

CONF 302: Culture, Identity, and Conflict
Spring 2016

The School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution
George Mason University
Peacebuilding Fellows Program
(<http://scar.gmu.edu/undergraduate/peacebuilding-fellows>)

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Wednesday 9:00-11:40am	Hours: Thus. 12:30 to 1:30

Course Description:

This course is designed to explore deeply rooted, intractable, and protracted social conflicts around core issues of identity, including race, ethnicity, religion, and nationalism, but also including gender and class. Over the semester, students will be encouraged to explore cultural, symbolic, and discursive approaches to identity conflict. Course materials invite students to think critically about how identities based upon nationality, race, gender, class, and ability animate inter-personal and structural conflict, and they challenge students to consider how various contexts and conflicts shape and re-shape social identities.

In-class analysis of the readings and documentaries will be integrated with group-based activities during class time, as well as individual exploratory assignments outside of class. We will begin the semester with a scaffolded writing assignment and group-based projects designed to promote critical self-reflection on our own identities, our relationships to conflicts that impact us, and we contribute to wittingly or unwittingly. By the end of the semester, students will be prepared to communicating their understanding of culture, identity and conflict, critically employ a new set of skills to explore the dynamics of identity-based conflicts and their potential resolution or remediation.

The course is structured in two parts. During the first month of the semester, we will study theories of identity, culture, and conflict. Our cases will range from warfare amongst Brazilian indigenous societies, to genocide in the Balkans. In the second half of the semester we will focus on identity and conflict resolution in the U.S. The semester will culminate in a cohort trip to DC to engage in experiential learning, delving into issues of identity and conflict in our own communities.

Course Objectives

1. To learn about social processes associated with identity formation and transformation.
2. To learn about ingroup and outgroup boundary formation.
3. To apply the categories and processes associated with identity and difference to contemporary conflict.
4. To critically analyze identity politics in conflicts settings.

Course Readings:

All course readings will be posted on blackboard. Students are required to **either** print all readings and bring them to class, **or** bring their laptops to class with readings already downloaded to their computers.

Course Requirements:

CONF 302 is a writing-intensive course. Class time will be set aside to instruction on how to complete assignments successfully, students will write between 6,000 to 7,500 words, receive constructive

feedback on drafts, and revise one graded assignment. Students who receive less than a C on their first essay will be required to take their assignments to the Writing Center (<http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/>).

Papers: All papers should be typed, double-spaced, and stapled with 1-inch margins in Times New Roman size 12 font. Double-sided printing is preferred. Your name, name of the course, semester, professor's name, and assignment title must be placed as a heading in one of the top corners of the paper (single-spaced): this heading constitutes five lines total. All papers must include page numbers and proper citation. A template for proper paper formatting can be found on Blackboard under the "Assignments" tab. Papers that do not follow this format will be deducted one a letter grade.

Presentations: Semester readings will be assigned to students equally, and students will take turns leading class discussions on weekly readings throughout the whole semester. "C" presentations demonstrate an awareness of the thesis, basic arguments, and facts of the assigned reading. "B" presentations, in addition, demonstrate an ability to place the reading into context with one or two previous readings. "A" presentations, in addition, ask critical questions and provoke critical conversations amongst classmates.

Assignments & Requirements	Due Dates	Length	% of Grade
Self Reflective Essay Draft Part 1	due Week 2		
Self Reflective Essay Draft Part 2	due Week 3		
Self Reflective Essay Draft Part 3	due Week 4		
Self Reflective Essay Draft Part 4	due Week 5		
☞ Final Reflective Essay Final Version	due Week 6	(1,000 words)	10%
Paper 1 Draft	due Week 6		
☞ Paper 1 Final	due Week 8	(1,000-1,500 words)	20%
Paper 2 Draft	due Week 10		
☞ Paper 2 Final	due Week 12	(1,000-1,500 words)	20%
☞ Paper 3	due Week 14	(1,500-2,000 words)	20%
☞ Field Trip Write-up	due Week 14	(1,500 words)	20%
Participation (Presentations)			10%

Grading Scale:

A+	4.00	B+	3.33	C+	2.33	D	1.00
A	4.00	B	3.00	C	2.00	F	0.00
A-	3.67	B-	2.67	C-	1.67		

Participation

The professor will begin each class with comments and points of clarification on course readings. The majority of the course will consist of dialogue between students. A successful course will require that students come prepared, read all of the material, participate responsibly in discussions, and listen to the views and ideas of other students. Towards this end, all students will be required take responsibility for leading class discussions on assigned readings.

Attendance & Missed Assignments

Students are expected to attend all classes of the courses. In-class participation is important not only to the individual student, but also to the class as a whole. Because class participation may be a factor in grading, the professor will use absence, tardiness, or early departure as de facto evidence of nonparticipation.

Students will be allowed to miss 1 class without penalty. Missing a second and third class will result in 50% penalties to the student's class participation grade. Missing 3 classes is grounds for failure.

Students will not be allowed to miss an assigned presentation, unless they arrange to switch readings with a classmate. Otherwise, the presentation will receive a 0 grade.

Late papers will be penalized 20%

Technology Policy

Cell phones must be silenced while in class. Excessive text messaging and communicating via social media is not allowed, and will result in an "absence" from the course.

Accommodations & Disability

Any student who suspects she may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the professor privately to discuss the student's specific needs, and provide written documentation from Disability Services. If the student is not yet registered as a student with a disability, she can contact Disability Services. For more information, view the office's website at <http://ods.gmu.edu>

English Language Learners

The English Language Institute offers free English language tutoring to non-native English speaking students who are referred by a member of the faculty or staff. For more information, please visit their website at <http://eli.gmu.edu>

Academic Conduct & Honor Code

Students are accountable to the following Honor Code: "To promote a stronger sense of mutual responsibility, respect, trust, and fairness among all members of the George Mason University community and with the desire for greater academic and personal achievement, we, the student members of the University Community have set forth this: Student members of the George Mason University community pledge not to cheat, plagiarize, steal, and/or lie in matters related to academic work."

This course will explore controversial and sensitive subject matter; it is, therefore, expected that students will engage with one another in a respectful manner even when they do not agree with one another.

Plagiarism & Honor Committee

Students are prohibited from: (a) knowingly permitting another student to plagiarize or cheat from one's work, and (b) submitting the same assignment in different courses without consent of the professor.

Should you have any questions about what it means to cheat, plagiarize, steal and/or lie, please consult the website: <http://oai.gmu.edu/understanding-the-honor-code/>

Students should review: "Student Strategies for Preventing Violations" link on the Office for Academic Integrity's website: <http://oai.gmu.edu/preventing-violations/student-strategies-for-preventingviolations/>

Any student found violating the tenets of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review.

Assignments

- ☞ Self-reflective Essay, final due 2/24
see syllabus for assignments each week

- ☞ Paper 1, due 3/16

Writing Prompt: Identify a controversy that emerges in the readings for Units 2 through 6, and critically evaluate the controversy. Critically evaluating the controversy means posing your own question (a hypothesis) about drawn from a careful reading of the theory, developing a nuanced answer to that question (a thesis), and defending your argument through evidence—not assertions.

Because this is a writing intensive class, part of your responsibility is to develop your own question. Keep in mind that the better you understand the readings, the better your question will be. The better your question is, the better your thesis, and the better your thesis, the better your essay.

We will talk about how to develop a good question in class.

The basic requirements: Pick 4 readings, read the whole texts, and refer to the entire texts in your essays. Your job is to demonstrate that you have understood course discussions, and that you have understood the 4 entire texts that you are writing about, but you do not want to waste valuable space describing the readings unnecessarily. Be critical, selective, and insightful when describing major themes and critical theories in these readings.

- ☞ Paper 2, due 4/13

Identify a theory or a theoretical frame from **CONF 330: Community, Group, and Organizational Conflict Analysis and Resolution**. Use the theory to develop a question that you'll answer using readings from Units 7 through 14.

The basic requirements: Pick 1 reading from CONF 330, and 4 readings from our course. Read the whole texts, and refer to the entire texts in your essays. Your job is to demonstrate that you have understood course discussions, in our course and CONF 330, and that you have understood the 4 entire texts that you are writing about. Do not waste valuable space describing the readings unnecessarily. Be critical, selective, and insightful when describing major themes and critical theories in these readings.

- ☞ Paper 3, due 4/27

Identify a theory or a theoretical frame from **CONF 399: Building Peace in Divided Societies**. Use the theory to develop a question that you'll answer using readings from Units 7 through 13.

The basic requirements: Pick 1 reading from CONF 399, and 4 readings from our course (that are different from the ones you wrote about in paper 2). Read the whole texts, and refer to the entire texts in your essays. Your job is to demonstrate that you have understood course discussions, in our course and CONF 399, and that you have understood the 4 entire texts that you are writing about. Do not waste valuable space describing the readings unnecessarily. Be critical, selective, and insightful when describing major themes and critical theories in these readings.

- ☞ Peacebuilding Fellows Cohort Excursion: In Week 4 of the semester, form groups of 3. Between Week 4 and Week 12, students will conduct their fieldtrip.

Course Schedule (subject to change)

Part I: Theory & Comparative Perspectives

1/20 Unit 1—What was your race in 1890?

How the Idea of Race & Ethnicity Changed Over Time in the US

Readings (20 pages, PDFs on blackboard. Read highlighted sections only)

1. F. James Davis, “Defining Race: Comparative Perspectives”
2. Jennifer Lee and Frank Bean, “Remaking Identity in America”
3. Yen Le Espiritu, “Asian American Panethnicity”
4. David Wilkins, “A Tour of Indian Peoples and Indian Lands”
5. James Baldwin, “The Fire Next Time”

Key concepts:

Culture	Race	Conflict	Individual
Identity	Religion	Violence	Community
Ethnicity	Class	War	Society

Intractable Conflicts

Deeply Rooted Conflicts

My introduction to the course will cover the following readings, which are not required readings.

On Identity and the Self:

- Georg Simmel, “On the Poor,” “How is Society Possible,” “The Stranger”
- Marianne Weber, “On Marriage”
- George Herbert Mead, “The Genesis of the Self”
- Talcott Parsons, “Structure of Social Action,” and “The Theory of Action”
- Jane Addams, “Newer Ideals for Peace”
- Herbert Blumer, “Symbolic Interaction”
- Erving Goffman, “Asylums”

On Identity and Conflict:

- John Burton, “Conflict: Human Needs Theory”
- Heidi Burgess and Guy M. Burgess, “What Are Intractable Conflicts?”
(<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/meaning-intractability>)
- Dennis J. D. Sandole, “Theory and Practice,”
(http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol6_1/Sandole.htm)

1/27 Unit 2—Culture

Work Due: Self Reflective Essay Draft 1. Write a 200-250 word self-reflective essay that:

- ✓ Highlights the groups that establish who you are.
- ✓ Defines the essential elements of these groups, what unites its members, the group characteristics, and what kinds of actions and behaviors are typical of the group.
- ✓ Contrasts these factors with another group of the same category.

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

6. Kevin Avruch, “Culture”
7. Kevin Avruch, “Culture and Conflict Resolution”
8. Clifford Geertz, “Primordial Ties”
9. Michael Taussig, “Culture of Terror—Space of Death”
10. Akbar S. Ahmed, “Ethnic Cleansing: A Metaphor for Our Time?”
11. Robert Hayden, “Imagined Communities and Real Victims: Self-Determination and Ethnic Cleansing in Yugoslavia”

2/3 Unit 3—Identity

Work Due: Self Reflective Essay Draft 2: Continue by writing a 200-word self-reflective essay that expands on your previous essay by addressing the following:

- ✓ How did this group influence you?
- ✓ How has this group determined who you are as an individual and what you do and enjoy doing?

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

12. Peter W. Black, “Identities”
13. James D. Fearon, “What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?”
14. Dennis Sandole, “Identity Under Siege,”
15. Max Weber, “The Nation” & “Origins of Ethnic Groups”
16. Phillip E. Hammond, “Religion and the Persistence of Identity”
17. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, “Ethnic Identity, National Identity, and Intergroup Conflict”
18. Marilynn Brewer, “Ingroup Identification and Intergroup Conflict”
19. Ervin Staub, “Individual and Group Identities in Genocide and Mass Killing”

2/10 Unit 4—Identity, Culture, Violence

Work Due: Self Reflective Essay Draft 3: Continue by writing 200-word self-reflective essay that expands on your previous essay by addressing the following:

- ✓ Has your membership in this group become more or less pronounced over time?

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

20. David Alpher and D. Rothbart, “‘Good Violence’ and the Myth of the Eternal Soldier”
21. Rothbart and Korostelina, “Moral Denigration of the Other”
22. Kristina Korostelina, “Social Identity and Conflict”
23. Helen Fein, “Genocide and the Universe of Moral Obligation”
24. R. Brian Ferguson, “A Paradigm for the Study of War and Society”
25. Arjun Appadurai, “Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization”
26. John Bowen, “The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict”
27. Douglas Irvin-Erickson, “Spirit Cults, Buddhist Identities, and Cultures of Peace in Cambodia”

2/17 Unit 5—Cultural Logics of Conflict & Violence

Work Due: Self Reflective Essay Draft 4: Continue by writing 200-word self-reflective essay that expands your previous essay by addressing the following:

- ✓ How has your evolving membership or participation in this group changed your interactions with other groups, or altered how you interact with people from other groups?

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

28. Fred Voget, “Ethos, Religion and War on the Great Plains”
29. Clayton Robarchek, “Motivations and Material Causes”
30. Neil Whitehead, “The Cultural Production of Warfare”
31. Rodney Needham, “Skulls, Soul Substance, and Fertility”
32. Michelle Rosaldo, “The Shame of Headhunters and the Autonomy of Self”
33. R. Lincoln Keiser, “Death Enmity in Thull”
34. G.W. Trompf, “The Logic of Retribution in Melanesia”
35. Marshall Sahlins, “Maori Myth and Strategy”.
36. Alexander Hinton, “The Poetics of Violence”

2/24 Unit 6—Identity, Conflict, “Nature,” and States

Work Due: Self Reflective Essay Final Version Due and Paper 1 Outline & Draft Due

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

37. Napoleon Chagnon, “The Yanomami”
38. R. Brian Ferguson, “Yanomami Warfare”
39. R. Brian Ferguson, “Tribal, Ethnic, and Global Wars”
40. R. Brian Ferguson, “Violent Conflict and Control of the State”
41. Alexander Hinton, “A Head for an Eye: Revenge in the Cambodian Genocide”
42. Nasser Abufarha, “The Making of a Human Bomb”
43. Akbar Ahmed, “Strategy and Conflict in Waziristan”

Part II: U.S. and the Americas

3/2 Unit 7—Race Thinking, Religion, Gender, and Conflict

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

44. Winthrop Jordan, “First Impressions”
45. Michael Banton, “The Idiom of Race”
46. Friedrich Engles, “Marriage and the State”
47. Chris Mato Nunpa, “A Sweet Smelling Sacrifice: Genocide, the Bible, and Indigenous Peoples”
48. Monique Scheer, “From Majesty to Mystery: Change in the Meanings of Black Madonnas from the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries”
49. Mrinalini Sinha, “Colonial Masculinity: The ‘Manly Englishman’ and the ‘Effeminate Bengali’ in the Late Nineteenth Century”

3/9 SPRING BREAK

3/16 Unit 8—Western Contact: Social Transformations, Identity, & Conflict

Work Due: Paper 1

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

50. Jeffrey Blick, “Genocidal Warfare in Tribal Societies as a Result of European-Induced Culture Conflict”
51. R. Brian Ferguson, “Blood of the Leviathan”
52. R. Brian Ferguson, “When Worlds Collide”
53. Douglas Bamforth, “Indigenous People, Indigenous Violence”
54. Lawrence Keeley, “Neo-Rousseauians and the Pacified Past”
55. R. Brian Ferguson, “The Birth of War”
56. R. Brian Ferguson, “Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology, and the Origins and Intensifications of War”
57. R. Brian Ferguson, Review of “Warless Societies and the Origin of War”

3/23 Unit 9—Socio-historic Constructions of Identity in the US

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

58. Howard Zin, “Drawing the Color Line”
59. W. E. B. Du Boise, “Black Reconstruction”
60. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, “Racalized Social System Approach to Racism”
61. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, “Racial Formations”
62. Joel Olson, “The Abolition of White Democracy”
63. Carole Pateman, “The Sexual Contract”
64. Kathleen Canning, “Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship”

3/30 Unit 10—Socio-economic Constructions of Identity in the US

Work Due: Draft Paper 2

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

65. Rebecca Blank, “Identity and Social and Economic Trends of Well-Being”
66. Chiquita Collins, “The Color of Health in the United States”
67. Thomas W. Shapiro, “Race and the Wealth Gap”
68. Charles Gallagher, “Color Blind Privilege in ‘Post Race’ America”
69. Lani Guinier, “The Ideology of Color Blindness”
70. Herberg Gans, “Power and Social Hierarchies of Race in 21st Century US”
71. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor”

4/6 Unit 11—Prejudice & Discrimination, to the Community Level

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

72. Robert Merton, “Discrimination and the American Creed”
73. George Lipsitz, “The Possessive Investment in Whiteness”
74. Lawrence Bobo, “Laissez-Faire Racism, Racial Inequality”

75. Susan Akram, "The Targeting of Arabs and Muslims in Pre-9/11 America"
76. Douglas Massy, "How Space Gets Raced"
77. Robert Bollard, "Environmental Justice: Race Still Matters"
78. Michael Emerson, "Race, Religion, and the Color Line"
79. Shannon Zenk, "Why are There no Supermarkets in My Neighborhood?"

4/13 **Unit 12—Identity and Opportunity in Social Institutions, to the Community Level**

Work Due: Paper 2

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

80. Nancy Leys Stepan, "Race, Gender, Science and Citizenship"
81. Amy Braverman, "Kristen v. Aisha; Brad v. Rasheed: What's in a Name and How it Affects Getting a Job"
82. Roger Waldinger, "When the Melting Pot Boils Over: The Irish, Jews, Blacks, and Koreans of New York"
83. Kenneth Bolton, "Black and Blue: Everyday Racism on the Police Force"
84. Jeffery Reiman, "And the Poor Get Prison"
85. Debra Merskin, "Winnebagos, Cherokees, Apaches, and Dakotas: The Persistence of Stereotyping of American Indians in America"
86. Ward Churchill, "Kill the Indian, Save the Man"
87. Chris Mato Nunpa, "Historical Amnesia: The Destruction of Indigenous Peoples in the US"

4/20 **Unit 13—Identity and Conflict in the US**

Readings (PDFs on blackboard)

88. Paul Robeson, William Patterson, W. E. B. Du Boise, et al., *We Charge Genocide: The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government Against the Negro People*.
89. W. E. B. Du Boise, "The Position of Africa in World History"
90. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Why I am Against the War in Vietnam"
91. Michelle Alexander, "The New Jim Crow"
92. Donna Lee-Freize, "Simply Bred Out: Genocide and the Ethical in the Stolen Generations"
93. Roger Smith, "Stories of Peoplehood"

4/27 **Unit 14—Conclusion: Doing "good"**

Work Due: Paper 3

Do not read for today's class. These following texts have influenced what I'd like to talk about on our final day:

- Liisa Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization"
- Fiona Terry, "Condemned to Repeat: The Paradox of Humanitarian Intervention"
- Douglas Irvin-Erickson, "Hidden Genocides: Power, Knowledge, Memory"
- Daniel Feierstein, "Beyond the Binary Model: Genocide, National Security, and Good Victims and Bad Perpetrators"
- Norimitsu Onishi, "U.S. Support of Gay Rights in Africa May Have Done More Harm Than Good," *New York Times* (http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/21/world/africa/us-support-of-gay-rights-in-africa-may-have-done-more-harm-than-good.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&_r=0)

Extra Readings for Self-Study

Identity, Conflict, & Violence as a Species Characteristic

- Robert Ardrey, “Cain’s Children”
- Paul Berenson, “U.S. Army Briefing on Root Causes of Wars”
- Napoleon Chagnon, “Life Histories, Blood Revenge, and Warfare in a Tribal Population”
- R. Brian Ferguson, “Biological Approaches”
- R. Brian Ferguson, “Pinker’s List”
- R. Brian Ferguson, Review of “The Dark Side of Man”
- Douglas Fry, “A Macroscopic Anthropological View”
- Morton Fried, “On Human Aggression”
- Jane Goodall, “‘Wild’ Chimpanzee Aggression and--War?”
- Konrad Lorenz, “Militant Enthusiasm”
- Carolyn Nordstrom, “Deadly Myths of Aggression”
- Margaret Power, “Gombe Revisited”
- Stephen Strauss, “The Boys of War”
- R. Paul Shaw, “Humanity’s Propensity for Warfare”

Social Psychological Approaches to Identify and Conflict

- Marilyn Brewer, “The Psychology of Prejudice: Ingroup Love or Outgroup Hate?”
- Rupert Brown, “Social Identity Theory: Past Achievements, Current Problems and Future Challenges”
- Toko Kiyonari and Toshio Yamagishi, “Ingroup Cooperation and the Social Exchange Heuristic”
- Brent Simpson, “Social Identity and Cooperation in Social Dilemmas”
- Henri Tajfel, “Social Identity and Intergroup Behavior”

Economics & Identity and Conflict

- Alberto Alesina, Reza Baqir and William Easterly, “Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions”
- George Akerlof and Rachel E. Kranton, “Economics and Identity”
- Roland Bénabou and Jean Tirole, “Identity, Morals, and Taboos: Beliefs as Assets”
- Eli Berman, “Sect, Subsidy, and Sacrifice: An Economist’s View of Ultra-Orthodox Jews”
- Eli Berman and David Laitin, “Religion, Terrorism, and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model”
- James D. Fearon, “Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country”
- Luigo Guiso, Paola Sapienze and Luigi Zingales, “Does Culture Affect Economic Outcomes?”
- David M. Kreps, “Corporate Culture and Economic Theory”
- Edward Miguel and Mary Kay Gugerty, “Ethnic Diversity, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods Provisions”

Political Science Approaches to Identity and Conflict

- Frederik Barth, “Ethnic Groups and Boundaries”
- Francesco Caselli and Wilbur John Coleman II, “On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict”
- Benn Eifert, Miguel and Posner, “Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa.”
- James D. Fearon, “Ethnic Mobilization and Ethnic Violence”
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Explaining Interethnic Cooperation”
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity”
- Jonathan Fox, “The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars, 1945-2011”
- Ernest Gellner, “Nations and Nationalism”
- James Habyarimana et al., “Placing and Passing: Evidence from Uganda on Ethnic Identification and Ethnic Deception”
- James Habyarimana, “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?”
- David Laitin and Daniel Posner, “The Implication of Constructivism for Constructing Ethnic Fractionalization Indices”
- Elizabeth Maggie Penn, “Citizenship versus Ethnicity: The Role of Institutions in Shaping Identity Choice”
- Daniel N. Posner, “The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi.”
- Ernest Renan, “What is a Nation?”
- Ismail K. White, “When Race Matters and When it Doesn’t: Racial Group Differences in Response to Racial Cues”