

Understanding Law, Mediation, and Violence
Chelsay Jackson

I. Introduction

One of the biggest selling points to living in America is that everyone has equal opportunity. But is this really true? I would say not quite. The African American population still does not have equal rights contrary to what some people believe. There are more African Americans in prison (and the rapid increase in incarceration of African Americans over the past decades has occurred while ethnic rates of criminal activity have remained largely unchanged)¹ which in turn means that African Americans are more likely to be unemployed and living in poverty². The African American population is still being singled out for extra (and often extra-legal) scrutiny simply because of the color of their skin. Martin Luther King Jr. once said that he wanted to live to see the day where his children would not be judged on the color of their skin but on the content of their character. The Civil Rights Movement has come and gone but African Americans are still not being judged fairly. We have progressed passed the Jim Crow era, but these fellow citizens are still being profiled as dangerous and lazy on the basis of darker skin. African American men are seen as criminals and women are seen as aggressive.

This semester my classmates and I have participated in the 2009 Story Circles. The Story Circles project was developed to see if we could better understand the complex nature of racial conflict by listening to stories from the citizens of Akron. The project took place on May 27, 2008 at the Akron Urban League. There were eight groups of about six-seven people. Each group was asked to tell two stories each pertaining to the issue of racial conflict or race. The stories were recorded and transcribed so that we as a class could analyze them to see if a correlation arose. In my group of story tellers there was a wide mix of people. There were two black males, two black females, two white females, and one white male. Each person told their own story of racial conflict and played an important role in the development of this paper. It is important to remember that the stories each have something important to say and to truly hear what the stories have to offer we must listen and listen openly.

II. Doing Justice to the 2009 Storytellers and Their Stories

To try and find an answer to why there is racial conflict and how it arrives, I participated in the 2009 Story Circles. The story circles gave me and my classmates the opportunity to sit down with some citizens of Akron and listen to their stories of racial conflict. The stories gave us an understanding of the different types of issues and conflicts that have arrived because of race. In the story circle that I participated in there was a strong theme that developed. The theme that came around was racial profiling/stereotyping. Many of the stories in one way or another dealt with racial profiling. Racial profiling is an act of prejudice that comes when one person judges another based solely on the color of their skin. They do not know anything about the person but just what they see as an outward appearance. The racial profiling that went on in the stories was a range of different acts. I am going to share some of the stories and talk about how they were racially

¹ Wacquant article.

² We know from Clear et al, Pager, and others that the extreme levels of incarceration found in African American communities have a disproportionately negative impact on their employability (having a record has a 40% more negative impact on blacks than on whites), among other negative impacts that are greater for African Americans than for white Americans who are also former convicts.

profiled. I am also going to break the racial profiling into different categories. I am going to talk about the fear of black men that develops and white privilege that comes with racial profiling.

Some of the ways that racial profiling happens is in jokes. There are many jokes about different races and from these jokes we get many ideas about how different races act. One story teller in particular told a joke that she had heard from a friend. The story teller told the joke in response to story teller number 1 saying that he had never heard a joke about a white person. The joke ended with the idea that black women are more aggressive and in charge of their relationships compared to women of other races.

This particular joke is your typical black man, white, Chinese man. I was like they still do this. So there is this white man that's what they started with. He would tell his wife when I come home from work I better have my food cooked, dishes done, house cleaned, everything. The next day he'd come home from work food's done, house spick and span clean. He let her know he appreciated what she did. The Chinese man would tell his wife the exact same thing. The next day he would come home and everything's perfect, just the way he wanted it. The black man tell his wife this and the next day when he come to and his eye healed and he was able to talk again he cooked for her. So you see what I'm saying? It's just so stereotypical that black women are just more mouthy and that other races are more passive. I just think that ain't true because it goes both ways cuz I know it. I know a little Chinese woman, who was about this short and she was the feistiest woman and I asked her "are you sure you aren't American?" and she would say "no".³

This joke is about how women of different races are supposed to be more passive wives than black women. This is an act of racial profiling because we are basing this stereotype on characteristics that particular wives of color have. The joke does not tell the listeners anything about the wives except the color of their skin. This joke assumes that all black women are violent. The story teller tells about how the black wife hit her husband when he started to make the demands that the other husbands had made. This leads the listeners to assume that white and Chinese women do not demonstrate acts of domestic violence. Jokes like this are the way that stereotypes are kept in existence. If one person hears the joke and likes it than they are going to tell their friends and the chain will continue.

At the end of the story the story teller demonstrates her frustrations that she has with the joke. She says that black women are not the only race to demonstrate this sort of behavior. She knew a Chinese lady that went against the joke because she (the Chinese lady) was not passive. Not all black women are aggressive but because of this joke and stereotype of black women that is what we are led to believe. How is society supposed to learn any better if this is all that they are hearing? The only way they will learn to break the cycle is if they know someone that breaks the stereotype and they stand up for that race.

Racial profiling does not only exist in the jokes that we tell though. Racial profiling exists everywhere we look. It happens with the government, schools, family, work, church, and everywhere we look. It happens to young and old people. It even happens to some white people, especially white people who choose to live or work with black people. There was one story teller who was white but he had lived in a black community and went to a black church where he was accepted as one of their own. He worked for an all white firehouse and was there when the firehouse started to integrate. He was often made fun of by his co-workers because he was friendly

³ Story Teller Number 2 2009 (second story). Joke was told in reference to a comment made by story teller 1 in previous statement. The story tellers are numbered in the order that they told their stories.

with the black workers. One story he tells is about when they are all watching the news together and some black criminals come on the television.

I was hired as a [local city] firefighter and I lived in an all black neighborhood. All my kids' playmates were black but I worked in an all white setting and there was not one single full time black man working for the city. The [local city] in 1986 its all the way up to 1988 and I was there when I integrated it by hiring the first black firefighter. It was challenging to hear a lot of the comments and the people targeted me having fun as they were getting ready to be integrated. But you could see the discomfort with people facing some of their own misperceptions or demons or whatever. But they used to be watching the news on TV and there'd be some young black man from the hood who committed murder something would've happened and they'd hit me, and my nickname was Buster at the department, and "Buster, isn't that your neighbor? Isn't it?" You know and all that kind of stuff but it was again humor was a way again you know racial jokes or sexual jokes are a way that we don't deal with our, it's it's a way we can bring it up without really dealing with it.⁴

This story shows many ways that people are racially profiled. The co-workers of the white fireman were stereotyping his neighbors just because of their race. They were assuming that just because his neighbors were black that they were all criminals. The firemen had no idea about the character of the neighborhood but just assume that all black men are criminals. This story also demonstrates how white people are so willing to talk about a black person when they are not around, implying covert racism – saying things in the “safety” of an all-white environment with the assumption of shared values. A new black co-worker was brought in and instead of trying to get to know the person they were making racist comments behind his back. This is not a way to try and make him feel welcome. They were too busy making fun of him when they should have been trying to make him feel welcome as the first black city worker, rather than trying to protect white privilege.,

The black co-worker is not the only one being criticized in this story though. The story teller is also being criticized because he lives in an all black neighborhood. His co-workers cannot understand why he would let his children play and be around black “criminals”. They think that all black people live in “the hood” so this means that the story teller must live in “the hood” as well. This is not the case as we know. There are many white people that also live in poor neighborhoods but we do not stereotype or profile. We do not think they are criminals because they live in a poor neighborhood. When black people do live in nicer neighborhoods the community automatically assumes that they dealt drugs because they have money. Either way the table is turned it does not matter. Black people will be judged by what community they are from whether it is nice or poor.

Racial profiling also happens in the churches. This is the one place where you would not expect it would be present. The Bible preaches acceptance of all people but some churches did not practice this doctrine. One church would not let another church of the same domination sleep in the gym because they were all black members. The story teller tells this story from the viewpoint of a child. His father was the pastor at the United Methodist church and this story has stayed with him throughout the years.

Um its funny I guess, I don't necessarily remember this but I remember it in talking about it. My father's a United Methodist pastor and we were in Cleveland Heights from 64-68 in the Civil Rights Movement was going on. And there was a group, a church group, coming from St. Louis or somewhere trying to get to D.C.

⁴ Story Teller Number 7 2009 (second part of first story)

And they couldn't quite make the trip in one day so they needed a church to stay in and sleep. They wanted to sleep on the gym floor. It was a black church that was going to some sort of march in D.C. and because they were a United Methodist church they contacted ours to stay there. And my father became very upset because the church decided they didn't want him want them to stay there. Uh he did not speak up so much and again people would have claimed it wasn't about race it was about the gym and the building and all that. He eventually wrote a letter to the editor and talked about what was wrong when we didn't risk for each other. So that was always in my family background.⁵

Story teller number 7 talks about how his father was afraid to stand up for what he thought was right. The Bible preaches that you are supposed to love your neighbor equally but when it came down to it the white church community could not use that method. Like what was already discussed it was not socially accepted for white people to be nice to blacks and the white church would have been looked badly upon by the white community. The white church was more worried about what kind of reputation they would have received. What the church should have been focused on was helping out their fellow neighbors regardless of color. Jesus talked about acceptance and loving your neighbor as you love yourself. The storyteller's father was afraid to stand up for what was right because he would have been scolded by his congregation and his community. In the end though, his father realized that he should have stood up for the black church because they are neighbors. He talked about the importance of taking the risk for what you feel is right even if you are going to lose some respect in the end.

Racial profiling even happens in families. This can stem from the fear of the unknown where many people profile blacks simply because they do not know about the culture or the experiences that the culture has faced. One story teller tells about an experience that her father had. He had grown up in a small town where there were not many black people. So because of that his family did not have any black friends. She tells a story about her father joining the military and bringing home a black friend.

My father was in the military at a very young age. I think he enlisted when he was 19 um so when he went away to basic training, the area we grew up in was predominantly white and it had been from the time he had been little also, but you learn things in the military. He made some really good friends with African American people. So when it came time for Thanksgiving he invited a few friends home. One of them was African American and one of them was a white guy. Ummm... my grandmother did not take a liking to this. She must not have known they were coming home because when they got there she would not let them in the house. She said there was no black boy going to be at my house. He can come and eat dinner here but he cannot stay here. So my dad, being the guy he was, fine if you're not going to let him stay here none of us are going to stay here. So they went down the street and rented a hotel room and they stayed there for Thanksgiving.⁶

This story touches on a couple different issues. The first issue that it touches one is racial stereotyping. The grandmother did not know anything about this black man but would not let him stay in the house with her. This could be because she was afraid of black men or because she felt that she was superior which would be the idea of white privilege latter discussed in this paper. Instead of taking the time to get to know this man she immediately judged him as a criminal. She

⁵ Story Teller Number 7 2009 (firs part of story in footnote 2)

⁶ Story Teller Number 5 first story

did this even though it meant that her son would not stay in the house during his visit home for the holiday.

The grandmother's opinion is one that is very common though. Black men are incorrectly portrayed as if all were criminals and thieves. The incarceration explosion in the criminal justice system has led us to believe that all men of color are bad and should not be trusted. The grandmother does however allow him to come into the house to eat dinner. This could be because she would be able to watch him the whole time and would know that he would behave or because she knew that if he could not come then her son would not eat there either. This story portrays the typical viewpoint that black men are dangerous and cannot be trusted.

Fear of Black Men

One part of racial profiling is a common and irrational (not based on data) fear that many people have of black men. There is a stereotype that all black men are dangerous and criminals. It does not matter how old the man is or what he looks like. Many women will see a black man coming and will either cross the street or bring their bags closer to their bodies. Women will also lock all of the doors in the car if they are alone when a black man walks into the parking lot. Two of the story tellers told stories of how they experienced this and how it felt to be stereotyped.

Story Teller 3: I think that one racism that most of us experience is black men experience now and we experienced it from white females and black females and you're walking through the parking lot and you hear click, click, click. And you see all the sudden all the sudden the close has come up closer under the shoulder straps.

Story Teller 6: Yes!!!

Story Teller 3: So um I kinda, well there's two examples. Pardon you click yours? Do you do it when you see a white male or black? (Speaking to story teller 2)

Story Teller 2: I do it whenever I see a person because my dad taught me that you keep your door locked. So when a person walked by...⁷

This conversation shows that no matter what the race of the woman they will lock their doors. This story shows that all people are afraid of strangers but there is a clear understanding that the fear of strange black men goes beyond the fear of just strangers. Story teller number 2 was a black woman that locked her doors whenever any man came by because that is how she was taught. The story teller number 3 talks about how he experiences women bringing their purses up closer to their bodies as if all black men are robbers and they are going to get mugged. This is the common perception that we see, even though it is not rational. Women have a common fear that if a black man walks by them at night then they are going to get robbed or raped. This is not always the most common scenario however. While this may not be the most accurate fear it is one of the consequences of the criminal justice system and the act of racial profiling. Although it is smart to be cautious and alert when out, black men are not the only ones capable of robbing or raping women. Most sexual assaults come from friends or family members. These are people that the victim is comfortable with and is probably not a stranger. This fear stems from the fact that in many of the horror stories we hear, the violence comes from a black man.

⁷ Conversation between Story Tellers 3, 6 and 2. The tape recorder was turned off on the middle of the conversation so the rest was not recorded.

The other story teller tells about how he is judged because of the way he looks. He is a bigger black man that has dread locks and he is judged whenever he walks down the street. Not only do people think he is dangerous they often think that he is doing drugs or is a drug dealer.

Uh when I'm walkin down the street I'm not scared of nobody. I'm black, I'm the big guy with the dread locks. You don't know I'm a teddy bear I might become a grizzly bear. I'm really a panda bear (whole group laughs). I really am you know what I'm saying but um you don't know. You know what I'm saying if I walk down the street and I'm frowning up because the Brown's lost the game you may think there's an issue. You gonna cross the street, I get it all the time. I thought that people think I'm smoking weed cause I got dread locks. I never been high a day in my life.⁸

The storyteller talks about how he gets profiled because he is a big black guy. He mentions that people cross the street when they see him because he has dread locks. He also says that he is a bigger guy so people are scared of him. They have not gotten to know his character or how nice he really is but because of his size they are scared. People are often intimidated by the size of other people. Especially females, who are more afraid of crime than men. The story teller talks about how he thinks that other people see him as a drug user because of his dread locks. This is also a different type of racial profiling.

So my wife asked me, she says when you walking down the street do you ever cross? Yes!! Well what makes you walk across the street? I'm gonna admit it, I don't know if most brothers gonna admit this and you said click click the door (looking at story teller 3) or now if you walk down the street brother I walked down the street, if you walking down the street and some 15, 16, 17 year old brother walking down the street with long shorts on and their pants sagging, I'm stereotyping and he don't know I'm doing it. Now them little brothers may shoot you. This is jacked up but when you read the paper that's whose shooting. You really should not be scared of me cause I'm 38. I got a family. I pay taxes. You may walk down the street bump this one and for real I see it every day. Right now I got a guy scared to come out his house because he want to protect his son. But this guy rides his bike with a gun on him saying "come on pops, come on pops". I'm just saying more lately some of the younger brothers are are more bullies than anything and its more of a bully thing than anything.⁹

One thing that is interesting about this story is the fact that he talks about a stereotype that is very common in society. He is scared of the younger black men. He bases this on the way that they dress and from some of the bad stories that have gone around. There have been many young black boys that have gone to jail and have committed violent acts. There is an article by Devah Pager that says that young black men have a 28% likelihood to be convicted of a crime in their life. This rises to 50% if they have dropped out of school.¹⁰ This shows us that young black men are more likely to be convicted and serve time, but there are many young black men that are getting an education and working. Many choose to join the military where it is easier to get an education and a job.

White Privilege

White privilege is the reality that whatever is white or whatever is the way white people do it or expect it is considered the default. This is getting to the point where white people stop seeing race and racism and end up asserting that race no longer exists. White privilege is a concept where

⁸ Story Teller Number 1 2009 third story

⁹ Story Teller Number 1 2009 (same story as footnote number 5)

¹⁰ The Mark of a Criminal Record by Devah Pager

whites have been given special rights because they are white. They are seen as superior so this gives them the right to do, say, or think anything. One story teller told a powerful story about the black farmers not being able to get the money for their crops and therefore not being able to buy groceries. The white farmers however were being paid. The community came together and with the help of a white pastor they wrote a bill for Congress. After the bill was finally passed they were able to get the money they deserved for their crops.

I remember as a little girl uh in Alabama my mother spoke four languages and of course the neighborhood was uh let's say the country side. She she taught school in the city and then in the evening she went to the country side and some of the worthies that are here in Akron today have all carpenters and all they were there. And of course we didn't see a lot of racial tensions at that time. But we knew that existed because the school teachers and ministers was high on the respective lists of both black and white. And of course um there was one incident that I remember and what really makes me continue to work hard today. Was there was some farmers that did not get their check when their crop was plowed and there was some that did get it. The white got their check and of course the minorities did not. My mother being a teacher and very much you know respected they came to her and said we need to know what's happening, we would like to be able to know when we can get groceries. Because for two years straight they hadn't been able to get anything from the local grocery store but the white could. But and she called them together and will never will forget it on a Sunday evening she said I want you to get along cause your just traveler here anyway you didn't even come here to stay on this land and you'll leave it one day and I remember that the one white minister stood up and he said, "this will not fall on deaf ears from this day on we must get together and become as one". And today Thermopolis, Alabama I think that him saying that we had school teachers we had people of all denominations. There were people that courthouses named for uh black person for years ago that they couldn't. But all this came about but you have to speak up and that's why I thought being in the NAACP would be something to have a voice to say that you and I will never forget that as a little girl when he stood up there this white gentlemen stood up for all of these that hadn't gotten their monies. And my mother of course had written to the President of the United States and told them of their dilemma and they brought it to pass because this white man signed on with her in order to make a change for everybody.¹¹

This is such a powerful story because it shows us that just because the farmers were black they were not getting paid for their crops. This means that they could not buy groceries, they could not pay for their homes, and they could not buy more crops to plant. This means that the wealthy white farmers were buying all of the land because the black farmers could not afford to pay the taxes on the land. So not only were the white people able to buy groceries to survive they were able to buy more land and keep their homes. The whites were not being paid because their crops were better or bigger than the blacks but they were being paid simply because they were white. It had nothing to do whatsoever with the crops. The whites felt that they were superior to the blacks so they were the ones getting paid. And whites were making the decisions about who was being paid.

This story also tells about how the black community came together to help solve the dilemma that they were going through. They were tired of not being able to buy groceries or not being able to pay for their homes or land. The story also shows how the courage of one white man standing up against his white community. He was willing to help the black community because he felt that they were being treated poorly. He worked together with the story teller's mother to be able to write a bill so that the black farmers could get the pay they deserved. Who knows how long it

¹¹ Story Teller Number 6 2009 first story. She is referring to the NAACP in her story.

would have taken the community to get recognized if this one white man and black community had not come together to get what they deserved.

Another story teller talks about how a white woman had grown up believing something she was told about blacks. She was never corrected and thought that this fallacy was true her whole life. This could be an example of white privilege because the whites were able to say anything they wanted. Since it came from a white person's mouth then it had to be true.

I'm in college, I work at a movie theater this old white lady that comes in every Tuesday she's about 90,000 years old. This old lady, the sweetest lady on the planet, sweetest lady on the planet, she comes in on Tuesdays. Why do you come in on Tuesdays by yourself? She says it only takes one to watch a movie. She comes in, everyone knows this is my last day workin so she comes in on a Tuesday, she says well around well uh I say my name we're friends aren't we? I say yea, keep in mind I love this lady, a whole semester man I was getting knowledge from her you know what I mean, she said we're friends right? I said yea, so I figured she felt like this was the only opportunity she had to ask this in particular question. She says well can we talk here and I said yes and she said well let me see it (Laughs from everyone). I said excuse me Mrs. Crabtree what was that. She said I know ya got it let me see it. I says uh really, she says I know ya have a tail I need to see it. I says I got a tail? She says listen my pastor told me when I was a little girl that brothers, black people, had tails that they were descendants from monkeys. So she was cool in her um being comfortable with me knowing I'm leaving she thinks like her only black friend is about to leave so she need to get this information ya know what I'm saying. And I didn't fought her. She was educated this way and she grew up and she started living in Lake Cable. She went from wherever she was down there went to Lake Cable that predominantly white area out there so she's just this regular lady askin her homeboy let me see it cause you got it and then I had to actually tell her no we don't and she was shocked. And she wasn't even embarrassed to ask me she just knew it was her last opportunity.¹²

This story shows that white people can say whatever they want without having the facts behind the story. This lady was told by her pastor because the pastor knew it was what the congregation wanted to hear. They would make up stories to fit the community and the times that they were in. No matter if there was a truth behind it or not. This lady did not know any better because she lived in a white community and had no black friends. There was no one to set the story straight until the story teller told her the truth. So she had to go her whole life thinking that black people had tails. Even though this lady did not know that it was not the truth it was still an example of white privilege because she was made to feel superior by making the other race out to be animals.

Sometimes black people get punished over white people just because they are black. This goes with both white privilege and racial typification. Racial typification is the act that just because you are black you are also a criminal. In one story the story teller tells about how her friend was put in jail after a fight just because she was black.

I used to work at info line and a co-worker of mine at the time called. She had called me all hysterical; it was like 11:30-12 o'clock at night. She was like 'I need you to call my mom and tell my mom I'm going to jail.' So I'm like 'that's not your character you're going to jail? Going to jail for what?' So she tell me that one of her neighbors, she was a Caucasian lady, had got into it with her about cutting her music down or whatever so she knocks. So the other lady knocks on my friend's door and asked her to turn the music down.

¹² Story Teller Number 1 2009 first story

So they got into an altercation or whatever sort and she calls her a 'nigger' [emphasizes quietly] and they get to fighting and my friend went to jail even though the other lady was over her house and hit her first.¹³

This story tells about how blacks are more likely to go to jail even though the white person may have caused the crime or started the fight. In this story the story teller tells about how her friend did not have the character of a criminal. The reader can tell by the story that this is not usual for this black woman. The first sign is that she is calling her friend to call her mother to come and get her out of jail. Many people would not call their mothers to come and bail them out of jail. They would have asked a friend to come and get them. The story even says that the white woman was the first one to throw a punch but the black woman was the one that went to jail. If there was an altercation between the two women then they both should have gone to jail and not just the black lady.

The society that we live in teaches that if there is a fight between a black and white person that the black person is automatically the one that gets punished. The jails are overpopulated with people in jail and a majority of them are of the black population. This does not mean that black people are the only ones committing crimes. It is quite the opposite. There are more white criminals but they are more likely to get a lighter punishment by the criminal justice system. This also means that less black people will be able to get jobs because once a black person has a criminal record it is 40% harder for them to find a job.¹⁴ This is why there are so many black people that live in poverty. They are unable to find jobs and many of them will end up going back to jail.

III. *Final Reflections on Stories, Data, and Understanding Racial Conflict*

Participating in the 2009 Story Circles has really opened my eyes to the nature and extent of racial conflicts that are happening right here in Akron. I have always known that racism still exists but as a white female have never really experienced it directly. The participants in Story Circle number 8 were a great group of individuals. They were able and willing to open up and share their stories and for that I greatly appreciate them. The stories and conversations that took place were very powerful. They ranged in topics from racial profiling, integration, segregation, and white privilege. Each story teller had a big part to add to this paper and was able to show me exactly what was happening or had already happened to them.

Looking back over the notes I took immediately following the story circles, where we were asked to record our initial impressions, it is clear to me that my own thinking about race and racial conflict has changed in the following ways by more deeply analyzing the stories and linking this analysis to scholarly articles on the topic. I have begun to look at racial conflicts and wonder why they still occur. When looking back over the stories I realized that the racial ideas are passed down from generation to generation. Children will play together no matter what but the parents and other relatives are the influence about playing with black children. We should not be teaching our children not to like other races. The jokes with the different stereotypes need to come to an end. When I first completed the story circles I thought that some of the stories did not have anything to pertain to the paper that I was going to write. After looking at the stories over again I realized that every story had an important message and that we need to consider everything before simply dismissing the idea.

¹³ Story Teller Number 2 2009 first story

¹⁴ The Mark of a Criminal Record by Devah Pager

This was a great project to take part in and I think this is a great way for the stories to live on. By participating in the story circles the stories we collected will continue to be heard. The articles that we read in class were also a great tool for analyzing these stories, connecting our small sample of stories to larger data sets to deepen our analysis. They allowed us as writers to be able to see the underlying themes that were taking place in the stories. The themes did not have to be directly spoken for us to be able to detect them.

The articles showed us that there is a disproportionate number of black individuals that are in prison compared to white individuals. It is also harder for black felons to find a job and many felons lose their right to vote which is taking away from the black population as a whole. In order to stop this discrimination we have to first be able to figure out why this is happening. We live in a land where supposedly everyone is equal but we can see from these stories and the articles that this is not true. Hopefully one day we will be able to live in a land where people will not continue to be judged on the color of the skin but on the content of their character and personality.

References

1, Story Tellers 1-7. Akron Urban League Story Circles Chelsay Jackson. 27 May 2009.

Pager, Devah. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." AJS (2003): 937-75.