

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE

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ADVISORY BOARD MEETING

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TUESDAY,

MARCH 24, 1998

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DENVER, COLORADO

The Advisory Board Meeting was convened in the Tivoli Student Union Turnhalle Room, Auraria Campus, 900 Auraria Parkway, Denver, Colorado, commencing at 9:00 a.m., Chairman John Hope Franklin presiding.

ATTENDEES:

Dr. John Hope Franklin, Chairman
Dr. Phyllis A. Katz, Moderator
Judith A. Winston, Executive Director
Dr. Charles King
Secretary Federico Peña
Governor Roy Romer
Robert Thomas
Linda Chavez-Thompson
Gov. William Winter

PANELISTS:

Rev. Dr. Susan Johnson Cook, Minister,
The Bronx Christian Fellowship
Richard M. Estrada, Dallas Morning News
Dr. Joe Feagin, University of Florida
Dr. Susan Tufts Fiske, University of
Massachusetts, Amherst
William Gollnick, Oneida Nation of
Wisconsin
Dr. Shanto Iyengar, UCLA
Lillian C. Kimura, retired YWCA and
Japanese American Citizens League
Jeremiah O'Keefe, The Independence
Institute
Helen Hatab Samhan, Arab American
Institute
Dr. Claude Mason Steele, Stanford
University

I-N-D-E-X

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1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

2 (9:15 a.m.)

3 CHAIRMAN FRANKLIN: I want to welcome you
4 to the second session of the meeting of Advisory
5 Aboard here in Denver of the President's initiative on
6 race.

7 First let me thank our hosts, Metro State, The
8 Community College of Denver, and the University of
9 Colorado at Denver, for being our host these two days.
10 We are deeply grateful for their thoughtful and
11 generous hospitality.

12 The President's initiative on race is a
13 yearlong effort to engage the nation in moving toward
14 a stronger, more just, and more united America.

15 We have been examining issues surrounding
16 race and our common future, looking at current laws,
17 and policies, and making recommendations that could
18 help to ensure that we will remain -- we will become
19 and retain one America.

20 We have been talking to, and hearing from,
21 and enlisting individuals, communities, business, and
22 governments at all levels in this efforts, and to this
23 effort to our differences, as we appreciate the values
24 that unite us.

1 The President appointed a seven member
2 board to help meet the goals and the objectives of the
3 initiative. I was of course quite honored that the
4 President chose me to chair this distinguished
5 advisory board.

6 Let me just quickly recognize each of the
7 members. You can read more about them in the public
8 materials that we have made available to you on our
9 Web site, and other places.

10 Linda Chavez-Thompson, the executive vice
11 president of the AF of L - CIO, is with us from
12 Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

13 Robert Thomas, the executive vice
14 president of Republic Industries, comes to us from
15 Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

16 Governor William Winter of the State of
17 Mississippi, joins us from Jackson, Mississippi.

18 The Rev. Dr. Susan Johnson Cook, minister
19 from the Bronx Christian Fellowship, in New York. She
20 joins us from New York.

21 Unfortunately, Rev. Dr. Cook will be
22 departing early today to attend her congregation's
23 spiritual mission this evening in New York.

24 Two of our board members were unable to

1 join us today. Advisory board member Thomas Kean, the
2 Governor of New Jersey, was disappointed he was not
3 able to be with us today. And Angela Oh, a
4 distinguished lawyer from Los Angeles, is distressed
5 that she couldn't be here today, because she had an
6 engagement in Israel today.

7 Also joining us at the table is our able
8 executive secretary, executive director of the
9 Initiative, Judith Winston. (Applause.)

10 And finally, before our distinguished
11 panel is introduced, I would like to introduce two
12 persons who need no real introduction, and I'm honored
13 to have the opportunity to present them to this group.

14 The Honorable Roy Romer is the 39th
15 governor of Colorado. He is a national leader on
16 educational policy, and chair of the Democratic
17 National Committee. He is national known as a
18 consensus builder on complex and controversial issues,
19 and we are deeply grateful that he has been able to
20 join us today. Governor Romer? (Applause.)

21 GOVERNOR ROMER: I'm very glad to be here,
22 and I'm glad you are here. And I'm sorry that I have
23 my back to you. I would like to speak to both, and
24 the audience, and the camera. But I, if you'll permit

1 me, I'll speak forward, but have good intentions for
2 all of you behind.

3 I think it's a very important thing that
4 we are involved in this dialogue on race. I know it
5 has its challenges, but it's a very important thing to
6 do. And I know your subject this morning is
7 stereotypes.

8 And the best way that I can comment
9 briefly is to be very personal. I am obviously white,
10 middle class, rural. I was raised in a town of 800
11 people in Colorado. There were no African-Americans
12 in our community. There were no Indian-Americans,
13 Native-Americans. There were Hispanics. It's in the
14 Arkansas Valley.

15 I, early in life, learned about
16 stereotypes. I was -- I lived 13 from the Amache
17 relocation camp, in which the Japanese-Americans,
18 10,000 of them, were incarcerated, 13 miles from my
19 home. I played sports with their children.

20 As I became an adult, I began to try to
21 understand the world I lived in, who I was, and how I
22 related to people who were different from me. I had
23 an opportunity to do a good bit of learning, but I'm
24 not through with that learning.

1 One of those incidents was the march from
2 Selma to Montgomery, in 1965. I was a state senator
3 in this state, and I, and some others, went down to
4 Selma, and joined that march.

5 Just two weeks ago, I had the opportunity
6 to return to that scene, with Congressman John Lewis,
7 James Webb, and others. And it was a very good
8 rehearsal for my brief comments this morning. Because
9 I began to recapture the memories that I had in 1965,
10 as a white state senator from Colorado.

11 We went to the march, because bloody
12 Sunday had occurred three weeks before, and we knew
13 that that issue affected all of us in this nation.
14 And yet, we knew that sacrifice on our part was so
15 small, so minimal. But yet, the symbolic statement of
16 trying to be there, and to understand, was still
17 important.

18 But as I went back 33 years later, and
19 went through the museum, the Institute in Birmingham,
20 I was dumbstruck, because I thought I did understand
21 why we were there. I saw the bus that was burned. I
22 saw obviously the replica of the drinking fountain.

23 But when I began to read the ordinances,
24 the ordinances of the City of Birmingham, which were

1 on the wall, I began to understand how deep, how deep
2 had become our prejudice in this country.

3 I particularly remember the ordinance
4 where it said it was illegal to play checkers,
5 checkers with a member of the opposite race, not in a
6 public place, but anyplace.

7 But as I watched the film that rehearsed,
8 and reviewed and revisited that March, I saw James
9 Webb, and some of you may remember this, in which he,
10 leading a group of very young people, confronted the
11 troopers of Alabama.

12 A n d t h e d i a l o g u e
13 that he was involved in was for a purpose. It
14 was this. That unless there was a communication out
15 of that event that enlightened this nation, there
16 would be no change. Do you remember, 30 days after
17 that tragic confrontation, the first voting rights
18 bill of this nation was passed.

19 But it resulted because those who were
20 leading that effort, at the wisdom, it was not --
21 rooted in non-violence, that if we're to change the
22 hearts and minds of America, we must proceed on two
23 levels. One with the law, and two the matter of the
24 heart.

1 And that is still with us today. And I
2 therefore want to conclude by saying to this panel,
3 this is an amazing nation, to the extent to which we
4 have corrected much of the problem in the challenge of
5 our past history.

6 But we are yet still confronted with the
7 opportunity to recognize that we are all born equal in
8 the site of God, and that we all out to have the
9 opportunity to get to the table of the good life.

10 And that one of the barriers for all
11 people in the world is to see somebody who is
12 different, is always a challenge. Difference
13 frightens us, and it ought not. Because difference
14 ought to provide us with an enrichment of what life
15 can be.

16 It would be terrible if we were all the
17 same. There is so much to be gained from reaching
18 into the tradition, the history, the language, the
19 art, and the community values of all of the various
20 groups that bring this nation to one community.

21 And I just want to say, as the Governor of
22 Colorado, Colorado is a Spanish name, meaning red, for
23 the color of the earth. We are rooted deeply in
24 multiple ethnicity in our state.

1 And I would just hope that we, as a part
2 of this new movement to visit, how we could overcome
3 the barriers of race, or prejudice, can become even a
4 closer community. It does not come without pain. It
5 does not come without change. But let me say, and
6 I'll conclude, again, one of the quotes that was given
7 to me by a participant in that march.

8 James Webb, when he was asked by one of
9 the reporters, "Were you fearful? Were you fearful
10 when you were there in 1965?" And he said, "No." He
11 says, "You lose fear when you believe in some that is
12 more important than life itself."

13 And I think that is the sense upon which
14 I would like to conclude. I think that this nation
15 can come together when we begin to believe that there
16 is something more important than life itself, and it
17 is life based upon justice and love. Thank you.
18 (Applause.)

19 DR. FRANKLIN: Thank you very much,
20 Governor. We thank you very much for your warm
21 welcome here in the state of Colorado.

22 Federico Peña is the eighth United States
23 Secretary of Energy. Before being nominated by
24 President Clinton to accept that post one year ago, he

1 served for the first term in the Clinton
2 Administration as the United States Secretary of
3 Transportation.

4 He served as mayor of this fine city from
5 1983 to 1991. And everyone in this city remembers
6 him. And I am one who deeply respects and reveres his
7 contributions to national government, as well as to
8 this city. I enjoyed driving down that long stretch
9 of the Peña Boulevard yesterday, on my way into town
10 from the airport. (Laughter.)

11 We're very pleased, Mr. Secretary, that
12 you could join us, and be with us in our meetings
13 these -- today and yesterday. Secretary Peña?

14 SECRETARY PEÑA: Thank you very much, Mr.
15 Chairman, for your very warm introduction. I was
16 going to ask you if you encountered any potholes on
17 Peña Boulevard. (Laughter.) But the mayor has
18 assured me that there are no potholes on Peña
19 Boulevard.

20 Ladies and gentlemen, good morning. Let
21 me say to all of you how pleased we are that you are
22 here this morning. And let me begin, if I might, on
23 behalf of the President, and so many of us, thank not
24 only you, Mr. Chairman, but all of the members of the

1 advisory committee.

2 I hope all of you know this, and I sense
3 that you do, these Americans have volunteered their
4 time over the last several months to travel all over
5 the country, and to have these sessions in many
6 different parts of our country.

7 And they're going to continue their work,
8 and submit the report to the President later on this
9 year. They're doing a great job. And they're giving
10 a lot of their time and energy on behalf of perhaps
11 one of the more important challenges we will face as
12 a nation in the next century.

13 Please give them another round of
14 applause. They genuinely deserve our support and
15 recognition. (Applause.)

16 I also want to thank the experts who are
17 here this morning. They, too, have traveled many
18 miles. We look forward to their discussions this
19 morning, and their elucidation of a very complicated
20 and difficult subject.

21 And again, I want to thank all of you very
22 much for being here, for being willing to engage to
23 participate, and to learn from this very important
24 subject this morning.

1 This morning, we're going to talk about
2 stereo-typing. I will not share my own personal
3 experiences about this. I had an opportunity to do
4 that last night, at an interesting session that we had
5 here. (Applause.)

6 So today, I think I'll approach this in a
7 much broader perspective. This particular topic,
8 before the President's Initiative on Race,
9 stereotyping, lies at the heart of the issue of
10 racism. Never before in our nation's history has
11 there been such a body as the one that you have here
12 today.

13 The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, which
14 I remember as a young man growing up in south Texas,
15 travelled throughout the country much like this
16 Commission. Through which proceedings, the Commission
17 helped move the nation after the violence in Selma and
18 Birmingham, through a great national debate on civil
19 rights.

20 That debate is over. The Constitution of
21 the United States won that debate. Because of that
22 victory, President Clinton and Vice-President Gore now
23 are wisely leading us, using this body, into the next
24 phase of the growth of our nation, into a national

1 dialogue on race.

2 The first debate was about our past. This
3 dialogue is about our future. The work of this
4 Commission is delicate, because this dialogue is part
5 and parcel of the maturing of our nation. As a
6 nation, America is still young, compared to the many
7 nations of the globe.

8 We're still moving from the formative
9 years of determining who we are as a people. We are
10 a people ever evolving into the America of tomorrow.

11 And so, we confront this morning the issue
12 of stereotyping, which is only a small step from
13 racism. Stereotyping is the package in which racism
14 finds a home. Stereotyping can happen to any person
15 of color. In fact, it can happen to anyone.

16 It happened when two young African-
17 Americans were accused of shoplifting, and were
18 publicly humiliated at an Eddie Bauer store, just
19 outside of Washington, D.C.

20 Store personnel assumed neither of the
21 young men could have afforded the Eddie Bauer that one
22 of them was wearing. The shirt, in fact, had been
23 bought and paid for.

24 It happened recently in Chandler, Arizona,

1 when local police and federal agents launched a raid
2 looking for individuals not in our country legally.
3 In their dragnet, they arrested anyone who looked
4 Latino. The officers assumed anyone with brown skin
5 was breaking the law.

6 These things happen because we do not look
7 beyond labels and colors, and beyond the easy
8 temptation not to think. It is one thing to
9 differentiate, that is, to register someone's color,
10 or label, or size, or looks. That is natural.

11 But it is quite another to take our
12 additional thought, and to project onto someone
13 qualities and motivations that may not be valid. The
14 difference between differentiation and discrimination
15 is the key to this nation's circumstances regarding
16 race.

17 There is a difference between image and
18 stereotype. We are now a nation of many colors, of
19 many labels, of many looks. There is no way that we
20 cannot take account of our differences. In fact, we
21 should celebrate our differences. I believe they are
22 strengths of our country.

23 But while differentiation leads us to
24 consider who a person might be, discrimination leads

1 to a conclusion. One is the beginning of a thought.
2 The other is the death of a thought. One starts us on
3 the road to thinking. The other stops us dead in our
4 tracks.

5 Stereotyping kills the promise each one of
6 us holds as individuals for one another. This
7 Commission will consider the forces that cause
8 stereotyping to be learned. Surely we are not born to
9 stereotype. Surely we are not born to discriminate.
10 All we have to do is look at the behavior of our
11 children.

12 We most likely learn stereotyping from the
13 comments of others, perhaps starting with our parents,
14 our friends, our neighbors, by their behavior, by
15 their change of demeanor when they interact with
16 others not of their own kind. We might also learn it
17 from books, in magazines, advertising, and television.

18 And we mostly learn it because we do not
19 take the time to learn something else, something about
20 each other. That is why we distill our images, and we
21 resort to stereotyping.

22 When we do not take the step forward to
23 learn about each other, some of us take the wrong step
24 backward, stepping into the darker world of

1 discrimination and racism.

2 Stereotyping is short-cut thinking in a
3 world when time is short, and people feel forced to
4 make instant decisions about everything around them.
5 The rush of time in today's world compels us to
6 perhaps view the options of life as a channel
7 selector. A decision is reached instantly, on the
8 basis of an image.

9 If this is so, then we as a nation are
10 going to have to slow down. Our society cannot
11 tolerate this kind of easy decision-making and short
12 cut thinking about each other. How can we form a
13 nation of one people if we do not know another.

14 And that, of course, is the danger. If we
15 allow stereotyping to guide our thinking, we begin to
16 look at each other not as individuals, but as an
17 amalgamation of groups. In doing so, we de-
18 personalize each other, and we see not the faces of
19 the personal stories we all can share, but of the face
20 of an impersonal group.

21 The consequences of this line of thinking
22 can be pervasively destructive to the formation of
23 tomorrow's America. There is no doubt that America is
24 becoming more diverse. Whole regions of the country

1 are undergoing massive demographic change that will
2 forever change the trajectory of this nation's
3 history.

4 But that history should not be
5 characterized by groups demarcating lines or
6 boundaries around themselves or around others. As we
7 move into this new America, I have faith that as we
8 move into the new multi-ethnic millennium we as a
9 people will move through this dialogue as one.

10 We can begin that journey and passage into
11 the new America by understanding that this opportunity
12 to discuss race in this national dialogue is an
13 opportunity we should not squander. The time is right
14 for this dialogue. The nation is enjoying economic
15 prosperity, robust enough to limit the impact
16 economics could have on this kind of discussion.

17 We also have, thankfully, a President and
18 a Vice-President who are the sons of the south, who
19 grew up when the old debate was taking place, and who
20 are thus able to lead us through a new dialogue about
21 our nation's growth.

22 But most importantly, I sense that we have
23 you, all of you, Americans, the people, who want to
24 travel that road into the new America, and not a road

1 of dis-union and dis-harmony.

2 And for that I thank you very much.

3 (Applause.)

4 DR. FRANKLIN: Thank you very much,
5 Secretary Peña. We're very delighted to be in your
6 city, the city of Mayor Webb, and others. And I want
7 to thank you for the generous hospitality that you
8 have bestowed upon us.

9 We had two meetings yesterday, one in the
10 afternoon, with a considerable number of Indian
11 leaders. It was a very constructive dialogue that we
12 carried on. We learned much.

13 We also had a meeting last evening, and we
14 learned much from what I would describe as a
15 performance of groups who wanted to make known to us
16 their feelings.

17 At that session, we heard powerful
18 stories, personal stories in many instances, from a
19 number of persons, as they related their experience,
20 race, stereotypes. And there were some suggestions as
21 to how we should deal with these matters.

22 I am sure that I could speak for the
23 members of the Advisory Board, and for others in the
24 President's Initiative on Race, when I say that we

1 were deeply moved by what we heard and learned.

2 I also want to acknowledge the many people
3 of the state of Colorado, who made commendable efforts
4 to bring people together from different races, and to
5 have a constructive dialogue with one another. In
6 these types of grass roots efforts, we're trying to
7 spark those similar experiences and instances across
8 the nation.

9 I want also to mention the fact that we
10 have with us today representatives from many of the
11 federal agencies which have offices in the Denver
12 metro area, such as the Small Business Administration,
13 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and many
14 others.

15 They have set up information tables in the
16 balcony, and they have also offered to follow up on
17 our visit here by making themselves available as the
18 time allows, to meet with groups or individuals to
19 discuss race in the community. If you wish to
20 participate in a meeting such as that, please sign up
21 at the back of the auditorium.

22 At this point, I want to turn this
23 discussion over to our distinguished moderator and
24 panelists. I am delighted to have here from Boulder

1 Colorado University, Dr. Phyllis Katz, who is director
2 of the Institute for Research on social problems.

3 Dr. Katz has published extensively in the
4 areas of gender role development and racial attitudes
5 in children. She is the editor of the Journal of
6 Social Issues. And she received her doctorate PhD
7 degree from Yale University in clinical and
8 developmental psychology.

9 Dr. Katz will take over from here, and
10 will introduce our distinguished panel. Dr. Katz?
11 (Applause.)

12 DR. KATZ: Thank you, Dr. Franklin. Thank
13 you very much for that nice introduction. I moved to
14 this beautiful state of Colorado 22 years ago by way
15 of New York City, and that makes me a semi-native.

16 But even though I'm a semi-native, I want
17 you all to know that my welcome is not half-hearted.
18 I am very delighted to welcome to Denver today the
19 board members of the President's Initiative on Race,
20 and the very distinguished members of this present
21 panel. And I would also like to thank all of you in
22 the audience to took the time to come here today.

23 The focus of this morning's discussion
24 will be on racial stereotypes, the very powerful

1 thoughts and beliefs that we hold about our own and
2 other groups. I was thinking yesterday that we hold
3 them even for groups we haven't met yet.

4 For example, if a spaceship were suddenly
5 to descend from the ceiling from Mars, and the
6 Martians got out, probably the first thing we would
7 say to them is, "Are you sure you're from Mars? You
8 don't have antennae." (Laughter.)

9 So, stereotypes affect both individuals
10 and the institutions of society. Now, it may surprise
11 some of you to learn that social scientists have been
12 studying stereotypes for over 70 years. And the
13 reason for this is that stereotypes strongly influence
14 our racial attitudes and behaviors.

15 As Secretary Peña said, stereotypes fly at
16 the heart of racism. Now, after all of these years of
17 study, unfortunately stereotypes still remain a
18 problem. It is true that children are not born with
19 them. However, it is amazing how early these
20 stereotypes are transmitted to children.

21 We're still not entirely sure about what
22 this process is. But we do know, for example, that
23 many three and four year olds already have absorbed
24 the stereotype curriculum. And by the time they enter

1 kindergarten and first grade, most children are aware
2 of what racial stereotypes are, and the nature of
3 them.

4 And they affect their behavior, most
5 clearly in the case of white children, who show very
6 strong preferences in kindergarten and first grade, to
7 select other white children as their playmates, rather
8 than children of color.

9 So, racism is pervasive not only
10 throughout society, but throughout the developmental
11 range, as well.

12 We are going to look today at three major
13 issues regarding stereotypes. The first is how
14 stereotypes are formed, and how they are maintained.
15 The second is how they affect us all. And the final
16 issue is what we can do to change them.

17 Now, everybody knows something about
18 stereotypes, either through experience, or as our
19 panel members will demonstrate today, through their
20 research, and sometimes as both.

21 We are very fortunate to have on our panel
22 today a number of well known researchers and
23 practitioners who are at the front lines of knowledge
24 and practice. And many of them have devoted their

1 professional lives to try to understand stereotypes,
2 and to figure out ways that can reduce them.

3 Some of the information they will provide
4 for you today may surprise some of you. And I now
5 have the pleasure of introducing our panelists. And
6 I'm going to go around the table, even though they are
7 organized on sheet here alphabetically.

8 The first panelist to my left, your right,
9 is Dr. Joe Feagin, who is a graduate research
10 professor at the University of Florida. Prior to
11 working at the University of Florida, he was a
12 professor of sociology at the University of Texas at
13 Austin for 20 years.

14 He received the Gustavus Myers Center
15 outstanding human rights book award for two of his
16 books, Living With Racism in 1995, and White Racism in
17 1996.

18 He was also nominated for a Pulitzer Prize
19 for his novel, entitled Ghetto Revolts, The Politics
20 of Violence in American Cities in 1973. I'm always
21 amazed that people can write both academic books and
22 novels.

23 To his right, we have Dr. Shanto Iyengar,
24 professor of political science and communications

1 studies, at the University of California at Los
2 Angeles. He previously taught at Kansas State
3 University, Yale University, and the State University
4 of New York at Stony Brook.

5 He has conducted pioneering research about
6 the effect of media portrayals of minorities on public
7 attitudes. He, too, is the author of several books
8 that deal with the effects of television on such
9 attitudes, and also has managed to write some novels.

10 Some of his acclaimed novels are Going
11 Negative, How Political Advertisements Shrink and
12 Polarize the Electorate. He wrote that in 1995. And
13 a second book is Anyone Responsible, which was
14 published in 1991.

15 To his left is Dr. Susan Fiske, who is a
16 professor, distinguished professor of psychology at
17 the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Dr. Fiske
18 received her doctorate in social psychology from
19 Harvard University in 1978, and received an honorary
20 doctorate in 1995 from the Université Catholique de
21 Louvan, in Belgium.

22 Dr. Fiske is a nationally recognized
23 expert on the subject of racial stereotypes, and was
24 recently asked by the American Psychological

1 Association to prepare a report on all research on
2 stereotype.

3 Okay. To her left is Mr. William
4 Gollnick, who is currently the director of legislative
5 affairs for the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin.
6 He holds a master's degree from Harvard University in
7 education. I think I'm out-numbered here with all
8 these Harvard people.

9 He has served as administrator of Oneida
10 Nation schools, and has been appointed by three
11 Wisconsin governors to various state level educational
12 boards. He has also worked in the Wisconsin
13 department of public instruction.

14 At the department, he was acknowledged for
15 his leadership on the issue of Indian logos and
16 mascots.

17 Okay. Now, we will jump to my right here
18 for our next panelist. Lillian Kimura. Lillian
19 Kimura is currently a free-lance writer, and a
20 consultant for the 1998 YWCA convention.

21 Prior to her consulting position, she was
22 the associate national executive director of the YWCA.
23 Ms. Kimura was the first woman to become the national
24 president of the Japanese-American Citizen League.

1 She served as the president of the New York chapter of
2 this organization for six years, and currently serves
3 as its treasurer, membership chair, and news letter
4 editor. You are a very busy person.

5 As national JACL president, she served as
6 one of the co-chairs of the 30th anniversary of Dr.
7 Martin Luther King's march on Washington.

8 Our next panelist is sitting to her right.
9 His name is Jeremiah O'Keefe. Jeremiah O'Keefe is the
10 acting president of the Independence Institute, the
11 largest think-tank in the Rockie Mountain region.

12 Mr. O'Keefe comes from a national security
13 background, both with military and national security
14 think-tanks, where he performed strategic, political
15 and cultural analysis of countries on almost every
16 continent. I am limited to my remarks. I can only
17 say what he told me I can say here.

18 His travels to the Middle East, Asia, and
19 Latin America, has exposed him to stereotyping and
20 racism of many kinds. Mr. O'Keefe is a graduate of
21 the University of Colorado, and would like us to know
22 that he is the son of immigrants.

23 To his left is Dr. Claude Steele. Dr.
24 Steele received his PhD from Ohio State University.

1 He is currently the chair of the department of
2 psychology at Stanford University. His numerous
3 research papers have enjoyed extensive publication in
4 a wide variety of national journals.

5 Dr. Steele's research has shown that a
6 psychological state of stereotype vulnerability can
7 explain dramatic decreases in test performance.
8 Stereotype vulnerability refers to a disruptive
9 apprehension, based on fear that one will either
10 verify or be judged by a negative stereotype about
11 one's racial group.

12 Dr. Steele's research concluded that by
13 changing the context of a text, racial parity on
14 performance can often be obtained.

15 To his right is Mr. Richard Estrada, the
16 associate editor of the Dallas Morning News. Prior to
17 his editorship, he wrote for this newspaper since
18 1988. Mr. Estrada holds degrees in inter-American
19 studies and Mexican history, from the University of
20 Texas at El Paso.

21 Mr. Estrada writes and speaks on a variety
22 of issues, including nationhood and citizenship,
23 immigration and refugee affairs, and ethnic politics
24 and ethnic conflict. Mr. Estrada served as a

1 Congressionally appointed member of the U.S.
2 Commission on Immigration Reform, also known as the
3 Jordan Commission. He also served as the director of
4 research at the Federation for American Immigration
5 reform.

6 To his right is Dr. Charles King. Dr.
7 King is a retired professor emeritus Spanish at the
8 University of Colorado at Boulder. He is the author
9 of many books on 20th century Spanish literature. He
10 is currently the editor of The Modern Language
11 Journal, and is the vice president of the Colorado
12 Association of Scholars.

13 Additionally, he is the senior fellow for
14 cultural studies of the Independence Institute.

15 And last but not least, to my extreme
16 right, is Helen Hatab Samhan, currently the executive
17 vice president of the American Arab Institute in
18 Washington. The American Arab Institute is a
19 nonprofit institute representing Arab-American issues
20 in politics, elections, leadership training, and
21 public policy.

22 Before joining the Institute, Ms. Samhan
23 served for four years at the American-Arab Anti-
24 Discrimination Committee, as its assistant director.

1 During her career in Arab-American
2 relations, Ms. Samhan has written articles and made
3 presentations for various academic and community
4 institutions on issues of concern to Arab-Americans,
5 particularly on the immigrant experience of Arabs in
6 the United States, their identity and demographics,
7 and the history of anti-Arab racism.

8 So, before we begin, why don't we give our
9 panel members a hand. (Applause.)

10 Okay. We will try to have time at the end
11 of the session for questions or comments from the
12 audience. And in order to do this, I have the
13 unenviable task of trying to impose brevity on
14 academic scholars and journalists.

15 So, I would ask the panel members to
16 please try to limit your responses to the questions to
17 no more than three minutes, so that everyone on the
18 panel can be heard. And I will help you in this, as
19 the time-keeper. Once you start to get to three
20 minutes, I will do a sort of a finger wiggle with one
21 hand. And when you're a little bit past it, you're
22 see the two hand waive.

23 Okay. Now, you all have something very
24 important to say, and that's why you're here. Okay.

1 Let's begin now with the questions associated with the
2 first category, which is, what are the causes of
3 stereotypes?

4 And the first question, or series of
5 questions is, is stereotyping something we all do as
6 humans? Or is there something else going on in modern
7 American culture.

8 What is a stereotype? Is it possible for
9 people not to use racial stereotypes? And to begin
10 our discussion on this, I would like to call on Dr.
11 Fiske.

12 DR. FISKE: Thank you, Dr. Katz. Chairman
13 Franklin, Secretary Peña, distinguished members of the
14 panel, honored experts, I'm pleased to be able to
15 summarize for you 70 years worth of social science
16 research in three minutes.

17 There's -- there's bad news, and there's
18 good news from this research. The bad news is what I
19 would like to talk about now, in terms of the causes
20 of stereotypes.

21 There are essentially two routes to bias.
22 There is the overt, old fashioned kind of bigotry,
23 with which we're all too familiar. Fortunately, for
24 the United States, the old fashioned overt kind of

1 bigotry is expressed by a minority of Americans.

2 However, there is another kind of
3 stereotyping which is perhaps more insidious, because
4 it's more subtle. And this is the automatic kind of
5 stereotyping which even decent, well-meaning people
6 are subject to.

7 This kind of automatic stereotyping
8 results from the universal human tendency to
9 categorize other people. It occurs unconsciously. It
10 occurs instantly. It's inevitable. And as Secretary
11 Peña pointed out, it is based on physical properties,
12 such as race, gender, age, size, and so on.

13 We categorize people just the way we
14 categorize objects. You categorize furniture into
15 chairs and tables. We categorize people by their
16 race. We all do it.

17 And the bad news is that we all prefer our
18 in-group. We all prefer people like us. This has
19 been demonstrated all over the world. And this is
20 really the bad news about the causes of -- some of the
21 causes of bias.

22 One take-home message from this is that
23 it's really not possible to be color-blind, despite --
24 in the first moments of encountering another person.

1 It is really not possible, no matter how decent a
2 person you are, to be -- to ignore the other person's
3 categories.

4 DR. KATZ: Excellent. No finger waiving
5 was needed. Can we -- I would like Dr. Steele to
6 comment on this general issue of stereotypes?

7 DR. STEELE: I don't have that much that
8 much to add to that very distinct summary. But I
9 might also note that one aspect of stereotyping is
10 that because we all know them, we all know the
11 contents of stereotypes about the groups in our social
12 environment.

13 And because they have this automatic
14 effect on us in a variety of circumstances, especially
15 when we're less mindful of ourselves, they can have a
16 very coordinating effect on behavior toward the group,
17 as thinking about the experience from being the target
18 of the stereotype, when the whole world, or the whole
19 social world one lives in.

20 When their behaviors, their judgements,
21 their emotions, the affect toward you are coordinated
22 by these kinds of automatic stereotypes, they can have
23 a very -- effect that's difficult to describe, I
24 think. It's frustrating to describe this.

1 I think the frustration in trying to
2 describe it sometimes results in mis-communication.
3 But I think this is often the thing that people feel
4 the most stressed by, by being the target of
5 stereotypes. So I would add that to Susan's general
6 summary.

7 DR. KATZ: Does anybody else on the panel
8 have anything to contribute to this general issue?
9 Yes, Mr. Estrada?

10 MR. ESTRADA: I had a quick comment. I
11 think that, in fact, I very much agree with what Susan
12 said. That it's almost impossible for us as
13 individuals not to immediately engage in some
14 categorizations as we look at other people, no matter
15 how well meaning we may be.

16 But I also think that there is such a
17 thing as an ideology of racism. And that as you look
18 at American history, it is a good idea to begin
19 distinguishing among these different ideologies. Some
20 are classically racist, in order to keep a group down.

21 Some I think are more subtle. And we've
22 begun to see these recently. And they represent a
23 convergence of class, and race. And I think that we
24 have to increasingly take into consideration that race

1 by itself can often mislead us into not looking at the
2 class issue, as well.

3 And perhaps we can develop that a little
4 later. But those are my initial thoughts.

5 DR. KATZ: Well, race issues are certainly
6 often confounded with class issues. This is perhaps
7 very discouraging news, if it's so automatic, if the
8 process is so automatic. Does that mean that it's
9 inevitable. We'll come back to this in the last
10 section.

11 Okay. Some of our societal institutions
12 are particularly important in helping us understand
13 the world. Our schools, our families, and the media,
14 and authority figures, are examples.

15 Where do people get stereotypes from? Are
16 they more likely to get them at home? From school?
17 From television? Other media, like movies, or art, or
18 Internet? What role do each of these institutions
19 play in the process of either helping people develop
20 stereotypes, or maintain them? Or break them down,
21 for that matter?

22 Would anybody like to speak to that
23 question?

24 DR. IYENGAR: I'll be happy to --

1 DR. KATZ: Okay. Dr. Iyengar?

2 DR. IYENGAR: What I'd like to say
3 basically concerns the mass media, and the impact of
4 mass media presentations on what Susan has called this
5 sort of automatic tendency to stereotype. It's well
6 established that most Americans get their information
7 about the world they live in via television.
8 Particularly, via television news programs.

9 And in recent years, of course, local news
10 programs have taken precedence over national programs.
11 And in Denver, as we were watching last night, there
12 was quite a bit of coverage of the events that
13 occurred in this very auditorium.

14 So, we know that local news is oriented
15 towards particular kinds of events, events that have
16 a sort of dramatic appeal. And in our studies of Los
17 Angeles, we have found that violent crime is the most
18 covered issue in local news programming.

19 I would bore you with the statistics. But
20 in Los Angeles, you can see a story on violent crime
21 approximately every three minutes. And of course, you
22 might say, what's wrong with that? Violent crime is
23 an issue.

24 But if you look at the statistics on

1 violent crime in Los Angeles over the past two years,
2 violent crime has declined by a factor 20 percent.
3 And in that respect, Los Angeles is not atypical. In
4 almost every other respect, it is.

5 But certainly, in terms of the decline of
6 violent crime, that has been experienced across the
7 board in almost every major American city.

8 So, if crime is declining, why, then is it
9 such a prominent issue in the news? Well, it seems to
10 me that is an issue that concerned citizens ought to
11 think about. The degree to which the news they
12 encounter is a product of economic considerations,
13 economic considerations meaning the desire of station
14 owners to maximize their audience, and to present news
15 that is entertaining, and gripping, and exciting.

16 So, at any rate, the point I'm making is
17 that by fixating on violent crime, and by showing the
18 audience in almost two thirds of the cases of coverage
19 of violent crime, showing the audience the alleged
20 suspect, that has the impact of projecting ethnicity
21 and skin color into the audience's consciousness, thus
22 propagating and encouraging this automatic tendency to
23 associate particular groups with particular kinds of
24 behaviors.

1 DR. KATZ: Making it salient, in other
2 words.

3 MS. KIMURA: May I say something?

4 DR. KATZ: Yes.

5 MS. KIMURA: Not as dramatic as what
6 Shanto is saying, is that we recently had on MS-NBC,
7 a report of "American beats out Kwan". Now, that
8 perpetuates on a different level. When people see
9 that, "American beats out Kwan," isn't Michelle Kwan
10 also an American? Now would they have said -- would
11 they have said, "American beats out Lipinsky"?

12 So, I mean, these things just perpetuate
13 itself, and gives the message out there that says,
14 Asians are not Americans.

15 MR. GOLLNICK: Might I also address that?

16 DR. KATZ: Mr. Gollnick?

17 MR. GOLLNICK: This question seems to go
18 to the issue of institutions. And in part, one of the
19 very unfortunate things that I have observed is that
20 our public schools, elementary and secondary, are
21 certainly institutions that, if not suggesting
22 strongly that stereotypes continue to be
23 representative of the people, they do suggest that
24 there is not something -- that there is not more dept

1 to those people than what is existing in the textbook
2 series, and so on.

3 Such that, I mean, the textbooks are
4 developed in the United States to formulas that are
5 driven basically by California, Texas, and New York.
6 Those of us who are not of so-called minorities, in
7 those states where we then become significant, do not
8 become part of those text series.

9 Teachers in teacher education programs are
10 not introduced to content that has to do with
11 certainly native American peoples. And in my personal
12 recollections, I recall a photograph of the driving of
13 the golden spike, that promontory point, where the two
14 railroads came together, and made a national railroad.

15 And looking at the picture, there was not
16 one Asian in the scene. And yet, almost all of the
17 labor that made that railroad possible was done by
18 Asians. There has been a systematic attempt to leave
19 others out of the curriculum. And I think as we look
20 to schools today, it's going to become increasing
21 important that we don't become, as detractors have
22 suggested, educational or historic revisionists.

23 But rather, that we look at the legitimate
24 history of the United States, and let our curricula

1 demonstrate that.

2 DR. KATZ: Thank you. Yes? Dr. Feagin?

3 DR. FEAGIN: I think when you think about
4 the sources of stereotypes, you can think about them
5 coming from the bottom up, and from the top down. And
6 we tend to, I think, focus on the role of everyday
7 people, and ordinary folks, in creating racist or
8 racial stereotypes of other groups.

9 But I think one thing we need to introduce
10 in the discussion is the responsibility over the long
11 course of American history of the elites, and the
12 leadership of the country, in intentionally fostering
13 stereotypes and images of certain groups in order to
14 exploit or oppress them.

15 I think you can go all the way back to the
16 Indians, whose current descendants protested last
17 night, perhaps the first recorded hostile stereotypes
18 created in North America were created by the English
19 settlers who came to Jamestown and other places. Who
20 saw native Americans as savages, as uncivilized, as
21 un-Christian, which were images created in order to
22 take their lands, and to see them as not human beings,
23 and therefore we could take their lands.

24 Now, what is striking about the

1 native Americans, and later of African-
2 Americans who were brought in as slaves, many of these
3 early images were created by the leadership of the
4 colonies in the new United States.

5 The racist thinking that's so pervasive
6 now in Klan-type materials is very similar to the
7 arguments of leading German, and European, and
8 American scholars around 1776, 1790.

9 Thomas Jefferson, for example, articulated
10 a very racist image of Africans as lazy, as an
11 inferior race. And our leadership, over time to the
12 present day, must take some responsibility in
13 education, in politics, in the ministry, for these
14 racist images and stereotypes of out groups.

15 DR. KATZ: So you're suggesting, then,
16 that there was a deliberate quality to this? Or were
17 they just expressing their own attitudes?

18 DR. FEAGIN: I think there is an
19 intentional quality to some of it. The attempt to
20 rationalize -- I guess the word is rationalization.
21 One of the reasons for stereotyping and prejudices is
22 to rationalize behavior.

23 DR. KATZ: Right.

24 DR. FEAGIN: That if I'm taking your land,

1 or I'm taking you as a slave, it's easier for me as a
2 white Christian to believe that you're inferior, un-
3 Christian, uncivilized. It's easier for me to enslave
4 you, or to take your land.

5 DR. KATZ: Right. So, it's based on the
6 ideology of race that Mr. Estrada referred to. Yes?
7 Dr. Franklin?

8 DR. FRANKLIN: This sort of extends down
9 to the present. I sometimes call 1995, my year of
10 labor, my year of menial labor. It was in that year
11 that I had some experiences that would underscore what
12 Professor Gollnick has said, and what Richard Estrada
13 has said about categorization of people as one thing
14 or another.

15 I remember that this would give me the
16 opportunity to say some of the things I wanted to say
17 last night, and didn't get a chance to. That in 1995,
18 one of the experiences I had was in Washington, D.C.
19 the night before I was to receive the Presidential
20 Medal of Freedom.

21 And I gave a party, I gave a dinner party
22 at my club. And I had some -- it was a rather
23 distinguished group of people there that I wanted to
24 have a little more respect for me, now that I was

1 going to be honored by the President. And so, I
2 invited them.

3 And I was showing them around the club,
4 because they hadn't been -- some of them hadn't been
5 to the Cosmos Club before. And we got up in the
6 library, and they were very fascinated by the library.
7 And I realized by that time that there was -- one of
8 my guests had not arrived. And so I told them to
9 enjoy the library while I ran down to see whether my
10 final guests had arrived.

11 And when I got to the -- I came down the
12 grand staircase of the Cosmos Club. And it is a
13 rather grand staircase. And I had on a new suit that
14 I had bought for the occasion, and I thought I looked
15 fairly presentable.

16 As I reached the bottom of the stairs, a
17 white woman was standing there, and she said, "Boy,
18 will you get my coat?" And she gave me her hand --
19 her coat check. And I said, "Well, if you will
20 present that check to one of the uniformed attendants
21 in the club, and all the attendants are uniformed
22 here, perhaps you might be able to get your coat."
23 And I walked away from her.

24 And she had come by -- she had come down

1 the corridor where my picture was hanging on the wall
2 in the club. But she seemed not to have made any
3 association of that.

4 Another experience I had in my year of
5 labor was at the Waterford Hotel in Oklahoma City.
6 When I was waiting there in the lobby for the owner of
7 the largest bookstore in Oklahoma city, was taking me
8 to lunch, before taking me to autograph books of mine
9 which he had on sale at his bookstore.

10 And I was waiting in the lobby,
11 peacefully, quietly. And one other man in the lobby,
12 a white man, who saw me waiting, came over to me, and
13 said, "Listen, go and get my car. Here are the keys."
14 And I said, "I don't have the slightest dream of where
15 your car would be." (Laughter.) "And I am a guest in
16 the hotel, just as you are."

17 And he didn't apologize for having made
18 the mistake. But he simply I suppose went somewhere
19 else to try to get someone else to get his car.

20 And then, as though that were not enough
21 experiences in 1995, I was in the Hotel St. Moritz in
22 New York City, on Central Park South. And I was
23 waiting for a friend of mine, one of the Dukes I teach
24 at Duke University, one of the Dukes who take me to a

1 party at his sister-in-law's house.

2 And while I was waiting there in the lobby
3 of a hotel which I had not been able to live once when
4 I went to New York, would not honor my reservation,
5 but so I was there sort of to redeem myself in their
6 sight, so to speak. But that's an aside.

7 But while I was waiting, a white woman
8 walked up to me, and said, "Listen boy, take this
9 trash in my hand, and put it in a waste basket. I
10 don't know where the waste basket is. You know, you
11 take it."

12 And I said, "Lady, I'm not trash, or the
13 trash basket." (Laughter.) "And you'll have to find
14 it yourself." This was the third experience, I was
15 getting a little exasperated that at 80 years old, I
16 was not retired from these things. (Laughter.)

17 So finally, my fourth experience was in,
18 once more, in my own home town of Chelsea, Oklahoma,
19 where I was visiting, because they were doing a
20 documentary for me on -- for PBS, and -- a documentary
21 on me for PBS.

22 And while I was waiting for the cameraman
23 and all of them, we were going out somewhere, to the
24 high school where I went to high school, a man walked

1 up to me, and said, "You know, I'm glad to see -- I'm
2 glad you're here. My bags, see, they're coming in
3 now. And so, you help me with my bags up to my room."
4 And I said, "I have retired." (Laughter.)

5 Now, this is a perpetuation. This seems
6 to encapsulate some observations that many of you were
7 making. That's why I sought to interject them here.
8 That I could not even at 80 years old retire from
9 menial labor. For someone, the Jeffersons, and the
10 people back then had said, they shall be hewers of
11 wood, and joiners of water, and fetchers of cars, and
12 that sort of thing.

13 So that, I continued to do that, to be
14 that image, that stereotype in the minds of these
15 people in 1995. I just selected one year. I could
16 have selected some other years, because the
17 experiences go on, even beyond that time. In my 81st
18 and 82nd years, I have had similar experiences.

19 DR. KATZ: Well, unfortunately many people
20 of color have had very similar experiences. Those of
21 you -- for those of you who were not here last night,
22 Secretary Peña also told of when he was first
23 governor, and wearing a tuxedo, being mistaken for a
24 drink waiter. Do you think part of the problem was

1 the tuxedo? (Laughter.)

2 Before we leave the issue of how
3 institutions exploit certain groups, I would love to
4 hear from Ms. Sanham, on this issue of media, and how
5 it plays a role in perpetuating stereotypes?

6 MS. SANHAM: I think that one of the
7 interesting observations about the media and the role
8 it plays is that for some groups, that's the only
9 exposure the Americans have to that culture. And I
10 think that there is almost an inverse relationship
11 between the types of stereotypes people have, and the
12 proximity of the minority groups, or the out groups,
13 in the country.

14 For example, I don't think that there is
15 a huge problem of home based anti-Arab racism in
16 American families. But I do think that the only
17 images that American families get of the Arab culture
18 or the Muslim culture is from media, media
19 stereotypes.

20 And that really runs the gamut. It's the
21 news media. It's popular culture. It's Hollywood.
22 To a great extent, it's Hollywood. And to a lesser
23 extent, it's TV. We have a -- it's a kind of an age
24 old problem of being the villain du jour, I guess you

1 could say, where script writers have decided that it's
2 okay to typify the villain of the movie, or of the
3 sit-com, or even of the cartoon show, to typify that
4 person, as someone coming from the Middle East.

5 This is a recent phenomenon. It's really
6 emerged over the last 20 years. And one could say
7 that it's based on political realities. One could say
8 that it's based on policy objectives. Of getting back
9 to Dr. Feagin's point, the leadership. There is a
10 political -- there are some political rationales for
11 having persons from the Middle East who are not always
12 on the side of American foreign policy, portrayed as
13 the villain.

14 So, I think that that is an issue that
15 concerns us, because it's one where there is almost no
16 recourse. If there's -- if you only -- if families
17 only get those images from the media, and there are no
18 positive antidotes, which is one of the future
19 questions we're going to deal with, that is a concern.

20 DR. KATZ: The media in this issue being
21 TV. Linda Chavez-Thompson?

22 MS. CHAVEZ-THOMPSON: Yes. Just one
23 observation. That I think the entertainment industry
24 must take some responsibility for what is not on TV,

1 and for what is not in the movies, or what is not
2 addressed, as far as media events.

3 What we see categorized many times in our
4 movies, and in our television shows, are Latinos, gang
5 members. We have -- any type of gang is usually a
6 gang of color. Very few times have I seen on TV gangs
7 depicted as white gangs. And of course, all of us
8 know that there are.

9 One of the things that many of the Latino
10 artists are trying to do, that I'm very much aware of
11 in Washington, D.C., a Jimmy Smiths is heading up a
12 Hispanic Endowment Arts Organization, to try to push
13 the industry into investing and promoting more Latinos
14 in the entertainment system.

15 But I think all of us have a
16 responsibility in some way, not just as a Board
17 member, or as part of a Board, to make recommendations
18 to the President. But I think that the entertainment
19 industry itself needs to take some responsibility for
20 what they are not showing, and for what they are not
21 promoting, and how they promote what they do. Thank
22 you. (Applause.)

23 DR. KATZ: Thank you. It's interesting
24 that everyone who responded -- almost all of the

1 people who responded to this question focused on
2 television. And in this last case, it was not just
3 sins of commission, but sins omission. Often it's the
4 invisibility of certain groups, or certain
5 associations, that may well cause a problem.

6 Let's get back to the general issue.

7 DR. COOK: I was just going to respond to
8 the media question, as well. I was going around the
9 time of the beginning of television. And I think the
10 images from the beginning, being a faith leader,
11 images are very important to me, light and darkness.

12 And I think from the beginning, you know,
13 the good guys were white. They wore white. Achieved
14 white. And the bad guys were always black. And so,
15 that's an image that's been perpetuated.

16 And so, we're talking about 40 years of
17 that. And so, it's hard to penetrate that. It's
18 institutionalized. And I think what we also have to
19 look at is how do we reverse that now, because we also
20 have other groups that are being looked at as bad, and
21 sinful, and all of those kinds of things.

22 So, we have to look at the reversal of it
23 now. What can we do to kind of make sure the next 40
24 years are much different? Because that's ingrained in

1 a whole generation of people, and the generations
2 which are following.

3 MS. KIMURA: May I say something?

4 DR. KATZ: Yes.

5 MS. KIMURA: I think the potential,
6 though, is very powerful, because now we are seeing,
7 like for instance, Amistad. I mean, that's a story
8 that we hadn't read about in the history books.
9 You're talking about whole groups of people are not --
10 whose contribution to America are not reflected in our
11 educational materials.

12 But I mean, what can happen, I don't have
13 cable, so I didn't see the show about the African-
14 American man who helped discover the north pole, or
15 south pole, wherever that is, and then -- or whatever
16 area that he did go to.

17 But then, there is another show about a
18 trail blazer of an African-American man through the
19 west. And we don't know those stories. But we can
20 get it from, if they tell it right, from these -- the
21 media.

22 So, I think that we need to push them to
23 do those kinds of things more and more, so that we
24 have a better understanding of the contributions made

1 by all people to the building of America.

2 DR. KATZ: Well, the media clearly has
3 tremendous power both to perpetuate stereotypes, and
4 perhaps to combat them, as well. I'd like to just --

5 DR. FEAGIN: Dr. Katz?

6 DR. KATZ: You like this question? We may
7 not get to the others.

8 DR. FEAGIN: Can I have one brief thing?

9 DR. KATZ: Sure.

10 DR. FEAGIN: There are other sources of
11 stereotypes, too. And I think the school, since we're
12 -- several of us are educators, the schools are
13 extremely responsible for much of the stereotyping
14 that's perpetuated in this country. (Applause.)

15 DR. KATZ: Um hm?

16 DR. FEAGIN: And at all levels. And on
17 the hand-out, I have six quotes from recent interviews
18 that I've done. And if you'll allow me, I'll read the
19 first one briefly. It'll illustrate what I mean.

20 This is from a recent focus group, where
21 a black dental assistant is talking about one of her
22 friend's children in a Christian private elementary
23 school. The child is nine years old.

24 And this black woman, a professional,

1 says, "An incident happened to my girlfriend's
2 daughter about a month ago. She's in a Christian
3 school. And the white teacher told the kids that
4 black children are born with their sin."

5 "And the little girl went home, and she
6 asked her mother." And she said, quote, "I just wish
7 I was white." And she's only nine. She's nine, this
8 little black girl. And the little girl had said what
9 the white teacher had said.

10 And she said, "Black people," the teacher,
11 "black people were born of sin. Let's pray for the
12 black people." "And now, the little girl is really
13 scarred. But you don't know how scarred. And that
14 she is scarred, and that kind of stuff makes you
15 angry."

16 One of the oldest stereotypes about
17 African-Americans carried in the white religious
18 culture is the notion that Noah condemned Ham, his
19 son, and all his descendants, to perpetual slavery and
20 inferiority. And you -- this is very recent. White
21 teachers are teaching children in schools racist
22 images. And if you approach this teacher, she
23 probably wouldn't -- wouldn't even recognize this as
24 aa racist stereotype.

1 And you can also see the damage it did to
2 the little black girl in a predominantly white school.

3 DR. KATZ: Again, there's an ideology
4 there that's -- may be driving it.

5 DR. FEAGIN: We teachers have too accept
6 some responsibility, I think.

7 MR. O'KEEFE: Excuse me, Dr. If I might?

8 DR. KATZ: Yes?

9 MR. O'KEEFE: I'd like to -- (Applause.)
10 I'd like to briefly return to a comment regarding the
11 mass media, and perhaps the government having a role
12 in providing consultation to them, as far as the
13 content of TV shows, and movies, et cetera.

14 DR. KATZ: I'm not sure that's what was
15 said. I think what was being proposed was greater
16 vigilance, unless I mis-understood the comments.

17 MR. O'KEEFE: Right. I think, though,
18 conceptually, we're approaching a very dangerous path,
19 that might lead us to dictation and -- not dictation.
20 But, I have a great, great concern about the idea of
21 the government stepping in, and providing
22 recommendations as to how stereotypes should be, and
23 should not be presented on television and the media.

24 As you mentioned earlier in the

1 introduction, I have spent a great deal of time
2 overseas. And there are communities in the world
3 where the government has stepped in, such as
4 Indonesia. All right?

5 We have a population there of well over
6 400 different languages, and dialects, et cetera. A
7 very diverse group of people. Christians, Muslims,
8 Hindus, animists. And the government has a formal
9 policy of, called, Kankacilla, I believe the name of
10 it is. And this is where they try to develop social
11 harmony, okay? Social justice.

12 And it's such -- it is such a fearful
13 thing. Because the military in that country, okay?
14 Individuals employed by the government, have a role
15 called Dwifungsi, I believe it is, okay? And that's
16 where they are also military and police personnel, but
17 they're also thought personnel, thought control.
18 Okay?

19 And in that nation, they have a doctrine
20 called Mass Floating Policy. Where, because there's
21 such a divergence in the different folks in the
22 nation, issues pertaining to religion, and ethnicity,
23 et cetera, can't be discussed 50 weeks out of the
24 year. Okay? Fifty weeks out of the year.

1 Only prior to the elections, okay? Can
2 political parties of various groups, okay? Start
3 discussing issues. And I would just want us today to
4 step back just a bit, and examine what exactly we're
5 presenting here, what we're analyzing.

6 I take great comfort in the fact that
7 we're dealing with stereotypes today, as opposed to
8 institutional racism. Now, I know there's arguments
9 to be had that some of that is still in place. But by
10 what I've heard here this morning, it appears to be
11 placed not in the documents of corporate America, but
12 in the hearts and minds of perhaps employees and
13 leadership within it.

14 DR. KATZ: I think we're talking about the
15 origin and the perpetuation of stereotypes.

16 MR. O'KEEFE: Right.

17 DR. KATZ: We're not meaning to leave
18 those other people out, those other institutions out.

19 MR. O'KEEFE: Well again, I am addressing
20 this whole concept of Hollywood, and perceptions.

21 DR. KATZ: And certainly you raise -- you
22 raise, you know, a very important question. I mean,
23 I don't think that anybody on the panel was suggesting
24 that we abandon the first amendment. But perhaps

1 rather that, you know, the people who do the writing,
2 and so forth, take a bit more responsibility for the
3 effects.

4 MR. O'KEEFE: And how do we convey that?
5 That's the point here.

6 DR. KATZ: That's a question I don't think
7 that's been addressed.

8 MR. O'KEEFE: I am fearful of policy
9 recommendations coming from the White House.

10 DR. KATZ: Um hm? Okay. I think the
11 concern is that, you know, if we really have
12 government control --

13 MR. O'KEEFE: Or recommendations.

14 DR. KATZ: -- or recommend things that
15 should be, or shouldn't be in the media, that there
16 are some potentially disastrous effects associated
17 with that, as well.

18 I'd like to turn to the next question,
19 which will be the next question in this section, and
20 that is, to what extent is it normal for people to see
21 other groups in terms of racial stereotypes.

22 And the more troublesome related question
23 is, are racial stereotypes typically based on what
24 social scientists call a grain of truth, or kernel of

1 truth? How do we distinguish between discrimination
2 based on racial stereotypes, from reasonable
3 conclusions based on the demonstrated behaviors of
4 certain groups.

5 I'd like to hear from anybody on the panel
6 that would like to speak to this issue. Susan?

7 DR. FISKE: This is a question that often
8 comes up when I speak about stereotypes to different
9 groups. And I think that it's an -- as an academic,
10 I hate to say, it's a complicated issue. But it is a
11 complicated issue, in one sense.

12 How you would decide if something was
13 true? Who do you ask? How do you measure it? What
14 the criteria are for a particular judgment, is always
15 driven by the ideology of the people seeking the
16 conclusions.

17 And so, I think that we have -- it's not
18 a simple about what's true, and what's not true. But
19 even if you were to assume that there were, say,
20 average group differences on any particular dimension
21 that you're interested in, the problem with the human
22 mind is, the human mind doesn't usually deal with
23 these kinds of subtle, small differences.

24 And we have a tendency, because of

1 categorization, to exaggerate any differences that we
2 do find. And not to be able to deal with the fact
3 that people vary enormously within groups. There's
4 enormous variation within groups. And there's much
5 more variation within any given category you can name,
6 than there is between any two categories you can name.

7 And that is the most important way to look
8 at other people's behavior. So, I wanted just to
9 contribute that point.

10 DR. KATZ: Dr. Steele?

11 DR. STEELE: I would add to that, that I
12 think one other thing that stereotypes can do is to
13 essentialize group differences, and lose sight of the
14 context in which the behavior is occurring. That is,
15 the nightly news depiction of crime. The nightly news
16 depiction of standardized test score gaps between
17 groups.

18 These are things that can, when they're
19 identified with a group, or linked to a particular
20 group --

21 DR. KATZ: Could I ask you to just define
22 for the audience what you mean by essentialize?

23 DR. STEELE: See -- attribute them as --
24 see them as something intrinsic to the character,

1 maybe even the biology of groups, as opposed to seeing
2 them as something reflecting the context, the
3 experience of the group in the larger society.

4 Sort of, to take -- to ignore that part of
5 it, and interpret what you're seeing as something that
6 is coming from essentially true -- essentially true
7 about the group.

8 DR. KATZ: Thank you.

9 DR. STEELE: And -- yeah. I think
10 stereotypes have that kind of misleading effect on our
11 interpretation of things. So, often, this bears on
12 this notion of grain of truth. Sometimes behaviors do
13 occur, and they lead to -- there could be standardized
14 test score gaps.

15 And one could take that as something
16 indicative of something about the essence of a group.
17 Or one could see that as reflecting something about
18 the experience of the group in the larger society.
19 And I think stereotypes misguide us, misdirect us in
20 that sense.

21 DR. KATZ: Well, if one group is typically
22 associated very often in the public mind, correctly or
23 incorrectly, with a negative attribute, something
24 negative about them. Commits crimes, or drinks a lot,

1 or whatever it is, is it reasonable, I mean, for
2 people to say, well, this isn't a stereotype, you
3 know? This is just kind of the way that it is.

4 Yes?

5 MR. ESTRADA: Phyllis, I think that for
6 several years now in Washington, D.C., there's been an
7 ongoing debate. And I'm talking about the District
8 itself, not the institution of Washington. About the
9 question of stereotypes of young African-American men,
10 and increasingly, young Hispanic men, as the
11 immigration component becomes larger.

12 What is perhaps the most perplexing aspect
13 of this debate has been the fact that you have, for
14 example, African-American taxi-cab drivers refusing,
15 on many occasions, to stop for young African-American
16 men, for fear that there is a greater potential for
17 crime than with other groups.

18 That is stereotyping.

19 However, you have to ask yourself whether
20 this is racism, because we're talking about people
21 from the same group. And so, I guess, in a very
22 complicated way, people are going to have to start
23 asking themselves, can the same kind of generalization
24 that is made by people in order to protect their

1 interests, within the same race, can that be made
2 cross-racially?

3 This is a very dangerous area, because it
4 does, in fact, open up an area of maneuvering for
5 outright racists and bigots. And this is something
6 that the society has to deal with.

7 But I think that as far as what we can do
8 concretely, one of the things that we must begin doing
9 is to address the unfortunate convergence of race and
10 unemployment, race and poverty, race and the gamut of
11 issues that most social observers have agreed can
12 contribute mightily to those social pathologies that
13 are so troubling to groups cross-ethnically, cross-
14 racially, and within those same racial groups
15 themselves.

16 I think this is something that a mature
17 America has to begin grappling with. That's not the
18 only aspect to this problem. But it is one important
19 aspect. And I think it's one that we should
20 acknowledge.

21 DR. KATZ: Um hm? Thank you. Any other
22 comments on this?

23 DR. KING: I'd like to say I agree with
24 Richard Estrada. But I'd also like to quote Secretary

1 Peña, who said, stereotyping is a package in which
2 racism finds a home. And also, he said, quote, "We
3 don't look beyond labels and colors."

4 I said that categorizing is, you know,
5 that is stereotyping. But I think we -- I'd like to
6 discuss one thing that's very important in this, is
7 it's affirmative action which does exactly what
8 stereotyping does. It doesn't take account of
9 individual differences. It's a package in which
10 racism finds a home, because blacks, as a group, not
11 individuals. We need to look at the individuals.

12 That's what the -- error is. We cannot
13 judge people on the basis of their group, race, or
14 ethnicity. Every snowflake is different. Every human
15 being is different. We ought treat people on the
16 basis of their individuality, not on their group
17 basis.

18 I think a little stereotyping is
19 inevitable. But I think that you look at the fact,
20 you know, affirmative action is for those who are
21 socially and culturally disadvantaged. And that's
22 stereotyping all the minority groups.

23 And no matter what -- whether the Hispanic
24 is rich, Argentinean, he just arrived here, he gets

1 the benefits. He gets racial preferences. He is, in
2 a sense, the government calls him socially and
3 culturally disadvantaged over some poor white fellow
4 like me.

5 And I'm also stereotyped by some of these
6 minority groups, members of the minority groups. The
7 Constitution, incidentally, never mentions anything
8 about group rights, as it exists today, after the
9 women's rights, and so forth, and after the 14th
10 Amendment.

11 So, I think that's very important, that --
12 I think the whole is solved just by looking and
13 considering everybody as a human being, and that all
14 men are created equal. And be colorblind, as Martin
15 Luther King wanted.

16 DR. FRANKLIN: I'd just like to ask that
17 --

18 DR. KING: Surely. Go ahead.

19 DR. FRANKLIN: I'd like to ask Dr. King to
20 give us a better example, or a more explicit example,
21 what you mean when speak of affirmative action.
22 Affirmative action, does not, my understanding, does
23 not apply to a whole group.

24 It merely makes -- that groups makes an

1 opportunity available to individuals within that
2 group. So that -- (Applause.) -- you don't have any
3 -- you don't have any --

4 DR. KING: Well, really what you're just
5 saying is just more or less empty rhetoric, Dr.
6 Franklin. I've heard you before. I think that of
7 course it affects the individuals within that group.
8 It also dis-affects, or is prejudiced against, dis-
9 favors the members of white Americans, such as I am.

10 Every one -- every one of those
11 individuals given special preference, a white American
12 male is not given an opportunity. And that violates
13 -- that violates the equal opportunity clause of the
14 14th Amendment.

15 DR. KATZ: Getting into an issue that's --

16 DR. FRANKLIN: Give me an example of what
17 you mean? Give me an example of what you mean. All
18 right. If you are on an admissions committee at an
19 educational institution, a university, what does
20 affirmative action, how does it operate at the
21 admissions level, let us say.

22 DR. KING: Well, this is -- as you know,
23 the universities keep this a secret --

24 DR. FRANKLIN: It doesn't admit -- you're

1 not going to admit all African-Americans.

2 DR. KING: -- pretty much a secret,
3 surreptitiously, they give preferences to members of
4 minorities. Especially -- and this has been proven
5 different times, in the recent study by Linda Chavez
6 of the Colorado Higher Education, that racism is
7 certainly available here.

8 It's certainly being done. The average
9 SAT score of whites was over 200 points more than
10 average black, and so forth.

11 DR. KATZ: I'm going to exercise my
12 prerogative as moderator here. Affirmative action is
13 certainly a worthwhile topic for discussion. But it's
14 not quite relevant to the topic of how stereotypes are
15 acquired and maintained. We can talk about it,
16 perhaps in the last section -- for affirmative action.

17 DR. KING: -- stereotyping, we're against
18 that, that's all --

19 DR. KATZ: Affirmative action has been --
20 has been one strategy that has been offered to reduce
21 racism. And obviously not everybody agrees with that
22 position --

23 DR. KING: -- actually, it's increased
24 racism, yes.

1 DR. KATZ: -- but I think I would rather
2 not see us get into this issue at this particular
3 time. Was there anybody else on the panel that wanted
4 to contribute?

5 SECRETARY PEÑA: I did. Phyllis, if I
6 might, since I was accurately quoted, and thank you
7 for that. But in the discussion of stereotyping, and
8 in the context of education, let me present a personal
9 experience for us to, I hope, worry about.

10 When I went to the University of Texas in
11 Austin, and I came from a small town called
12 Brownsville, which had a population of about 35,000
13 people, and the university's population was larger
14 than the population of my home town.

15 And as all of you know who are at
16 universities, English composition in the freshman
17 class is used to weed out students. It's a very
18 difficult class. And I remember very distinctly being
19 the only Hispanic, I think, in the class, because
20 there were very few of us at the University of Texas
21 back in those days.

22 And I submitted one of my first English
23 composition themes, and I thought it was pretty good.
24 And my professor sent my theme back to me. And he put

1 at the top of the paper, C-minus. It turned out that
2 that was one of the highest grades in the class, but
3 I didn't know that.

4 But what he wrote next to it was, "Not bad
5 for a south Texas boy." At first, I thought it was a
6 compliment, but I was a little naive. And as time
7 went by, I asked myself this question. Did that
8 professor have a stereotype of me, knowing of my name,
9 and my background, that since I was from south Texas,
10 I somehow would not be able to write an English
11 composition theme, since south Texas is 85 percent
12 Hispanic.

13 And then I asked myself the question, did
14 he write a similar note for the kid from east Texas,
15 or the young lady from west Texas? Did he write the
16 note to that young lady saying, "B-plus, not bad for
17 a young lady from west Texas"? I doubt that he did.

18 And so, the question of stereotype, and
19 the impact that it has used in a very subjective
20 basis, but in a very powerful way, by a professor who
21 will dictate the life of thousands of kids coming
22 through his class for many, many years, is something
23 I think we have to deal with.

24 So, you ask the question of affirmative

1 action. I ask the question of, what happens to people
2 like me who come to these schools, and are affected by
3 stereotypical responses, by people who don't perhaps
4 come into contact with a lot of kids from south Texas.

5 And I hope we can address
6 that kind of stereotype, and the impact it
7 has on lots of kids all over the country. (Applause.)

8 DR. KING: Obviously, some stereotyping
9 took place, yes. But you did very well in spite of it
10 didn't you.

11 SECRETARY PEÑA: Sorry?

12 DR. KING: You did very well in spite of
13 this stereotyping.

14 SECRETARY PEÑA: But I don't know how many
15 other of my classmates did not.

16 DR. KATZ: Which brings us to the second
17 topic -- (Applause.) -- of this morning's discussion,
18 which has to do with the effect of racial
19 stereotyping. We have heard some of the effects from
20 some of the personal experiences that people have
21 shared with us.

22 And I think that Mr. Estrada's comments
23 touched upon what our next speaker is going to talk
24 about, which is the fact that not only do stereotypes

1 affect people in other groups, but they affect the
2 people towards whom the stereotype is aimed.

3 And so, the first question in the second
4 section is, how do stereotypes affect people's self-
5 esteem or their performance? And I will call on
6 Professor Steele to address this question for us.

7 DR. STEELE: Thank you. I think there are
8 probably three ways that I might categorize it as ways
9 that stereotypes might affect the people to whom
10 they're -- they're directed.

11 I think a lot of what we've said so far
12 documents the first way, which is that the broad
13 holding of stereotypes, the fact that, as Susan
14 pointed out, most of us know the stereotypes, and they
15 can automatically affect our behaviors.

16 That that results in a sort of concerted,
17 organized disposition to treat members of the
18 stereotyped group in a certain way, disposition to
19 judge them in certain ways. And this can be very
20 consequential to them.

21 I think of an area where I do research in
22 schooling, and the kinds of decision-making and
23 judgments that go into what tracks a student is going
24 to be assigned to. Or as Secretary Peña referred,

1 what kind of evaluation of their written work will be
2 made?

3 Well, these are all areas of judgment in
4 which simply holding stereotypes can, unless we exert
5 considerable effort, can influence our judgments, and
6 influence the lives and experiences of the people to
7 whom those stereotypes are directed.

8 Our own research and where the field of
9 social psychology is turning these days is to look at
10 the effects of the stereotypes that don't -- that are
11 not mediated, that don't require treatment.

12 And there are a number of interesting
13 developments in this area. For example, the
14 experience of just knowing the existence of a
15 stereotype, that people in my environment hold
16 stereotypes. For me, as a potential target, can
17 sometimes create an ambiguity about how I am to
18 interpret things, how I am to interpret feedback.

19 Is the feedback that I'm getting from my
20 instructor on that essay, is that due to my work? Or
21 is that due to a categorical judgment about my group,
22 a stereotype of some sort?

23 Well, that kind of experience, and the
24 continuation of it across a person's educational

1 experience, can have a cost of its own. It is not --
2 I am not arguing that it's not something that can't be
3 overcome, and that isn't overcome.

4 But it is -- it does constitute dealing
5 with that kind of ambiguity, a kind of constant
6 pressure in the lives of groups targeted by
7 stereotypes.

8 Another phenomenon that we have looked at
9 is what we called stereotype threat. And this is the
10 experience of, again, coming from the fact that one
11 knows how one's group is stereotyped. One know that
12 in certain circumstances, where that stereotype
13 applies, I could be judged or treated in terms of that
14 stereotype, or I could do something that would
15 inadvertently confirm that stereotype.

16 And in those situations where that
17 stereotype threat exists for members of stereotype
18 groups, it can be a disruptive, threatening kind of
19 experience. And our work has looked at that in the
20 context of important educational experiences, like the
21 -- like taking a standardized test, or participating
22 in class.

23 These are areas where members of groups
24 who suffer under stereotypes about their intellectual

1 ability suffer this kind of stereotype threat. They
2 know that if they raise their hand in class and give
3 a particular response, it could be -- their response
4 could be judged through the lens of that stereotype.

5 They could be treated through the lens of
6 that stereotype. Or, to their own embarrassment, they
7 might inadvertently confirm the stereotype.

8 This adds in these important performance
9 situations, performance situations that affect one's
10 opportunities in life, this leads to -- this
11 constitutes an extra pressure on members of these
12 groups.

13 And as you can see here, this extra
14 pressure can occur even in the absence of prejudicial
15 treatment or discrimination towards the person. It
16 simply arises from the fact that one knows the
17 stereotypes about one's group, and one knows when they
18 apply, and when they don't apply.

19 And when they apply, it can add this extra
20 pressure. And under circumstances where, in critical
21 situations like standardized test performance, is one
22 which our research has focused on. We have found this
23 to interfere with the standardized test performance of
24 women taking advanced math tests, African-Americans

1 taking advanced tests.

2 White males, for example, you can create
3 this kind of threat in white males taking a difficult
4 math test by -- in the west coast, at any rate, by
5 using a stereotype, or activating a stereotype, about
6 how Asians do better on these kinds of tests.

7 That can put someone not normally
8 stereotyped in this way under the pressure of that
9 stereotype. And you see comparable decrements in
10 their performance, as well.

11 Well, this is a phenomenon I think
12 contending with the possibility of being stereotyped.
13 It affects -- it is something that all of us I think
14 have to deal with. We're all members of groups about
15 which there are negative stereotypes. And when we're
16 in situations where those stereotypes apply, they can
17 create this kind of threat.

18 As a male, I can walk down the hall, have
19 a conversation with my colleagues about pay equity,
20 and all of a sudden feel the stereotype threat there.
21 That maybe I will be seen as a male through the lens
22 of that stereotype. And it becomes an uncomfortable
23 situation.

24 So, I wanted to describe it as a general

1 phenomenon. Not something peculiar to, or specially
2 true about certain groups. But as a general
3 phenomenon, that in the case of the groups we've
4 looked at in our research, African-Americans, for
5 example, women taking -- performing in math domains.

6 The stereotypes about them come to bear on
7 very important opportunity performances that they
8 have. And in this way are particularly consequential.
9 You might say, why don't you just work your way
10 through these stereotypes?

11 Just one more point, and then I'll stop.
12 And this is something I want to point out,
13 anticipating that kind of question. This threat
14 occurs in people who are trying very hard to out-
15 perform the stereotype.

16 They're trying -- that is where the
17 disruption occurs, is among people who are striving
18 very hard to do it. For example, in our experiments
19 taking -- looking at test performance of African-
20 Americans, blood pressure is elevated. There's a
21 great deal of effort going on in this situation.

22 So, I just want to make that point.
23 Perhaps I can stop at this point.

24 DR. KATZ: Thank you very much, Dr.

1 Steele. I think your work has been very important in
2 pointing out the internalized effects of stereotypes.
3 We were going to show a video to demonstrate the
4 external effects of stereotypes on people of color.
5 But I think, in view of our time pressure, we're going
6 to skip it.

7 Some of you may have seen it. It was a
8 segment on 20/20, in which they sent out a white woman
9 and a black woman into stores, and took movies of --
10 pictures of how the various salespeople treated them.

11 But I think that we have in fact heard
12 quite a bit about that today. And do, I would like to
13 turn our attention to another question concerning the
14 effects of stereotypes. And that is, what are the
15 commonalities and differences between how racial
16 groups are affected by stereotypes?

17 Is there such a thing as a positive
18 stereotype? Ones that do not hurt when they are
19 applied? And are there benefits to being in a group
20 that is often stereotyped?

21 UNIDENTIFIED: Get the audience input now.

22 DR. KATZ: Okay. Well, our plan was to
23 get the audience input at 11:30. But I'd be happy to
24 take a few questions from the audience, or comments

1 from the audience. One of the problems is, I can't
2 see you too well, because of this light shining in my
3 eyes.

4 (Pause.) Okay. Is there a mike? We
5 can't hear you too well. (Pause.)

6 MR. GOMEZ: My name is Leroy Gomez. I'm
7 a Latino activist. And I live in Fort Collins,
8 Colorado. It's about 106,000 population, 97 percent
9 white.

10 A stereotype -- and there's three issues
11 I'd like to bring up. One first is education, and
12 some of you have spoken about earlier. One of the
13 issues is, in a lot of schools in Fort Collins, and
14 I'm sure other communities, a lot of these Latino
15 children and other minorities are put into classes,
16 supposedly, because they can't deal with hard classes,
17 which is a bunch of nonsense.

18 The next issue is employment. Latinos and
19 other minorities are considered to be lazy. Lazy.

20 The next issue is the judicial system,
21 where a lot of our Latino and other minorities are put
22 -- are incarcerated. And of course, it gives the
23 impression to the rest of the population that we're no
24 good. And the reason the judicial system, hopefully,

1 Chairman, Federico Peña, and the rest of the panel,
2 take this back to Washington.

3 Because the judicial system, which is
4 mostly Anglo, and most of our young minorities are
5 being incarcerated in this country. And the reason
6 they are, is because they're poor. (Applause.)

7 DR. KATZ: Thank you. You certainly
8 talking about the negative effects of stereotypes.
9 Does anybody on the panel want to respond to -- ?

10 MR. ESTRADA: Well, I think I said -- I
11 think I said earlier that there's absolutely no doubt
12 that the convergence of race, ethnicity, with poverty
13 and unemployment, when it occurs disproportionately,
14 is going to natural fuel stereotypes. And in many
15 instances, it is a consequence of stereotypes.

16 And if the United States government, if
17 Congress wishes to be serious about addressing
18 stereotypes in all its forms, there is going to have
19 to be a more concerted look at policies, national
20 policies, across the gamut of issues that we face in
21 the country today.

22 I very much wish to associate myself with
23 the points that the gentleman made, if not necessarily
24 with the tone. Because I think that there absolutely

1 has to be some room for give and take on these issues.
2 And I will tell you right now, that it's not always
3 easy to get this point of view across on some of these
4 national commissions and boards.

5 This one, I can assure you, is taking
6 these comments seriously. And I just -- I commend,
7 actually, the courage of the gentleman who stood up.
8 There is far too much crime. Far too much
9 discrimination. There is far too much incarceration
10 of minority young people, in particular, in this
11 country.

12 And those are, in fact, often a function
13 of the neglect of our policies. Whether they are a
14 function of overt discrimination and prejudice, that
15 is another issue that is perhaps not so easily arrived
16 at. There can be an honest disagreement on those
17 issues. But the main points, I think, we were well
18 taken.

19 DR. KATZ: Okay. Thank you. Yes? Dr.
20 Feagin?

21 DR. FEAGIN: One other point that's
22 important here, I think, is about the way stereotypes
23 among judges, stereotypes held by white judges,
24 stereotypes held by white police officers, stereotypes

1 held by powerful white Americans in many settings,
2 those with influence and power, do result in
3 discriminatory treatment of people of color.

4 Police brutality, for example, and I've
5 done some research, and some of my students have done
6 research on this, is almost entirely a white on black
7 or Latino problem. Very few whites arrested are ever
8 faced by police brutality or malpractice problems.
9 Police brutality is almost entirely something
10 practiced against minority -- potential minority
11 criminals.

12 And I think part of that, a substantial
13 part of it is the stereotyping in the heads of white
14 police officers, and even white judges, and other
15 white leadership in the country.

16 Most whites are -- the survey data. The
17 survey data indicate most whites buy into racist
18 stereotypes of African-Americans. Most. And there's
19 no reason to think that the educated and the
20 influential don't also to some degree buy into those
21 same stereotypes.

22 DR. KATZ: Well, I think you make a very
23 good point. Because I think that when, in talking
24 about the effects of stereotypes, we have been

1 focusing on individuals. And yet, the same
2 stereotypes obviously play a role in our social
3 institutions, in terms of how people are treated.

4 MR. GOLLNICK: Could I speak to that, too?

5 DR. KATZ: Yes?

6 MR. GOLLNICK: Thank you. It seems to me
7 that as we talk again about institutions, the reality
8 is that stereotypes, as it relates to Indian people,
9 continues to evolve. I mean, we have historic
10 stereotypes, the mascot type of characters, or the B-
11 westerns types of characterize.

12 One of the stereotypes that exists about
13 American Indians today in Washington has to do with
14 all Indians being rich, for instance. And using a
15 stereotype as a way to de-humanize, to objectify a
16 people, means that then the issue can be looked at
17 through a corporate lens, as opposed to a personal
18 lens.

19 When we look at the effect of tribes
20 beginning to be successful, we find that there is an
21 incredible backlash in many communities. Arguments
22 from some Members of Congress about Indians actually
23 being corporations now, as opposed to tribal
24 governments. And using that as a foundation for

1 proposing, for instance, a 34 percent tax of any
2 revenue generated by any tribe.

3 Seriously misleads the public about the
4 role of government. I know my tribal chair, for
5 instance, has an annual salary of \$47,000. Although
6 we have 4,000 employees, and we're the largest
7 employer in our area. The second largest employer has
8 her equivalent in a seven-figure salary.

9 That is private sector. We have to
10 function as governments. And yet, there isn't that
11 understanding. I think the stereotypes about Indian
12 people has not gone to the historic or the
13 contemporary, as related to the media issue earlier.
14 Even as we see better portrayals of Indian people
15 historically, through the media, we see no portrayals
16 of Indian people in the contemporary.

17 And what that means is that Americans
18 still think of Indians as past-tense phenomena. We
19 are presumed to be a defeated people, even though in
20 the state of Wisconsin, my home state, every foot of
21 land was acquired by treaty, none of it by conquest.

22 And when we think of the fact that the --
23 that my people also participated in the Revolutionary
24 War. And President Washington said, "Were it not for

1 the air of the Indians, the war would have been lost."
2 And that does not find its way into our history.

3 DR. KATZ: I have another issue about
4 native Americans that I would welcome your addressing.
5 And we'll call on the audience after. And you may
6 well want to respond to this question, too.

7 Millions of native Americans and others
8 are offended by some sports team names that refer to
9 Indian people. Yet millions of other Americans are
10 attached to the traditions that those sports team
11 names convey. So, how should we think about balancing
12 these various concerns?

13 MR. GOLLNICK: I would very much like to
14 speak to that.

15 DR. KATZ: Yes. Please do.

16 MR. GOLLNICK: The issue in professional
17 sports is one where, as long as America is comfortable
18 with subjugating and objectifying Indian people, that
19 those private sector areas will continue to use that
20 logo, those mascots, those images.

21 As long as it's acceptable to Americans,
22 as long as people will continue to buy the product,
23 they'll go to the game. They'll buy the jerseys.
24 They'll do the other things that make it attractive

1 for the owners to use those logos and mascots. It
2 will continue.

3 It seems to me that while we look at those
4 issues, and we have concern about that, the greater
5 issue for me occurs in the elementary and secondary
6 schools, where logos and mascots continue to be used.

7 And those are places where our young
8 people should have an opportunity to learn about other
9 cultures in legitimate ways. That we're preparing in
10 those schools the future generation of these Americans
11 that we're talking about now.

12 I mean, the whole -- the whole focus of
13 this body, as I understand it, is to make
14 recommendations about where we need to go. And I
15 think certainly that is one of the recommendations
16 that needs to be addressed.

17 There needs to be a focus, a series of
18 recommendations, by qualified educators, about content
19 in the public schools, that prepares our children, not
20 only in the areas of math, reading, and science, but
21 also in the areas of inter-cultural awareness.

22 And I suggest that that be something that
23 become part of an integrated curriculum. That is to
24 say that we can inter-cultural examples as we teach

1 math. We can use different kinds of language examples
2 during social studies.

3 There are a lot of ways in which we can do
4 things together, when many academics suggest that we
5 have to give up one thing to do the other. I don't
6 think that that's necessary, at all.

7 I think the issue of mascots and logos are
8 ones where it typifies the understanding, America's
9 understanding of Indian people. Who would feel
10 comfortable in this room if we put a generic white
11 gentleman on the wall, and said, we're putting him up
12 there to honor him?

13 He might be German, he might be Italian,
14 he might be French. It really doesn't matter. The
15 concept is an honoring one, and therefore, we're
16 acknowledging all people of that race. I think for
17 anyone else in America, that would be an outrage. For
18 Indians, it's been resisted over, and over, and over
19 again. And I think it's really time that we look at
20 this seriously, and do something about it.
21 (Applause.)

22 DR. KATZ: Thank you. I would like to
23 hear from some of those you in the audience who wish
24 to speak? Could you come up two at a time? I can't

1 call on you, because I can't see you too well. But
2 there -- if you both move to the aisle, a staff person
3 will hold the mike for you. And I will ask you to
4 please keep your questions and comments short.

5 MS. RUNGHEN: Yes. As a person of color,
6 when I wake up in the morning, and I come out of the
7 door of my house, I go through racism every day of my
8 life. Just last week, I was followed in a Dillard's
9 store, in -- through the bras and underwear section.
10 That was very interesting.

11 But I want to say that it's a very
12 liberating effect, for a person of color. I can't
13 speak for the others, but for myself. To hear a white
14 person, like the first gentleman on my right, on the
15 panel, who is educated, and who has tapped into the
16 complexity of racism. And I want to thank you for
17 that.

18 I hope that you will take the challenge of
19 educating your ignorant brothers, some of which are on
20 your panel. (Applause.)

21 DR. KATZ: No sisters? Thank you.

22 MS. RUNGHEN: I would also like to say
23 that our hearts should be -- my heart is black, native
24 Americans, Jewish, Arab, all of -- everything. All

1 the people who have been oppressed.

2 And our hearts, we should open our hearts,
3 to have empathy. To love, like the governor said.
4 And this is a very challenging issue. And I really
5 applaud all of you for taking the challenge. Thank
6 you.

7 DR. KATZ: Thank you. I would also hope
8 that you can treat all of our panelists with courtesy,
9 because they all have been invited here. Because they
10 all have something to say.

11 Can we hear from the next person in the
12 audience, please?

13 MR. WALKER: I'm George Walker, Colorado
14 University graduate, Denver residence. On November
15 3rd, I FAXed a letter to President Clinton, inviting
16 you all to come to the Auraria campus to meet, and
17 hold this hearing.

18 In that November 3rd letter, I charge
19 higher education in being collusion -- being in
20 collusion with higher education. I have a suit in the
21 federal courts for the presidency of the University of
22 Colorado. Colorado Civil Rights Division has ruled
23 that I'm qualified.

24 You talked about white supremacy. One of

1 the legacies of white supremacy is the idea of pure
2 races. That was started early in this century to keep
3 certain people in their places.

4 I'm a man of multi-racial background. I'm
5 anglo, black, Jewish, and native American Indian,
6 Cherokee tribe.

7 Judge Maitsch ruled in March of 1994 that
8 in order to file a suit under Title VII, I have to
9 pass for anglo, black, Jewish, or native American. I
10 can't be a whole person.

11 The University of Colorado, in arguing to
12 dismiss my suit, argues that I must pass for one quote
13 unquote -- the don't say this, this is my
14 interpretation, "pure race" in order to argue under
15 Title VI.

16 The U.S. Census Department denies
17 officially and legally that multi-racial people exist.
18 All you have to do is look around this room to know
19 that there are plenty of multi-racial people.
20 Certainly people of black ancestry, particularly those
21 of us with roots in Alabama and Mississippi know that
22 our race is all colors. All colors.

23 I'm not trying to pass for white. I'm
24 just simply saying, I'm multi-racial, and I've lived

1 a life of being taken for one race or the other, and
2 see how I'm treated differently. I was a tester for
3 the city of Hartford in 1967 - 68, wherein we'd have
4 different races and ethnicities go in on housing
5 complaints, and see how people acted.

6 I'm simply saying that racism is part of
7 our Census bureau. It certainly is part of the
8 structure of the University of Colorado. And it's all
9 white, non-Hispanic board, which is a host to this
10 panel today.

11 I'm saying we need a native American on
12 this panel. We need people of color on our boards of
13 education. The state board of education, an elected
14 board, has never had a black or Hispanic on its board.

15 DR. KATZ: Thank you --

16 MR. WALKER: I'm saying that we need to
17 address what racism has done to me. And I test in the
18 high 90's. And CU told me in the early 60's my test
19 scores were too high to go to their medical school.
20 So, I went to the University of Minnesota Medical
21 School, where they did not know my black ancestry.
22 And they admitted me forthwith.

23 I'm saying, we need to address white
24 supremacy, affirmative action for rich anglo males, is

1 the only affirmative action that has been practiced
2 consistently in this nation. (Applause.)

3 DR. KATZ: Thank you. You've certainly
4 addressed a number of important issues. Does anybody
5 on the panel want to comment on either the multi-
6 racial, white supremacy, or some of the other points
7 this gentleman raised?

8 MS. SANHAM: I just want to say that my
9 understanding is that in the 2000 census, there is
10 going to be a category for more than one race, which
11 has been recommended by the Census Bureau, as a result
12 of the study done by the OMB. So that in the 2000
13 census, persons can mark all races that apply.

14 DR. KATZ: Well, that's certainly
15 progress. Anybody else on the panel. Yes? Governor
16 Winter?

17 GOVERNOR WINTER: Let me give you a
18 picture of a stereotype. You're looking at one. I am
19 a white male, southern Mississippi ex-politician.
20 (Laughter.) Now, having said that --

21 DR. KATZ: And he has the nerve to speak
22 here.

23 GOVERNOR WINTER: -- now, having said
24 that, let me also say how important I think a

1 discussion of this kind is. It emphasizes the
2 importance of the President's Initiative on Race. I
3 am learning more than I have ever learned before,
4 about the nuances of race relations in this country.

5 As I say, I came from the segregated
6 south. I grew up in a segregated society. I know how
7 much people can change, because I have changed. And
8 I have changed out of the opportunity to be associated
9 with so many people of different backgrounds. It has
10 enriched my life.

11 When the schools -- when the public
12 schools -- (Applause.) When the public schools of
13 Jackson Mississippi were de-segregated in early 1970's
14 my wife was sitting here on the front row. And I
15 decided that our three daughters, who were in
16 elementary school, and junior high school, and high
17 school, would continue in the public schools.

18 One year, our youngest daughter wound up
19 in a school where she was one of four white girls in
20 a school of some 600. She learned much from that
21 experience. And this is what all of us must do. We
22 must walk in the shoes of other people. And there is
23 no national mandate that can create that sort of
24 relationship. They are public policies, yes. And we

1 must have those public policies that will level the
2 playing field.

3 But in the final analysis, it is going to
4 be each one of us looking in the mirror, and
5 determining what our relationship is to all of these
6 other people who make up this country of ours. That
7 is what this Initiative is all about.

8 And we must educate ourselves, and most
9 particularly, we must educate our young people. And
10 I agree with the members of this panel, who have
11 already said that we have gotten a one-sided education
12 in this country. I got a one-sided education.

13 We must remedy that in terms of formal
14 education of our children. But we must also educate
15 ourselves. (Applause.)

16 DR. KATZ: I'd like to hear two more
17 comments from the audience. And then, I would like to
18 turn to the third part of our discussion.

19 (Multiple voices.)

20 DR. KATZ: Well, I would like to hear from
21 two other people, and then we can see where we're at.
22 Okay? Yes?

23 MS. FISHER: I'd like to say good morning
24 to the panel, and to Dr. Franklin, who is from Tulsa,

1 I'm also an Okie. And he knows my uncle.

2 But what I do want to say about racism is
3 I'm surprised that Metropolitan State College is
4 sponsoring this kind of forum, when there are so many
5 inherent racist policies that go on at this school.

6 Now, this is not sour grapes. But you
7 need to understand. I'm an African-American woman.
8 I've had a PhD since 11975. I have experience in the
9 field, and everything else. And yet, I was denied
10 tenure. I was denied tenure at this university after
11 receiving two evaluations of very good/excellent, and
12 then three evaluations stating that my work was
13 excellent.

14 That evaluation came in April of 1997.
15 And the tenure process started in September. Between
16 that period, I have been denied tenure. And the very
17 person who wrote the evaluations, my immediate
18 supervisor was the first one to deny me that
19 opportunity.

20 Now, one of the things that we need to do
21 around oppression and stereotypes is to have role
22 models for students. And we don't have them at
23 Metropolitan State College. When we do have them --
24 (Applause.)

1 When we do have them, we are
2 systematically screened out by this whole tenure
3 thing, which is a moving target. And by the time you
4 catch up it, you know, you're out of here. Okay?

5 And one of the things that I do want to
6 say is, we've got to address it. But if we can't deal
7 with it in our institutions of higher learning, you
8 can give it up, in terms of addressing it at the
9 elementary or high school level. Thank you.

10 DR. KATZ: Okay. Can I have one more
11 comment, please, from the audience?

12 MS. LAWSON: My name is Mary Bev Lawson.
13 I'm a resident of Denver. I was raised in Atlanta,
14 Georgia. And I don't know how, but somehow, I have a
15 very strong sensitivity to race. And this whole
16 gathering is very upsetting to me, because I just see
17 people talking against each other.

18 And you can tell that there's
19 a tremendous need in this group to talk,
20 to have all of our voices heard. And this -- this
21 format, of a panel of power brokers, and the
22 citizenry, is just not working. (Applause.)

23 And what I'd like to recommend is that
24 when you go back and talk to the folks in Washington,

1 to say that, yeah, there's a really ugly problem out
2 there. And that it's only going to be fixed one by
3 one. It's not going to be a big policy. It's not
4 going to be a big, you know, speaking campaign.

5 It's going to be grass roots efforts of
6 individuals who care. Personally, I'd like to see
7 money into it. I'd like to see, you know, folks, the
8 government, putting their money where there mouth is,
9 in the form of grass roots efforts to get people
10 getting together, and talking to each other.

11 UNIDENTIFIED: Dr. Katz, in the spirit of
12 allowing people voice, a woman came up earlier when
13 this line was forming, and handed me a note. She's
14 deaf, and can't speak, and wanted me to read it. And
15 she was at the beginning of the line, so I'll read it.

16 DR. KATZ: Okay. Thank you.

17 UNIDENTIFIED: Read it, briefly. She
18 wanted to say to Dr. Feagin, and the rest of the
19 people on the Board, "I am deaf. A masonic Jew who
20 believes in Christianity, but it doesn't make me agree
21 with you by stereotyping, quote 'all' quote, white
22 Christians, or using the word all."

23 "Some Christians did not have slaves, or
24 believe the way it was stated. One must think before

1 allowing the mouth to run. Please use the word some,
2 not all. If education is to teach, then be careful on
3 choice of words, please."

4 DR. KATZ: Okay. Thank you. Well, I
5 think that letter points out very well, as do most of
6 your remarks, the very negative impact of
7 stereotyping.

8 And I would like to recognize more people
9 from the audience. However, I hate to see us leave it
10 at this point, because many of the people on the panel
11 have done important research on how to reduce
12 stereotypes.

13 And I would like to hear from a few of
14 them. And then, you will have an opportunity to
15 address anything that was brought up, or anything that
16 you would like to be brought up. I'm sorry, perhaps
17 there just simply isn't enough time for everything
18 today.

19 (Multiple voices.) I have no control over
20 that. Do you want to go first? I was told we have to
21 vacate the room at noon.

22 DR. FISKE: Dr. Katz, may I say something?

23 DR. KATZ: Yes.

24 DR. FISKE: What I'd like to say is with

1 regard to the issue of how stereotypes are effectively
2 undercut, having come in at the beginning of this
3 conversation with the bad news that stereotypes are
4 very automatic, and that we all prefer our in-group.
5 And that this is an instantaneous response.

6 I'd like to come in now with something I
7 think is relevant to the current situation. Which is,
8 it is very clear that despite the automatic tendency
9 that we all have to prefer people who are similar to
10 ourselves, it is also true that education and
11 motivation can make people go beyond their
12 instantaneous knee-jerk responses.

13 One of the primary education we have
14 talked about some -- one of the primary motivations
15 that works for people is coalition building. To the
16 extent that people realize that they need each other.
17 We all need each other in order to make this country
18 go forward in a positive way.

19 And to the extent that people realize that
20 they need people from other groups, what happens is
21 that people go beyond their stereotypes of each other,
22 and they learn about other people. And they begin to
23 be enthusiastic about people who come from groups that
24 are different from theirs. They begin to value the

1 things that different people have to contribute.

2 So, I'm saying this, not just as an
3 opinion. But this is based on research that shows the
4 most constructive ways for people to get together is
5 to build grass root coalitions.

6 DR. KATZ: Is there anybody else on the
7 panel that wants to talk a bit more about the
8 strategies for combating racial stereotypes? What are
9 the most constructive things that we can do?

10 And then, I will turn over -- I will have
11 several comments from the panel. And then, the rest
12 of the discussion will be from the audience.

13

14 Yes? Ms. Kimura?

15 MS. KIMURA: Mr. Chairman, as one of the
16 silent minorities, and stereotyped as the model
17 minority, with what Dr. Steele was saying, model
18 minority is not a positive stereotype. We have
19 cultural values playing into this. So that, if Asian-
20 Americans are deemed model minorities, and they
21 embrace that themselves, then they're going to have to
22 work at it.

23 And if they don't succeed, then the
24 cultural value of, don't bring shame to the family

1 name, and I think this is generally true in most Asian
2 cultures, plays into it. We are a group oriented
3 culture, not individually oriented culture.

4 So, when that happens, then there's a lot
5 of stress. And then we don't have the mental health
6 resources to go to -- to get us out of this thing.
7 So, not all stereotypes, I mean, although they say
8 there are positive stereotypes, those positive
9 stereotypes may have a negative effect.

10 And I think that we need to keep that in
11 mind, too.

12 DR. KATZ: Yes? Dr. King?

13 DR. KING: I'm just following up on Ms.
14 Kimura's talk. I think, I agree, yes. There are sub-
15 cultures. There are about 327 languages spoken in
16 this country. Many, many hundreds, dozens of
17 ethnicities. We're really almost talking about four
18 different groups here this morning, ignoring the 75
19 percent of white Americans, which are considered
20 monolithically, when there are dozens of groups, you
21 know?

22 Hitler is not the same as Mussolini, or
23 Winston Churchill, or all European Americans.
24 European Americans are being stigmatized -- er,

1 stereotyped. And stigmatized, too, I suppose.

2 Well, what I was going to say was that,
3 sure, there are group cultures. But we have to keep
4 in mind that we are Americans. And that there is an
5 American culture. And that we must have a common
6 culture in this country if we're going maintain a
7 national unity. We must have a national identity,
8 unless we -- if we're going to keep our national
9 political unity. And therefore, keep the nation, as
10 it were.

11 We need to stress more what we have in
12 common as human beings rather than little differences.
13 Everybody's different. That's -- that makes it very
14 interesting. But -- yeah. And I respect other
15 cultures. I've spent all my life in inter-cultural
16 communication, living in six foreign countries, and
17 learning several languages, or learning something of
18 several language.

19 And being the only non-Hispanic in New
20 Mexico, in a little high school in northern New
21 Mexico. I learned Spanish there, although I'm totally
22 more or less anglo. A little touch of Indian,
23 perhaps.

24 But I think we ought to just be Americans,

1 and just treat everybody alike. Have that level
2 playing field. And make equal opportunity, equal
3 opportunity, not equal results. Equal results is
4 simply unjust.

5 So, I find a lot of talk
6 about we ought to improve education. I don't
7 find any really answer from these fellows like Dr.
8 Shanto Iyengar. Yeah, he tells about problems, yes.
9 Media. But we have to -- part of the price of
10 violence on television, and so forth is -- that's part
11 of the price of our freedom of the press, freedom of
12 expression in this country.

13 DR. KATZ: I think that, you know, the
14 testimony of the people in the audience, and most of
15 the researchers here has been suggesting that
16 everybody is not treated alike. And that is, in fact,
17 the problem that we're addressing.

18 I would like to just hear from a few
19 people on the panel in terms of what our institutions
20 might do to reduce stereotypes, and to reduce racism.
21 They have been justly criticized by a number of people
22 in the audience. And I just would like somebody on
23 the panel to address what they think, based on
24 research, we could be doing to improve the situation.

1 I don't want us to be leaving with a
2 completely negative thought that, here, these
3 stereotypes are pervasive, and automatic. And is
4 there really nothing that we as a society we can do to
5 change the situation.

6 Yes? Linda Chavez?

7 MS. CHAVEZ-THOMPSON: Just one
8 observation, please. And for the audience, I know
9 oftentimes I get mistaken for the other Linda Chavez.
10 I'm not the other Linda Chavez. (Laughter.)

11 Thank you. Had my first grade teacher not
12 changed my name, I would today be known as Libia
13 Chavez-Thompson. But that's another story.

14 One of the best equalizers is, what I
15 believe of course, and where I come from is the
16 American labor movement. People should have the civil
17 rights to have a job with decent wages, with health
18 care, with benefits, days off. Because then, people
19 could provide for their own well-being, for the
20 education of their children.

21 Additionally, if we don't teach in higher
22 education, the teachers that will not take away the
23 names of our children. My grandson's name is Cosefe
24 Lippe. They tried to call him Joe. My daughter

1 resisted. My granddaughter's name is Libia. She will
2 remain Libia for the rest of her life.

3 But the economic factor has to be talked
4 about. Mr. Gomez alluded to it in his comments about
5 the fact that there need to be jobs with better wages.
6 By proportionate number, people of color hold the
7 lowest paying jobs. They're the ones that hold the
8 part time jobs. They're the ones that hold the
9 temporary jobs. They are the ones that are considered
10 to work at the least wages.

11 U n t i l w e g e t t h a t
12 stereotype out of the way, and by that
13 meaning that working people have rights. And not only
14 rights to better jobs, but rights to organize as well.
15 Thank you. (Applause.)

16 DR. KATZ: Dr. Steele?

17 DR. STEELE: Well, on the question of
18 institutional responses to stereotypes, I think one
19 thing that is, and I think reflected in the personal
20 experiences reported here, as well as the research,
21 that we have to begin to recognize that what
22 stereotypes can do, the very existence of stereotypes,
23 is undermine trust in each other.

24 And I think to some degree, that's part of

1 the dynamic going on in the room. Because it's part
2 of the dynamic going on in American society. The
3 existence of them makes it difficult to trust in the
4 institutions that we participate in, and have to
5 benefit from.

6 And I think what that means, I would take
7 as a direction for how to structure institutions
8 better, is to focus on that aspect of them. To
9 recognize that in a heterogeneous society like this,
10 for example, in a schooling system that has the
11 responsibility for educating a diverse society, that
12 we have to focus on building trust in the classroom
13 across group lines.

14 This is if we're going to have a society
15 that comes together. Once that is seen, I wouldn't
16 want to offer a polly-anna kind of hopefulness. But
17 it does begin to suggest some tactics that are usable,
18 and feasible in that situation, to improve outcomes.

19 In response to

20 DR. KATZ: Susan?

21 DR. FISKE: I'd just like to reinforce
22 what Dr. Steele has said, and to say that I really see
23 three things that organizations can do. And this is
24 based on research. Organizations and institutions can

1 promote positive values for egalitarian, fair
2 treatment. And I think the President's Initiative on
3 Race is a way of communicating from the top positive
4 values about the importance of dialogue on these
5 issues.

6 Values are very important. Creating
7 norms, or informal ideas, about what is acceptable,
8 and what is proper, in an organization, matter
9 demonstrably to how people behave.

10 Values is one. Coalitions and teams is
11 another. I mentioned that before. When people work
12 together for common goals, they demonstrably overcome
13 their stereotypes about each other.

14 And the third factor I would mention is
15 accountability. People need to know that they're
16 accountable for how they treat other people. And that
17 if they don't treat other people properly, that they
18 will be held to account for that.

19 Those three things, values which are
20 internal to the self, relationships with other people,
21 and accountability to people who are higher up, those
22 three things work demonstrably to improve inter-group
23 relations.

24 DR. KATZ: Dr. Feagin?

1 DR. FEAGIN: Yes. I would like to suggest
2 to the Advisory Panel that one of the proposals you
3 consider is to enforce the civil rights laws of the
4 United States. (Applause.) Dr. Fiske was talking
5 about accountability. We have amazingly strong civil
6 rights laws, and amazingly weak enforcement of those
7 civil rights laws. (Applause.)

8 DR. KATZ: That's certainly true.

9 DR. FEAGIN: On this issue, on law and
10 order, some of the most widespread criminals, the most
11 widespread criminality in this country is by middle
12 class white Americans, who routinely discriminate
13 against black Americans, and other people of color, in
14 housing, in employment, public accommodations, and
15 education. (Applause.)

16 In spite of the white denial that
17 discrimination is serious, my research, and that of
18 numerous other researchers, shows that discrimination
19 in all of these major areas is still very widespread.
20 And unless --

21 DR. KATZ: And illegal. Thank you for
22 reminding me of that.

23 DR. FEAGIN: And most -- as Dr. Franklin's
24 stories before of his own accounts of discrimination,

1 notice who the whites were who were discriminating.
2 They were not Archie Bunker hard hat stereotypes. The
3 whites who were discriminating are middle class and
4 upper middle class white Americans.

5 And these folks, in rental housing,
6 housing sales, employment hiring, promotions, public
7 accommodations, following people around in stores and
8 hotels, these are the white Americans who need to be
9 taught that if you discriminate, much of what you're
10 doing is a violation of the law, and you will be
11 punished.

12 But as an upper middle class white man, I
13 can discriminate 'til the cows come home in housing.
14 If I own apartment complexes or houses, I can
15 discriminate all day long, with no fear of punishment.
16 In the United States of America, as we approach the
17 21st century.

18 That has to be stopped. Discrimination
19 must be punished. (Applause.)

20 DR. KATZ: Well, that's something we can
21 unite on. Dr. Franklin wanted to make a few comments.
22 And then we would love to hear from the audience.

23 DR. FRANKLIN: I wanted to say that with
24 respect to the activities of this Board, it has

1 undertaken already their specific -- fashion to
2 overcome some of these things that you have indicated,
3 Dr. Feagin.

4 For example, early in our existence, we
5 requested that the Department of Housing and Urban
6 Development take action against discrimination in
7 housing, which was taken, immediately. And there's a
8 program being -- being developed, to carry forward
9 that -- as the basis -- on this basis of our
10 suggestion.

11 We respect to something, say,
12 discrimination in the enforcement of civil rights, I
13 mean, the whole question of the enforcement of civil
14 rights, we asked the President of the United States to
15 beef up the budget, to make possible the elimination
16 of the backlog, the big backlog of cases in EEOC, and
17 in other areas of enforcement of civil rights.

18 And the result is that there is in the
19 budget for this coming year \$85 million more than had
20 been in any previous year for that particular purpose.
21 And so, we're -- we're not waiting to make
22 recommendations to the President next September.
23 We're doing them month by month.

24 But sometimes you don't get that picture

1 in the reports on our meetings, in the media, and so
2 forth. But I wanted you to know that we are doing
3 that very thing that you suggested.

4 DR. KATZ: Thank you for giving us that
5 information.

6 MR. O'KEEFE: Doctor, if I might interject
7 for a moment. I'd like us to draw a distinction
8 between what Dr. Fiske proposed, and Dr. Feagin did
9 just a moment ago.

10 Civil rights is ground in the
11 Constitution. Okay? Decisions that come from a
12 judicial bench. They need to be enforced. They
13 should be enforced. Perhaps they have been lax in
14 some quarters.

15 But that's a far cry, doctor, from what
16 you proposed earlier. The idea of values coming from
17 on high? Through institutions, possibly? Could you
18 explain that a little bit further, what exactly your
19 intent is? And what sort of mode of action?

20 DR. FISKE: I'm simply talking about
21 organizations being responsible for adhering to the
22 law. And making it clear from the top down that --
23 that non-discrimination is the policy of the
24 organization. And there are ways of doing it that

1 look like window dressing. And people know when it's
2 just window dressing.

3 And there are ways of doing it where the
4 top CEO in the corporation makes it clear that non-
5 discrimination and a representative group of people in
6 a fair minded way, should be within that organization.
7 We have --

8 MR. O'KEEFE: Fair minded. That's what
9 concerns me.

10 DR. FISKE: -- we have -- let me finish,
11 please. We have preferential treatment right now.
12 And do you know what that preferential treatment is?
13 It's in-group bias. That preferential treatment we
14 have is demonstrably for people who already are in
15 power.

16 MR. O'KEEFE: Okay. Let me ask you this,
17 ma'am, though. You were talking about altering the
18 thoughts of individuals, as opposed to defending civil
19 rights laws that are grounded in the Constitution?
20 You are talking about the thoughts within the minds of
21 men and women. That's a different creature all
22 together.

23 DR. FISKE: I'm talking about education.

24 DR. KATZ: We're talking about behavior.

1 I don't think we're talking about --

2 MR. O'KEEFE: Education. Indoctrination.

3 DR. KATZ: I would suggest that the Board
4 members -- we'll have another opportunity to discuss
5 these things with each other. And I really would like
6 to hear more from the audience. You've been very
7 patient. Thank you.

8 MS. ROGERS: Hi. My name is Jane Rogers,
9 and I've have been waiting for President Clinton's --
10 well, the Board, all of you, to come out to Denver.
11 Just mainly because I've been watching, as you've been
12 able to go across the country, to talk about this
13 initiative on race.

14 But to be honest, I have to tell you that
15 I have never been so frustrated in my life. And I'm
16 not going to sit here and criticize without giving you
17 at least some suggestions or some solutions before you
18 leave. Because even I can't stand it when people
19 complain.

20 But finally, we're getting into a dialogue
21 here. The first ten minutes of this whole morning was
22 spent on your credentials. And really, I have to tell
23 you that, I think you're really up there to impress
24 one another. Not so much to impress us out here. If

1 you were -- (Applause.)

2 If you were, you're here on a college
3 campus. I shuddered every time I saw young people
4 getting up to leave. Because they should be the ones
5 that are in here, listening, along with some of us who
6 are older.

7
8 And when you were talking about how you
9 researched this, and you researched that, I had to ask
10 myself, what came up after you did all of this
11 research? Are you implementing any of this stuff in
12 your own lives? Are you inviting people into your
13 homes to talk about race relations?

14 Are you putting yourself in a position
15 where you yourself are the minority? And that could
16 be race, that could be religious, you know? If you're
17 Jewish, are you spending some time with Christians?
18 If you're black, are you spending more time with
19 Hispanic, white, whatever.

20 So that you're in the position of a
21 minority, and that you can understand what people are
22 going through, as far as race relations. It's the
23 dialogue that needs to take place.

24 The drums that you were hearing out here,

1 Dr. Franklin, I have to say, last night, when the
2 representative from Chiapas was talking, you
3 considered that a performance. To me, I considered
4 that emotion, and they were upset. I don't consider
5 what they were doing performing. They were voicing
6 what they wanted, and felt should be heard.

7 There are different levels that you need
8 to talk about race. One -- I mean, and it affects all
9 of us. But you are all educators. You exist in the
10 world of academia. You can't expect people who maybe
11 have never attained their masters of PhD to understand
12 everything that you're talking about.

13 I have a bachelors degree, and some of the
14 stuff you're saying is going right over my head. You
15 need to bring it down to a level, on a person level,
16 which is what some people were sharing last night.
17 Some others, including yourselves, Secretary Peña. A
18 person level on what they have encountered from a
19 racial, stereotypical view.

20 Also, there are professional levels. When
21 people are talking about being discriminated against
22 because they're white or -- well, because they're
23 white, or because they're black or Hispanic, that's
24 the professional level in the workplace. Then you're

1 talking about economic and political viewpoints.

2 And that's what some people were talking
3 about last night when they were practically warning
4 you to go back to Washington, D.C., to try to
5 implement some of the policies that they were talking
6 about.

7 There are so many different levels. And
8 what you're covering today is on a very, very generic
9 level. Which I understand. You have to do that,
10 because you don't know exactly what background your
11 audience is coming from.

12 But you've got to remember all of these
13 things. And not think that by having -- how many of
14 you are up there? Fourteen, fifteen professionals,
15 researchers, people that are existing in the world of
16 education, you can't expect to create a dialogue where
17 everybody is going to leave from this on the exact
18 same level.

19 You need to start -- and understand where
20 everybody is coming from -- (Applause.)

21 DR. KATZ: Um --

22 MS. ROGERS: One last thing. Secretary
23 Peña, you were saying that this whole initiative has
24 come -- or at least what you've done thus far, is all

1 based on the past. And then, you're talking about how
2 we're hoping will come out of this will help us in the
3 future.

4 Well, we are dealing with the present.
5 What they're doing out there is now. It's the
6 present. What are we going to do now when it comes to
7 having a dialogue with your next door neighbor, the
8 person that you sit next to in your workplace, or a
9 place that you aspire to go in ten years?

10 And that's what I hope you all leave with.
11 And not just assume that everybody is on the same
12 level we're discussing.

13 DR. KATZ: You certainly pointed out the
14 complexity of the topic. I don't think anybody on the
15 panel or the board thinks that what's being discussed
16 this morning is, you know, anything more than a part
17 of the picture.

18 Did you have some specific questions that
19 you wanted to address to people on the panel?

20 (Pause.) Okay. Next speaker, please?

21 MS. WRIGHT: Yes. My name is Gwendolyn
22 Wright. And I would like to first of all say that
23 when I speak of my pain, and the pain of my people, I
24 am not comparing or diminishing the pain of the native

1 American, or Hispanics, or the Asian, or any other
2 people who have been subject to the destruction of
3 stereotyping, but the stereotyping with power.

4 And we are all here today because of white
5 supremacy. If you admit the truth to yourself.
6 That's why we are here. Now, under white supremacy
7 stereotyping, that goes into the courtroom. That
8 impacts your judges.

9 Right now, I have two cases. One at the
10 Colorado Supreme Court level. The other one yesterday
11 filed with the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington.
12 Because of denial of due process of law, and equal
13 protection of the law, which is my Constitutional
14 right to have by judicial people, because they have a
15 personal interest in my case.

16 I'm helpless. Don't have anywhere to
17 turn. So, I keep fighting. But also, we must go
18 back, and look at our history. Our history, meaning
19 blacks, and the native American even before that, is
20 filled with murder.

21 From the Emancipation Proclamation,
22 January 1, 1863, the black codes, which are Jim Crow
23 codes, Jim Crow law codes, was drafted 1865, following
24 the Emancipation Proclamation -- and the Ku Klux Klan

1 started riding in 1966, murdering us and terrorizing
2 us. And that has to be looked at. That must be
3 looked at.

4 And I understand there are exceptions to
5 every rule. I am not condemning all white folks. But
6 you do have the power. You know what you've been
7 doing with it. You've been hurting us.

8 I'm a retiree. I'm 61 years old. I'll be
9 61 April 4th. And it has been pain my whole lifetime.
10 So, you can stereotype me. I don't mind you making
11 fun of my lips, or my color. But I want that job. I
12 want my child to have it. I don't want my son to be
13 murdered at a routine traffic stop by a white
14 policeman.

15 I don't want that. That must be stopped.
16 You've got to stop the murder.

17 DR. KATZ: Thank you.

18 MS. BRANESCOM: I'm talking about a
19 different kind of stereotype that's going on. I would
20 like to congratulate the panel for the many good
21 things that you have proposed, particularly Dr.
22 Franklin, on fair housing enforcement. That also
23 needs to go to public housing authorities who at this
24 time do not think about fair housing.

1 My name is Bee Branscom. I live in Park
2 Hill, which is a multi-racial community of 25,000.
3 One part of it was segregated way back in the 40's by
4 a mayor who's supposed to be liberal, Quig Newton.
5 Who suggested to a developer, together with the
6 chamber of commerce, that he build housing there quote
7 unquote "for negros".

8 So, the northeast Park Hill area began to
9 be segregated by government. There are six census
10 tracts. I'm sorry. They are -- one of them is
11 predominantly -- two of them are predominantly white
12 and affluent, although they are very diverse. Two of
13 them are very mixed. And two of them were segregated
14 originally by Mayor Newton, and have gone on being
15 segregated by the real estate industry.

16 UNIDENTIFIED: You've got a long line
17 behind you.

18
19 MS. BRANESCOM: I know there's a long line
20 behind me. But I know there are people here from
21 Auraria, from northwest Denver, from Montibello, who
22 have similar problems. Multi-ethnic multi-racial
23 communities are a treasure to you. Because we don't
24 just talk about race or ethnicity. We work together.

1 And yet, at every step, there are barriers
2 put up by the feds, the state, the city and the
3 schools. I'm told I have to cut it off here. But I'd
4 be happy to talk to some of you individually, about
5 what can be done by various institutions, including
6 government. Thank you.

7 DR. KATZ: Thank you. I just wanted to
8 make a comment on that remark. Obviously all of these
9 things are very inter-related. The research from our
10 own lab which tracks children's attitudes during the
11 first years of their lives, finds that six year olds
12 that are not prejudiced come from environments that
13 are multi-ethnic.

14 So, I would like to sort of underline what
15 was just said. Can we have the next speak, please?

16 MS. BRANESCOM: And I hope some of you can
17 meet with some of us. And we can make a number of
18 suggestions.

19 DR. KATZ: We have to vacate the stage, as
20 I understand it, at noon. I personally, and I'm sure
21 that many other members of the panel, would be very
22 happy to meet with people at the back of the room for
23 a little bit. The Board has another thing that they
24 have to go to. But we could certainly do that, at

1 least until 12:30.

2 UNIDENTIFIED: Hi. My name is Paul. I'm
3 actually from Laos. I've been to the United States
4 for only eight years, so I -- excuse my English, my
5 American.

6 I have been in several places in the
7 world. Since I have been in the United States, I have
8 worked in the lower class. I have worked with blacks
9 and -- whoever, and we have no problem.

10 The problem we have is this. I am very
11 disturbed to come to this meeting with this kind of
12 thing. That's what -- between us. Okay?

13 And earlier, somebody talked about the
14 easy way. For example, the HV-209 in California. We
15 say, okay, too many illegal. We don't do anything.
16 Just make a law to throw them out. Why can't we just
17 say to them to work -- and be citizens, productive
18 citizens.

19 This is what I'm looking for. And that's
20 all I have to say, because I'm short. But I am not --
21 I am very happy that people -- American Indians --
22 protested. And you have to know that Indian people
23 are spirit of this country.

24 I am not Indian. But I will be --

1 (Applause.)

2 DR. KATZ: Thank you.

3 DR. HILL: Hi. I'm Dr. Mackery Hill, and
4 I'm a retired university administrator. All the
5 institutions that we've talked about, the media, the
6 educational system, they're all made up of people.
7 So, the people have to act, not the institution, per
8 se. We gained our stereotypes from education.
9 Education can remove those negative stereotypes.

10 The other thing I'd like to point out is
11 that some of the things are like preachers talking to
12 a choir. When you leave this audience, do you say the
13 same things at your Rotary Club, in your fraternities,
14 in your churches, and in your neighborhoods? I think
15 that that would make a difference if you would
16 practice those things.

17 And also, there still is white flight from
18 certain neighborhoods, from certain schools. Stop
19 running. Things will change, if we all work together.
20 We've got to act. Not just talk. We've heard this
21 talk since before I was born. We've got to act. And
22 sometimes you may stand alone when you act, one person
23 at a time. But that's the only way that anything will
24 happen. Let's do it. (Applause.)

1 MS. DAMAH: Members of the panel, my name
2 is Valerie Damah. I am the child of an indigenous
3 woman from the Rappahannock nation in Virginia, and an
4 African-American father. I'm married to an Iranian,
5 and I have a Chinese daughter.

6 Now, under the stereotypes, that makes me
7 a double savage, married to a terrorist, with a
8 scientifically gifted sneaky child. (Applause.)

9 But what I want to say, and I ask you to
10 take this back, is that Secretary Peña, it is not one
11 of the most challenging issues. Racism is the most
12 challenging issue that this country faces.

13 We must look at racism as a disease. It
14 is a cancer. It is very good and noble that the
15 President has started this initiative, but you cannot
16 put a band-aid to treat a cancer.

17 So, I ask you to take it back as the most
18 challenging issue. I also ask you to recognize that
19 when you spoke about one America, that you make sure
20 that there is unity and diversity. That one America
21 does not mean assimilation, but it means a recognition
22 of all the diverse cultures.

23 And I would ask the panel to recognize,
24 whatever view you have of Dr. Feagin, it is true that

1 you must accept white privilege as the basis for
2 racism in this country. You cannot deny it.

3 And finally, to the gentleman who talked
4 about thought control, it is not thought control to
5 teach people to view others as human. Thank you.
6 (Applause.)

7 UNIDENTIFIED: My name is Charles -- and
8 I am an Orthodox Jew. First of all, I would like to
9 say good morning to you.

10 DR. KATZ: Good morning, it's almost
11 afternoon.

12 UNIDENTIFIED: -- I would like to -- I
13 would like for you to operate with some solution. And
14 this -- one of the solutions could be to industrialize
15 black America with the same effort that Japan was
16 industrialized.

17 Black America has never really had the
18 opportunity to build. We've always had the
19 opportunity to assist in building, or as is written,
20 tend someone else's garden. We came here as according
21 to the Torah -- which addresses the statement one man
22 made about ham. Of course Ham -- Ham was one who
23 begat children. Moses married one, and so did Joseph.
24 That would make -- Israel -- of the three.

1 Israel of Egypt. Israel of Syria, which
2 we know is the Jews of Moab today. And Israel --
3 those who were promised to Abraham, who would be
4 carried away -- (Unclear.)

5 DR. FRANKLIN: All right, sir. Thank you.

6 MR. MARQUEZ: Hello, folks. How are you
7 doin'? Thanks for coming out. My name is Arthur
8 Marquez. I'm a sophomore at Community College of
9 Denver. I'm a native to Colorado. I'm 24 years old,
10 and I have a one year old son. I have, Spanish,
11 native American -- Apache, and also said to be French
12 and Jewish.

13 To your topic of stereotyping,
14 stereotyping is something that everyone does,
15 including myself. But I'm learning. I believe that
16 we must all learn that stereotyping -- we almost look
17 past this. We must use knowledge as our motivation to
18 get past stereotyping and discrimination.

19 Right now, my brother is outside -- in
20 protest, because they were not allowed to speak here.
21 They were not invited, because -- I don't why you guys
22 -- I don't know, what was your reason for not inviting
23 these people that have been discriminated against
24 since the landing of Columbus.

1 DR. KATZ: -- do you want to respond?

2 MR. MARQUEZ: Was it in your
3 consideration? If you want to better this nation, you
4 must include all nations within it. During Clinton's
5 last term, he apologized to blacks for something that
6 happened years ago. Today, blacks are really for
7 another apology.

8 Indigenous nations across the America's
9 including south and central America need to be
10 apologized to, as well as the blacks.

11 DR. KATZ: I think I can hear one more
12 comment from the audience. And then, I think we're
13 going to -- we're going to have to stop. But we can
14 -- continue.

15 MR. MARQUEZ: Okay. I'd also like to say
16 that U.S. corporations need to divulge all information
17 concerning relations in other countries in order to do
18 business in the United States, because they're still
19 discriminating against indigenous cultures, and
20 enslaving other indigenous cultures in south America
21 and central America. And that needs to be taken care
22 of.

23 DR. FRANKLIN: Thank you, sir. I merely
24 wanted to say -- may I say that his brother was not

1 excluded from this auditorium. He could have come in
2 and said just what he said, or whatever he wanted to
3 say. I want to make that clear that we -- this is an
4 open meeting, and that the public is invited. And
5 that no people are excluded from this meeting. I want
6 that quite clear. We are required by law to have an
7 open meeting.

8 UNIDENTIFIED: I'd like to address the
9 issue of education as thought control. And I think
10 that the idea that we're trying to impart values that
11 aren't already being imparted is a little insulting to
12 our intelligence.

13 Value are already being imparted. What
14 we're saying is, maybe those values need to be looked
15 at, and changed. I'm in educational publishing, and
16 we see very few books that really reflect what I would
17 consider multi-cultural issues. That's the hot term
18 in education now.

19 Because we don't see a lot of authors. We
20 don't see a lot of editors. And we don't see a lot of
21 publishing professionals that come from various
22 groups, and we need to see that. And teachers and
23 individuals, as well, need to start thinking about who
24 are the gate keepers of the media? And how can I get

1 into those positions, and make a difference there?

2 And one of the big differences,
3 acquisition editors in publishing, and we'd like to
4 see more of that.

5 DR. KATZ: Okay. I'm going to give the
6 last word to --

7 UNIDENTIFIED: I'd like to address that --

8 DR. KATZ: We don't have time. We can do
9 it at the back of the room, if you care to stay. The
10 last word goes to Dr. Franklin.

11 DR. FRANKLIN: Oh, I merely wanted to
12 thank all of you for coming out today, and for
13 participating in the dialogue.

14 I want to especially thank the panel.
15 Many of you have come long distances, and you've
16 illuminated the subject to our great advantage. And
17 this is very important for the Advisory Board.

18 It's very important, also, for the
19 Advisory Board to hear the people in the audience.
20 Your comments, your thoughtful comments, your
21 observations, your instructions, your criticisms are
22 all taken in good faith. And I want to say how much
23 I appreciate it.

24 I'm particular, also, honored and pleased,

1 Mr. Secretary, that you have been with us yesterday,
2 and now today. And I want publicly to extend our
3 heart warm thanks to you for your contributions to the
4 meeting.

5 We are going to adjourn now until the
6 afternoon, at which time we will resume our
7 discussion. We will recap what we've learned. And we
8 will talk about some additional matters, including
9 some upcoming activities of the Board. But we will
10 resume our discussion of this subject at the beginning
11 of the afternoon session.

12 Thank you very much. Thanks to the panel.

13 DR. KATZ: I reiterate, if anybody wants
14 to continue the dialogue, interested Board members or
15 people on the panel will be at the back of the room,
16 at that corner, I guess, so we won't interfere with
17 that door.

18 Thank you to all for your involvement.
19 With the kind of energy that you've -- do something to
20 help solve this.

1 what, three years. My whole point is, you were
2 talking about stereotyping, and racism, and everything
3 else. And how exactly to deal with it.

4 And I think you need to deal with it first
5 from your law enforcement agencies. I go to work.
6 I'm a full time student. I am a certified nurse's
7 aide. I'm going to work to, you know, help somebody
8 who's been in a wheelchair all day go to bed, and have
9 some dinner.

10 Along the way, I'm stopped three times by
11 policemen. "Your headlights are in the wrong
12 orientation." "Your break lights are flickering."
13 For no particular reason, other than the fact that I'm
14 a black female, they will stop me.

15 Okay? And this seriously needs to be
16 addressed. As you're going about your lawful
17 business, you're stopped by people who are supposed to
18 be protecting and serving you. (Applause.)

19 DR. KATZ: Did anybody on the Board want
20 to respond to that?

21 DR. FRANKLIN: The May meeting is devoted
22 to the question of the administration of justice. We
23 know that that's one of the most critical issues that
24 we confront today. We're very much aware of it.

1 Anyone who reads the press, and observes what's going
2 on, see who's pulled over, and who's not pulled over
3 on the highway, and that sort of thing.

4 We're quite aware of this. And we are
5 going to focus attention on it. And we will make
6 recommendations on this whole matter, because it is
7 very critical, very important, and I couldn't agree
8 with you more. (Applause.)

9 DR. KATZ: Dr. Franklin, I think it's
10 maybe not clear to the audience, it certainly wasn't
11 clear to me, that each one of these discussions that
12 takes place in various cities is on a somewhat
13 different facet of the problem of racism.

14 DR. FRANKLIN: Yes. It's -- each meeting
15 of the Board, we take up a particular theme. It was
16 education last August. And education K through 12 in
17 September. And then we had the question of various
18 other subjects that were taken up from time to time.

19 UNIDENTIFIED: I believe, Mr. Chairman, in
20 Phoenix it was race and poverty -- I'm sorry, in
21 Phoenix, it was race and employment. In San Jose, it
22 was race and poverty. Here, race and stereotyping.
23 And yes, we will be, as you said, we will be
24 addressing the issue of the administration of justice.

1 DR. KATZ: Okay. Can we have our next
2 participant?

3 MR. WILSON: Hello. My name is Myron
4 Wilson. I appreciate all the earlier panel members
5 being up there, all of their years of research, et
6 cetera, on this particular topic.

7 Sometimes I think it does help when you
8 get a refreshed ideal on what racism is. Now, I've
9 heard that power plus prejudice. I've also heard that
10 racism is an emotional commitment to ignorance.

11 Now, in light of all of those definitions,
12 I'm sure that a lot of people in this audience are
13 also aware of some of those things. But one thing
14 that I've seen lacking, and also that was demonstrated
15 at the meeting last night, was that I don't see a
16 dynamic force of example.

17 I don't see anyone -- we I won't say
18 anyone, just generally speaking, I don't see too many
19 people trying to exemplify any type of process to
20 really bring about a resolution

21 to some of these problems that we've been
22 talking about here. That's what I would like to see.
23 A dynamic force of example. All the way from the top
24 of the government, all the way down to the local

1 neighborhoods. Dynamic force of example.

2 DR. FRANKLIN: Would you give an example
3 of what you mean by dynamic force of example?

4 MR. WILSON: Well, earlier a young lady
5 mentioned how many -- how many folks, once they leave
6 here, try -- if they've learned anything from this
7 process, how many people go out in their communities,
8 and actively promote some of the positive things that
9 they've taken away from this meeting.

10 How many people will actually do that.
11 And I'm not talking about just here. Also on the
12 panel, and all the way up. How many people actually
13 go out and do something about it.

14 Now, the incident that occurred in Black
15 Hawk with Mr. Roy Smith, I don't see any federal
16 agency coming there to do anything about the sheriff
17 department that caused that, if you're familiar with
18 that incident.

19 DR. KATZ: They may not be. Would you
20 like -- most of the panel is not from this area.
21 Would you want to share it?

22 MS. WILSON: Well, no. I think this is
23 probably not the particular time. Basically, a black
24 gentleman was hung up by his legs, and mutilated. And

1 a period of two of three years, he's been harassed,
2 and et cetera.

3 And the sheriff department was complicit
4 in this activity, along with a few neighbors. But
5 now, even though the gentleman has been given a reward
6 in a lawsuit, the federal government has not come in,
7 and done anything to the sheriff department. Which I
8 think the federal government needs to be a dynamic
9 force of example, in that particular incident. That's
10 an example.

11 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR WINSTON: May I -- I'd
12 like to just speak for a moment to those concerns.
13 And we know that there are citizens, and others in
14 communities, looking for examples that can be
15 emulated.

16 The President's Initiative on Race has
17 been identifying what we are calling promising
18 practices in a number of communities. And these are
19 the kinds of positive efforts that are being made at
20 the community and the national level.

21 We are making information available about
22 these promising practices, both on the Web site, and
23 also intend to incorporate them into a compendium.
24 For example, we have identified a group of mortgage

1 lenders in the Cleveland, Ohio area, who have, on
2 their own, gotten together to ensure that fairness is
3 accomplished in letting mortgages, and helping poor
4 and minority people purchase housing.

5 We have identified in other communities
6 newspapers that are publishing series on race, to help
7 educate the communities about some of the insidious
8 examples of stereotyping, and also indicating the
9 kinds of solutions that community members can take on.

10 I would like to encourage all of you who
11 have such examples, either by individuals or
12 organizations, to make them available to us, so that
13 we can make them available to those of you in this
14 community. And we know that there are a number of
15 things going on in this community.

16 One final point, in terms of the federal
17 government's involvement in helping to eliminate
18 discrimination, the President, in response to
19 recommendations made by this Advisory Board, has
20 included in his FY '99 budget a substantial increase
21 in the federal civil rights enforcement budget. For
22 the first time in over a decade, there is a
23 substantial increase being recommended. And
24 hopefully, it will be incorporated into the budget by

1 the Congress.

2 Which is designed, and this enforcement
3 effort is designed to make it possible to be even more
4 responsive to the kinds of things that were just
5 described.

6 DR. KATZ: Okay. Can we have the next
7 speaker?

8 MS. NELSON: I'm Audrey Nelson. And I
9 work with -- I won't even call it a DoD agency,
10 federal agency, in the Denver area. And my main
11 concern is that, in looking at positions within my
12 agency, that has over 2,000 people assigned within the
13 Denver area, we only have, like, six African-Americans
14 in the 13 through 15 position, in our senior
15 management positions.

16 From FY '95 through '96 -- in FY '95 we
17 had seven African-Americans. In FY '96 we lost one.
18 We had six. But during that same period, white males
19 and females increased by 17 positions, in 13 and
20 above, in one location. The Asians decreased by one.
21 The Hispanics increased by one. And I won't even talk
22 about the native Americans, because they seem not to
23 even exist. They, where I work, I won't even talk
24 about it. (Applause.)

1 The excuses that are given, right here I
2 have for you, I have in my hands, are affirmative
3 employment program report. It's not affirmative
4 action report. It's affirmative employment.

5 And what I'm hearing from my agency is,
6 affirmative employment means, as long as I have people
7 that look like you on my staff, and we're within the
8 Denver metropolitan labor statistics, if your
9 percentage is 7.3 and the labor statistics says it's
10 supposed to be 4.6 then you're doing real good.

11 Because we're 7.3 percent. The labor
12 force says we only need 4.6. So, you're represented.
13 You're doing really good. There's no problems. There
14 is not a manifest imbalance. There's not a
15 conspicuous absence. So, we have no problems.

16 But I don't see it that way. When I look
17 at moving up the ladder, I've done the things, and
18 several other African-Americans have done the things,
19 as well as other minorities, that they should do in
20 terms of education, training, career paths, trying to
21 outline the things they need to get ahead, and move up
22 the ladder, there's always a new rule.

23 And in this case, the new rule is, they
24 tell me things like, well, you didn't go out on this

1 other assignment that so'n'so went on, to do the dirty
2 work. Okay? Or, you didn't do these other things.
3 It's like a new rule comes up every time.

4 But yet, you can come up with this report
5 to tell me the things that you're doing, like in the
6 back of the book, they talk about the things that
7 they're doing to change the barrier of women and
8 minorities in 13 and above positions.

9 DR. KATZ: One would expect -- excuse me,
10 you have talked for quite a long time. One would
11 expect that the government would be an exemplary
12 employer. But obviously there's a glass ceiling
13 there, too.

14 Would anybody else on the panel want to
15 address whether they're looking at this kind of thing?

16 DR. FRANKLIN: Dr. Katz, may I make this
17 point. This is an extended part of the morning
18 session, because we wanted to hear from more people.
19 Now, we have a very limited time. And we're doing
20 this because we want to hear from more people.

21 So that, you must make your comments
22 brief, so that we can hear from as many as possible.
23 Because in about ten minutes, we're going to cut this
24 off. And I wanted you to bear that in mind, as you

1 talk, please.

2 MS. SANDOVAL: Hi. I'm Bonnie Sandoval.
3 I work for the Department of Interior. And like I
4 say, I work for the Department of Interior, probably
5 tomorrow I won't have a job after talking to you.

6 But we're in dire help at Fish and
7 Wildlife Service, at the accounting service. They're
8 so abusive to minorities, Hispanics, and blacks -- I
9 have seen people, either people in the last year and
10 a half, have nervous breakdowns. Some have returned
11 back to work. Some haven't.

12 They've lost their homes. They've lost
13 their kids, because they don't have a job. They file
14 complaints. It goes to EEOC, and EEOC does not help
15 us at all. They're for management. They've got two
16 judges that are all for management. Before we even go
17 to court, we know we have lost.

18 They won't even hear our cases. The
19 judges take the files, the ROI files, to their
20 offices, and say, "We'll make a decision." And they
21 go ahead, and decide against each and every one of us.

22 Thirty percent of the people at Fish and
23 Wildlife are on Prozac. That's how bad it is. And we
24 need your help. If you want case numbers, we have

1 problems, but we have solutions, too. And you should
2 start at the EEO managers, with the Department of
3 Interior, and Babbit. Because they do nothing. They
4 don't respond.

5 EEOC does not respond. I have spent about
6 20 letters to EEOC. I have not had one answer back.
7 And I have sent them to Mr. -- Flores, who is sitting
8 right there. And I wish maybe he could respond to
9 this. (Applause.)

10 DR. KATZ: Hope he does. Next speaker,
11 please?

12 MR. JAVI: Hello. My name is Javi Jalini.
13 I am a member of the Bahai faith here in Denver. I
14 just wanted to say I really appreciate what you're
15 doing. And I think the future repercussions are going
16 to be enormous. And I thank you for all that.

17 I was born and raised in a family that
18 drilled into me the equality of all the races,
19 equality of gender, equality of everything. And what
20 I'd like to do is encourage the panel to get the
21 leaders of religion involved in this dialogue, so that
22 they would tell their congregations about the goodness
23 of all the races, and encourage fellowship among
24 everybody. (Applause.)

1 DR. FRANKLIN: Thank you.

2 DR. KATZ: Thank you. Interestingly,
3 nobody this morning mentioned religious institutions
4 as a possible format for change. But I agree with
5 you. Next gentleman?

6 MR. MARTINEZ: My name is Luke Martinez.
7 I'm a professor of education, and I'm very pleased to
8 be here today. Just a couple of quick things to
9 consider.

10 Number one, the use of race sometimes can
11 be misleading, in that there are different races.
12 There's only one race, the human race. Our body
13 parts, our blood, is interchangeable. We look
14 different on the outside, and that's good. And we've
15 had different experiences, but there's only one race.
16 This should be an initiative on human communication.

17 Secondly, we need to have systemic change.
18 If we do not change institutions, and hold people
19 accountable, it becomes superfluous. It's
20 superficial. It's well intended. But unless we
21 systemically change things. We need to re-write the
22 history of the United States the way it actually
23 occurred. (Applause.)

24 We need to include the contributions of

1 so-called ethnic minorities in women into the
2 curriculum. Not just as victims.

3 Furthermore, if we don't change the media,
4 which perpetuates homo-phobia, sexism, and racism,
5 then talks like this simply are gratifying, but
6 there's no systemic change. (Applause.)

7 And finally, I'd like to say that I
8 support my friend and colleague, Dr. Glenn Morris, and
9 the native Americans, for their concerns. We must --
10 we must remember -- we must remember, as Glenn has
11 often said, that the native American concept of
12 reality is a circle. We're all inter-connected. Not
13 to mention the fact that they were here 30,000 years
14 before anyone else arrived. Thank you. (Applause.)

15 DR. KATZ: Thank you.

16 MR. BERRY: Good afternoon. My name is
17 Michael Berry, and I'm a student here at the
18 University of Colorado at Denver. First of all, I'd
19 like to commend this forum for being here. Secondly,
20 I think these types of forums need to occur more
21 often. Just coming into town one a year, or once
22 every ten years, is not going to be a solution to the
23 problem.

24 The issues of racism and discrimination

1 are very extensive through the city. I'd like to echo
2 the comments of the young lady that spoke before me.
3 The agencies that are there to help, such as the EEOC,
4 and the Colorado Civil Rights Commission, those
5 agencies are so overwhelmed that there's just simply
6 not enough support financially for those agencies to
7 be effective regulatory agencies.

8 Secondly, the court systems here are just
9 as bad. Unless you have a lot of money, it's very
10 difficult to fight discrimination in this state.

11 So, I guess my recommendations would be,
12 for one, to have more of these types of dialogues.
13 That if the President is really concerned about racism
14 and diversity, that you have these types of forums
15 more often.

16 Secondly, that we do something to help the
17 regulatory agencies to stop discrimination. And that
18 we put some type of committee together to stay on top
19 of these issues, so that there is more public
20 dialogue. I think that's a big problem. I think,
21 unfortunately last night, there were a lot of people
22 who protested the type of dialogue. And it's, to me,
23 it's further evidence that the powers that be really
24 don't want to see effective change.

1 So, we have to turn to our leadership.
2 And as far as I'm concerned, if our leadership is
3 really effective, we're going to have more types of
4 dialogue. And even beyond the dialogue, there needs
5 to be some action.

6 It's fine to get here, and to give all
7 this lip service. But if you just come into town once
8 a year, once every ten years, we have a conversation,
9 and you leave, and nothing is done, I really don't see
10 that it's going to be very productive or very
11 beneficial for society. Thank you

12 DR. KATZ: I'm sure that everyone
13 associated with this hopes the same thing.

14 MS. WORFORD: Good afternoon. Deborah
15 Worford, acting Equal Opportunity Officer, U.S.
16 Geological Survey. As a black female in America in
17 1998, I don't experience blatant in-my-face
18 discrimination. It's very subtle.

19 It's when the sales clerks slide my change
20 to me, in fear of touching my hand. It's when I'm
21 asked for three forms of identification when I go to
22 make a charge, when the caucasian customer before me
23 was asked for one, or no ID. It's being a member of a
24 bank for the last eight years, and being denied time

1 after time a bank float.

2 We are all one race. We all have gifts.
3 And we cannot afford to lose one individual gift based
4 on artificial barriers, such as disabilities, or the
5 color of your skin, or your race, or your sex, sexual
6 orientation. We should live together as one.

7 DR. KATZ: Thank you. I wish that we had
8 time to hear everybody, but I think we're only going
9 to have two more -- two more speakers.

10 MS. SMITH: My name is Syl Morton Smith.
11 And I want to thank you for being here. The dialogue
12 may not be what you want to hear. It may not be what
13 we want to hear. But I come today as a child of God
14 to say, we are all equal. We are all important.

15 Stereotyping, I'm so glad you have this
16 subject before us. I want to confess that
17 stereotyping is not always them saying something about
18 us. Often, we within our different groups, stereotype
19 ourselves. We stereotype each other.

20 I'm African-American. Sometimes there may
21 be an African-American who is fat, ugly, bald,
22 whatever. We draw conclusions. And then we don't
23 like it when it's given back to us.

24 The truth is, none of us should be

1 engaging in it. We ought to all look each other in
2 the eye. Talk, listen, care, try to make it a better
3 world, one for the other. And that way, regardless of
4 whatever you are, you are somebody, because God
5 created you.

6 I always remind myself every single
7 morning, talent is God-given. Be thankful. Fame is
8 man-given. Be humble. Conceit is self-given. Be
9 careful. We're all important. Let's not stereotype
10 ourselves or anybody else. (Applause.)

11 MR. CORTEZ: I'm Frank Cortez. And I'd
12 like to say that I lost my brother about two months
13 ago. And since he was Hispanic, and it was gang
14 related, that they didn't really follow up on it. And
15 that's the racism that I felt. And I just thought I'd
16 let you all know. (Applause.)

17 DR. KATZ: Sorry to hear it. Okay. One
18 more. (Pause.) One more, and then I think we will
19 have to turn to the Board.

20 MR. WEINBERG: My name is Seymour
21 Weinberg. I'm a senior citizen student at Metro State
22 College, and vice president of the Metro State College
23 Bahai club.

24 One of the previous speakers called the

1 issue of racism the most challenging issue. And I
2 agree. I agree because this nation has within its
3 borders the totality of the human race. Every
4 background is here. We are now living in an
5 integrated world, technologically and economically.

6 The dynamic force of example is this.
7 That if this nation solves the problem of racism, it
8 becomes an example to the rest of the world that
9 humanity can live in peace, no matter what its
10 background and origin is.

11 How do we get there? It's natural to
12 identify with one's heritage, with one's background,
13 be it racial, religious, national, class. And these
14 loyalties are okay. There's nothing wrong with them.

15 But we must have a greater loyalty. The
16 loyalty to the human race as a whole. The
17 consciousness of the one-ness of mankind must become
18 part of us at all times. There must be an abiding
19 sense within us that we are all one.

20 How do we get there? The primary
21 instrument that's available to this nation to get to
22 that consciousness of the one-ness of humanity is
23 religion. Even in Denver, the civic religion of the
24 Broncos brought us together.

1 But it's important for the religious
2 leaders of this community and every community, to
3 raise the banner of the one-ness of mankind, and by
4 the dynamic force of example, show the rest of the
5 community that it can be accomplished. Thank you.

6 DR. KATZ: Thank you. Well, you've raised
7 the \$64,000 question of how we get there. And would
8 that it only cost \$64,000 to do so. Okay. Yes? Did
9 you want -- ?

10 DR. FRANKLIN: You finish -- thank you.

11 DR. KATZ: Thank you all for
12 participating.

13 DR. FRANKLIN: We owe a special debt to
14 Dr. Phyllis Katz for her moderation of the panel this
15 morning and of the group this afternoon. It was a
16 model of excellence which we deeply appreciate.

17 DR. KATZ: Thank you.

18 DR. FRANKLIN: She was most generous to
19 come back this afternoon, and to handle our final
20 discussion.

21 Now, and I want to thank you for your
22 patience, and for your contributions. The
23 observations which you made are taken very seriously.
24 We could comment about each one of them, but we

1 didn't, for the purpose of expediting time, and giving
2 more and more of you the opportunity.

3 So that, I want to thank you very much.
4 Now, the meeting will remain public, as it is required
5 by law. But we have a few matters to carry on just
6 among member of the Board and the staff. And so that
7 if you will bear with us, we will carry on our
8 discussion.

9 First, let me ask any member of the Board
10 who are the staff who wants to say anything about the
11 luncheon conversations. Were there any things to be
12 learned there, that we must take cognizance of?

13 Unfortunately, I got to my table so late
14 that everybody had finished eating and was getting
15 ready to move around by the time I sat down. So that,
16 my table, I did not profit a great deal from the
17 discussion of stereotyping or anything else, at the
18 table. Does anyone else want to -- ?

19 MS. CHAVEZ-THOMPSON: I had a wonderful
20 conversation with my table, Dr. Franklin. And I think
21 the most moving example of that was someone who said
22 that we must take individual responsibility for our
23 actions, and for what we teach our children, and for
24 what is taught in our schools.

1 And how we personally, on a one to one
2 level, can make changes. And how we can speak up,
3 when we see others speaking inappropriately, or making
4 remarks that, sometimes by staying silent, that we in
5 fact are promoting that type of action.

6 There was also another conversation that
7 we began talking about where do we begin to make the
8 changes to where we do not have the effects of
9 stereotyping. And it is so important for us, not just
10 in our higher education, but also in our elementary
11 schools, in our middle schools, in our high schools.

12 You know, one of the things that perhaps
13 this audience, and many of the audiences that we
14 address do not know, while we have a board meeting
15 once a month, each of us on this seven member advisory
16 board travel across the country, and have taken on
17 innumerable assignments of visiting with
18 organizations, visiting at conferences, seminars,
19 workshops, dialogues, in various communities across
20 America.

21 We're not just meeting once a month. Each
22 of us has taken on 20 or 30 assignments, or maybe more
23 for some that have been able to travel a little bit
24 moreso than others. Because each of us has our full

1 time jobs. For those that still have their that pay
2 our salaries.

3 We travel extensively to hear not just in
4 forums like this. And please understand that we know
5 that sometimes you may leave here frustrated, and say,
6 did it make any sense? Did we say enough?

7 We too are frustrated that we wish we
8 could be in 100 places more. We will accomplish this
9 if you help us. And I think you have helped us today.
10 You helped us last night. We have a much better
11 understanding of the feelings of this community, and
12 so many other hundreds of communities across America.

13 Believe me, we heard you. We are taking
14 back your comments to the President. He will know
15 exactly how you related those comments to us today.
16 I certainly appreciated the conversation that I had
17 with the people at my table, and certainly with the
18 other conversations that I've had an opportunity to
19 partake in since yesterday.

20 DR. FRANKLIN: Thank you. Governor
21 Winter?

22 GOVERNOR WINTER: Mr. Chairman, to pursue
23 what my colleague Linda Chavez-Thompson has just said,
24 going back to what I believe Mr. -- said earlier in

1 this meeting this afternoon. That he hoped that this
2 would not be just a one-shot thing on behalf of the
3 Board, that we would come back.

4 Well, let me explain a little bit about
5 the Board. I doubt that this Board will be in
6 existence for much long. We were not selected as a
7 permanent instrumentality. We were selected as a
8 temporary advisory board, to go around this country,
9 and find out from folks like you what your concerns
10 are.

11 We understand that there is no quick fix,
12 that there is no band-aid solution. But what I have
13 seen and heard here in Denver has instructed me beyond
14 anything that you can imagine.

15 I see in front of me here, in this room
16 this afternoon, a great many people who are concerned
17 about the future of this community, and this country.
18 And let me say, you are not powerless. There is a
19 great deal of empowerment represented in you, in your
20 talents, in your interests, in your idealism.

21 And that can be reflected if enough of you
22 here in this community will do what hopefully we have
23 been attempting to encourage around the country. And
24 that is to create a local sense of community. A local

1 sense of coming together. And out of the kinds of
2 dialogues and discussions that we've been a part of
3 here, develop here in this community the process by
4 which racism can be eliminated.

5 I agree with everyone who has spoken to
6 that subject. Racism is the great curse of this
7 country. But we don't have to put up with it. We
8 have the capacity in this country to do away with it,
9 if we have the will to do it.

10 Now, we can't do it -- we can't do it
11 except as it is represented in your efforts at the
12 community level. And I hope that out of the work of
13 this Advisory Board, which has been an inspiring thing
14 for I think all of us, that there will -- that there
15 will be created in this country this sense that racism
16 in whatever form, racist speech, and racist acts, and
17 racist attitudes, will be unacceptable in this society
18 of ours.

19 That's a commitment we all have to make.
20 We have to work toward it. And I believe that we can
21 accomplish it. And I believe we will accomplish it.
22 Because I think there's a recognition now that this is
23 one of the most important things that we have to deal
24 with.

1 DR. FRANKLIN: I think we can perhaps can
2 come to the point now where we can make some
3 conclusions about what we want to take away from
4 Denver. I heard you, Governor Winter. But are there
5 any others of you who would like to speak specifically
6 to the point of what we can take away from Denver in
7 our reporting. We have to -- I am one who has to make
8 a report to the President of things here. So, if
9 you'll dictate the letter, Mr. Thomas, I will write
10 it.

11 MR. THOMAS: I don't know if I could
12 dictate the letter. But there's a lot of things to
13 take away from the Denver meeting. I'll just focus on
14 one. And I think that those of us on the Board, and
15 those who we represent in the majority community, and
16 the basic institutions, have to step up our
17 understanding of the American Indian situation.
18 (Applause.)

19 And Laura Harris, who is a consultant to
20 the group, calls it Indian 101. And -- just to get us
21 started, but I think not only do we have to get there.
22 I think we have got to get the rest of the country
23 there.

24 Because we've come face to face with this

1 issue in three or four meetings, ranging from very
2 constructive to very emotional. And this is an issue
3 that's not going to go away. And yet, on the other
4 hand, it's an issue that I think can be resolved.

5 And so, I think that's -- it's an issues
6 that's -- that's become more and more aware to us as
7 we've begun our journey along this road. And I think
8 we knew we had a lot of other big hurdles. But this
9 one has come up to us I think as a surprising big
10 hurdle. And so, this meeting here, again, heightened
11 our sensitivity to it.

12 So, that was certainly something that I
13 think we'll take away from it.

14 DR. FRANKLIN: Now, I'd like to discuss
15 briefly some of the upcoming activities of the Board,
16 contemplating the next meetings, where the town hall
17 meeting will be. And I wonder if you could bring us
18 up to date on where we are with respect to plans for
19 the next couple months or so.

20 MS. WINSTON: Yes. I would be happy to do
21 that. The Board has a very ambitious schedule planned
22 for certainly the next month and beyond. I should
23 mention that the Board will be joining the President
24 in his next town hall meeting, on April the 14th, in

1 Houston, a town hall meeting which will be shown on
2 the ESPN channel.

3 It will provide an opportunity for the
4 President and others to talk to members of the sports
5 community, both professional and non-professional
6 sports. And to look at sports as something of an
7 analogy for how the issue of race has been treated
8 over time.

9 In addition, we are regarding looking at
10 April as being perhaps the most intensive month of
11 dialogue that the President's Initiative on Race has
12 participated in since its creation.

13 We will start out the month with the
14 campus week of dialogue, which will be April the 6th
15 through the 9th. We expect to have hundreds of
16 colleges and universities all over the country
17 sponsoring some set of activities. At least one
18 activity designed to give the community an opportunity
19 to talk about race relations, and improving race, not
20 only on the college campuses, but in the community, as
21 well.

22 This is also part of our special outreach,
23 the Board's special outreach, the President's special
24 outreach, to young people in this country. In

1 November, the President sent out a letter to 25,000
2 young leaders in high schools, in colleges and
3 universities, essentially placing a call to action to
4 young people who we know will be our future, who are
5 our future.

6 To begin talking about one America in the
7 21st century. The theme of the campus week of
8 dialogue is, who will build one America? It's a
9 question that we are asking students, faculty,
10 administrators, community leaders, members of the
11 community, to address during that week, with the hope
12 that this will be the beginning of a sustained,
13 constructive conversation in many, many communities
14 across the country.

15 In addition, we are convening what many of
16 you today and yesterday suggested we do with more
17 intensity. We are convening a meeting of religious
18 leaders, the community of faith, which has long taken
19 on a leadership role in bringing us together across
20 racial lines. That meeting will take place in New
21 Orleans on April the 15th.

22 The month will end with a series of days
23 of dialogue. We have been reaching out to governors
24 in all of the states, asking that they designate April

1 30th as a state-wide date of dialogue.

2 The governors are partnering with the
3 national YWCA, and local chapters of the YWCA, to
4 begin again a series of conversations which we hope
5 will be sustained over time, so that communities, like
6 the community here in Denver, will feel some
7 inspiration and excitement about the kind of problem
8 solving that hope is -- we helped to sustain here
9 yesterday and today.

10 The Board will be participating all of
11 these activities in some way. With its next Board
12 meeting to take place in May, and we'll address the
13 administration of justice.

14 Mr. Chairman, and members of the Board, we
15 are working hard. We on the staff are working hard to
16 make sure that you have even more opportunities, board
17 member Linda Chavez-Thompson, to engage communities as
18 you have been over the last seven months.

19 DR. FRANKLIN: There are a number of items
20 that I hope we can address as a Board. Not only the
21 administration of justice, which is to me very, very
22 pressing. We probably need to do something more about
23 health. And we perhaps need to do a bit more about
24 the whole field of the workplace.

1 Although we visited there, but we need to
2 go back, and visit it again, because it's so central
3 to the well being of all of us. And at a time when we
4 are a prosperous nation, we need to look more
5 carefully, it seems to me, at how we can increase the
6 opportunities for all of our citizens, through sharing
7 the prosperity that the nation enjoys.

8 It is no comfort to many of us when we say
9 that our unemployment rate is down to four percent.
10 Certainly that four percent isn't regarded as a
11 wonderful thing. And I don't myself regard it as
12 wonderful. We need to do more than we have done as a
13 nation, so far as sharing the great resources, and
14 prosperity of the nation. It is a concern.

15 Now --

16 MS CHAVEZ-THOMPSON: Mr. Chairman? Just
17 a reminder that while unemployment may be down to four
18 percent, and there may be a great economic boom, in
19 America, a lot of people are holding down two jobs,
20 because the pay is so low on many of those jobs.

21 Another issue that I would like to point
22 out, and that we have not addressed, and that I would
23 like to know if there is something that we could
24 address. And that has to do with immigration. There

1 are many issues that border on racism in regards to
2 the issue of immigration.

3 And I have had many people ask me if we
4 are going to do that. I know I have raised it in the
5 past, several months, about when or if we're going to
6 do that. And I would raise that again as an issue
7 that I certainly would like to address.

8 DR. FRANKIN: Mr. Estrada was on
9 commission, on the immigration commission, who was one
10 of the panelists this morning. Spoke to me privately
11 both in Washington and here, about the importance of
12 the Board giving more attention, more specific
13 attention, to the whole question of immigration, as it
14 relates to our various minority groups.

15 As it relates, indeed, to the whole
16 question of bilingual education, and all the related
17 problems that have to do with immigration. I hope
18 that we can get a change to do this.

19 I mention this unfinished business not to
20 prolong the life of the Advisory Board, because I hope
21 its life will not be prolonged. But to indicate the
22 need to have, as we have said, some continuing
23 institutionalization of the activities of this Board,
24 and even enlargement of the activities of the Board,

1 so far as that's concerned.

2 For we're not going to solve this problem
3 in the lifetime of this Board. Then, people ask me,
4 well, how's it going? And I said, I will ask you how
5 it's going. And I would say, as we leave Denver, I
6 hope you will understand your responsibility to see
7 that it goes well after we leave.

8 We continue to be heartened by the
9 promising practices that Ms. Winston made reference
10 to, and those that have started since we have visited
11 certain place, for those promising practices.
12 Indicate the vitality and the vigor, as well as the
13 optimism, of people of our citizens, who want to keep
14 on trying to address this problem, and solve it, if
15 possible.

16 DR. KATZ: Dr. Franklin, can I ask a
17 question? I think this was touched on by a few
18 members of the audience. But what do you or the other
19 Board members see as coming out of this process? And
20 what's your best scenario?

21 DR. FRANKLIN: You mean, ultimately?

22 DR. KATZ: Yes. After you've finished
23 with --

24 DR. FRANKLIN: Well, we certainly will --

1 in the first place, let me tell you in a nutshell, we
2 see a report to the President of the United States.
3 There ar people who said here in Denver, and have said
4 it in other places, too, that they hope we will make
5 a report.

6 We are a creation of the President of the
7 United States. And he is waiting for our report.
8 He's been to some of our meetings. We communicate
9 with him regularly. And not only is he waiting for
10 the report. We tell him every month what we've been
11 doing, and ask him to do certain things.

12 And I wanted to say this in the presence
13 of those people who were concerned about the
14 enforcement of the civil rights act, and particularly
15 the answering of the complaints that lie before EEOC,
16 and so forth, that we have made recommendations to the
17 President that he increase the budget for these areas.
18 And he has done so. And it is up to the Congress to
19 do that.

20 That's one thing we certainly want to make
21 certain that in that area, we have accomplished
22 something specific. That we will make a report to the
23 President.

24 We also -- that we will have fired the

1 enthusiasm, and imagination, and the energy of these
2 many, many communities. That they will catch the
3 spirit, and carry on after the life of the Board is
4 over.

5 And that this will feed on itself, and
6 increase, and grow. And perhaps we can achieve
7 something.

8 Then finally, we hope that in the
9 Presidential report to the nation, which will be based
10 in part upon the report that we give him, we hope that
11 he will seize the opportunity which he certainly
12 appreciates. Because after all, he did this in the
13 beginning.

14 That he will seize the opportunity to fire
15 this country in a way that it hasn't been fired
16 before. To energize it in a way that it hasn't been
17 energized before. To carry on this problem in the
18 best and most gentle, and most human way possible.
19 So that we will learn to live together in the 21st
20 century as, indeed, one people. Celebrating our
21 differences, as we always have, as well as
22 appreciating those differences.

23 So, that those are some of the things that
24 we want to carry with us at the end. Well, we

1 continue to work. I think I will be seeing Governor
2 Winter and Judy Winston, in Los Angeles this weekend,
3 as they will be visiting promising practices in Los
4 Angeles. And as Governor Winter, and Judy, and Laura
5 Harris, and several of us will be participating in
6 various meetings in Los Angeles this weekend.

7 I will be at the civil rights forum of the
8 American Federal of Labor, at the invitation of --
9 perhaps it was at the command of Linda Chavez-
10 Thompson. And I will be at the meeting with several
11 of my colleagues at the annual conference of the
12 Children's Defense Fund, in Los Angeles, which will
13 have a town hall meeting on poverty in children.

14 And I will also be there to participate in
15 the work at the convention of the Society of Black
16 Engineers, on Saturday, the 28th.

17 All of us are active, and will be working
18 day in and day out. Some people think that we have a
19 monthly meeting. I think I -- almost all of us have
20 a daily meeting of one kind or another with -- in one
21 part of the country or another.

22 So that these are -- some of the things
23 that we are going to be doing, I would urge the staff
24 to work as quickly, as expeditiously as possible, in

1 the effort to shape up the May and June meetings.
2 Perhaps the June meeting might be the last of the
3 Board, as the Board as a whole.

4 And of course, that -- it remains to be
5 seen whether we can get our report finished, in time
6 to deliver it to the President by the end of
7 September, as we now hope to do.

8 Do any of the other members of the Board
9 have anything to add to what we have said?

10 DR. KATZ: See you in Los Angeles.

11 DR. FRANKLIN: If not, I'll see you in Los
12 Angeles. And thank, Dr. Katz, for your -- the meeting
13 is adjourned.

14 (Whereupon, the advisory board meeting was
15 adjourned at 3:10 p.m.)

16