REVISITING A 'SUNDOWN TOWN' REVISITING A 'SUNDOWN TOWN'

A special report from Reporting for the Public Good (Comm 350)



Rebecca Hernandez, director of Goshen College's Center for Intercultural Teaching and Learning, and Robert Reyes (center), CITL research director, talk with Edgar Saucedo Davila, a middle school teacher and graduate of the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative.

CITL to thrive well after Lilly funds are spent

BY BECCA KRAYBILL AND JACOB MALDONADO NOFZIGER

"What could you do that would be transformative to your school and region?"

That was the question that Lilly Endowment asked Goshen College in 2006. Lilly, a foundation that funds educational and religious grants, was interested in how Goshen might address the region's growing Latino population.

Goshen College responded to Lilly's challenge with a vision for a new center on campus that focused on intercultural learning. The center would research Latino and other minority students in higher education and offer educational resources to both college and community members. Lilly saw potential in the vision and offered the college \$12.5 million to initiate the center, the largest grant ever received by the college.

Six years later, the Center for Intercultural Teaching and Learning, or CITL, is thriving.

However, despite CITL's success in increasing and supporting

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EDITOR'S NOTE

In this special report, members of the Reporting for the Public Good class consider milestones in diversity at Goshen College and in the city of Goshen. The report is prompted in part by the winding down of the \$12.5 million Lilly grant that launched the Center for Intercultural Teaching and Learning. Articles explore how the college has been transformed, as intended, by the investment, and how the effort might be continued.

As President Jim Brenneman said, "Our vision as a college is to become an international, intercultural, interdisciplinary, integrated place of learning"

The college is using multiple forms of data to chart its progress and the course ahead. For example, this month campus personnel are participating in a confidential "institutional transformation" study, with questions about personal and classroom experiences with diversity.

Several other stories explore timely developments, including adding the city's annual Diversity Day to the First Friday event in May and hiring the first multicultural admission coordinator at the college.

Other members of the reporting team look back in time, with a reappraisal of the city of Goshen as a "sundown town." One indicator of that past is the story commonly told of the singer Marian Anderson having to spend the night in Elkhart after performing at Goshen College in the 1950s.

By drawing on multiple sources, including interviews with professors, student history papers, city records, newspaper files and James Loewen's "Sundown Towns," the report aims to help inform conversations about race and culture in Goshen in 2012.

Testing the historical accuracy of Goshen as a 'sundown town'

BY MATTHEW AMSTUTZ AND KAELI EVANS

In his book "Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism," James W. Loewen writes about towns in the United States where African-Americans were not allowed to have permanent residency and were required to leave before dark.

A sundown town, as defined by Loewen, is "any organized jurisdiction that for decades, kept African-Americans or other groups from living in it and was thus 'all-white.'" These cities maintained their whiteness through ordinances or through social means to discourage any people of color from staying in town temporarily or permanently.

In "Sundown Towns," which was published in 2005, Loewen describes two instances of racial discrimination in Goshen, which he classifies as a sundown town.

The first instance Loewen mentions was 1958, when African-American contralto Marian Anderson performed at Goshen College but spent the night in Elkhart, 15 miles away. According to Loewen, "the Goshen Hotel would not allow a black person to stay there."

The second event occurred 24 years later, in the summer of 1982. The owners of a Shell gas station in Goshen hired a young black woman, which apparently went against the community standards of that time.

Although the woman was an adopted daughter of a white Goshen couple, Loewen writes, business at the gas station declined drastically. Within a month the owners let her go, according to Loewen, on the assumption that race had affected revenue.

The presence of written laws regarding African-American residency in

Goshen after sundown is ambiguous. Steve Nolt, history professor at Goshen College, who was consulted by Loewen in hopes of confirming Goshen's status as a sundown town, has called into question the

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UNDOWN

Mystery of singer's overnight stay lingers, a half century after the event

BY KATE STOLTZFUS AND LAUREN STOLTZFUS

In February of 1958, the legendary singer Marian Anderson took the Union auditorium stage, in that day, the grandest musical venue on the Goshen College campus. The room was packed. Anderson was wearing a gown that had been ironed only hours earlier by Edna Shantz, a Goshen professor of home economics.

Anderson was a repeat performer in the school's Lecture-Music Series, having visited once before in 1953.

Two days before Anderson's second appearance, The Goshen News reported that her show was already sold out. At the concert, Anderson performed pieces by Handel and Schubert, as well as spirituals. After the concert, an article headlined "Capacity Audience For Great Singer" praised Anderson's abilities, noting that "it is the great person she is that lends sincerity and credence to her singing."

Despite these accolades, questions linger decades later about just how welcome Anderson was in the city of Goshen. Instead of staying in



Marian Anderson signed autographs for admirers at Goshen College in 1953 during her first appearance on campus as part of the Lecture-Music Series.

Goshen after the concert in 1958, Anderson was taken to Elkhart, about 15 miles away.

In his 2005 book "Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism," James Loewen claims that Anderson was denied the right to stay at "The Goshen Hotel" because Goshen was a "sundown town," one in which AfricanAmericans were not legally permitted to spend the night.

But was Anderson truly unwelcome? Was Goshen a "sundown town?" Or were there other reasons why Anderson or those who arranged her visit chose different sleeping arrangements?

Vic Stoltzfus, a former president of Goshen College, was on the Lecture-Music Committee and helped to arrange Anderson's accommodations.

"I cannot affirm that we tested the openness of a local motel by trying to book a room for Marian," said Stoltzfus. "In a recent flurry of emails, some claim that all guests were booked in Elkhart, black and white. I do remember that in the '50s the motels in our town were few and quite ordinary."

When Anderson visited, possible barriers to her staying in Goshen were discussed on the college campus. John Fisher, professor emeritus of English, remembers that rumors of possible discrimination

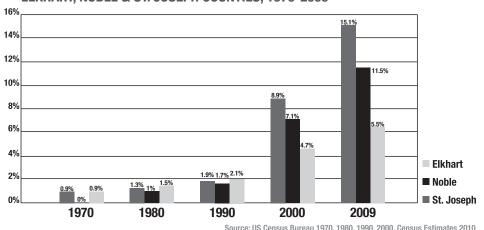
"The question of her overnight accommodation was, I seem to

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LATINO SHARE OF THE POPULATION: **ELKHART, NOBLE & ST. JOSEPH COUNTIES, 1970-2009**



Latino population growth continues

BY SERENA TOWNSEND

Discussions on the status of Goshen as a sundown town often fail to consider the settlement patterns of Hispanics, who now account for nearly one-third of city residents.

In 1980 the U.S. census shows for the first time the number of Hispanics in Goshen – 571, or just under 3 percent of the population. Prior to this the census listed only "white," "negro," "Asian" and "other races." The "other races" category amounted to 51 people in 1970 and 17 in 1960, dropping down to only three in

Although few Latinos lived in Goshen prior to 1960, many came as seasonal agricultural workers, says Stephanie Short, a Goshen College alumnus, in her 2002 thesis titled "Como Se Dice Goshen?"

Kercher's Sunrise Orchard began employing Mexican workers in the 1950s, and in the mid 1960s Mexicans as well as other Latin Americans began settling in

The workers originally came to Goshen through the Bracero program, created in 1942 by a federal executive order to prevent agricultural labor shortages resulting from World War II. This program allowed

Mexican workers to sign short-term contracts, with safeguards intended to avoid competition with domestic workers.

According to Short, Latinos found not only employment in Goshen but also acceptance. "Latinos knew that this was a town that would provide them with a peaceful, safe environment, a way of life that would be better than what they would [experience] in their home countries," she writes. Those already in Goshen sent letters back home telling of the employment opportunities and welcoming community.

From this invitation to agricultural workers, the Hispanic community grew significantly over the following decades, reaching 5,679 by 2000 and 8,903 in 2010.

The African-American population in Goshen has also grown, though not as rapidly. In 1940 when no more than two Latinos lived in Goshen, census records list six blacks. Then in 1970 both the black and "other" category made a major jump, to 47 and 51, respectively. And when Latinos finally received their own classification in 1980, with 571 residents, the black community numbered 107.

Census figures show 815 blacks living in Goshen as of 2010, less than one tenth the size of the Hispanic population.

County records show color counted on property deeds

BY ANNIE MARTENS AND TWILA ALBRECHT

Historical (and current) covenants for all properties in Elkhart County are stored in plat books on the second floor of government offices in downtown Goshen. Friendly department employees will assist anyone interested in pulling out the heavy plat books, canvas-covered and about five times the size of a normal textbook.

In these books is a host of information: the size of lots, the names of their owners and various restrictions and guidelines for the property. A review of property records reveals that some historical convenants included restrictions that today would bring public shame and the hand of the law. For years, these convenants specified what race inhabitants must be.

A restrictive covenant that appeared on some Goshen properties in the 1930s and 1940s read; "No persons of any other race but the white race shall use or occupy any building or any lot [except in the capacity of being servants to white occupants]."

This restriction about race was often stated alongside restrictions on livestock, construction and toilets.

Even after the unanimous Supreme Court ruling in Shelley v. Kraemer prohibited states from enforcing racially restrictive covenants in 1948, blacks had trouble finding doors open to housing throughout Indiana.

On February 10, 1961, African-Americans planned a silent march on the statehouse in Indianapolis as a way to demonstrate the fight against housing and employment discrimination. They represented 31 cities across the state of Indiana.

Apart from the restrictive covenants, there is no record of an actual ordinance barring black people from residence in the city of Goshen. The only notice on the books that

indicates that black people were "officially" unwelcome is a sentence that first showed up in the city directory in the late 1930s and appeared in directories through 1955.

The directory notice said: "Crime has been reduced to a minimum, and contributing in a large measure to the absence of crime is the character of the population – 97.5 percent native-born white, 2.5 percent foreign-born white, and no Negro population."

Even after the reference to "no Negro population" was removed, the directory continued to link low crime with "the character of the population." This stated linkage was finally removed from the city directory in 1979.

Reflecting on this fact, Mayor Allan Kauffman said, "It was not too many years ago that Goshen was bragging about a zero black population."

Kauffman also noted that it wasn't too long ago that the Ku Klux Klan held a rally in Goshen and violated a "no mask" ordinance that was passed in 1998. The city ordinance made it unlawful for anyone 18 years or older to wear a mask or other garments that were worn in an attempt to disguise one's identity in public places.

For many years, the African-American population in Goshen hovered between zero and three - depending in part on enrollment at Goshen College.

During the 40s and 50s, several black students attended the college. The first was a transfer student, Juanita Lark Bell, who graduated in 1943. The second, and the first to attend Goshen College for all four years, was Gerald Hughes, class of 1954. [See a related article on Gerald Hughes, P. 3].

Speaking of the time when deeds restricted by race and the city directory bragged about its population, Kauffman said, "It's not a proud moment in our history."

Sundown Town (from page 1)

actuality of any city ordinance banning overnight black occupants.

Nolt thought back to his short interaction with Loewen when the author visited campus in 2004 to speak on another book he wrote, "Lies My Teacher Told Me." Although at the time his next book, "Sundown Towns," was two years away from being published, Loewen stopped by Nolt's office perhaps to get a confirmation quote. Nolt recalled: "He asked me, what do I know about Goshen as a sundown town? I said, well I don't really know anything conclusive; I know there had been some students looking into it to see if there were any ordinances. I told him there would be some student papers up in the historical library.

"He didn't seem too interested in that and I can sort of understand that he was only here for a few days and it really wasn't a research trip. But I also got the feeling that he just wanted a quote from me to confirm what he already knew and I wasn't going to give him that so it was a very cordial meeting with him but I did get the sense that I wasn't giving him what he wanted."

Although Nolt was unable to give Loewen much information at the time, he began to research Goshen's history in race relations and information previously gathered in hopes of digging deeper

into the author's claims. While Nolt is unaware of any municipal ordinances or other documents that established Goshen as a sundown town, he believes that Goshen could have been regarded as a sundown town because of social standards and legends passed down.

"I think it's clear that Goshen was a sundown town in a sense that African-Americans did not live here," Nolt said. "They did live in Elkhart County but they didn't live here. So there's something going on that's behind that pattern but that doesn't mean there's an ordinance.

"Now the other thing, the Marian Anderson story, there is evidence of a sundown town, even though it's not correct to say she didn't stay in Goshen because she wasn't allowed to," he said. "But the fact that everyone later believed that that was true is evidence for Goshen functioning as a sundown

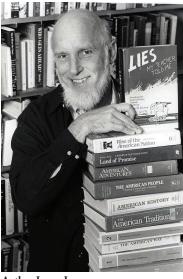
"If Goshen hadn't been a sundown town, people would not have so readily believed that story," he said. "I think that the fact that people believed that that story rang true was evidence that it's a sundown town. Not in a sense of having an ordinance but in the sense that that was the atmosphere."

Nolt points to several reasons for the low number of AfricanAmericans historically living in Goshen, including more job opportunities in Elkhart as well as the desire to stay in towns with an already established African-American community.

"There were a handful of African-American residents in Goshen after the Civil War in the late 1800s," Nolt said. "As was the typical pattern in a lot of northern communities, [the number of African-Americans] goes to zero by 1910. Some of that was probably due to the fact that after about 1900, the economic attraction in Elkhart County for new arrivals, including black folks from the South, was the railroad in Elkhart, so people moved there for jobs. Once they moved away, towns that became all white found ways socially or legally to maintain that.

"Another incident in the early 70s was when Goshen assigned an African-American postmaster, [John Stith]," Nolt continued. "They first didn't move to Goshen, not because they couldn't, but because there were virtually no other black people here. Their church, their friends, everything was in Elkhart.

"Some places [Loewen] went and [researched the information further,] and other places, I think, he was just collecting information and stories people sent him,"



Author James Loewen

Nolt said. "I don't know that he ever would have tried to find an ordinance for Goshen or for many of the other places. He didn't necessarily try to go and confirm those or corroborate those."

Nolt added, "I don't really disagree with the point he's trying to make. It's not like I ... [am] trying to say that Goshen was a racially harmonious place in the 1950s because I don't think that was the case. But if I were making a case about Goshen as a sundown town, I would go about it in a different way than Loewen does."

Loewen created a website for people from across the nation to send information about their towns. In his research, Loewen gathered information from a range of sources, including interviews, emails and written documents. Loewen declined to be interviewed for this article.

Although Nolt may have a historian's misgivings about some of the sourcing and assertions in "Sundown Towns," he said that the overall message of Loewen's book is important. He finds that some of Loewen's last chapters are helpful for communities with an unsettling racial past. Loewen suggests that communities who fail to acknowledge their racial past will have a hard time moving forward in a positive way.

"So it's not like we need to dwell on this in a sense, and say, you know, this was terrible and the community is forever marked by it," said Nolt.

"But the other extreme would be to just not acknowledge it at all, [which] could also blind you to the way that prejudice might continue. To be able to say there was racial prejudice here without the benefit of ordinances or segregation laws, it was just the way things were socially and culturally.

"Acknowledging that [racial discrimination] happened can be a way of making one aware that things like that might still be happening."

Student of color recalls life at GC in 1950s

BY ANNIE MARTENS

In 1954, Gerald Hughes became the second black student to graduate from Goshen College. In his first three years at Goshen, he was the only black student on campus, and one of the few African-Americans living in the city of Goshen. In his five years at Goshen College, he recalls meeting only one black person in the community: she was an employee at a store in Goshen, but lived in Warsaw.

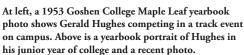
Hughes remarked on his time at GC by noting that the campus was a community in which he "was welcomed, supported, [and] encouraged to participate in campus activity." He participated in a variety of extracurriculars: intramurals, athletics, student leadership and music.

A music major, Hughes was frequently part of quartets and choirs, and often sang solos. He held "several, quite visible leadership roles."



After graduating from Goshen College, Hughes taught in the Cleveland Public School System. He was a school administrator in the system until 1990, when he retired, though he continued to work there part time for several more years.

Reflecting on his years in Goshen, Hughes, who is now 81, recalled that generally no distinction was made between him and others on campus because of his skin color.



Hughes did recall one exception. He was refereeing an intramural basketball game and was harassed by a white student who disagreed with a call that Hughes had made. The student, with whom Hughes had had no previous contact, threatened him and called him names, using racial slurs. Other students and the coach intervened to avoid violence and resolve the situation.

Apart from this isolated incident, Hughes said, he experienced no

discrimination on campus. "The campus was a community and I was a member," he said.

However, this was not the case in the city of Goshen, when he went off campus. Hughes recalled visiting Miller's Restaurant in Goshen with some fellow students. They were seated, but Hughes was refused services because he was black. He recalled that "to the credit of the group, we simply walked out, leaving the food."

They reported the incident to the

Goshen College administration. The college confronted the restaurant and started a boycott against it. Soon after, the restaurant became integrated. At a restaurant in Elkhart, the college also

When asked about Goshen being a sundown town, Hughes answered in the affirmative, agreeing with James Loewen, the author of "Sundown Towns": "To my knowledge, there were no blacks resident in the city," he said.

"Blacks were not expected to be there...the city fit the model of a sundown town."

Hughes is aware that there were no ordinances or laws stating as much, but that the city had an "unstated reputation" as a sundown town. He stressed that no matter what the climate was in the city of Goshen regarding black people in the 1950s, he was "regarded and welcomed as a part of the college, which was a community apart from the city."

Tracking African-American student enrollment at GC

In 2006, Dominique Burgunder-Johnson wrote a senior history thesis, "Black, White, Mennonite," about African-American students at Goshen College. Sara Alvarez prepared a summary.

The experience of African-Americans on campus started in the 1940s without any special attention given to African-American students and evolved into a conscious effort by the administration to address the needs of minority students.

The first African-American graduate of Goshen College was Juanita Lark in 1943. However, it wasn't until after affirmative action was implemented in the 1960s that African-American student enrollment started to increase. By 1971, African-American enrollment reached its peak of 5 percent. Since then, enrollment of black students decreased and remains around 2 to 3 percent.

In the early years, the administration didn't do much to help students – who often came from low social-economic, non-Mennonite communities in urban areas – adjust to white, middle-class, rural, Mennonite Goshen. As the college started recruiting more African-American students in the 1960s, it devoted committees to addressing new needs. Black students began to speak out about their frustration with the lack of effort on the part of white students and the administration to educate themselves about black culture and ways that culture was blanketed by the majority group.

Tony Brown, an African-American student at Goshen in the late 60s to early 70s, said that the attitude toward blacks was "they can come here [...] but we're a Mennonite college and they're going to have to understand that."

The college responded to the students' criticism by adding black culture classes, introducing a gospel choir and soul hour to the radio station, designating housing for black students to live together and providing academic support.

The African-American student population decreased in the 70s, a trend also seen at colleges nationally. However, Goshen did not give up efforts to increase campus diversity and formed the Multicultural Affairs Office in 1992 to "increase cross-cultural understanding and assist in the implementation of the affirmative action policy."

In 2004, the Multicultural Affairs Committee formed to "provide leadership for Goshen College's institutional intercultural efforts." This committee joined with the Multicultural Affairs Office to present the Diversity Plan: 2004-2010, an initiative for recruiting and retaining minority students.

Burgunder-Johnson suggests in her conclusion that in order to better integrate and accommodate minority populations, the college needs to listen to minority students and "make major adjustments in their own attitudes and perspectives."

Brown agreed and said that Goshen must do that in order to be "less exclusive, less ethnocentric and more open to how African-American students can enhance and bring strengths to the community."

Goshen College hires Rivera as first multicultural admission coordinator

BY BOJANA JANKOVA

If you had asked Savino Rivera about Goshen College in his senior year of high school, the only thing he could have told you about it was that his girlfriend's sister went there. Eight years later, he is its very first multicultural admission coordinator, responsible for recruiting high school students who, just like him in his senior year, haven't heard much about the college. Rivera started his new job on February 13.

Rivera's position is intended to increase cultural diversity. "We are in a day and age where multiculturalism is a forefront in colleges," Rivera said. "Diversity is a very important aspect that students consider when they apply for colleges."

As the multicultural admission coordinator, he will focus on recruiting African-American, Asian-American, Native American and Latino students. As a child of a Mexican father and a biracial mother, Rivera said that he draws his passion for the job from his own experiences and background.

He grew up in a racially diverse family that was hampered by poverty and apparently bound to earning a living through mostly physical labor. Rivera was one of the first members



Savino Rivera

of his family to attend college. This experience, he says, makes it easier for him to connect to other first-generation college students. "I can quickly learn from them and they [can quickly learn] from me," he said.

Rivera's goal this year is to get to know the student body and increase awareness about the college in the community. "I would like to let students of color in northern Indiana know that Goshen College is the place for them, not just a second thought, but their first," he said.

Rivera's ultimate goal is to assist the college in becoming a multicultural higher-education institution. "There is a need to serve our brothers and sisters of other cultures and what better way to serve them than working side by side with them," Rivera said.

Beyond recruitment, Rivera wants to make sure that students succeed

academically. "The whole goal behind this position [is] recruitment, retention and success," he said.

A key to retaining students, according to Odelet Nance, director of the Multicultural Affairs Office, is giving them opportunities to get involved on campus. "The more [students get] involved, the more they enjoy [their time here]," Nance said.

The Multicultural Affairs Office is overseeing three clubs - the Black Student Union, the Latino Student Union and the International Student Club – whose goal is to provide leadership opportunities for students of color, celebrate their diversity and educate students about the different cultures represented at the college.

For Cora Broaddus, a third-year English writing major and a leader of the Black Student Union, the goal of the club is to organize events that will emphasize different aspects of the African-American culture. "We try to expand the idea of black heritage by having race discussions, black art exhibitions and showcasing student talent on campus," Broaddus said.

As students of color are developing their leadership and academic skills, Rivera is actively working on getting more multicultural students to campus. "I think we are moving in the right direction," Rivera said.

Goshen College rich in diversity throughout the years

SHANE MILLER AND SARA ALVAREZ

Dan Koop Liechty, director of admission at Goshen College, and Will Velez, assistant director of admission, spent two weeks last month on a recruiting trip in India and Kenya. In an interview prior to his departure, Koop Liechty said that "GC has a significant tradition of recruiting and supporting international students" and has an overall plan to continue to recruit and support a diverse student body."

International students constitute 14 percent of this year's first-year class, which raises the overall percentage. Across all four years, the college reports that international students represent 9 percent of the total student body.

Fifteen percent of the full-time traditional students in the first-year class this term are ethnic minorities with residency

in the United States. This number is comparable with the total student population of North America, with ethnic minorities representing 16 percent.

In both the first-year class and for the student body as a whole, at Goshen College, white North American students constitute the majority, at 70 percent of the first-year class and 75 percent of the total student body.

Koop Liechty is highly supportive of Goshen's goal to recruit and retain a diverse student body both from abroad and from within the U.S. He said that the college has "always valued diversity in our student population for the richness that interactions with others bring to our community. To truly live our institutional core values it is important to learn to be inclusive of those who are different than us."

Goshen's First Friday to add Diversity Day in May

BY ARIEL ROPP

Goshen's annual Diversity Day and monthly First Friday have always been separate events, but that will change, at least this spring.

For the first time, Goshen's nine-member Community Relations Commission plans to host Diversity Day – complete with tents of multicultural food, music and dance – at the First Friday event in May.

The CRC hopes this change will make Diversity Day more of a citywide event, drawing in people who ordinarily might attend First Fridays but skip over Diversity Day celebrations.

The merger is also intended to increase the number of minority residents who attend First Friday, said Richard Aguirre, CRC chairman.

Aguirre, who is Goshen College's director of public relations, explained that the low attendance rate of Latino families at First Fridays is in part due to feeling they are "not necessarily welcome" at the events. He hopes the change will encourage them to come.

The decision to combine Diversity Day with First Fridays reflects the CRC's broader goal to address the contentious issues of immigration and diversity with greater visibility this year.

Other events on their agenda for 2012 include two roundtable talks on



Goshen's annual Diversity Day has featured dance groups, like those pictured above.

immigration to be held later this spring.

The first will provide a place for people to articulate the positive and negative impacts of immigration in their own lives. Trained facilitators will sit with five to six people per table and encourage them to actively listen to each other rather than formulate rebuttals.

The second roundtable will allow people to discuss what happened at the first talk and search for consensus regarding immigration policy. Aguirre plans to invite state and federal officials to this event, not to speak but to listen to the community's collective solutions.

So far more than 60 Goshen residents have signed up for the roundtable talks, though the CRC hopes to persuade more people to join, including ample representation from both major political

parties. No dates have been set yet.

The roundtable talks will be somewhat reminiscent of the immigration forum hosted by the CRC in June 2011.

That forum, which received wide sponsorship from local schools, hospitals, newspapers and community organizations, was designed "not to push an agenda, but to inform the public," explained Joe Liechty, one of the original nine CRC appointees and a professor of peace and conflict studies at Goshen College.

Approximately 350 to 400 Goshen residents attended the weeknight event, a turnout that pleased the CRC. Aguirre believes the success of the forum was threefold. First, the large turnout and respectful dialogue indicated that Goshen residents are interested in talking – not yelling – about immigration. Second, it

"showed the Latino community that people had a substantial interest in what they had to say and want to make them part of the solution," said Aguirre. Third, and perhaps most notably, the forum may have successfully blocked local politicians from using immigration for political gain in the elections last November.

"People on both sides say this forum prevented immigration from becoming a scapegoat issue in the election," said Aguirre. "It didn't end up becoming the major campaign issue we expected."

Liechty agreed that the forum "defused this [immigration] issue for the fall elections." For him, as for other Goshen residents, the forum was a place to learn from people on the opposing side of the issue about their point of view.

"As I've gotten to know people who are more anti-immigration, I've realized many of them care more about the legality of it and not so much race," said Liechty. Aguirre concurred, saying that the majority of the people who attended the forum were seeking a balanced solution.

Still, CRC members believe that much work remains.

"Although Goshen welcomes the contributions of immigrants, they're not always treated with respect," said Aguirre. "It's seems pretty quiet right now, but [this issue] is always right below the surface."

CITL (from page 1)

the number of Latino students at the college, helping to launch a domestic Study-Service Term and producing a bounty of research, the Lilly grant is diminishing. The grant officially ended in 2011, though careful allocation of funding allowed the college to stretch out some spending, including the construction of CITL offices in the Union this year.

The question remains: With the program thriving but funds running out, what is to become of CITL?

"We are asking ourselves, 'How can we keep funding this program?'" said Jim Brenneman, president of Goshen College. "We need to be creative about it."

"Our vision as a college is to become an international, intercultural, interdisciplinary, integrated place of learning," said Brenneman. "And we wish this to guide our money-making decisions."

One option proposed by Brenneman is to work toward

endowing the Study-Service Term. If SST were endowed, then more money would be freed up in the general budget for CITL.

The college is already redirecting some resources. Programs that were once fully funded by the Lilly grant have been slowly incorporated into the institutional budget. For example, beginning next summer the Summer Academic Leadership Training (SALT) program, which serves Latino, African-American and other students,, will be entirely funded by the general budget. Previously, the Lilly grant financed the SALT program.

Rebecca Hernandez, the director of CITL, said that despite the end of Lilly funding, academic scholarships offered to CITL cohorts will continue.

"CITL has a permanent future," said Hernandez. "Our vision has always been in the Mennonite ethos, but we are now the current chapter in this journey."

If reallocations within the institutional budget may not

be visible proof of CITL's prioritization, then the current renovation of the Union is. Starting this month, the old Union gymnasium will be remodeled to include offices for CITL, Multicultural Affairs and International Education, as well as other academic space. Construction is expected to conclude by August.

CITL will serve as an anchor in what will eventually be a fully renovated Union building in the heart of the campus.

"There's a reason why CITL is placed in the Union," said Brenneman.

Though CITL's success is evident in the rising number of Latino students enrolled at Goshen College – the number has more than doubled since 2004, with 48 Latino students as of 2011 – it is apparent in the voices of students who have been positively impacted by their involvement with the center.

The center provides scholarships and academic support to 15 to 20 Latino students a year. The group,

called a cohort, meets several times a month to discuss academic issues and college life.

"It's called a cohort, but it's more of a family," said Daisy Gaspar, a third-year student involved in CITL. "I think the best times of CITL are the meetings, and not just because there's food, but because we all get together. Besides getting down to our tasks and our activities, we like to talk about how our week or our month is going and we just have fun."

But CITL's impact reaches well beyond these scholarship students.

CITL intends to transform learning on campus. Starting in the fall of 2012, the general education curriculum will include interdisciplinary classes with an intercultural focus. The classes will serve as a precursor to the Study-Service Term program, when students live abroad or are immersed in the local Latino community.

"[The classes] will ask 'Who am I, what is my identity and what

can I bring to campus?'" said Anita Stalter, the academic dean.

CITL also seeks to transform the teaching experience for faculty. For example, CITL provides faculty and staff with free Spanish lessons; the center also uses student surveys to show how minority students can be better served in the classroom.

"CITL does not only benefit Latino students," said Hernandez. "When done properly, some changes can better the entire campus."

For example, four years ago, CITL helped develop the Writing Center, which was once located in the basement of Kulp. Though the change was initially made to provide minority students with academic support, the Writing Center now benefits students of all backgrounds and academic levels.

Brenneman said that the college is deeply committed to CITL.

"CITL is the heart and soul of Goshen College's future," said Brenneman, "the driving force of who we are to become, but deeply rooted in what we've always been."

Anderson (from page 1)

remember, somewhat ambiguous," Fisher said. "The one Goshen hotel was not top class, while Elkhart had better options. There may have been an invitation to stay in a faculty home, while the artist's agent tended to want ample commercial housing. My impression at present is that the vocalist may have been guarding her privacy to protect her voice."

Stoltzfus went to a local motel on his own, not prompted by other students or faculty, to see what he could find out. "I asked why an artist of the stature of Marian Anderson would not be welcome in a Goshen motel or hotel," said Stoltzfus. "He told me that several investors put their life savings in the motel he managed. He also said that salesmen and others coming to Goshen would avoid a motel in which a black person had slept. He really feared a loss of business."

A former professor of music, Dwight Weldy, was also on the committee and remembers there were no suitable hotels in Goshen for people of Anderson's status.

"We took her where we took all black people who visited," said Weldy. "I don't know whether there was really a law on the books about (black people staying in Goshen) but for all practical purposes, it was there because nobody stayed."

Whether or not Anderson was steered away from spending the night in Goshen, her visit was different in other ways.

Mary Oyer, professor emerita of music, said she recalled Anderson being warmly received. But Oyer said she was also aware of racial realities at the time.

In the 1940s, Oyer, a cellist, was studying music for a master's degree

at the University of Michigan. She remembers playing together with a black violinist who asked her where she was from. When she said, Goshen, Indiana, he replied, "That's a place where I would not be welcome."

Oyer noted that the violinist might not have been welcome on some Mennonite campuses and churches for reasons other than race. In the 1950s, when Anderson came to sing, church members were questioning the role of the arts in Christianity. She recalled hearing someone remark: "I don't see how

Mary Oyer can be a Christian and play the cello."

The Goshen News reports no such critics at the Goshen concert, where Anderson sang, accompanied only by a pianist. Fisher said: "Her concert was regarded throughout the local community as a highly significant event -- perhaps in its time on a par with the address by Martin Luther King years later."

Stoltzfus added, "She related warmly to us musically and as a guest on campus. I had a sense of being in the presence of a great human being."