THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY & CRIME, LAW, AND JUSTICE

THE FRUITS OF THEIR LABOR: EXAMINING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VILLAGE

ALICIA MONEÈ OWEN

Spring 2011

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a baccalaureate degree in Secondary Education with honors in Sociology

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Marylee Taylor Associate Professor of Sociology Thesis Supervisor

Jeffery Ulmer Associate Professor of Sociology Honors Adviser

^{*} Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

In 2001, students gathered in the Hetzel Union Building on Penn State's University Park campus to protest the administration's failure to address racial issues at the University. This paper will explore events leading up to the 2001 student sit-in. The culminating university policies will be examined to see how the student demands were met by the administration. Information has been gathered from news articles, university documents and websites, and interviews with key players in this protest.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
A LOOK AT "THE VILLAGE"	1
PLAN TO ENHANCE DIVERSITY AT PENN STATE (REVISED) AND UPDATES	6
o An Update on the Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State (Revised)	6
UNDERSTANDING "THE VILLAGE," ITS PRECURSORS AND AFTERMATH	9
 Social Psychological Approach to Justice 	10
o Collective Identity	11
o Hate Crime	12
o Political Institutionalization of Social Movements	14
CONCLUSION	15
REFERENCES	17
APPENDIX A: PLAN TO ENHANCE DIVERSITY AT PENN STATE	20
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW WITH TERRELL JONES	23
APPENDIX C: PHONE INTERVIEW WITH ASSATA RICHARDS	39
APPENDIX D: PHONE INTERVIEW WITH DAVID WARNER	42

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Basic Model of Justice Process

10

INTRODUCTION

This paper will explore a Penn State University 2001 student protest regarding the racial climate on the University Park campus. The events leading up to the protest, that was called "The Village," took place from November 1999 to May 2001. The protest will be discussed in detail and the reflections of various participants reported.

Perspectives on the protest were gathered from newspaper articles, personal interviews, and scholarly essays. The majority of the articles come from local newspapers; however, some information was gathered from national news sources that followed the protest as it unfolded. Personal interviews took place between the researcher and three different "Village" participants. The interview transcriptions have been included in full as appendices. Penn State University documents were also referenced to provide the University's responses to the student protests and their plans to address diversity.

The events and the behaviors of the participants will be explained using various theoretical perspectives. Karen Hegtvedt's Sociological Approach to Justice will be used to understand justice-seeking behaviors of "Village" participants. William Gamson's theory of collective identity can explain the group identity that came into existence during the ten day sit-in. Multiple definitions of hate crime will be introduced because there was dispute over whether or not the letters that sparked this movement qualified as a hate crime. Finally, the concept of "institutionalization" of social movements will be used to describe the distribution of power in this particular student protest.

A LOOK AT "THE VILLAGE"

In November of 1999, some sixty plus students at The Pennsylvania State University received hateful e-mails signed "The Patriot." Eventually the e-mail was linked to a computer at

Temple University in Philadelphia (Busacca, 2004). The hate mail continued to arrive at the university throughout the fall semester of 2000 (Hoover, 2001).

In late 2000, a group of students dubbing themselves the Penn State Coalition of Students discovered that Penn State was not meeting the diversity commitments outlined in its state-funded "Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 1998 – 2003." These students presented their findings to the Faculty Senate on December 5, 2000. The document stated that the University's failure to implement initiatives in the Framework was "unacceptable, damag[ing] the academic development of Penn State students and contributes to the contentious racial climate at Penn State" (The Black Caucus). The Faculty Senate refused to sign a document that admitted the University's fault on such short notice (Hoecker, 2001).

Once the Penn State Coalition of Students found the Faculty Senate reluctant, they went to Old Main and waited for a meeting with President Graham Spanier. Spanier agreed to the meeting, which turned into a five-hour negotiation. The Coalition left the meeting with five signatures on the same document the Faculty Senate refused to sign. These signatures included President Spanier, Susan Welch, who was the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and three Chairs from the Faculty Senate (Hoecker, 2001).

Although Spanier was leading the University in the right direction, the students felt the school was moving too slowly to remedy existing problems. In February 2001, Black Caucus members took a binder containing over 300 student testimonies of hate incidents at Penn State to the Harrisburg legislature (Busacca, 2004; Brownstein, 2001). On April 11, 2001, the Pennsylvania Legislative Black Caucus met with Penn State students, faculty, and administrators to make suggestions on the best way to improve the racial climate on campus ("Black Legislators Meet with Penn State"). The Legislative Black Caucus delivered a report stating that Penn State

had a "crisis of race relations," with the campus failing to foster diversity. A list of possible remedies was developed, including: a campus hate-crime registry, a minority advisory board, and a larger African-American studies department (Hoover, 2001).

Although these improvements were suggested, it was not long before the racial tensions were heightened. Later in April of 2001, Daryl Lang, a reporter for *The Collegian*, received death-threats to himself and Student Black Caucus President, LaKeisha Wolf. Wolf received three death threat letters prior to the one delivered to her by Lang. The arrival of these letters increased the student frustration with the university's strategies of committees and studies. The day after Wolf and Lang received their letters, twenty-three students rushed the fifty-yard line of Beaver stadium during the Blue-White game in an attempt to bring awareness of the issue. Few in attendance knew the meaning behind the protest (Busacca, 2004; Hoover, 2001). The Beaver Stadium protest was Black Caucus' response to the death threat letters, one of which not only threatened a student's life, but also claimed to have already taken a life. The letter stated that the writer killed a black man and left his body on Mt. Nittany. Police searched the mountain twice and, finding nothing suspicious, determined the letter's claim to be fraudulent. The body of a black man was, however, found three hours from State College during this search period. Police decided that the body was in no way linked to the death threat letter, but many students disagreed (Cook, et al., 2001; Collegian Staff Writers, 2001).

In order to increase awareness of the racial issues on campus, Graham Spanier and other Penn State administrators planned a "No Hate at Penn State" rally for April 24, 2001. The event was to include speakers and a march around campus. Many African-American students called the event a publicity stunt to help the University save face. As many as 4,000 spectators gathered outside of Old Main, but most of them did not follow when the call to march was made (Hoover,

2001). According to Busacca of *The Daily Collegian*, the Student Black Caucus halted the march by urging people to stay until Spanier addressed their concerns. Busacca states in her article that President Spanier was drowned out by protesters with bullhorns when he finally arrived (2004).

Terrell Jones recalls the events differently than Busacca. He makes no mention of Spanier being interrupted by students. Ken Clark, director of the religious center at the time, was speaking and was interrupted by LaKeisha Wolf. Clark surrendered the microphone and walked away (personal communication, Ocotober 5, 2009). In the end, according to both stories, no march took place that day.

After the failed march, Spanier agreed to meet with fifteen student leaders in the Hetzel Union Building (HUB). A crowd of approximately 650 students followed, settling on the ground floor of the HUB, protesting the University's "harsh racial climate" (Busacca, 2004). The protesters let it be known that they were there in support of black peers who received death-threat letters. The student protesters felt that Penn State was lax about student safety. The FBI conducted an investigation regarding the threats. Some University officials and faculty members believed the letters to be hoaxes and part of the students' plan to further a cause. The recipients of the letters remained in the Paul Robeson Cultural Center within the HUB for the duration of the protest (Hoover, 2001; Brownstein, 2001).

The protesters vowed to stay in the HUB until the administration met all of their demands. The Student Black Caucus demands included the following:

- The Vice Provost for Educational Equity (VPEE) must be able to withhold 2% of the PSU budget if certain diversity goals were not met (Hoover, 2001).
- Protection and university diversification programs must increase in number ("Black Penn

State Students demand protections").

- An Africana Studies Research Institute must be established and funded.
- Ten tenured African and African-American Studies (AAAS) faculty members must be hired.
- Dual-degree scholarships must be founded for those students double majoring in AAAS and education.
- There must be a mandatory course on race for every PSU student.

Administrators involved in the talks with student leaders called the demands unreasonable and no agreements were reached the night of the failed march (Busacca, 2004). Only one of the demands, the larger AAAS department, echoed the suggestions left with the University by the Legislative Black Caucus.

On the second day of the sit-in, a new ritual was created among the protesters. At approximately every hour, everyone linked hands and performed a call and response chant: "Now, more than ever, all the brothers and sister everywhere – must see that the time is in the air. Common blood flows through common veins, and common eyes all see the same...Now, now, now!....Ashé, Ashé, Ashé." One of the student leaders, Assata Richards, dubbed the group of protesters "The Village" (Cooke, 2001). The night of April 25 brought a proposal to the students from Vice Provost Terrell Jones identifying the demands that could and could not be met by the administration (Funk, 2001).

An agreement between Penn State's administration and the protesting students was not reached until May 2, 2001. The end of the stalemate was called a victory for both sides by President Spanier (Hoover, 2001). The agreement, entitled Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State, was signed at 6p.m. by representatives of both sides ("Agreement reached at racially torn

Penn State"). The student sit-in, however, did not end until May 4, after the agreement was revised ("Diversity still a goal"). After ten days of HUB occupation, the student protesters left, satisfied with their accomplishment.

PLAN TO ENHANCE DIVERSITY AT PENN STATE (REVISED) AND UPDATES

The Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State (Revised) outlines the agreements made between representatives of "The Village" and University administrators. The contents of the document will not be presented here, but have been included as an appendix.

An Update on the Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State (Revised)

In August 2001, Penn State announced updates on the Plan to Enhance Diversity. By this time, the proposed Africana Research Center was a reality, with Professor Roy Austin of the Sociology Department serving as director. The University also reached its goal of having six full-time AAAS faculty members by the 2001-2002 school year. This 2001 update makes no mention of a pre-freshman seminar on diversity, but attempts were made to educate first-year students at multiple Penn State campuses, including University Park. Students attended diversity discussions and viewed a video addressing diversity issues during the first residence hall meetings of the school year. A twenty-four hour hotline was established for reporting hate crimes, and the Office of Educational Equity was in the process of creating a website for the same purpose. This particular action is reflective of the PA Legislative Black Caucus' original suggestions to the University. The Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity (CORED), whose main function is to advise Penn State University's President in matters relating to racial and ethnic diversity, was actively searching for student groups to participate in commission activities as per the mandate from the Plan ("An Update on a Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State").

In February 2005, Penn State released the second update of the Plan to Enhance

Diversity. The Africana Research Center continued to support and fund the work of faculty and graduate students. The University achieved its final goal of ten tenure-line faculty members in the AAAS department. Most of those hires were joint appointments, a preference detailed in the Plan. "Since 2001, the University has awarded scholarships to 16 Penn State students who had registered initially as African and African American studies majors and or dual majors."

Although the scholarship criterion to major in AAAS from the plan was partially met, there was no provision that these sixteen students serve in disadvantaged areas or that they double major in AAAS and education. The diversity course requirement changed. Undergraduate students now have two separate diversity requirements to fulfill: three credits in International Cultures and three credits in U.S. Cultures. At the time of this 2005 update, student membership reached its peak on the Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity. The Commission surpassed the Plan mandate of six full student members, to having ten full student members and eleven volunteer/affiliate student members ("2005 Update on the plan to enhance diversity").

As of the summer of 2010, the Africana Research Center continued operating according to conditions of the Plan. The Advisory Board includes people from departments across the University, including professors of English, History, and Human Development and Family Studies ("Advisory Board").

The number of tenured and tenured-track AAAS faculty remains at ten ("Faculty Info").

This was the number required by the revised Plan and appears to have remained static since

2005.

The AAAS scholarship established in the 2001-02 school year is explained in detail on the AAAS website. First preference for the scholarship goes to students interested in dual majoring. Unlike the provision in the Plan, students' second major does not have to be in

education. Students do not have to make a commitment to teach in a disadvantaged area for three years after graduation. Instead, students must demonstrate service in one of Pennsylvania's economically disadvantaged areas during their undergraduate careers in order to receive the scholarship ("Scholarships"). The idea of the scholarship requirements was good in theory, but difficult to execute. "There's no way to force someone to teach in an inner-city school...we're a research I institution. The reason you go to a research I...is because it will connect you with an opportunity for professional schools" (Terrell Jones, personal communication, October 9, 2009).

CORED's student membership continued to grow. Listed for the 2010-2011 school year are four undergraduates, three graduate students, and one affiliated student acting as full commission members. Each year, six student organizations are asked to appoint CORED liaisons. For the 2010-11 year those affiliated groups include: African Students Association, Asian Pacific American Caucus, Association of Residence Hall Students, Black Graduate Student Association, Latino Caucus, and Penn State NAACP (Teresa Bonk, personal communication, July 14, 2010).

The Plan states: "Furthermore, the Gye'Nyame process will continue, and the chair of the University Faculty Senate has agreed to support the consensus recommendation of the faculty and students on the committee when it is presented to the Senate for consideration" ("A Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State Revised"). The Gye'Nyame committee was established in December 2000 and named "after an Ashanti tribal symbol that roughly translates to 'I die when God dies'." Members of the committee included students, faculty, and leaders from the University Faculty Senate. The Gye'Nyame committee was working to add more classes addressing diversity to the Fall 2001 semester schedule ("Leaders discuss diversity"). After 2001, mention of this committee has been difficult to locate. The committee is defunct according

to the Black Caucus' current secretary (James Gilbert, personal communication, November 1, 2010). In an interview, Terrell Jones, Penn State's Vice Provost for Educational Equity, states that the Gye'Nyame committee was supposed to continue operation under the Student Black Caucus. He continues, "In some ways, the Gye'Nyame process became moot when we changed the curriculum for all our students to include [the new diversity requirement]" (personal communication, October 5, 2009).

Although the 2001 update makes no mention of a pre-freshman seminar, Terrell Jones explains that the intended exposure takes place in the form of a video during the First-Year Testing, Consulting, and Advising Program. The video includes Graham Spanier and various Penn State students talking about life at the University, and a portion of the video is a discussion on diversity (personal communication, October 5, 2009). However, there is no follow-up discussion with the incoming freshmen.

UNDERSTANDING "THE VILLAGE," ITS PRECURSORS, AND AFTERMATH

The events of "The Village" and the behaviors of its participants can be examined through the lenses of two sociological frameworks. The first of those frameworks is Hegtvedt's Social Psychological Approach to Justice, which attempts to explain the roles and reactions in justice evaluations. The second is Gamson's idea of collective identity. A discussion of the term "hate crime" will be presented in this section to acknowledge the debate over whether the letters were "true" hate crimes. Lastly, the institutionalization of social movements will be discussed.

Social Psychological Approach to Justice

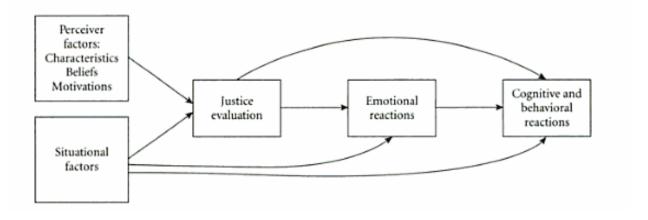


Figure 1: Basic Model of Justice Process

Hegtvedt's theory of justice hinges on perceivers and their characteristics, as is illustrated above. The perceiver assesses distribution, procedures, and/or the treatment of individuals in order to make a justice evaluation. This evaluation expresses the perceiver's judgment about whether the situation is just or unjust. "Injustice begets negative emotions whereas justice produces positive ones." The cognitive and behavioral reactions of the perceiver are meant to restore a sense of psychological and actual justice (Hegtvedt, 2006).

In the case of "The Village," the perceivers consisted mainly of black students, particularly those within the Student Black Caucus. These students, including the recipients of the death threat letters, would be considered first party perceivers. They drew evidence from various sources before making their justice evaluation that: Penn State University does not treat students in the racial minority fairly. Seemingly, President Graham Spanier reached the same justice evaluation, as evidenced by his signing of the document in December 2000.

The students engaged in many behavioral reactions after making their evaluation. The first of these was to meet with various University and State officials. Their next reaction came in

the form of a protest at the Blue-White game. This action was unclear, especially in relation to the larger issue, causing the meaning to be lost on those in attendance. Their final and largest behavioral reaction was the HUB sit-in. Until this point, the University administrators had exhibited very little behavioral reaction. Although, Spanier's justice evaluation seemed to align with the students', his behavioral reaction was imperceptible. It is possible that his reactions were not as prominent because he was a third party perceiver. Spanier did not receive a death threat letter, nor did he identify as an African-American.

The final behavioral reaction shared by both parties was endorsement of the Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State. Both groups of perceivers agreed that this document would restore justice. This reaction may have restored more cognitive justice than actual justice. The Plan seems to have restored peace of mind within the participants; however, many of the provisions were not carried out. This sentiment is echoed in an interview with Assata Richards, a student leader of "The Village": "I think like all victories as soon as you won a victory, you know, those who have conceded that victory to you are finding ways to take back the victory" (personal communication, July 12, 2010). Although, she believes this protest was a step in the right direction, more needs to take place institutionally before actual justice is restored.

Collective Identity

William Gamson offers a definition of collective identity that is readily applicable to "The Village." "Collective identity refers to a process in which movement participants socially construct 'we' that becomes in varying degrees with different individuals, part of their own definition of self" (1991). Participants of "The Village" came together during the sit-in and created a group identity for themselves. They shared a name and formed rituals to define themselves as a unit. One of those rituals included the Ashé chant every hour. These rituals

allowed people outside of "The Village" to see the members as a cohesive group. In interviews with "Village" members, feelings of solidarity were expressed.

David Warner, a white graduate student at the time of "The Village," participated in the sit-in and says he served in no other capacity than member. He states that all participants shared the goal of getting "the administration to address the events that led to it as well as other issues of racial inequality on campus" (personal communication, September 3, 2010). This common goal helped the various students identify with one another in order to solve problems with the administration. Although the common goal brought these students together, the experience of "The Village" played a role in keeping them together. "[I]t was about what happened to us when we left Penn State. A group of us stayed connected to one another" (Assata Richards, personal communication, July 12, 2010).

Hate Crime

There are multiple definitions of hate crime. Each definition specifies target groups, motivation for crime, and forms of illegal conduct. The most inclusive definition states: "Crimes that are motivated by hate include words or actions intended to harm or intimidate an individual because of his or her perceived membership in or association with a particular group." Usually 'particular group' is taken to mean a subordinate group in society due to religion, sexual orientation, ability, and/or race/ethnicity (Green, et.al., 2001). Under this definition the death threat letters qualify as hate crimes. The words were meant to intimidate targeted individuals of a societally subordinate race. Although the letters themselves were enough for some people to take serious action, still others believed that the letters were hoaxes executed to call attention to the need for fuller inclusion of racial discourse at Penn State.

Hate crime hoaxes are generally calls for attention. The hoax is executed by the perceived

victim(s). Researchers discovered that Black students sometimes take part in these hoaxes to "energize Black student activism or to press the administration to move more quickly on Black students' concerns" (Franklin, 2002). As a result of "The Village," activism was energized and the students were able to receive more prompt action from Penn State University administrators. The hoax possibility aligns with some officials' beliefs that the sit-in had nothing to do with safety or death threat letters.

In an interview, Terrell Jones, Penn State's Vice Provost for Educational Equity, states that the final agreement did not address safety. "Let's look at this, if you're talking about hate and death threats, and potential people killed and body found under the mountains and all these other things, well these are very, very serious issues. But, the solution isn't the Enhanced Plan to Promote Diversity" (personal communication, October 5, 2009). The Plan primarily deals with curricular and academic matters. The African and African American Studies Department came out on top with the most gains; and those gains fail to address what the students made out to be the original issue of safety.

Both Terrell Jones and Assata Richards speak of the letters as a means to an end. Assata states:

The safety issue was an opportunity. It was simply an opportunity to say this is what happens at an institution when you don't take care of issues of diversity, when you don't actively work against institutional racism and prejudice...So the safety issue was an opportunity for us to talk about these larger issues.

When motives are framed like this, the letters become a lever to advance a cause. For protesters, safety was not the number one issue, and it became even less an issue as the protest progressed. With the original cause of the protest moved to the back burner, it is not surprising that some

Penn State officials questioned the validity of and motives behind the protesters' claims.

Political Institutionalization of Social Movements

The political institutionalization perspective makes the claim that a political institution as an actor creates an opportunity for increased participation in social movements. Institutions, in this case, are defined as large groups with political and administrative power and can include universities (Walker, 2010). The social movement on Penn State's University Park campus was well underway when President Graham Spanier officially made the University an actor. Once the 2000 document was signed, the door was opened for others to join the social movement with Penn State's Student Black Caucus. After the document was signed, the movement continued to grow and the apparent faults of the University drew more attention. Attention came from state organizations, as well as students. The University's participation was able to attract other institutions because it is a larger and more powerful entity than the Student Black Caucus. State organizations, including the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and the Legislative Black Caucus, played roles in this movement to further the cause of the students.

The students, even though they were members of Penn State, did not qualify as an institution because of their lack of power. However, they were making strides in their attempts to gain institutional power. A characteristic of political institutionalization is that movement participants become directly involved in institutional policymaking (Walker, 2010). This took place in two ways during "The Village." The first was through direct meetings between protesters and administration to form the Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State. Student members of the movement came up with major parts of the agreement. They Gye'Nyame committee was a second means of direct student participation in policymaking. Although the

Gye'Nyame committee did not last, its sole purpose was to work with administration to construct curricular policies.

Even though it seems that students were sharing institutional power with Penn State, in reality, they were not. With institutions in key roles in "The Village," power and responsibility were further funneled away from the movement's originators, the students. The institution of Penn State had the final about what was included in the final agreement. The administration of Penn State became the most influential actor in the movement and took responsibility for fulfilling the goals in the Plan. The student protesters became secondary to the institution and failed to exercise any control in how, and if, the provisions in the Plan were carried out.

CONCLUSION

The group of students involved with "The Village" fought for important gains regarding diversity on Penn State's University Park campus. These gains include a larger African and African American Studies (AAAS) staff, an Africana Research Center and an AAAS scholarship. These three changes were outlined in the Plan to Enhance Diversity. Aside from Plan stipulations, the University also created a twenty-four hour hotline for reporting hate crimes and established a website for the same reporting purposes. These were important additions to increase the quality of life on campus, even though they fall short of the Plan's desired initiatives.

The Plan seems like a good idea to bring awareness to diversity and racial issues. The agreement was a step in the right direction to relieve racial tensions at the University. In reality, many of the Plan's provisions were not put into action or were only partially fulfilled by the University. For example, the AAAS scholarship was created, but students did not, and still do

not, have to meet every criteria outlined in the Plan. Penn State does not appear to be taking steps to implement the unfulfilled agreements made in the document. "[P]robably almost everything that ended up as part of this particular agreement had been suggested, but we weren't listening. Power doesn't do that sometimes. Power doesn't listen until it has to. That's the way it is" (Terrell Jones, personal communication, October 5, 2009).

In the end, the administration followed through on some, but not all, of the requirements listed in the Plan. Students dedicated months of their time in order to bring awareness to these issues and to construct feasible solutions, but there was very little they could do to hold the University accountable. This is an issue that can continue to be addressed by both the University administration and current student leadership in order to satisfy or update the agreements made in the Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State.

References

- (2010). Advisory Board. Retrieved from http://arc.psu.edu/about-us/people/advisory-board
- (2001). Agreement reached at racially torn Penn State. Retrieved from http://archives.cnn. com/2001/US/05/02/penn.state.02/index.html
- The Black Caucus. (2005). Abbreviated History of Hate at Penn State. Retrieved from http://www.clubs.psu.edu/up/BlackCaucusWeb
- (2001). *Black Penn State students demand protection*. Retrieved from http://archives.cnn. com/2001/US/05/01/penn.state.racism.02/#r
- Brownstein, Andrew. (2001). Student Activists are Making Noise, But is Anybody Listening? *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://proquest.umi.com
- Busacca, Allison. (2004). 'Village' still remembered. *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu.edu
- Collegian Staff Writers. (2001). "Police likely to drop summary charges against protesters." *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu.edu
- Cook, Heather, Lang, Daryl, and Irwin, Dana. (2001). "Standoff continues in HUB-Robeson Center." *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu.edu
- Cooke, Jeremy R. (2001). Standoff continues at the HUB. *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu.edu
- (2004). Diversity still a goal. *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu. edu
- (2005). Faculty Info. Retrieved from http://aaas.la.psu.edu/faculty info.html
- Franklin, Karen. (2002). Good Intentions: The Enforcement of Hate Crime Penalty-Enhancement Statutes. American Behavioral Scientist. Retrieved from http://abs.sagepub.com/content/

- Funk, Lynne and Weininger, Alex. (2001). University claims 'progress' in talks with Black Caucus. *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu.edu
- Gamson, William A. (1991). Commitment and Agency in Social Movements. *Sociological Forum*. Retrieved from http://jstor.org
- Green, Donald P., McFalls, Laurence H., and Smith, Jennifer K. (2001). Hate Crime: An Emergent Research Agenda. *Annual Review of Sociology*. Retrieved from arjournals.annualreviews.org
- Hegtvedt, Karen A. (2006). Justice Frameworks. In P.B. Burke (Ed.), *Contemporary Social Psychological Theories* (46 69). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hoecker, Robin E. (2001). *The Black and White Behind the Blue and White: A History of Black Protests at Penn State*. University Park: Penn State.
- Lang, Daryl. (2001). Black State Legislators Meet with Penn State. *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu.edu
- Lang, Daryl. (2001). Leaders Discuss Diversity. *The Daily Collegian*. Retrieved from http://www.collegian.psu.edu
- Hoover, Eric. (2001). Death threats and a sit-in divide Penn State. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://proquest.umi.com
- (2001). A Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State. Retrieved from http://www.equity.psu. edu/diversity/
- (2005). Scholarships. Retrieved from http://aaas.la.psu.edu/scholarships.html
- (2001). An Update on a Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State. Retrieved from http://www.equity.psu.edu/diversity/diversityupdate_aug01.htm

- (2005). Update on the plan to enhance diversity. Retrieved from http://live.psu.edu/printstory/
- Walker, Edward T. (2010). Institutionalization in Social Movement Theory. Unpublished Manuscript, The University of Vermont.

APPENDIX A: A PLAN TO ENHANCE DIVERSITY AT PENN STATE

A PLAN TO ENHANCE DIVERSITY AT PENN STATE

(Revised)

Africana Studies Research Center

The University supports the establishment of an Africana Studies Research Center, effective with the 2001-02 academic year, at a base funding level consistent with other research centers at Penn State. A financial commitment of \$900,000 for the initial five-year period will be provided. This will consist of \$150,000 in funding in the first year to establish an infrastructure for the Institute, followed by annual amounts of \$175,000, \$175,000, \$200,000, and \$200,000 for the next four years respectively. Any funds not expended in any fiscal year may be carried forward into the next budget year. Specific research projects and proposals will be determined by participating faculty and students will be involved in these projects. Additional funding to meet matching requirements for externally funded research grants and contracts will also be made available.

- In addition to the above commitments that the University is making, we will work with the Legislative Black Caucus to obtain additional Commonwealth support for the Center.
- The University will work collaboratively with the Department of African-African American Studies and the Africana Studies Research Center to build endowment and other philanthropic support for the Center.
- The center will involve faculty and students from across the University.
- There will be an advisory board consisting of faculty from within the AAAS Department as well as other faculty drawn from across the University. The Provost will serve as ex-officio member of the committee. Students will be represented on the board as well.
- There will be an open search for a director of the Center following the appointment of a search committee. The director of the Center will be a position separate from the head of the AAAS Department.
- The Center will be administratively affiliated with the College of the Liberal Arts.

African-African American Studies Department

- The University is committed to bringing the number of full-time tenured and tenure-track faculty to ten by Fall 2003 and to retain ten faculty lines in the Department. The staffing level of the African-African American Studies Department for the 2001-02 academic year will be six full-time faculty. The department will hire additional faculty to bring the number to eight by Fall 2002, with two additional faculty to be added by Fall 2003. Opportunities to hire faculty on joint appointments will be encouraged. For those hired with joint appointments, we will encourage the principal appointment to be with the Department of African and African American Studies. The addition of these faculty members represents an annual commitment of University resources, including fringe benefits, of approximately \$385,000 in new permanent funding.
- The AAAS department will have autonomous space and staff.
- The University will support the creation of five scholarships at \$5,000 each (\$25,000 total per year). This represents a commitment of \$350,000 in scholarships over the initial five-year period. Scholarships will be awarded to students who are dual majors in AAAS and another major. Priority will be given to students with dual majors in AAAS and Education. All recipients will be required to serve disadvantaged areas of the Commonwealth for a period of three years after graduation. Scholarship recipients will be selected according to customary University student aid

policies. The faculty of the AAAS Department will be involved in the scholarship selection process.

Curriculum Matters

- The University Administration will recommend to the Faculty Senate that the current diversity requirement be strengthened by focusing more clearly on diversity issues of greater relevance to our students. We have a commitment from the new Chair of the Faculty Senate to put this matter officially before the Senate's Curricular Affairs Committee during the Fall Semester 2001, and immediately initiate discussions about changes. Furthermore, the Gye' Nyame process will continue, and the chair of the University Faculty Senate has agreed to support the consensus recommendation of the faculty and students on the committee when it is presented to the Senate for consideration. The President and Provost have agreed to support the recommendations of the Senate.
- The Office of Undergraduate Education will assume responsibility for the implementation of a Pre-Freshman Seminar experience designed to acquaint incoming students with issues related to racism and diversity that will be implemented in Summer and Fall 2001.

Framework to Foster Diversity

- The University reaffirms its existing plans to require each budgetary unit to submit a Progress Report on the Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 1998-2003 by December 15, 2001 which is separate from its strategic plan, commits the units to creating and implementing a specific plan to foster diversity, and is a public document. The University will notify interested parties (including the Legislative Black Caucus, the Forum on Black Affairs, and the Black Caucus) upon the completion of the assessments.
- The University's Academic Leadership Forum will be utilized to address topics designed to educate deans, department/division heads and others to racial and multi-cultural issues. Deans and department heads, in consultation with the Office of Educational Equity, will be responsible for diversity education programs in their units.

Restructuring of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity Position

- The Vice Provost for Educational Equity will be added to the President's Council.
- The Vice Provost for Educational Equity will be added to the Academic Leadership Council, which includes the Academic Deans and other senior University officers.
- The Vice Provost for Educational Equity will be included in discussions about the annual budgets and diversity plans of the colleges at all campuses.
- The Provost and the Vice Provost for Educational Equity will jointly review and approve the annual budgets for the colleges: certified progress on the diversity plans of each college will influence this budget review and approval process.
- The University administration will contract for an independent review of the organization of diversity programs at Penn State, including the Office of Affirmative Action. The external reviewers will be asked to meet with all relevant constituencies, including students.
- The Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity will be responsible for assessing the college progress reports on the Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 1998-2003 that will be due December 15, 2001, and for developing a set of best practices to foster diversity that will be widely disseminated within the University. The Provost and the Vice Provost for Educational Equity will provide written feedback, publicly available, on the mid-term progress of the colleges in meeting diversity goals; the allocation of Equal Opportunity Planning Committee funds will be influenced by this assessment. At the conclusion of this framework period in 2003, the Vice Provost for Educational Equity will undertake a final assessment of the colleges' efforts

in achieving these goals. The results of these assessments will be a major factor in budgetary reallocations made during the 2003-04 academic year by the Provost and the Vice Provost for Educational Equity. The reallocations made as a result of this process will be publicly available and will be shared with members of the Pennsylvania Legislature, including members of the Pennsylvania Legislative Black Caucus.

- The Provost and the Vice Provost for Educational Equity will consult with peer institutions to identify possible additional systems of accountability for oversight of the implementation of diversity plans.
- The Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity will be responsible for ensuring that appropriate investigations of bias-motivated incidents and hate crimes are initiated. This office will also be responsible for the coordination of all follow-up activities. The investigations and reporting procedures will comply with all University policies and local, state and federal laws regarding the reporting of hate crimes. The office will also be responsible for the regular dissemination of reports of incidents.
- To further guarantee that the leadership of our academic units and the University is fully prepared to meet the challenges of moving forward on our plans, all members of the President's Council, Deans, and Department Heads will go through diversity training during the Fall 2001 semester. The training will be conducted by an external consultant with expertise and experience in such training.

Advisory Board

- The Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity will be given an enhanced mandate to review and advise on diversity programs. The Commission consists of faculty, staff, and students. It is staffed by the Office of Educational Equity, whose Vice Provost and Associate Vice Provost serve as ex-officio members. The Commission meets with and makes recommendations to the President during the year. Students appointed to the Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity will be drawn from USG, CCSG, Black Caucus, and other student organizations. The President will ask the Commission to increase the number of students represented on the Commission from four to six.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW WITH VICE PROVOST FOR EDUCATIONAL EQUITY, TERRELL JONES, 5 OCTOBER 2009

Alicia Owen [AO]: Why do you think they thought they were going to end racism?

Terrell Jones [TJ]: There were two villages; there were two villages there. There is...so what do you know about the village, that's a good way to start.

AO: Okay, I know like what I found in newspaper articles. What the newspaper article said, they said that it started with death threat letters to black student leaders and then they felt that the university wasn't moving fast enough.

TJ: To do what?

AO: To recognize the issue, I guess. I'm not quite sure. After reading it...my own personal feelings towards it, I'm not quite sure like why they chose the route that they did. It seemed like at the beginning their issue was with safety, but then the result had nothing to do with safety, so I'm still not sure.

TJ: [laughing] You noticed that did you? This is just my interpretation of what happened. Just Terrell's interpretation. I believe the seeds to the village and everything that happened started one and a half, two years ago before that. And I think it happened when the dean and some people over in, uh, liberal arts decided to downsize and deemphasize African and African American Studies. Because there was a period of time when they had placed African and African American Studies, Women's Studies, and Labor Relations all under one clerical support group, you all under one big umbrella and that would have been probably '99 or '98. Call me crazy, but if you look at the Enhanced Plan to Promote Diversity and wonder who were the big winners, the big winners were probably African and African American Studies. I think it was a mistake to deemphasize and I think we all realized it in the process. I think that had something to do with it.

AO: Do you think they were concerned with two different issues at the beginning and then dropped the one issue, the safety issue?

TJ: I don't know. I think that was always the first issue, the things that we settled. Let's look at this, if you're talking about hate and death threats, and potential people killed and body found under the mountains and all these other things, well, these are very, very serious issues. But, the solution isn't the Enhanced Plan to Promote Diversity. They don't fit, unless that was maybe the plan all the time [laughs]. You know and I'm not suggesting...you got to learn to use conflict and I think students and lots of people used it very well. We are in a better place since that time I think and it's because of the conflict that happened and the village and those kinds of things, but you know every time when you look at the Enhanced Plan to Promote Diversity, it just can't be...you can't go from there, everybody signed it and be like what are here for in the first place. What does it first do? It gives more money to African and African American Studies. What does it do? It gives more faculty to African and African American Studies. What does it do? It gives scholarships to students who want to major in African and African American studies. What does it do? It creates an Africana Center. Those are the first and curricular things of that nature. And it

said people were going to go out and help raise money and whatnot. And the Black Legislative Caucus in Harrisburg didn't give us a nickel in all these years. Not a nickel; not a nickel [laughs]. And they were going to do research and all these other things. Some of these things didn't work. It's good theory, but practical application doesn't work well. Remember they had the scholarships for students. If you see, that...I think it's \$5,000. \$5,000 over the course of a year.

AO: There's five different scholarships.

TJ: Were they \$5,000 or two \$5,000?

AO: Yea, five scholarships at \$5,000 each.

TJ: Yea. I don't think we ever gave any of those away.

AO: I saw on the...on the African and African American Studies website there's only one scholarship and they give it...like the number of people they give to each year varies, but they never say how much they give.

TJ: That's because they never gave it and if you look at the original document, if you get that scholarship, remember, you have to go work in the African/African-American community for two or three years after you graduate.

AO: And I know one of the girls, I know her sister that got it, but she didn't double-major in education and she's in the Poconos.

TJ: There's no way you can't...there's no way to force someone to teach in an inner-city school or do those kinds of things. And the other thing is, we're a research I institution. The reason you go to a research I, or one of the reasons, is because it will connect you with an opportunity for professional schools. That's the reason you come out of a research I with a good cum [gpa] and apply to a professional school. Why are you going to a research I if you're going to an inner city to work for three years? That's not what they were thinking; they were thinking, "I was going to go to professional school." It doesn't fit. So we had to.... In fact, if you look, there was I think a five-year period where that scholarship was supposed to be operational. We're still using the money and we still kept the money in there because it didn't hurt us and they never spend it. And I remember I even suggested to a couple of people to them in the past, who I thought were real activist people, who I thought might do that. They said no we'll make these decisions ourselves and the faculty of African and African American studies and they didn't choose people who were going to be doing community service. They chose people who were going to be PhDs, who were going to go to med school, going to go to law school. There's nothing wrong with that, but they didn't choose [inaudible].

AO: Another thing that I read, when I was reading the articles about this, is that a lot of people thought that the death threat letters is a gimmick to get the results that they got. They didn't think the death threat letters were real.

T.J. Who said that?

AO: It was in...I think it was a CNN article.

TJ: CNN? Whoa, it got as far as CNN, huh?

AO: And then, I might've read it in the Chronicle of Education.

TJ: The Chronicle of Higher Education...see here's the thing. I had this interesting book on hate crimes and hate. [inaudible] And there's an interesting chapter on who does, who commits hate crimes. I liked it because, it said who commits hate crimes, and basically there are several kinds of people who commit hate crimes. One is somebody who hates people. You know, who's a supremacist or who believes they have the right or that kind of thing. And they commit hate crimes. But another group of people who commit hate crimes are people who are the victims of hate crimes. And the rationale for that was really interesting. The rationale for that was that people were basically saying, "Look we know these things exist, we just have to make them happen when we have our forces marshaled to do something about it." So you'll notice that for example, [tries to find page in book] that if you look nationally and do some googling, you'll find out that [inaudible]. And one thing you need to be very careful to do is to not get yourself on a bridge and burn this end before you know that there's an off ramp on the other side. And that tended to be some of the philosophy we saw. That people would burn the off ramp and not know where the other one was. So, then you get okay...[reading from book] hate crimes is a serious problem. Many hate crimes are a hoax and there's an article on that. Definitions of hate crimes and those kind of things. So, if you promise to give me my book back I'll lend it to you.

AO: I will.

TJ: Okay, because sometimes people don't. But there you go because you'll see I marked some pages and stuff. It's hard to say sometimes what's real and isn't real. Now, I do know for example that the first set of hate mail came from an open computer lab...

AO: At Temple.

TJ: At Temple University, I think 8'oclock at night.

AO: And it was signed the Patriot.

TJ: And it was signed the Patriot. I understand...lemme see. You ever been to Temple?

AO: No.

TJ: Okay. Temple is on Broad Street in Philadelphia. 8'oclock at night there are no white people at Temple 8o'clock at night. [laughs] If I'm a white racist, it just seems to me, if I'm a white racist and I want to write hate mail to black people at Penn State from a computer then I don't know why I would drive my truck down to Philadelphia to do that. I just don't...it just doesn't make sense. You know, somebody named Bubba driving his truck down to Philly to write hate mail and send it to Penn State. I mean it's gotta be safer places to do that from. You know there's just got to be. [laughs] That's a hard problem. And it was a e-mail, it wasn't sent to a particular

individual. The first one was sent to one of our list-servs. And it was a list-serv of students who were in liberal arts. And who were in liberal arts and who were people who we were trying to get to go to graduate school. A lot of people lose sight of the fact that it was for all minority students, there were a lot of Hispanic students who got the same e-mail in the process. Well, we're still in the College of liberal arts aren't we? And I don't know...I'm not suggesting but it just doesn't make sense that you get a list-serv and you decide that these people are the few that you want to attack. So, that's what I would tell you. It was a very interesting time. Now, you've never seen...Have you ever met Assata Richards?

AO: No, I haven't.

TJ: Well you've never seen any of the people that we're talking about?

AO: I've seen pictures of them in the Collegian and on the CNN website.

TJ: Ah, I can do better than that.

[noise as TJ moves around and puts a videotape into the television]

TJ: I'll let you take some of my...Okay that's Assata [points to television] that's Assata. That's Brian Fabers. [points to person speaking] He was a staff member here. He was one of my EOPCC students from...one of my comprehensive study program students. Those are students who would not normally be admitted to the university, if they don't get into a special program. But this was their first...See what really was interesting is that they wanted to have this huge speak out on Old Main steps...that's we're where at now [on the video] on Old Main steps. But, you remember the Village was in 2000.

AO: 2001?

TJ: Was it? Okay it was. But, okay, 9/11 happened before they were supposed to have their speak out, you know and there were a lot of people who backed off on it. It was going to be a very big speak out and they were going to bring in national talent for this speak out, but there were a lot of the talent....Here we go [turns attention to television]. See they're talking on the society not on the campus. [voice from television] Tuesday was 9/11, you see. [Referring to speech in video]

[speech in video by Brian Fabers concerning 9/11]

TJ: Do you have.... these are half inch [referring to videotapes in hand]. This says a lot about my technology. I have a lot of students who say what is that Terrell? [laughs] Well that's all I have it on is half inch.

AO: I could watch it in the library.

TJ: Good, okay that would be good. Because we're not just talking about one, we're talking about they did this for three or four years in a row and they kept coming back [laughs]. So you're

really getting some good stuff. So I will give you some tapes to listen to. You just gotta listen. Now this is September rally 2001. This is rally 2001 tape 2, these are long. And these are reel 202, 202. And this must be 203. So there gives you something to get started with. So what else do you want to know? Go, keep going.

AO: I had specific questions about things that were in the plan.

TJ: Aha, keep going.

AO: What is the pre freshman seminar?

TJ: Pre freshman seminar, you know we worked it...In other words, we had...we were using a video, and we had been for a while, and it was a video that specifically spoke to...we thought that we'd use some kind of a video that was done at all locations that made some statement about diversity and the kind of community that we were trying to create here at Penn State for all of our students, all of our people. So, we created a video that all freshmen would look at. And, basically now, we've integrated that into Graham Spanier's piece that he does for everybody. So, it's still part of...there's a freshman video that's a part of FTCAP. Remember going through FTCAP?

AO: I do. I don't remember a video. But I remember FTCAP.

TJ: You don't remember Graham Spanier speaking to you on the video during FTCAP talking about the campus and all those wonderful students talking to you about all of the kinds of environment they're trying to create? Didn't make much of an impact on you did it?

AO: No, not if I don't remember it.

TJ: [laughs] Well I guess...Hey anyway, you saw one. It's part of the freshman thing that they do and Graham opens it up and then they have different people talking, you know, students talking to students and then Graham finishes up. And part of that discussion is about diversity. It's part of your FTCAP presentation. Of course the problem is a lot of time people come to FTCAP, they're coming to get their courses, that's all they remember.

AO: Yea, that's all I remember.

TJ: [laughs]

AO: But they still do that? Does the video change every year?

TJ: No, it hasn't changed in the last two years. Been the same in the last two years. I think you can even get. You can download it online at Penn State live.

AO: Now I want to see it and remember why I don't remember it.

TJ: Well because it just wasn't important to you at that time. It's okay.

AO: What is...okay I don't know how to pronounce it...Gye'Nyame?

TJ: Gye'Nyame [gee na me]

AO: Gye'Nyame process

TJ: Gye'Nyame is what you're talking about. The Gye'Nyame committee. It's still operational. If you go to...You're not part of the Penn State Black Caucus?

AO: I am.

TJ: You are. There's a gyenyame committee isn't there? Yea?

AO: Not that was mentioned at the last meeting but okay.

TJ: Yes, there's a Gye'Nyame committee, well Sankofa. That's what it is Sankofa.

AO: What do they do?

TJ: Now the Sankofa committee...To go back and fetch it that's what I think the word [Sankofa] means. You have to go back and look at history in order to understand the present. So, the Gye'Nyame committee was one of the committees that was supposed to be looking at curriculum change. Is that the part you're talking about?

AO: Yea, it said they're going to...it just says the Gye'Nyame process will continue under the curriculum part but it never explains what it is.

TJ: And I think at the one time they were having discussions with Faculty Senate, with African American students who were part of the Black Caucus, with administration about how we would look at curriculum transformation and change. In some ways, the Gye'Nyame process became moot when we changed the curriculum for all of our students to include six credits: Three focusing on International Diversity competencies and three focusing on Domestic Diversity competencies. That's for all 84,000 students. That's...nobody else has that. Now, if you're in Education you've got more than six credits, they'll beat you up with that stuff. But, it you're in Engineering you've got the same requirement, if you're in Chemistry you've got the same requirement. It's an all institution requirement. So, then the process became moot because we had integrated and made significant changes in the curriculum.

AO: When did the six credits start?

TJ: I think we passed that about, I think 2004 or 2005. And you can look it up. Look on the Faculty Senate page, it'll show you. If you go to the Faculty Senate page it'll talk about the curriculum requirement. And I think we call it International and Intercultural requirement. And, not every course that used to... You know I'm on the committed that assesses the courses, whether or not they could be.... You could do it one of two ways. I could take Marylee Taylor's

class and that would fit, that would be my three credits on discrimination. I could take Sam Richard's class, which is SOC 219 on gender and race and that would be my three credits. I could take three credits on International Policy and that would probably be my three credits. Or, I could take four courses, where 25% of those courses focused on diversity issues. There are some people who will teach a biology class, but 25% of it focuses on diversity. So you get 25% of your diversity credit from that class. 25% from that and then you have four 25's and that's 100%. You should look around and you will see that kind of thing is very unusual, to hear the institutionalized commitment at that level. That's pretty unusual. So, why do we need Gye'Nyame if we've done something pretty unusual that nobody else has done and we're way ahead of the curve in the process.

AO: But this process does it still take place? No?

TJ: Yea, indeed it has. See, a lot of things... Student leadership is very different from year to year to year. Some years you have really great student leadership in the Black Caucus. Other years you don't. It just didn't happen you know? For one reason or another it just wasn't that great. And in some ways, Assata was unusual in a lot of ways and this is one of them. Assata might've have been one of the more interesting and inspirational student leaders I've ever met. But, she always kinda casted herself as an undergrad, but she wasn't. She was a doctoral student. [laughs] Which wasn't... Doctoral students should be able to lead undergrad students pretty darn good. It's not what doctoral students normally do lead undergraduate protests. They just don't do that. So, we met a lot and she was a powerful force, so we had to meet a lot when she was here. Some of the other people who were very powerful forces in this movement were not students. They were staff members in the process. Brian Fabers was a staff member. Mike, I can't remember Mike's last name. You'll see him on the tape he was a staff member. You'll see some people who worked for the S-Plan as graduate students and they were all staff members. So, they had some fairly powerful leadership. One of the things that... Remember when, you might've have heard about the students rushing the field at the Blue-White game and everything and us having to arrest students? The first four people I had them arrest were all staff members.

AO: See, that's another thing I wasn't sure about. Because the Chronicle of Higher Education said 26 people got arrested and the Collegian said 23 people got arrested and then somewhere else was a different number.

TJ: What did it say?

AO: It said students.

TJ: Yea, some of them weren't students

AO: I just wasn't sure.

TJ: Some of them may not have been students who got arrested.

AO: Also, when I was reading, Steve McCarthy, he was Penn State's spokesperson. He kept saying that the administration was already considering most of the plans that are in the Plan to

Enhance Diversity.

TJ: No, probably not [laughs] probably not. Now, here's the interesting part about this. There is an organization called A Forum on Black Affairs, which is the Black Faculty and graduate student staff association on campus. Been around since 1974, I think. It seems to me we have a major... This is not the first building takeover. The Telecommunications Building takeover in 1988, go back and look at that. I been around a while, I guess you could figure that out. But in 1988 when they took over the Telecommunications Building, we had a lot more arrests then. That was interesting because we brought in a Police riot unit in 1988. The Telecommunications Building is right behind Boucke. Boucke Building, that one right there. At that time, it was very central because we didn't have a lot of telecommunications on our campus in 1988 that was it. That was it and the Paul Robeson Center, the old Paul Robeson center, sat right there where the new science complex is.

AO: The one that they're building?

TJ: The one that's there already.

AO: The Life Science, with the bridge?

TJ: Yea, right there. That's where the Paul Robeson Center was. So, the students walked out of the Paul Robeson Center and went, maybe, half a block and they were in the...

AO: Telecommunications

TJ: Yea. And the old Paul Robeson Center... I don't know how far back you're going but the old Paul Robeson Center was really a reflection of the Second World War. Because after the Second World War most people, well lots of people, went to college after the Second World War wouldn't have had the opportunity to go to college if it wasn't for the G.I. Bill. The Robeson was built. It was an old gymnasium and kind of classroom building that was built with pre-fab housing after using the Second World War technology to build houses and the government put that house up on campus. That's where the Paul Robeson Center was, that's '88 takeover. And if you go back and you read the '88 takeover, you'll see that we agreed to do lots of things in the '88 takeover, but the interesting part was that in the '88 takeover where almost everything that we ended up agreeing to, the Forum on Black Affairs had suggested, but we weren't listening. Let me suggest to you, that probably almost everything that ended up as a part of this particular agreement had been suggested but we weren't listening. Power doesn't do that sometimes. Power doesn't listen until it has to. That's the way it is.

AO: Why is this one called the Revised Plan?

TJ: Because there was already... There is an Enhanced Plan to Promote Diversity, it was the Framework to Foster Diversity, which we're still using. Which is working pretty good. Which people weren't all that serious about before this either. I didn't revise it or nothing, [laughs] I got it off the web.

AO: No I got it off the web, too. I printed it out. I just wasn't sure why it was the revised version because I couldn't find an original version.

TJ: So, what else you got there going?

AO: I'm not sure. Just anything else you remember about the Village that stood out to you or that you felt that the students got out of the Village as a result.

TJ: There were some students who were clearly... The high point of their college career was the Village. Their college experience was the Village. For some people it will be one the high points of their lives, the Village experience, no doubt about it. There were kind of almost two Villages. You had a group of mostly African-American students who were in the Paul Robeson Center that is in the HUB now. That Paul Robeson Center, That's where that group was basically based. Then you have this much larger group of people who were part of the Village, who were staying there overnight and they were all talking and taking special classes and things like that in the process. And it some ways you had that Village. And that Village took their leadership from the smaller group of 25 or 30 people. But, if you think about this, it wouldn't look like much of a protest if it wasn't for the much larger group of people. In fact, in some ways they needed the Village a lot more than the Village needed them. And these students, they were... I had to go over and do negotiations and I'd be... One of my daughters, they're both in college now, it was during the Village, I hadn't been home for one or two days except to take a shower, so my two daughters said to me, they're 23 and 21, they said, dad we've figured out a way to see more of you because we haven't seen much of you. I said you have? how are we gonna see more? They said we're going to join the Village. They said, we're gonna have to boo when you walk past, but don't take it personal, okay?[laughs] That's one of the better lines I heard. These are not fun negotiations, but I don't think it was nearly as organic as some other people feel it was, the protest, I just don't. And I can tell you why I don't. It just didn't go well and I don't think it was necessarily bad either. As far as you look at what happened, I don't think it was bad, some of the results. However, I'll be real clear about this, I'm not so sure that I will ever buy the concept that the ends justify the means. It's just not something I see. What else do you want to know?

AO: The No Hate at Penn State Rally. All of the sources that I found can't seem to come to a conclusion on what happened.

TJ: You mean the rally that...

AO: The rally that kind of didn't happen

TJ: [laughs] Oh, that one, I know exactly what happened. I was there for the whole thing. There was supposed to be a No Hate at Penn State Rally and that was supposed to be a huge rally. It was supposed to be...and again administration in a show of support in the stuff that happened, that we should all be against that and everything. People let out people from work early and let out classes to be a part of this No Hate at Penn State Rally and we were all set to have people speak about this is wrong and all that kind of stuff. But, somebody had mentioned that to the Black Caucus students in that process and they basically came down and overpowered the speaker who gave them the microphone. Then you had a really good audience, you had these 4 or 5 thousand people there who are all going what the heck's going on here? And there was lots

of yelling, screaming, gnashing of teeth, cursing out [laughs] I think what happened there was that a staff member kind of tipped that group to exactly what was going to happen when and where. I don't think the staff member helped himself there any. I don't think he helped himself at all because he doesn't work here anymore, but that's what I think happened there.

AO: Some of the sources say that...well, some of the sources say that the speaker equipment that was out there was taken away and then students went to the HUB and got the student equipment.

TJ: No, I remember Ken Clark, who was the director of the religious center at Eisenhower, he was speaking, and LaKeisha came up and screamed and was crying and he gave her the microphone and walked away. Now, did those microphones stay there all night? I don't know, but that was the beginning of the... I don't think that was true. I think there were other microphones around and there was even a plan for taking over Old Main. Did they mention that? Somebody had in a backpack, that got found, a plan for taking over, occupying, Old Main. [laughs] And that wasn't one of the African-American students. It was another group that wanted to be part of it, that had some other issues to grind and you get a lot of people who have issues to grind and they all get grinding together. They were going to take over Old Main and occupy it after that. And that's when we put police at all the doors and they had to have a reason for being there in the process and we did that for a week and a half, I guess. So what other questions do you have?

AO: How did they get from here at Old Main from the rally to the HUB?

TJ: See, I don't think the Village started out in the HUB. I might get my stuff mixed up. The events that make sense to me is that there were clearly a lot of commotion back into the HUB. But that's not where the Village starts. The Village starts, I think, after the...[mumbles to self] The Blue-White game was on a Saturday and that really is the beginning of the intense activity. The Blue-White game is on a Saturday and the students rushed the field and many of them get arrested and then fingerprinted and booked and head back to the HUB. And then, you're right, I think they were going to have a thing on Monday and then we had the yelling and screaming and boom it becomes the Village. It starts with.... Now here's the interesting part, you'll see that most of the articles that are written about the Village protest are written by the same writer on the Collegian. All the Collegian stuff comes to this one guy.

AO: I've found a few by different people. Cook?

TJ: No, this one guy, you'll start to see his... I forget his name, but it's real clear it's him. And what the people told me was that they had someone in the Collegian in their pocket. Now, the email that [unintelligible] supercritical did not come to the Caucus office. It went to him and the Collegian and he brought it over to the Caucus. I think it's particularly interesting because I had the F.B.I. watching the Caucus office, you see, so if someone would've put one in there we'd have gotten him. Now, think about this, what kind of person...what kind of hate kind of person knows if you want to get the message to the Caucus and you can't get it to the Caucus because we're watching their mailbox for hate mail and stuff like that, and they knew that because we were checking all their mail and stuff, that you should send it to...

AO: Darryl Lang

TJ: Yea, Darryl. And that Darryl will walk it over for you. I mean that's pretty unusual for a hate mailer to have that kind of awareness. I guess...I'm having trouble buying that one. It's just not the way.

AO: I thought it was strange because he wrote the article that said that he got the hate mail letter, but that he also got one for LaKeisha. I just thought it was strange.

TJ: And he walked hers over. He felt like he was part of the group because he had gotten a little bit, too. And he said oh yeah. So, it's just really, it's just not... I'm not new to this discussion on this kind of events, it just doesn't happen that way. You know I've seen... In many ways, someone who is afraid, someone who is concerned about race and is interested in hatred, the worst place to come is the university community, you don't feel safe here. You're the person out of step not them. This is a very different group, but they say no, people are starting to come here to do that and not other kinds of places it just doesn't make sense. If you listen to students, they will tell you that most of the hate groups... I always ask how many of you have heard that we have hate groups five or ten miles from campus, did you ever hear that?

AO: Well, I read it while I was reading and researching this.

TJ: You read it. Now, okay let's be real clear. Let's deconstruct that. Hate groups tend to want to be around people they hate. So, if you have organized hate groups what are they doing up here? Hating on trees? No, they're around Philly, they're around Pittsburgh, they're around York, they're around Lancaster. What are you doing in the middle of the state where you got the whole thing in the first place? Nothing. It just doesn't make sense and people believe that they are everywhere but that's just not true. It's just not factual. I was just looking at something today. [mumbles to self] Now, you need to go to tolerance.org. It's a site that I suggest that you go to, tolerance.org. Tolerance.org, for example, this is their most recent list of hate groups and where they are in Pennsylvania. And Pennsylvania has a lot. It has 38. No other state in the North...but Pennsylvania does. How many people have you heard say that there's more hate groups in Pennsylvania than any other state in the United States? You heard that one?

AO: No.

TJ: Okay, that's always been said on tapes and stuff.

AO: I don't think that would make much sense.

TJ: No, it doesn't. It's ahistorical. It is ahistorical, but remember logic was kind of out the window for a while because people weren't talking as much logic. Now, I got 38 but 4 of them are black separtist groups. Now, you've got to have a significant black population to have black separatist groups and where are all the hate groups? Right around the black separatist groups. It's just very interesting and it says that these are here [points to hate groups on a map] but I can't find them. The other thing to remember, this group [referring to tolearance.org] gets its funding for finding hate, it don't get much if it says its down. Just between me and you in the process.

But, you know if you want to go to a place where there are no hate groups, you could go to....I'd love to see what the hell is in Maine hating on Maine, it just don't make no sense in the process. Now, you'll see this is a very interesting state and one of the shirts I have up here [points to wall] is one of my favorite shirts. James Carvell is famous for saying that Pennsylvania is Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and Alabama in the middle. You ever hear that?

AO: No.

TJ: That's what the shirt says. Alabama in between. That's on my shirt. So, I really got into that and I'm going wait a minute. We fought on the side of the Civil War in the North, Gettysburg is right here. Why would you think it's Alabama in the middle? Well, there's some truth to that. What you'll find is that... And you have to go back and understand the history of the state to understand. Remember it was the Ouakers who came to Pennsylvania at first. And the Ouakers came here and the Quakers went looking for two other groups of European whites to help settle Pennsylvania. The first group they went looking for were the Germans, the Palatine or Rheinland Germans. The first county was Philadelphia County, then Monroe, then Bucks, then York, then Lancaster and the frontier is right here. The rest of this is Native American land. So they also needed... They were looking for a group who, as a buffer between the Native American and themselves and the Quakers and the Germans, and that buffer was the Scotch-Irish and these are the people who trace themselves back to William Wallace in the movie Braveheart. They're very early adapters. All the people who wore buckskins, who used the Kentucky long rifle were all the Scotch-Irish. These are the people who basically settled Pennsylvania. There's the French and Indian war that happened out here [draws circle on map] before the Revolutionary War and before that was all fought by the Scotch-Irish. When the French lost the French and Indian war they gave away a land mass the size of the Roman Empire. Remember the original states were just here, none of these even existed as states. It was just all Native American land. So, the French gave away and the English took it, all this land that the Native Americans owned and lived on. They were like ya'll got to get up on out of here. So, the Scotch-Irish then, technically, are the same group that then moved South into the Virginias, into the Carolinas, into Kentucky and Tennessee and on down into Mississippi and Alabama. Many concepts that we think of as Southern aren't Southern at all, they're actually Scotch-Irish. The word cracker is a Scotch-Irish term, redneck is a Scotch-Irish term, country music is Scotch-Irish. It starts off right here and goes into Tennessee. Horse racing is Scotch-Irish and right there in Kentucky, Nascar is Scotch-Irish. The whiskey rebellion starts right here in Pennsylvania, in Bedford. You read something on the whiskey rebellion and this goes back to Alexander Hamilton and the framers of the Constitution. They thought they were gonna tax whiskey. Well, everyone in the west was Scothc-Irish and they were all making the whiskey and whiskey was a form of money so no you're not gonna tax. You also have some very good Scotch-Irish heritage up in this area where you're from. But think about this. If you go down from, thirty miles from here you'll run into Tyrone. What they're doing in Tyrone is a Scotch-Irish thing. Scotch-Irish. And these are called the Laurel Highlands. How can they be the Laurel Highlands? Remember they were the Highlanders and the Highlanders and the Lowlanders. Right out here above Philadelphia, no above Pittsburgh is probably one of the largest state-owned institutions in the state of Pennsylvania called Edinboro. Way over in Edinboro... You don't realize the Scotch-Irish connection all through the state. Harrisburg is named after John Harris. John Harris was a Scotch-Irish trader and he owned the ferry that would take you across into native land. If you

ride on the turnpike and go past the Morgantown exit, you'll see a historic marker that says: Historic Birthplace of Daniel Boone. He becomes famous for what he does in Kentucky and Tennessee, but he's born there. First Scotch-Irish President was born right here, too, and he was Andrew Jackson. He was born in Lancaster and becomes famous for what he does in that area. Very interesting. I could get you stuck on that for weeks and weeks, I know the Scotch-Irish culture, but that's really what we're talking about. Here's the interesting part, we're a very interesting state in some ways. This is one of my favorite pictures, that's why I have it up on the wall there. That is a picture about, it's one of the great pictures, I think it has its own room in the Smithsonian. That's an anti-bussing picture in South Boston. Now, in South boston it is predominantly a White-Italian area. That's what the market is in south Boston. Now, this is 1972, 1973 and they are protesting. They don't want the black kids from Roxbury coming over into their schools in South Boston. And the one sign says: Madison School and it says white people schools, and they don't want bussing down in that area. If you look very closely you'll see that they're standing on a statue of the Massachusetts 54th armed negro brigade. It's pretty interesting because it speaks volumes. They're saying we are not more American than these people who fought in the Civil War because the Italian immigration to the United States didn't start until 1880. So, they can't be more American than the guys fighting in the Civil War in 1860, you can't be more American than they are. They're more white. It doesn't say American rights, it says white people rights.

AO: What's the name of this picture?

TJ: I forget the name of the picture. It says Last Month Across Beacon Street from Massachusetts State House an unruly band of demonstrators white students flaunted their hostility from atop a sculpture, depicting the white officer and black soldiers who served in the union civil war. It's the New York Times magazine, November 25th, 1979. And it's from the Curtis Ackeman Picture Group. That's what it says. But that's a pretty good picture. It speaks volumes. Now don't get me wrong, uh, what's his name? Philip Jenkins. Philip Jenkins is his name. He's a faculty member here. And Philip Jenkins has a very interesting book and the name of the book is called "Hoods and Shirts." Now, Hoods and Shirts is a history of the Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania. 1925 to 1945. 1925 to 1945 almost every county in Pennsylvania has an active Klan. The biggest one is in Altoona, Pennsylvania. So, why does every county have an active Klan in 1925 to 1945? This is very interesting because 1925 to 1945 we do not have widely dispersed African American population. It's still not very widely dispersed. There's not a lot up there in Nantoglo and so, it's not widely dispersed but they have Klan outfits even in communities like the little one that you're from. How can they have Klans when they don't have Black people? Why would they have Klans? Think about it. It's to keep out the ethnic white people. They don't want the Catholics. They don't want the Jews. They don't want the Eastern Europeans. They don't want anybody who doesn't look like them.

AO: We were learning about that in my immigration class.

TJ: That's exactly it. So, what we're really talking about is, remember the Catholics say oh my god the Pope they all pray to the pope. There's an interesting case. Several Catholics got hung in Philadelphia got hung for being Catholic. They don't want Jews. Remember those groups still can't join the Klan. I think they decided to let Catholics in a while ago. But, Eastern Europeans they didn't want and those kind of people.

AO: They weren't even allowed in the country.

TJ: Right. Your area of the state is interesting in that you're one of the very few areas of the state that remains ethnic white. Yea, you're from an area where people still ask you what are you? They wanna know. And they might not even ask you what you are. They go where do you live because if they know where you live they know what you are because you wouldn't live there if you weren't that.

AO: Yea, it's still the same.

TJ: Still the same. You got no business in Pittston if you're not Italian. Now the other area that's still ethnic white is right around Pittsburgh, in the middle. In fact, if you ask, I can show you this on a map if you want to see it sometime, but, if you ask most white Pennsylvanians what their ethnicity is most of them will tell you that they're German. It's ridiculous just how German we are. We're the most German American state of any state in the United States. If you ask them their second ethnicity, you're German American and what else? Then you see this interesting thing happening, where you see a lot of people over here will tell you that they're Irish, a lot of people over here will tell you they're Irish. In the middle you have this huge group of people who call themselves Americans. In other words, they drop it altogether if they can't be German they don't want to be nobody else. Now here's the interesting part, this major group in the middle that calls themselves American are not really, they do have an ethnicity. They're the Scotch-Irish, but they stopped wanting to be called Scotch-Irish when the Famine Irish showed up...a hundred years later. And they said we're not that kind of Irish. So, they just dropped it.

AO: We learned about that in our immigration class, too. We were just talking about ethnic identities and how people will drop the other ethnicities and just call themselves American if they feel that there's no discrimination.

TJ: But, they don't say that they're American, what they're saying is I'm white. They're not saying they're American, they're saying I'm white. You know because if they did, you and I can be American. We can't. We're not the same kind of Americans that they are, you know that. Don't get me wrong there was a lot of reasons to... People who came from other countries, there's lots of people who came to the country and who sued all the way to the Supreme Court not to be classified as Black or African American or someone of color. I want to be classified as white because we know that there is no advantage to being classified as Black. Why would I want to do that? That's dumb. See it used to be easy. Everybody's from Europe and everybody's from Africa. But then all them Northern African people started to show up. All the Indians and people from sub-Asian continent started showing up and they went well what are you? You're not white. And they went well we're not African American either. So you get some very interesting dynamics happening when people do.... You know most people... I love that when people tell me they're Heinz 57. I'm a Heinz 57 he says I'm all mixed up. I mean you've only been here 8 generations so that should be a Heinz 16. You know you can't be Heinz 57, but they're basically going I don't know what I am. Well you have to work very hard not to know what you are in 2-3 generations. You have to be in denial. So it's an interesting concept and why would people want to be. See, and... I'll let you go and come back another time because you got enough. But, in Germany, Germans are German. In Italy they're Italians. In France they're the French. And if you go to England they're the English. Only when they all come here they become white. That's because the defining definition is that they're white. And white is not an ethnicity, it's not a culture. It's a category. So it's very hard and fast who can be and who can't be. You want to see some wonderful stuff on...This is....The first African slaves came to Jamestown, remember Jamestown, virgina. They were actually off an Angolan slave ship, it was a Portuguese slave ship. the first 16-18 slaves were from Angola. Now here's the interesting part, there were taken as part of a prize by pirates from a Portuguese slave ship. So, the pirates boarded the portugues slave ship, took all of their valuables and part of this group's valuables were the 16 slaves. so, then they take their boat to Virginia and sell the slaves to the virginians in Jamestown. Now here comes the interesting part, just hold on to your hat about this there is no paradigm yet, in America that someone can own someone for life. So the only paradigm they have at that time is indentured servants. So, what happens is that these slaves and their offspring are after 7 or 8 years get their freedom. And then they move off into the mountains. Remember because you couldn't get land down here, that's the same reason the Scotch-Irish moved out there because you couldn't get land out in the flat because that was all bought up by the English. The only land you could get was by working with and negotiating with the Native Americans in the mountains. That's where theword hillbilly, it's a word turned around from the scotch-irish term for someone who's a friend called billyboy, that's where it comes from. In fact, they have a term, if you look up mulunguns in the wikipedia, one of the things that will come up is mountain niggers. so these were africans who were from Angola and many of the whites who were also indentured servants, they couldn't have any of the land either, so they all moved up in here and you see some intermarrying and then you see some very interesting characteristics coming out of the...and then they start calling them mulunguns, and that's fascinating reading...reading about these people living up in the mountains who see things differently and usually very good with animals and understanding the land. I got started on that because the whole idea of Hitler and his eugenics and these people were beter than these people doesn't start with Hitler. It starts in America and it starts in the South because they're trying to figure our why there are so many poor whites in the South that doen't seem very smart and don't seem very white. You want to look, you know there's a couple books up there, but think about this. You call somebody poor white trash, what are you saying about them? Poor white trash. White people without portfolio because you're not supposed to be white and poor. That's not supposed to happen. It's like jumbo shrimp, it's an oxymoron, poor white trash. Now who first started calling these people poor white trash? African slaves, because look if you have African slaves, you have house slaves and field slaves, you don't need a poor white labor force so they're a redundant labor force and theyre in many cases living worse or same level as many of the slaves are living because they don't have anything, and they actually start looking for why these people... they start sterilizing white women in the south so they can't have children because they don't want them to have children because they think they're passing on bad genetics, and they really figured out it was hookworm, if you ever see any huchk finn picture any of white people in the south in the 19th century, they're doing what? they're carrying they're shoes around their neck and walking barefoot. hookworm enters you body through feces and enters through your body through contact with you skin. so hookworm is a parasite a very very powerful parasite that actually will suck enough energy that after a while you actually have trouble thinking, so what they figured out was that most of these people who didn't seem very bright weren't very bright but not because they weren't very bright but because they had hookworm, very interesting piece of history that you

don't realize. when they eradicated hookworm all of a sudden white people start getting smart and the people in the north kept going why are people in the south so dumb? Why is this working group so dumb? [1:08:24]

APPENDIX C: PHONE INTERVIEW WITH ASSATA RICHARDS, HOUSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS, 12 JULY 2010

Prior to first question were introductions and an explanation of project.

Alicia Owen (AO): What was your role in the Village?

Assata Richards (AR): My role was, I was responsible for coordinating the Village. I was part of the student leadership and I was the one that was responsible for coordinating and maintaining our supporters. And our supporters was the Village, which was different from the students who were directly responsible for negotiating with the administration.

AO: So, you didn't negotiate?

AR: No, I didn't negotiate. You know, we had meetings where we all talked about our input, but my job was specifically to take care of the Village: to make sure that the people in the Village stayed motivated and committed and remained as supporters.

AO: And were you an undergrad or a graduate at the time?

AR: I was a grad student.

AO: You were a grad student.

AR: Yup.

AO: What do you believe were the events that led up to this sit-in?

AR: Well, the events that led up to them were death threats by students on campus, death threats to football players, and also the blatant disrespect the administration had for our issues, our feelings. Preceding the Village, there was a body found on Mount Nittany. We had gotten this note that said a body would be found and then a body was found. It was really just the blatant and careless way that the administration was dealing with us. [unintelligible] We knew the administration was trying to wait us out. They did not make any commitment to make an institutional change. When we had a meeting planned with them on the day that the Village was formed...we had a meeting planned with the administration that [unintelligible] and we made a decision that we would go to the rally that the administration had planned and we would take our stand and we would launch the sit-in right there. And, ideally we were going to do the sit-in in Old Main and the administration got word of that and locked us out of the administration building. And, then they told us they would meet us in the Paul Robeson Center, which was ideal because that meant...you know, we got to the Paul Robeson Center and that's a location that can accommodate hundreds of people. And, we had everything we needed in this place, so, it really worked to our advantage.

AO: What importance do you think the Village has or had concerning diversity on the U Park campus?

AR: I mean, we did institutional things, like we created the Africana Research Center. We created pressure on the administration and put in some guidelines, some stipulations for diversity. We also pressured the administration to make some hires in the African American – African studies department. We also created some programs, academic programs that students could participate in. We created scholarships and I think most of all we really...you know, before the Village the movements about change and diversity were really facilitated and ran by students of color solely. The Village was unique and different because it brought the whole campus together. It gave everybody the opportunity to make this a priority, so, not only did the Black Caucus work on this, but then we had student government leaders that also made partnerships with us. So, it really put the administration on it's back heels because it wasn't just black students asking for change. It was students asking for change and saying that the climate and the university [unintelligible] environment and [unintelligible] that will cultivate diversity.

AO: Do you think that the students, that the Village as a group, were concerned with two separate issues instead of the singular issue of safety?

AR: Say it again

AO: Do you think there was more than one issue that the students were concerned about?

AR: Absolutely. The safety issue was an opportunity. It was simply an opportunity to say this is what happens at an institution when you don't take care of issues of diversity, when you don't actively work against institutional racism and prejudice. This is the kind of environment that is created. So, the safety issue was an opportunity for us to talk about these larger issues. We were always clear that the safety issue was not the problem in and of itself. The problem in and of itself was that we had a university did not prepare its students, nor did it train its faculty, to deal with issues of diversity. So, you the president of the faculty senate, that president saying he needed a book list from us about black culture and black history and culture. That showed us right there that even the professors themselves were ill prepared to deal with issues of diversity, so, of course you had students coming from all over Pennsylvania and outside of Pennsylvania who had these issues and legacies and prejudices of racism and they were not prepared to deal with us, you know, being students of color or they weren't prepared to be with the LGBTA community. So, we understood that the safety issue was just an opportunity for us to challenge the university on its poor record of issues of diversity.

AO: While you were on campus did you see the university follow through with any of the plans outlined in the Plan to Enhance Diversity or things that were discussed in the meetings?

AR: After we got the agreements with the university, you know, we worked as a university to hold the university accountable. And I think what the Plan to Enhance Diversity did appear to address some of the issues and guidelines, but I think like all victories as soon as you won a victory, you know, those who have conceded that victory to you are finding ways to take back the victory. So, I think because the university did these things out of necessity because they were forced to do it and not out of a true identification that we won. I think that when the opportunity presented itself... and they went back to business as usual in many ways. In some ways they

didn't. We still have Africana Research Center. We still have more black faculty, you know, we have made changes to the campus institution in terms of programs and classes that are offered. So, those things are still there but at the same time, you know, we were dealing with an institutional problem and that institution still exists.

AO: Were you expecting the university to come through on the whole plan or most of the plan?

AR: No. You understand that this is a battle to change. I want to say that, you know, what happened to us there was about Penn State, but it was about our lives. It was about us understanding that we really had the power to affect change; that if we work together and we are behind ourselves and we educated ourselves, we could take on any issue and we could win that issue. So, it was about Penn State, but it was about what happened to us when we left Penn State. A group of us stayed connected to one another and started a non-profit organization that we work with for the last six years. We communicate in Brooklyn, in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh, and Houston. So, you know, that was an opportunity for us to know that we really did have power and we really did have the ability to change callous injustice and actually win. When we asserted ourselves and we worked for those kind of victories.... so, it's been about Penn State, but it's been about more than that and I think one of the most interesting things is seeing how people's lives were transformed because of their experiences in the Village and that movement against racism and racial violence, what we call racial terrorism because that's what we felt that it was.

AO: What do you think about people who say the threats were a gimmick; that they were being used by the students to advance their cause?

AR: I mean, well, for people to say that is not to really appreciate the terrorism that we felt...because we didn't have the opportunity to send letters to...because in addition to students the black board of directors...the person of color on the board of directors received death threats. Larry Johnson, who was a well-known football player of that time, he received death threats. His family received death threats. So, the students who were being politically active weren't the only ones who received death threats. And, we didn't have to manufacture racial terrorism. Racial terrorism was everywhere and when we had a town hall meeting, you had, you know, hundreds of students coming up. You know, we produced this book, it's called *The Black and White Behind the Blue and White*, and you had these documented cases of people talking about the racial terrorism they were experiencing at Penn State.

APPENDIX D: PHONE INTERVIEW WITH DAVID WARNER, ASSISSTANT PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, 3 SEPTEMBER 2010

Prior to first question were introductions and permission to record the conversation.

Alicia Owen (AO): So, what do you remember from the Village?

David Warner (DW): Umm...[laughter] That's a really broad question.

AO: What's the biggest thing you remember from the Village?

DW: Umm...I mean...You know it was a fairly complex situation. I can tell you that...umm...you know not being...just as a participant in this event, what I remember is there had been a lot of events going on on campus, where there had been e-mails that had been sent to umm members of athletic teams, including the football team, that were blatantly racist and there was a lot of dialogue going on about this. And then I remember we were...through Assata...Assata said they were going to have like a rally in front of Old Main as I recall. And so we went down...you know we had sort of been following what had been going on and so we went down to Old Main for this rally and there were speakers, including Assata, sort of demanding a response from the university. And I remember...my recollection of things is as we were at this rally, President Spanier was supposed to come out and speak to us and then word got out that he had left Old Main. And so the decision was made by someone in leadership that we were gonna go to the HUB and sort of wait for President Spanier to come talk to us. And then, you know we went to the HUB and it started this...umm...what became known as the Village. And we stayed for...umm...I forget how many days it was, but you know it just sort of evolved.

AO: And was the rally planned by the people involved with the Village? Or was it planned by adminstration?

DW: Oh, that's a really good idea...uhh...question. You know, I don't recall if this had been...umm...you know what I actually...you know now that you spur me, it might've been planned by administration as sort of like a unity rally or something, but my memory of that is fuzzy. I know, you know, that there was some sort of rally and there were a lot of people there and there were faculty there, so my guess is that this was something that was planned by the administration.

AO: Okay, just because in my research I've heard both stories. That it was planned by administration and that it was planned by the people involved in the Village. Umm..but...

DW: You know Alicia, now that you've spurred my memory, as I recall there was a rally planned by the administration and the folks planning the Village, what eventually became the Village, had decided that at this rally was the time to actually demand some answers, not just to put on a show. And so, I think both things were happening. Now I haven't thought about this in a while, but when you said that I now recall because I'm thinking back in my memory and I'm

seeing...you know, there were lots of faculty and sort of lots of people in front of Old Main. And so, I think it was university sanctioned and planned, but then the leaders of what would eventually become the Village decided that this was an opportunity to actually demand some answers because they felt like, it was kind of clear that they were, being stonewalled by the administration.

AO: What was your role as a member of the Village?

DW: Umm...you know, I was just a participant and I'll put the just in quotation marks. You know, I served no capacity other than...umm...being a member of the Village and participating in this act of disobedience to try to get the administration to address the events that led to it as well as other issues of racial inequality on campus that were sort of all rolled up into this. So, my role was as a participant.

AO: So you just sat in the HUB when they had their...when they did their sit-in in the HUB?

DW: Yea, you know I went...we went to the HUB and we were there for that evening and then it became clear it was gonna become a multi-day event. And I actually left and then came back because I had some other things I had to attend to and then came back. So sort of was there for the duration, going to class, coming back, you know just sleeping in the HUB, doing those sorts of things. And it really became a community building experience, but the size of the Village ebbed and flowed. But, I certainly was not in a leadership position, so I have sort of a different take on things and don't have all the details of sort of what was happening with the negotiations with the administration. I do know that there were times...that toward the end of the Village it became very clear that this sort of...that the protest couldn't last forever because there were some safety concerns and things going on.

AO: Umm...while...even though you weren't in a leadership position, would the people in leadership positions come and share what was going on in the meetings?

DW: Yea, so, there was...you know as I think about it there was at least one sort of like briefing every day and we got together I think on the hour as a group for some singing and chanting and sort of like sharing sort of stuff. Umm...but the leaders would keep all the participants informed of what was going on. We had communal meals and those types of things.

AO: Umm...what do you feel was the main goal of the Village? Do you feel that there was a change from beginning to end?

DW: Umm...well, yea I think the goal did change. The goal did change. My understanding of the initial goal was simply that a response from the administration to this racist crime that had developed, that started with e-mails and that was really sort of being brushed aside and it became clear at least as relayed to us that the administration felt like these were just isolated incidents and as the leaders tried to present this case it became clear that if you started thinking about all of these events that had been happening...these e-mails, the incidences of intimidation, that it was part of something more systematic. So I think as time went on, through dialoguing with the administration, it became clear that there had to be some bigger, more systematic systemic sort

of change and that this was actually an opportunity to sort of press the administration to do this. And I think that really came to light the day the CNN news truck rolled up.

AO: Did you ever read the end result? The Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State?

DW: I read parts of it, I did not read the whole document as I recall, but nothing in it...you know, this far out, nothing stands out in my memory from that.

AO: Okay. Umm...Essentially it says a bunch of different things. It establishes an Africana Research Center. It says that there will be ten tenured faculty in the AAAS department. It establishes that there will be a diversity requirement for all the students. Do you feel that those things satisfy the goals of what you all were trying to do?

DW: Umm...I mean I think they were...those were, umm...those were things sort of to address the long term goals. They didn't address the short term problem, which was really that the administration was failing to connect the dots between these different events and you know that's what the umm...oh what was the... I forget the title, like the Vice Provost for Education Equity?

AO: Yea

DW: I mean, that was supposed to be the role of that position, but it wasn't happening. And so one of the...I think had this not happened at the very end of the semester, I think there may have been a different outcome, but the timing of it was such that the semester was coming to an end and people were leaving. I think there was a push to get long term goals in place. And to be honest I actually have no idea if any of those things ever came to fruition.

AO: What were you hoping to come out of the Village?

DW: I mean, I think as a participant the first thing that I really wanted to come out of this was increased awareness of these diversity issues on campus and the lack of diversity and also this sort of the toxic climate that was developing through these incidences that were being ignored by the administration. So, greater awareness by the administration that these were real issues and that they had to actually be more vigilant about them. The other thing was to put in place long term procedures that could outlast the Penn State tenure of the people involved, so that these sorts of things wouldn't keep happening all the time. What definitely didn't develop was something like, you know we have this list of ten goals and this is what we're going to do. Certainly that was never anything that if that existed was communicated to me or other sort of [unintelligible] participants. And I think people had been working on these issues for a while and so things had got incorporated into the negotiations. There were things people had been talking about for some time, but there certainly wasn't a sense on the part of participants that this had been a way to sort of leverage these issues more. I think it became clear after a while [unintelligible] that the historical circumstances had joined together in such a way to create this sort of movement that it seemed appropriate.

AO: When you say "the people that have been working on it for a while," do you mean people administration-wise or people student-wise?

DW: I mean, I think there were students and members of other organizations that had been concerned about these issues for a while and really thought that the university could do more. The Vice Provost for Educational Equity was supposed to be working on these things, but I think there was frustration among student leaders that things weren't happening. And that was feeding into the events that had transpired that spring and you know kept sort of escalating.

AO: Do you think...Did you ever think that safety was the main issue being addressed? Or do you think that the issue of safety tied into the issue of racism, so it became all about racism at the university on campus?

DW: It started out as a safety issue because the threats were escalating, but I mean it was safety tied to racism. I have trouble distinguishing those two in my mind. It wasn't clear that...I mean there were some serious threats made and it wasn't clear where they were coming from. If they were coming from people who thought this was sort of appropriate and funny or people who were intending to do, you know serious harm. And so that's I think where both safety and education became tied together because it was just kind of a really hostile environment.

AO: At the time of the Village were you an undergraduate student or a graduate student?

DW: I was a graduate student. As I recall, I was a third year graduate student.

AO: What made you want to participate in this at all?

DW: Well, Assata and I were in the same program, so I would talk with Assata about these issues...about these issues. And then there was this rally and then it just became clear that this was...you know and because of my personal relationship with Assata, I think I was more interested in what was going on and had more sort of information than I think the average student did. Because it's not like this was being published daily in the newspaper and so you know it was... I knew about these issues, I was concerned about these issues, and also, as is often the case, personal connections to people who emerged as eventual leaders in the event.

AO: How did you feel at the end of the Village? Did you feel accomplished, more well-versed in issues like this or how to handle issues like this?

DW: Umm...well when you say how did I feel at the end of the Village, my first answer would be exhausted. I mean the experience was physically and emotionally taxing. At the end though, I felt very proud that we had, you know that we had gotten the attention of the administration and had at minimum raised awareness and hopefully had put into place some more permanent means of redress for the situation. The administration was sort of hoping that the semester would end and everyone would go away and in fact that's part of what happened and so I think one of the beneficial things about the Village was coming together and creating this diverse inclusive community as a demonstration, it really forced the university not to stonewall our issue, but to actually sit down and negotiate about...what about Penn State and the climate had led to the situation and ways we could prevent it happening in the future. So, exhausted and proud.

AO: Did you expect the university to act on all of the things they said they were going to do?

DW: At the time...I mean I... At the time I think I expected them to act on many but not all knowing how these things would work. So I was a little bit skeptical then. Having now worked in a university as a faculty member for four years I'm more skeptical. So, I mean I guess as a student I was a little more naïve. I mean I was still cynical, but I wasn't as cynical as I am now.

Alicia Owen

amo5068@psu.edu, www.personal.psu.edu/amo5068/portfolioLLED

EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University – University Park, PA

- •Bachelor of Science in Education Anticipated Graduation May 2011
- •Schreyer Honors College, 2007-2011 Honors in Sociology
- •Secondary Education with an English and Communications Option Pennsylvania Licensure Pending: English and Communications

EXPERIENCE

America Reads Reading Partner at Our Children's Center Montessori September 2008 – December 2010

- Assist teachers in classroom activities
- •Conduct reading and writing activities with children aged 4 to 6 Resident Counselor with Summer College Opportunity in Education (SCOPE) Summer 2010
 - Respond to personal student concerns and difficulty
 - Encourage students to complete tasks in timely manner
 - Mediate group conversations

Pre-Student Teacher at Moshannon Valley Jr./Sr. High

January 2010 – April 2010

- •Taught two classes of ninth grade
- •Taught creative writing to a media literacy elective
- •Created lesson plans
- •Graded papers, tests, and presentations

Team Leader with Supercamp, Quantum Learning Network August 2008

- •Co-led a group of campers through educational activities
- •Facilitated and de-briefed activities and related discussions

Philadelphia Urban Education Seminar

May 2008

- •Co-taught with a fellow classmate
- •Observed Language Arts classrooms at W.B. Saul Agricultural High School

ACTIVITIES

Future Educators Association – Multicultural Education Student Association September 2007 - Present

- •Presented workshops at the Future Educators Association Conference 2009
- •Hosted Future Educators Association Pennsylvania State Conference 2009
- •Planned cultural and social events for students in the College of Education

Tutor with Volunteers in Public Schools

November 2007 – April 2009

- •Tutored an ESL student in reading and writing English
- •Tutored in the areas of Spanish and Language Arts