redressing the problems faced by males, and a mapping project that will look at opportunity structures in neighborhoods that are accessible to males (i.e., neighborhood health and employment viability). For further information, please contact Senior Researcher Dr. Ming Trammel at trammel.2@osu.edu.

The W.K. Kellogg Foundation was established in 1930 “to help people help themselves through the practical application of knowledge and resources to improve their quality of life and that of future generations,” according to its mission statement. Its programming activities center on the common vision of a world in which each person has a sense of worth; accepts responsibility for self, family, community, and societal well-being; and has the capacity to be productive and to help create nurturing families, responsive institutions, and healthy communities. The foundation targets its grants toward specific areas of research in order to achieve the greatest impact. These areas include health, food systems and rural development, youth and education, and philanthropy and volunteerism.

Reaching Across Campus to Enhance Our Success

Creating alliances with Ohio State faculty is critical to the success of Kirwan’s mission. Because the nature of an interdisciplinary research institute requires diverse frameworks and approaches, the institute is excited to draw on the wide-ranging research and work of faculty to help forward its mission. We envision faculty members from a broad range of perspectives—from the theater and dance department to the biology department—sharing their ideas, research, and work on issues related to race and ethnicity. Through our affiliate faculty program, we hope to develop collaborative and meaningful relationships between the Kirwan Institute and Ohio State faculty.

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percent of the Lower Ninth Ward but said little if anything about how this came to be. Similarly, some noted the extremely high poverty rate among the city’s black residents but said nothing about how racialized poverty contributed to this crisis. There was practically no mention of the concentration of subsidized housing or the lack of car ownership among poor blacks, which made it impossible for them to flee New Orleans since the city’s evacuation plan depended on people leaving in their own vehicles.

The inability of Americans, both white and black, conservative and progressive, to talk about the Katrina crisis in a way that would have rendered visible the central role that racism played in the disaster resulted from the narrow way in which racism tends to be understood. The normative conceptualization of racism is that it is a deliberately harmful discriminatory act perpetrated by people who possess outmoded racial beliefs. It is the aberrant behavior of white supremacists and is easily identified by the discriminatory intent of perpetrators. Furthermore, it is static. It is an offense committed by a particular person at a specific moment in time. Racism happens, and then it ends.

Although African Americans are not immune from thinking of racism in terms of psychological deviance and abnormal individual behavior, this perspective resonates most strongly among whites because it spares them from having to think critically about their own racial privilege. What’s more, it frees them of culpability in the persistence of racial disparities and releases them from any obligation to do something about institutionalized white supremacy.

This narrow view of racism is not new but dates back several generations. It became the dominant paradigm of racial understanding, however, only during the Civil Rights Era. By the mid-1960s, whites outside the South conceded that de jure segregation was unjust and acquiesced to black demands to make it unlawful by supporting the Civil Rights Act of 1964. At the same time, they acknowledged that prejudice existed in the North but believed deeply that racism was a Southern problem and that its most insidious manifestation was the irrational violent behavior of unenlightened Southern hayseeds, from members of terrorist organizations, including the Ku Klux Klan, to southern lawmen, such as Birmingham’s Bull Connor.

This myopic approach allowed the country to reject the expressive ideology of racism while continuing to support public polices and institutional arrangements that perpetuated racial disparities but made no direct mention of race. The national presumption was that racism did not exist if there was no racist actor. Thus, it is hardly surprising that in the discourse on the Katrina crisis almost no one acknowledged that the connections between public and private institutions over space and time limited the resources and opportunities of the city’s black residents and conspired to place them directly in harm’s way.

This is not to say that discussing individual acts of racism is irrelevant, only that it is not enough. How society frames racism dictates how it responds to it. Thus, broadening the normative conceptualization of racism is essential to combating persistent racial inequality. At the moment, the predominance of an inadequate explanation has created space for conservatives to advance their strategic agenda. By arguing that the city’s black residents were vulnerable to the destructive force of Katrina because of their dependency on the welfare state, they have tried to cut funding to social safety net programs. By pointing to the inadequate federal response as evidence of the inherent weakness of big government, they have attempted to win support for state funding for faith-based organizations. By decrying looting and the inability of local law enforcement to protect property, they have sought to loosen gun control restrictions. By personalizing racism and then denying its existence, they have eliminated racism as a factor to be considered in their plans to rebuild the city.

A depersonalized, structural analysis of racism, therefore, has to become normative and must be made a part of the national dialogue. This will help dispel the false notion that race-neutral policies can carry the load of rebuilding New Orleans equitably. Color consciousness—not colorblindness—is required to achieve this goal.

Katrina exposed the ugly truth that racism remains an integral part of American society. Structural analyses of racism, which were missing from most discussions of the crisis, are necessary if the racialized conditions that led to the catastrophe are not to be replicated during the rebuilding process and are to be eradicated in the rest of the country. ■
Opposition to a race-conscious approach to social justice is typically justified in several different ways. It has been suggested that talking about racial disparities, for example, can lead to stigmatization of marginalized groups. The resulting low expectations could then presumably lead to self-fulfilling prophecies. However, there is abundant work in social psychology demonstrating that stigmatized individuals are remarkably resilient in the face of negative life events, in many cases because of their stigmas (e.g., Major & Crocker, 1993). Talking about race and racial disparities might also negatively influence non-marginalized groups. For example, such talk may reinforce commonly held stereotypes. Fortunately, recent work by stereotype researchers has demonstrated that this need not be the case (Park & Judd, 2005). Perhaps the most common reason cited for avoiding the issue of race in social justice is that talk of race not only elicits a series of cognitive frames that engender resistance to social justice policy, but also encourages inter-group conflict. For example, whites may frame racial disparities as the result of individual actions (e.g., laziness on the part of the out-group; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Given this framing of the issue, programs like affirmative action may be construed as attempts by blacks to secure unfair and unearned handouts. Obviously, such an orientation would encourage anti-black prejudice among whites. Although recent research has rendered stigmatization and stereotype reinforcement less worrisome, resistance frame elicitation is still a contentious issue. Before discussing framing in more detail, it makes sense to examine the possible negative results of not talking about race.

Most obviously, ignoring race in the discussion of social justice will tend to mask the extreme racial disparities that exist in present-day society. Although this claim may seem overly simplistic, recent research has demonstrated that many whites are woefully unaware of the nature of and extent of black/white racial disparities (Mazzocco, Brock, Brock, Olson, and Banaji, in press). In our studies, we asked whites to imagine that they were being offered cash for switching their race to black. In general, whites required paltry sums ($0-$10,000) to make the switch, and the most common explanation for low requests was that blacks and whites are effectively equal now. The results were generalized among college students, non-college students, older adults, men, women, Southerners, Midwesterners, and New Englanders. Talking around race will only tend to compound inaccurate perceptions of equality. In fact, to the extent that our participants were aware of ongoing black costs (and hence made larger requests), support for reparations to slave descendants increased. In addition to a sheer unawareness of present-day racial disparities, a colorblind approach to social justice prevents a discussion of the key role that race has always played in American society. Historically, race has been used as a means of creating and maintaining disparities between certain social groups. This process, of course, continues in the present day. Without understanding the historical nature of racism, it is impossible to make sense of the extreme racial disparities that continue to this day.

The preceding discussion provides some clues regarding how we might proceed in discussions of social justice and race. We can start with the assumption that an awareness of racial disparities is fundamental to fostering race-conscious approaches to social justice policy. It is important to cite statistics that demonstrate the presence, extremity, and persistent nature of disparities. To the extent that disparities are seen as absent, trivial, or declining, support for color-conscious policies will wane. Increasing awareness of racial disparities may not be sufficient to change attitudes. It is also necessary to foster the proper explanations for racial disparities. Though modern-day racial disparities are rooted in historical discrimination and modern-day structural racism, disparities are commonly assumed to be the product of individual decision making and corrupted cultures.

An analysis of the history of race in America combined with vignettes demonstrating how present-day structural racism operates is the second procedure required to produce race-conscious policies.

The final step in successful race talk must counter the perception that social justice programs that take race into account are somehow inconsistent with treasured American ideals such as egalitarianism and meritocracy. This perception is based on confusion (intentional or otherwise) between ideals and reality. Of course, we are all equal in the ideal sense. In a real sense, however, we are not. Certain groups enjoy more societal advantages than others and have for centuries. Generations of accumulated advantages have created an unbalanced playing field. The concept of an unbalanced playing field, then, is central to securing support for color-conscious policies. In sum, support for color-conscious policies requires (a) an awareness of present, extreme, and persisting disparities, (b) an understanding of the historical and structural nature of these disparities, and (c) the realization that color-conscious policies are not an anathema to cherished American ideals. Preliminary research (also summarized in this Update) has provided confirmatory evidence of the effectiveness of this approach.
Kirwan Institute Executive Director Professor John Powell served as a key expert witness in a high-profile housing desegregation lawsuit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in Baltimore, Maryland, on behalf of 14,000 African American families in Baltimore’s public housing. In January 2003, U.S. District Court Judge Marvin Garbis found the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) liable for violating the Fair Housing Act for not providing Baltimore’s impoverished public housing residents access to housing in safer, non-segregated suburban neighborhoods.

Judge Garbis ordered HUD to remedy the violation on a regional scale, and expert testimony was sought as to how to best achieve this remedy. Professor Powell designed a potential remedy, recommending that housing units and targeted housing vouchers be extended to the region’s high-opportunity census tracts, giving thousands of African American families in public housing the opportunity to better their lives and promote desegregation. Judge Garbis will issue his final ruling on the remedy later this year.

Professor Powell’s remedy report also included an explicit focus on the need for a race-conscious approach. A race-conscious remedy is necessary to avoid unintended outcomes that frustrate the goals of providing meaningful opportunity in integrated neighborhoods to public housing residents. One very real outcome that could emerge from a race-neutral approach is a re-clustering of African American public housing residents in new neighborhoods in a manner that triggers new waves of white flight. Research regarding the stability of integrated neighborhoods during the last two decades of African American suburbanization supports this concern.1

A race-conscious remedy is also important because of the persistence of racial discrimination in the housing market. The most recent HUD study, “Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets: National Results” found that discrimination persists nationwide in both rental and sales markets

Geography Matters
Kirwan Institute Provides GIS Information to Advocacy Groups

The Kirwan Institute’s Geographic Information Systems/Demographic Analysis section utilizes its expertise to assist nonprofits and community groups in using GIS technology to support their advocacy efforts. Due to the prohibitive cost and technical expertise required to use the technology, many of these organizations would be unable to utilize these tools without the institute’s assistance.

Some of the institute’s recent GIS/Demographic Services projects include:

**Children’s Defense Fund:** According to its mission statement, this group works “to Leave No Child Behind” and to ensure every child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life and successful passage to adulthood with the help of caring families and communities.” Ohio Children’s Defense Fund is a longtime collaborator with the institute, and the institute has completed several mapping and research projects to assist CDF in its child welfare advocacy in Ohio. The most recent project mapped county-wide spatial distribution of CDF-Ohio’s programs and the beneficiaries across the state. Some of the maps included county-wide display of licensed childcare centers, number of births to teen mothers, and Head Start centers by House Districts. The institute is also working on a mapping project with Ohio CDF to promote better access to free income tax assistance centers to help low-income families take advantage of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

**New York Healthcare Equity mapping:** This mapping project investigates the intersection of health services, health outcomes, and race in New York’s five boroughs. The Kirwan Institute is collaborating with the Opportunity Agenda and New York Lawyers for the Public Interest to document inequality in the geographic distribution of health care services and highlight how geographic inequality depresses the health outcomes of many throughout the New York region. The work is targeted to local advocacy groups in New York who wish to communicate the need for more equitable health care services in New York.

**Opportunity Agenda:** The institute is in the process of completing a series of maps and analysis addressing health care resources in New York City. The institute’s work is focusing on the correlation between race, class, preventive health care (such as primary care physicians and OB/GYN services), and disparate health outcomes throughout the city. Opportunity Agenda is utilizing this work in their broader advocacy efforts to assist local community activities hoping to stop hospital closures in several New York City neighborhoods.
Executive Summary from Race and Class Memo

By Stephen Menendian, J.D., Legal Research Associate

In his groundbreaking 1903 treatise, *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, “for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line.” A century later, and a full generation removed from the battles of the Civil Rights era, many now suggest that class, not race, is the greatest cleavage in American society. They fear that talk of race and the evils of racism obscure the more powerful politics of class and divide those sharing a common economic interest, yet race and class are not so easily untangled. Perceptions of class in the United States and American exceptionalism, characterized by a weak labor movement, the lack of a labor party, and a stronger states’ rights institutional framework, cannot be understood without seeing the role that race has played as our formative institutions were developing.

From the American Revolution to the Industrial Revolution and Civil War, race and class were uncertain markers in a struggle that ultimately shaped many of the institutional arrangements under which we live today. Through the ideology of the Revolution, the indentured European servant became a free white laborer while black slavery remained firmly intact and protected by powerful economic interests and guarded by our Constitution. To reconcile the love for liberty with the reality of slavery, Americans adopted an uncomfortable narrative of black inferiority and racial otherness. These developments ensured that the newly emergent industrial working class clearly identified as white.

Immigrants arriving in this country forcibly negotiated a color-line protected by law, custom, and ideology. The first Immigration and Naturalization Act, unanimously passed by the first Congress, restricted immigration to free whites. The ways in which the Irish, for example, competed for work and adjusted to industrial morality in America made it all but certain that they would adopt and extend the politics of white unity. From this nation’s inception, the race line was used to demarcate and patrol the divide between those who constituted the “We” in “We The People.” It was no surprise when in March 1857 the United States Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, declared that all blacks—slaves as well as free—were not and could never become citizens of the United States.

Even when freed blacks were brought into the political community after the Civil War, a now well-imbedded narrative of black inferiority and legacy of separation ensured that whites did not see themselves as having commonalities with blacks. According to economists Alberto Alesina and Edward Glaeser, much of the difference between American and European welfare systems can be explained by racial heterogeneity. In a pattern that persists today, opponents of welfare programs deploy race to rouse a majority in opposition. In contrast to the generous Civil War pensions, provisions to the Freedman’s Bureau were short-lived, meager, and stigmatizing. Many believed that welfare provisions to freed slaves were undeserved and the bureau was characterized as an immense bureaucracy whose programs were likely to make blacks lazy, dependent, and prone to live off of “handouts.”

Racism contributed to the undoing of Reconstruction, but the failure of Reconstruction to secure blacks’ rights as citizens and free laborers accelerated racism’s spread until, by the early twentieth century, it had pervaded the nation’s culture and politics with profound class consequences, complicating the efforts of reformers for generations.

Not only were blacks excluded from the bevy of New Deal programs, race was carefully used to narrow these programs, limit their applicability, and ultimately to reverse their trajectory to the detriment of similarly situated whites. New Deal programs could not pass the Southern voting block unless they were carefully restricted to leave the region’s racial patterns undisturbed. As a consequence of our racialized past, Americans live with one of the most limited welfare systems in the Western world.

The phenomenal economic growth of the post-war period was shaped by the racially inscribed New Deal institutions to produce the economic reality and new identity of middle class from which blacks were substantially excluded. The racism that influenced the New Deal programs and excluded blacks institutionalized racial disparities and imprinted the emergent middle class as white. The invisibility of the racial imprint on middle-class consciousness and institutions makes it possible for rejuvenated narratives of black otherness and unworthiness, conceived in the antebellum period, to persist. The narrative of the American dream—hard work and fair play—is now the primary explanation for social mobility. Race is a critical part of the construction of class-as-merit. It is this individualistic ideology that helps to defeat class solidarity.

Race is so intimately intertwined with our class understandings that a politics of class will ultimately be split asunder by the subterranean use of race. The critical lesson has been that a progressive agenda must account for race and cannot use class as a proxy. The most successful multi-racial, multi-class progressive movements in the United States tackled race directly. Where progressives sought to avoid the race issue in an effort to avoid a potentially divisive battle, their efforts lost steam. As we move toward a majority-minority nation, the need to develop and sustain multi-racial, multi-class coalitions will become increasingly important.
Great neighborhoods are a function of the opportunities they provide to their residents. Generally, opportunity is determined by access to important structures, from housing to schools to political participation. For many, access to opportunity is largely reflected by location. This is especially true for groups of color—African American, Latin American, and Asian American. Not only does access to opportunity differ based on neighborhoods, it differs significantly looking at different regions. Regional variations in racial equity and overall indicators of prosperity are significant and based on the geographic characteristics of metropolitan areas. The Kirwan Institute is currently exploring this in our Race and Regional Dynamics project.

The Race and Regional Dynamics project offers comprehensive and comparative tools to aid policy makers, advocates, and planners to understand the similarities and differences between and within populations across regions. The measures used are focused on capturing the place and race based intersection of opportunity at the metropolitan level. As critical as the disparity model has been in the effort to understand how diverse groups experience different conditions, it is a static measure. Even more troubling is its potential to fragment or distort conditions within narrowly defined parameters: Our findings, along with continued global interdependencies point to an America where competition is increasingly fierce and access to opportunity decreasing. At the regional level, data suggest it may no longer be prudent or accurate to implicitly associate access to opportunity with the dominant population. In these regional variations we find the “normalization” of prosperity with whiteness distorts the fact that large and growing proportions in all groups are losing access to opportunity.

At the heart of the Race and Regional Dynamics research are the policy implications and appropriateness of a racial equity model in regions where economic fundamentals are weak. Achieving this race and regionally equitable goal requires a comprehensive and balanced and meaningfully interdependent approach. Is it sound policy to prescribe actions lifting up African Americans to meet the typical white household benchmark in regions such as Youngstown, Ohio, where decades of decline have hollowed opportunities to attract new capital, reduce urban-suburban disparity, and close achievement gaps? Regions in decline that are capital deficient and are experiencing limited opportunity growth or access require solutions establishing comprehensive cohesiveness and collaborative advantage of its resources. We are using this research to investigate strategies to improve conditions for all in struggling rust-belt regions like Youngstown or to explore if racial and ethnic groups are benefiting from growth in places like the Western U.S.

Our research is exploring how comprehensive factors, such as global shifts, land use, and other elements, impact us all. The Race and Regional Dynamics project is a first step in providing quantitative tools with a bird’s-eye view of the spatial distribution of these comprehensive factors across the U.S. For added depth, the project examines these conditions for the three major non-white groups: African Americans, Latin Americans, and Asian Americans.

Preliminary findings (Maps 1 and 2) demonstrate how prosperity and equity cluster. This clustering is a phenomenon also seen in opportunity analysis, which reveals pockets of high and low opportunity areas within a region. Ultimately, the purpose of this research is to inform stakeholders engaged in developing the collaborative advantages and equitable policies that result in transformative change.
Measurement is calculated for the 60 largest metropolitan areas by size of the African American population.

Distribution and condition of regions based on intraracial equity between African Americans in different regions.

Map 2: Distribution of Regional Equity in the Top 60 Metropolitan Areas by African-American Population Size

Distribution and condition of regions’ economic health capturing changes in the overall condition of the economy.

Map 3: Distribution of Regional Prosperity in the Top 60 Metropolitan Areas by African American Population Size

Measurement is calculated for the 60 largest metropolitan areas by size of the African American population.
Institute Welcomes New Staff

Andrew Grant-Thomas is the deputy director of the Kirwan Institute. Working with the executive director, Grant-Thomas oversees the institute’s U.S. programming and internal operations. He came to Kirwan in February 2006 from the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, where he was a senior research associate. At the Civil Rights Project, he directed the Color Lines Conference: Segregation and Integration in America’s Present and Future and managed a range of policy-oriented projects that included work on the nature of structural racism, an examination of the impact of federal policy on housing opportunities for racial minorities, an exploration of the racial justice dimensions of transportation policy, and an internal evaluation of a community support advocacy initiative. He received his B.A. in literature from Yale University, his M.A. in international relations from The University of Chicago, and his Ph.D. in political science from The University of Chicago.

Annette Johnson is a research associate at the Kirwan Institute. She graduated from The Ohio State University in 2001 with a bachelor’s degree in social work and earned her master’s degree in social work from The Ohio State University in 2004. Prior to working for the Kirwan Institute, Johnson worked as a licensed social worker and clinician for local mental health and substance abuse agencies around the Columbus area.

Lidija Knuth is a research fellow dedicated to starting the international program of the Kirwan Institute. Knuth is an attorney based in Rome, Italy. She received her law degree in Germany at the European University Viadrina and her master’s degree in state management and humanitarian affairs at the Interdepartmental Research Centre in European and International Studies at the University of Rome La Sapienza. She studied for a semester at the Moritz College of Law of The Ohio State University with a European Community-U.S. ADR grant. In the past, she has worked as a consultant for the United Nation’s Food and Agricultural Organization.

Judi Latham is a fiscal associate with the Kirwan Institute. She came to the institute with over six years of administrative experience at The Ohio State University, including positions with University Development and the Office of the Controller. Prior to joining the university in 1999, Latham worked as an executive assistant with BalletMet Columbus. Directions for Youth, the Columbus Literacy Council, and the Residences of Scioto Board are just a few of her community activities.

Challenging Ohio’s Schools on Economic Segregation

Economic and racial segregation in Ohio’s schools threaten the educational outcomes for many of Ohio’s students. In the state’s six major urban counties, 40 percent of students attend high poverty schools. The institute’s exploration of the dimensions of high poverty schools in Ohio was published in a report released in 2005. This report provides an overview of the racial and economic segregation in the six largest metropolitan areas of Ohio and the causes and consequences of this segregation. The report offers a short set of broad-based recommendations that have the potential to redress the fundamental problems of economic segregation and stimulate meaningful dialogue on these issues. The institute has used the report to raise awareness and engage advocates around the issue of economic segregation in the state’s K-12 educational system. The institute has conducted extensive outreach with the research, including various presentations and meetings, and has involved the Ohio Legislative Black Caucus, the League of Women Voters, the Homeless Coalition of Central Ohio, and other educational advocates statewide.

Kirwan Supports School Boards

The Kirwan Institute, in collaboration with many of the nation’s leading scholars on the structural and institutional dynamics underlying persistent racial exclusion in the United States, has submitted an amicus brief in support of the Seattle and Jefferson County (Kentucky) School Boards. The brief locates the current controversy in the context of Brown v. Board of Education and its progeny. In these cases, the court identified the harm of segregation and recognized the important role school boards play in ameliorating this harm using race-conscious measures. The brief argues that school boards may intervene to disrupt the processes that produce segregation and cumulative racialized disadvantage.

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Rajeev Ravisankar is a research assistant for the Kirwan Institute. He is originally from Dublin, Ohio, and is a recent graduate of The Ohio State University, where he received a B.A. in international studies and political science. He continues to write for Ohio State's student newspaper, The Lantern, as an opinion columnist. His research focus from a regional standpoint is primarily in South Asia, but he is also interested in further examining the impact of neoliberal trade policies on developing countries, the relationship between corporate-controlled media and democracy, and the intersection between race and class.

S.P. Udayakumar is a research fellow for the international program at the Kirwan Institute. He runs the South Asian Community Center for Education and Research (SACCER) at Nagercoil, near the southernmost tip of India, which carries out community work and educational and research ventures. He spent six years in the conflict-ridden Tigray province of Ethiopia teaching English in Ethiopian senior secondary schools. From 1989 until 2000, he lived in the United States obtaining an MA in peace studies (Notre Dame) and a Ph.D. in political science (University of Hawaii) and working as a research associate and co-director of programs at the Institute on Race and Poverty, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Nick Webster is a graduate research associate. He is a second year master’s student in the College of Education and Human Ecology, Department of Educational Policy and Leadership. His master’s research focuses on how perceptions about race impact educational outcomes. Webster is also assisting in phase II of the Diversity Advancement Project.

Vincent Willis is a graduate research associate for the Kirwan Institute. He received his bachelor’s degree in African American Studies from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. He is currently pursuing his master’s degree in African American and African Studies at The Ohio State University. Willis’s research focuses on slavery and the sociological effect it had on the black family, particularly the effect slavery had on black and white children, their interaction as they became more cognizant of slavery, and the social construct of the master/slave. He is currently working on the African American Male Project at the Kirwan Institute.

We would like to extend special thanks to the 2006 summer interns for their contributions to furthering the work of the Kirwan Institute: Lakeya Bonnette (Political Science), Gonzalo Bruce (Education), Evelyn Freeman (Geography), Suzanna Klaf (Geography), Rajeev Ravisankar (International Studies), Priyank Shah (Sociology), Laura Tompkins (Political Science), Erica Wicks (Business), and Vincent Willis (African American and African Studies).

Kirwan Interns Reflect on Their Experience

For three years, the Kirwan Institute has offered a summer internship program, with approximately 25 participants. We hire undergraduate and graduate students and activists every summer to pursue research and writing on issues of race and ethnicity (e.g., racial and economic segregation, racial justice, regional equity, democratic participation, and governance). Summer interns assist in preparation of presentations, literature reviews, bibliographic annotation, and planning and coordinating meetings, conferences, and other engagements. The program is 10-12 weeks long. Our focus is to familiarize young scholars and activists with our work and to bring new perspectives to the work that we do. Read what our interns had to say about the experience on their exit survey.

How do you think the experience of working with us will help you during the rest of your time at Ohio State and in your future career?

“The KI brings together individuals from different research backgrounds, which enables an interdisciplinary approach to be undertaken. The type of research conducted at the KI parallels the type of work I would like to continue doing. Additionally, the KI work environment is the type I would like to work at as it would be conducive to my growth and improvement as a researcher.”

“I think the extensive research and writing I did as an intern provided me great insight about the type of work I’ll probably end up doing in my future career. Also, the issues and frames that I was exposed to during the summer will undoubtedly shape my long-term career ambitions. The knowledge that I’ve accumulated over the summer will definitely help me in the frequent discussions and debates I have with friends and colleagues.”

“The conceptual tools you’ve developed and adapted—structural analysis and communities of opportunity in particular—are directly applicable to my independent academic work, and I will use them in the future. Also, I’ve gotten a much better understanding of how a research institute operates day to day and how I might enjoy it as a possible career option for the future.”
2. Dr. Sabra Webber, Departments of Comparative Studies and Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, The Ohio State University. Arab American Family Immigration Sagas: Teachers’ Institute in the Humanities. The Ohio State University. January 2006. $5,000.

Professor Webber proposed a summer institute to raise the awareness of Arab Americans among Ohio high school teachers. During the summer institute, select panels of students from past Arab American family immigration courses at Ohio State presented portions of edited video tapes of Arab American families and discussed with the teachers their experiences in the video project. The principal goal of the summer institute was to “convey to educators in Ohio the Arab American experience, deepening the understanding of the causes of and thus possible solutions to the ethnic and racial difficulties they face through the use of Arab American Family Immigration Sagas… and by drawing upon a spectrum of verbal art, literature, and film that brings the voices and faces of Arab Americans into the dialogue.”

3. Nancy Hill McClary, M.S., assistant director, Center for the Study and Teaching of Writing, College of Humanities, The Ohio State University. Summer Writing Camp for High School Students. April 2006. $6,500.

The Ohio State University Center for the Study and Teaching of Writing conducted an intensive summer writing camp in 2006 for students from inner-city public high schools in the Columbus school district. The camp provided opportunities for high school students to engage in substantive college-level writing that both required and stimulated critical thinking. Students gained experience with multimedia communication techniques. The following specific goals are articulated in the project proposal: 1) to engage students in critical analysis, research, and writing on a daily basis, using multiple formats of text, audio, and images and 2) to develop collaborative project abilities through the creation of media-rich written products for a live audience and WOSU listeners and web users. During the five-day camp, students wrote and edited interviews and original editorials, took photographs, created tape recordings and other material to produce multimedia pieces. Topics important to the students’ social and community life, such as the causes of and solutions to racial and ethnic barriers, were also explored.

4. Dr. Adrienne Dixson, School of Teaching and Learning, College of Education, The Ohio State University. Ethnographic Examination of the Experiences of Middle Childhood Students. May 2006. $500.

Professor Dixson proposed an exploratory study utilizing ethnographic methods to examine the experiences of middle school students in urban schools. This qualitative research seeks to deepen the understanding of the experiences of sixth grade students enrolled in two exemplary middle schools in the Columbus, Ohio, public school system. Findings will illuminate specific academic and non-academic barriers to success that affect students of color in the district. These findings can be used to assist middle school teachers, district personnel, and educational policy makers in developing appropriate middle childhood initiatives that address the psychosocial, developmental, and overall educational needs of students enrolled in urban schools.


Professor Berman and other Ohio State researchers are interested in pursuing an investigation that frames disability rights as human rights. Participation in the Kenyan conference will assist in establishing a collaborative relationship between university researchers and Kenyan researchers and disability rights advocates. Participation in this conference is one phase of a larger project that is investigating and creating dialogue around the intersections of race and ethnicity with disability rights not only in Kenya but more globally. Research questions to be addressed in this investigation include the following:

- What social and economic constraint do persons with disabilities face in Kenya?
- In what ways are ethnic societies in Kenya distinguished by distinct ideas regarding physical and mental disability, and what is the significance of these differences for the development of policy?
- What are the most significant ethnic, racial, and religious values that hinder the acceptability of persons with disabilities in society?
- In what ways do issues of race and ethnicity influence public attitudes and institutional approaches to disability in Kenya, and what can be learned from investigating this
Professor Ponce and other conference planners hope this convening will have a practical impact on the ways that Asian American studies, and ethnic studies more generally, is conceived, carried out, and carried forward at Ohio State.

To learn how to apply for the Small Grants Program, please visit our web site at kirwaninstitute.org.
Kirwan Institute Seeks Postdoctoral Fellows

The Kirwan Institute is seeking applications for postdoctoral fellows to further our cause. The fellow must have a doctorate degree and demonstrate understanding of the institute’s mission to alleviate problems created at the intersection of race and ethnicity and possess relevant research and writing skills. Preferred qualifications include evidence of initiative in seeking out and pursuing actions to accomplish goals and objectives, the ability to work as a member of a team and independently, accomplish time lines, handle multiple work assignments, and demonstrate commitment to high-quality performance.

Appointment is for one to two years. The fellow will work under the supervision of the executive director and deputy director. Many initiatives will be team events where the fellow will be expected to lead and contribute as an active team member. Where appropriate, the fellow will also consult with members of the advisory board, project working groups, individual consults, and community/policy leaders.

Position(s) may be full time with an annual equivalent salary based on education and experience plus applicable fringe benefits. Applications should include a cover letter (not to exceed three pages) and supporting documents:

Candidate’s Application Letter (2 copies):
A two- to three-page application letter that includes a brief description of the candidate’s background, training, and recent scholarship; a specified starting date of appointment; and an indication of the desired tenure of the fellowship (12 or 24 months).

Supporting Documentation (1 copy each):
A complete curriculum vitae, including indication of special awards and honors, an official grade transcript (sent by the university conferring the doctorate) showing the award of a doctorate (or anticipated award date: in this case, an updated transcript must be submitted prior to appointment), reprints of any scholarly publications; and three letters of recommendation.

The institute will accept applications until April 30, 2007, with interviews in June 2007 and the appointment starting in September 2007. Please send applications and direct questions to:

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125 South Oval Mall
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To build a diverse workforce, Ohio State encourages applications from minorities, veterans, women, individuals with disabilities, and others who diversify the workplace. The Ohio State University is committed to the policy that all persons shall have equal access to its programs, facilities, and employment without regard to race, color, creed, religion, national origin, sex, age, marital status, disability, public assistance status, veteran status, or sexual orientation.

Past Events

Civil Rights Convening
On April 10, 2006, the Kirwan Institute, in collaboration with the National Campaign to Restore Civil Rights and the Leadership Conference in Civil Rights, hosted a conference entitled “What’s at Stake: A Convening on the Threats to Civil and Human Rights in the Courts and Beyond.” The attendees collectively identified the most pressing civil rights issues and collaboratively formulated strategies to stop the rollback of civil rights, both in Ohio and across the nation. This meeting was the first of many efforts to combine the strengths of Ohio civil rights advocates and to move forward in the journey to reestablish civil rights protections for all Americans.

Fundamentalism Conference
The Kirwan Institute held a two-day event bringing together experts to explore fundamentalism from a Christian, Islamic, and Judaic perspective on March 2-3, 2006. The event commenced with a panel exploring the definition of fundamentalism and continued to build momentum by exploring related topics in depth including gender and fundamentalism, religious fundamentalism and the market, political fundamentalism, religious pluralism, and social justice and fundamentalism. The institute engaged these difficult, necessary questions in order to work toward establishing political frameworks that can accommodate, rather than regulate, difference so that democratic practices can flourish. In the winter of 2007, selected works from the conference by David Domke, Rev. Osagyefo Uhuru Sekou, Mark Levine, and Hugh Urban will be published in the Journal of Ecumenical Studies.

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