

Whitewash: white privilege and racialized landscapes at the University of Georgia

Joshua F. J. Inwood¹ & Deborah G. Martin²

¹Department of Geology and Geography, Auburn University, Auburn, AL 36849, USA, jfi0001@auburn.edu; ²School of Geography, Clark University, 950 Main St., Worcester, MA 01610, USA, demartin@clarku.edu

This paper examines racialized landscapes at the University of Georgia to better understand the ways that whiteness—or more specifically white privilege—is positioned in and uses landscapes. Given a history of segregation, violently contested desegregation, and a contemporary student body that is disproportionately white (compared to the population of the entire state of Georgia), we investigate the meanings and contradictions of the University's historic 'North Campus'. Using a multi-method qualitative approach—including open-ended interviews and 'roving focus groups'—we argue that privileged, white landscapes operate through a kind of whitewashing of history, which seeks to deploy race strategically to create a progressive landscape narrative pertaining to 'race'.

Key words: roving focus group, landscapes of memory, landscape studies, place identity, race, white privilege.

Whitewash: 1. means employed to conceal mistakes or faults.-v. 2. attempt to clear reputation by concealing facts. (Thompson 1998: 1049)

In the winter of 2005 the University of Georgia (UGA) unveiled an exhibit in Myers Residence Hall honoring Charlayne Hunter-Gault and Hamilton Holmes, the first African Americans to integrate the UGA. The exhibit consisted of photographs and small quotations that chronicled the Civil Rights movement on the campus and the struggle that led to the desegregation of the university. Featured in

the display was a photograph of Ms. Hunter-Gault pushing her way through a crowd of angry white students with a large caption that read: 'Make way for the nigger'. Before the exhibit was unveiled the campus newspaper, *The Red and Black*, ran several newspaper articles highlighting the significance of the exhibit. The articles included several quotations from University officials, including the director of University Housing, Rick Gibson, who stated '[the exhibit will be] a glimpse of a window of time into the desegregation of the [university]' (Pauff 2005).

The exhibit met with disapproval from the UGA students and campus organizations, including the UGA chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), for the prominence given to the photograph of Ms. Hunter-Gault and the accompanying quotation. In explaining their position, the NAACP stated they were not objecting to the exhibit as a whole, just the offending phrase ‘Make way for the nigger’. An NAACP press release stated: ‘There are ignorant people on campus who will see it and think it’s all right to say it’ (Simmons 2005: 1D). They noted that soon after the display opened the UGA launched an effort to recruit more African American students to campus and the NAACP felt the display would hinder those efforts (Simmons 2005: 1D).

After a period of intense debate in the campus newspaper and several university meetings, the offending quote was replaced with a sign that read:

As the result of students’ feedback concerning the presence of a racial epithet in the display, the section will be covered until further notice. Decisions will be made in the near future concerning what course of action or changes need to occur to address these concerns. Apologies are extended to anyone who may have been negatively impacted.

Ms. Hunter-Gault proposed a compromise position in which the phrase was contextualized and its prominence in the display was reduced. University officials and the NAACP agreed and the original quotation was replaced with a sign, taken from Ms. Hunter-Gault’s autobiography, which reads (as quoted by Grayson 2005): ‘As students call out “Nigger go home” and a variety of other unoriginal taunts, I find myself more bemused than angry or upset’.

The above incident is interesting, and perhaps less surprising than University officials

should have anticipated. It represents one in a series of conflicts about race and identity on campus. The UGA has been the site of several contentious debates concerning race, including affirmative action (ultimately deciding not to take race into account when making admission decisions), the meaning of diversity (how do poor rural whites fit in with the UGA’s desire to increase diversity on campus) (Markman 2004: A1), and the school’s ties to several prominent Confederate political leaders¹ (Jacobs 2004: 1A). These tensions bring to the surface important questions about how identity is constructed and made visible on a university landscape. Schools, after all, are important sites in the production of cultural meaning (Alderman 2002: 604) and have played a crucial role in fights over desegregation and discrimination. Utilizing a series of historical markers on the UGA’s North Campus we examine how these landscape cues indicate a racialized and privileged landscape. Specifically, we argue the UGA North Campus landscape memorials simplify or ignore race as a social mediator, thereby obfuscating deeply embedded racialized identities and tensions on campus. Drawing on notions of whiteness and white privilege, we use the UGA North Campus landscape complex to confront and challenge everyday taken-for-granted memorials to show how they are both part of and representative of the process of creating a white, privileged (and therefore always a racialized) landscape.

Memorialization on the UGA North Campus landscape is indicative of ongoing struggles in American society to recognize and fully embrace contested racialized histories and identities. Thus our examination of race in the historic campus landscape highlights the contradictions in the history of the USA, in which a progressive narrative denies present-day racial injustice (Marable 2002).

This narrative situates ‘race’ in the past. Yet as the dispute over wording in the residence hall exhibit demonstrates, ‘race’ and racialization loom over contemporary social relations and understandings. Scholars, too, have argued that the concept of whiteness is central to contemporary American racialized identity formation (Dwyer and Jones 2000; Hoelscher 2003; Kobayashi and Peake 2000). Thus we argue embedded within the cultural landscape of the UGA, and indicative of a larger cultural truth, is the ability of whites to frame the scene and the shape of landscapes and place-discourses, thus making visible only a limited African American experience. Schein argues that the materiality of landscapes ‘serves to naturalize or concretize—to make *normal*—social relations’ (1997: 676, italics in original). The UGA’s North Campus landscape, particularly its historical markers, makes and normalizes a racialized past in ways that simplify a complex story, erasing some elements of racial conflict and their possible links to ongoing struggles of racialized identities on campus. Exposing these seeming normalcies, and people’s reactions to them, helps us to articulate key tension points in these ongoing struggles.

In what follows, we first describe the scholarly tradition of landscape studies as a framework for examining memorial spaces, and examine the meaning and significance of ‘whiteness’ as a cultural norm. We then examine the UGA North Campus, by focusing on the discourse memorialized in historic markers, and the reflections and experiences of a group of African American undergraduates. We explored the perceptions of these students through open-ended interviews and through two ‘roving focus groups’. We use these approaches to highlight the progressive narrative of integration, which conceals a more complex understanding of and contested debates about racial history and social identity.

Conceptual background

Landscape studies

The study of landscapes has been a cornerstone of American geography since the early part of the twentieth century (McDowell 1994). Throughout that period, landscapes have been viewed not simply as ‘scenes’ into which humans are inserted, but rather as the products of human activity, shaped through and shaping cultures (Sauer 1983 [1925]). An important development in the study of the cultural landscape is the incorporation of social theory (Mitchell 2000). The use of social theory to examine the landscape fits within the broader context of contemporary cultural geography, which conceptualized culture as a complex process relying on unstable and shifting systems of meaning (Hubbard, Kitchin, Bartley and Fuller 2002: 59). This conception of culture recognizes that social meaning and stories derive from context, and are not immutable. For analysts, then, ‘the thrust of the new landscape studies [was] to consider landscapes as part of a *process* of cultural politics, rather than as the outcome of that process’ (Hubbard, Kitchen, Bartley and Fuller 2002: 141). Thus the cultural landscape is representative of both a process and a thing that can be analyzed (Crang 1998; Schein 1997). Further, recognized within landscapes are particular sites—monuments or markers—which facilitate and direct the process of ‘collective memory’ and through which social groups situate their identities in time and place (Till 1999: 254).

Creating race

American collective identity has from the nation’s genesis been plagued by racialization

and racial separation. The process of creating race and imposing racial separation has taken many forms, but we identify roughly three periods that predominated in the southern states. The first period, commonly referred to as the Ante-Bellum period, occurred while slavery was legally sanctioned and protected as both a social and national institution (early 1600s–1865) (Tyner 2002). The second period is known as ‘Jim Crow Segregation’ when black and whites were legally and socially segregated (1865–1960s). The final period covers the Civil Rights era to the present, a time of official non-discrimination. Each of these periods is evident in historical markers on the UGA campus, and they serve as referents in a national and campus discourse about ‘racial progress’ and integration (as in Marable 2002).

While these periods of US history are complex, it is useful to identify some key features of each for understanding how they function discursively in the landscape. During the Ante-Bellum period, racial exploitation often took the form of slave codes which restricted African Americans ability to travel, organize in large numbers, and be educated (Grant 1993: 55).

Following the Civil War, racial distinction became more confused (Tyner 2002: 444). The period after the Civil War eventually gave rise to legalized racial segregation (Delaney 1998). This system grounded the races in particularized spaces. Segregation placed African Americans in an ‘elaborate system of regulations’ that controlled their access to ‘public spaces’ (Tyner 2002: 445). This system attempted to make racial identity ‘visible in a rational and systematic way’ (Hale 1999: 165) and this system was the dominant paradigm for racial formation in this period of formal segregation which remains the most invisible on UGA’s campus, except in references to its end, as in the Charlayne Hunter-Gault exhibit.

While these systems of racial distinction were different, a unifying characteristic was the reliance on racial hierarchy with whites in positions of power and people of color below. This hierarchy permeated national racial consciousness, not just southern race-relations (Marable 2002). As a consequence, ‘race’ or racialized identities often remain hidden unless explicitly highlighted. The unveiling of ‘race’ exposes whiteness as implicit in racialized hierarchies. Kobayashi and Peake explain: ‘whiteness is a historically constructed position’ (2000: 394). Marable argues that ‘interwoven [in US history] was the reality of whiteness, a privileged racial category justified by negative stereotypes, passed down from generation to generation so as to become acceptable, normal and part of the public common sense’ (Marable 2002: 34). Marable (2002: 11–12) describes white privilege and whiteness in general as ‘the social expression of power and privilege, the consequences of discriminatory practices of inequality that exist today’. The historical trajectory to which Kobayashi and Peake (2000) and Marable (2002) refer illustrates a singular fact in US history: While the structures of race and racism may have evolved from slavery to legalized segregation and finally to official equality, the common thread of whites as privileged has never changed.

If the Civil Rights struggles of the 1950s and early 1960s had truly achieved full success, ‘whiteness’ as privilege should have become sundered. It was, after all, the first time in US history when people of color were granted full citizenship rights. However, for the gains that the Civil Rights movement has made, for all the rhetoric of equality, whiteness remains entrenched in its privileged position. The social, political, and economic processes that create the racialization of whiteness and ‘other’ also construct meta-narratives and

worldviews that legitimize racial inequality. Witness recent events at the UGA.

The UGA in the late 1990s was subject to a lawsuit brought by a group of eight (white and female) students who sued UGA in a class action lawsuit over its admissions policy which awarded points on an application for a variety of factors, most contentiously awarding points to applicants who were ‘non-Caucasian and not-males’ (Stroer 1999). Ultimately the University settled the court case allowing the eight students to enroll in the university, paying them \$66,000 in lost tuition, and agreeing not to take race into account when making future admissions decisions (Shearer 2000a, 2000b).

The admissions lawsuit and its outcome were significant for admissions policy and debates about race and identity. The case garnered national attention and was seen as a test case for future challenges to admissions policies at other public universities (Associated Press 2003). As such, the conflict illustrated that the UGA is just one manifestation of an ongoing national struggle about individual and collective identity construction, challenge, and (re)enforcement. Although the case focused on admissions, it also addressed the cultural meaning of the University, especially for collective identity in the state of Georgia, for what it said about who ‘belonged’ to or in the University, and how (or whether) to broaden that identity. By examining the material, physical, and cultural landscape of the UGA, we can understand more about its collective identity, and the ways that ‘highly ideological and political messages [are] written into and read from, specific landscape[s]’ (Hubbard, Kitchen, Bartley and Fuller 2002: 60). In other words, the landscape itself connects to—or even—inscribes the broader significance of the institution, and to the individual and collective identities that develop in and through it. Understanding those political messages

requires a broader treatment of the ways the cultural landscape is racialized, and specifically the ways the institutional landscape of North Campus draws attention to white identity. By examining the UGA North Campus landscape we can begin to see and understand how UGA—or indeed, any institution—is a reflection of a particular racialized history and how that history is remade and reinterpreted through the process of memorialization.

White privilege

Within the USA, schools have often been the sites of intense struggle over the issue of Civil Rights, particularly the integration of public school districts and universities, and schools play a vital role in shaping public memory and historical identity (Alderman 2002: 605). Of importance to UGA’s institutional landscape is the concept of white privilege. White privilege is a cornerstone of white identity and acts as a bridge that translates the social construction of whiteness into the realm of praxis. White privilege is about concealing ‘race’ to build a ‘color blind’ society (Grillo and Wildman 1997; Marable 2002: 13). White privilege is not a monolithic construction encompassing the experience of whites equally. It is important to note that the concepts of whiteness and white privilege intersect with class, gender, and other socially constructed differences that influence the kinds of privilege whites enjoy. As such we should avoid seeing white privilege as an essentialist category, but instead as contingent on and operating with a variety of factors.

Recognizing whiteness as a source of privilege requires introspection and inquiry into its material effects. McIntosh (2002) describes her experiences of white privilege (of which she became aware through her examination of male

privilege) as a kind of ‘invisible package of unearned assets’ she was able to cash in on, but was not totally aware of (McIntosh 2002: 94). In addition, her definition situates the concept of white privilege in everyday and mundane actions. Whiteness also operates in and through space; that is, in the landscape (Dwyer and Jones 2000), a ubiquitous and often unrecognized part of the everyday. Since the concept of landscape is both a process and a thing (Schein 1997) it is necessary to think about the ways that white privilege is both manifest in the landscape and used to construct whiteness, and racialization more generally (e.g. Anderson 1987; Delaney 1998; Hoelscher 2003).

Some landscapes embed their cultural norms and messages more deeply than others. In the case of the UGA, the historic North Campus includes a series of historical markers that help to ‘frame’ the interpretation of, and consequently discourses within, the cultural landscape of North Campus. Duncan and Duncan (1988: 123) argue that one of the ‘most important roles that landscape plays in the social process is ideological, supporting a set of ideas and values, unquestioned assumptions about the way a society is’. North Campus at UGA is full of historic buildings and spaces, replete with layered economic, social, and racialized stories. Historical markers and memorials serve as a guide to this broader space, highlighting specific people, places and acts which make visible an official history and collective memory (Till 1999). Memorials direct the interpretation of landscape, and the UGA memorials are no different. As Ladd (1997: 11) points out, ‘Monuments are nothing if not selective aids to memory: they encourage us to remember some things but to forget others’. By investigating these cultural markers we may better understand the different ways discourse operates, particularly the ways that the University has explicitly attempted to ‘frame’ the UGA.

To fully comprehend these larger social processes it is necessary to discuss the demographic makeup of the UGA campus. Since the integration of the University the number of African American students at the University has remained relatively small. Data for the 2006 incoming freshman class indicates that of the 5,658 students enrolled at the University, only 480 (8.4 per cent) were African Americans (UGA 2006). While this constitutes an increase from previous years it still is small given the state of Georgia’s African American population (29 per cent of the state’s population; US Census 2000). Given this small percentage, and in light of continuing struggles by the University to appeal to greater numbers of African American students, landscapes and memorials such as those on North Campus and the exhibit in Myers Hall are significant discourses about racialization and identity at the UGA.

Methodology: focusing *in* the landscape

Tyner (2002: 443) argues that confronting racialized society and white privilege requires an ontological and epistemological shift through a focus on individual life experiences and meaning. Schein writes (1997: 663), ‘we interpret landscapes through the ideas we bring to the project [of interpretation] . . . the cultural landscape can itself capture different, even competing meanings’. Tyner and Schein argue for a nuanced approach to understanding race, racism and the intersection with landscape which relies on individual stories and events to draw larger conclusions about the social reproduction of identity and difference. Consequently, we utilize a multi-method approach to incorporate a number of individual and institutional perspectives on the landscape of the UGA campus. Specifically,

we draw upon archival resources, open-ended interviews, and two roving focus groups that brought individuals and the North Campus together. Through this combination of methods, we provide insight into the complex workings of racialized landscapes; thus examining the ways the landscape ‘naturalizes’ particular kinds of racialized discourse.

From the summer of 2003 until the summer of 2005, the first author conducted sixteen open-ended interviews with African American current and former students.² The participants were identified through UGA geography classes and through word of mouth participation. The interviews lasted from one to one and half hours and were conducted on the UGA campus. The interviews explored several broad themes including: students’ experiences of racism on campus; familiarity with North Campus and the memorials on campus; the students’ experiences of being African American on a predominantly white campus; and to what extent the hidden history of African Americans should be incorporated on campus. Over the course of the interviews it became apparent (after several students offered to take the first author around campus) that an opportunity existed for a campus tour with the interviewees in which we could explore the campus landscape as a group. Given this opportunity, we organized two focus groups that involved a tour and discussion of race and space on North Campus. We utilized this roving focus group to explore the relationship between the UGA and the perceptions of the interview respondents. Anderson (2004) suggests that walking with interviewees (‘talking whilst walking’) prompts the discovery of incidents and feelings about the landscape that interview participants did not recall or find worth mentioning during the formal interview. This research takes the ‘talking whilst walking’ one

step further, by expanding on the individual experiences that were discussed in interviews into group dialogue and analyses of a roving focus group. In order to understand the insights of this method, it will be useful to discuss the roving focus groups in more detail.

Anderson argues (2004: 258) that talking whilst walking with research participants offers a way to ‘open a dialog between the [research participant] and places’. He notes that as his interviewees passed key landmarks and places incidents and feelings seemed to flood back in a way that helped to reconstitute the ‘individual’s understandings of the life world’ (Anderson 2004: 258). In a similar vein, our use of the roving focus group fostered conversation and sharing among the participants that could not have happened in other formats, providing us with additional perspectives, and offering the participants a way to forge common understandings. Our approach differed from Anderson’s in that we combined an explicitly geographically-immersed approach to the landscape with the methodological advantages of focus groups (not unlike Burgess 1996, but we focused on the cultural landscape rather than the natural environment).

Focus groups are basically group interviews, with an emphasis on interaction within the group (Morgan 1997; Wilson 1997). The term ‘focus group’ combines focused interviews (in which the interviewer keeps the respondent on a topic without the use of a structured questionnaire), and group discussions (where a carefully selected group of people discuss a series of particular questions raised by a moderator). What makes focus groups unique, however, is not the degree of structure, but the interaction among the group members (Morgan 1997). This interaction allows participants to compare each other’s experiences and opinions, thereby giving the researcher

insights into complex behaviors, motivations, and understandings (Wilson 1997). In our case, the roving focus groups helped us to expose and understand how people situate themselves in a landscape, and the inter-relations of identity and place.

The first author conducted the two roving focus groups, one in the fall of 2004 and the other in the summer of 2005. The first focus group consisted of six undergraduate students, who had also participated in the interviews, and they led the first author through a tour of North Campus, which lasted approximately an hour and forty-five minutes (Figure 1). Only two of the students had previously known each other. During the tour the students were encouraged to consider and discuss how ‘race’ is characterized or absent in the landscape of the North Campus with special attention to the memorials on North Campus. Generally, the first author did not attempt to direct the conversation, but rather took notes as the students talked about a wide range of topics. Anderson (2004) termed this approach as ‘bimbling’ (Anderson 2004: 257) a word taken from Evans (1998), who defines bimbling as, ‘[t]o go for a walk or wander around aimlessly. Like “amble” but sounds more twee’ (Evans 1998: 205, as quoted in Anderson 2004: 257). For Anderson the point of bimbling is to connect the places and spaces environmental activists were trying to protect but in a less formal manner than a directed tour. According to Anderson, ‘bimbling afforded the opportunity to reminisce and be reminded of [connections to a wider landscape]’ (Anderson 2004: 257). Bimbling emerges from the collective experiences of activists, from the need to ‘blow off steam and to get a break from the monotony and stress of site life’ (Anderson 2004: 257). The strategy we adopted differed from Anderson’s less formalized approach.

Our first roving focus group tour, mapped out cooperatively between the participants and the researcher, started at the intersection of campus and downtown Athens, at the historic arch, a defining symbol of the UGA campus. It continued through campus, stopping first at the Holmes-Hunter Building, progressing to the Chapel and some historic buildings surrounding Herty Field (adjacent to the Law School). The roving focus group then moved further into the North Campus complex and came to an end at the main library (see Figure 1). Through this tour the focus groups were able to share common experiences of racism on campus and simultaneously highlighted particular absences—or racialized presences—on the landscape of North Campus.

The second roving focus group followed the same path as the first. It consisted of five undergraduate students, all of whom knew of each other before the tour started. The roving focus group followed the path laid out by the first roving focus group. In this way we differ from Anderson’s less formalized bimbling approach. While Anderson adopted a random, wandering approach, we were interested in specific memorials and places on the UGA campus. Thus the route adopted for the roving focus group was done in consultation with the initial interview respondents. Recall that the roving focus group emerged from conversations with interview respondents and the desire to show the first author specific sites on campus where race was inscribed into the landscape. Thus, the route was a collaborative effort between research participants and the first author and it followed a prescribed, focused route. In order to fully compare the conversations between the first and second focus group, the second group followed the same path as the first. This more structured approach was useful in that it provided a baseline from which to compare the two focus groups.

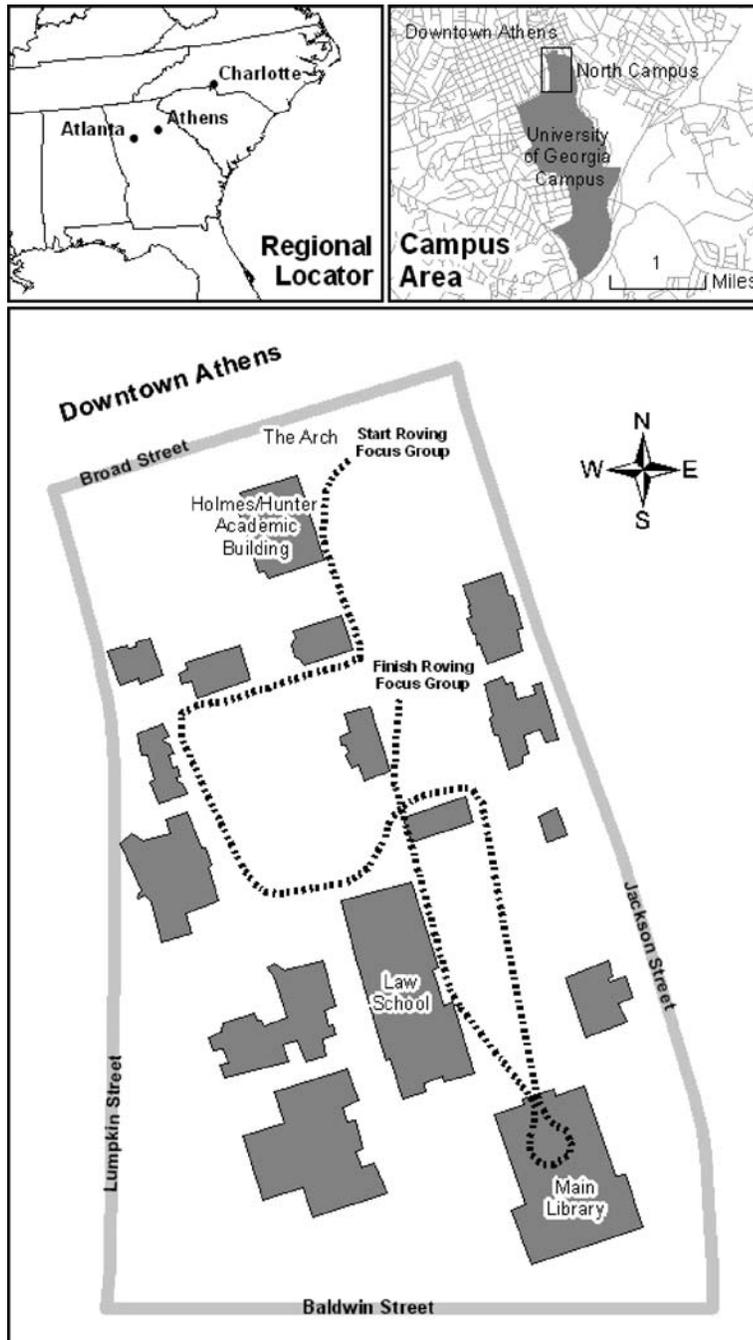


Figure 1 The University of Georgia and the North Campus complex in context. Maps prepared by Matt Mitchelson, University of Georgia.

Our roving focus groups differ from Anderson's approach in a second, more subtle way, which is none-the-less important. Anderson is interested in exploring the inter-connectedness of environmental activists with a wider landscape (Anderson 2004: 257). The very nature of our research, questions of race, place and power, often focusing on the ways African American students feel out of place, or perhaps more precisely, how the history of African Americans on UGA's campus is outside of normative racialized discourse about UGA's history and legacy, necessarily focuses on a disconnect between the memorial landscape and the experiences of African Americans on campus. Given the legacy and present-day racism on UGA's campus, 'bimbling' is out of the question for many of the African American students. These students are navigating a landscape where race and racism are constant companions. African American students must navigate a complex campus environment where to 'wander around aimlessly' can have unwanted or unpleasant consequences.³ Thus our use of the roving focus group approach revealed subtle, yet powerful dynamics of race, class, and gender that were only revealed as research participants moved through the landscape and engaged with places and spaces of UGA's North Campus.

Elwood and Martin (2000) note that interview sites have an important role to play in qualitative research as they 'embod[y] and constitute[e] multiple scales of social relations and meaning' (Elwood and Martin 2000: 649). Through the use of our roving focus group we were able to explore social relations as they were literally embedded in particular spaces on campus. By moving through the campus the focus groups revealed the way particular identities are inscribed in the campus in particular, and at times, surprising ways. Students in the first group, for example, had

wanted to show the researcher Herty field (an open space with a fountain next to the Law School that until 1999 was a parking lot), a space students agreed was 'white' because of the students who gathered there. Through our more formal campus tour we were able to explore the way social meaning and interviews derived from specific spatial contexts and experiences and the way those experiences formed a collective experience of race and racism on campus. In this way the roving focus group was a window from which to explore the way race is both made visible and remains hidden on UGA's campus.

The use of the roving focus group allowed participants to come together to share about the experience of being African American on UGA's campus. Students in the groups engaged one another as they traveled the campus, challenging one another's viewpoints. This dialogue illustrates how embedding participants in the landscape that is the focus of research may help to mediate the tendency for 'polarization' among focus groups, in which participants conform to extreme views (Morgan 1997). Rather than polarization, we observed students actively referencing and debating specific landscape evidence as the focus groups walked the campus, relating the spaces to their individual views and experiences. Some students expressed shared frustration at, in the words of one respondent, 'being so outnumbered' on campus. Thus the focus group was an instance for students to reflect on and connect with others from around campus who had similar experiences.

Finally, we utilized the roving focus groups, interviews, and archival research in an effort to 'triangulate' (Denzin and Lincoln 1998) our research data to add rigor, depth and breadth to this research project. The focus groups provided an innovative approach to understanding people's connections to or discomforts in

particular landscapes, and to explore the meanings of such reactions in light of our other data about racialization in the landscape. Through the deployment of this research strategy we address the complex ways the UGA has incorporated certain racialized discourses into the landscape while obfuscating others.

The case study of the University of Georgia's North Campus

The UGA is one of the oldest public universities in the USA. Founded in 1785 with a land grant from the state of Georgia, the first permanent building on campus dates from the early part of the nineteenth century. Most of the 'historic' buildings on campus are located on North Campus, the area north of the football stadium. North Campus is home to most of the University infrastructure before the post-war building boom of the 1950s and 1960s. With its old oaks and magnolia trees, and historic buildings, North Campus is something visitors and students almost always remember. Amber explains in our interview:

The landscape, the beauty on campus was one of the first things that attracted me here [UGA], because when I first came here, well, before I came here on minority recruitment date, I didn't know anything about UGA. So the first thing that attracted me was the campus, I figured any place with a campus like this had some definite great curriculum, it was so beautiful and so neat, the buildings were neat, we got to tour the buildings; North Campus was just beautiful.

Amber's initial reaction to campus indicates its beauty and instant appeal. Yet as Schein (1997) describes, every landscape has multiple meanings and individuals process and experience different meanings at different times or as

a result of different life experiences. As the interviews and focus groups reveal, the North Campus complex is subject to multiple, contested interpretations.

When visiting campus many travelers begin their tour across the street from downtown Athens at the 'arch', the historic entrance to campus. The arch has three columns representing the state of Georgia's creed: wisdom, justice and moderation (UGA 2003) (Figure 2). Located near the arch is a memorial plaque, which introduces the University history (Figure 3). It reads in part:

Endowed with 40,000 acres of land in 1784 and chartered in 1785, the charter was the first granted by a state for government-controlled University ... The first president, and author of the school charter, Abraham Baldwin, resigned when the doors opened and he was succeeded by Josiah Meigs. The University began to thrive under Moses Waddell who became President in 1819 ... During the war for Southern Independence, most students entered the Confederate army. The University closed its doors in 1864 and did not open again until January 1866. After the war many Confederate Veterans became students ...

The memorial plaque situates the early history and experiences of the University. First, the status of the university as the first land grant University (well before the Federal 'Land Grant' legislation that established the terminology) places the university within a broader context of a state institution providing for the betterment of its citizenry. Further, it serves to draw attention to the role that the University has played in the creation of an educated citizenry, thus returning the state's financial investment in higher education. It highlights the special relationship between the state of Georgia and the University, one in which the state of Georgia is responsible for and trustee of the University.



Figure 2 The historic arch, University of Georgia. Photograph by Josh Inwood.

Yet other aspects of the plaque signal that despite the state's role in creating and maintaining the university, it was not historically an institution for all state residents. The characterization in the memorial of the Civil War, as a struggle for independence, focuses the conflict within a more politically sensitive context and serves to keep the issue of slavery hidden from view. By referring to the war as that for 'Southern Independence', the plaque obliquely yet importantly draws upon what is known as the 'Lost Cause' discourse (Hale 1999; Litwack 1999). The Lost Cause was a movement developed in the decades following the end of the Civil War (Hale 1999). Lost Cause discourse couches the Civil War not as a

war for the enslavement of African Americans but as the South resisting Northern attempts to subjugate the US Constitution (Hale 1999; Litwack 1999).

The framing of the University within the context of the Lost Cause is important for understanding the experiences of many of the African American students on campus. A theme that emerged during our research concerns the idea that UGA is a 'white school'. In her interview, Eve explains:

Well you can just see it, just from the ways the lawn is manicured and the buildings are well taken care of, also the way the history is laid out for you. I guess it is to prove a point to say that we have

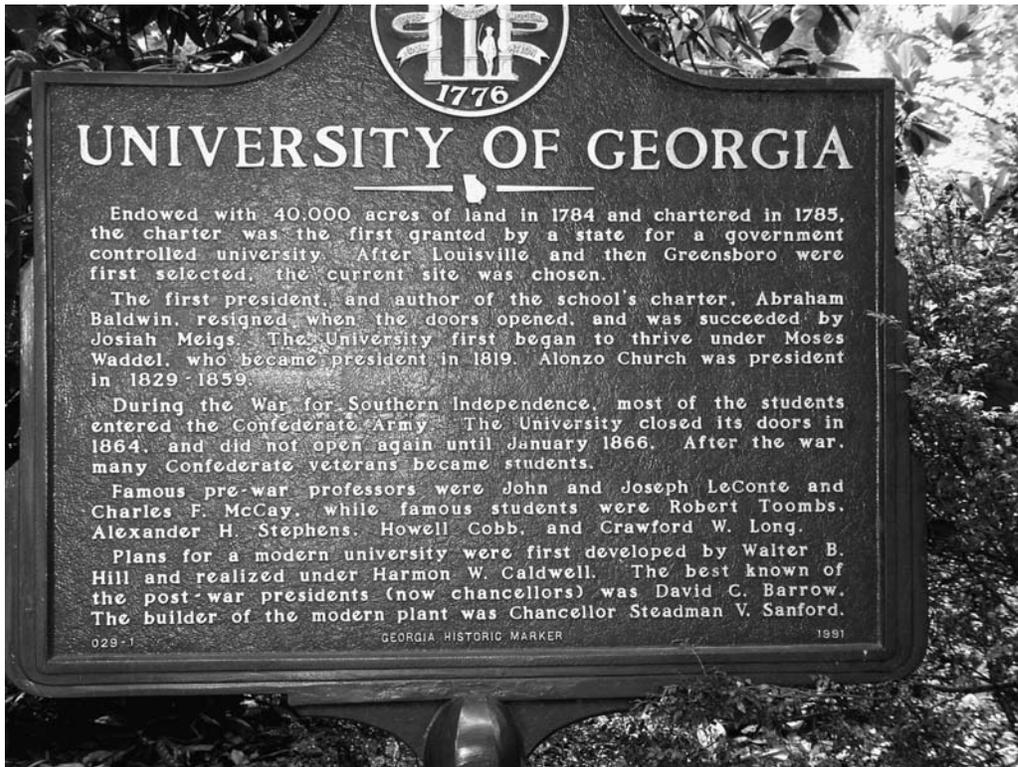


Figure 3 The historic arch memorial, University of Georgia. Photograph by Josh Inwood.

been here since such and such, but I don't know if it is a feeling or if it can be explained but you are like wow everything is big and I guess it looks nice. You just know that this place can't happen without money, so you are like white wealth when you get here.

The idea that UGA evokes a particular landscape understanding, namely that UGA is in fact a 'white school', was something that was taken up by both focus groups. What emerged was the idea that UGA is connected to a Confederate past. When questioned about the implications of the arch marker, several of the African American students admitted that they had not previously thought much about

the historical markers. However, as our discussion progressed several of the students admitted to mixed feelings about the significance of the cultural landscape of North Campus. During the first focus group Sylvia and Amber began to discuss the idea that UGA was a 'Confederate school'. In this exchange, we see Amber redefining her understanding of the beauty of North Campus. She relates during the tour:

Amber: After reading this sign, and honestly I have never really stopped to read it before, it makes me think this is a Confederate school, I mean they concentrate on that aspect a lot, everything is framed as either pre-war or post-war.

The emergence of UGA as a Confederate school was also a key moment during the second focus group as well.

Chris: When I read the memorial plaque the first thing I see is Confederate flags, that's the first thing that jumps out to me.

Will: [interrupts]: It seems like they are changing the meaning of the Civil War, like it was a war to protect people's independence.

Chris: It is like they are trying to keep a kind of Southern Spirit here.

Delilah: Yeah, like they are pushing Southern Pride because most of our students left to fight and we had to make this big sacrifice. It makes it look like this place is for Southerners.

It is interesting to see the parallels between the two focus groups. First, the majority of students in both focus groups admitted that they had not paid close attention to the plaque before the roving focus group tour. Though they had not been aware of the memorial plaque, the memorial itself seemed to confirm for them what they had already known, that UGA is a school with a long and troubled history of racism on campus. Bill explains in our interview that as an African American student he was aware of the University's history even before he decided to come to UGA. He explains:

As a black person in Georgia you hear stories about UGA; things that go on here get back to people's hometowns. For example, the fraternity Kappa Alpha holds a Confederate ball every year where they have cotton on their fence posts and they dress up in Confederate uniforms and the girls are in big hoop skirts.

The perceptions and awareness of the students with UGA's Confederate history and legacy is

indicative of a key feature of the memorial plaques on UGA's campus. The memorials are representative of larger legacies of race and racism of which many students are aware even if they had not previously read the actual official UGA history. Thus the memorial plaques serve to frame an understanding of that legacy and to make it visible in very particular and important way. Just as stories filter back to African American high school students about the university, so too the memorials on campus filter history through a particular lens that frames and makes visible a particular kind of racialized legacy. Thus the memorial plaques situate a formal interpretation of the place with other more subtle clues and markers that serve to produce a simplified racialized meaning of the UGA campus landscape. In this way we can observe how the reading of the memorial plaques serves to take students' perceptions and experiences and transforms those experiences into a visible and permanent presence on campus; that the memorials on campus are things that can be read and observed, but they are also part of a process of constructing racialized places and spaces.

Holmes-Hunter memorial plaque

Interestingly not twenty-five yards away from the plaque explaining early UGA history the Holmes-Hunter building and memorial represents a recent attempt at framing the campus. The Holmes-Hunter Academic Building is a 169-year-old structure located next to the arch and just past the historical marker that describes the early history of the University (Figure 4). The UGA's Board of Trustees approved the renaming of the 'Academic Building' to the 'Holmes-Hunter Academic Building' in January of 2000 in honor of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton



Figure 4 Memorial plaque located at the Holmes-Hunter building, University of Georgia. Photograph by Josh Inwood.

Holmes (Dendy 2000). In a news release explaining the decision to rename the building, University President Michael Adams stated (as quoted in Dendy 2000):

Their courageous act paved the way for the University of Georgia to be an educational institution that served all citizens. Naming the building for them ensures that their memory will be on campus forever.

A commemorative plaque was installed in front of the building and was dedicated in January of 2001, the fortieth anniversary of the historic integration of the University. The plaque reads:

On January 9th 1961 Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter became the first two African American students to enroll at the University of Georgia when they walked past the historic arch and into the building to register for classes. On this day, January 9, 2001, as part of the 40th Anniversary celebration of the desegregation of the University, we salute the courage and fortitude displayed by these students and their families in paving the way for others to follow.

According to the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia (BOR), the genesis of the renaming was the 'brain child of Jane Kidd, Program Coordinator for

Development at the State Botanical Garden of Georgia at UGA' (BOR, 2001). Ms. Kidd is the daughter of former state governor Ernest Vandiver. The BOR meeting minutes also note that President Adams was asked to speak about the rededication ceremony. In his remarks President Adams noted that recent lawsuits (outlined earlier) concerning UGA's affirmative action programs and the subsequent publicity has had a 'chilling impact on young African Americans who are looking at the culture of UGA' (BOR 2001) and that the renaming of the Academic Building has gone a long way in improving the situation and 'helped unite everyone at UGA' (BOR 2001). In addition, State Representative Hudgens, who was also in attendance, thanked President Adams and the BOR for 'their accurate depiction of history' and noted that he was glad this issue was 'behind us' and he noted 'Georgia is a great place to live' (BOR 2001)

The rededication of the Holmes-Hunter building and President Adams' presentation before the BOR is significant for at least two reasons. First, the very location of the Holmes-Hunter building next to the University's historic marker and the arch ensures that this African American presence on campus is visible. This is significant given that lawsuits aimed at undermining UGA's affirmative action policies were simultaneously hindering the ability of UGA to recruit and retain high-quality African American undergraduates. In addition, given President Adams' BOR comments, it appears that the Holmes-Hunter building was an attempt, in part, to counter UGA's wider image and the perception that UGA is unfriendly to African Americans. Second, and perhaps more geographically significant, the Holmes-Hunter commemorative plaque is the only one on the UGA campus that

explicitly mentions African Americans. Thus it becomes one of the few sites on campus to interrogate the meaning and legacy of African Americans on campus and to think about the history and legacy of the African American experience at the university. This fact came out repeatedly in the interviews, such as in this comment by Eve in her interview:

I guess being here and being so outnumbered makes you tend to think of things differently. Like you think of the Hunter-Holmes [Holmes-Hunter] Building as the only building that is labeled you didn't know that before. Once you are here you are like oh, that is it, ok, until Black History Month, then you hear some more stuff, I guess I experience a different feeling about it.

During our focus group, Will and Delilah further explain:

It [the Holmes-Hunter memorial plaque] almost seems like it's a whisper, or an afterthought. Like you have this sign right here and nowhere else are black people mentioned, nowhere else do you even hear about it, nowhere else do you even mention race on this campus.

Delilah stated: It's like let's write something real quick about black people here, ok we got it, let's move on.

Emerging from these comments is an acute awareness about being a minority on campus; including the ways race is compartmentalized on campus and the ways the Holmes-Hunter plaque is used to try 'to bring the campus together'. After spending time on campus the students who took part in this research soon realized the Holmes-Hunter building is the only site that recognizes 'race', and to see that black history is designated, literally, a specific time and place even though African Amer-

icans have always been integral to the University. Sarah in our interview explains it this way:

On this campus you always know it is February because it is the only time that they [The University] talk about black people on campus. Well you know they are not going to tell the parts that are not pretty, [but] until you get down to the history of it you don't know. You really have to know that it was slavery, cause there are always clues, and if you are interested in history you always ask those questions.

Sarah is alluding to the role that African-American slaves played in keeping the University operating during the Ante-Bellum period. In one examination of the early history of the University, Coulter (1983) documented how slaves were instrumental in clearing land and building campus infrastructure. Coulter (1983: 81) states that the only way African Americans were allowed on campus at this time was as slaves, and that the University employed slaves as campus bell-ringers and servants. He also explains that the University 'generally hired its servants from their Athens owners at \$100.00 a year' (Coulter 1983: 81).

Perhaps more prescient is the fact that university presidents during the Ante-Bellum period owned plantations near Athens. President Waddel (1819–1829), for example, who was mentioned on the first plaque by the arch, owned a medium-sized plantation (1,100 acres) and owned twenty-three slaves that were used to grow cotton and other cash crops (Macleod 1985: 111). In addition to owning slaves Waddel's diary entries indicate that slaves were present in Athens and on the University campus when, as UGA President, he had to intervene to prevent slaves from being abused (Macleod 1985: 113). Yet

nowhere on campus is any mention made of this fact, nor to our knowledge has there been discussion of incorporating this experience into a larger campus discussion on the role of African Americans on campus. These are powerful omissions and serve to minimize the painful aspects of University history while serving to exonerate the University from being seen as profiting from the exploitation of an oppressed people. The student's comments suggest that while the 'official' landscape ignores these contributions, they are not unheard of among some African Americans in the University community. Jan explains during our interview:

You look at the people who work behind the counter [at Campus food service and cafeteria locations] and it is all African Americans and that makes me uncomfortable. All my friends and I always talk about that, about how we wish they didn't have to serve food to a bunch of white kids all day. It makes me uncomfortable to see. I'm not saying that only African Americans are working in the cafeteria, but if you go to the library you only see students working there. It seems like certain jobs are for black people and certain jobs are for students and it confirms a lot of stereotypes for the white kids on campus.

Jan's comments are indicative of the workforce makeup on the UGA campus. The status of African American workers on campus is another aspect of the racialization of place and it has meaning for current and prospective students. In the fall of 2006 African Americans held just 5 per cent of all instructor positions (full professor to adjunct ranks) at the UGA, 15 per cent of clerical-secretarial positions, and 56 per cent of all unskilled service/maintenance positions (UGA 2006: 75). As Jan's comments highlight and these numbers show, the UGA landscape has

a division of labor which replicates historic divisions in Southern US society and is reflective of the continuing legacy of race and racism in US society.

The 'inclusive' campus environment

A second theme that emerges from the Holmes-Hunter memorial is the way the memorial couches the experiences of African Americans, and really the campus itself, as an inclusive environment. As President Adams' comments indicate, the Holmes-Hunter memorial was an effort to bring the campus together. It does this by highlighting the positive aspects of integration and ignoring the violence and threats to the African American students that accompanied and sought to thwart desegregation—violence which *was* depicted in the more private Myers Hall exhibit. Sylvia, during the interview, remarks upon key absences on the memorial plaque:

The sign [describing the integration of the University] makes you think it was all happy, no mention of the struggles ... I have been on a lot of field trips to war memorials in the South and that is where you get a more open environment for talking about this kind of stuff. That is where you are supposed to think about those things, but in any urbanized place I have never seen anything like that, you never see a sign that says slaves suffered here.

This quotation touches on a critical issue in this analysis, that of omissions in the larger cultural landscape. The integration of the University in January of 1961 was actually the culmination of decades-long struggle by African Americans in Georgia to be able to attend UGA (UGA 2001). The first African American application to the University was submitted in 1950 when Horace Ward applied

to the UGA's law school (Pratt 2002: 9). After receiving the application and in an effort to dissuade Ward from applying UGA offered Ward financial aid to attend a law school out of state (Pratt 2002: 11). Thus began a multi-year legal battle in which Ward ultimately lost (only because he was drafted by the Army and left the state to serve in Korea at which time his case was dismissed).

Following Ward's attempts to integrate the UGA law school the University instituted new rules that governed admission. Among these were a maximum age requirement that stated one could not gain admission to UGA as an undergraduate if over 21 years of age and could not gain access to University graduate programs if over 25 (Pratt 2002: 71). In addition, the University began requiring each application to have the support of at least two alumni (Trillin 1991), a requirement that was designed to exclude non-white candidates (Pratt 2002: 71). Thus in a similar vein to Ward, Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter only were able to win admission after a series of court cases tested these application requirements and where they were ultimately determined to be un-constitutional. After gaining admission and within days of registering for classes Holmes and Hunter faced a mob of UGA students who 'hurled bricks and bottles' and who eventually had to be dispersed with tear gas (UGA 2001). Citing safety concerns the University administration withdrew them from the UGA. It was only after faculty protest and a second court order that Hunter and Holmes were allowed back on campus so they could attend class (UGA 2001). Perhaps not surprisingly, these violent and conflicted aspects of the racialized struggle to integrate the University are not included in the fixed memorial in front of the Holmes-Hunter building, a fact picked up on by a number of focus group participants.

Will: It seems to me that you have this huge, semi-ornate building but then there is kind of this plain sign in front of it. It gives you a false impression of what it was like here. Like if you look at the desegregation of Alabama those folks had to walk through a huge crowd and this sign gives the impression that they [Hunter and Holmes] just kind of walked into the school and that was it.

However, to say that the University completely ignores the struggle and racial violence that greeted Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter on their arrival on campus would be incorrect. As the opening vignette described, this aspect of the UGA's history is part of the campus, though it appears in a temporary and contested memorial in the residence hall where Hunter lived on campus. While the residence hall exhibit represents an attempt to 'make visible' racialized identities and African history on campus, one aspect of it troubles us beyond the NAACP concerns that ignited the initial controversy. The dorm site represents a hidden, private space for acknowledging the pain and violence of desegregation. The dorm is not open or visible to the public. Furthermore, the dorm location replicates historic gendered divisions of labor that characterized Southern society throughout the period of Jim Crow segregation. As Hale (1999: 94) notes, middle-class home sites were important in the reproduction of segregated US society. Historically among the few spaces open to African American women were white homes where black women found employment as domestic servants. These women often worked for little pay and in inhumane and degrading circumstances, often suffering physical and sexual abuse. Historically the private spaces of the white home were central in the replication and making of race and in the transmission of the racial hierarchy from generation to generation (Hale 1999: 95). By locating the memorial in

the residence hall the University is replicating historic constructions about the role and place of black women in Southern society. Thus this memorial situates Hunter's contributions and presence on campus at her dorm room, rather than, for example, acknowledging her struggle at the site of the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication (since her degree was in journalism), or in another, more visible campus location.

Presence and absence

There is, finally, a permanent and accessible location for the history of desegregation: on a university website (UGA 2001), which was set up in conjunction with the fortieth anniversary. However, this virtual memorial raises even more questions about the role of African Americans on campus. The website is open to anyone with an internet connection and a computer. Nevertheless the discussion of desegregation at UGA is incorporated in a website link, and not included in the main description of the history of the University. Further, the opening university history page includes a large painting of the University done by George Cooke in the 1840s. Bill in our interview explains its significance:

There is this painting [on UGA's website] of Athens and the University of Georgia campus and there are like slaves loading cotton in it.

The painting depicts slaves unloading cotton bales from a train to a cotton-processing factory which made Athens the center of the cotton trade in North East Georgia (Coulter 1983), and other African Americans serving as coachmen for their white owners. Inclusion of the picture offers an opportunity for open acknowledgment of a racialized and racially

segregated history at UGA, but the image appears without commentary. It thus both visually represents and simultaneously ignores the presence of African Americans at UGA from its inception. This virtual world historical narrative—the main history page and its link to information about desegregation—functions to further situate the experience of African Americans as either un-worthy of comment, or as a rather insignificant sidebar to the main history of the University, thus whitewashing the presence and history of African Americans on UGA's campus. It demonstrates the persistent silences about race and racialization in the present era, one of ostensible racial blindness and progress. That blindness, it seems, extends to a silence about certain racialized histories.

The absences and silences in the university's campus and discourse about African Americans reflects the ability of dominant social actors—generally white males—to frame the ways that landscapes are interpreted. The framing highlights a central tenant of whiteness and the paradox for African Americans of experiencing an 'integrated society'. For example, Kobayashi and Peake's (2000) work on whiteness indicates that the very idea of whiteness frames issues about race in a particular kind of context. As they explain:

One of the reasons that whiteness is powerful is that it promotes a re-articulation of the past. It incorporates some lessons from the civil rights movement, erases racial differences, and pretends that its values apply to everyone. (Kobayashi and Peake 2000: 394)

Through the process of memorialization on campus, the UGA is able to frame the experience of campus within the cultural context that simultaneously seeks to positively frame the historical experience of whites;

while at the same time couching the experiences of African Americans on campus as a largely latent or in most cases absent from the cultural landscape. Finally, when the experiences of African Americans are brought to light, the memorial tends to erase the long period of struggle to integrate the University and leaves the impression of a largely positive experience for African Americans on campus.

Through its historical markers and other cultural clues, the landscape of the North Campus of the UGA is both a reflection of past events, a material palimpsest (Crang 1998; Schein 1997), and also part of a larger process of identity production on campus. It serves a dual purpose then of making visible a certain landscape story, while at the same time concealing a deeper understanding of the racial history of the UGA.

Conclusion

The landscape of the historic heart of the UGA situates and narrates meanings of the institution itself. Embedded within its old buildings, green spaces and beautiful trees are implicit and explicit messages about who created and belongs at the University. It is a story that acknowledges exclusion through the Holmes-Hunter building and plaque, but which omits much by way of pain and struggle about the process of desegregation and the wider history and legacy of African Americans on the UGA campus. The institution's archival record recognizes desegregation by offering a progressive narrative about the University and its history of racial exclusion. This record conceals a more complex understanding of racial history and identity production, hinted at in institutional discourse, but evidenced most tangibly in the experiences of African American students on campus. Our use of

roving focus groups offered a means to connect these disparate discourses, thereby linking theories of racialization with everyday life in specific landscapes.

In light of a continued debate and struggle to include African American students in greater numbers at the University, the landscape meanings on North Campus offer a kind of 'whitewashed' collective memory, one that simplifies desegregation while shunting more complex and painful aspects of the story to individualized daily experiences, private dormitory spaces, or a virtual world. This paper illustrates the ways in which whiteness operates on the UGA campus, through its use of roving focus groups to openly examine landscape experiences. In doing so, this paper both contextualizes current debates about access to the University, and leads to a deeper understanding of the ways that racial identity is embedded in the cultural landscape, shaping new experiences and meanings of place and collective memory.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the UGA students who participated in this research, and Steve Holloway, Katherine Hankins, Sarah Inwood, and three anonymous reviewers for their close reading of this manuscript and insightful suggestions about it. In addition, we would like to thank Matt Mitchelson for his work in the cartography lab and the maps which are included, and Danielle Fontaine for her assistance with the references.

Notes

- 1 On 'Confederate Memorial Day' the University displays one of the few remaining copies of the Confederate States of America Constitution which was written by several Georgia graduates (Jacobs 2004: 1A).

- 2 We did not include white students, although doing so would certainly enhance understandings about racialized experiences of campus. Our focus in this paper is on African American students' experiences.
- 3 In interviews prior to the focus groups, every individual recounted at least one experience of having had racial slurs directed at them on campus.

References

- Alderman, D. (2002) School names as cultural arenas: the naming of U.S. public schools after Martin Luther King Jr., *Urban Geography* 23: 601–626.
- Anderson, J. (2004) Talking whilst walking: a geographical archaeology of knowledge, *Area* 36: 254–261.
- Anderson, K. (1987) The idea of Chinatown: the power of place and institutional practice in the making of a racial category, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77: 580–598.
- Associated Press (2003) Study: UGA students largely white, rich, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 2 Aug.
- Board of Regents (BOR) (2001) Meeting minutes: The University of Georgia Board of Regents, 13–14 Feb., <www.usg.edu/regents/minutes/2001/Feb01.phtml>
- Burgess, J. (1996) Focusing on fear: the use of focus groups in a project for the Community Forest Unit, Countryside Commission, *Area* 28: 130–135.
- Coulter, E. (1983) *College Life in the Old South: As Seen at the University of Georgia*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- Cragg, M. (1998) *Cultural Geography*. London: Routledge.
- Delaney, D. (1998) *Race, Place, and the Law, 1836–1948*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.
- Dendy, L. (2000) Registering historic steps: academic building to be named for Holmes and Hunter, *The University of Georgia Newsletter*, Athens, <www.uga.edu/columns/001127/front2.html>
- Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (1998) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Duncan, J. and Duncan, N. (1988) (Re)reading the landscape, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 117–126.
- Dwyer, O. and Jones, J. III. (2000) White socio-spatial epistemology, *Social & Cultural Geography* 1: 209–221.
- Elwood, S. and Martin, D. (2000) 'Placing' interviews: location and scales of power in qualitative research, *Professional Geographer* 52: 649–657.

- Evans, K. (1998) *Copse: Cartoon Book of Tree Protesting*. Chippenham: Orange Dog Publications.
- Grant, D. (1993) *The Way it Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- Grayson, I. (2005) Hunter Gault responds to NAACP, *The Red and Black*, 21 Feb.
- Grillo, T. and Wildman, S. (1997) Obscuring the importance of race: the implications of making comparisons between racism and sexism, in Delgado, R. and Stefancic, J. (eds) *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp. 85–102.
- Hale, G. (1999) *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Hoelscher, S. (2003) Making place, making race: performances of whiteness in the Jim Crow South, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99: 657–686.
- Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R., Bartley, B. and Fuller, D. (2002) *Thinking Geographically: Space, Theory and Contemporary Human Geography*. London: Continuum.
- Jacobs, A. (2004) A symbol of slavery, and a storm, shall rise again, *New York Times*, 27 April.
- Kobayashi, A. and Peake, L. (2000) Racism out of place: thoughts on whiteness and an antiracist geography in the new millennium, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90: 392–403.
- Ladd, B. (1997) *The Ghost of Berlin*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Litwack, L. (1999) *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Macleod, J. (1985) *The Great Doctor Waddel: Pronounced Waddle*. Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press.
- Marable, M. (2002) *The Great Wells of Democracy: The Meaning of Race in American Life*. New York: Basic Civitas Books.
- Markman, R. (2004) Campus colors: red, black, but mostly white, *Athens Banner Herald*, 24 Oct.
- McDowell, L. (1994) The transformation of cultural geography, in Gregory, D., Martin, R. and Smith, N. (eds) *Human Geography, Space and Social Science*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, pp. 146–173.
- McIntosh, P. (2002) White privilege: unpacking the invisible knapsack, in Rothenberg, P. (ed.) *White Privilege: Essential Readings from the Other Side of Racism*. New York: Worth Publishing, pp. 97–102.
- Mitchell, D. (2000) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*. London: Blackwell.
- Morgan, D.L. (1997) *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pauff, S. (2005) Desegregation exhibit to be unveiled in Myers, *The Red and Black*, 19 Jan.
- Pratt, R. (2002) *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- Sauer, C.O. (1983 [1925]) The morphology of landscape, in Leighly, J. (ed.) *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Sauer*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 315–350.
- Schein, R. (1997) The place of landscape: a conceptual framework for interpreting an American scene, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87: 660–680.
- Shearer, L. (2000a) UGA drops race preference: school will appeal judge's ruling about admissions, *Athens Banner Herald*, 16 Aug.
- Shearer, L. (2000b) UGA settles lawsuit, eight students gain admission, *Athens Banner Herald*, 7 Sep.
- Simmons, K. (2005) Tribute to UGA integrator draws fire, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 5 Feb.
- Stroer, J. (1999) UGA suit becomes class-action: admissions policy of race preference being challenged, *Athens Banner Herald*, 11 Nov.
- Thompson, D. (1998) *Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Till, K. (1999) Staging the past: landscape designs, cultural identity and Erinnerungspolitik at Berlin's Neue Wache, *Ecumene* 6: 51–283.
- Trillin, C. (1991) *An Education in Georgia: Charlayne Hunter, Hamilton Holmes and the Integration of the University of Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Tyner, J. (2002) Narrating interracial relations and the negotiation of public spaces, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20: 441–458.
- United States Census (2000) *U.S. Census Fact Book*. Washington, DC, <<http://www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html>>
- University of Georgia (2001) *40th Anniversary of UGA's Desegregation*. University of Georgia, Athens, <www.uga.edu/news/desegregation/history/index.html>
- University of Georgia (2003) *The Arch*. University of Georgia, Athens, <www.uga.edu/profile/arch.html>
- University of Georgia (2006) *University of Georgia Fact Book*. University of Georgia, Athens, <<http://irhst40.irp.uga.edu/html/eFactbook/2006/S00Front.pdf>>

Wilson, V. (1997) Focus groups: a useful method for educational research?, *British Education Research Journal* 23: 209–224.

Abstract translations

Blanchir d'une accusation: le privilège blanc et les paysages racialisés à l'Université de Géorgie

L'objet de cet article est d'explorer les paysages racialisés à l'Université de Géorgie dans le but de comprendre dans quelle mesure le fait d'être blanc—ou plus précisément le privilège blanc—se situe dans les paysages et en tire parti. Étant donné l'histoire de la ségrégation, le combat acharné contre la déségrégation, et un corps étudiant composé aujourd'hui de manière disproportionnée de personnes de race blanche (comparativement à la population de l'ensemble de l'État de la Géorgie), nous nous interrogeons sur les significations et les contradictions qui caractérisent le secteur historique «North Campus» de l'université. À partir d'une démarche multi-méthode qualitative, reposant entre autres sur des entrevues à questions ouvertes et sur des «groupes de discussion itinérants», nous soutenons que les paysages privilégiés et blancs fonctionnent selon une sorte d'histoire blanchie qui vise à afficher la race

stratégiquement en vue de produire un récit sur le paysage tourné vers l'avenir et relatif à la «race».

Mots-clés: groupe de discussion itinérant, études paysagères, race, privilège des Blancs.

El privilegio blanco y los paisajes racializados de la Universidad de Georgia

Este papel examina los paisajes racializados de la Universidad de Georgia con el fin de mejor entender los modos en que la blancura—o específicamente el privilegio blanco—se coloca y hace uso de los paisajes. Tomando en consideración la historia de segregación, desegregación violentamente disputada, y el actual cuerpo estudiantil que resulta desproporcionadamente blanco (comparado con la población de todo el estado de Georgia), investigamos los significados y las contradicciones del histórico 'North Campus' de la universidad. Empleando un enfoque cualitativo de varios métodos que incluyen entrevistas abiertas y 'grupos de sondeo errantes' sugerimos que los paisajes blancos privilegiados operan a través de un tipo de tapadera de la historia, la cual intenta utilizar la raza de forma estratégica para crear una narrativa progresiva del paisaje que concierne a 'raza'.

Palabras claves: grupo de sondeo errante, estudios de paisaje, raza, privilegio blanco.