

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

- ❖ The Story of Clarksburg, West Virginia
- ❖ A Tool for Assessing Your Community's Inclusiveness

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The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies informs and illuminates the nation's major public policy debates through research, analysis, and information dissemination in order to: improve the socioeconomic status of black Americans and other minorities; expand their effective participation in the political and public policy arenas; and promote communications and relationships across racial and ethnic lines to strengthen the nation's pluralistic society.

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Foreword

As our population becomes increasingly diverse, strong, courageous, and diverse leadership will be required to ensure that institutions in communities across our nation fully reflect these changing demographics. In Clarksburg, West Virginia, such leadership emerged in response to a threat from the Ku Klux Klan. This report examines what happened in Clarksburg, suggests lessons that may be gleaned from these events, and provides guidance to local leaders in assessing the state of their community's inclusiveness.

This is the first report issued by the Joint Center's Network of Alliances Bridging Race and Ethnicity (NABRE). NABRE's mission is to cultivate and nurture local leaders as they build and sustain alliances that break down and transcend barriers of race and ethnicity in all sectors of civil society and in communities across the country. That mission led to the development of this report, including its Inclusive Community Assessment tool, and to the design of a workshop, all of which can help guide local leaders as they address race relations issues. We are grateful to the Appalachian Regional Commission, the State of West Virginia, and the City of Clarksburg, whose support made this project possible.

The Joint Center hopes that this document will help local leaders as they seek to bridge racial and ethnic divisions and build more inclusive and just communities. For other activities of NABRE, we invite you to visit the Joint Center's web site at www.jointcenter.org.

Eddie N. Williams, President
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

An inclusive community...

- meets the highest legal and moral obligations to achieve full access, equity, and respect for all people;
- works consistently to dismantle discriminatory barriers;
- engages all citizens as partners for change;
- uses an inclusive decision-making process;
- values diversity rather than feels threatened by it; and
- remains alert and responds quickly to racist incidents.

Author's Acknowledgements

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The development of the Inclusive Community Assessment instrument is based on the multicultural organizational development theory of Bailey W. Jackson, Rita Hardiman, and Evangelina Holvino. I would like to extend gratitude to the Dismantling Racism Network of the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ) in St. Louis, Missouri. Their significant work to create a comprehensive community effort provided much inspiration to develop an instrument for communities. The development of this tool is also based on the lessons learned from a skillful and thoughtful group, the NCCJ's Dismantling Racism Institute Faculty.

My deepest appreciation goes to the reviewers of the assessment instrument, who gave valuable advice and feedback on language, framing, and format: Tammy Borman, Cyndi Harris, Ngozi Robinson, and Leon Sharpe. Also, additional thanks to Ngozi Robinson for assisting with the Clarksburg interviews and providing her insightful analysis. I am indebted to Michael Wenger, director of the Network of Alliances Bridging Race and Ethnicity (NABRE), for giving me this opportunity to write, and for providing support and critical feedback. I would also like to thank the staff members of the Joint Center's Office of Communications and Marketing who played the key roles in the production of this book: Denise Dugas, vice president for communications and marketing, for her leadership and steady support; creative director David Farquharson for his distinctive expertise and creativity in designing the book and its cover; and senior editor Marc DeFrancis for his skillful editing and ongoing patience and assistance. Also, appreciation to Jim O'Grady from EEI, Inc., who assisted in editing the book and asked the hard questions. I would also like to express my appreciation to my life partner, Gene Mitchell, for his editing skills and his consistent support and encouragement.

Finally, special thanks go to the late Aliah Mubarak-Tharpe for sharing her wisdom, her dynamic skills, and her insights. This Inclusive Community Assessment is dedicated to her legacy of fighting for racial equity by touching the hearts and minds of many across the nation with her storytelling and brilliant style of facilitation. She was taken from us far too early, but her spirit lives on.

Preface

Across America, there are examples of towns and cities that have not only united but also created a movement to stand up against hate—like Billings, Montana; Springfield, Illinois; and Rocky Mount, North Carolina. Clarksburg, West Virginia, provides another unique story with lessons to be learned from its response to the Ku Klux Klan. This is a case study of how Clarksburg, a moderately sized community in West Virginia, responded to a KKK rally by conducting a counter-rally, the “Get Real Rally”, which in turn led to the Clarksburg Unity Project.

It is an opportunity to share Clarksburg’s response to hate in the context of the state’s and community’s history and the town’s current state of race relations. Clarksburg’s effort was reinforced recently by the local newspaper’s editorial board, which wrote, “If we hope to prosper economically, Clarksburg must show the nation that its people are unified and that this is a great place to live because of it.”¹

Though no method or process guarantees that a hate crime will not occur, or even that a hate group will not visit a town, is there a proactive, comprehensive way to create a more inclusive community? How will a community know it is progressing forward?

This publication is intended primarily for civic officials and community leaders who seek to build inclusive communities. The latter part of this report includes a tool to help predominately white, moderate-sized towns assess their process of becoming inclusive. The Inclusive Community Assessment Tool is one step in understanding a town’s current state of race relations. Through a set of questions, individuals can determine the town’s racial climate by generalized descriptions of behaviors and attitudes. The instrument also includes suggestions for next steps based on a community’s inclusivity stage.

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PART 1: THE STORY OF CLARKSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA

Introduction

Mining, old-time religion, mountain folk, moonshine, hillbillies, and simmering family feuds: for many people, these are staples in a long list of stereotypes that come to mind when thinking about West Virginia. Unfortunately, the history we learned in school, the stories told by the media, and the messages we heard from family and friends resulted in much missing information and much misinformation, creating an accepted history that serves to reinforce our stereotypes of the people who live there. West Virginia still lives under that cloak of stereotype, mostly because the story of this state is not well known, apart from the Harpers Ferry raid and famous strikes by miners. This report places Clarksburg's response to hate in the context of state and local history, which will possibly, as a side benefit, assist in dismantling some of these stereotypes.

West Virginia is considered the heart of the Appalachian region. There are 13 states in the Appalachian region, but West Virginia is the only one contained entirely within the region geographically. Appalachia has long been treated as a curiosity by outsiders. To its residents it is an area in need of improved economic infrastructure, but nonetheless they are proud of its history and the strength of its people. The Appalachian region is also an area where African Americans are practically invisible; a neglected minority within a neglected minority.²

Fayette Allen, an African American journalist who came to Appalachia in the mid-1970s to learn about the conditions for minorities in the area, has observed, "Blacks in Appalachia live in some of the worst colonial-type racism and exploitation (conditions) in the country."³ She was shocked by the number of African Americans in Appalachia who appeared to be unaware of the lack of control they had over their lives. She heard accounts of racism, joblessness, and poverty from many of them, and she concluded that the African American situation in Appalachia was "unreal," as though

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the civil rights movement of the 1960s had not penetrated into this mountainous region.⁴

On the one hand, there was extreme poverty, but on the other hand, in Appalachia African Americans had more access economically and politically than in most other places in America. Ronald L. Lewis, in his book, *Black Coal Miners in America: Race, Class and Community Conflict 1780-1980*, describes the black migration to the coal fields, and specifically why many chose West Virginia: "In vast portions of industrializing central Appalachia ... no racial group held an established position in the mines or company towns. In central Appalachia, particularly southern West Virginia, blacks came closer to finding economic equality than in any other coal field, and perhaps anywhere else, in America."⁵

Edward J. Cabbell, founder and director of the John Henry Memorial Foundation, has traveled in the region to talk with African Americans and whites about race relations. He has observed, "During my travels I often met both black and white Appalachians who strongly felt that 'everything is okay' between whites and the 'coloreds' in their community. Yet at the same time I observed or was told of blacks living in dilapidated houses in segregated or 'colored' sections of the villages and towns ... The few blacks with token white-collar jobs usually appeared to be quite proud of being the 'only one' in this or that position in their community."⁶ Cabbell also discussed many problems facing all Appalachians, regardless of race or class: limited access to health care, severe pollution and environmental hazards, few choices of livelihood, and a finite number of jobs. He concluded that addressing these social problems "... requires activism, but activism, in turn, requires community education to lift the level of community consciousness to create positive actions for possible solutions to these increasingly complex concerns."⁷

Since the 1970s and 1980s, when Fayette Allen and Edward Cabbell made those observations, the visibility of race issues has increased in the media. Since that time, the Appalachian region has been touched by many national events—corporate diversity initiatives, President Clinton's Initiative on Race, the O.J. Simpson trial, and the Los Angeles riots. Every part of the Appalachian region has its own personality and set of variables, so it is difficult to compare West Virginia with, for instance, Appalachian New York. What has not changed is that Appalachia is still predominately white and will likely remain so. A natural question, then, is the one this report addresses: "How can inclusive communities be created in predominately white, medium-sized towns?"

Background: West Virginia

Highlights of Race Relations History

In the middle of the 19th century, the raging national debate about slavery divided the state of Virginia, family against family, and ultimately led to western Virginia separating after the parent state seceded from the Union, and thus to the creation of the state of West Virginia. Pro-Union West Virginians first created the Reorganized Government of Virginia as they worked to form their own state. Slavery remained a hotly debated issue as the new state constitution was developed during the Civil War. State legislators, knowing they would not be admitted to the Union as a slave state, reached a compromise: on July 4, 1863, all slaves in West Virginia over 21 years of age would be freed. Since those under 21 remained in slavery, West Virginia became the last slave state to enter the Union.⁸ On June 20, 1863, West Virginia was admitted to the Union as the 35th state. That same year, the governor approved an act giving African Americans the same rights to criminal trials as whites, but denying them the right to serve on juries.

In 1866, the war over, the state constitution was amended to deny citizenship and suffrage to all persons who had supported the Confederacy. In 1869, the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified, granting African Americans across the nation the right to vote. Some whites in West Virginia were upset that African Americans had the vote while white former Confederates did not. This issue led to the violence that broke out in December 1869 between the white and African American residents of Malden in Kanawha County.⁹

In 1873, Charleston Mayor C. P. Snyder and the City Council appointed Ernest Porterfield as a police officer, the first African American to receive a public job in Kanawha County and possibly in the state. Within one hour, the white police force, including the chief, resigned. Rather than ask for Porterfield's resignation, the mayor hired a new police force.¹⁰

In 1898, West Virginia was the setting for a major judicial case (*Williams v. Board of Education of Tucker County*) that helped shape early civil rights law. When the Tucker County board of education tried to save money

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by cutting the African American school term from eight to five months, Carrie Williams, an African American teacher in the county's segregated school system, took matters into her own hands. Williams taught for the entire eight-month term and then sued the board for the extra three months' pay. Her lawyer argued that African American schools should receive the same funding and have the same rights as white schools. Williams' court victory was the first in the nation to determine discrimination on the basis of color to be illegal.¹¹

Blacks were attracted to West Virginia over the years because economic opportunities had been denied them elsewhere. As Lewis observes in his book, *Black Coal Miners in America*, "Unlike its Appalachian neighbors, West Virginia did not disenfranchise blacks, and they continued to enjoy full political equality. In fact, one of the major reasons blacks moved into the state's mining towns in such large numbers was the near absence of Jim Crow laws. Blacks preferred West Virginia to Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee because they wanted to vote, to educate their children, and to live in a black community that was not suppressed by racist politics or hedged in at every turn by the constraints of caste etiquette. That only 14 percent of the blacks who resided in West Virginia during the 1920s were born in the state testifies to the powerful allure of the relative equality they found there."¹²

.....
"Unlike its Appalachian neighbors, West Virginia did not disenfranchise blacks, and they continued to enjoy full political equality. In fact, one of the major reasons blacks moved into the state's mining towns in such large numbers was the near absence of Jim Crow laws..."

—Ronald L. Lewis

Black Coal Miners in America

.....

Most black workers who migrated north in the early 1900s did not receive a welcoming reception from white workers. The influx of black workers prompted many whites to join the Ku Klux Klan, and race riots occurred in several northern cities across America. Racial conflict was largely absent, however, in West Virginia. Appalachian coal-company towns in the early 1900s featured a surprising degree of economic parity and well-integrated workplaces. Even the U.S. Department of Labor reported that, "the tradition of harmony and reciprocal good will remains, and intense and bitter race feelings have not developed in West Virginia."¹³

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Racial animosity would have been a hindrance to the primary business of the region—coal mining—due to the fact that blacks and whites worked so closely together in the mines. It was in the economic self-interest of the management of coal companies, therefore, to squelch racial tensions through their business practices. One example was in McDowell County; when four white miners protested the hiring of a black motorman (one of the better positions in the mine) their supervisor immediately fired them and their names were placed on a 'do not hire' list.¹⁴

Miners were paid on a piece-rate system that was blind to skin color. Many company towns were "integrated," with all miners living in equally shabby, poorly built housing owned by the company. At first, African Americans may have been attracted by the accessibility of work for better wages and a perceived better quality of life after leaving slavery. It did not take long, however, for them to realize that a company town operated at the time just like a plantation, only one based on class rather than race. Though some coal companies created an integrated workplace and worked to ease racial strife, they controlled virtually every aspect of daily life. Since economics drove their decisions, coal companies also used African American workers to deal with the threat of unionization. Eventually, despite growing comradeship among black and white miners, coal companies brought in more African American workers from the Deep South as strike breakers, heightening resentment and leading to increased racial tension.¹⁵

In the early 1920s, Thomas Posey, a professor at West Virginia State College, acknowledged that "There is no state in the Union where the Negro has a larger share in the party councils or enjoys the political prestige of our own colored citizens."¹⁶ African Americans not only were elected to state offices, but because of their relationship with the Republican Party (which at the time was still associated with its abolitionist origin). This new political power of blacks helped to win concessions from Republicans for the establishment of state orphanages and state colleges for African Americans and won the formation of the Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics. African Americans also became political bosses in many commercial towns.¹⁷

In 1954, West Virginia complied with the U.S. Supreme Court's new *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling and began to integrate its public schools. For most of West Virginia, the process was swift and peaceful, except in the southern part of the state, where it took several lawsuits to make integration a reality. In 1958, the first chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in West Virginia was established in Charleston. CORE immediately began boycotts of the Woolworth, Kresge, and Newberry five-and-ten cent stores, which refused to serve black patrons. It was reported in 1961 that

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50 percent of restaurants, 70 percent of hotels and motels, and 85 percent of pools in the state still discriminated against African Americans.¹⁸ Indeed, many establishments remained segregated until the late 1960s. Nevertheless, the boycotts were successful in the end, and led to the gradual integration of restaurants, movie theatres, and retail stores across the state.

In 1965, the Appalachian Regional Development Act was passed and a billion dollars in federal aid flooded the region administered by the Appalachian Regional Commission. In the early 1970s, 39 percent of the black people in West Virginia were living below the poverty level, a rate twice as high as that for whites. One quarter of the black homes in the state lacked some or all plumbing facilities, 50 percent more than the proportion of white homes in the same condition.¹⁹ This picture of Appalachia remains typical, with whites dominating the population and blacks, the second largest population group, remaining forgotten.

West Virginia Today

Despite the state's generally improving economy, 53 of West Virginia's 55 counties remain at "distressed" or "at-risk" levels, as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission.²⁰ "Distressed" counties have a much higher unemployment rate, lower per capita income, and higher poverty levels than the national average. "At-risk" counties are generally worse off than the national average, but are not considered quite as economically depressed as those designated as "distressed." In comparison to other states, West Virginia scores poorly in the following areas: in diseases of the heart, cancer, and lung cancer; in unintentional injuries; in both motor vehicle and non-motor vehicle accidents; in sedentary lifestyle and obesity among its residents; in the non-use of seatbelts; in cigarette smoking rates and the use of smokeless tobacco; in low levels of health insurance; in lack of access to doctors due to cost; and in suicide. Conversely, West Virginia scores better than most states in the following areas: in breast cancer rates; in teen fertility rates; in births to unwed mothers; in late or nonexistent prenatal care; in fetal deaths; in binge drinking, and in homicide.²¹ West Virginia has had one of the lowest crime rates in the nation for the past 23 years. The college attendance rate among state residents is last among the states, but the high school dropout rate among residents, once among the highest in the nation, is now among the lowest.

West Virginia's population is overwhelmingly white (96 percent). The state has the second-lowest percentage of foreign-born individuals in the nation. There are 10 identified hate groups in West Virginia: seven Ku Klux Klan groups, one neo-Nazi group, one "Christian identity" group that es-

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pouses racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric, and one group listed in the “other” category.²²

The West Virginia Hate Crime Task Force is an active statewide collaborative group organized under the West Virginia Human Rights Commission. It is made up of a diverse group of organizations and agencies that sometimes have little in common apart from their proactive stance against hate groups and crimes. The Task Force’s main mission is to respond to and prevent hate crimes by improving the enforcement of laws, changing attitudes and behavior through education, and providing services to assist hate-crime victims.²³ The Task Force spends significant time in schools. In fact, West Virginia’s anti-harassment regulations served as a model for the guide, *Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crime: A Guide for Schools*, published by The National Association of Attorneys General Bias Crime Committee and the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights.

The West Virginia state uniform crime reporting system began in 1996, but in 1998, only 37 percent of all law enforcement departments were reporting to its office. The West Virginia Hate Crimes Network has been compiling and maintaining a list of hate crimes and incidents since 1992. This list is collected from news stories and from incidents reported to either the Human Rights Commission or the Hate Crimes Task Force. Since these records started being kept, 120 suspected bias crimes have been reported; the Hate Crimes Task Force believes there is minimal overlap with what is reported to the state police. Of the 120 suspected bias crimes, reports the Hate Crimes Network, “75 (63 percent) involved racial bias, 27 (23 percent) involved sexual-orientation bias, 11 (9 percent) involved a religion bias, four (3 percent) involved an ethnic-origin bias and two (2 percent) involved a disability bias. Of these 120 reported bias crimes, 47 (39 percent) involved actual violence against one or more persons. Six of these resulted in death. Of those that did not result in death, two involved kidnapping, eight involved arson, and 17 involved weapons. Fifty-seven (48 percent) involved threats of violence. Thirty-four (28 percent) involved the destruction or defacing of property. Six (5 percent) involved damage to places of worship or cemeteries and seven (6 percent) involved the burning of a cross in front of a home.”²⁴

In late 1997, former Governor Cecil H. Underwood responded to President’s Clinton’s Initiative on Race and launched his own statewide initiative, entitled One West Virginia in the 21st Century. In a state that is predominately white, the governor wanted to create an atmosphere of racial harmony and tolerance. Since the announcement, several major events

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and programs have been organized around the state, including the following:

- “Not In Our Town, Not In Our State,” a campaign to encourage communities to take an active stand against hate and intolerance, was launched by the attorney general’s office and the Human Rights Commission.
- A forum on race was held at the Governor’s Mansion, where a diverse group discussed racial disparities in education, economic opportunity, housing, health care, and the administration of justice.
- “Remembering the Holocaust—Lessons for Today” was held at the Governor’s Mansion in April 1998. Guests from around the state discussed how the lessons of the Holocaust could be taught to future generations so as to develop and sustain the vigilance necessary to prevent reoccurrence. After the event, the governor created the West Virginia Holocaust Commission on Education.
- The Governor’s Town Hall Meeting on the Performing Arts and Race was held in conjunction with the play, *Carry the Tiger to the Mountain*.
- The governor was involved in organizing and serving as the keynote speaker at the State Equal Employment Opportunity/State College and University Systems Conference, “Building Equality Through Education for a Stronger West Virginia”.
- The West Virginia State Museum was one of only 21 sites nationwide chosen to exhibit *A Slave Ship Speaks: The Wreck of the Henrietta Marie*.
- The Bureau of Employment developed a one-day program, “Emerging Workforce Issues,” to address employment barriers faced by under-represented populations who can add immense value to West Virginia’s labor pool.²⁵

The Clarksburg Story

Background and History

Clarksburg is a picturesque city surrounded by hills in the north-central part of the state. Its downtown maintains a small-town allure. The downtown is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and has widely diverse architectural styles, including Italianate, Victorian, and Greek Revival. Upon closer inspection, however, the downtown business area has declined over the years in the face of growth, including a mall on the outskirts of town. The city has launched a revitalization plan, and three new

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buildings have recently been completed—Fairmont State College's Clarksburg Campus Building, the Clarksburg Federal Building, and the Clarksburg Municipal Building. Clarksburg is still pulling itself out of the economic doldrums caused by the demise of glass factories, coal mines, and industrial plants. But there is significant evidence of progress, as older heavy industry gives way to small businesses, light manufacturing, high-tech companies, and professional services.

In 1995, Harrison County, which contains Clarksburg, proudly became the new home of the FBI Fingerprint Identification Services Division, which has 2,900 employees and several hundred contract workers.²⁶ This major addition to the area helped to establish Interstate 79, the region's main thoroughfare, as an emerging high-tech corridor. Other large employers in the area include Clarksburg Publishing Company; Eagle Convex Glass; Hope Gas, Inc.; Lockheed-Martin; Monongahela Power Company; Ucar Carbon Company; United Hospital Center; Bell Atlantic; and CNG Transmission Corporation.

This moderately sized town of 18,059 (1990 census figures) was officially chartered by the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1785. The town is named for General George Rogers Clark, a noted Virginia frontiersman, though it is best known as Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's birthplace. One of Clarksburg's most influential African American residents was Professor Emmett B. Saunders, who came to town in 1919 to become principal of the Kelly Miller School. The school was named for the dean of The College of Arts and Sciences at Howard University in Washington, D.C., who was best known for his widely distributed writings on education for African Americans. The school's curriculum was modeled on Dr. Miller's philosophy, which was to "create a comprehensive education system that would provide for 'symmetrical development' of African American citizens by offering both vocational and intellectual instruction."²⁷

During Saunders' 39 years of leadership, the Kelly Miller School became the first school in Clarksburg to be accredited by the North Central Association. At one time, 90 percent of the graduates of Kelly Miller School went on to college. The school served as the center of the African American community. Saunders had an active civic life; he served as president of the Harrison County Principals Association, and upon his retirement, he served on the West Virginia Commission for the Aging and on the Harrison County Human Rights Commission. Also after his retirement, he ran unsuccessfully for the Clarksburg City Council.

Based on the 1990 census, Clarksburg's population is 95.9 percent white, 3.6 percent African American, 0.3 percent Asian and 0.2 percent

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other. Clarksburg has a predominately Christian faith community but also includes a small Jewish congregation. The Catholic Church is the largest denomination in the town, with the Baptist Church second, and the Methodist Church having the most congregations in Clarksburg. Though the town's early business was manufacturing, it has now become a community mostly of professionals (58.9 percent white collar), with over 70 percent of the citizens high school graduates. Clarksburg has the fifth-lowest crime rate in the state at 31.6 per thousand (1996) for a Class II city. (Crime rate is defined as the number of criminal code offenses, excluding traffic, per 1000 population.)²⁸ The town's population is decreasing and aging. Young households are leaving the city, which means household size will decrease because of the lower birth rates; all this contributes to the increasingly aging population.²⁹ Clarksburg uses a city manager-council form of government—the city council is elected at-large by residents, council members elect the mayor and vice mayor, and the city manager is hired to oversee the daily operations of the town.

On October 11, 1996, Clarksburg found itself in the national spotlight, but definitely not by choice. After several months of investigation, on that day federal and state agencies arrested seven people connected with the Mountaineer Militia, an anti-government group that subscribed to conspiracy theories. Floyd Raymond Looker was the leader of this Harrison County small cell, along with James R. Rogers, who was not only its co-commander but, as it turned out, a lieutenant in the Clarksburg Fire Department. In this capacity, Rogers had access to the architectural blueprints of the FBI Fingerprint Center, which Looker planned to target in a terrorist attack. The Mountaineer Militia began collecting an arsenal to make that plan a reality. Fortunately, a militia member, Okey Richards, became alarmed, called the FBI, and agreed to be an informant.

This prevented a major national tragedy, but the town was left in disbelief that a senior Fire Department employee would be involved in such an extremist plot. In response, after the news, the town came together immediately and held a cathartic "unity gathering" of 100 people to deal with the shock, disbelief, and betrayal. Mayor Tom Flynn told the Clarksburg crowd, "[we are] law-abiding, hard-working citizens. It's a shame that a few have cast a negative light on our city and area."³⁰ Clarksburg's response to this incident demonstrated the community's ability to unite in opposition to extremism, an ability that would be tested further a few years later when the Ku Klux Klan petitioned the town to conduct a rally.

The Civil Rights Team Project began in the fall of 1999, sponsored and coordinated by the Civil Rights Division of the West Virginia Attorney

General's Office. It was modeled after a successful program in Maine. Clarksburg's Robert C. Byrd High School was one of several schools that got involved. The program creates school teams consisting of three students per grade, plus one or two faculty advisors. This team works throughout the school year to provide awareness and education on issues of bias and prejudice. If the team learns of harassment, it is responsible for reporting it to the appropriate authorities. The Civil Rights Division provides training to the team as well as to the faculty and administrators of the participating schools.³¹

Clarksburg Responds to the Klan

On September 2, 1999, a chapter of the Knights of the White Kamellia Ku Klux Klan based in nearby Grafton wrote to request permission to hold a rally on the steps of the Harrison County Courthouse on November 6, 1999. There are differing views on why the Ku Klux Klan chose to hold a rally in Clarksburg. The media reported that the KKK had leafleted areas of Grafton, Fairmont, and Clarksburg in August 1999,³² and the rally was perceived as a continuation of their recruiting efforts. Others believed the KKK was responding to the election of Clarksburg's first African American council member, Rev. David Kates, who was then elected by his fellow council members as mayor of the city. Rev. Kates had run for City Council five times over the prior 10-year period, in one election losing only by five votes. During that 10-year period, he had been appointed to the City Council for a short six-month period to fill a vacant seat.

It is important to note that Clarksburg was not the only city in the area to receive a request from the Klan. Fairmont, in neighboring Marion County, was also sent a request for a permit to rally. The two cities responded very differently to the request letter. The Fairmont city manager and police chief decided to ignore the Klan's request and, by not talking with the media, avoid publicizing the event. The city official told the Klan that since the city of Fairmont did not own the sidewalk in front of the courthouse, the Klan would need to receive permission from the property owners to proceed. Clarksburg, on the other hand, decided to take the opposite approach. City officials granted the permit, since it was the Klan's constitutional right to assemble, and then focused their energy on fighting back with a unity rally rather than be caught up in court battles.

When Mayor Kates received the Klan letter, he was quoted in the local newspaper: "After this (KKK) rally has taken place, the people of Clarksburg should rally together, and we will show that there are more people (living here) who desire diversity than there are who desire hatred. I want people

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to know there are differences among ethnic groups, [but] that there is one thing we all have in common: we are people who aspire to find the good in people of other ethnicities.”³³

Immediately after the KKK rally was announced, representatives from Clarksburg’s Police, Fire, and Public Works departments, as well as other members of the city staff and City Council, met to plan a strategic response. Detective Robert Metheny became one of the leaders of this committee, based on his knowledge of hate groups stemming from his experience on the West Virginia Hate Crime Task Force. City officials and staff met weekly during the fall months prior to the rally date. Other cities that had experienced Klan rallies were contacted to learn how they had dealt with the Klan coming to town. They included Huntington, West Virginia, which since 1997 had held an annual unity event on the anniversary of the Klan’s visit to their town. The Clarksburg committee’s number one priority was establishing security for town citizens at all costs. The committee communicated with the Grand Dragon, meeting with him twice before the rally, to set down ground rules and expectations.

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“After this (KKK) rally has taken place, the people of Clarksburg should rally together, and we will show that there are more people (living here) who desire diversity than there are who desire hatred. I want people to know there are differences among ethnic groups, [but] that there is one thing we all have in common: we are people who aspire to find the good in people of other ethnicities.”

—Clarksburg Mayor David Kates
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What originally was a request for one rally led eventually to four separate rallies—by the Klan itself, by an anti-Klan group, by a pro-Klan group, and finally one by Clarksburg itself. One of the preventive measures the committee chose was to put up fencing so that each group that assembled—the Klan, pro-Klan supporters, and anti-Klan protesters—would be separated from the others. To some citizens, these preventive measures (not only the fencing off downtown, but also the presence of 70 police officers, the purchase of bulletproof vests and riot gear, and the establishment of triage and decontamination centers) seemed like overkill and an unnecessary civic expenditure. But for most of the town, the prevailing opinion seemed to be

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"better to be safe than sorry," because no one could predict what would happen on November 6, 1999.

While citizens were appalled, disgusted, and embarrassed that the Klan would come to Clarksburg, Mayor Kates and City Council members believed free speech should be respected. They decided, however, that the City of Clarksburg, in allowing the Klan a permit to assemble, needed to make a counterstatement that Clarksburg is a town that celebrates and welcomes diversity, not one filled with hate. In the spirit of that sentiment and commitment, area citizens started stepping forward to offer help in preparation for what came to be called the "Get Real Rally"—an event that would, in turn, mark the kickoff of the Clarksburg Unity Project.

Originally, the Get Real Rally was to be held at the local Robert C. Byrd High School. The idea was to invite marching bands and to encourage and recruit thousands of attendees. In early October, a council member appointed by the mayor as cochair of the event suggested the unity rally be rescheduled since it conflicted with the local high school's cheerleading competition and the nearby West Virginia University football game. Many were surprised by the suggestion and thought the rally would lose a lot of its meaning and power unless it was scheduled directly opposite that of the Klan. The local newspaper, for instance, editorialized vigorously: "Move the rally to the Veteran's Memorial Park or somewhere else. The cold won't be a problem. People who believe in diversity will stand in the cold to stand up for their freedoms. But hold it the same day at the same time. What message are we sending to the world and the KKK if we let a cheerleading competition and a football game change the time for our unity rally?"³⁴

The leadership of the committee changed hands after it was decided to hold the rally as scheduled. The original cochairs stepped down and served on the committee while Mayor Kates and Councilman James Hunt immediately stepped forward to cochair the event and continue planning the unity rally. Hunt took more of an organizer role, while Kates promoted the event to the media and motivated people to attend. This division of leadership made a very important statement to the town: that a white person was taking a leadership role on diversity issues, and that the KKK's rally did not just offend a small racial minority but in fact the entire town of Clarksburg. In a largely white community like Clarksburg, this was an important impression to make.

The town's interfaith community also came together and played a leading role in organizing and promoting the Get Real Rally. Many ministers from different denominations used their pulpits to talk about the rally and to

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encourage their congregations to attend. Rev. Brent Sturm of the Broad Oaks United Methodist Church wanted to engage youth in the planning process, so he created a diversity symbol by stringing multicolored beads on a large safety pin. Soon, children were making these pins and passing them around at churches in the United Methodist Cooperative Parish. In less than a week, three ministers – Rev. Susan Rector, Rev. Steven Rector, and Rev. Sturm – organized a prayer service at the Broad Oaks United Methodist Church for the night before the rally. It was a powerful show of unity, with representatives from 10 different congregations and more than 80 people present. Mayor Kates put on his other hat—as pastor of the Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church—and gave the sermon.

The media was very active in covering this story. Some felt the media went overboard, and that the coverage gave the KKK too much attention. Others, however, felt the story had to be covered in such detail and that not to cover the story would deny a powerful weapon against such hate groups: education. The *Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram* produced a diversity supplement, “One Race. The Human Race,” and published it the day before the rallies. It included articles about hate groups and their use of the Internet; how the police prepared for the rally; civil rights history; the interfaith response; and why the National Association for the Advancement of Color People (NAACP) would not protest at the Klan rally and only support the unity rally. In subsequent interviews after the events, some felt that the media engaged citizens in a helpful way by telling this story, and by encouraging people to attend the unity rally and not the KKK rally.

The Get Real Rally

At noon on November 6, Clarksburg police escorted the KKK group to the steps of the courthouse, where for two hours the Klan screamed its message to anyone who would listen through a six-foot high, chain-link fence. The Grand Dragon of the Klan later explained that the reason only 15 Klan members showed up was due to Clarksburg’s ordinance prohibiting anyone from wearing a mask during a public gathering or rally. Most members were from out of town, though one woman was a teacher at the local middle school. The anti-Klan youth attending the opposing rally were surprised to see a middle school teacher openly wearing the white robes of the Klan. The matter was not pursued because it was part of her free speech rights to be present.

Fifty people who came to support the Klan were fenced off from both the Klan and the anti-Klan protesters. Two-hundred-fifty other people came as well, either to express their outrage at the Klan coming to town, or out of curiosity to see what the Klan rally was all about. Each person who came

downtown went through a metal detector and was searched before entering the fenced area. The only metal items people could bring into the fenced area were their car keys.

The interfaith community continued its support, with two ministers remaining present at the events downtown. Rev. Steven Rector, who is also the Fire Department chaplain, stayed with the Fire Department staff and supported them during the intensely emotional day. Rev. Eric Faust, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, located just two blocks from the courthouse, stood on a street corner and greeted each person who walked by, presenting each with a card bearing this message: "God loves you. The Peace of Christ be with you. 'I beheld a great multitude, which no man could number, of all the nations, and tribes, and people, and tongues, which stood before the throne and before the Lamb ...' (Revelations, Chapter 7, Verse 9)."

Police Chief Lt. John Walker told the press, "I think we took the necessary precautions. If I had to do it all over again, I would want to plan it exactly the same way." During that day, there were only two arrests, a minor fight, and two mobilizations by the Clarksburg Special Response Team.³⁵ In the end, many thought the Klan rally was a dud, just a lot of yelling and sign waving. Although the KKK's Grand Dragon insisted on labeling the rally in Clarksburg a success, he called off the rally planned for the next day in Fairmont, telling the press, "I just think it would be nothing but a disaster and it won't help the white people of this area."³⁶

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***"I think we took the necessary precautions. If
I had to do it all over again, I would want to
plan it exactly the same way."***

—Clarksburg Police Chief Lt. John Walker
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The citizens of Clarksburg wanted to make a statement so that their town would not be defined as a "town that promotes hate" in any 30-second news blurb about the day's events. The speakers at the Get Real Rally did not use inflammatory comments to make their point, but instead focused on promoting the good will of the people of Clarksburg and the importance of continuing to improve relations and to work for racial harmony. The speakers' messages were consistent, and the racial and ethnic diversity represented by those who spoke reinforced the statement of unity. Speakers included Roger Diaz-Harrison, county commissioner; Joe Minard, West Virginia state senator; Frank Angotti, West Virginia state delegate; Walter Kulczycki of the Slovak-Polish Society; Harry Berman, representing

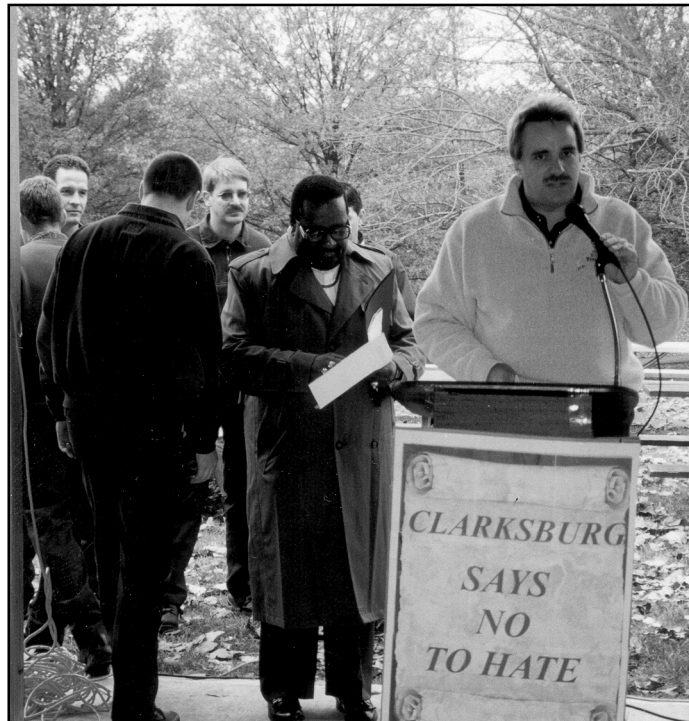
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the Jewish community; Weege Vargo of the Italian Heritage Festival; Russell Bonasso, a Fairmont businessman and author; Marcel Malfreegeot of the Harrison County Schools; and Rev. Susan Rector, representing the local faith community. There were proclamations read from the City of Clarksburg, the Governor's Office, the West Virginia Municipal League, and the West Virginia Italian Heritage Festival.

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"I will never approach diversity the same way again. You have to be aware of it. This area is so predominately white, race will always be there in the back of my mind."

—Rev. Susan Rector
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The Get Real Rally represented a diverse cross-section of the community—almost 300 mostly middle- and upper-middle class people of different ages, races, genders, and sexual orientations—stating that Clarksburg does



Councilmember John Hunt welcomes the community to the unity rally.

not promote hate. To most who attended, the rally seemed like a party, with all types of music filling the air with joy, togetherness, and unity. When asked about the emotional impact of the rally, Rev. Susan Rector said, "I will never approach diversity the same way again. You have to be aware of it. This area is so predominately white, race will always be there in the back of my mind." Harry Berman, a longtime community activist, remarked, "I've spent my whole life working for a day like today."³⁷

The Get Real Rally served as a launching point for the City of Clarksburg to focus its attention on diversity. Harry M. Fox, who serves on the editorial board of the *Clarksburg Telegram*, wrote about what came out of the rally: "It's been valuable to have spent time thinking and talking about our freedoms, our rights, and our beliefs. It's been good for us all, adults and young people, black and white, wealthy, middle class, and poor, husbands and wives, single people and families, to have been challenged—to ask ourselves what we really believe about each other ... But this weekend, Clarksburg and Harrison County came together as a community. This weekend we journeyed a little farther on the road to a truly free society."³⁸

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"It's been valuable to have spent time thinking and talking about our freedoms, our rights, and our beliefs... But this weekend, Clarksburg and Harrison County came together as a community. This weekend we journeyed a little farther on the road to a truly free society."

—Harry M. Fox

Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram, Nov. 7, 1999
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After the rally, some noticed a difference in the community, just from greeting people. One resident told us, "People are more friendly and start conversations more readily. People want to make sure they are not seen as 'those types of people.'" Others did not notice such changes. One person remarked that had the Klan held a successful rally, there would have been a different response, but since it did not, there was no real change in how people dealt with each other. Since the police department had shown such professionalism and unique skill in handling the KKK rally, the experience subsequently increased their effectiveness in working with different groups in town.

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The Unity Project

Clarksburg achieved important national recognition for its response to the Klan. Clarksburg city officials gave a presentation, "The Unity Project: A Community Responds to Hate," at the National League of Cities conference in December 1999. Clarksburg was honored as a runner-up for the City Cultural Diversity Award from the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials of the National League of Cities. Mayor Kates committed to The Unity Project after the positive response of the citizens at the Get Real Rally. The Unity Project addresses diversity issues in the Clarksburg area through school programs, community meetings, and presentations. The project's



Mayor Kates talking to a citizen at the unity rally

current approach is to plant seeds that result in big community impact and to integrate the theme of racial unity with events occurring in Clarksburg. Five examples of these programs follow.

1. Two high school students from Bridgeport, a neighboring community, organized a unity concert on December 3, 1999. Ashley Glaspell and Chris Schultz were disturbed by Klan rally in Clarksburg and wanted to do more than just talk about it. "Maybe the KKK will find out about it and know there are a lot of kids around here who just don't want them here," Glaspell said. "It might affect some adults and they might realize that something's really wrong if kids are speaking out against them."³⁹ Local punk, hardcore, and pop-punk bands appeared at the concert. The students also intend to start a local chapter of Anti-Racist Action (ARA), and a representative from the Maryland chapter was present at the concert to help get things started.

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(Anti-Racist Action is in 150 cities in the United States and Canada working to decrease racism, sexism, anti-gay bigotry, anti-semitism, ableism, ageism, and classism.) One of the obstacles the concert organizers faced was the viewpoints of their peers' parents. "There are a few kids in school who



The new Clarksburg welcome sign at Joyce St. & E. Pike St.

were not allowed to come (to the concert) because their parents are racist," Schultz said. "It's kind of appalling." However, Schultz's and Glaspell's parents were very proud of their children's initiative.⁴⁰

2. For the first time in Clarksburg, there was a Martin Luther King Jr. celebration at the city hall which was held on January 14, 2000. A committee composed of members of the Harrison County Habitat for Humanity, the Small Business Administration, and the City of Clarksburg joined efforts to involve local students and citizens in celebration activities. Unveiled at the event was a new sign for Clarksburg: "Welcome to Clarksburg. We Celebrate Diversity." Habitat for Humanity coordinated a poetic essay exhibit. Local students were invited to prepare short essays based on Dr. King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Here are a few submissions:

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"I have a dream that Martin Luther King's speech will not end in the 21st century. I think that Martin Luther King's speech should not be set aside and forgotten about. The government put the slave trade compromise back and worked on what they called 'more important issues.' I don't think anything is as bad as what we, the white people,

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put the slaves through. That is why I don't think that the speech should be forgotten or set aside."

— Roger M. Davis, 8th grade

"'I have a dream,' said Martin Luther King Jr. as he gave his speech to the world. For many, it touched them, but for others, it didn't. Some people are still prejudiced. But why? Was it society? Or the way they were brought up? All people—red, white, yellow and black—have sensitive feelings and wants. So take one moment and ask, 'Is racism still an issue?' We all need to work harder to overcome."

— Randy Wetzel, 7th grade

"As I walk the road of life, the view is ever-changing. And so, I will fight the hate. Colorblind to be my fate. Shifting through to find what's true. Holding fast to my point of view. Down the road, I walk so slow. Changing things that have to go. If through my life I turn and leave, what will happen to Martin's dream?"

— Brittany Audia, 7th grade

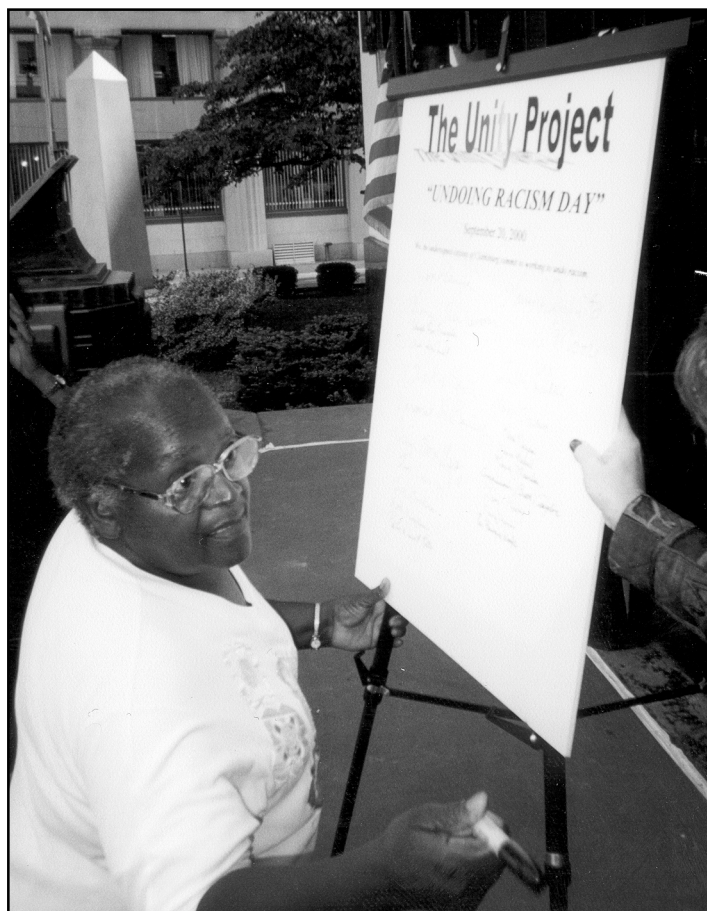
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To celebrate Martin Luther Kings Jr.'s birthday, the NAACP sponsored a candlelight vigil and a ceremony at Mount Zion Baptist Church for the second year in a row. Allen Lee, president of the local chapter of the NAACP, remarked that this year there were more whites present than last year, including youth. It is believed their participation in this event was stirred by Clarksburg's Get Real Rally. Mr. Lee was impressed with the community's ongoing efforts at unity and was quoted as saying, "Clarksburg is well on the way up the hill."⁴¹

3. Barry Calef, a City Council member in Nutter Fort, a town next door to Clarksburg, was so moved by the Get Real Rally that he called Councilman Hunt to ask how he could support the Unity project. For 10 years, Calef has been organizer of the Annual Winner's Choice West Virginia Colleges' All-Star Game. The event, held on April 7, 2000, in Clarksburg, used "Celebrating Unity Through Sports" as a theme. Included in the materials for participants was this message from Clarksburg's City Manager, Thomas Vidovich: "The lessons of athletic competition follow us through life. One of the essential ingredients in a successful team effort is unity. No team can be successful without all the members being unified in a common goal, com-

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mon agenda and teamwork which recognizes each member's unique contribution to the whole effort ... The same is true in a community. No community is made up of only doctors, basketball players, or truck drivers. Diversity and unity are the key ingredients to any thriving community. Even when the different elements of a community disagree, the successful communities find a way of unifying their efforts and all going in one direction ... I hope you take the lesson of unity developed in a team context and apply that effort in the many communities that you all represent."⁴²



Rev. Ramona Woods signing her name in support of Undoing Racism Day.

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4. To better assist citizens in West Virginia, the Human Rights Commission opened a satellite office in nearby Buckhannon to investigate and serve the state's north central region. The Unity Project welcomed members of the West Virginia Human Rights Commission for a public forum in the Spring of 2000. The forum was an opportunity for the citizens of Clarksburg to learn about the commission and discuss its goals and objectives.⁴³

5. On September 20, 2000, Clarksburg celebrated "Undoing Racism Day," joining ranks with more than 300 other cities across the nation. This event, sponsored by the National League of Cities, is part of a year-long effort to engage cities to create comprehensive plans to dismantle racism. Those attending the event signed a large placard proclaiming that racism is unjust. Councilmember Hunt praised Clarksburg for its awareness, but warned that the dangers of racism can still be right around the corner.⁴⁴ The effort was reinforced by the local newspaper's editorial board, which wrote, "We hope Kates, Hunt and others will continue to keep the Unity Project on the front burner."⁴⁵

Race Relations Issues

As significant as the Get Real Rally and the Unity Project have been, they have only begun the process of racial reconciliation in Clarksburg. Clarksburg is a predominately white town; only 4.1 percent of its citizens are people of color. In August 2000, several citizens (see Interview List in Bibliography) were interviewed for this report about positive and negative racial incidents in the area, and about how they would characterize Clarksburg's current state of race relations.

African Americans typically are relaxed about Clarksburg's racial environment. One person commented, "Clarksburg is settled and complacent; blacks and whites have learned to like each other. Blacks are more radical in Fairmont. If the Klan would have gone there and said some of things they said here, there would have been trouble." Interviewees named only a few African American leaders in Clarksburg who raise questions about discrimination in public. Almost unanimously, people pointed to the election of Rev. Kates as mayor as the single most positive racial development in Clarksburg. As mentioned earlier, Rev. Kates was defeated in five previous attempts to be elected to the City Council.

We also heard stories about some of the more difficult racial issues in town. One major topic is interracial dating. Fights have broken out often in the school because of white males' dating African American females. Allegedly, a person who worked in an area restaurant was fired from his job

because of dating a person of a different race. One interviewee mentioned a multiracial family that had to deal with housing discrimination. Another mentioned an incident when an African American acquaintance going to lunch with her white colleague was told, "you cannot eat here" by a restaurant employee.

A few mentioned that they believe the bigoted attitudes among whites toward African Americans are entrenched because it is a rural area. One person said, "There are hidden and unconscious thoughts that people don't know they have. I think that stems from (this) being such a closed community. We are relatively poor. We don't have an opportunity to travel. So, people don't have a lot of exposure (to other places). I think a lot of the feelings people have here are not due to hate but are a result of ignorance. I like to think that makes it a little different. They have not had opportunities because of socioeconomic status."

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***"There are hidden and unconscious thoughts
that people don't know they have. I think that
stems from (this) being such a closed
community."***

—Clarksburg resident

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One significant change in Clarksburg occurred starting in 1995, when the FBI's Fingerprint Identification Services Division relocated to Harrison County. The Fingerprint Center had been in Washington, D.C., and its employees were mostly African American. Initially, local residents were very excited that the Center was moving to town, and about the potential economic windfall it represented for the area. But when busloads of current Center employees came to town to check out real estate and schools, some whites were overwhelmed at the thought of having more than 2,000 African Americans and their families moving in, and what effect that would have on the community. Residents went on to question how many job openings would really accompany the facility's relocation. Though there was some apprehension among residents, unfortunately it only lessened when they found out about the strict security clearance process the FBI goes through with each employee. New housing developments were built in response to the influx of new residents, and interestingly, those new subdivisions became some of the most integrated areas in the county. Nevertheless, one African American FBI employee was targeted by hatred: a young white man burned a cross on the lawn of her house on the outskirts of town. The

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young perpetrator was arrested and charged with a hate crime, and sentenced to do community service work for Mayor Kates.

For many townspeople, race is not on their radar screens. This may be due to the small number of people of color living in town, which translates into institutional leaders keeping diversity issues in the background. When asked about the leading African American businesspeople in town, most interviewees could point to some small-business owners, but it was difficult to name any vice-presidents or senior managers in the local corporations. Though there may be some higher-level African Americans, their presence has not been reflected by appointments to key civic roles. One exception is James Griffin, a manager employed at Ucar Carbon Company; this past year he became the first African American to be named president of the Harrison County United Way. When asked, "What grade would you give the town on the current state of race relations?" most interviewees gave the town a "B"; the lowest grade given was a "C." The most frequently heard comment was, "There is still work to be done but we are doing well. It could be a lot better, but it also could be a lot worse." Some interviewees were asked, "Is there any other town in West Virginia that is doing better with race relations?" The only town mentioned in response was Morgantown, which interviewees felt should be expected to do a better job on race relations issues, since it is a college town. Though these issues and sentiments are not unlike those facing many other towns in the U.S., they can act as benchmarks of the town's progress toward becoming more inclusive. With the current population predominately white and probably remaining so for many years, race issues can easily become invisible unless a progressive white population keeps them in the forefront of civic concerns. Failure to do so imperils the town's future. For, as the *Clarksburg Exponent* editorial board wrote, "If we hope to prosper economically, Clarksburg must show the nation that its people are unified and that this is a great place to live because of it."⁴⁶ Clarksburg has moved forward by celebrating its diversity and beginning to create a climate that addresses racial issues. The town is currently focused on bringing races together and integrating the theme of unity in different events.

One of the next steps for Clarksburg is to assess institutional policies and programs to insure accessibility and equity. With Harrison County still listed by the Appalachian Regional Commission as an "at-risk"⁴⁷ county, the region's economy can be nourished by these efforts of inclusion, unity, and embracing diversity. If Clarksburg's leaders engage more of the community in their efforts and educate people about how racial inclusion and

economic vibrancy are intertwined, it will be a powerful boost to the community's long-term economic health.

Lessons Learned

There are several lessons to be taken from Clarksburg's response to a hate group.

- The importance of a white person taking a leadership role on diversity issues proved that the KKK's visit did not just offend a small racial minority, but concerned a broad range of the people of Clarksburg. Councilmember Hunt's cochairing the event with Mayor Kates also emphasized a different model of collaborative effort for the town.
- The involvement of youth in the planning process—and their creation of the diversity pins that continue to this day to be a symbol for the town's embrace of diversity and unity—lent strength to the effort.
- By disseminating the story of positive race relations, especially the *Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram's* publication of its diversity supplement, "One Race. The Human Race" the day before the rallies, the media increased public awareness about the issue of race.
- The interfaith community showed leadership throughout the process—preaching unity from the pulpit, organizing an interfaith service, and greeting members of the hate group with a different message of inclusion and tolerance—providing a strong moral authority to the effort.
- The cooperation of city departments sent a message that violence or disturbances would not be tolerated and strongly supported the efforts of citizens who wanted to send the message of unity.

One of the most important elements of both the Get Real Rally and the Unity Project was the leadership role assumed by Clarksburg's public officials. There is a difference between public officials who say, "we are handling the situation ... go on with your business," and public officials who engage the public and ask them to step forward to stop the hate.

Not In Our Town, a video about Billings, Montana, documents what happened when citizens there were faced with a series of hate crimes. In the video, the Billings police chief shares an important lesson: "If a police chief doesn't take a visible and active role, then the assumption is that everything is all right. These hate groups have learned from experience

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that if a community doesn't respond, then the community accepts. Silence is acceptance to them."⁴⁸

The differences between Fairmont's and Clarksburg's responses to the Klan's request for a permit provide much to debate. When people first think of hate groups, they think of violence, burning crosses, and oppressive graffiti, but at the core it comes down to differences in values and ideals. The most important element in fighting back against hate groups is for people to stand up, take a position, and share their values. Using the media to relay that message is productive. Almost every household has exposure to some form of media; it is a mistake, therefore, to allow only hate groups to use it to promote their message. It is also the responsibility of the media to decide how to balance a respect for the principle of free speech with the effect of providing a hate group with an accessible platform to send their message in prime time. A town's silence is as strong a message as hate.

Following the announced Klan rally, an event in Fairmont was planned for the same day as the proposed Fairmont Klan rally by youth involved in the JOURNeY Ecumenical Ministry, a community-based organization that works with youth ages 13-19. These remarkable young leaders were upset about the Klan's visit and organized a PEACE (People Everywhere Acknowledging Complete Equality) and Praise Service, which 250 people attended. Though the youth played an important role in leading the town to talk about racial issues by organizing this event, many civic leaders' voices were missing. One question for the community to reflect on: Was the youths' message of unity heard by Fairmont's citizens?

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"All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men (and women) to do nothing."

—Edmund Burke

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On July 3, 2000, Arthur Warren, Jr., a young resident of Grant Town, which neighbors Fairmont, was found brutally murdered. He had been beaten, run over several times by a vehicle, and left to die in the road.⁴⁹ Warren was a young gay black man who had been well liked in the community. According to an acquaintance, Warren had told members of the gay/lesbian support group at Fairmont State College that "he was [had been] attacked by some high school boys in Grant Town before. People would throw things at him as he walked down the street, call him queer and other names."⁵⁰ Following his violent death, there was a candlelight vigil for citizens to mourn him. Unfortunately, not only citizens attended the

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vigil; there also appeared an anti-gay organization led by Rev. Fred Phelps, who spewed hateful words against the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community.⁵¹ This tragic event points to the reality that hate crimes can happen anywhere at any time. It is important for communities to have an organized, strong, and vocal response when a hate crime occurs and to be prepared to effectively deal with hate groups who see the community as vulnerable.

Fairmont's and Clarksburg's civic officials faced a difficult dilemma regarding how to respond to the announced Klan rally. Their two experiences provide communities with an opportunity to consider the following:

- What is the most appropriate response for public officials to any hate group's threatened visit?
- What are the pros and cons of not responding or acknowledging a hate group?
- How can public officials make the most effective use of the power of the media?
- How should the media balance the story so it does not provide a platform for a hate group?
- How should a community's police force respond to a threatened visit of a hate group and the possible aftermath after a hate group shares its values and bigoted attitudes with the community?

Next Steps

It is important, even in predominately white towns, that white people speak up for unified race relations and take stands against racial injustice. It is important to establish a cadre of committed white people who are diverse in their roles in the community and who are willing to be strong, thoughtful, active, and tenacious allies for racial justice. As we heard from many in Clarksburg, race relations are good and people generally get along, but much remains to be done to insure full and equitable inclusion in the community's institutions.

White people can increase their awareness and understanding of racial issues on their own initiative. They can read books about racism, learn through relationships with people who are from various backgrounds, attend different cultural events, enter into dialogue with people with varied perspectives, find out how policy decisions affect people of color, and participate in workshops on race relations.

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Too often, white people wait for people of color to educate them on the issues and inform them of injustice. But the racial imbalance of predominately white towns can make it difficult for people of color to initiate discussions. The more pronounced the minority status, the more relevant are safety issues and the different levels of risk faced by the minority residents. People of color can be at risk of losing their jobs, confronting harassment, or facing heightened discrimination against themselves or family members. These risks are greater if the community is indifferent to the possibility that racism or hate exists. The smaller the minority population, the less the harasser will be concerned that there will be consequences to his or her actions, particularly if the community has not created a culture of intolerance for hate, discrimination, or bigotry. Community officials need to create an expectation that people will speak up, and white people need to adopt a leadership role.

Creating an inclusive community is not about just bringing everyone to the table to make decisions, or having more conversations with people of different races. It is about changing the way the community does business. It is assessing whether policies and internal procedures and practices match each other. For example, if an organization has an Equal Employment Opportunity policy that includes advertising in diverse newspapers and associations, but in practice interviews are restricted to those recommended by staff, then policy and practice are not aligned. An inclusive community is one where the majority of the community speak up when they see injustice. It is about seeing people of different races employed at all levels of an organization. It is about seeing diversity in the makeup of a community's leading civic officials. It is about strategically lessening racial disparities in health, economics, education, criminal justice and other areas.

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"Even when the different elements of a community disagree, the successful communities find a way of unifying their efforts and all going in one direction."

—Clarksburg City Manager Thomas Vidovich

.....
Clarksburg has done a good job of breaking ground and putting unity on people's radar screens. Currently, a city council member, the mayor, and a few other people in town have spearheaded the Unity Project. The Unity Project has been built on their friendship and on their commitment to bring races together. For long-term impact, there is an opportunity to take

the project to the next level through establishing a budget for the Unity Project and recruiting a cadre of volunteers to share their time and skills. While the town is challenged by its at-risk economic status, the existence of racism will remain a barrier to the city's economic growth.

A possible next step for Clarksburg is to broaden the community's participation in the Unity Project. Through creation of a collaborative group with representatives from different sectors who can develop a vision and an action plan for continuing the process. Clarksburg is fortunate to have national companies and organizations who have diversity programs. Both the United Way and the YWCA have national initiatives on diversity or racial justice issues. Harrison County has several federal government offices, each with its own diversity mandate. Verizon, Ucar Carbon Company, and Lockheed-Martin Company could share resources from their diversity programs.

Bringing together members of the community means understanding more about the issues from different perspectives and is an opportunity to figure out solutions and continue to involve more community members. It is also an opportunity to educate citizens on the good programs already happening in the city. During our interviews, each person had ideas for the next steps for Clarksburg to become more inclusive. These included:

- increasing the number of jobs for young people beyond the retail sector
- providing training, support and rehabilitation for those who are homeless
- continuing to create new housing
- integrating diversity issues into the curriculum for all students
- increasing trade training, especially for young people who do not go into college
- providing in-service training for teachers and administrators
- encouraging parents to set good examples for children and to be good to their neighbors
- bringing in well-known people to send a powerful message to our youth
- appointing an individual to work with all schools in developing multicultural curricula and programs
- encouraging people to be consistently involved and not just react to a crisis or an incident
- taking time to educate parents about their biases
- creating opportunities to increase people's skills, building competence in addressing racial issues and interpersonal situations
- starting a dialogue group program

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

- intentionally bringing people together on a regular basis
- creating a community cultural center (other than the arts center)
- increasing the number of people of color in the civic/government sector, e.g., the fire and police departments, commissions, and appointed positions
- creating a nondenominational youth center that would provide after-school activities including tutoring, computer training, and recreation
- encouraging media to report on barriers to inclusiveness and justice
- creating a diversity training program for police and fire departments.

This list provides many ideas not only for Clarksburg but also for other towns on ways to improve race relations. One of the frustrations of looking at such a long list of ideas is deciding where to begin. To aid in the selection, the next section introduces an instrument, *Inclusive Community Assessment*. Community representatives can use this instrument's list of questions to assess their town's stage of inclusiveness. Based on the stage the community is in, the instrument provides ideas for appropriate next steps.

Notes

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- 2 Edward J. Cabbell, "Black Invisibility and Racism in Appalachia: An Informal Survey," in William H. Turner and Edward J. Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia*, p.3.
- 3 Allen Quoted in Cabbell, "Black Invisibility and Racism in Appalachia," in Turner and Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia*, p. 3.
- 4 Cabbell, "Black Invisibility and Racism in Appalachia," in Turner and Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia*, p.4.
- 5 Ronald L. Lewis, *Black Coal Miners in America; Race, Class, and Community Conflict 1780-1980*.
- 6 Cabbell, "Black Invisibility and Racism in Appalachia," in Turner and Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia*, p. 5.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 West Virginia Division of Culture and History, "A Brief History of African Americans in West Virginia."

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- 10 John Reuben Sheeler, *The Negro in West Virginia before 1900*. Cited in West Virginia Division of Culture and History, op. cit., p. 202.
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- 12 Lewis, *Black Coal Miners in America*.
- 13 David A. Corbin, "Class Over Caste: Interracial Solidarity in the Company Town," in Turner and Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia*, p. 94.
- 14 Ibid., p. 95.
- 15 Leon F. Williams, "The Vanishing Appalachian," in Turner and Cabbell, *Blacks in Appalachia*, p. 202.
- 16 Corbin, "Class Over Caste," in Turner and Cabbell, *Blacks in Appalachia*, p. 103.
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- 21 "West Virginia Overview."
- 22 Southern Poverty Law Center, "Active Hate Groups in the U.S. in 1999."
- 23 West Virginia Hate Crimes Task Force, "Report of the West Virginia Hate Crimes Task Force," p. 1.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 12-13. The statistics listed do not add up to the stated total. This may be due to overlap, a category of "other," or human error.
- 25 Letter to the author from Elizabeth A. Morgan, Assistant to the Governor for Special Affairs, State of West Virginia, 12 September 2000.
- 26 "Last Decade of the 20th Century Won't Be Forgotten," *Clarksburg Exponent and Telegram*, 23 January 2000.

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- 27 "African American Perspectives: Pamphlets from the Daniel A. P. Murray Collection, 1818-1907 in the American Memory Project."
- 28 Crime rate document from the web page of Clarksburg, West Virginia, www.clarksburg.com, accessed June, 2000.
- 29 City of Clarksburg, "City of Clarksburg, Harrison County, West Virginia, Comprehensive Plan Update, 1997," pp.v-3.
- 30 Mountaineer Militia, "The Mountaineer Militia's Long Slippery Slope."
- 31 West Virginia Hate Crimes Task Force, "Report of the West Virginia Hate Crimes Task Force," p.3.
- 32 "Last Decade of the 20th Century Won't Be Forgotten," *Clarksburg Exponent and Telegram*, 23 January 2000.
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- 34 "Nothing Should Stand in the Way of Unity," (editorial), *Clarksburg Exponent*, 13 October 1999.
- 35 "Police Presence at KKK Rally Pays Off," *Clarksburg Telegram*, 8 November 1999.
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- 48 *Not in Our Town* (video).
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PART 2: A TOOL FOR ASSESSING YOUR COMMUNITY'S INCLUSIVENESS

Complexities of Racism

The United States was founded on the principle that “all men are created equal.” Yet the history of race relations in this country does not reflect this principle. Unfortunately, the story of our history is rarely told with candor. Slavery, lynchings, Jim Crow laws, internment camps, and land robbery are outlined only sketchily in reflections upon our country’s history. As more people view the history of the United States through a racial lens, a disconnect occurs: we try to be proud of the founding democratic principle of this country, yet seek to understand why that same principle was ignored when it came to the lives of people of color.

For many citizens of the United States, pictures of the 1960s civil rights movement and the violence in response to it are etched in the mind. Memories of these events cause another disconnect when current racial discrimination or disparities are pointed out. Many white Americans say, “but we have come so far.” It is true that the blatant racism of the 1960s has diminished significantly. Yet, the racism of 2000 can be equally destructive and divisive. Today, it is important to refocus our racial lens to see the reality of racism intertwined in our institutions and our psyche. Racism has evolved but it has not dissipated. And our founding democratic principle, while etched in our minds, is *still* not integrated into all our current institutional practices or all individuals’ belief systems.

.....
“We no longer see hoses and dogs being set on people. Now a lot of this happens beneath the surface in areas like hiring, housing, contracts, procurement, and access to capital, which makes it that much harder to deal with.”

—Carol Clark, City Council member, East Orange,
New Jersey¹

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

The following are some examples of how equality for all remains elusive as an institutional practice in key community sectors—such as housing, employment, education, and health care.

Housing

- ❖ A major federal study conducted 3,800 test audits in two dozen metropolitan areas. Black renters faced discrimination by landlords about 53 percent of the time, and black home seekers faced discrimination by realtors about 59 percent of the time.²
- ❖ Another study used black, Latino, and white testers who posed as homeowners seeking insurance coverage. Three major insurance companies in nine cities were tested. The overall rate of racial discrimination was 53 percent in regards to insurance coverage as well as price. The study showed the white testers were offered greater insurance options and lower costs.³

Employment

- ❖ While the gap between the high school completion rates of African Americans and whites continues to narrow, there is still a significant earnings gap between blacks and whites with high school diplomas. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that in March 1996, blacks earned 74.5 cents for every dollar earned by whites, compared to 72 cents in 1986.⁴
- ❖ Economist Timothy Bates found that African Americans are less likely to get commercial loans than whites, and that African Americans who do obtain loans receive on average 40 percent less than comparable white borrowers.⁵

Education

- ❖ At historically white universities, studies demonstrate that campus cultures are hostile or alienating for students of color. Not only are there racial barriers raised by unequal treatment by faculty members, racial biases in curricula, and less time with academic advisors, but in several universities there have been reports of racist graffiti in residence halls, racist flyers posted on campus, and racist cartoons being published both clandestinely and overtly.⁶

- ❖ Maurice Glele-Ahanhanzo, Special Rapporteur for the United Nations on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, observed in his report on the United States: "School curricula fails to take sufficient account of the cultural heritage and ethnic diversity of the United States and tends to conceal the country's history and (to) deny the identity of the various non-white communities of which it is composed, to the benefit of education emphasizing America's European heritage."⁷

Health Care

- ❖ Farei Chideya shares a shocking statistic in her book, *Don't Believe the Hype*: "Sixty percent of the total black population in the United States, and 60 percent of the total Hispanic population as well, live in communities with one or more uncontrolled toxic waste sites."⁸
- ❖ The infant mortality rate for blacks in 1995 was more than twice the rate for non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and Asians.⁹

Some of these facts are very slowly penetrating public consciousness. Some white Americans seek to change institutions and lessen these racial disparities. But a question that is not asked, especially in racially mixed company (for fear of being considered selfish by some and racist by others), is "How will institutional changes affect my quality of life and that of my family?" This potentially awkward, divisive issue nonetheless needs to be addressed because quality of life must be created for all, not just for the majority.

Initially, discussions limited to racial disparities in institutions may be easier for some white Americans who are working for social justice. This dialogue usually resolves itself into an, "us vs. them" paradigm, in which these white individuals see themselves on the side of good, fighting for justice. However, it is typically harder for white Americans to face a situation in which their own statements or actions are perceived to be *racist* (a term usually associated, incorrectly, only with hate group affiliation), especially when they believe their intentions are good. Whites who do not want to cause harm to people of color may be very confused and hurt by the accusation of racism or the characterization of their statements and actions as racist. Ingrained stereotypes, biases, and prejudices are difficult to erase, but it is possible to reformat the beliefs or interrupt them. Communicating with people who are different is not a skill commonly taught, nor is it a social habit. Among whites who do not have these skills, some may learn,

but others may keep away from people of color for fear of being called racist, or just due to discomfort.

The Impact of Racism

Impact on Whites

Another difficult but important lesson on race relations for white people is learning about the privileges based on their skin color. As white people go about their daily business, they face life obstacles (speeding tickets, rude clerks, bureaucracies), so it can be hard for them to recognize the obstacles they *avoid* by being white. White privilege is indeed invisible to many. It is easier for some white people to focus on the times they were treated differently because of the other identity groups they belong to (gender, class, sexual orientation, or disability), than to notice how they are treated differently because of race. White privilege is the unquestioned and unearned set of advantages, entitlements, benefits, and choices bestowed on white people. Some examples of these everyday privileges:

- walking around in a retail store without being followed;
- coming to a meeting late and not having your lateness attributed to your race;
- paying with a check and not having to show identification;
- walking down the street and not having people respond by moving to the other side and hanging on tighter to purses or bags;
- being able to find suitable hair products in any town in America;
- being able to drive a car in any neighborhood without being perceived as being in the wrong place or looking for trouble; and
- sending a 16-year-old out with his new drivers' license and not having to give him a lesson on how to respond if police stop him.

These are only a few of the unearned privileges of having white skin.¹⁰ For people of color, including those who are wealthy, the opposite is the case. They must respond to and cope with this reality in a way that does not interfere with personal goals. This daily struggle is difficult to discuss in racially mixed company, and consequently racism can become internalized by people of color. Internalized racism is destructive patterns of feelings and behaviors, experienced by people of color, turned inward and sometimes directed at one another.

The costs and the debilitating reality of racism do not just affect people of color but also affect whites. There are many costs to white people. For example:

- cost of limited cultural understanding, insight, and acceptance due to lack of exposure to different cultures, races, and ethnicities;
- cost of having a distorted and inaccurate picture of history in which the contributions of people of color are diminished and white people's roles are cleaned up and modified¹¹;
- cost of having fewer skills in this global economy to respond to being "one of a few" when walking into a classroom, a social engagement, or workplace and the ability to figure out other cultural practices and norms when confronted with a new situation;
- cost of living with increased fear because of lack of experience with difference, and buying into the stereotypical views, reinforced by the media, of who is violent in our communities;
- cost of inadequate communication due to lack of cross-racial experiences, leading to loss of potential relationships;
- cost of lower self-esteem due to feelings of guilt, shame, and embarrassment about racism; racism makes a "mockery of our ideals of democracy, justice and equality."¹²

Obviously there are exceptions to some of these costs for white people. There are some white people who have had multiracial experiences since birth. Some grew up in homes with people of a different race, which may have led to their conclusion that differences are good instead of something to fear. A white person's socialization in a multiracial family could have included celebrating the cultural practices of different races and ethnicities. Finally, a person may have lived with a family where the good, the bad, and the ugly history of the United States was openly discussed.

The Sherover Simms Alliance Building Institute in Oakland, California, suggests some further ways racism harms whites:

- Racism demands that white people not see themselves as people with rich and varied cultures and pasts.
- Racism leaves white people feeling paralyzed with feelings of guilt about the historical racist atrocities perpetrated against people of color.
- Racism causes white people to feel the need to choose between their communities and communities of color.

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- Racism sets white people up to receive the backlash of rage and indignation of people of color all over the world.
- Racism denies white people the opportunity to join with brilliant people of various cultures to solve critical problems facing the community.¹³

Impact on the Community

The debilitating effects of racism do not just impact individual people of color and whites; they also severely affect the ability of each community to create economic prosperity and a quality of life for each community member. If racism has this effect on the individual level, then what is the effect on a town and its institutions? Some effects are these:

- Due to racial disparities in our school, health care, and criminal justice systems, we lose brilliant minds that could help solve community problems.
- We lose economic opportunities by not creating just systems for small businesses and entrepreneurs to succeed.
- We lose the benefit of creating truly great companies, through continued reliance on institutional practices that only allow a few people of color to move into management positions.
- We lose the benefit of learning from each other and having relationships with diverse people in our neighborhoods by creating segregated housing through redlining and discriminatory loan procedures.
- Children lose the opportunity to learn about racial and ethnic differences, to develop diverse relationships, and to discover different perspectives of the world by maintaining segregated schools or biased tracking systems.

The National League of Cities has launched a nationwide campaign to promote racial justice. Former president Bob Knight, who is also mayor of Wichita, Kansas, selected *undoing racism* as his priority for the year 2000. As a passionate spokesperson for racial justice, he challenged his colleagues across the United States: "The truth is, something is terribly wrong in America and most of our cities, and America has just accepted it. As a nation, we have seemingly condoned the injustice, tolerated the suffering, and ignored the consequences. Unfortunately, the majority of Americans look the other way and make sure their own security is assured. There is more than enough blame to go around. The question is, who will take responsibility?"¹⁴

Inclusive Community Assessment

Creating an inclusive community requires a long-term investment of time to both increase people's understanding of the complexities of racism and engage people to act for justice and respond to injustice. A community that wants to become inclusive needs to strategically narrow racial disparities in each sector *and* increase community members' awareness and understanding of racism and race relations. Municipalities need to broaden residents' skills in communicating with people of different races. This process is about changing the way communities do business. It is a demanding, difficult, and complex job for communities to take on, but it is a job that cannot be ignored if a community wants to achieve and maintain economic stability and create a place that supports a good quality of life for all of its citizens. Fortunately, today there are more resources than ever to assist communities in creating inclusive community structures (see Appendix 2).

To provide assistance, the *Inclusive Community Assessment* that follows has been developed as a tool for community leaders and groups. Readers reflect on a few questions and responses about their community to determine which stage the community is in. This is not a linear process; three sectors of a community may be in one stage while two other sectors may be in another stage. The instrument describes each of these four stages – Invisibility, Awareness, Disequilibrium, and Restructuring—and provides ideas for interventions focused on

- increasing citizens' awareness of race issues and racial inequities;
- developing intergroup skills and learning ways to make changes in the community; and
- implementing systemic steps to lessen racial disparities.

The instrument provides tips on how to respond to those who may resist change in their community. Finally, for each stage, the instrument suggests outcomes that can be expected after completion of these interventions.

.....
“White leaders—especially ones like me from mostly white communities—have a special responsibility to address the problem of racism.”

—Charles Lyons, Selectman from Arlington, Massachusetts¹⁵

.....

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

It is important to note that this instrument is created for predominately white communities. It encourages white people to work to educate themselves on individual and institutional racism and to develop ways to support and challenge the community to become more inclusive. Though it is important for white people to speak out against racial injustice in any town, this is particularly important in small towns. There are safety issues and different levels of risk if a town *only* relies on people of color to speak up or initiate programs. In a small town that is predominately white, people of color do not have anonymity. The wider community may know their actions, and the reverberations for people of color who speak out may affect their daily lives, including how they are treated on the job, how their children are treated in school, and how they are treated when attempting to obtain services. Conversely, whites must not take a leadership role in *isolation* from people of color. Creating an inclusive community requires the collaboration of all community members.

The *Inclusive Community Assessment* instrument is a unique tool for a comprehensive community assessment process. One way to use it is to bring together a diverse cross-section of the community and for each person to reflect on the questions and discuss the assessment. It is helpful to first reflect on the questions. This exercise will provide a clearer process to consider the community's stages of inclusivity as well as individual community sectors. After the questions, each stage is described to help refine and clarify conclusions about the community's stage. The community can think about race relations in their community, learn different perspectives, and begin planning for the future. The *Inclusive Community Assessment* shares generalized behavior and attitudes to assist the user in understanding the process of change in the community. It is not meant to judge a community; rather, it is designed to present a candid overview of the community's dynamics to aid in developing strategies for greater inclusion.

Creating an inclusive community means making a significant investment of people and resources. The conflicts and barriers can seem overwhelming and insurmountable. It will be important to focus on the rewards of creating a just community and to remember the painful costs and debilitating effects if racism is not dismantled. As Jack McGrory, former city manager of San Diego, California, has written: "We must now develop a vision that we all can share and participate in. This vision must be inclusion. This vision must involve a true partnership between communities, business and education. This vision must be based fundamentally on valuing diversity and treating each other with dignity and respect. But most importantly, this vision must be based on the belief that diversity is a strength."¹⁶

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT TOOL

Q: How does the community address racial issues in policy* discussions?

*For example, discussions of school curriculum, neighborhood safety, or employment.

A: Not discussed.

A: An afterthought.

A: Sometimes.

A: Part of the discussion.

Invisibility	Awareness	Disequilibrium	Restructuring
<div><input type="checkbox"/> Race is not a part of community policy discussions.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> When race is brought into a community policy discussion, it is sometimes ignored, either as an issue or even as the cause of any problem.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> Individuals and organizations that raise the issues of race may be perceived as oversensitive or trying to create havoc.</div>	<div><input type="checkbox"/> Race is beginning to be a part of community policy discussions. This transition may be due to outside influences, or key voices in the community speaking up, or a major racial incident.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> The response is similar to the Invisibility stage. In policy discussions, the issue is typically placed in the context of blaming the community of color, or short-term solutions are identified without the necessary further investigation of systemic issues.</div>	<div><input type="checkbox"/> Questions about the impact on communities of color are beginning to be raised when policy issues are discussed.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> As more questions are raised in policy discussions, there may be strong feelings toward the people who raise the issue, including anger, disappointment, and even the urge to isolate them.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> There is a growing group of people who, with increased awareness of racial issues, becomes more vocal and active.</div>	<div><input type="checkbox"/> People form alliances based on their priorities and commitment to inclusion.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> Questions posed about race are becoming integrated into policy discussions.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> There is a commitment to gain public acceptance of inclusion by educating people about the racial impact.</div>

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT TOOL

Q: How does the community make civic decisions?

A: Through a small circle of people.

A: Mostly through a small circle, while others are consulted.

A: The process is transitioning to engaging more citizens.

A: A community engagement process is under development.

Invisibility	Awareness	Disequilibrium	Restructuring
<input type="checkbox"/> Community decisions are made by a self-selected, small group of people. <input type="checkbox"/> Typically, the makeup of this formal or informal group of decisionmakers is civic and business leaders who are economically advantaged, white, and male. <input type="checkbox"/> Citizens are typically not engaged in civic decisions.	<input type="checkbox"/> Community decisions remain mostly within a small circle of people. <input type="checkbox"/> Community leaders may consult with leaders of color who are typically in traditional leadership roles, e.g., pastors, president of the local NAACP.	<input type="checkbox"/> There is rising sentiment to engage citizens in community decisions. <input type="checkbox"/> Some sectors may move forward to establish this process sooner than other sectors of the community. <input type="checkbox"/> The groundswell leads the small circle of decisionmakers to think about next steps and new roles. One or two minority leaders may be brought to the table. <input type="checkbox"/> There may be resistance by decisionmakers and community members who want to maintain the status quo.	<input type="checkbox"/> An inclusive process is intentionally created to engage citizens in making decisions that will affect the community. <input type="checkbox"/> The process seeks to work collaboratively to resolve conflicts. A new tension, however, may come from the amount of time spent on the process rather than the task. <input type="checkbox"/> Significant conflicts may arise that lead people to want to go back to a smaller group to make decisions.

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT TOOL

Q: How does the community welcome new residents of different races, ethnicities, or languages?

A: There is not a process in place. A: New residents are welcomed with curiosity. A: New residents are welcomed. Some organizations respond to their presence. A: New residents are welcomed. Programs are in place to include their cultural practices.

Invisibility	Awareness	Disequilibrium	Restructuring
<input type="checkbox"/> The majority community has limited awareness of new people of color joining the community. <input type="checkbox"/> There may be awkwardness in reacting to new residents, especially if they are the first of their race or ethnic group in the community. <input type="checkbox"/> Some residents may react strongly to new residents based on fear of difference or of jobs being taken away from current residents.	<input type="checkbox"/> There is a more welcoming atmosphere by some members of the community and a curiosity about where the new residents are from. <input type="checkbox"/> If the new citizens speak another language, there is an expectation that they will learn English and work to fit into their new community.	<input type="checkbox"/> The new citizens' schools and faith communities may provide programs and services to welcome the members of the community. <input type="checkbox"/> Other sectors may just begin to be aware of the new citizens' presence but remain in the curiosity stage. <input type="checkbox"/> There may be pockets of residents in the communities who still question the new residents' presence, especially their effect on the local economy.	<input type="checkbox"/> The community sectors that welcomed new citizens may make institutional changes, e.g., translating materials, providing a translator at meetings, and becoming more responsive and respectful to different cultural practices. <input type="checkbox"/> The community is seeking ways to include new residents in civic matters. <input type="checkbox"/> Fewer people expect assimilation from new citizens.

Q: How does the community respond to a racial incident?

(e.g., a hate crime, a discrimination case, or a community leader making racist comments)

A: The focus is on the "victim's" behavior. A: The response depends on who the perpetrator is. A: The concern is that the town not get a racist reputation. A: There is an emerging community norm—"we do not tolerate racist behavior."

Invisibility	Awareness	Disequilibrium	Restructuring
<div><input type="checkbox"/> Race is not on the community's radar screen.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> When a racist incident occurs, the majority community focuses on the "victim's" behaviors to understand why the incident happened.</div>	<div><input type="checkbox"/> Race is just beginning to be on the radar screen in the community, with some increased dialogue.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> The incident will be labeled based on the community status of the people involved in the incident.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> Camps may form in the community, leading citizens either toward focusing on the victim's behavior or toward intolerance of these types of actions.</div>	<div><input type="checkbox"/> There are more community discussions on how to respond to the incident.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> Leaders in the community want to learn more about the issue. A task force may be convened to assess the situation.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> If the focus is how non-community members will view the incident, then the response may be a quick fix that brings the town together but does not include a long-term plan.</div>	<div><input type="checkbox"/> There is training to increase citizens' skills and awareness.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> A diverse group of leaders steps forward immediately when an incident occurs.</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> The racist incident is a community issue and not an issue about "minorities."</div> <div><input type="checkbox"/> There is more dialogue and fewer debates.</div>

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT TOOL

Q: What is the majority response to race relations by people of color?

Note: These are broad generalizations based on racial identity theory.¹⁷ Each person's journey is unique based on his or her experiences, family and friends, and world view. These statements are not judgements, but generic overviews to understand individual change occurring as the community changes. POC= People of color

A: There is typically little or no response from people of color. A: There is a small group in the community of color that questions things out loud. A: There are more POC who question out loud and begin to work with whites on the issues. A: There is a growing group of POC working with whites and addressing institutional issues.

Invisibility	Awareness	Disequilibrium	Restructuring
<input type="checkbox"/> The community of color creates its own community in response to the barriers it faces from institutions in the white community. <input type="checkbox"/> There are various responses from communities of color, with class and age as key variables. Two possible responses are to assimilate to the white culture or limit one's interaction with the white community for survival and to cope with any hostility.	<input type="checkbox"/> A small group of POC take risks to speak out on issues. <input type="checkbox"/> As race relations activities begin, POC may possibly be distrustful of the process but some may be pleased with the community's activities. <input type="checkbox"/> For POC who assimilated to the white culture, some may be unsure of the community's response and some may resist stirring the pot for fear their attained status will be jeopardized.	<input type="checkbox"/> Depending on the traditional community of color leaders' (pastors, civic officials, etc.) response to the community's activities, there may be conflict within the community of color. <input type="checkbox"/> Each racial group is working for their "piece of the pie." Collective power may not yet be discussed. Some white people who want to keep the status quo may reinforce this conflict.	<input type="checkbox"/> POC continue to move through the stages, more confident and active in the change process. <input type="checkbox"/> The community of color addresses internalized racism. <input type="checkbox"/> POC establish effective collaborations with whites who are equally committed to changing the system.

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT TOOL

Q: What is the majority response to race relations by white people?

Note: These are broad generalizations based on racial identity theory¹⁸. Each person's journey is unique based on his or her experiences, family and friends, and world view. These statements are not judgements, but generic overviews to understand individual change occurring as the community changes. POC= People of color.

- A: There is a limited awareness of POC by whites.

A: POC are more visible. There is a curiosity and interest in learning more about POC.

A: Whites begin to notice inconsistencies. Some whites and POC begin to work on issues.

A: There is a growing group of whites who are working with POC and addressing institutional issues.

Invisibility	Awareness	Disequilibrium	Restructuring
<div> <input type="checkbox"/> Whites have limited awareness of POC in their community. </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Views of POC are shaped by media, statements heard at home, and school curricula. Depending on how this information is interpreted, whites' responses to race issues may be fear, aversion, or a sense of responsibility to help. </div>	<div> <input type="checkbox"/> Race issues are just beginning to be discussed by whites. </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Common statements: "Why can't we be colorblind?"; "I believe everyone is created equal but that doesn't mean I want to live next to them"; "I am glad they are having the same opportunities as my grandparents. But my grandparents learned the language, when will they?" </div>	<div> <input type="checkbox"/> Whites are exposed to information about racial disparities and hear POC's opinions and stories. </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> There is much confusion and discontent. Some whites resist change and keep the status quo; feel guilty and isolate themselves from racial issues; continue to question and be upset with authority figures for not telling the whole story; or only affiliate with POC. </div>	<div> <input type="checkbox"/> Some white leaders will continue to struggle with changing the decisionmaking process. </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> A growing group of whites will move toward being anti-racist allies working for change and seeking to be clearer about institutional and individual racism. </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> There is more realization and discussion about white privilege. </div>

INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT TOOL

Q: How are race relations and anti-racism work funded in your community?

- A: There is no funding.

A: Funding is available for educational activities.

A: Funders begin to play a more active role in funding anti-racism work.

Invisibility	Awareness	Disequilibrium	Restructuring
<input type="checkbox"/> There is no funding for race relations or anti-racism work. <input type="checkbox"/> There is federal, state or county funding for social services for the "minority" community.	<input type="checkbox"/> There may be funding for small programs whose goals are to initiate awareness activities and celebrate diversity. <input type="checkbox"/> The involvement of the funder is only as a sponsor.	<input type="checkbox"/> Funders have an increased interest in investing in educational activities on race. <input type="checkbox"/> Mainstream organizations receive more dollars to produce programs and purchase resources.	<input type="checkbox"/> Funders become aware that their role in anti-racism activities is better served as a partner rather than a sponsor. <input type="checkbox"/> As partners, funders are willing to assess their own organizations to insure inclusive policies and practices. <input type="checkbox"/> There is an increase in funding. Community leaders are aware of time and financial commitments necessary to dismantle racism and create an inclusive community.

The Four Stages of an Inclusive Community

Stage 1: Invisibility

Description

Communities in the *Invisibility* stage have not placed any importance on the issue of diversity except, perhaps, as a legal issue. There is little acknowledgement of people of color, and the fewer there are, the less their relevance to the community. People of color may become more visible in the community if they do something perceived to be wrong. Any questioning or discussion of race relations by people of color or by whites carries a very high risk at this stage, since advocates tend to be seen as “race traitors” if they speak up. If the issue of race does come up, typically it is discussed in the context of blaming the community of color or it is finessed by creating short-term solutions.

During this stage, the terms “diversity” and “racial issues” are more effective terms than “racism” or even “racial justice.” When a community does not have a common language or commitment to dismantle racism, it is important to use words that open doors. The kind of language used in the community will later become a benchmark for success.

This is a very challenging stage, especially if the community has economic problems as well. How the topic of race is brought into the community dialogue will in some ways dictate the level of challenge ahead. For instance, if a hate incident or high-profile racist incident occurs and the community is not ready to handle the situation, mistakes will be made. Trust between community members may be damaged, and “race relations” may become dirty words to the community.

In placing the race issue on the community’s agenda, it is important to take the initiative and not wait for an incident to happen. One step is to bring together a cadre of diverse individuals who are respected in different sectors within the community. These individuals should be willing to take risks and carry the banner of diversity to make it a relevant issue. This group can plan how to bring the issue of race forward by using some of the interventions listed below. It is important for members of this cadre to assess their personal views on race, as well. To be a supporter for racial equity means first understanding the complexities of racism, being aware of your own racial prejudices and stereotypes, and creating or nurturing relationships with people of different races. White advocates are not acting on behalf of people of color; they are working on a common vision to dis-

mantle racism because they know racism does not just affect people of color, but whites as well, and the community as a whole.

In some pockets of the community, white people may be openly hostile to people of color, threatened by their presence, or both. It is important for other members of the white community to challenge these attitudes and behaviors. The community will need to create a set of norms on race relations behavior and vigorously express what behaviors will not be tolerated.

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

Resistance to change is high in this stage. Sometimes the focus is more on intentions than on results. Sometimes the emphasis is on colorblindness rather than celebrating and respecting diversity. Sometimes people are not ready for the boat to be rocked because there are not enough sailors to guide the boat through difficult waters. Sometimes the voices of those who bring the issue to the forefront are not listened to by others. Sometimes the forces of hate or fear are stronger than the forces of inclusion and equity. Find out which of these barriers represents the greatest resistance to moving forward; knowing that, the leaders can respond better.

If a racial incident occurs, there may be criticism of white people who speak out, or criticism of persons of color in general. Safety is a real concern during this stage, because there is no infrastructure in place to respond to people's hate or hostility, or to their resistance to race becoming a community issue. This is one reason it is so important at this stage to develop a cadre of supporters.

Accept the fact that resistance is part of the community change process. Do not spend all of your energy trying to make it go away or even lessening it. Instead, spend time on building support and interest. People will respond to this change process at different times. Respect where people are as they learn about race issues. Give people time to reflect, to learn, and dialogue with each other. Think about what would be the next challenge for them to more fully understand racial issues in the community. For some, it will just require time from individuals who are willing to listen to their concerns, fears, and beliefs, and patience to provide information that may broaden their views on race.

Interventions

Awareness

- ❖ Find out which organizations have a mission statement, programs, or both, that focus on diversity or race.

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

- ❖ Encourage organizations or the community to host a multiethnic celebration.
- ❖ Encourage the school system to celebrate ethnic pride months and holidays.
- ❖ Encourage the media to broadcast or publish stories about the community of color's events, and profile members of that community.
- ❖ Encourage a predominately white faith group and a faith group of color to plan a few joint activities.

Skill Building

- ❖ Form a group of individuals of different races who believe diversity is important and who want to play a leadership role. It is best to choose people not based on their titles but based on their words and deeds. Just because "diversity" is a word in someone's job description does not mean that person is the best fit for this cadre. Recruit individuals who are respected in different circles in the community, and do not forget to include youth and elders.
- ❖ Encourage and support diversity training in organizations or companies that have national offices with diversity initiatives. Learn how their work can be shared with the community.
- ❖ Gather a group of progressive whites to discuss race issues. There may be whites in the town who do this already. It is good to assess how they are heard when they bring up issues of race. Sometimes certain people get a reputation for hammering the same points, but if other people suddenly start talking about those same points, there may be a different and more rewarding response. Create a strategy for engaging people in racial dialogue in each other's social circles.
- ❖ Encourage this group of whites to participate in an intensive training, or create a process so they may assist each other in increasing their skills and knowledge.

Systemic Steps

- ❖ Identify two institutional sectors that will begin, or continue, to focus on diversity. There may be external factors which led to their focus

on diversity. For instance, some religious denominations now have racial justice task forces. A local church may have implemented a program or may be preparing the congregation by preaching from the pulpit. There may be a company that has had a recent discrimination suit and is ready to invest time, money, and staff.

- ❖ Once you learn which organizations have a diversity program, think about how you can leverage their involvement to engage more organizations and create a synergy for your community to focus on diversity. Invite local newspapers to write articles about these individuals and programs. Create opportunities for individuals involved in the program to meet people in another community sector—for example, if members in the faith community have a diversity program, ask if they would meet with people in the neighborhood and discuss issues and possible ways to collaborate.
- ❖ Encourage white faith leaders and faith leaders of color to meet on a regular basis to discuss racial issues.
- ❖ Encourage the interfaith group to assign a few worship days during the year for all congregations to talk about diversity.

Outcomes

- ❖ The topic of diversity starts to appear more in community discussions, in the media, and in at least two community sectors. At this stage, it is important for people and organizations to . . .
 - be aware of differences and not be colorblind—colorblindness may seem a worthy goal, but it diminishes the richness, culture, rituals, and history of someone's race or ethnicity;
 - be aware of diversity in their daily interactions; and
 - be open to learn more about different cultures.
- ❖ A cadre of diverse individuals has been established that has a common language and interests and a shared commitment to pursuing racial issues.
- ❖ A group of whites has agreed to be advocates who are willing to learn about race issues and are ready to take risks to speak out for racial justice.

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

- ❖ In at least two community sectors, there is an increase in programs, services, or discussions regarding race and diversity. Their actions have led to broader discussions. These sectors' commitment has, in turn, leveraged other groups' support.

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Stage 2: Awareness

Description

At this stage, race is usually an afterthought when making community decisions. In a predominately white community, discussions and reactions still resemble a "missionary response"—one based on the majority group identifying a problem in the community of color, determining a solution, and then proceeding to "fix the problem." This response may seem to have some positive results, but only in the short term, and it reinforces the myth of white superiority. Typically, whatever problem is occurring in the community of color is a symptom of how racism is playing out in a particular institution or community sector. For example, if one of the problems identified is a higher crime rate in the community of color, some questions to ask prior to problem solving are the following:

- Are police spending more time in the community of color to curb the crime rate or to focus on arresting people of color?
- Is there a difference in the number and type of arrests for whites and people of color? Is it based on the number of hours patrolling rather than the number of crimes committed within the white community?
- Is the conviction rate higher for people of color than for whites?
- Is there a significant difference in the unemployment rate between whites and people of color?
- Is public transportation available in the community of color to take people to where the jobs are located?
- Are there training opportunities available to increase peoples' skills for the jobs available in the town, especially if there has been a change in industry?

Sometimes the response to a high crime rate is changing sentencing requirements or judges' maximizing sentencing in order to "send a message." Sentencing may seem like an appropriate response to the problem. Long-term, however, these actions will increase distrust between groups and escalate frustration about one group making decisions for another group.

Ultimately, the problem is not solved because the “solution” consisted only of deterrence measures. Such a solution addresses neither the racial disparities in the justice system nor the preconceived beliefs of some police officers being acted out against people of color.

The smaller a community of color is, the greater the visibility any one individual person of color has. Individuals who are the only persons of color, or belong to a small minority within an organization, are sometimes looked to for validation and celebration. The white community may rely on just a few people of color to speak for the larger community of color. The community of color might view the representatives so anointed as “Uncle Toms” and isolate them. These anointed representatives sometimes become loyal to their own status in the community, and this decreases the chance for the younger generation’s voice or other voices to be heard.

This is the stage at which many communities remain, especially if the number of residents of color stays the same or drops. This stage is comfortable; there is acknowledgement of the presence of people of color, there may be a few programs or events to celebrate culture, there are a few community sectors who adopt keeping diversity front and center, and there are a few leaders of color who are pleased with their role and accept their “token” status. Staying in this stage, however, will not help the community to prosper economically.

A few things can move such a community into the next stage:

- A racist incident that challenges the community to think about these issues (however, such an incident can also move the community backward, not forward);
- A newsworthy incident that happens outside the town—like the O.J. Simpson trial, a church burning, or James Byrd’s murder—which prompts reflection and discussion within the community;
- A company or organization that has a diversity program, which influences the company’s peers in the business sector, and in turn the larger community, to pursue similar initiatives; or
- The leadership of a group of citizens who are able to mobilize prominent members of the community to initiate a deeper understanding of how racism affects that community.

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

This is the first of many struggles for the community—deciding if the community’s racial climate is satisfactory and if there is a need to make it a

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

priority. There is also the contemplation of the community's values: Is the process for achieving the current state of race relations enough? On the part of the white community, at this stage there continues to be awkwardness in dealing with the issues and interacting with people of color. The preference is for a person of color to raise issues and educate the community on the next steps. In the short term, this may seem like a good solution, but in the long term, the community will not develop the ability to respond effectively to the next racial issue or racist incident.

For the community members who have chosen to work together for change, it is important that they be strong and assertive at this stage. Some members of the community may significantly disagree with the group: "If people of color are not speaking out that anything needs to change, then why are you causing trouble?" This is a risky time for people of color to speak out, but for some people, their voices will need to be heard to legitimize the racial issues in the community. Whites will need to be tenacious allies, emphasizing both the importance of creating an inclusive community and the consequences of failing to create one.

Interventions

Awareness

- ❖ Create a racially mixed dialogue group program.
- ❖ Continue to sponsor and participate in events that heighten people's awareness of different cultures.
- ❖ Initiate communitywide celebrations of multiracial holidays, pride months, and pride weeks.
- ❖ Provide forums for community sectors that currently have awareness programs to share their findings.
- ❖ Look for opportunities in traditional community events to integrate into them the themes of unity and respect for differences.
- ❖ Increase people's awareness about hate groups, how they recruit and operate, and how the community should respond.
- ❖ Coordinate with local or regional organizations to develop a basic awareness workshop that can be provided to different community groups.

A TOOL FOR ASSESSING YOUR COMMUNITY'S INCLUSIVENESS

Skill Building

- ❖ Provide training for key community and civic leaders that will increase their understanding of individual and institutional racism and will develop their skills as advocates for change.
- ❖ Encourage local colleges to provide continuing education classes on race relations and on inclusive organizational practices.
- ❖ Insure that there are easy ways within government agencies to report discrimination. Share this information with the private sector.
- ❖ Provide training to all police personnel on cross-cultural communication, institutional racism, and reducing stereotyping in the field.
- ❖ Create speakers' bureaus and encourage organizations to coordinate a brownbag lunch series.
- ❖ Offer conflict resolution workshops for leaders, organizations, and schools.

Systemic Steps

- ❖ Research the "best practices" efforts used by other communities.
- ❖ Develop a multicultural curriculum for schools and after-school programs.
- ❖ Support and encourage community leaders to take public stands against hate, discrimination, bigotry, and racism.
- ❖ Initiate a unity collaboration council. Their first task is to talk with the community and research the state of race relations for the community. The community race relations report should include the following: history of racial incidents; racial disparities in each community sector; attitudinal data; and demographic information. The report should be distributed and discussed throughout the community.
- ❖ Based on the report and community discussions, the unity collaboration council's next step is to develop its vision, mission, and goals. The council will be responsible for developing a common language on race relations and disseminating it throughout the community.
- ❖ Provide training to the unity collaboration council members, not only to deepen their understanding of individual and institutional racism,

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but also to understand community change theory and inclusive policies and practices.

Outcomes

- ❖ There is a significant increase in dialogue on race.
- ❖ The unity collaboration council has established its role as an advocate, a mediator, and a force to move the community forward.
- ❖ There are more questions asked than answers given.
- ❖ There is an increase in the number of people who do not tolerate racist acts and statements.
- ❖ There is an increase in organizations that provide programs about increasing awareness of race relations.
- ❖ There are more people who are bringing up the topic of race as part of policy discussions.
- ❖ There is an increased awareness of different groups' holidays and cultures.

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Stage 3: Disequilibrium

Description

At this stage, the community is continuing to struggle with its definition of an inclusive community. There is enough momentum from several community segments to drive the process further. While it is important to continue to work on race relations, the question is, increasingly, how to specifically address racial disparities. At this stage, there is also more awareness of the exclusivity inherent in the community's decisionmaking process.

This stage may be marked by an increase in conflicts: people are struggling with changing the community's decisionmaking process; institutional practices and racial disparities are subject to greater scrutiny; and people comfortable with the status quo are coming into increasing conflict with those who advocate change. Members of the traditional power structure will struggle with the idea of power redistribution. The way the community responds to these different kinds of conflict will determine how long it remains in this stage. This stage has the potential to include some setbacks.

Leaders face a balancing act: acknowledging racial disparities and people's pain, while supporting people who are feeling overwhelmed by change. Actions may still be based on the way organizations or individuals are perceived rather than on the value of creating an inclusive community. Another variable on how the community responds will be the number of people of color who fill important positions. An increase in the numbers of people of color in organizations or civic roles should be celebrated. It is very important, though, to assess the role of people of color in these organizations. Are they in positions to influence or determine policy? Are they on the fast career track? Are they included as an afterthought to insure racial or ethnic diversity, or are they included because of the knowledge and skills they bring to the table?

The unity collaboration council can play a key role in mediating community conflicts, developing ways to increase awareness and understanding, and continuing to mandate that the community needs to become more inclusive while sharing with citizens what inclusion will look like. Members of the white community may have increased fears, anxieties, and concerns, so acknowledging those fears and anxieties as part of the change process may be helpful. It will be important to not allow these feelings to become barriers to the change process. There might be an opposition group that is planning to keep things the way they are, and is working to increase fear. It may be important to meet one-on-one with individuals in this group, or with others who are seeking to maintain the status quo.

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

At this stage, there is still significant resistance within the white community to continuing to raise the issue of race and specifically, disparities attributable to race. Part of the resistance is due to fear; a common sentiment may be, "If we focus on correcting racial disparities, what will my child or family lose?" To some, the process of redress will still imply that for every winner there is a loser, and not that the process is a win-win situation. White allies need to be consistent in bringing up equity issues when making policy. This is a time when whites can leverage their power through their intimate knowledge of institutions to voice their concerns for institutional practices and initiate change.

One debate that may emerge is over whose oppression is worse. While this may lead to significant delays, it is an important though difficult dialogue. No one identity group should be dealing with policies and practices that block access and increase disparities. Some communities choose to focus on one identity group and others want to bring about change for all.

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The decision needs to be based on the community's capacity to respond to the changes and on the immediate issues the community faces.

In the community of color, there may be individuals who will work to keep the status quo. Because of their actions, they may be seen as barriers. It is important to note that there may be white leaders who, in resisting change, support these people of color to keep things from progressing.

Interventions

Awareness

- ❖ Establish community forums and workshops.
- ❖ Encourage community members to seek out opportunities for a multicultural experience, whether through the arts, business, or special events.
- ❖ Create an awards program to acknowledge community leaders and organizations on their progress in improving race relations and working to dismantle racism.
- ❖ Continue to offer dialogue groups. Assess their effectiveness and discuss ways to reach out to other community members.

Skill Building

- ❖ Provide training on establishing inclusive organizational practices for members of boards, commissions, and executive directors.
- ❖ Build capacity in the community to learn and develop evaluation methods or find out about organizations that offer those services.
- ❖ Encourage students to start an organization focused on diversity issues.
- ❖ Organize a peer pressure group that will respond with letters, phone calls, and meetings when organizations discriminate or refuse to practice inclusivity.

A TOOL FOR ASSESSING YOUR COMMUNITY'S INCLUSIVENESS

Systemic Steps

- ❖ Ask the question, what are the barriers to creating a process of inclusive community participation? The unity collaboration council can engage citizens and create a plan to dismantle these barriers.
- ❖ If there are limited resources for organizations to improve race relations, collaborate with other towns to develop a cadre of trainers and consultants to enhance the effort.
- ❖ Develop funding sources to implement programs and services.
- ❖ Set expectations for organizations and companies to represent and respect the diversity in the community. This will include translating materials, if necessary.
- ❖ Encourage the media to start a community public service announcement series to promote the message of respect as well as to educate the community on the effects of racism.

Outcomes

- ❖ There are more organizations that assess policies and practices, and create plans in response.
- ❖ Based on all the ongoing community and organizational activities, more citizens have reached a higher level of awareness of race issues.
- ❖ There is a diverse cadre of skilled individuals who are helping to maintain the momentum of raising awareness.
- ❖ A few sectors have started to create inclusive processes to involve the entire community in making policy decisions.
- ❖ There is an infrastructure in place to promote inclusivity. A common language is developing, a diverse group is focused on dismantling racism, resources are being provided for training, and a skilled cadre of citizens has been formed.
- ❖ There is a significant increase in opportunities for citizens to learn about other cultures and to talk about racial issues.

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

- ❖ There is an increase in the number of people holding organizations accountable for their diversity efforts.

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Stage 4: Restructuring

Description

At this stage, the community clearly understands that inclusivity is much more than an exercise in getting along. It is a long-term investment and commitment to create an inclusive community through:

- enhancing citizens' awareness of individual and institutional racism;
- creating new awareness of communication and new decisionmaking processes;
- working to strategically lessen racial disparities; and
- creating inclusive policies and practices within both institutions and the community at large.

The groundwork has been laid to move forward. This is not to say there will not continue to be major obstacles, but the remedial actions have been set in motion. There will be a significant period of transition as these new processes merge together.

Much of this process can be described as an uphill battle, but there is also much to celebrate at this stage. This is very hard work and each step forward is reason to be proud. Organizations are looking at their policies, a common language is developing, more citizens are talking about racial justice, a skilled group of people is leading the way, and resources are being provided to support this process. Take time throughout this process to reflect and rejoice; this is not to minimize the long road ahead, but to remember how far you have come. It is also helpful to remember the changes in behaviors when talking with funding partners.

Another step in this stage is to adapt meeting processes, negotiation procedures, and conflict resolution proceedings to reflect the norms of different cultures. It is moving beyond diverse representation at the decisionmaking table and creating a new way for the community to do business that reflects different cultural practices. Developing people's skills and new systems will help to integrate these changes.

“Ultimately, the way to do away with institutional barriers is to get people of color into key positions in the organization, where they can start making the calls—deciding who gets hired and influencing the kind of policies and practices the company is going to have.”

— John Arrington, Vice President of Human Resources, US West Communications, Denver, Colorado¹⁹

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It is important to remain vigilant: to continue to educate and re-educate people on racial issues, and to challenge the angst that will hover over the community evolution. Racist incidents will continue to occur, and they will sometimes set the community back to focusing on fear. Portions of the white community will still ask, “Why isn’t it enough?” and question the costs and benefits for themselves as the community moves forward. The community of color will still carry some fear of a backlash for moving forward; they will not forget the country’s historical pattern of civil rights—taking two steps forward and one step back.

Whites and people of color must make time and space to support each other, listen to one another’s experiences, provide counsel to one another, and celebrate their successes. It will be important to continue to reinforce leaders’ courage and focus, and to continue to train new people to be leaders. Fortunately, there are many examples of cities, even some that are not predominately white communities, in which leaders have committed to addressing race and from which lessons can be learned: Knoxville, Tennessee; El Paso, Texas; Valdosta, Georgia; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Kansas City, Missouri; Fargo, North Dakota; Moorhead, Minnesota; St. Louis, Missouri; and others. The National League of Cities’ Campaign to Promote Racial Justice can be an important resource for community and civic leaders. More information on resources is listed in Appendix 2.

There is not yet a model of a city that has created a totally racially just system. There will continue to be struggles, conflicts, and setbacks as external forces, resistance, and other priorities work to jeopardize the progress made. It is important to remain alert, continue to keep up with trends and issues, and respond quickly and effectively to barriers that may suddenly appear or be identified.

How to Respond to Resistance to the Change Process

One of the major changes for the community will be on how it makes decisions. As the community moves from a small group making decisions to a more inclusive process, it is important to respect the work of the former decisionmakers, especially in a small town. Intentionally create new roles for them so they can continue to share their knowledge.

Resistance is still present, but there is a different response to it. There is less motivation to create an “us vs. them” climate and more motivation to engage in dialogue and understanding. Significant conflicts may arise that prompt people to want to go back to a smaller group to make decisions. There may be fear of what will happen if the whole community decides and each group has a voice.

White people who speak up about racial justice may still be ostracized by some members of the white community, and people of color may question whether their commitment will be for the long haul. For some whites who face this situation, it may be a significant setback; and they may wonder, “why bother?” Others will continue to move forward on a journey that never ends. It is important for whites in this stage not to fall into the trap of thinking, “I know it all now,” or “I am one of the good white people.” This level of righteousness will turn many off. This is a lifelong journey; there is no graduation ceremony.

Interventions

Awareness

- ❖ Encourage open dialogue about racial issues, especially with regard to public policy.
- ❖ Continue to provide awareness workshops and assess current racial issues to incorporate into the workshops.
- ❖ Provide dialogue groups for people of the same race. This is an opportunity for whites to understand privilege and the role it plays in improving race relations. It will be an opportunity for people of color to provide support and to interrupt patterns of internalized racism individually and within the community of color.
- ❖ Create opportunities for majority-owned companies and minority-owned companies to meet, learn from each other, and encourage minority-vendor buying.

A TOOL FOR ASSESSING YOUR COMMUNITY'S INCLUSIVENESS

Skill Building

- ❖ Develop a leadership program for people of color, especially for young adults.
- ❖ Provide opportunities for media organizations to learn inclusive reporting techniques.
- ❖ Sponsor a forum every few years for the community to learn about new methods, demographic trends, and promising practices in race-relations work.

Systemic Steps

- ❖ Organizations within a specific community sector begin to meet and collaborate on institutional changes that need to be made in order to provide accessible and inclusive services (e.g., social services organizations and government agencies).
- ❖ Benchmarks are created by the unity collaboration council to assess the progress the community makes every five years.
- ❖ Funding agencies are encouraged to expect grantees to establish inclusive policies and practices. Obviously, the funding agencies will need to model these behaviors themselves. Grantees and grantors can collaborate on their learning.
- ❖ The school system has adopted the Applied Research Center's²⁰ "Racial Justice Report Card" to assess equity for all students. The Racial Justice Report Card is a tool researchers and reporters can use to assess various dimensions of a school or school district and to test for possible racial inequalities.

Outcomes

- ❖ There is increased accountability within races as white people learn more about white privilege and people of color learn more about internalized racism.
- ❖ There are growing numbers of younger leaders who are ready to be strong advocates for change.
- ❖ The benchmarks established are beginning to indicate change.

STEPS TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY

- ❖ Funding is more available for programs and services that support the vision of inclusive community. Funders' roles have changed, and they are now partners in the process.
- ❖ A collaborative effort is in place to share resources and information.
- ❖ A collaborative effort is in place within community sectors to support and challenge organizations to provide accessible and inclusive services.
- ❖ Stories reported by the media have less racial bias.

"Unless we can imagine a world without oppression, we can't create one... That's our challenge then: To imagine the unimaginable.

To believe that a community without oppression is possible.

To envision what it would look like and feel like.

To imagine how it can work."

*—Judith H. Katz, Vice President,
Kaleel Jamison Consulting Group²¹*

Notes to Part 2

- 1 Clark is quoted in The National League of Cities, *Undoing Racism: Fairness and Justice in America's Cities and Towns— The 1999 Futures Report*, p. 14.
- 2 Margery Austin Turner, Raymond J. Struyk, and John Yinger, "Housing Discrimination Study: Synthesis." Cited in Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America*, p. 155.
- 3 Shanna L. Smith and Cathy Clous, "Documenting Discrimination by Homeowners Insurance Companies through Testing." In *Insurance Redlining: Disinvestment, Reinvestment, and the Evolving Role of Financial Institutions*, edited by Gregory D. Squires. Cited in Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America*, p. 156.
- 4 Cecilia Conrad and Malinda Lindquist, "Economic Report."
- 5 Based on research by economist Timothy Bates, cited in Farei Chideya, *Don't Believe the Hype: Fighting Cultural Misinformation About African Americans*, p. 126.
- 6 Hope Landrine and Elizabeth A. Klonogg, "The Schedule of Racist Events: A Measure of Racial Discrimination and a Study of its Negative Physical and Mental Health Consequences"; "The Graduate School Climate at MSU: Perceptions of three Diverse Racial/ Ethnic Groups"; Cynthia A. Villis, Stephen Parker, and Robert P. Gordon, "Institutionalizing Cultural Diversity: Assessment, Year One"; Feagin, Vera, and Imani, *The Agony of Education; Race Relations Reporter* (selected issued from 1993-1995). All cited in Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America*, pp. 170-71.
- 7 United Nations Commission on Human Rights, "Selection of Recommendations Made by Mr. Maurice Glele-Ahanhanzo, Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism and Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance."
- 8 Elizabeth Martinez, "Media White-Out of Environmental Racism." Cited in Chideya, *Don't Believe the Hype, Fighting Cultural Misinformation about African Americans*, p. 217.
- 9 Council of Economic Advisors, *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin*.
- 10 Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women Studies," 1988.
- 11 Paul Kivel, *Uprooting Racism*, p. 36.
- 12 Ibid, p. 37.
- 13 "Racism Is Harmful to White People."

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- 14 National League of Cities, *The National League of Cities Campaign to Promote Racial Justice*.
- 15 Lyons is quoted in National League of Cities, *Undoing Racism*, p. 3.
- 16 Elsie Y. Cross, Judith H. Katz, Frederick A. Miller, and Edith W. Seashore, *The Promise of Diversity*, p. 214.
- 17 This is based on the work of several theorists on racial identity theory. The source relied on for this section is an article by Bailey W. Jackson and Rita Hardiman, "Racial Identity Development: Implications for Managing the Multi-racial Workforce," in *The NTL Managers' Handbook*.
- 18 Jackson and Hardiman, "Racial Identity Development."
- 19 Arrington is quoted in David A. Thomas and Suzy Wetlaufer, "A Question of Color: A Debate on Race in the U.S. Workplace," p. 128.
- 20 For more information about *Making the Grade: A Racial Justice Report Card*, contact the Applied Research Center, in Oakland, CA, or visit their web site at www.arc.org.
- 21 Cross, Katz, Miller, and Seashore, *The Promise of Diversity*, pp. 207-08.

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"Traveling Together on the Road to Freedom." *Clarksburg Telegram*, 7 November 1999.

"Young Unity Concert Organizers Take on Racism Close to Home." *Clarksburg Telegram*, 1 December 1999.

Interviews

All organizations and agencies are in Clarksburg, West Virginia, unless otherwise noted.

Phone Interviews

Marie Battles, Executive Director, CrissCross Inc., July 20, 2000.

James Griffin, Process Manager, Ucar Carbon Company, July 27, 2000.

Marcel Malfreegeot, Administrative Assistant, Harrison County Schools, Department of Middle Childhood Education & Grants Management, July 20, 2000.

Jim Malik, Director, JOURNeY Ecumenical Ministry, Fairmont, West Virginia, September 28, 2000.

Bruce McDaniel, City Manager, City of Fairmont, Week of September 4, 2000.

Dr. James Nolan, Manager, FBI Fingerprint Center, Week of July 11, 2000.

Paul Sheridan, Assistant Attorney General, State of West Virginia, Charleston, West Virginia, July 11, 2000.

Face-to-Face Interviews

The following interviews all took place in Clarksburg, West Virginia.

Harry Berman, Retired Businessman, Community Volunteer, August 4, 2000.

Dr. Eric M. Faust, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, August 7, 2000.

James Hunt, Manager, West Virginia Housing Development Fund, and Councilman, City of Clarksburg (Phone interview, July 14, 2000; face-to-face interview, August 7, 2000).

Rev. David Kates, Pastor, Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church, and Mayor, City of Clarksburg, August 7, 2000.

April Kaull, Anchor/Reporter, 12WBOY television, August 4, 2000.

Allen Lee, President, Harrison County chapter of the NAACP, August 3, 2000.

James Marino, Director of Personnel, City of Clarksburg, August 7, 2000.

Gail Marsh, Staff Writer, Clarksburg Exponent Telegram, August 3, 2000.

Robert Metheny, Detective, City of Clarksburg, August 3, 2000.

Natalie Nardella, recent graduate of Robert C. Byrd High School, August 3, 2000.

Rev. Susan Rector, Pastor, Stealey United Methodist Church, August 3, 2000.

Rick Scott, Fire Chief, City of Clarksburg, August 4, 2000.

Robin Spence, Executive Director, YWCA of Harrison County, August 4, 2000.

John Walker, Chief of Police, City of Clarksburg, August 4, 2000.

Appendix 1: The Appalachian Regional Commission

Congress established the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) in 1965 to support economic and social development in the Appalachian region. Appalachia, as defined in the legislation from which the Appalachian Regional Commission derives its authority, is a 200,000-square-mile region that follows the spine of the Appalachian Mountains from southern New York to northern Mississippi. It includes all of West Virginia and parts of 12 other states: Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

About 22 million people live in the 406 counties of the Appalachian region; 42 percent of the region's population is rural, compared with 20 percent of the national population. The region's economic fortunes were based in the past mostly on extraction of natural resources and manufacturing. The modern economy of the region is gradually diversifying, with a greater emphasis on services and widespread development of tourism, especially in more remote areas where there is no other viable industry. Coal remains an important resource, but it is not a major provider of jobs. Manufacturing is still an economic mainstay but is no longer concentrated in a few major industries.

ARC is a unique partnership composed of the governors of the 13 Appalachian states and presidential appointee representing the federal government. Grassroots participation is provided through local development districts: multi-county organizations with boards made up of elected officials, business people, and other local leaders.

ARC Projects

ARC undertakes projects that address the five goals identified by ARC in its strategic plan:

- developing a knowledgeable and skilled population;
- strengthening the region's physical infrastructure;
- building local and regional capacity;
- creating a dynamic economic base; and
- fostering health among the region's people.

To meet these goals, ARC helps fund such projects as education and workforce training programs, highway construction, water and sewer system construction, leadership development programs, small business start-ups and expansions, and development of health care resources.

(Source: Appalachian Regional Commission web page, www.arc.gov.)

Appendix 2: Resources for Organizations

Books and Publications

Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism in America* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1992). Bell shares his wisdom in each of his short stories and conveys profound insight into the complexities of racism.

Farei Chideya, *The Color of Our Future* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1999). An excellent book on how the next generation thinks about race.

Clyde W. Ford, *We Can All Get Along* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1994). Fifty steps you can take to help end racism at home, at work, and in your community.

Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992). Hacker explains in striking detail the U.S. educational system's racial disparities.

Nicholas Kanello, *The Hispanic Almanac: From Columbus to Corporate America* (Detroit: Visible Ink, 1994). A collection of Hispanic history and cultural events, including sections on the media, the performing arts, literature, and sports.

Paul Kivel, *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1996). In down-to-earth language, Kivel shares substantive information and insight on, institutional racism, white privilege, and how to build an anti-racist society. He includes several effective exercises.

National Conference for Community and Justice, *Intergroup Relations in the United States: Programs and Organizations* (New York: 1998). A list of organizations across the country that have a focus on improving intergroup relations.

National League of Cities, *Governing Diverse Communities: A Focus on Race and Ethnic Relations* (Washington D.C.: 1997). This National League of Cities publication features essays by locally elected officials

and experts in the field of race relations as well as case studies of successful municipal programs that address diversity.

National League of Cities, *Talking Is the First Step* (Washington D.C.: 1997).

The National League of Cities developed this publication to provide ideas and talking points for creating honest and open dialogue on this issue.

National League of Cities, *Undoing Racism: Fairness and Justice in America's Cities and Towns—The 1999 Futures Report* (Washington D.C.: 1999).

This report provides an overview of the issues of racism, as well as a step-by-step guide with examples from cities and towns across America.

Paul M. Ong, ed., *The State of Asian Pacific America: Transforming Race Relations – A Public Policy Report* (Los Angeles: LEAP Asian Pacific American Public Policy Institute and the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2000). A comprehensive book that examines racial attitudes and public policies and provides ideas for the future.

Henry J. Ramos, *Project Change Anti-Racism Resource Guide* (San Francisco: Project Change, 2000). A listing of programs, organizations, funders, technical assistance providers, training programs, resource guides, videos and publications from one of the premier anti-racism organizations in the country.

Lester P. Schoene and Marcelle E. Dupraw, *Facing Racial and Cultural Conflict: Tools for Rebuilding Community* (Washington, D.C.: Program for Community Problem Solving, 1992). An excellent how-to book on responding to intergroup conflict.

United States Department of Justice, *National Race Relations Symposium: Building Peaceful Communities Project Profiles* (Washington D.C.: 1999). This publication profiles successful projects across America.

James Waller, *Face to Face: The Changing State of Racism Across America* (New York: Insight Books, 1998). This provides a bold analysis of race and challenges several myths, including that life is good for minorities and that America can become a colorblind society.

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Jack Weatherford. *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World* (Crown Publishers, 1988). This book offers dramatic insights into Native American achievement.

Web Links

Fisk University Race Relations Institute

<http://www.fiskrri.org>

This website provides a broad array of resources and information on race relations, including white supremacy groups, race-specific media, and ethnic links.

Network of Alliances Bridging Race and Ethnicity

<http://www.jointcenter.org/nabre>

This site provides a list of resources, organizations, and links that focus on racial justice and reconciliation. There is also a section on lessons learned from race relations organizations across the country.

Study Circles Resource Center

<http://www.studycircles.com>

Study Circles' small-group, democratic, peer-led discussions provide a simple way to involve community members in dialogue and action on important social and political issues.

Western Justice Center

<http://www.westernjustice.org/orgs.cfm>

The Western Justice Center developed an online database to help a user connect with more than 1,500 professional associations, educational institutions, and community organizations that provide training and resources in intergroup dialogue, cross-cultural collaboration, community-based mediation, and other conflict resolution skills.

Organizations

Anti-Defamation League (ADL)

Contact Person: Caryl Stern-LaRosa

212-885-7700

<http://www.adl.org>

823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

The Anti-Defamation League is one of the nation's premier civil rights and human relations agencies. The education division provides programs and materials for pre-kindergarten to 12th grade classrooms, as well as for college campuses, community groups, civic associations, corporations and religious organizations. ADL is a leader in national and state efforts to deter and counter hate-motivated crimes. They produced the publication, *Hate Crimes: ADL Blueprint for Action*, presenting best practices and strategies for countering hate crimes.

Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U)

Contact Person: Debra Humphreys

202-387-3760

<http://www.aacu-edu.org> and <http://www.diversityweb.org>

1818 R. Street, NW, Washington D.C. 20009

The Association of American Colleges and Universities has as one of its five strategic priorities "establishing diversity as an educational and civic priority." It has worked with hundreds of colleges and universities that are addressing diversity in regards to institutional mission, campus community, and curricular focus. AAC&U publishes a quarterly online and print newsletter, *Diversity Digest*, and has produced dozens of publications, as well as Diversity Web, a comprehensive website on diversity in higher education.

Hope in the Cities (HIC)

Contact Person: Rob Corcoran

804-358-1764

<http://www.hopeinthecities.org>

1103 Sunset Ave., Richmond, VA 23221

Hope in the Cities was initially an effort to bring together community leaders in Richmond, Virginia, to address racial healing. Subsequently, a national Hope in the Cities network was launched in 1993. Hope in the Cities offers experience, resources, and a process to encourage reconciliation and responsibility, to lead to positive change on race

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relations. It has developed *A Call to Community* and *Companion Dialog Guide* to serve as a vehicle for communities to engage in conversation and change.

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies – Network of Alliances Bridging Race and Ethnicity (NABRE)

Contact Person: Mike Wenger

202-789-3500

<http://www.jointcenter.org/nabre>

1090 Vermont Ave. NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005

NABRE (pronounced “neighbor”) an initiative of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, is a network of community-based organizations working across the country to bridge racial and ethnic divisions. As a network, NABRE enables these organizations to communicate with each other in order to share ideas and experiences and to build mutual support through regional conferences, how-to forums, and on-line seminars and chat rooms. Its mission is to cultivate and nurture local leaders as they build and sustain alliances that break down and transcend artificial barriers of race and ethnicity in all sectors of civil society and in communities across our country.

Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP)

Contact Person: Linda Akutagawa

213-485-1422

<http://www.leap.org>

327 East Second Street, Suite 226, Los Angeles, CA 90012

LEAP develops Asian-Pacific American leadership in community sectors; develops skills and resources of Asian-Pacific American communities to increase effectiveness; increases public understanding of Asian-Pacific concerns and their impact on policy formulation and decisionmaking at local, regional, and national levels; and improves cross-cultural and inter-ethnic collaboration and interaction. The Asian-Pacific American Public Policy Institute is the only national center addressing policy issues relevant to Asian-Pacific Americans. The Institute holds regional symposia to discuss its findings and involve local Asian Pacific communities in policy making.

National Association of Counties (NACo)

Contact Person: Jacqueline Byers

202-942-4285

<http://www.naco.org>

440 First Street, NW, Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20001

NACo develops, organizes, and manages more than 30 projects and programs designed to support county government. The NACo staff researches key issues, identifies best practices, and provides technical assistance to counties through these projects. There are programs on the environment, community development, job training, and social services. NACo also administers several annual awards programs, including the Multicultural Diversity Awards and the Award of Excellence for outstanding disability programs.

National Civic League (NCL)

Contact Person: Bill Schechter

202-783-2961

<http://www.ncl.org>

1319 F Street, NW, Suite #204, Washington D.C. 20004

NCL serves as a catalyst and convenor of nationwide initiatives to meet the difficult challenges facing America's communities. Through the Alliance for National Renewal, a coalition of more than 300 local and national organizations dedicated to the principles of civic renewal, NCL shares stories of innovative community problem-solving efforts and offers assistance to citizens working together to improve their communities. The National Civic League provides technical assistance to communities that need help in bringing diverse constituencies together to solve common problems.

National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ)

Contact Person: Scott Marshall

212-545-1300

<http://www.nccj.org>

475 Park Avenue South, 19th Floor, New York, NY 10016

NCCJ enhances community leadership development programs with 65 offices in 35 states and the District of Columbia. NCCJ dedicates itself to transforming communities by empowering leaders to provide fuller opportunity and greater inclusiveness through institutional change. As an organization that is not limited to working with or for one constituency, NCCJ is uniquely able to facilitate the creation of broad coalitions

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across racial, cultural, faith and sector lines that are critical to effective programs in the next century.

National Congress of American Indians (NCAI)

Contact Person: JoAnn K. Chase

202-466-7767

<http://www.ncai.org/>

1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20036

NCAI works to protect traditional, cultural, and religious rights; seek appropriate, equitable, and beneficial services and programs; secure and preserve rights under treaties and agreements with the United States; promote the common welfare and enhance the quality of life; and educate the general public regarding American Indian and Alaska Native governments, people, and rights. The NCAI Fund was established in 1967 to conduct research and education programs to benefit Indian country. The NCAI Fund complements and reinforces the advocacy work of the organization.

National Council of La Raza (NCLR)

Contact Person: Lisa Navarrette

202-785-1670

<http://www.nclr.org/>

1111 19th St. NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20036

NCLR is the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization, serving all Hispanic nationality groups in all regions of the country. NCLR works to provide capacity-building assistance to support and strengthen Hispanic community-based organizations and conduct applied research, policy analysis, and advocacy by providing an Hispanic perspective on issues such as education, immigration, housing, health, employment, and training. NCLR's Policy Analysis Center in Washington, DC, is the pre-eminent Hispanic "think-tank," serving as a voice for Hispanic Americans.

National Italian American Foundation (NIAF)

Contact Person: Alfred Rotondaro

202-387-0600

<http://www.niaf.org>

1860 19th Street, NW, Washington DC 20009

The National Italian American Foundation is the major advocate for nearly 15 million Italian Americans, the nation's fifth largest ethnic group. Its

mission includes working with other ethnic, racial, and civic organizations to foster greater understanding and cooperation among all Americans. NIAF sponsors mentor programs, internships, scholarships, and conferences for young Italian American students and professionals.

National League of Cities (NLC)

Contact Person: Lorna Gonsalves-Pinto

202-626-3026

<http://www.nlc.org/>

1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington D.C. 20004

NLC is the largest and oldest national organization representing cities, and the only one that includes both mayors and council members. It serves as an advocate for its members; develops and pursues a national urban policy that meets the future needs of cities; offers training, technical assistance, and information to municipal officials to help improve the quality of local government; and undertakes research and analysis. NLC has produced several publications on developing an inclusive community and sponsors an initiative, "Undoing Racism."

National Urban League

Contact Person: Lisa Bland Malone

202-898-1604

<http://www.nul.org>

120 Wall Street, New York, New York, 10005

The National Urban League is a nonprofit, community-based organization headquartered in New York City, with 115 affiliates in 34 states and the District of Columbia. It has sought to emphasize greater reliance on the unique resources and strengths of the African American community to find solutions to their own problems. To accomplish this, the League's approach has been to utilize the tools of advocacy, research, program service, and systems change. The result has been an organization with strong roots in the community, focused on the social and educational development of youth, economic self-sufficiency, and racial inclusion.

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Race Relations Institute (RRI)

Contact Person: Raymond Winbush

615-329-8812

<http://www.fiskrri.org>

1000 17th Avenue North, Nashville, Tennessee 37208

Fisk University's Race Relations Institute was founded in 1933 by the noted sociologist and the first black President of Fisk University, Dr. Charles Johnson. The Institute promotes and facilitates interracial dialogue, scholarly research, and training on issues related to racism and race relations and the development of strategies to overcome racial injustice. RRI hosts an annual weeklong Institute each July, which brings together academicians, practitioners, and organizers.

U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Services

Contact Person: Frances Nam

202-305-2935

<http://www.usdoj.gov/crs/crs.htm>

600 E. Street, NW, Suite 6000, Washington, D.C. 20530

The Community Relations Service (CRS), an arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, is a specialized federal conciliation service available to state and local officials to help resolve and prevent racial and ethnic conflicts, violence, and civil disorders. CRS has no law enforcement authority and does not impose solutions, investigate, or prosecute cases, or assign blame or fault. CRS conciliators are required by law to conduct activities in confidence, without publicity, and are prohibited from disclosing confidential information.

Workplace Diversity Network (WDN)

Contact Person: Tammy Borman

908-832-9781

<http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/depts/wdn>

475 Park Ave., South, 19th Fl., New York, NY 10016

WDN is a joint project of the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ) and the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. The Network is a learning resource for individuals from all work sectors who are responsible for policies and practices related to diversity and inclusion in their organizations. WDN offers participating organizations opportunities with leading scholars and practitioners through their Network Forums, and distributes printed and online resources. The Network conducts significant research about the cre-

ation of inclusive organizations and the policies and practices that support inclusive work environments.

