"I FEEL LIKE IT REALLY HAPPENED A LOT BECAUSE OFTENTIMES THEY WOULDN'T SPEAK ABOUT THEIR RACE": WHITE RACIAL VOYEURISM OF STUDENTS OF COLOR IN CROSS-RACIAL INTERGROUP DIALOGUES

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This study examines the cross-racial interactions of Students of Color and white students within the higher education classroom. Utilizing critical race theory, this study primarily focuses on the experiences and interactions of students of color and secondarily White students in a course centered on cross-racial dialogues. The extant intergroup dialogue literature documents voyeuristic listening within dialogues between privileged and oppressed groups as "an important concern". Overall, this study uses critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis to investigate preliminary papers, final papers, and exit interviews to gain insight on the existence of voyeuristic listening instead, racial voyeurism within cross-racial intergroup dialogues. Furthermore, this study uses critical race theory to understand why racial voyeurism of Students of Color happens and how white discursive practices lead towards the dynamic. This study is not an interrogation of intergroup dialogue but how the effects of the permanence of racism take place within cross-racial interactions.

To My Family

This study would have not been possible without the support of my family. The system of education was not created for Black folks like us. Instead of penalizing me for that, Bryan and Sharon Gallaway fought against a system that attempted to label me as deficient. Throughout it all, Bryan and Sharon Gallaway never gave up on me or wrote me off. They supported me when I decided to go to community college, were proud of me when I transferred to the University of Michigan and were ecstatic upon my acceptance into graduate school. To my spouse ArCasia— when I entered the College of Education for graduate study, I had no idea that I would find you. Over the last 4 years, you have provided support through every milestone. Thank you for your love and words of encouragement, which gave me the strength to wade through the Ph.D. process.

To my ancestors—there are no words across any language that can accurately portray the horrific traumas each of you faced as you were stripped from your native lands, shackled, chained, starved, beaten and bruised upon arriving to this country. Although white supremacy and capitalism tried to strip you of your humanity, you all persisted through centuries of inhumane conditions. After being enslaved, you all were forced into sharecropping, served in a segregated military and labored as domestic servants, as just a few examples of second-class citizenship. I am utterly grateful for your continued sacrifices. An ancestor closest to my heart is my grandfather, Raymond Gallaway, whom upon his deathbed in 2015 said to my father, "Can you believe Chaddrick is going to get his Ph.D.?" He then laid back and smiled in affirmation. This study, this degree, and my life's work of uncovering, analyzing, and working toward the eradication of the system of racism is dedicated to all of my ancestors that came before me.

issue with the race and ethnicity dialogues. Dr. Chesler advised me through a senior thesis that eventually led to this dissertation project. Words cannot express how thankful I am for the continued support that you have provided over the past nine years.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Social justice education programs and initiatives have been increasing across multiple colleges and universities, some with the specific intent of improving cross-racial interactions. These programs have been increased to provide inclusivity to campuses that are increasing with a more diverse body of students. While these programs are increasing, it is essential to study the interactions of students within socially-just programs. It is also essential to understand what the best practices are that affect students and mobilize change. To address these statements, the purpose of this study is to study the cross-racial interactions (CRIs) of students in one of the leading diversity/social justice/inclusive education programs in the U.S. This study is not an assessment of this program or its practices. This study focuses on students within the program because of the long-lasting effects of CRIs that remain present once students leave the classroom space. Outside of social justice-based programs and initiatives, it is essential to discuss the roles of professors in social identity-based conversations. There are accounts of students experiencing tokenization in the form of having to explain their unique social identity experience to a classroom of people who do not hold the same social identities as themselves (Lewis, 2001, 2004; Lewis, Chesler, Forman, 2000). These accounts have led me to question not if but how and why racism presents itself within intergroup dialogue (IGD).

The world we as people live in, and how that world treats us, is based on our visible and invisible social identities. Race, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and ability status are a few of these social identities at the nexus of outcomes in access to education, gainful employment, affordable healthcare, fair policing, and other facets of human life. In this study, participants self-identify with their own social identities based on how they perceive themselves.

How social identities are seen by us and others impact the relations positively/negatively between individuals and groups.

The Permanence of Racism

Race and racism are two social constructs that require an enormous amount of attention from scholars because both have been used within the United States to enslave, oppress, and restrict resources from People of Color in order to advance the gains of white people. Racism permeates every facet of U.S. society, including people, systems, and institutions, because the United States' foundation is in the enslavement of Black Africans and the genocide and displacement of the land of Native American Indians (Bell, 1992; Harris, 1993).

Racism is culturally ubiquitous; it is foundational to U.S. society and, thus, permanent to U.S. society (Bell, 1992). By default, the foundation of all levels of the U.S. education system, including higher education, was also founded on rampant racism that excluded People of Color from having the ability to access fair and equitable education (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Patton, 2016; Patton, Harper & Harris, 2015; Thelin, 2011). Though PWIs are continuing efforts to become diverse, equitable, and inclusive institutions for People of Color, many were desegregated under Brown v. Board of Education and still have work to do in creating a hospitable campus climate for People of Color. Regardless of political affiliation or the belief system one holds, the racial climate on higher education campuses are altered by race-based conversations (Black Lives Matter, Police Brutality, Stand Your Ground laws, Undocumented Immigration) that are difficult to talk about across the color line once placed on the national stage.

For this project, the word "white" will not follow standard capitalization practices, but the word "Black" will remain capitalized. According to Gotanda (1991),

To the extent that Black "summarizes" relations of racial subordination, white "summarizes" racial domination. As a term describing racial domination, "white" is better left in the lower case, rather than privileged with a capital letter. "Black," on the other hand, has deep political and social meaning as a liberating term and, therefore, deserves capitalization. (p. 4)

This study employed Gotanda's framework. My goal is to uphold the deep political meaning of the word "Black" through upholding its capitalization and keeping the word "white" lower case not to privilege the word or racial identity. Similar to the word "Black," Latinx and the phrase "Students of Color" is capitalized. The term Students of Color (SOC) refers to students that are not white, nor identify as a Person of Color.

Two- and 4-year colleges must be ready to engage conversations about race, racism, other consequential social identities, and must also be prepared to handle racial conflict appropriately when it occurs. Ignoring racism or inequalities that other marginalized social identity groups face causes more pain and frustration for people in minority groups (Vaccaro, 2010). Minority groups conjure strong feelings when a large group of members or an individual group member has experienced harm (e.g., experiences racism, sexism, and homophobia). These feelings, emotions, and frustrations need to be expressed in a safe place for students to release the strain they feel in being a part of their particular or multiple social identity groups.

Historical Foundations of IGD in Higher Education

Responding to these issues of intergroup conflict, the Program on Intergroup Relations (IGR) at the University of Michigan focuses on helping students explore their own and others' social identities, as well as their locations in systems of power and privilege through diversity education-related courses (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013; Schoem & Hurtado, 2001; Zuniga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). IGR consists of classes called "intergroup dialogues" (IGDs) on many topics, including race and ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic class, religion, and

sexual orientation. Students at Michigan can take a class for academic credit where they can discuss issues with their peers in a safe, nurturing environment. This environment focuses on listening attentively to peers' ideas and experiences instead of attacking and debating them. Those who take the course are expected to read academic material, participate in a variety of experiential and interactive exercises, and bring all the experiences they have had relating their life experiences to the dialogue topic to share with others.

IGD was thrust into higher education in the 1980s when SOC began pressing for more diversity-based courses that spoke about social identity differences. The first "formal" intergroup dialogue program was founded at the University of Michigan in 1989 as a response to racial tensions that were happening on campus between SOC and white students (Gurin et al., 2013). Scholars at the university founded this program under the name, The Program for Intergroup Relations (IGR). During the 1980s, minority students had been facing racist acts by the hands of white students at alarming rates. In 1987, the BAM 111 protest began because of low admission of minority students, minority students faced racial harassment from white students in residence halls, and a white student radio disc jockey that made racist remarks while on air. Because of these heinous racist acts, minority students protested in a multitude of ways until their demands to increase the diversity on campus along with diversity-based programs were heard by the university. The task for faculty and staff was to create a diversity-based program that centered on getting students to talk, work, and understand each other across a multitude of differences. Because of the minority student protest, President James Duderstadt and other administrators helped to establish the Michigan Mandate, which would take 1% of the university's budget and put it towards diversity-based initiatives (Gurin, Nagda, Biren, & Zuniga, 2013). The purpose of this mandate was to help solve and ease racial tensions on campus. Although the IGR has existed

on University of Michigan's campus for three decades, racial issues are still prevalent as they were in previous decades. For example, in 2014, Being Black at U of M (BBUM) became a national trending story on Twitter. The tweets echoed the stories of racism, prejudice, and discrimination that dates back to the University of Michigan's earliest race-based protest in the 1970s. During the 2016 election, racial incidents from white students towards SOC were on the rise.

Research Purpose

As previously stated, racism is a permanent feature of U.S. society because of the United States' foundation upon racism (Bell, 1992). Racism cannot be disassociated from spaces in society, even if they are believed to be race-neutral. Because racism is permanent, this study focuses on examining how racism operates within the Race and Ethnicity dialogues at The University of Maven. Neither I nor this study is claiming IGD is a racist program. I am curious as to how the pervasiveness of racism penetrates the IGD space and the larger umbrella of CRIs between white students and SOC in the world. Understanding how racism exists within IGD can provide an understanding of what type of racism SOC are experiencing, why racism was enacted upon the IGD space by white students, and how to reduce issues of racism within IGD. This study also provides an understanding of how white students and SOC interact, communicate, relate, and differentiate from/with each other in college classrooms and on campuses around topics of race.

In this study, I focused on how salient or aware white students and SOC are regarding their racial identities before they enter the IGR program/space. I examined the extent to which white students and SOC racial awareness changed by the end of the dialogue. The fewer students that are aware of their racial salience as well as other racial groups may relate to a low cultural,

rather racial, competency. This study higlights how white students employ racist tactics in the

IGD and how those tactics affect SOC. To be clear, I am not calling white students racist;

however, because racism is endemic, they could be employing racism-based actions within the

IGD space (Bell, 1992; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995).

Problem Statement

Within IGD, examining racism that exists is essential to look at how racial inequality, and

thus, racism manifest within the IGD. The current IGD literature does not discuss racial

interactions of students, racial problems, racism, or racial inequality that appears amongst

students during the IGD. The majority of the IGD literature highlights how IGD is an essential

democratic process that focuses on working across differences, promoting social justice, and

raising cultural competency amongst different student groups (Buckley & Quaye, 2016; Dessel,

& Rodenborg, 2016; Dessel, Rogge, & Garlington, 2006; Gurin, Dey, Gurin, & Hurtado, 2002;

Gurin, Nagda, & Sorensen, 2011; Gurin, Nagda, & Zúñiga, 2013; Hurtado, 2005; Lopez &

Zúñiga, 2010; Rodreguez, Nagda, Sorenson, & Gurin, 2018; Schoem, 2003).

While I agree with the studies mentioned earlier and the importance of focusing on the

positive aspects IGD, rarely does the IGD literature focus on the impact of CRIs between white

students towards SOC within the IGD, nor racism SOC may face, and how to improve IGD or

CRIs for People of Color. Little is known about how SOC experience racism or racial

microaggressions within IGD. Outside of the IGD literature, researchers did find SOC do

experience microaggressions within difficult dialogues or classroom conversations (Sue &

Constantine, 2007). Some of the IGD literature has focused on the experiences of white students

(Alimo 2012; Quaye, 2012; Yeung, Spanierman, & Landrum-Brown, 2013). Other studies have

highlighted the importance of race-based IGDs for both white and SOC but did not talk about

interactions about race between SOC and white students within the course (Weinzimmer &

Bergdahl, 2018; Zúñiga et al., 2012). Additionally, Maxwell and Chesler (2019), found that

white students in race and ethnicity dialogues remain silent to in order to not offend SOC. While

this study collected data on white students, this study centers experiences of SOC in order to gain

meaning from what the marginalized group is experiencing within IGD. I center the voices of

SOC in order to elevate voices that often go unheard. This elevation of voices of Color in this

study follows suit with critical race theory and looking to those at the bottom of society's racial

hierarchy in order to inform sweeping change (Matsuda, 1987, 1995; Matsuda & Lawrence,

1993). By elevating most marginalized voices, changes to the IGD curriculum will focus on how

to improve cross-racial interactions for those that have the potential to be the most harmed.

Social justice and diversity-based courses are often places of racial resistance, racial

contention, racial collusion, and racial challenges from white students when trying to remove the

veil and dismantle systems of hegemonic racial oppression. White students may disrupt

conversations about race through silence, talking over other participants, negative comments

about race, claim victimization, or hostility meant to derail conversations about race (Cabrera,

2012, 2014; DeTurk, 2011; DiAngelo & Sensory, 2014; Johnson, Rich, & Cargile, 2008). Other

scholars found that classrooms at HWIs often mirror society and push colorblind and post-racial

rhetoric that caused tension among SOC and white students as well as white faculty members

(Simpson, Causey, & Williams, 2007).

Racism and IGD

This study focuses on the race and ethnicity dialogue setting, and as previously stated,

racism is an endemic feature in U.S. society (Bell, 1992), which means racism shows up in some

form during the IGD. Racial microaggressions, a form of racism, may be imposed on the SOC by

white students in the IGD. White college students enter college with low racial interaction and may not have tools for cross-racial interaction (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003). Depending on when they enter the IGD space, they may not have the ability to work across racial differences with other racial groups. Colorblind racism could also exist with IGD, and again could be a feature imposed from white students onto SOC. Colorblind racism is the belief that race does not matter, racelessness is essential, and raceless explanations are essential in all race-related affairs and events (Bonilla-Silva, 2015, 2018). The last form of racism that may be present and overlap with the previously mentioned forms of racism is dysconscious racism. Dysconscious racism is a type of racism that implies white dominant norms and privileges in place of other racialized norms (King, 1991). If white students enter the dialogue viewing themselves as the racial norm, dysconscious racism may be present.

How racism exists within IGD, and how it appears and affects SOC is a problem that needs consideration. While IGD cannot reduce all of the effects of a society founded upon racism within IGD settings, it can take steps to reduce negative racial experiences for SOC within IGD. Before IGD can reduce negative racial experiences of SOC, their first step must be an understanding of why the negative racial experiences are happening and how they make SOC feel.

One factor that could connect to racism faced by SOC within IGD is white fragility. White fragility is present when a white person is affected during intergroup contact when the "minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves" (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 57). White racial stress develops when a white person meets an issue that is racially unfamiliar to them. White fragility is likely to happen in intercultural, intergroup, and racially diverse settings where white people are learning about race-based issues outside of the

white norm or perspective (DiAngelo, 2011). Racism within IGD is likely to appear due to the white fragility and white racial discomfort of white students who have not dealt with issues of race in the same spaces as People of Color.

Because of the various forms of racism that could exist within IGD, as well as the likelihood of white fragility, SOC may experience racial battle fatigue (RBF) when interacting with white students. RBF is defined as an experience of "social-psychological stress" that fosters adverse physical and mental reactions based on being a person of Color experiencing racialized stressors and racial microaggressions (Arnold, Crawford, & Khalifa, 2016; Franklin, Smith, & Hung, 2014; Smith et al. 2016; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011).

Voyeuristic Listening and Cross-Racial IGDs

One example of a potential application of racism is the uneven distribution of teaching about race. Leonardo and Porter (2010) theorized that white people benefit more than People of Color from cross-racial interactions, and People of Color are patronized by white people. However, Ford and Malaney (2012) note that People of Color's racial pride raised through cross-racial dialogues at a Historically White Institution, which problematizes what benefiting from cross-racial interactions means. Nagda and Gurin (2013) display a concern for the learning of privileged and marginalized groups in IGD. They note that "whether IGD favors the learning of one group, and especially the privileged group, over another is an important concern" (p. 302). While the imbalance of sharing is a significant concern, voyeuristic listening within IGD and why/how it happens has yet to be studied. Another example of a potential application of racism and the uneven distribution of teaching about race comes from Sara DeTurk's (2010) study. DeTurk notes:

> Anglo-Americans (in particular) simultaneously tried to understand and to silence the "other," as a result of tensions between their interests in ontological security and

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cognitive complexity, and between privilege and equality. This dynamic, of course, reflects the broader cultural problem of muted groups being asked to educate dominant groups about their perspectives and experiences precisely because their voices have been muted in the first place. (p. 579)

This quote illustrates that white participants in DeTurk's study tried to alter what they heard from marginalized groups to uphold their world view while wrestling with their white privilege and notions of equality. This highlights a cultural issue where white people do not want to forgo their privilege or admit that their racial privilege causes inequalities for racially marginalized groups. Because racially marginalized groups are often "muted" in society, dialogues can be a place where they can voice their experiences and perspectives, because they are unheard in the larger society, which can lead to the education of white people in cross-racial interactions.

DeTurk's study neglects five essential points on the existence of racial voyeurism. First, DeTurk's study neglects to name who is doing the muting of marginalized cultures and who is asking to be educated by marginalized cultures. Second, DeTurk's study names the broader cultural issue of asking marginalized groups to educate privileged groups but does not highlight the intricacies of why this dynamic of racial voyeurism happens in IGD. Third, DeTurk does not state the experiences that the marginalized groups had with the phenomenon of racial voyeurism or the uneven distribution of teaching about race. DeTurk marginally stated the existence of a burden of teaching about one's marginalized identity with little nuance of racial power, privilege, and oppression. Fourth, while DeTurk seems to gesture towards the existence of educating the privileged group, her study does little to expound, problematize, or name the consequences of marginalized groups who have to educate privileged groups. Finally, this study did not relate the marginalized group's education to the privileged groups to voyeurism, which is the argument of my study.

Other researchers found that specific topics and activities about race caused students to actively listen to other participants (Zúñiga et al., 2012). Participants of Color were found by researchers to build strong solidarity based on the sharing of their experiences, whereas white students used their stories to deny racial privilege. White students also were able to accept that racism existed based on the stories told by participants of Color. It was also unreported if the white students shared personal experiences of committing acts of racism before they entered the dialogue. While every person of Color may not have felt the effects of various forms of racism, white participants should have commentary on their race-based actions that may or may not be seen as racist by SOC. This article did not mention an imbalance of sharing between white students and SOC. However, because there is not much data reported on what the white students shared, I suspect that the majority of the sharing about race was done by SOC which means the white students could have been voyeuristically listening. This study also did not mention how white students' denial of racial privilege or forms of racism affected SOC.

Scholars have not definitively said whether a voyeuristic listening favors the learning of another race or how it manifests within IGD. What has been said by scholars is more of a warning around appreciating difference to make sure that appreciation does not turn into voyeuristically listening instead of participation (Gurin et al., 2013). The critical dialogic framework that IGD employs centers appreciating difference and engaging self as primary components as part of the foundation for every dialogue (Bohm, 1996; Gurin et al., 2013).

Appreciating difference is a central element to the dialogue processes because it allows for dialogue participants to share experiences with others without being chastised or shutdown. While it is essential to maintain a dialogue space where neither students of either privileged or marginalized group feel shut down, it is imperative that equitable sharing about race is present.

Appreciating difference in others is essential, but it can also cause issues in the dialogue when appreciating manifest as voyeuristically listening and not participating (Gurin et al., 2013). Voyeuristic listening happens when a participant, more than likely of privilege, consciously/unconsciously focuses on other's beliefs, sentiments, and viewpoints instead of sharing or expressing their own. How voyeuristic listening manifests within IGD, what student group it harms, and how it impacts students in the dialogue is a significant concern because it relates to how People of Color may experience racism within and outside of IGD settings within race-based conversations.

If white students learning/progress is focused intentionally or unintentionally on the completion of icebreakers, dialogues, and activities over People of Color, then the dialogue itself could become a breeding ground for an unjust setting that places the focus of voyeurism on People of Color. If white students expect to be taught by SOC because they are the racial norm, an in the balance of sharing and racism could occur. This issue of voyeuristic listening is not limited to race and ethnicity dialogue but transcends other social identity-based IGDs, as well as any conversations between privileged and oppressed groups. The concept of voyeuristic listening (Gurin et al., 2013) is optimistic and well assuming, suggesting that voyeurism exists due to appreciating difference. I intend to trouble this connection between voyeuristic listening and appreciating difference by connecting them to white fragility and racial identity awareness, a form or forms of racism, and community cultural wealth.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to understand how racism is present in intergroup conversations about race. This study endeavors to improve the experiences of students who participate in IGD but to add to the body of literature on IGD and CRIs. I am interested in how

racism is present in IGD because white students enter college with lower racial salience than SOC. If white students are not accustomed to white racial discomfort, there may be subtle and overt ways in which they lash out towards SOC. Students that participate in intergroup dialogues by participate in planned activities that call on the use of personal experiences to provide an understanding of how white students and SOC experience racial privilege and marginalization. IGD is for white students and SOC to learn about each other's power, privileges, disadvantages, and overall experiences about race and ethnicity. The interactions these individuals have in the classroom can affect how they treat issues of race once they leave the classroom and later the university.

Guiding Research Questions

The guiding research questions for this study are as follows. These questions are important because they start the path to finding if there is an uneven distribution of teaching about race.

- How do students manage race and racism within IGD?
- How much do students think about their race and what race means to them?

Significance of Study

While this study focuses on race and ethnicity dialogues, the findings may have implications for any class or discussion that deals with race or other social identities involving relationships of privilege and disadvantage. Because IGD potentially favors the learning of one group, it is essential to understand what knowledge students arrive in dialogues with concerning their own social identities. How much do students know about their social identities before they enter the class? How does their understanding of their social identities change as the course persists? Finally, how does racism permeate within the IGD course itself? These are vital questions this study aims to address.

This topic is vital because classroom discussion that focuses on social identity group issues of privilege and marginalization must focus with considerable care in order to ensure that the marginalized student group does not feel devalued or tokenized. Conversations, dialogues, and emotions that stir within a classroom are often not left in the classroom. It is essential that SOC are not left frustrated from dialogue due to a sharing imbalance, because they may not want to continue having essential and critical conversations with white students, not just in college but also after they leave. It is also essential to make sure white students have the proper tools for engaging in conversations about race, so they are not causing damage to People of Color in their classroom or once they leave college. Talking about race and talking to different privileged and marginalized groups about race and race-based experiences is a delicate process that requires patience, care, and self-reflection. The privileged group should exponentially express patience, care, and self-reflection when talking about race or race-based experiences with People of Color because People of Color regularly experience racial strain and fatigue.

Understanding how much students think about their social identities provide context for how much specific social identities mean to students. The specificity of certain social identities may show how much care, lack of care, patience, impatience, self-reflection, and lack of self-reflection that is present across different groups of students. Understanding the perceptions of a student's social identity may also provide an understanding of how covert and overt racism may permeate with IGD.

Finally, the cultural climate of an institution and its classrooms are essential to student success. If the cultural climate of an institution is unsatisfactory, then the success of marginalized students, who undoubtedly need the most help and support, is subsequently reduced. This study

highlights the relations and interactions of white students and SOC in order to show how specific actions of white students can harm SOC, and thus, the educational and campus climate.

Key Terms

Campus climate is the makeup of students' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about their campus, summation of the objectives and perceptions of the campus climate, merging structural, and institutional diversity or behavioral, and psychological climate (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999; Peterson & Spencer, 1990; Tierney, 1990).

Community cultural wealth draws on capital privileges experiential knowledge, which People of Color build throughout their lives (Yosso, 2005).

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a theory that sees race as a social construction, not a biological fact. Furthermore, CRT believes race is used in society as a way to categorize different racial groups in privilege and oppression to benefit the white population in society (Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995; Matsuda 1987; Matsuda & Lawrence, 1993; Tate, 1997).

Cultural capital is a bank of specific cultural knowledge, strengths, power, skills, assets that are gained or inherited by privileged social classes in society (Bourdieu, 1985).

Diversity refers to elements that categorize groups of people in a particular space or environment (Grodsky & Kurlaender, 2010).

Equity is fair access to materials, systems, structures, and power (Bensimon & Polkinghorne, 2003).

Inclusion is ensuring that diverse groups are in an equitable environment while having their individual and group needs met by an institution (non-academic or academic; Dougherty & Kienzl, 2006).

Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) is a practice that higher education uses, to encourage student engagement across cultural and social differences. It seeks to stimulate and promote student learning about social identity-based inequities while showing the importance of everyone's role in social justice issues (Gurin et al., 2013; Hurtado, 2007; Nagda, Gurin, & Rodriguez, 2018; Rodriguez et al., 2018; Sorenson, Nagda, Gurin, & Maxwell, 2009).

Intercultural maturity is awareness or maturation that happens when one's social identities encounter conflict or confusion that requires exploration of other social identity groups (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; King, Baxter Magolda, & Masse, 2011; Perez, Shim, King, & Baxter Magolda, 2015).

Historically White Institutions (HWIs) are institutions that are in which white students are higher than 50% (Brown & Dancy, 2010).

Race is a socially constructed phenotypical intervention that is used to decipher visual, and audible characteristics (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Mitchel, 2012; Spillers, 2003). Phenotypically driven, white people use race as a tool in order to build and maintain power, privilege, and oppression over People of Color. Race has been formed objectively as an "essence" that is described by scholars in terms such as white, Black, Latinx, Asian, as well as other racial categories (Omi & Winant, 2014).

Racial identity salience is defined as how much one's racial identity means to them, how much they think about it, and how strongly they identify with their racial identity (Cameron, 2004; Chavous, 2000; Hurtado, 2002; Hurtado et al., 2015; Kim, 2001, King & Baxter-Magolda, 2005; King & Hurtado, 2005; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001).

Racial Identity Development Theory is a theory that highlights racial identity development with the categorization of race-based models that provide an understanding of an

individual's racial identity salience, due to the individuals racial experiences and understanding of how their race, as well as others, impact each other in society (Hurtado, Alvarado, & Guillermo-Wann, 2015).

Racial microaggressions are covert/overt exchanges with the unconscious/conscious intent from white people to insult, discredit, dismiss, and minimize people of color and their experiences (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue & Constantine, 2007; Sue et al., 2007).

Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF) is defined as an experience of "social-psychological stress" that fosters adverse physical and mental reactions based on being a person of color experiencing racialized stressors (Arnold, Crawford, & Khalifa, 2016; Franklin, Smith, & Hung, 2014; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011; Smith et al., 2016).

Racism is a system of oppression, meant to disadvantage POC at the social, political, and economic levels through the means of white supremacy and POC subjugation. Racism is a tool that affects POC solely and is meant to harm POC individually, institutionally, and culturally (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Jones, 1997; Lorde, 1992; Marable, 1992).

Role strain is defined as an internalized feeling that comes when an individual does not meet a role obligation (Goode, 1960).

Social identity is created and based on a social group (race, gender, SES) that a person belongs to and identifies with (Tajfel, 1979).

Nation of origin is a community based on feeling as well as a place that has its own created state (Norkus, 2004).

Qualitative content analysis is a research method that uses qualitative content (interviews, personal narratives, letters, video, and pictures) to highlight and derive meaning from the studied content (Hsieh & Shannon, 2015).

Limitations

This study examined the experiences and perspectives of white students and SOC that are taking an intergroup dialogue course at The University of Maven. One limitation of this study is that students self-enroll in this course. Students who self-enroll in a course about social justice-based issues may do so because they are somewhat aware or already thinking about social justice issues to some extent. Some students may take the course because they hold views that are not based in social justice that they may want to express. Other students may perceive IGD as an easy class where a good grade is easy to attain. Even though students sign up to take an IGD course for various reasons, IGR the program selects students for each dialogue topic based on students' self-selected social identities.

Additionally, because students self-select their own social identities, it leaves room for error based on if students identify within their social identity groups. Meaning, a student could have an upper-class socioeconomic status but elite middle class because they are unaware of their class status. Conversely, for race and ethnicity dialogues, some students may struggle with identifying as a person of Color or as a white person, depending on how their family or community identifies. Self racially identifying is a limitation of the study; students' self-identification may affect the outcome of the study because it depends on how a student identifies and can change the dialogue dynamics if there are more white participants than SOC or vice versa. Although self-selection is a limitation of the study, it is also a strength of the IGR program because it allows students to identify based on how they see themselves in the world. Students

can identify how they see themselves racially, not how others may perceive them based on their skin tone or other physical characteristics like bone structure, hair texture, and body size.

Another limitation is the potential selection bias for students taking this course. IGD is not a required course at Maven University. Students sign up to take IGD if they want to take the class. Because IGD is not a required course, there could be a selection bias because students that would openly sign up for the class may have a strong understanding and awareness of their social identities and social justice concepts, which could bias the results of the study. Another bias of the study is regional bias. Even though the Maven University is a significant public institution with a multitude of students from different geographical regions, most students are coming from the Midwestern geographical region of the United States of America. The results of this study might be different if the geographical regions (North, South, East Coast, Midwest, and West Coast) were represented.

Finally, intergroup dialogues are not run at many institutions. Because of this, there is limited research that solely focuses on student experiences in dialogues. Since the literature is lacking breadth from multiple sources, the central resource for research on intergroup relations comes from a multi-university study (Gurin et al., 2013).

<center>**Chapter 2** Literature Review</center>

The Historically White Institution

As stated in chapter 1, racism is an ideology that is socially pervasive and permanently engrained into U.S. society (Bell, 1993). Joe Feagin (2010) argued that white supremacist racism had been a vital tool in the shaping of race and racism as a permanent fixture in the U.S. society to privilege white people. All major institutions have been shaped by racism because the U.S. foundation is in racism. Lynn, Jennings, and Hughes (2013) note that the system of education in the United States has emulated the racial state of American society and culture. The U.S. education system and the system of racism are intertwined and must be talked about in tandem to understand the pervasive nature of racism in education. Institutional racism affects all forms of American life, including the U.S. education system (Lynn et al., 2013). Following this stream of thought, Thelin (2011) asserts that the U.S. higher education system's foundation is in racism, prejudice, and discrimination against SOC. PWIs evolved from excluding People of Color from higher education.

PWIs are an institution in higher education in which 50% or greater of the enrolled student population is white (Brown II & Dancy, 2010). Brown II and Dancy note that PWIs may also be referred to as historically white institutions (HWIs) due to their exclusion of People of Color until the landmark Brown v. Board of Education decision of 1954 and the implementation of Brown and the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Henceforth, I refer to PWIs as HWIs to highlight the history of racism, prejudice, and discrimination faced by People of Color in higher education. The U.S. higher education system foundation is on racial segregation that sought to exclude and harm people of marginalized and oppressed racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds (Brown II & Dancy, 2010).

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Although HWIs have reached desegregation, it is essential to note the historical exclusion of People of Color in their creation. While many HWIs desegregation came with Brown v. Board of Education, their histories, policies, and procedures are founded on racism and protecting a white supremacist agenda that sought to keep People of Color subordinated in society. Desegregating HWIs does not mean that issues of racism, discrimination, prejudice, diversity equity, and inclusion do not exist on campuses today. Because excluding other racial groups was the historical foundation of HWIs, HWIs today must pay particular attention to the academic and social needs of SOC on their campuses to create a hospitable campus climate for all students.

Campus Climate and Race at Historically White Institutions

Scholars have defined campus climate in a multitude of ways—from students' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about their campus (Tierney, 1990) to the summation of the objectives and perceptions of the campus climate (Peterson & Spencer, 1990). Campus climates also consist of the merging structural and institutional diversity or behavioral and psychological climate (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998). Hurtado et al. (1998) also defined institutional climate by four connected paradigms. First, the institutions' historical legacy regarding inclusion or exclusion of SOC; second, the number of SOC admitted and attending the institution; third, the perception of climate based on student responses; and fourth, climate as based on the intergroup relations of white and SOC.

Campus climate consistently determines the success and retention of marginalized students across all higher education institutions. If the campus climate is too debilitating, malicious or antagonistic to SOC, they have a negative impact (Allen, 1992; Chang, 2000; Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 2002; Hurtado, Carter, & Spuler, 1996; Hurtado & Guillermo-Wann, 2015; Inyama, Williams, & McCauley, 2016;

Nettles, 1988; Nora & Cabrera, 1996; Rodgers & Summers, 2008; Vacacaro, 2010). Similar to SOC, women also experience unwelcoming, adverse, hostile, chilly, and unsafe campus climates (Dortch & Patel, 2017; Pascarella et al., 1997; Shahid, Nelson, & Cardemil, 2018; Smith, 1990; Vacacaro, 2010). One crucial point, of course, is the intersections of social identities. There are SOC that are women that experience issues of race and gender while navigating their campuses.

The racial campus climate has not been a warm or hospitable place for Black students in particular. Leath and Chavous (2017) found that when Black students hold strong political views about their Blackness, they struggle to integrate into the broader campus community and are often ostracized. Dortch and Patel (2017) highlights the difficulty Black women face with finding a sense of belonging at HWIs. Blockett (2017) found that Black queer men struggle in finding and building a community at PWIs due to their race and sexuality. Woldoff, Wiggins, and Washington (2011) found that Black students struggle with issues of racial climate with adjusting to campus life at rural HWIs while Gallaway and Zamani-Gallaher (2018) have situated the two-year college context and utilities of intergroup dialogues in improving the racial climate on community college campuses. Regardless of study or variance in Black students' other social identities (sexuality, gender, class, religion, politics, community, place of birth), Black students struggled with the racial campus climate at HWIs.

Differential Perceptions of Campus Climate by Race

Researchers have repeatedly found that SOC and white students view their campus climates in entirely different ways (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). SOC, predominantly African American, cite campus climate as racist, prejudiced, discriminatory, and less accepting of their racial identities, whereas white students do not cite similar experiences or feelings in conjunction with an adverse campus climate (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Rankin & Reason, 2005).

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Alternatively, Nora and Cabrera (1996) found that SOC and white students both cited an adverse campus climate; however, SOC cited the negative climate at higher rates than white students. It is important to note that Black students cite the lowest levels of fulfillment regarding treatment based on race in comparison with other racial groups (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Cabrera & Nora, 1994; Hurtado, 1992; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2003).

As Turner (1994) notes, SOC still feel like a "guest in someone else's house" (p. 356) concerning navigating HWIs campus climate. SOC are often unable to integrate into HWIs like white students, because HWIs are chilly and isolating places for SOC. Since HWIs' environments are chilly or isolating, it is paramount to the success of SOC that they are provided with academic and social resources to help them navigate their institutions as well as feel valued and respected by their HWIs (Jones, Castellano, & Cole 2002).

SOC experience interracial stress, as well as racism and discrimination, because of chilly, racialized campus climates. Interracial stress happens when SOC have to assimilate to a dominant white culture; on the other hand, racism and discrimination happens when the mistreatment of SOC happens due to their race (Jones, Castellano, & Cole 2002). In two seminal texts, Nettles and Theony (1988) and Allen (1982) highlight that Black students experience lower levels of academic and social integration due to experiencing intergroup oppression at HWIs. HWIs have a large amount of de facto segregation in their schools, owing to the majority white student population living racially segregated lives that did not include People of Color until they began college (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Renner & Mackin, 1998). Since white students are coming into college with little to no experience interacting with People of Color, white students can lack the ability to interact with SOC civilly. Scholars have also noted that white students attend HWIs where Black students comprise less than 10% of the student

body. White students who attend HWIs may not interact with SOC, because there are so few in attendance. Low attendance of SOC may contribute to a hostile campus climate because white students' inability to interact with SOC.

Despite chilly, racialized climates for SOC, research suggests that HWIs are improving in supporting SOC (Chang, 2000). HWIs providing more support for SOC is due to the slow and steady increase of diversity offices and programming. Chang also noted that white students' apathy towards race-based conversations ultimately harms SOC, though there is an increase in diversity-related programs. This racial apathy is due in part to white students wanting SOC to assimilate to the dominant white norms at HWIs. According to Saddlemire (1996), white students do not have an understanding of African American culture; moreover, they want to self-segregate themselves in the dorms to live with students of similar backgrounds. White students' lack of genuinely understanding African American or Black culture, wanting SOC to adjust to the white dominant norm, and self-segregating themselves, they reinforce hostile campus climates for SOC, particularly for African American students.

When endeavoring to disrupt a chilly campus climate, it is essential that HWIs institute cultural centers and multicultural offices for SOC. According to Turner (1994), cultural centers are "a home away from home, a place to deal with personal and academic problems" (p. 362), meaning that the creation of cultural centers provides SOC a safe environment to ask for academic or social help at HWIs. Per Lori Patton (2006), having minority or multicultural offices is paramount in supporting SOC at HWIs. Researchers have found that SOC experience HWIs differently than white students due to their racial marginality (Bennett, Cole, & Thompson, 2000; Fleming, 1984; Patton, 2006; Uba, 1994). While white students only have to focus on the

competitive nature of HWIs, SOC have to battle with a hostile racialized climate, a task that decreases their chances of retention and completion (Saldana, 1995).

Racial Microaggressions, Racial Battle Fatigue, and Campus Climates

Racial microaggressions have been a recent focus of race relations and campus climate in higher education research during the past decade. Microaggressions are conscious/unconscious forms of colorblind racism that affect the mental health of the victims (Smith et al., 2016; Smith, Allen, & Danley. 2007; Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006, 2007). Studies of microaggressions in college student populations highlight that microaggressions on college campuses exist at alarming rates and typically result in SOC showing signs of poor mental health and low academic performance (McCabe, 2009; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010). SOC at HWIs experience high rates of "microaggressions" through the previous assumptions and claims made by white students about racial stereotypes (Feagin, 1992; Solórzano et al., 2000).

Microaggressions are present across society, and they have a very peculiar way of showing up on college campuses in spaces that are meant to be safe for all students regardless of race. These spaces include social settings like student housing, dining halls, and in more academic settings like libraries or classrooms. SOC have a more difficult time combatting microaggressions, because negative stereotypes shape racial categories around what it supposedly means to be Black, Asian, or Latino. For example, this can also happen when a white person denies their race by subscribing to a colorblind ideology (Boatright-Horowitz, 2013).

Racial microaggressions, whether in- or outside of the college classroom, negatively impact race relations and campus climates (Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011; Smith et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2007). In dialogues about race, it is far too easy for microaggressions to be

introduced into dialogue by both verbal and nonverbal exchanges (looks, gestures tones) that are meant to insult, dismiss, and demean marginalized groups (Sue & Constantine, 2007). Microaggressions in IGD about race often happen because white students do not perceive race to be personal, whereas SOC perceive race as the exact opposite (Sue & Constantine, 2007). Microaggressions could happen because both groups, white students and SOC, enter the dialogue with two different levels of racial salience.

According to Smith et al. (2016), SOC who deal with constant racial microaggressions eventually develop racial battle fatigue. Racial battle fatigue (RBF) has been defined as an experience of "social-psychological stress" that fosters adverse physical and mental reactions based on being a person of Color experiencing racialized stressors (Arnold, Crawford, & Khalifa, 2016; Franklin, Smith, & Hung, 2014; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011; Smith et al. 2016). When having interpersonal and intergroup conversations, SOC risk damaging their self-efficacy and identity, which is known as racial battle fatigue (Smith et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2007). As Smith et al. (2016) note, individuals who racially micro-aggress others are not necessarily overt racist. However, Black students in the study had to navigate a racially turbulent environment where they felt constantly racially micro-aggressed in academic environments by other faculty members, students, staff, and administration.

SOC's self-efficacy and identity may be damaged when they (and other marginalized groups) have to answer questions about race that they perceive as inconsiderate, thoughtless, and racially insensitive (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996). SOC often have to learn how to navigate the overwhelmingly dominant white culture, while also explaining their experiences with being a person of color to white students (Bourassa, 1991; Duster, 1991; Feagin et al., 1996; Tierney, 1993). When having conversations about race in classroom settings, dialogues dealing with race

often separate students based on their differences rather than bringing them together (Sue & Constantine, 2007. This is due to multiple discrepancies like facilitators being under-equipped to diffuse inflammatory emotion-based activities that focus on one group learning from another, lack of racial awareness of group members, or a lack of same airspace in the dialogue setting.

Whiteness and College Students

After years of class and racial separation, undergraduate students come to college, where they engage in similar self-segregation patterns (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005). Chesler et al.'s study (2005) shows that rarely do class and race separation overlap at the university level unless it is in a class or a forced interaction. Students in residence halls commonly assimilate to groups of people that come from similar race and class backgrounds with which they are familiar. This allows students to stay in their social identity comfort zones. From a young age, white students' racial attitudes and experiences are formed and often lead to ignorance about what it means to carry race (Bonilla-Silva, 2001, 2003, 2012, 2015; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). These attitudes can conjure feelings of superiority and mystification of other racial groups that are deemed less superior or deviant (Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003).

Mystifying another race means learning and trying to understand cultural nuances that are different from one's own. The problem with mystifying other races is that it often leads to cultural insensitivity and abuse of power and privilege that might result in the appropriation of a culture that does not belong to the social identity group to which a person belongs. Mystification is the perception of wanting to learn about another group; however, if left unchecked, it can often become harmful to the other culture if viewed as exotic or deviant. While white students can exoticize POC, they sometimes struggle to recognize their own race.

As a result of their attitudes and experiences, white students are often incapable of seeing themselves or their behaviors as race-based or racist. White people ' lack of not seeing themselves as a race absolves white people from the concept that they carry race (whiteness); therefore, they view themselves as colorblind (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Lewis, 2004). While white silence is an aspect of cross-racial conversations, white students also claim victimization, minimize racism (Cabrera, 2014; DiAngelo & Sensory, 2014), and use color-evasive diversity laden discourse to push away from interrogating racial inequality and white guilt (Hikido & Murray, 2016). A white person that sees themselves as raceless will not see their actions as something that may be marginalizing or harmful to others. They may also be surprised when conversations about race happen, because they do not consciously feel they are experiencing race or raced themselves.

White students who believe they are colorblind or raceless and do not see race, may not believe they have anything valuable to share or teach SOC about race in a dialogue setting. Even though white students may see themselves as raceless, they may also remain silent in the dialogue space when providing accounts of their own racial experiences, so they are not perceived as racist, prejudice, or discriminatory by SOC. Furthermore, white students are defensive in unfamiliar conversations about race, fear being attacked by SOC, and experience anxiety while they reconcile their conscious and unconscious ignorance about race (Gurin et al., 2013; Richeson & Shelton, 2007).

Lacking conscious experiences with race is problematic when trying to hold race-based conversations. Lacking racial consciousness can often be attributed to how much students think about their racial identity, what type of communities they come from, and what their racial identity means to them. Although not as familiar, white students who come from families,

communities, and schools that have raced experiences will have something to share about their racial experiences. White students (along with other privileged groups) that enter IGD often experience a more significant level of vexation than their counterparts when discussing issues of race and racism. Vexation of groups with privilege happens because they have a fear of appearing racist and instead want to paint themselves in a positive manner concerning race. White students do have something to say about race; however, they choose to remain silent due to not recognizing their racial privilege. The lack of time they spend talking about race in the past is an attribute to why white students prefer to remain silent in race-based conversations (Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003). Without previous experience talking about race, white students remain reluctant to share (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, 2015; Gurin et al. 2013; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Sue, 2007; Watt, 2007).

SOC at PWIs regularly experience emotionally draining conversations when in contact with interpersonal and intergroup relations. Emotionally draining conversations can be attributed to the amount of race-based conversations SOC have had throughout life, the refusal to recognize white privilege, and the overall lack of information gained from white participants. Intergroup relations for SOC often are a place of venting and sharing race-based experiences across groups of color (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman, 2000).

White Fragility

Any approach that posits the safety of white students reinforces/maintains/promotes white fragility. White fragility is when a white person is affected during intergroup contact, when the "minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves." (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 57). White racial stress develops when a white person meets with an issue that is racially unfamiliar to them. White racial stress is likely to happen in intercultural,

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intergroup, and racially diverse settings where white people are learning about race-based issues outside of the white norm or perspective (DiAngelo, 2011).

White students can often find dialogue spaces immensely frustrating due to their harboring anxiety around speaking out about race in the dialogue setting and being "slammed" for having an opinion that does not coincide with the experiences of SOC (DiAngelo, 2011). According to DiAngelo and Sensory (2014), white students in dialogue settings often complain about dialogue spaces, because they feel they are being "attacked" or "beaten up" by SOC, which can lead to some white students feeling "unsafe."

This illusion of feeling unsafe or beaten up is a manifestation of whiteness and white supremacy because, as DiAngelo shows, white students want protection from having difficult conversations that examine racism, prejudice, and discrimination. When often faced with feeling "unsafe," it is due to a lack of racial awareness and talking about race regularly. When challenged during race-based conversations, some white students blame SOC. White students placing blame on SOC can create a false sense that SOC are "perpetrators of violence" because white students feel "unsafe" instead of comfortable as usual (DiAngelo, 2011; DiAngelo & Sensory, 2014). White students who blame SOC instead of examining their whiteness are refusing to recognize how race and racial privilege play a vital role in their experiences.

Racial boundaries are a social construction formed and reinforced throughout everyday life. White students learn their views of a race before entering college, and their lack of experience about racial differences is often reinforced by "racial boundaries" that give white students a sense of difference that SOC have because they view themselves as the racial norm. Certain sides of a town, restaurants, schools, for example, are seen as "White, Black, or a Melting Pot." Racial boundaries create an "us" vs. "them" mentality that often ends up being a

conversation about who has better resources and access to materials (Chesler et al., 2005; Matlock, Gurin, & Wade-Golden, 2002; Tatum, 1997). Racial boundaries carry over into university life when groups of people that may not happen to live in a place where they are living, working, and studying together—like college campuses.

When trying to remove the veil and dismantle systems of hegemonic racial oppression, social justice, and diversity-based courses are often places of resistance, contention, collusion, and challenges from white students. White students may disrupt conversations about race through silence, talking over other participants, negative comments, or hostility meant to derail the conversation (Johnson, Rich, & Cargile, 2008). Other scholars found that classrooms at HWIs often mirror society and push colorblind and post-racial rhetoric that caused tension amongst SOC and white students, as well as white faculty members (Simpson, Causey, & Williams 2007).

Cross-Racial Interactions at HWIs

There have been numerous court cases that upheld affirmative action at higher education institutions due to arguments based on the benefits of cross-racial interactions and racial diversity, most notably Fisher v. University of Texas. Numerous researchers have developed a large body of cross-racial interactions (CRI) literature in order to push back against color-evasive policies that would remove race as a vital factor in college admissions. Some components of the CRI literature highlights race relation benefits like social integration between SOC and white students (Bowman, 2013; Odell et al., 2005), the reduction of prejudice (Gottfredson et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), reduction of racist attitudes (Chang, 2002), comfort with people from other races despite cross-racial anxiety (Engberg, 2007; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Hurtado, 2005), improved cross-racial understandings (Antonio, 2001a; Astin,

1993; Chang et al., 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Denson & Zhang, 2010; Gurin, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002; Pike et al., 2007). The CRI literature also showcases academic benefits of CRI for students like academic ability (Denson & Chang, 2009; Gurin, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2009), academic and personal self-efficacy (Antonio, 2004; Chang, 1999; Chang et al., 2004, 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2005; Nelson Laird, 2005), cognitive ability (Antonio, 2004; Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al., 2006; Denson & Zhang, 2010; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2005; Nelson Laird, 2005), teambuilding skills (Antonio, 2001b; Denson & Zhang, 2010; Hurtado, 2005; Jayakumar, 2008; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2009) and sense of belonging on campus (Locks et al., 2008; Strayhorn, 2008).

A critique that I hold of the aforementioned CRI literature is that it does not actively discuss the dismantling of the system of racism within higher education institutions or negative CRI of SOC due to racism. Two articles from the vast body of literature discuss racism and race relations in detail (Chang, 2002; Denevi & Pastan, 2006). Instead, the CRI literature focuses on the positives of CRI of white students and SOC on higher education campuses. Our duty as higher education instructors and practitioners is to continue spotlighting how racism is present within higher education but also how racism is present within CRI. I believe, like all users of CRT, that racism is an endemic feature of U.S. life. Racism is not a feature that will end, regardless of anti-racist practices or cross-racial contact.

While the CRI literature is overtly positive, which is essential in the current political climate that seeks to devalue the importance of race in higher education, CRIs have also proven to be harmful to SOC on HWI campuses. SOC and white students do not view campus climates, which are macrocosms of CRI the same (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Despite CRIs improvements, SOC have highlighted feelings of racial exclusion at HWIs (Rankin & Reason, 2005). Black

students have cited their negative racial experiences at lower rates than white students and other SOC (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Cabrera & Nora, 1994; Hurtado, 1992; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2003). Hostile and chilly racial climates are functions of negative CRIs. Negative CRIs and by proxy chilly racial climates are both functions of the more extensive system of racism in which higher education was founded.

Black students experience more CRIs with members of different races than white students (Strayhorn, 2014). While this is an essential finding, researchers should continue to highlight the nature of these CRI between SOC and white students, between SOC, and disaggregated by individual racial groups. When Black students voice their political views in CRIs, they are often socially excluded from other raced groups on campus (Leath & Chavous, 2017). Research has shown that the intersections of difference create even harsher campus climates for Black women (Dortch & Patel, 2017) and Black Queer men (Blockett, 2017). Furthermore, research has shown the struggle of Black students integrating into white rural HWIs (Woldoff, Wiggins, & Washington, 2011). The aforementioned studies show that Black students are facing racial barriers when trying to cross racially interact within higher education.

This section began with overtly positive benefits of CRIs, but it does not appear those benefits extend to Black students or SOC as a whole. Tropp and Pettigrew (2005) point out that racial contact does not equate to the reduction of racial prejudice, and the impact of racial contact is not as valuable to SOC as it is for white people. White people are the overall benefactors of CRIs with SOC on HWI campuses. White students benefiting from CRIs more than SOC is in part due to white supremacist housing practices which have created white homogenous communities (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Rothstein, 2018). White students who grow up and attend schools in white homogenous environments are socialized in and maintain harmful color-evasive

and white supremacist ideologies (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). Research has shown that SOC experience precollege CRI at higher rates than white students (Chang, 2002).

Although SOC experience CRI before college at higher rates, white students and SOC report racial anxiety about CRI at similar rates. However, because of the system of racism that SOC experience, scholars should provide distinctions of how racial anxiety (CRI dynamics in general) is different for white students, SOC, and between SOC. Gottfredson et al. (2009) found that campus diversity and CRI lead to an increase with a plethora of diverse thoughts and beliefs. However, this study questions what racial groups are and are not benefiting from CRIs, as well as what racial groups are experiencing harm. I suspect that SOC as one group, and its racial disaggregation experience racism, and negative CRIs at HWIs. This study intends to highlight how Black students at an HWIs experience racism via negative CRIs within the college classroom. This study seeks to understand how SOC experience racism within the college classroom in order to provide more context in how higher education as a field can reduce negative CRIs for SOC.

The Conflation of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Higher Education

Because college classrooms often mirror society, it is essential to focus on how colleges and universities have used tools to circumvent colorblind post-racial rhetoric. Diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) have been a highly researched topic in higher education in the past 30 years with intentions of improving the campus climate for all social identity groups on college campuses. While the concepts of DEI can have tremendous effects on improving chilly campus climates, the terms are evolving into buzzwords that lack meaning, purpose, or application. According to Brennan and Naidoo (2008), there is no singular definition of each term in DEI. The conflation of terms happens because there is a lack of consensus on the definition of DEI.

The conflation of DEI terms may cause some institutions to focus on matters of diversity and not equity or inclusion or diversity and inclusion but not equity. Regardless of the combination, conflating DEI into one term, instead of a summation of equal parts that make up a socially just campus, causes some campuses to ignore one or two of the three DEI terms. All three concepts of DEI must be invoked to have a campus that is social justice-minded.

Although DEI is claimed by many in higher education, there are often excuses made by campuses and administrations for lack of DEI initiatives at their institutions. According to Woodrow (1999), institutions often argue four myths against DEI:

> It's not the responsibility of higher education to promote social inclusion.
> Equity is the enemy of academic excellence. Low-status students will lower standards.
> The admission of access entrants is the last resort of institutions desperate to recruit.
> We are in favor of widening participation, but at present we just cannot afford to. (p. 343)

In order for the conflation of DEI to end, there needs to be a single consensus definition of DEI. Second, higher education institutions must adjust to its diversifying body of student applicants and attendees, while institutionally changing structures and curriculum to better support marginalized students (Mayor, 1998). Higher education needs to look at creating diverse, equitable, and inclusive measures around the cost of attendance, admission requirements, multicultural curriculum, and student support services for marginalized students to improve campus climates and commitment to DEI (Thomas, 2001).

In order for DEI initiatives to be effective, an explanation of DEI by leaders is needed because, without an explanation, confusion, conflation, and opposition may occur (Hurtado, 2007). Correspondingly, Hurtado found that in order for DEI changes to be impactful to a campus climate, diversity alone is not adequate to build a DEI campus climate. The idea that diversity alone solves issues of campus climate is how the concepts of DEI can become conflated; moreover, diversity on campuses means it is inclusive and equitable. College leaders

must create a DEI action plan with goals, objectives, and possible tasks that will create tangible change. Boggs and Johnson (2016) explain that campuses should focus on equity instead of equality by treating all students based on their individual needs. The notion of equality on a college campus is to treat everyone the same, or equal, but equally does not mean fair on campus. However, equity contrasts equality and seeks to meet the individual needs of students, faculty, staff, and administration on campus.

In order for DEI to not become conflated into a catch-all term that is perceived as a fix-all solution, university leaders must develop a DEI plan (Boggs & Johnson, 2016). Using principles of diversity and equity can provide a pathway for a campus to experience inclusion. However, inclusion is not easy to attain because it is a tenant that must be formed into a habit and practiced throughout the institution. According to Boggs and Johnson (2016), to build an inclusive campus, social justice-oriented education around age, race, religion, class, sexual orientation, ability status as well as other social identities is necessary. To have a campus climate that centers on DEI, all campus stakeholders, students, faculty, staff, and administration must receive equitable treatment and equal voice in the construction of DEI policies that they will experience. If DEI initiatives are sustainable, all campus stakeholders must be a part of DEI initiatives.

The Framing of Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Initiatives and College Climate

There are many diversity-based initiatives that campus administrators employ when trying to create a DEI campus (e.g., affirmative action policies that recruit diverse student groups to campus). While these programs can be influential for SOC (Bowen & Bok, 2018; Charles, 2016; Massey, Charles, Lundy, & Fischer, 2011), campus administrators need to focus on improving intergroup relations between people of different social identities to create a sustainable campus climate that is hospitable for all students (Hurtado, 2005). Knight and Hebl

(2005) argue that while it is vital to have affirmative action policies on campus, it is equally essential that the entire campus community understands the benefits of said policies. If a group of students (e.g., white) feels that another group of students (e.g., SOC) were admitted to campus unfairly, tension could ensue across the campus climate between these student groups. Without proper framing of why specific DEI policies exist, the campus culture and climate will have a negative impact.

Diversity and Multicultural Education

Diversity and multicultural education is a vast field that centers on providing inclusive and equitable environments to all students. Intergroup dialogue has grown into its facet of diversity education to prepare college students to live and work in a diversifying world. Intergroup dialogue (IGD) is a transparent approach used to get students from different social identity groups to communicate using "face to face" facilitated learnings/interactions over a "sustained period of time" (Zuniga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). During the dialogue sessions, students work to understand their similarities and differences based on their social identity make up, along with understanding how inequalities exist for certain groups of people. Furthermore, students practice working together to improve relations between privileged and minority groups—a practice they can draw on in real life.

Intergroup Dialogue, Social Contact, and Campus Climate

To have meaningful experiences around diversity in college, students must engage in intergroup relations of high quality. Intergroup experiences can happen in or outside of the classroom, during informal conversations, interactions in dormitories, campus events, and social activities (Antonio, 1998; Chang, 1996). To have a diverse experience in higher education, students must learn about diverse groups of people and work together with students who are also

diverse. When students learn about and work with diverse groups of people in diverse settings, the educational outcomes support the creation of a hospitable campus climate. Particularly for race and ethnicity, many studies highlight the benefits of a diverse higher education experience (Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Orfield, 2001; Smith, 1997).

Researchers have argued that affirmative action policies will improve the educational outcomes for undergraduate students (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Some see affirmative action as a way to diversify HWI's. Orfield and Whitla (1999) conducted a study where they gave assessments to students, asking them if their learning was aided by interacting with students of other social identities. Faculty members have also been giving assessments on the impact of diversity on student learning, and the findings link a diverse learning environment with student learning (Maruyama, Moreno, Gudeman, & Marin, 2000). Finally, there have been a number of studies that connect the diversity of higher education campuses to educational outcomes (Astin, 1993a, 1993b; Chang, 1996; Chang, Witt-Sandis, & Hakuta, 1999; Hurtado, 2001; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996; Terenzini et al., 1994; Terenzini, Springer, Pascarella, & Nora, 1994).

While it is essential to focus on diversity on college campuses, it is also essential to make sure there that research targets formal classroom experiences. A diverse college climate does not mean it is equitable or inclusive. While increasing diversity is essential, in order for students to glean the educational outcomes of DEI, they need to receive intentional formal classroom experiences (Gurin, Gurin, & Hurtado, 2002). One-way administrators of higher education can change a hostile campus climate as well as provide meaningful intergroup contact through IGD (Sorenson, Nagda, Gurin, & Maxwell, 2009). While IGD is not the only way to improve campus climate and support intergroup contact, research has found IGD to be a successful method of

choice if stakeholders are interested in DEI. Students, faculty, staff, and administration all must believe that DEI is essential to the success of all members of the campus community. If possible, academic affairs and student affairs must join together to facilitate an IGD program, because IGD as a course combines academics, personal experiences, and social interactions.

Merging academic and student affairs is vital to the success IGD; it is also crucial that there is administrative support. To sustain IGD in higher education, deans, professors, chief diversity officers, or even the president of an institution must be supportive, so IGD incorporates into the mission of a department or institution-wide. According to Allport (1954) and Hurtado, (2007), in order for IGD to be successful and elicit positive, long-term, and sustainable outcomes, significant campus leaders, must be in support. While a high level of support is essential to create a sustainable IGD program, a considerable amount of material and financial resources must be dedicated to providing staff for the program, too (Sorenson, Nagda, Gurin, & Maxwell, 2009).

Historical Context of Intergroup Dialogue

It is important to ground it within its historical context, to speak thoroughly on IGD. Intergroup dialogue has existed in various capacities since the end of World War II, but it was not used until the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision to end segregated education (Gurin et al., 2013; Schofield, 1991). Though the Supreme Court decided to desegregate schools, it did not happen overnight. Segregation existed years after the Supreme Court's decision, and school segregation is still an issue in multiple states today. Because segregation was still prevalent years after the Brown vs. Board decision, intergroup relation programs were created to improve race and ethnic relations amongst privileged and oppressed groups in "school-age children" (Gurin et al., 2013). Even though the primary focus for

intergroup relations was on education, programs were also created to ease tensions in the workplace and to train people who were working abroad (Gurin et al., 2013; Schofield, 1991).

In today's context, an intergroup dialogue is relevant, because it is still found within education, such as in middle and high schools, to improve social identity relations. IGD has also extended into higher education to begin solving social identity issues on campuses. IGD was thrust into higher education in the 1980s when SOC began pressing for more diversity-based courses that spoke about social identity differences.

The Emergence of Intergroup Dialogue and Higher Education

Instead of these racial challenges to white students and SOC, several colleges and universities have developed social justice programs that are designed to help students learn about their own and others' social identities, differences, and how they function within contemporary and historical contexts, throughout society and on college campuses.

All students face many challenges when racially integrating into colleges and universities. Consequently, the design of programs was to help students understand their own social identities, how to interact with other social identities, and how to understand the historical and current state of these social identities. The University of Michigan, among other schools, uses intergroup dialogue as a social justice education program to give students experiences around their own and other social identities. Intergroup Dialogue was founded at the University of Michigan and is practiced at the University and elsewhere as a tool used to educate students on their multiple social identities.

Intergroup dialogue is a method and practice in higher education that encourages students to work together across cultural and social barriers. Working across differences allows students to learn about social identities other than their own, while also tasking students with learning

from their previous social identity mistakes. Every student enters the class with their own biases and experiences about other social identity groups. The goal of intergroup dialogue is to show how power, privilege, and marginalization play out in students' experiences and different facets of life (structural/institutional). Intergroup dialogue is a co-facilitated "face-to-face" learning experiences that bring dominant and non-dominant groups together to talk about their similarities and differences; sessions also explore how greater social inequalities affect students' lives while finding ways for groups to work together and reach common ground (Chesler & Young, 2007).

The Purpose of Intergroup Dialogue

The purpose of IGR is to bridge gaps between different social identity groups that are in current conflict or have been historical. In this setting, both groups are to find understanding, respect, and build common ground to relieve conflict and tensions, moving toward ending social identity-based conflicts altogether. The goal of IGD is to improve relationships between different social identity groups such as race, gender, sex, socioeconomic status, religion, and ability status.

There are benefits to intergroup dialogue on a college campus. The undergraduate study provides a unique opportunity for most students to formulate their own opinions and views about the world, opinions that may challenge previous socialization they received from their parents, teachers, friends, and social media. Research suggests that new experiences offering diverse viewpoints create individualized thinking instead of groupthink brought on by social pressures in one's community (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2003). Students are more likely to express their own opinions based on these new experiences instead of conforming to the thoughts of their broader social identity group. These new experiences can help challenge established mindsets around colorblind racism.

Although intergroup dialogues have the potential to help students learn about power and privilege, it is vital to state their risks. Anxiety can form because of the model's activities, where students share their experiences by talking in classroom sessions. To this point, Stephan and Stephan (1985) believe that anxiety can form in both dominant and non-dominant groups. While there is merit to this notion, it is also important to note that the anxieties of minority students far exceed the anxieties of participants in the dominant groups (Trawalter & Shelton, 2009).

Goals of Intergroup Dialogue

An overarching goal of intergroup dialogue is to resolve gaps between people of diverse social identity backgrounds by building common ground between them (Zuniga et al., 2007). Bringing IGR to a college campus is one way to bring people (college students) together to communicate about issues that showcase why it is difficult for people of different social identity groups to coexist, bridge-build, or find common ground. Intergroup dialogue has three main goals that make up the overarching goal, as mentioned above, which are conscious raising, finding common ground across differences, and promotion of social justice through individual practice.

Conscious-raising inside IGD seeks to raise the consciousness level of all dialogue participants when it comes to an understanding of their privilege and oppression, as well as other social identity groups' privilege and oppression. For a fruitful dialogue to occur, everyone in the dialogue must understand how their social group plays a role in privilege or oppression (Zuniga et al., 2007). Dialoguing across differences is vital because it encourages students to build relationships across two or more social identity groups that have historically conflicted (Zuniga et al., 2007). Due to IGD's focus on people's learning, along with social identity group membership, how participants interact positively or negatively to each other, affects the progress

of bridge-building. Notably, IGD recognizes the relationships people forge based on their social identity group membership (Zuniga et al., 2007). The most crucial factor in bridge-building is a substantial magnitude for sustainable communication. Conversational stamina must be strengthened to have robust, dialogue-filled, rigorous conversations around social identities. Without that stamina, conversations bridging the gap between social identities can be strenuous and damaging to participants.

The third and final goal of IGD is to strengthen individual and collective capacities to advocate for social justice (Zuniga et al., 2007). This goal is possible because dialogue participants open themselves up and challenge their preconceived notions around privilege and oppression. They do this through conscious raising, along with building bridges across differences. After completing the dialogue process, participants should have a raised social identity awareness and, because of their consciousness-raising, a commitment to social change. The importance of bridge-building is that it provides participants with the capacity to challenge and improve intergroup relations within systems and structures, regardless of their own social identity. It also promotes the importance of sustainable and equitable outcomes (Zuniga et al., 2007).

The goals inside of IGD are reached by dialogue participants using a sequential model that works through multiple stages of social identity development: Stage 1. Group Beginnings: Forming and Building Relationships; Stage 2. Exploring Differences and Commonalities of Experiences Stage; Stage 3. Exploring and dialoguing about hot topics; and Stage 4. Action Planning and Alliance Building (Zuniga et al., 2007).

Critical Dialogic Framework for IGD

In this section, I explain the theoretical framework that steers the practices and procedures of IGD. The critical dialogic model for IGR/D is posted below. This framework is relevant to my study of the CRIs of student participants in the Race and Ethnicity Dialogue because this model helps drive the IGD experience of the students.
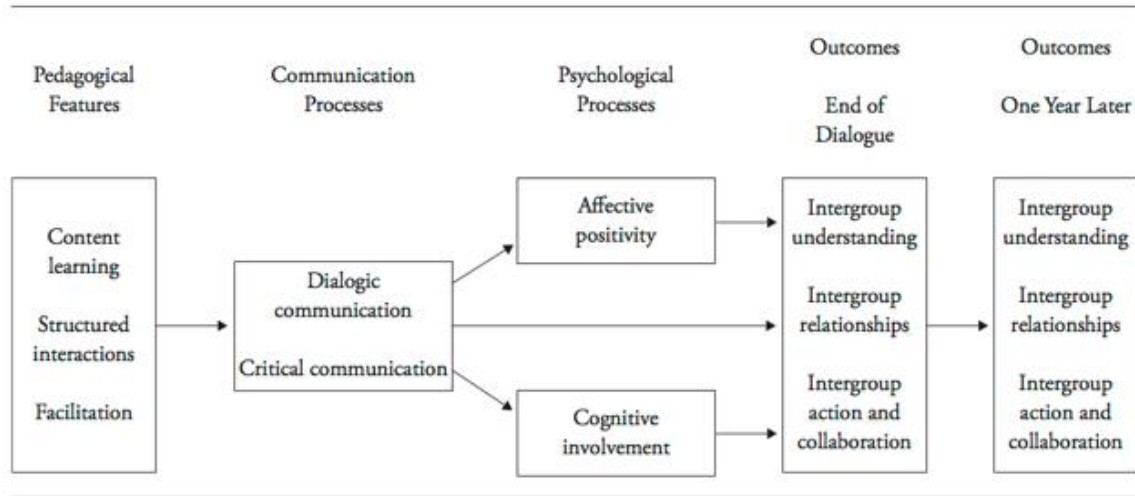
Source: Authors' compilation.

Figure 1. A critical-dialogic theoretical framework of intergroup dialogue (Gurin et al. 2013, p. 76).

Communication processes are at the nexus of the theoretical framework's "mechanisms of change" (Gurin et al., 2013). The communication processes takes place when students interact with each other to the extent that change is planted, grown, and harvested in an IGD experience. This IGD model emphasizes the communication process, which in turn leads to more significant and more sustainable intergroup contact, appreciation, and finding of common ground (Gurin et al., 2013).

There are four social processes inside of the communication processes: (a) appreciating difference, (b) engaging self, (c) critical reflection, and (d) alliance building, all of which nurture the psychological process (Affective Positivity & Cognitive Involvement) of IGR/D (Gurin et al.,

2013; Nagda, 2006). These four social processes are essential to IGR/D because they have been found to help solve issues of racial apathy and indifference (Nagda, 2006).

The critical dialogic model focuses on communication being the nexus of dialogue because communication is the centralizing key in relationships (Allport, 1954). Gurin et al. (2013) draw from Allport's model and notes that getting people together in a room is an essential factor in IGR/D, but communication is the essence and is what drives productive relationships. To have productive intergroup communication, the key is for individuals to have a great understanding and salience of their social identities (Moya & Markus, 2010). Depending on the socialization and experiences of individuals, talking about social identities with different groups can be difficult because identities must move from "static" to a place where they interact with each other in tandem for increased social interaction (Gurin et al., 2013; Moya & Markus, 2010). Communication is vital in IGR/D because it allows a more significant "social truth" to permeate between individuals. Strong communication and awareness of social identities are instrumental in building common ground between participants because participants interact more actively instead of passively due to differences (Barge & Little, 2002).

According to Gurin et al. (2013) and McNamee and Gergen (1999), critical dialogic communication/interaction is helpful in having dialogue participants ask questions pointed around social identities that will move towards making intergroup contact better. Students need to interact in dialogue to feel comfortable sharing and asking questions around each other's experiences. Doing so hopefully relieves intergroup tension and improve intergroup relations through contact.

This theoretical framework uses two-dialogue processes—appreciating difference and engaging self, which are central elements in the foundation of dialogue (Bohm, 1996; Gurin et

al., 2013). Appreciating difference happens when dialogue participants listen actively and learn from other participants whose life experiences and beliefs are different. To appreciate difference, it is essential to be open to the experiences of others without immediately shutting them down. If students are not open to appreciating difference, then the dialogue process will be stagnant and lack progress.

Appreciating differences in others is essential, but it can also cause issues in the dialogue when appreciating manifests as voyeuristically listening and not participating (Gurin et al., 2013). This means that a participant consciously/unconsciously focuses on other's beliefs, sentiments, and viewpoints instead of sharing or expressing their own. Conversely, only focusing on oneself and taking up too much airtime in the dialogue space where others do not have the space to speak is also problematic for the dialogue's growth (Gurin et al., 2013). Though Gurin et al. (2013) mention voyeuristic listening, they do not mention what groups privileged or marginalized are likely to contribute to the action.

In dialogue, it is vital to build relationships where speaking, sharing, and reflecting work in a cyclical loop. In order to have an equal relationship of sharing, group members must practice engaging with self in order to know when to share personal social identity based experiences, sentiments, and viewpoints but also when listening to other's share personal social identity based experiences (Gurin et al., 2013; Simpson, Large, & O'Brien, 2004). Studies suggest that must have the self-awareness to understand their role in power, privilege, and oppression and how it may affect others in the dialogue (Hurtado, 2015). This is important when trying to assess if the participants are sharing information, sharing too much, or not enough at all.

The last process from the theoretical framework that is relevant to this study is critical reflection. Critical reflection involves students diligently working together to reflect and speak

on how privilege and marginalization are fostered in their personal lives, society, and their role in said society (Gurin et al., 2013). Here, participants must analyze their personal histories to understand how they may perpetuate social identity hierarchies and power dynamics, so they are better positioned to stop participating actively in said hierarchies.

Before moving onto the next section, there is a critical element of the theoretical framework to further illuminate -- structured interaction. Structured interaction is a part of IGD pedagogy and is defined as the way participants in the dialogue to interact with each other based on activities and readings (Dovidio, 2004; Gurin et al., 2013; Parker, 2003). Readings and activities in the dialogue are what spark conversation, and the facilitators steer the participants towards dialogue. Structured interactions are a crucial factor in leading students to raising their social identity awareness because these interactions help to bring out experiences, sentiments, and viewpoints that may have not otherwise been shared.

Critical Theory and Foundations of Critical Race Theory

Before diving into the relevance and utilities of CRT in this study, it is essential to understand the theoretical foundations of CRT to make sense of its radical nature and evolution. Critical theory's focus is on reducing forms of enslavement while increasing freedom in society as a whole. Karl Marx founded critical theory and which foundation is in multiple generations of mostly German (and other European) philosophers known as the Frankfurt School. A critical theorist believes in research that liberates the powerless from social injustices and inequities (McClaren, 1994). Critical theory focuses on matters of race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and class in relation to power and has evolved into a multitude of theories (e.g., Critical, Legal Studies, Critical Race Theory, Queer Theory, Feminist Theory, Black Feminist Theory) that

focus on research as moral and political actions to explain all forms of human slavery (Bogdan & Bilken, 2007; Horkheimer, 1982; McClaren, 1994; Roman & Apple, 1990).

Critical Legal Studies (CLS) and the Emergence of Critical Race Theory

CLS is a successor of critical theory that received notable traction in the 1970s (Hunt, 1986). CLS focuses on how laws have been created in society to maintain power, privilege, and oppression (e.g., hegemony) over marginalized groups (e.g., women, People of Color, non-upper class). Although CLS is a theory that sought to focus on how laws affected marginalized groups, the theory received criticism because it began focusing on "critique of the liberal legal tradition as opposed to offering strategies for change" (Yosso, 2005, p. 71). A weakness of CLS, as noted by Bell and Freeman (1993), was that CLS did not focus on the history of race, racism in society or the lived racial experiences of People of Color in the theory and analysis of laws (Delgado, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Yosso, 2005). The founding members of CRT succeeded from CLS to create a critical race-based theory that would allow them to highlight racial inequity and injustices (Crenshaw, 2002; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado, 1988; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2016; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1997; Tate, 1997; Yosso, 2005).

Definition of Racism

The emergence of IGD is due to racism on society and racism experienced on college campuses. These campuses are microcosms in society. We are yet to reconcile race relations, and there is a scar of race in the United States. In U.S. society, race is a hot topic issue that has been pushed to the margins of society to destabilize racial atrocities of the past and present (Yosso, 2005). As a society, we must continue to discuss race on individual, structural, and institutional levels in order to undo racist ideology, because race is a social construction that was created by

White people to evoke power, oppression, dominance, and superiority over other racialized groups (Banks, 1995, Omi & Winant, 2014). Previously viewed as objective until social meanings were applied, race and its social meanings are tied to White racist ideologies of superiority and privilege. Scholars define racism differently, but leading definitions highlight racism as a system and ideology that is used to oppress People of Color. For instance, according to Lorde (1992), racism is "the belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance" (p. 496). Per Marable, racism is "a system of ignorance, exploitation, and power used to oppress African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, Pacific Americans, American Indians, and other people on the basis of ethnicity, culture, mannerisms, and color" (p. 5). According to Bonilla-Silva (2015a), racism is a system made of socially constructed practices, policies, and procedures that establish a racial hierarchy. Bonilla-Silva further explains that racism is a social, political, economic, and ideological tool used to stratify racial groups in favor of white people. Racial stratification caused by racism is meant to unequally and inequitably distribute rights and privileges among all raced members of U.S. society (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008).

The previous definitions of racism highlight racism as an ideological, social, and institutional power that has been against People of Color in the United States to instill racial division and subjugation. I define racism as is a system of oppression that seeks to advance the gains of white people and reproduce racial inequality and racial equity individually, institutionally, and culturally (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Jones, 1997; Lorde, 1992; Marable, 1992).

Racial Role Strain

Racism has long-standing emotional and physical consequences for People of Color that regularly experience and are in constant contact with racism. Role Strain is defined by Goode

(1960) as the internalized feeling of not meeting the obligation of a role. Role strain is a derivative of role theory, which focuses on how positions and roles affect the individual and their group affiliations (Turner, 2002). Every individual has many statuses that build off of human relationships. The foundation of these statuses connects to expectations, behaviors, and values that are culturally defined (Ballentine & Roberts, 2007). Though roles are culturally defined, role theory does not explain who or what social identity group (e.g., men, white people, upper class, Christians) is defining roles in society. Regardless of who or what social identities are defining these roles, every person or group cannot meet the demands of each role (Goode, 1960). If there is a role strain by an individual or group, role conflict or fatigue may ensue. Since individuals and groups have a wide array of roles, roles can conflict when their demands become incompatible (Goode, 1960; Kahn et al., 1964).

Racial role strain becomes evident when race factors into conflicting roles. Applying a CRT lens helps clarify the permanence of racism within role strain, which helps locate the source of tension in racial role strain. This tension exists when marginalized racial groups have to conform to the dominant white norms. Racial role strain plays an integral part in this study, as it allows me to understand how SOC experience racial role strain within the context of IGD. At the moment, research has not identified whether students are experiencing a role strain within IGD. This uncertainty is due to the dearth of studies examining how SOC experience racism in IGD. Although SOC may join IGD to share their racialized experiences, confronting racism may generate an occurrence of role strain. Likewise, racial role strain can locate where and how SOC in IGD experience racial strain. Consequently, racial role strain is a factor in racial battle fatigue (RBF). If a person of Color is experiencing racial role strain due to racial microaggressions,

eventually RBF occurs (Franklin, Smith, & Hung, 2014; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011; Smith et al., 2016).

Racial Salience, Racial Literacy, and Intercultural Maturity

How different racial groups contribute to or alleviate racial role strain and racial battle fatigue can be tied to their racial identity development and intercultural maturity. Racial Identity Development Theory centers on the creation of racial identity models for racial groups. Each racial group has its racial identity development model (Hurtado, Alvarado, & Guillermo-Wann, 2015). There is a model for African Americans (Cross, 1995), Asian Americans (Nadal, 2011; Kim, 2001), White people (Helms, 1995), Latinx (Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001), and Multiracial people (Renn, 2004; Wijeyesinghe, 2001). As Hurtado, Alvarado, and Guillermo-Wann (2015) note, the African American, White, and Asian identity development models are fluid; whereas the Latinx, and Multiracial identity development models determine racial and ethnic factors that construct their identity.

The differences in these models are on a fluid process in contrast to a static one. Although racial identity development models differ depending on the racial group, they all use functions that operate similarly (Adams, 2001; Hurtado, Alvarado, & Guillermo-Wann, 2015). Per Hurtado, Alvarado, and Guillermo-Wann (2015), every model has a phase during which each racial group comes to understand their own racial identity, as well as perceive other racialized groups (Sue & Sue, 1990). Toward the beginning of each racial groups' respective RIDT model (e.g., Cross, 1995; Helms, 1995; Kim, 2001; Nadal, 2011), all are shown to lack racial identity awareness (Hurtado, Alvarado, & Guillermo-Wann, 2015).

All racial groups lack racial identity awareness at some time; however, each group gains racial identity awareness by having racialized life experiences. Having high racial salience is an

essential factor in the developmental process of racial identity development models, because understanding one's own race is essential in perceiving how one's race affects other racial groups, particularly in terms of privilege and oppression (King, Baxter, & Magolda, 2005; Perez, Shim, King, Baxter-Magolda, 2015). It is vital for students to move past the beginning stages of low racial salience in racial identity development, because the stages center on blind acceptance of dominant white norms.

According to Hurtado, Alvarado, and Guillermo-Wann (2015), experiencing racial differences early and becoming conscious of race is essential in understanding one's racial salience because society's organization is by racial difference. Though the authors do not explicitly state so, they are calling for students to have a thorough understanding of race through a racial difference or racism, which is a theme of CRT. When individuals begin to contemplate their racial identity and its significance to them seriously, they are entering a phase of working to make sense of racial privilege and oppression systemically (Cross, 1995; Helms, 1995; Hurtado, Alvarado, & Guillermo-Wann, 2015; Kim, 2001; Nadal, 2011). The final stage of racial identity development is having a strong sense of racial salience and intercultural maturity (Hurtado, Alvarado, & Guillermo-Wann, 2015; King & Baxter-Magolda, 2005; Perez, Shim, King, & Baxter-Magolda, 2015). Having a high level of intercultural maturity means being able to decipher one's role in recognizing issues of race and racism within society and one's self (Perez, Shim, King, & Baxter-Magolda, 2015).

Racial identity development theory and its various models aid in understanding the racial salience of students within IGD. If students enter IGD with low racial salience, they may not have much to say about their race or race-based experiences. They also tend to accept the dominant white culture's views and assumptions about race in the United States. Racial identity

development theory is also be useful for this study in helping me identify and examine which groups of students are doing the bulk of sharing about race in IGD. If a group or an individual student does not have a high racial salience, they will be in the beginning stages of racial identity development, which is likely to cause some level of resistance.

Having a high racial salience should not be the only factor considered in the experiences of white students and SOC racialized experiences in the classroom. Intercultural maturity theory provides three cognitive domains: initial, intermediate, and a transitional phase between the two (King & Baxter-Magolda, 2005; King, Magolda, & Masse, 2011; Perez, Shim, King, & Baxter-Magolda, 2015). The more students engage with understanding culture, cultural values, social identities, and intercultural interactions, the more their intercultural maturity is likely to increase.

Racial Literacy

As stated in multiple sections of this study, racism is a permanent feature of U.S. society (Bell, 1992). While racism is a permanent feature of society, recognizing and understanding racism, instead, racial literacy is vital for all racialized beings. Guinier (2004) noted that people need to become racially literate and view race and racism through a critical lens. Additionally, racial literacy rejects color-evasiveness and sees race as an influential social construction that drives the treatment of people within the world (Guinier, 2004; Guinier & Torres, 2003; Twine, 2004). According to Vetter and Hungerford-Kressor (2014), "the goal of racial literacy is to develop a set of social proficiencies that attempt to make sense of the discursive and performative systems of race" (p. 84).

Additionally, racial literacy is a comprehension of how the institutions of race and racism are molded by and mold social, economic, and political forces (Skerrett, 2011). Moreover, racial

literacy provides an understanding for how racialized groups and individuals experience race and

racism across social institutions. As Guinier notes (2004),

> racial literacy emphasizes the relationship between race and power. Racial literacy reads
> race in its psychological, interpersonal, and structural dimensions. It acknowledges the
> importance of individual agency but refuses to lose sight of institutional and
> environmental forces that both shape and reflect that agency. (p. 19)

Therefore, this study defines racial literacy as a person's understanding of social, cultural,

legal, environmental, economic, and political actions as they relate to race individually and by

racial groups. These actions illuminate a person's understanding of how race, as a social

construction and racial power, concerning the intersections of gender, socio-economic status, and

geography, connect. These links reveal how a person understands the relationship between the

social constructions of race, racial power, and racial hierarchies, showing how one recognizes

racial and racist dynamics in society. While understanding how race and racism impact society is

vital to racial literacy, viewing race and racism "through a critical lens that recognizes current

and institutional aspects of racism and engages in talk even when it is difficult or awkward"

(p. 84) is also essential to a medium to high racial literacy.

One critique I have of the racial literacy literature is that it does not often state who is

racially literate or illiterate, but they need to progress racial literacy (Guinier, 2004; Twine, 2004;

Vetter & Hungerford-Kressor, 2014). The literature also notes that to be racially literate, one

must listen to and encounter racial opinions that differ from their own (Vetter & Hungerford-

Kressor, 2014). While I do not believe this literature intends to be color-evasive, it is crucial that

scholars name what racial groups have a low, racial literacy, and name the racial groups in regard

to privilege and oppression in society. According to Robin DiAngelo (2011), "The vast majority

of whites are racially illiterate. . . . Most white people have never been given direct or complex

information about racism before, and often cannot recognize, understand, or articulate much

about it" (p. 4). While this quote does not come from an empirical study, findings from Bonilla-Silva (2018) suggest that white people individually and as a collective lack an understanding of racism within U.S. society.

Intercultural Maturity

Students with low levels of intercultural maturity did not understand race or racism as an institutional process (King & Baxter-Magolda, 2005; King, Magolda, & Masse, 2011; Perez, Shim, King, & Baxter-Magolda, 2015). Instead, the description of race is in generalizations based on the race of the individual. What is troubling about the study of intercultural maturity is that no study disaggregates their data to understand which racial groups are making specific claims about race or racism in general. Significantly, intercultural theory research has found that students need programming that meets them at their intercultural maturity level. The intercultural theory is a measure to understand the type of instruction or diversity education needed for individual students.

Racial identity development, racial literacy, and intercultural theory help in understanding the racial salience, awareness of race, and intercultural awareness of students within IGD. If students enter IGD with a low racial salience, racial literacy, or intercultural maturity, they may not have much to say about their race or race-based experiences; they also may not understand their race or race-based experiences on institutional or interpersonal levels. It is also likely that students will accept the dominant white culture around race in the United States.

Racial identity development theory is also be useful for this study to help analyze which groups of students are doing the bulk of the sharing about race during IGD. If a group or an individual student does not have a high racial salience, they are likely to be situated in earlier

stages of racial identity development, cause some level of resistance. Intercultural maturity

theory will also be helpful by helping me examine how students understand their roles within the

privilege and oppression of other groups. Sense-making of privilege and oppression of other

groups is an advanced stage of racial identity development theory, and I plan to highlight which

students have reached this stage before, during, or after the IGD, if at all.

Other issues with intercultural maturity theory include its placing emphasis on protecting

privileged identities from scrutiny in social justice settings. King, Magolda, and Masse (2011)

found that both white students and SOC need to feel safe to learn from differences. Furthermore,

white people benefited from the system of racism and have protection from bearing racial stress

(DiAngelo, 2011; Fine, 1997; Bell, 1992).When white people meet racial conflict, they

> display emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These behaviors, in turn, function to reinstate white racial equilibrium. Racial stress results from an interruption to what is racially familiar. (p. 57)

Due to the permanence of racism and the protection that white people have from racial

stress, they enjoy a considerable degree of safety compared to People of Color.

Racial Voyeurism

The theory or concept of racial voyeurism is essential to understanding how/why groups

of racial privilege seek out and devour racialized stories. According to Moss and Roberts (2019),

"Racial voyeurism refers to the surveillance and display of racialized bodies, especially black

bodies" (p. 4). While this study does not exclusively focus on Black bodies, this definition of

racial voyeurism provides a foundational piece in understanding the dynamic and how it takes

place within the cross-racial intergroup dialogues. While I agree with this definition of racial

voyeurism, I seek to expand the definition within this section.

I define racial voyeurism as the surveillance and display of racialized bodies for the consumption of the racially privileged. I build on and expand Moss and Roberts' (2019) definition by describing racial voyeurism as an act in which those in positions of racial power and privilege consume the experiences of the racially marginalized groups, through whom the racially privileged voyeur. That is, racial voyeurism functions as the consumption of the most racially marginalized beings as a practice of racial power and superiority that reinforces/sustains racism and white supremacy. Racial voyeurism is different from appreciating difference if no, or marginal, attempts are made on behalf of the racially privileged group to provide details, information, or some racial reciprocity on their racialized selves.

Historical Foundation of Racial Voyeurism of People of Color

Racial voyeurism of POC, Black people in particular for the consumption of white people, has a long-standing history. Saartjie Baartman, a South African woman, was captured by white colonists, and she was the main attraction for White people to consume based on the shape of her body in 1810 (Hobson, 2005). Within the United States, there has been a history of racial voyeurism for the entertainment of White American consumption. Jessie Washington, a Black teenager from Waco, Texas, was racially voyeured and lynched in front of 10,000 people in 1917. Spectacle lynching was commonplace throughout the 20th century by white supremacist for white supremacist consumption, while simultaneously exerting white racial power over Black Americans. While spectacle lynching was ongoing in the United States, human zoos were for racial voyeurism of POC in the United States, most notably the St. Louis World Fair. In 1904, the St. Louis World Fair reconstructed full-scale living zoos for 1,000 Filipinos from multiple tribes to live in, for white consumption. Another attraction at the St. Louis World Fair, and later the Bronx Zoo, was Ota Benga, a Congolese man. Ota Benga was a main attraction and lived in

living quarters with monkey's, again, for the racial voyeurism and consumption of white people in the United States.

Contemporary Racial Voyeurism of People of Color

While the previous examples highlight the ugly past of racial voyeurism, contemporary examples remain. Researches have implicitly highlighted racial voyeurism of Black Blues artist (Ryan, 2011), and hip-hop artist (Duffet, 2013; Lena, 2008) for white consumption. After Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, racial voyeurism tours of the lower 9th Ward, as well as other communities, began (Hartnell, 2009). Tourists to New Orleans would ride around the city on a bus, visiting communities that they saw underwater from seats on busses.

Racial Power and Racial Voyeurism

Racial voyeurism enables the racially privileged to make contact with racially marginalized groups, giving them insight into various challenges and triumphs that promote/support/bolster social inequity and white supremacy; this phenomena occurs without the racially privileged sharing or admitting how they have contributed to the systems of racialization and racism that sustain the subordination of racially marginalized groups. Racially privileged people get access to fascinating stories they are not typically exposed to, but they are not exposing or commenting on how their race or racial identity has contributed to social inequity.

Critical Race Theory

A theory that has helped provide an understanding of the permanence of racism and how white people gain protection from racism is Critical Race Theory (CRT). As previously stated, CRT is part of the genealogy of NEO-Marxist Critical Legal Studies (CLS; Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT was created by Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, and Richard Delgado to center race, racism, and the voices of People of Color through theory,

research and practice injustices (Crenshaw, 2002; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado, 1988; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2016; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1997; Tate, 1997; Yosso, 2005).

Years after CRT's inception, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) produced an article about the need for CRT in education (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Dixson & Rousseua-Anderson, 2005, 2018). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) noted the historical foundations of racism and education. While this was not the first-time researchers spoke about racism in education (Anderson, 1988), it was a foundational moment for the inception of CRT in education. Race and racism affect SOC in various ways that often go unseen due to the pervasive and permanent nature of racism. Educational researchers use CRT as a theory to explore how race and racism operate in order to understand the experiences of SOC in education (Decuir & Dixson, 2004).

To further explain CRT, it is beneficial to mention some of the core tenets or themes of the theory. In this study, I posit seven CRT themes. As British critical race theorist Gillborn (2015) notes, there is no centralizing or "unchanging statement of the tenets of CRT"; however, the leaders of CRT have agreed on the qualities and traits of the tenets (p. 278). According to Matsuda & Lawrence, (1993), Henry and Dixson (2016), and Dixson & Rousseau-Anderson (2005, 2018), there are seven themes of CRT.

1. CRT understands racism as a permanent feature in the U.S. society (Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixson & Rousseua-Anderson, 2005, 2018; Feagin, 2010; Matsuda & Lawrence, 1993; Tate, 1997).

2. CRT challenges expressions of race neutrality, colorblindness, and meritocracy (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Duncan, 2002; Gotanda, 1991).

3. CRT contests ahistoricism, meaning history must be considered in understanding issues of racism today (Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tate, 1997).

4. CRT uses experiential knowledge of People of Color to reject understandings of the dominant group and provide context to their experience within the system of racism. (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001; Matsuda, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

5. CRT is interdisciplinary and does not confine itself to one field or understanding (Dixon & Rousseau, 2005; Matsuda & Lawrence, 1993; Tate, 1997).

6. CRT commits to social justice and fights to eliminate racial oppression as a means of ending all forms of oppression (Dixon & Rousseau, 2005; Matsuda & Lawrence, 1993; Tate, 1997).

7. CRT uses intersectionality to understand how multiple forms of inequality and oppressed social identities are affected across a system, institutionally or individually (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tate, 1997).

While these are the core themes of CRT, due to its the growth, themes are differently enumerated and articulated in research depending on scholars' focus (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixson & Rousseau-Anderson, 2005, 2018; Gillborn, 2015; Henry & Dixson, 2016; Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Yosso, 2005). For example, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) added a critique of multicultural education as a theme of CRT in education that may well reflect the historical moment and popular research trends during which they were writing. While this connects to a multitude of CRT tenets, this example highlights the fluidity, flexibility, and applicability of CRT.

CRT in Higher Education

According to Dixon & Rousseau-Anderson (2018) and Patton (2016), since Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) seminal text, a number of empirical educational studies have been conducted using CRT (Decuir & Dixson, 2004; Dixson, Buras, & Jeffers, 2015; Donnor, 2005; Donner, 2013; Dorsey & Cambers, 2014; Fernandez, 2002; Muhammad, 2009; Patton, Haynes, Harris, & Ivery, 2014; Pollack & Sirkel, 2013; Teranishi, 2002; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). All of the previously cited studies exist within the context of CRT and K-12 schooling. My work

focuses on CRT within the system of higher education. In what follows, I highlight and discuss empirical higher education studies engaging CRT.

Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso's (2000) study was one of the first in higher education to use CRT to highlight issues of race and racism that SOC faced. Their study focused on African American students at three prominent Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs). This study drew upon the racial identity of African American students to highlight their experiences with racial microaggressions on PWI campuses. Solórzano and Yosso used CRT's experiential knowledge tenet to discuss African American students' experiences, creating counter-stories that rejected the dominant narrative that PWIs were hospitable places for all students. By using experiential knowledge of racial identity to construct counter-stories, Solórzano and Yosso found that PWIs are hostile climates for African American students. Yosso, Smith, and Solórzano (2009) investigated the experiences of Latinx students and sought to determine if their plights were similar or different from those of African American students. Knowing that racial microaggressions exist at PWIs, the researchers tried to understand how hostile racial climates impacted Latinx students. Similar to the study completed on African American students at PWIs, Yosso, Smith, and Solórzano (2009) found that Latinx students experienced racial microaggressions at PWIs.

In order for the studies by Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) and Yosso, Ceja, Smith, and Solórzano (2009) to exist, the African American students needed an understanding of their racial identity and how it was different in contrast to other races. Both studies highlight the students' stories through the use of focus group interviews, where they were asked to reflect on and interpret the meaning of their racial identity and treatment. Based on the study, one can infer that racialized role strain likely played a crucial part in these students' experiences due to

attending a PWI. SOC attend PWIs to further their educational and occupational goals. Through this perspective, it seems that the racial role strain developed when African American and Latinx students faced microaggressions while striving to achieve their educational goals at a PWI. These studies are essential concerning the use of CRT in higher education, because racial microaggressions experienced by African American and Latinx students dispute the idea that higher education institutions are colorblind and race-neutral spaces.

As previously stated, there are many studies in higher education that use CRT to show how race and racism affect SOC. The previous section focused on how researches have used CRT to make sense of their empirical data. In CRT studies, racial identity and racial role strain are persistent factors. Racial role strain impacts the racial identities of participants because of the conflict between racism and dominant white ideology. Studies that use CRT consistently show a racial role strain between groups of Color and the racism they experience because racism is permanent. Other studies in higher education also use CRT to highlight racial role strain students experience due to the racial identity on college campuses (Donner, 2005; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villalpando, 2003).

Cultural Capital Wealth

According to Yosso (2005), Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital demeans People of Color's culture, while uplifting the culture of middle-class white people. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital

> exposes white, middle-class culture as the standard, and therefore all other forms and expressions of "culture" are judged in comparison to this "norm." In other words, cultural capital is not just inherited or possessed by the middle class, but instead, it refers to an accumulation of specific forms of knowledge, skills, and abilities that are valued by privileged groups in society. (Yosso, 2005, p. 76)

Yosso draws on CRT to claim that People of Color bring cultural capital that is not recognized by Bourdieu's traditional cultural capital. Moreover, Yosso theorizes that the use of CRT moves cultural capital away from notions of white middle- and upper-class culture. Instead, CRT directs cultural capital towards People of Color, their racialized histories, experiences, and assets in navigating a white supremacist society. Yosso notes that SOC and white students maintain different forms of social capital.

White students may bring with them a specific knowledge about how to navigate the dominant U.S. culture, which can translate into white people understanding how to navigate a job application, resume, interview process better, and how to maintain employment. The previous example does not negate the cultural wealth of SOC who navigate various challenges while facing race and racism throughout their daily lives. My goal in this study is to elevate the cultural capital of People of Color, by privileging the voices of People of Color, and their cultural capital wealth. While uplifting the voices of People of Color, this study separate from the white middle- and upper-class notions of cultural capital that exist within U.S. society.

The Use of CRT in This Study

All of the tenets listed above have an impact on this study. Regarding the college classroom and IGD, it is necessary to understand if and how racism is present, because CRT understands racism as endemic to all American life. Whether SOC or white, members from both groups could bring in notions of colorblindness that they believe or have experienced that may affect the IGD space. How colorblindness is talked about in the context of dialogue and thus addressed could have an impact on the IGD process. This study understands that IGD has been used and was created to help students work across various social identity group differences.

IGD is not a race-neutral space, and one must understand how the IGDs are racial spaces. This study also sees the importance of laying the foundation of history concerning racism. Facilitators and students of both racial privilege and marginalization will bring in experiences and histories that they or members of their racial identity group have faced. The history of race and racism lays the foundation for what students of IGD may contribute to the IGD space, the construction of the IGD space, and how white students and SOC interact with each other in the IGD.

This study sought to elevate the voices of People of Color to reject white dominate norms, by making sense of how dominant white norms impact SOC and how they persisted and reacted to these dominant white norms. As shown earlier in the literature review, white students and SOC visualize college spaces regarding the racial climate and issues of racism differently. CRT is a valuable tool to understand how these two student groups make sense of racial interactions in the IGD space.

Using CRT means focusing on ending racial inequality as a means of ending other forms of oppression. CRT is used in this study to understand how cultural capital wealth plays a role in the experiences and interactions of white students and SOC in the IGD. Using CRT and cultural capital wealth will allow comprehension of racial interactions that take place between white students and SOC. While this study focuses on racial oppression during IGD, issues of power and privilege could also be factors across other dialogue topics like gender, social class, and religion. Finally, an intersectional position provides a framework for how students of social identities with multiple marginalities are affected pre- and post-dialogue. An intersectional approach was applied in examining data gathered from women of color, or white women with another marginalized identity outside of their gender.
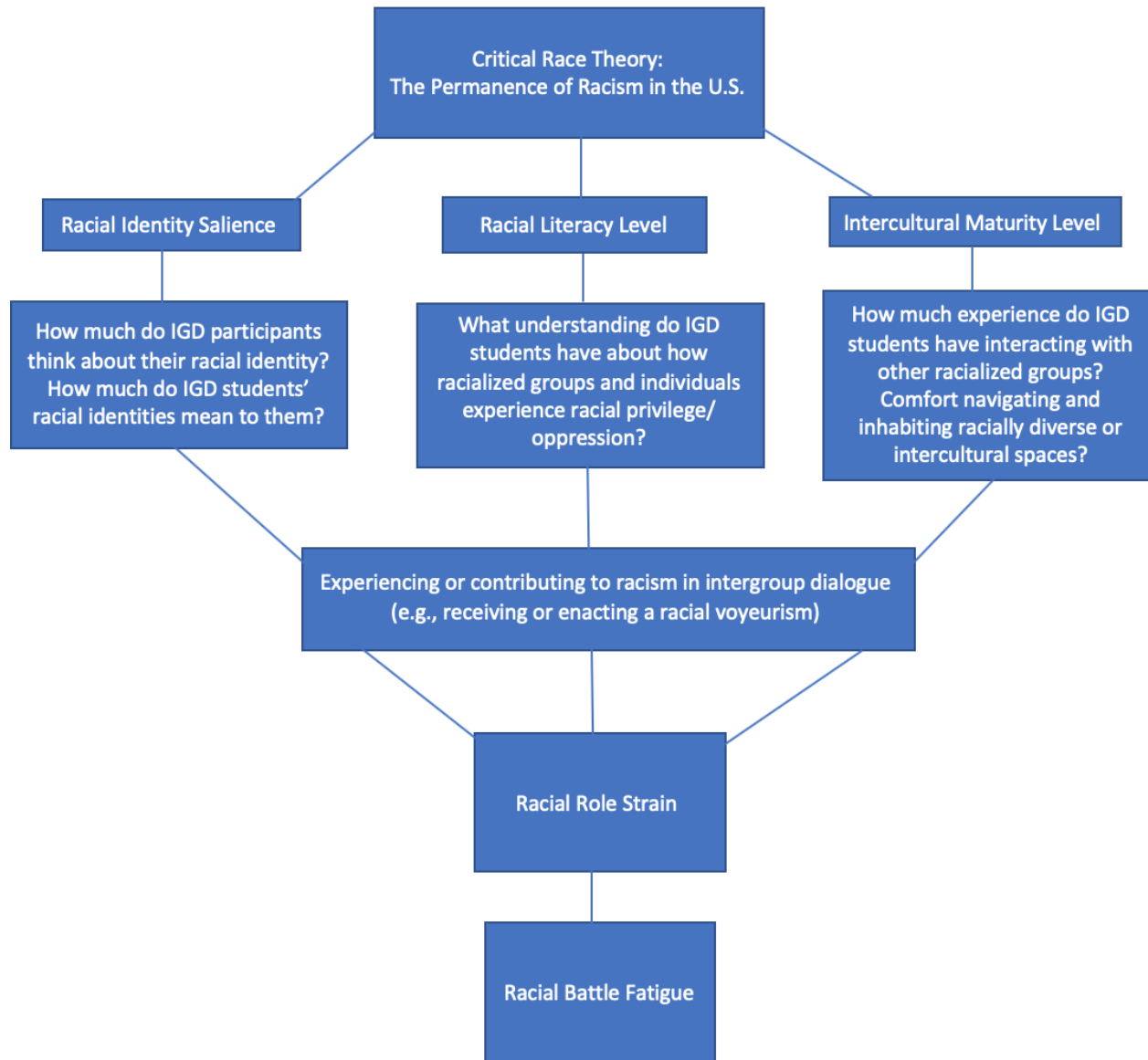
Conceptual Framework

Figure 2. Racial voyerism in cross-racial conversations conceptual framework

Critical race theory.

As the first and widely-accepted theme of CRT notes, racism is endemic and a permanent

feature in U.S. society (Bell, 1992; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005, 2018; Decuir & Dixson, 2004;

Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Matsuda & Lawrence, 1993, Matsuda, 1987). The permanence of racism in society is the centralizing concept of this study because racism permeates every facet of American life. Due to the permanence of racism, the foundation of all levels of the U.S. education system, including higher education, was founded on rampant racism that excluded SOC from access to fair and equitable education (Thelin, 2011). PWIs were foundational in contributing to racism on college campuses by excluding People of Color until the landmark case of Brown v. Board of Education (1954) ended de jure segregation. Though PWIs have made strides in attempting to transform into diverse, equitable institutions since Brown, they still have ugly pasts regarding race and racism that must be recognized. Ending segregation on college campuses did not end issues of race and racism. Higher education institutions had to find ways to create an inclusive campus for all student groups due to remaining, persistent issues of race and racism on college campuses. Institutions should do this by getting racial groups to talk about their differences to find common ground.

Intergroup Dialogue was founded at University of Maven's PWI, because of Black students' intergroup racial conflict with white students (Gurin et al., 2013). Intergroup dialogue was created to solve issues of intergroup conflict caused by a hostile racial climate for Black students. Moving forward, research on IGD has examined the affect dialogue has had on students' racial awareness, racial ally hood, and campus climate. IGD research, however, has not looked at how SOC interact and experience racism, or how white students contribute to race and racism within IGD. Although IGD has been a very successful tool regarding improving racially hostile campus climates, it is essential to understand how race and racism operates within IGD to enhance its utility as a social justice tool. Though IGDs are social justice spaces because of the endemic nature of racism, we need to understand how the dynamic presents itself. The

theoretical framework of CRT shapes my research questions, enabling me to ask not if racism

exists within IGD; instead, how it exists within IGD and what factors may contribute to the

racism SOC experience within IGD. This study does not claim that IGD itself is racist, or that it

causes racism; somewhat, because white students in IGD grow up in a society where racism is a

permanent feature, it is likely that they will bring a form of racism to the IGD. Furthermore,

tracking how racism is enacted within cross-racial IGDs is important for understanding how

racism may be present in other higher education settings where cross-racial interactions take

place outside of a facilitated social justice setting.

A review of the literature has shown that racial microaggressions manifest inside difficult

dialogues (meaning, not IGD) or conversations about race (Sue & Constantine, 2007). They note

that in conversations about race, it is far too easy for microaggressions to be introduced into

dialogue by way of verbal and nonverbal exchanges (e.g., looks, gestures, tones) that are meant

to insult, dismiss, and demean marginalized groups (Sue & Constantine, 2007). Racial

microaggressions in IGD often occur because white students do not perceive race to be personal,

whereas SOC perceive race as the exact opposite (Sue & Constantine, 2007). Different

perceptions about race may also occur because white students and SOC enter the dialogue with

different levels of racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity. While it is essential

to understand if racial microaggressions noted in Sue and Constantine's difficult dialogues are

happening within IGD, this study seeks to understand if racial voyeurism, a form of racism, is

happening within the IGD, why racial voyeurism is enacted by white/white passing students, and

how does racial voyeurism impact SOC. If SOC are experiencing racial voyeurism in IGD, the

conceptual map suggest it may be due to the low racial identity salience and intercultural

maturity of white students. Racial role strain forms as a result because SOC want to share their experiences about race, but are not receiving information, rather silence, from white students.

Experiencing racial voyeurism and racial role strain may eventually lead to feelings of racial battle fatigue (Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2011). The endemic nature of racism serves as the overarching theme of this conceptual framework. Due to the social justice commitment CRT asserts is necessary to address issues of racial inequity and inequality, it is the foundation for this study on race and racism within a social justice tool such as IGD. According to both Racial Identity, Racial Salience, and Intercultural Maturity theory, racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural experience raise one's understanding of race and racism in society structurally, institutionally, individually. Thus, it is essential to understand what level of racial identity salience and intercultural maturity students have when entering the IGD.

Racial identity salience assesses how much students think about their racial identity and what it means to them. Similarly, intercultural maturity will be evaluated by how much students think about and have experience with other racial groups and racism structurally. The proposed theoretical framework suggests that if white students enter IGD with a low racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity, it is likely that they will contribute to some form of racism (e.g., racial voyeurism) within the IGD. If white students enter with a high level of racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity, they may still contribute to issues of race and racism within the dialogue; however, they will be better able to recognize and self-reflect on their actions. Regardless, if white students perform racial microaggressions in the IGD space, SOC may experience racial role strain and RBF via racial voyeurism. Per racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity theory, if SOC have a low racial salience and intercultural maturity, they may not perceive how race and racism affect them

within or outside of the IGD space. If SOC have a medium to a high understanding of their racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity, there is a higher chance that SOC will recognize negative cross-racial interactions caused by white/white passing students.

Employing these theories within my conceptual model adds to the bodies of higher education literature around promoting cultural proficiency and advancing awareness of racialized campus climate in the following ways. First, my theoretical framework acknowledges how racism is pervasive, and studies should analyze cross-racial interaction. Second, this study can provide evidence that few to no social justice spaces provide protection from racism, meaning racism exists even in "safe" spaces. Third, the theoretical framework provides an understanding of how to improve cross-racial interactions in classroom contexts. While IGD is a positive tool for promoting democracy, diversity, equity, inclusion, social justice, favorable racial climate, and social change, each of the terms as mentioned above need to be continuously studied and improved to ensure there are no equity gaps in the treatment of marginalized groups.

Although this study primarily focuses on race, it also considers the total of the individuals' social identities. Students bring various social identities (e.g., gender, sex, SES, educational attainment, a nation of origin, religion) with them into IGD and this study. All social identities are factors that make up the collective IGD class experience. To clarify, I am not talking about the widely used and often misused term of intersectionality. Within CRT, intersectionality is how oppressed social identities across a system experience multiple forms of inequality, institutionally or individually (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Gillborn, 2015). Although students bring multiple, overlapping social identities with them into IGD, their racial experiences are essential. Students in IGD talk about how race impacted their various social identities and how various social identities impacted their race and

racial experiences. Yosso (2005) also mentions that People of Color experience race differently from white people across various social identities.

Similarly, college culture and even relationship statuses profoundly connect to race and race-based experiences (Hurtado, 2015). I include these contextual factors in my analysis of how students make sense of their racial identity salience and intercultural maturity level, because these various factors make up students' experiences before, during, and after the dialogue. I consider these different timestamps as data points in my study, which highlight where students may be located on the racial identity theory development scales, and how their actions in the IGD correlate to these scales.

Chapter 3 Methods and Methodology

For this study, I utilized critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the primary methodology. This study used a multi-method approach in order to understand student data better. The second method used in this study is Directed Content Analysis (DCA) and is discussed in detail later on in this chapter in the section on coding procedures. The method of CDA and DCA used in this study relates to the foundation and principles of qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2007), as well as Saldana (2014), highlight qualitative research as a comprehensive, inclusive pursuit where a spectator undertakes an effort to understand an occurrence in the social world and how individuals make sense of them. Researchers suggest that qualitative research allows for an understanding of a social phenomenon that is gained that is not easily attained through quantitative measures (Bogdan & Bilken, 2007; Carspecken, 1996).

For this study, the textual data collected was in the form of interviews and preliminary, and post-class papers (narratives responses). The interviews and preliminary and post-class papers allow for the study of race and racism in IGD by capturing the experiences of the students in the race and ethnicity IGD.

Critical Discourse Analysis

This study utilized CDA to understand how racism operates amongst students within the race and ethnicity IGD at Maven University. I chose the IGDs Maven University as my sight for this study because the college holds the flagship IGD program in the United States known as The Program on Intergroup Interactions (PII; Gurin et al., 2013). PII has been a leader in the field of IGD research and practice since its inception in the late 1980s. Doing a study at the leading institution on IGD provides an understanding of how IGD may need to change as a whole, in order to address and support the needs of SOC.

The central theory I used, noted in the theoretical and conceptual framework, is critical race theory, which is the overarching theory of this study, racial identity development theory, racial literacy theory, and intercultural maturity theory. Theorists founded CDA within the origins of the critical theory of language, which views language as a form of social relations (Janks, 1997). Historical contexts fasten every social relation in which power and marginalization are produced, reproduced, and challenged. Researchers define CDA as an interdisciplinary, problem-focused, process of using analysis to highlight how discourse correlates with social relations and has ideological foundations (Fairclough, 1995; Janks, 1997). Rogers, Schaenen, Schott, et al. (2016), drawing on Fairclough and Wodak (1997), paraphrase the tenets of CDA in the following way:

- Discourse does ideological work.

- Discourse constitutes society and culture.

- Discourse is situated and historical.

- Power relations are partially discursive.

- Mediation of power relations necessitates a socio-cognitive approach.

- CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm that addresses social problems.

- Discourse analysis is interpretive, descriptive, and explanatory and uses a 'systematic methodology.'

- The role of the analyst is to study the relationships between texts and social practices. (p. 370)

The word "critical" in CDA is used to provide an analysis of social inequalities and inequities by highlighting how text is connected and shaped by the ideological functions of power (Fairclough, 1995). Dominant groups use ideological functions of power in social relations to maintain power and hegemony (manufactured consent) over marginalized groups (e.g., Voter suppression of

Blacks in the south, police brutality of Blacks, and unequal access to quality education in urban and rural areas).

Discourse

CDA is suitable for this study because it focuses on language and actions in social relations or rather a discourse. Discourse is "central" frame to CDA. Researchers define discourse as language-based in actions between speaker and listener or writer and reader that socially constructed realities of privilege and oppression derive (Fairclough, 1993; Gee, 2000; Janks, 1997; Machin & Mahr, 2012). Because discourse is language in action, all discourse is social because of discourse relations to the social relation of groups (Martin & Nakayama, 2010). CDA provides a correlation between the textual analysis of language and the analysis of social actions (van Dijik, 1998). Discourse mirrors the social relations and interactions between those dispatching and those collecting information (Fairclough, 1993; Janks, 1997).

CDA underscores how discourse relates to issues within a social structure (e.g., racism, sexism, classism) and highlights through analysis of the invisible power of language in social relations. Essentially, CDA looks at how groups of people use language, text, social relations, and social structures to use the power and domination of groups connected through relationships. Language is the most common form of commutation and medium in relaying discourse. People use language to communicate a discourse or action.

Discourses are the essence of an individual's being and how they read, see, and interact in the world (Gee, 1996). Individuals connect ways of being to meaning-making, which determines social processes and semiosis (Richardson, 2007). According to Fairclough (2001), individuals use semiosis to connect to meaning-making human expressions, words used, and sentence structure. Discourse informs this study because it highlights how people read the world.

Individuals carry out certain social behaviors when interacting with similar or different social identity groups to enforce a social hierarchy in social settings. As Richardson (2007) points out, "Black discourse practices influence how Black people read and respond to the social world" (792). Bonilla-Silva (2018) showcased how white people use discourse practices to employ colorblind racism while feeling that they are not inherently racist. How people make sense of the world and how people chose to meaning make, strongly relates to CDA.

The ability to speak, reading, and writing (literacy) can be a practice of liberation, revolution, and reclaiming of power or issuing of power privilege and oppression (Gee, 1996). This study seeks to showcase in IGD the connection of discourse practices of liberation and oppression in IGD.

Ideology

Ideology connects to language and is the most common form of discourse. Ideology is used to control discourses as well as other social practices that affect privileged and marginalized groups differently. Ideology is defined within CDA as a shared system of beliefs, pieces of knowledge, understandings, and viewpoints used by privileged social groups to encourage exploitation, supremacy, and control over marginalized groups (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk; 1998). Ideology, like discourse, is an essential component of a CDA study because it drives discourse through language. Ideology drives every function of a group from what the group's interest is, how the group communicates verbally, textually, and visually, and what actions the group undertakes in social relations (van Dijk, 1995).

Power

Another essential component of CDA that correlates with ideology is power. CDA scholars define power as the way individuals of a privileged social group, as well as institutions

and organizations, regulate social behaviors and material resources of marginalized social groups (Fowler, 1985; van Dijk, 1998). Privileged social groups establish, preserve, and regulate power over marginalized social groups by controlling the forms of cultural and social capital. Primarily, the use of language by privileged groups and how they gained social power correlates to the mobilization of social power onto marginalized groups in order to exploit them. CDA's focus is to highlight how language is used to direct power.

Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

The most comprehensive and widely accepted framework of CDA originates from Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, 2003). Many in education have to use Fairclough's model of CDA in their studies in order to make sense of power relations within discourse (Rogers, Schaenen, Schott, et al., 2016). van Dijk (2001), a CDA scholar, critiques what he notes as the overuse of Fairclough's CDA model, citing that CDA studies should form as a combination of multiple CDA frameworks.

I agree with van Dijk's warning; however, I use Fairclough's CDA framework of three dimensions (description, interpretation, and explanation), instead of van Dijk's three frameworks of three dimensions (discourse, sociocognitive, and social analysis). I used Fairclough's model because it connects to the larger sociohistorical system and ideologies that determine language and discourse of groups of privilege and marginalization. Whereas, van Dijk's model believes that discourse drives social cognition and how groups make sense of themselves and others. I prefer to use Fairclough's model because, in order to make sense of race and racism, I drew on a model that connects the foundation of historical and ideologies with discourse instead of smaller interpersonal interactions. In the next paragraph, I highlight the critical points in Fairclough's model posted below.
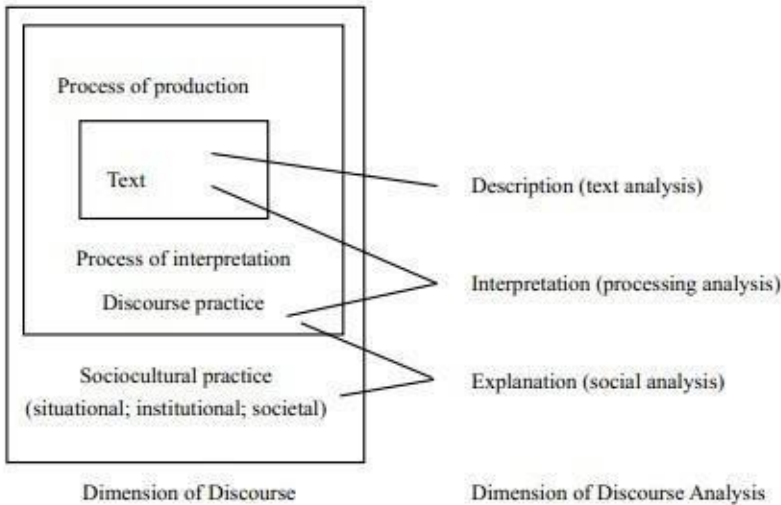
Figure 3. The three-dimensional view of discourse [adapted from Fairclough, Norman, 1992, *Discourse and social change* (p. 93, Figure 5-2). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Description of Model

Fairclough's model (1989, 1992, 1995, 2003) for CDA is composed of three related

forms of analysis and connects to three related dimensions of discourse (Janks, 1997). The three

related forms of analysis are:

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).

2. The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/ speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects.

3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes. (Janks, 1997, p. 329)

Fairclough's model looks at what object is analyzed, how the creation of an object, and how

socio-historical conditions determine the production of an object. The three components of

Fairclough's model is textual analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and

social analysis (explanation; Janks, 1997).

Text Analysis (Description) Word Choice

The description stage focuses on what attitude words showcase, and how those same

words connect to one's identity. A description of words is a type of linguistic resource.

Linguistic resources are words, tones, and grammar functions used to display dominance or

passiveness (Fairclough, 1989; Janks, 1997). Linguistic resources should be analyzed within CDA to create an understanding of hidden ideologies that may be present in the text. There are two components of grammar resources, which is what someone says vs. what they do (language vs. discourse). The textual analysis portion of CDA focuses on what words someone uses and how they say them.

Processing Analysis (Interpretation; Construction of Words and Sentences)

The processing analysis stage of CDA focuses on the actions (discourse of a social group or individual based on what they communicate (language; Fairclough, 1989; Janks, 1997). The words we use and how we use them are necessary because the way we talk about a subject can change our worldview of a subject. Language and text are not neutral and always contain a belief, attitude, and ideology. What is essential about the interpretation phase is explaining how the text is not neutral and displays attitudes and values. The interpretation of the text provides an understanding of social actions.

Social Analysis (Explanation) and Discursive Practices (Creation of Social Practices)

The social analysis of CDA focuses on how grammar resources identified in the description and interpretation tie into historical, social, and cultural ideological viewpoints. The explanation portion of CDA highlights how word choice, sentence construction, and social practices are used to inform discursive practices. Discursive practices are social-cultural practices that correlate to ideology and power (Fairclough, 1989; Janks, 1997).

The Use of CDA in This Study

CDA is suitable for this study because it focuses on language and actions in social relations or rather a discourse. As previously stated, discourse is "central" to CDA and is defined

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by CDA scholars as a language-based in actions (Machin & Mahr, 2012). White students and SOC within the IGD use language to interact with each other within the IGD.

Based on language, an individual, group, or organization implicitly or explicitly commit or avoid specific actions or comments that correlate to their discourse. CDA provides highlights not only what an individual may do within a classroom setting but also why based on the textual information provided in student interviews, preliminary and final IGD papers. The textual information provided are discourses that were used to make sense of what happens socially, politically, and culturally regarding power relations and actions (Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2000; Machin & Mahr, 2012; Wodak, 2001). Discourses, whether verbal, visual, or textual, carry meaning that mirror social relations present in the world (Machin & Mahr, 2012). CDA makes sense of grammar and word selection in a text to reveal hidden "discourses and ideologies." According to Machin and Mahr (2012), "A text linguistic structure functions, as discourse to highlight certain ideologies, while downplaying or concealing others" (pp. 19-20).

Data Analysis

To understand how racism operates in IGD, I examined white students and SOC preliminary, and post dialogue papers (also known as narrative responses). The preliminary dialogue papers consist of students writing narratives around issues with race and racism that they have experienced thus far in life. The preliminary paper also asks students to identify their most salient social identities and explain why they consider these identities important. The preliminary papers initiate the process of understanding how students make sense of their racial identity salience based on their chosen social identities talked about in the preliminary paper. The final dialogue paper requires students to examine their experiences within the race and ethnicity IGD. It also calls on students to reflect on their understanding of their social identities

before the IGD, now that the IGD has concluded. The final dialogue paper again provided an important data point that probes an understanding of how students are comprehending and talking about their own racial identities.

Preliminary and post dialogue papers were deidentified and uploaded to University of Illinois password-protected Box.com server. Once the documents were on the Box server, pseudonyms for the students' names were created, and then uploaded to Dedoose, a secure password protected qualitative software system in order to begin the process of coding. Students within the RE dialogues who became participants in this study were contacted via email and consented their participation in this study via email. Upon completion of the 45 60-minute interview, interviewees were provided with a $20 amazon gift card regardless of if they retracted their qualitative data.

PII regularly collects the student's preliminary and post dialogue papers for research. Permission from IRB and PII was gained after a review process. I had access to student papers once the student consented to this study unless the IGD student individually opted out of PII, access to their papers for research purposes or did not respond to the recruitment email. In addition, exit interviews conducted at the end of the semester to gain a better understanding of what students experienced within IGD. These interviews were conducted over the Zoom internet conferring application. Once the interviews were complete, a transcription service transcribed the interviews; the interviews were deidentified and uploaded to the University of Illinois password-protected Box.com server.

Coding Procedure

One critique of CDA is how researchers code their data (texts, speeches, photos) because there is often no coding procedure (Rogers, Schaenen, Schott, et al., 2016). In order to address

this critique, I employed a multi-method to this study. I used qualitative content analysis to help

frame codes, in which CDA was employed to make sense of the discursive practices around the

race of white students and SOC. Qualitative content analysis was used to understand how

contextual meaning can derive from communication (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Hsieh &

Shannon, 2005; Lindkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990). Qualitative content

analysis was used to analyze textual data in multiple forms (e.g., interviews, focus groups,

narrative response, open-ended survey questions; Hsieh & Shannon, 2015; Kondracki &

Wellman, 2002). It is a common misconception that qualitative content analysis is merely word

counting (Weber, 1990). The qualitative content analysis goes beyond counting words and

focuses on examining text critically in order to categorize large amounts of text to decipher their

meaning (Hsieh & Shannon, 2015; Weber, 1990). These categories were then coded to

understand what can be explicitly understood or inferred from the text. Qualitative content

analysis's central goal is to raise awareness and provide knowledge about the studied

phenomenon (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Hsieh & Shannon, 2015).

Hsieh and Shannon, (2015) define qualitative content analysis as "a research method for

the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification

process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (p. 1278). This study operates under Hseih

and Shannon's definition in order to understand how the phenomenon of race and racism operate

amongst students within the race and ethnicity IGD. Within qualitative content analysis, there are

three approaches: conventional content analysis (non-theory driven), directed content analysis

(theory-driven), and summative content analysis (quantification of words; Hsieh & Shannon,

2015).

The theories noted in the theoretical and conceptual framework include critical race theory, which is the overarching theory of this study complimented by racial identity development theory, racial literacy theory, and intercultural maturity theory. DCA is suitable for this study because codes can be defined iteratively before and during data analysis, making codes fluid instead of static (Hsieh & Shannon, 2015). DCA allows for codes to develop, adapt, and even be redefined throughout the data analysis process so that codes fully represent the textual data. The theories, as mentioned above, drive the construction of the interview questions and provide themes of textual data that were broken down into codes. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2015), themes often have hidden meanings within textual data. Multiple codes can fit into themes and sub-themes, which can help to explain the codes and sub-codes further. The codes and sub-codes derive from the themes created after the conduction of final interviews.

Student Participants

Every student that starts and finishes the race and ethnicity IGD course in the winter, summer, and fall semesters of 2019 were sought after for an exit interview unless a student opts-out of the research study. Student and facilitator emails were provided by the PII, and I, the researcher, emailed each student. In total I emailed seventy-five students and facilitators in total. Each dialogue consists of about 10-16 students, half are white, and half SOC. PII requires facilitators to take a semester-long training course, before they can apply to facilitate and IGD. Student trained facilitator tandems of one white, and one Person of Color ran their own dialogue with the support of a senior level PII staff member for 15 weeks. Typically, PII has two race and ethnicity IGD courses in one semester, but that number is fluid based on the amount of students and facilitators on hand. I collected papers from multiple dialogue sections, across multiple semesters in the 2019 school year in order to get a breadth of student and facilitator experiences.

Although each dialogue follows the same curriculum, each dialogue is uniquely different. If a finding is consistent across multiple dialogues, multiple students across multiple dialogues naming a finding will provided further validity for the phenomenon's exitance. Additionally, I searched to understand cross-racial interactions within IGD, and multiple dialogues allow for me to understand the similarities and differences that may be present.

For this study, I combined semesters and dialogues into one large pool of qualitative data. Combining the data in this study was plausible because dialogue courses follow the same curriculum and sequencing with little variation between semesters regarding weekly activities and assignments. The largest difference between the dialogues were the students and the facilitators, but the content from the dialogue remains the same.

The dialogue participants will have finished one semester in PII's race and ethnicity intergroup dialogue. The dialogue consists of a nearly even number of white students and SOC. This class tends to attract students who want to share their experiences around a particular social identity and learn more about identities other than their own. Every undergraduate student has access to taking this course, regardless of class standing. Students who are interested in taking an IGD course, fill out a survey based on their social identities, and are selected for individual dialogues based on their dialogue ranking of choice. PII also moves students in or out of specific dialogue topics in order to make sure there are a balance and representation of social identities in the IGD.

The post dialogue paper also asks students to note disagreements that happened in the IGD, what insights they have learned about communication in the IGD, and what insights they have gained about understanding privilege and disadvantage. The questions students answer in the preliminary and post dialogue papers allow me to use the conceptual framework to analyze

how students understand their race, race-based experiences, and how it may contribute to race and racism within the IGD space.

As mentioned earlier, the theories in the theoretical framework were used to form interview questions and codes for the study. CRT, racial identity development theory, racial literacy theory, and intercultural maturity theory were foundational in shaping my interview questions for this study. The theoretical framework also aided in determining themes and codes before and during the analysis of both the preliminary, post dialogue papers, and interviews. Once categorized, the themes, codes, and sub-codes of the data helped provide an understanding of the phenomenon of how students experience race and racism within IGD.

Seventeen students and facilitators elected to participate in this study out a total of seventy-five. In the table below, pseudonyms were created by the researcher for each student/facilitator, along with the corresponding semester and dialogue number, self-identified race/ethnicity, gender, as well as racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity, are discussed in detail in chapter 4. The majority of students within this study are SOC, which provides allows for a strong understanding to be gleaned from the qualitative data about how SOC experience race and racism within the cross-racial IGDs.

Table 1

Participants

Participants/ Role	IGD semester	IGD number	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Racial salience level	Racial literacy level	Intercultural maturity level
Alexandra/ Facilitator	Summer 2019	002	White American	Woman	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ann	Summer 2019	002	White American	Woman	Low	Low	Low
Ayesha/ Facilitator	Summer 2019	002	Arab American/Middle Eastern/Brown	Woman	N/A	N/A	N/A
Brianna	Winter 2019	001A	South Asian American	Woman	Medium	Low	Medium
Camara	Fall 2019	003A	Black/African American	Woman	Medium	High	High
Elaine/ Facilitator	Fall 2019	003A	White American	Woman	N/A	N/A	N/A
Imani	Fall 2019	003A	Black/African American	Woman	High	High	High
Jamie/ Facilitator	Fall 2019	003B	White American	Man	N/A	N/A	N/A
Janie	Winter 2019	001A	Asian/White Biracial	Woman	Medium	Low	Low
Keanu	Winter 2019	001B	Asian/ Pilipino American	Man	High	High	High
Kendraya	Summer 2019	002	Black/African American	Woman	High	High	High
Leen	Fall 2019	003A	Arab/Middle Eastern/Jordanian	Woman	High	Medium	High
Leila	Winter 2019	001A	Asian/Biracial/ Pilipino American	Woman	High	High	High
Mila/ Facilitator	Fall 2019	003B	South Asia/ South Asian/Brown	Woman	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nia	Fall 2019	003A	Black/African American Biracial	Woman	High	High	High
Sarah/ Facilitator	Fall 2019	003C	White American/ Jewish	Woman	N/A	N/A	N/A
Zach	Summer 2019	002	Asian/Chinese	Man	Medium	Low	Low

Trustworthiness

CDA researchers (Machin & Mahr, 2012) and DCA researchers (Elo et al., 2014; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004) have widely discussed issues of interpretive validity, accuracy, or rather trustworthiness. The themes and coded data need to critically assessed by the researcher. The textual data in this study was interpreted and analyzed by a single researcher, which creates room for a biased interpretation of textual data. In order to critically assess if the researcher has biased the data, themes, and codes, the researcher critically assessed their actions (Elo et al., 2014). The researcher also used the students exit interviews, preliminary, and final class papers to triangulate qualitative data in order to make sense of cross-racial interactions within the IGD. Moreover, researcher also self-assed by asking critical questions throughout this study's process, "Did I manipulate or lead the participant?" and "Did I ask too broad or structured questions?" (Elo et al., 2014, p. 5). Constantly critically assessing should lower errors in biasing the study.

Furthermore, when using the directed content analysis, the researcher bases their questions, themes, and codes on the applied theories from the conceptual framework. While I, the researcher, is checking for bias, I also checked to make sure their study, as well as the data and outcomes, are aligned to the used theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2015). I wrote a reflexive interview and coding notes to ensure I analyzed the data in this study correctly.

There are a few advantages to using CDA and DCA in order to understand how racism operates in IGD. The advantage of using CDA and DCA is the ability to create themes using my theoretical framework, which helps provide codes when I analyze the preliminary and post dialogue papers as well as final interviews. Another benefit of using CDA and DCA is that the themes and codes are not static and develop as the study progresses. Using CDA and DCA was

an advantage to this study because it allows the creation of themes, codes, and sub-codes before and during my data analysis to create grammar resources, which allowed me to gain an understanding of what language and discourse students use in their social relations. CDA permits rich description, interpretation, and analysis of how forms of power, privilege, oppression, and ideology may show up in dialogue.

Reflexivity, Positionality, Critical Race Research, and IGD

Scholars define reflexivity as having a high self-awareness of one's ideological viewpoints, and experiences that may compromise one's interpretation of qualitative data (O'Dwyer & Bernauer, 2014). The following section focuses on my connection to critical race research, IGD, and where my positionality lies regarding my own biases.

I am a strong supporter and advocate of IGD. I was a student of the race and ethnicity dialogues at Maven University. After I completed my first dialogue, I was intrigued by the experiences of marginalized identities. During my first dialogue, I was very frustrated with my experiences as a young Black man. I felt as if other SOC (SOC) and I did the majority of the sharing of our race. While SOC did the majority of sharing in my dialogue, white students often resisted against the racial realities of SOC and struggled to move past their ownership of white privilege. After I completed my IGD course, I wanted to take part in facilitating and completing research on IGDs. I trained as an IGD facilitator and successfully co-facilitated the gender and race and ethnicity IGDs. I believe in the IGD model; however, I do believe there could be gaps or inequities in the IGD model that may be going unseen. As an IGD student, researcher, and facilitator, I want to understand the experiences of racially privileged and marginalized students in order to understand how IGD can be improved.

I am a North American born slave descendant of African ancestry. I originate from a Black Southern North Carolinian family of sharecroppers and Black domestic housekeepers who tended to the homes and reared children of white people. Racism has affected every fiber of my family from systemic racism that segregated my parents into unequal schools, to the unjust lynching of my uncle. For a very long time, I have searched for theory and practice that encompasses my views, experiences, and understanding of race and racism within the United States. I am a critical race theorist, researcher, and user of its pedagogy. I believe that racism is an endemic and permanent form of U.S. societal life. My ideological belief system is that racism is present across individuals and institutions. Because I see racism as a permanent feature in the United States, it has the possibility of being present in social justice and diversity-based programs like IGD.

As a CRT user, and racial realist I did not search for if racism is present in IGD but how racism may reveal itself in spaces that are meant to ease intergroup relations. I have a keen interest in wanting to understand how race and racism play out in IGD because it would impact SOC negatively. Marginalized groups should not be negatively affected when having cross-racial interactions with white students in a social justice-oriented setting. Issues of race and racism should be eliminated swiftly from the dialogue space in order to provide a space of racial comfort for SOC, something that is all too rare on historically white campuses. Because racially marginalized students deal with many racial microaggressions, racial role strain, and racial battle fatigue during their lives before they enter the IGD, the last place where they should experience such atrocities is in dialogue. This study illuminates issues of race and racism to improve the IGD model for the race and ethnicity dialogues.

Importance of Using CDA and DCA Utility in This Study

I chose CDA and DCA because they help me read the word and thus read the world. Using CDA and DCA allowed me to understand how students experience and contribute to race and racism in a socially just setting. The data from this study permits me to make claims about how to improve IGD by helping alleviate hostile campus climate and student race relations issues, producing culturally proficient college graduates. Understanding students' racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity, as well as how racism plays a role in social justice spaces, is an important step. If there is no attention paid to how and why racism performs in a socially just space, more fatigue and negativity could manifest around working across racism as well as other social identity-based differences.

Chapter 4 "I Have Never Felt the Need to Put Much Thought Into It": Racial Salience, Racial

Literacy, and Intercultural Maturity of Cross-Racial IGD Students

Before the participant's findings on racial voyeurism within IGD and by proxy race-based conversations, it is essential first to discuss the racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity of the students in this study. These three categories are essential because they color how the IDG participants experience and make sense of racial voyeurism within the class. In the next section, I provide findings for select students in each section, one who has a high racial salience, one who has a medium racial salience, and one that has a low racial salience. Hence, the following section does not cover every student in this study in terms of racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity.

I determined racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity of the students in this study based on the participant's preliminary, interview, and final paper responses. Once these documents were collected, three-parent codes were created (racial salience, racial literacy, intercultural maturity). For understanding student's racial salience, a number of sub-codes were created (How much the student's race mean to them? How much does the student think about their race? Does the students race impact their personal beliefs?) in order to further understand how salient the student's race was to them. The answers to the previous questions were present explicitly and implicitly in student's preliminary/final papers as well as exit interviews. In many cases, students would explicitly state their racial salience.

The answers of the SOC were then cross-matched with the Minority-Identity-Development (MID) model (Atikinson et al., 1989), which is an extension of William Cross's Black Identity Development Model (Cross, 1971, 1995). The MID model was utilized for all SOC in this study, instead of focusing on an individual racial minority identity development

model (e.g., Asian Identity Development, Latinx Identity Development, Black Identity Development). There is not much variance between the MID model and the other individual racial minority identity developments outside of the focus on a particular racial group. Because of the similarities between MID and other racial minority identity developments, this study chooses to use the MID to have a consistent reading of SOC racial identity salience. This study is seeking to understand how SOC experience cross-racial IGD, and the MID model provides an understanding of how each SOC understands their own minoritized racial identity. The first finding to be discussed in this section on the racial salience of students in this study. White and white-passing student's (if they identify as white) racial identity were determined by the White Racial Identity Development Model provided by Helms (1995).

Within the sections below there are key words, sentences, and phrases that are captured via bolding. These words are bolded to draw attention to discourse, power, and ideology that are vital constructs of Critical Discourse Analysis. While this study does not discuss each bolded word, but uses the device in order to draw attention to key words and actions each of individual.

Racial Salience Findings

As stated in the first paragraph of the previous section, I focus on three students for this section, one with high, medium, and low racial salience.

Kendraya. The first student that I to discuss with regard to racial salience is Kendraya, a senior Black woman STEM student who is on the verge of graduation. In her preliminary dialogue paper, Kendraya notes that race means a lot to her.

> I have an **unwavering sense of pride about being Black** and expressing my culture **regardless of who I am with**. I have also learned about the **importance of upholding a legacy of standing up for what is right on the basis of my race**. This has **enabled me to recognize and approach discrimination when I see it**, and ways to discuss it on behalf of myself or others who are being ostracized. My ethnicity and racial identity are

important to me because of my family, as they are the reason, I am able to find greatness, peace, and refuge in who I am.

Kendraya illustrates in her preliminary dialogue paper that being Black and expressing her Blackness is very important to her, regardless of who she is around. When Kendraya talks about her racial meaning, her word and phrase choice (unwavering sense of pride) provides detail in how much her Blackness (race) means to her. For this short quote, Kendraya's race means a lot to her. Due to her race meaning a lot to her, Kendraya has gained the ability to understand, recognize, and disrupt racial injustice. Because Kendraya can comprehend racial oppression suggests she would have high racial literacy. Not only is Kendraya highlighting her racial salience but she is using discourse, language-based in action (Fairclough, 1993; Gee, 2000; Janks, 1997; Machin & Mahr, 2012), to highlight how her racial pride allows her to diagnose racial discrimination but also how she experiences the system of racism as a whole. Later on, in this chapter, I provide more information on Kendraya and her racial literacy. Before the discussion on racial literacy, it is essential to complete this section on racial salience. Kendraya offers more context for her racial meaning in an interview below.

> I would say **it means a lot to me**. I think I like the idea that we are defined by our races, however, with categorization, and oppression comes hierarchy. So that's the only thing that I don't like. And I don't know if it's like completely possible to have these categories without hierarchies. Essentially like how America was founded. Um, **but in regards to me, race is very important to me**. Like it's **something that I embraced**. **Like I, I like calling myself a black woman.** Like I, **there's a difference between a woman and a black woman to me.** And even like within minorities, things, like there's something special about being black, not only to the history, but like the culture that has come from the history, um, that I find myself aligning with outside of just what I've learned at home.

Again, Kendraya highlights how much her race means to by discursively noting that "it means a lot to her" and that "I like calling myself a black woman." Kendraya understands that her race connects to a racial hierarchy that has existed within the United States for centuries. Though Kendraya understands that there are negatives to the racial hierarchy, she has found a

way to make sense of it and embrace her race under the current system of racial oppression. She instills that her race means a lot by intrinsically stating racial pride, that she likes calling herself a Black woman, and there is a difference between being a woman and being a Black woman. This designation of difference showcases racial meaning because Kendraya understands that her intersecting race and gender identities would not be the same if she were a part of a different racial group. Within CDA ideology has been defined shared system of beliefs, pieces of knowledge, understandings, and viewpoints used by privileged social groups to exert control over other marginalized groups (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1998). Kendraya, is providing a different ideology, an ideology that privileges her own racial identity.

     How much does the student think about their race? In terms of thinking about her race, Kendraya was very candid.

> Yeah, I would, I think about it **very often**. Um, for instance, like **especially in the classroom setting**, not like, but I am a science major so I'm one of very few [hesitates] um, Blacks in the class, let alone even in the school. Um, so when it comes to like group projects, I feel as if like there's always this **expectation for me to not know as much information** or **for me to be a little behind** or for me to like be **slacking amongst like my peers** or even **my professors.** And they don't really even have to say anything for me to feel that way… I just sometimes like get that assumption or like when it comes time to like working in lab groups it seems like everybody was able to like **pick their friends really easily or pick their lab partners very easily.** Um, and just kind of like assume that I wasn't as attentive as everyone else. So when it comes to especially academic situations, **I definitely think about race.** MMM. I know like in high school **I would think about race a lot** when like I would be with some of my white friends **and I noticed like they were able to get away with certain things but I wouldn't dare to even try it because I knew I wouldn't be able to get away with it. Not just by my parents but like either by my school or just society.**

Kendraya thinks about her race to a high degree because she faces an enormous amount of racial discrimination. In her statement above, she notes others in her STEM major treat her differently because of her race. Her classmates do this by picking her last for group and lab projects. Kendraya alludes that her adverse treatment is due to her race, which is also a factor in why she thinks about her race often. Kendraya later postures about racial differences among her

white friend group in high school. Kendraya realized that she, a Black woman, could not do what her white peers could do behaviorally because no part of society would allow her that freedom. Through her discourse, Kendraya is noting the power difference between the way she is treated as a Black woman vs member of other racial groups within society.

Does the student's race impact their personal beliefs? The last question that I used in determining racial salience is the impact the student's race has on their personal beliefs.

> So **I don't**, **personally think like all white people are racist**, but like I feel like when it comes to a situation, it's like **you have to prove me, prove to me that you're not racist** or you have to **prove to me that you acknowledge your privilege** or that **you know about privilege** and how **you're privileged functions in society before**. Like **I'm willing to be your friend** and I feel like that shapes my views because not everybody has to do that. Like, **I don't know if it's just a Black thing**. Um, but **I can't imagine other minorities having to feel that way when they do interface with white people** or, and **I know for a fact like that is the whole privilege of being white is that you don't have to think about that**. You (White people) don't have to consider like, oh, like do you need to prove to me like that you're white enough, you know?

Here, Kendraya highlights that her race is closely related to her personal beliefs and actions. Kendraya believes that all white people are not racist; however, white people have to prove to Kendraya that they are not racist, or at the very least, white people must acknowledge their racial privilege and understand how their white privilege functions in society. Though it may not appear to be, Kendraya is using a race-based survival tactic in order to weed out individuals that may be racist or have a low white racial identity salience. She later mentions that she is not sure if this dynamic of seeing if white people are racist is related to her being Black. Though she understands why she needs white people to prove they are not racist, she is not sure other racial minorities do the same. She also knows that white people do not have to think or worry about this dynamic of is the person I am around a racist.

Understanding Kendraya's racial salience. Regarding Kendraya's racial salience, based on the MID model (Atikinson et al. 1989), I coded her as having a high racial salience.

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Kendraya has a strong understanding of her racial identity. She knows that she is a Black woman, and she has an enormous amount of pride in being a Black woman. She further explained that she thinks about her race regularly due to the consistent racial microaggressions she experiences being a Black student at her institution. Because she is often picked last for projects and is one of the only Black students in her program, she associates her lack of group partners to her race and the fact that other racial groups perceive her Blackness as less intelligent or lazy. Kendraya also understood since high school that she could not behave in the same manner as her white friends because of her race. In order to come to these conclusions, Kendraya highlighted that she thinks about her race regularly. Finally, Kendraya's personal beliefs about race matter in terms of her actions. Because she understands her socio-political position as a Black woman in this society, she ensures that white people she meets are not racist or understands their privilege. Kendraya is using a race-based survival technique to make sure she does not put herself in a position where she has to interact with white people who are racist or do not understand their racial privilege. Within this study, Kendraya is categorized as having a high racial salience due to the way she understands not only the world racially but her position regarding how her being a Black woman is treated in U.S. society.

Brianna. The second student whose racial salience I highlight in this study is Brianna, an Indian American (South Asian American) woman. The first quote comes from Brianna's exit interview.

How much does the student's race mean to them?

(Voice raises in excitement) I definitely take pride in, **especially** when I see like **a on campus event being hosted**. Um, **when I see people wear like the cultural like clothes** that you know, we have and makes me **more proud to be Indian**. Um, it makes **me feel like cherished in a way**. Um, yeah. I guess like, yeah, I think **when I see other people appreciate my culture** who aren't Indian, that **makes me think about it more**. **That**

makes me more happy to be Indian. That makes me take more pride in it. Makes me want to go to more cultural events and stuff.

Here we see Brianna discuss her pride in being Indian (South Asian). For Brianna, the more that she sees South Asian cultural events on campus, her racial pride and overall happiness increases. Brianna feels important when her culture is a part of the institution she attends. When other students take part in Indian American (South Asian American) cultural events, it increases the pride that Brianna has in her race. Brianna also stated that when other students appreciate her culture, she thinks about her race more. How much Brianna thinks about her race is central to understanding her racial salience.

How much does the student think about their race?

Ummmm, [5 second pause] **I don't really think about it**. **I thought about it more this semester. With taking the class**. But **prior to that, probably like maybe once a week**. I think I think about that more. (CJG: What about race in general? Did you think about that more than once a week?). Um, depends on like what I see on the news and stuff. Then I often watch stuff happen on the news where certain people are mmm. Seem like charged at. **So I think I think about it more**.

Before Brianna gave her response, she paused for a considerable amount of time before stating " I don't really think about it," which is a discursive practice that connects her words to her actions of not thinking about race. One benefit of being in the IGD for Brianna is that she began to think about her race more, but again, she started her statement by saying she does not think about her race. Before she took the IGD, she thought about her race once a week, if at all. Taking the IGD has helped Brianna think about her race, but it is not every day, regularly or often, it is just more than once a week. In terms of race, in general, the more Brianna sees race-based issues on the news, the more she seems to think about race. Finally, the last consideration for Brianna's racial salience is her races' impact on her personal beliefs.

Does the student's race impact their personal beliefs?

Um, I guess it does make me want to like, **I didn't notice this previously**, but like growing up, like I, um, I was like predominantly with people who are white and so all my friends were white and now that I'm on campus, uh, like a good, like **majority of my friends are, um, not white**. **They're minorities**. So I guess that's pretty much, **it makes me like hang out with them more. I'm finding like more similarities.**

Understanding Brianna's racial salience. Understanding Brianna's racial salience using the MID model (Atikinson et al. 1989), is difficult because some of her responses showcase a divergence in her racial salience. In her first response, Brianna excitedly stats that she takes great pride in being Indian American (South Asian American). Though she has pride in her race, Brianna does not think about her race much. Before the dialogue, she mentioned thinking about her race, maybe once a week. Taking the IGD on race has posited Brianna to think about her race more though still not often. Lastly, Brianna admits that her race impacts her personal beliefs, instead, whom she hangs out with. Before coming to college, Brianna did say that most of her friends were white, but now they are SOC. Though it may not seem like it, Brianna's answers all tie into her racial salience. Brianna has racial pride but needs other races to accept her culture, she does not think about her race often, and certainly did not before the class, and her friend group is transitioning to be majority SOC. Based on the Minority Identity Development model (MID), Brianna would fall under phase Dissonance, which is stage two of five (Atkinson et al., 1989; Sue et al., 1998). Although Brianna is South Asian, there is not a South Asian racially identity development scale, which is why the MID model was used for her specific identity. While Brianna has pride in her race, needing other racial groups to accept her racial-cultural demonstrates that she prefers the dominant racial group's values and culture. The third phase of the MID would require Brianna to resist white-dominant norms while immersing herself in her race and culture. Because Brianna does not think about her race often and is yet to immerse herself in the norms of her culture, she is too early in her racial identity development to

be in the third phase. The Dissonance phase, which Brianna is in, would suggest that Brianna has a medium racial identity salience.

Ann. Ann is another student whose racial salience is apparent. She is a white American woman student. The first quote comes from Ann's preliminary dialogue paper.

How much does the student's race mean to them?

My two **most important identities** are my **family and education**.

Unlike the other IGD students in this study, Ann was the only to state in her preliminary dialogue paper that her race was not salient or essential to her. The two facilitators in this study, one white and one Arab, both commented that their race meant a lot to them. Early on in the class, Ann's whiteness was not essential or relevant to her. The social identities that mattered to Ann was her family status and also her education. Both of the social identities Ann listed before taking the IGD highlight the lack of importance she feels her race has on her lived experience. After taking the IGD, it appears that Ann's racial salience increased.

> It **definitely means a lot to me**. It's um, also **the way I think about my race has changed** a lot from this class. Cause I used to think like, **I used to like think that like being Irish is really important** cause I'm 50% Irish, but like I really don't know that much about my Irish heritage. I use to be like. Oh, I'm Irish and **now like I'm changing my mindset a little bit more**. Like, oh, **like I'm just white**. Like, **I just need you to figure out what like that means**, because **I've never actually like experienced what it means to like be Irish**. So I'm more so just **need to think about**, um, what like **the privileges I have as being white** and like **what that means to me**

Ann states that her race means a lot to her, but that the way she thinks about her race is not the same as it was before taking the IGD. Previously, Ann prioritized being Irish over her whiteness, but her mindset has changed to being white because she has never experienced life as Irish nor knows much about Irish heritage. Ann admits to just being white and needing to figure out and explore what it means to be white, along with what privileges are associated with her whiteness. Ann echoes this sentiment again in her final paper.

It's actually a **super important identity**, but since **I have always had the privilege** of **others knowing and understanding my race**, I have **never felt the need to put much thought into it**.

Van Dijk (1995) explains that ideology, drives the interest and actions of group members. Ann states that being white is an essential social identity; however, due to her whiteness, she has had the privilege of others understanding the dominant white norms. Because Ann has relied on white-dominant norms up until this point in her life, she has never put much thought into what her race means to her; however, she knows it is essential. Ann lacking a racial understanding may have caused issues within the IGD, if she is unable to break away from assuming other racial groups understand her race.

How much does the student think about their race? In the previous section, Ann admitted that she did not think about her race much because she is racially privileged. Though Ann admitted the lack of racial importance, it is relevant to cover how much she thinks about her race in order to comment on her racial salience.

(CJG: How often do you think about your race). [3 second pause] **Not Often**. (CJG: since you're getting close to the end of the class, is there a difference between thinking about your race before the class versus now?) **Yeah**, **definitely this semester was the first time I critically thought about my race** so though I know my views have changed a lot, I am not really sure what to compare my new views to. One new thing is **that I question everything in my life** a lot more to **try and identify if I am able to do them because of my privileges**. I am also **working to be more conscious** of **my white identity unconsciously affecting others by maintaining systems of oppression**. **Before this class** I used to think that I needed to learn more about my Irish heritage because that is who I am, but now I am thinking that though Irish history is interesting, learning about it may not actually be as **beneficial as deconstructing what I do know/think/feel about being a white American**.

Ann has seen much growth in terms of thinking about her race since taking the dialogue. She admits that she does not think about her race often, even after being in the dialogue. However, after some probing, Ann admits to thinking about her race more than she did before the IGD. For Ann, this semester was the very first time that she thought about her race, which

has caused her views on her whiteness to alter. Now that the IGD has concluded, Ann no longer

focuses on her Irish heritage in lieu of understanding what it means to be white, the racial

privileges she has due to her whiteness. Ann is also focusing on her whiteness because she feels

it is more important to understand what being a white American means vs. learning about her

Irish heritage.

Finally, to make sense of Ann's racial salience her thoughts of in her race impacts her

personal beliefs are below.

> Yeah, it's **definitely impacted my personal beliefs a lot**. Um, one discussion in class rooms became like really relevant to me is you are talking about, um, peaceful, nonviolent protests and like when it's appropriate to be violent or nonviolent and just like the media news and stuff. And I realized that like**, because of my race** I like in a, um, **a privilege that I have** is like**, I don't really have to pay attention to the news that much**. Like, I don't have to like, like I've been, **I really easily get caught up in my studies and like don't pay attention** to like news and like political stuff that much because I can just like assume like, oh**, someone else is fighting for my best interests**. Like I'm not, like, I'm just one out of like so many people that believe something like similar to me where I, **I've never felt like unsafe or like I need to stand up for my own rights**.

Ann states that her whiteness impacts her personal beliefs and using an example from the

dialogue to highlight how that is the case. In the opening sentence, Ann is making it clear that

her race impacts her personal beliefs by using the word "definitely." When looking at the quote

in full context, the word "definitely" is used to name how Ann's whiteness impacts her personal

beliefs, which also highlight how her personal beliefs are different from the other students in her

IGD due to her white privilege. By taking the IGD, Ann has learned that she has much racial

privilege and does not follow the news or anything remotely political because she can depend on

others (more than likely white people) to fight for her best interest. Ann has not needed to stand

up for her own personal rights as a result of her racial privilege. Power is used to regulate social

behaviors and control material resources for privileged groups (Fowler, 1985; van Dijk, 1998).

Ann's statement that her personal beliefs are "definitely" tied to her whiteness showcase that because of Ann's whiteness, she does not need to focus on racial issues. Because Ann believes other people will handle these issues, Ann opts out of race-based issues because her whiteness allows her that privilege. Ann's whiteness does affect her personal beliefs by giving her the privilege to remain uninvolved and uninterested with different race based issues. Material and social resources are allocated to Ann, because of her racial background.

Understanding Ann's racial identity salience. Ann does not think about her race regularly, and her racial identity salience is an essential finding in determining her racial salience. In Ann's preliminary paper, she was asked to name her most salient social identities, and for Ann, that was education and her family. Ann was the first and only student to note schooling and family as the most salient aspects of her social identity. Before the IGD, it appears that Ann did not have much experience thinking about her race or the race of others. During her exit interview, Ann did state that her race means a lot to her. For most of her life, Ann has only focused on being ethnically 50% Irish. Since taking the IGD, Ann gained an understanding that she is white, just white, because she does not know much about her Irish heritage. Presently, Ann is still figuring out what it means to be white and how her whiteness has gained her racial privilege. Ann states that her race means a lot to her, but she never dissociates her privilege from her whiteness. Ann's comments suggest that she is happy or proud to be white but is early in learning what being white and having racial privilege means. Ann understands that her race is the dominant majority in terms of society, and because other racial groups are subjected to whiteness as the dominant norm, Ann has never felt the need to explore her whiteness. Although Ann says that she needs to figure out what being white is, she already has an understanding, albeit rudimentary. What is perplexing in terms of Ann's racial salience is that states her racial pride,

but does not understand how her whiteness impacts others, a critical factor in white racial identity salience.

Ann's understanding of her whiteness connects to how much she thinks about her racial identity. As shown in the quotes from Ann's exit interview in the previous section, Ann does not think about her race often, even though she has finished her IGD. Ann's IGD experience was the first time in her life, where she critically thought about what it means to be white. Because of Ann's new viewpoints on race, Ann is in a state of questioning how her white privilege has enabled her life. Although Ann does not think about her race much, she does admit that she is focusing on how her white identity marginalizes People of Color.

Finally, Ann's race does affect her personal beliefs because of her racial privilege. Ann's whiteness allows her to insulate herself from race-based traumas that are a part of everyday American life. Because Ann's racial privilege rights, she can maintain a "normal" life and focus on her studies and not get too bogged down in what happens politically or on the news.

By using Helms' (1995) White Racial Identity Development Model (WRIDM) as a guide, I can make sense of Ann's racial salience. Ann appears to be in stage one or in-between stage one and two of Helms' WRIDM. Stage one would indicate that Ann is in the contact phase of the WRIDM. The contact phase could be suitable for Ann because she has admitted that this was the first time she has thought about her race. However, because Ann is starting to understand her whiteness and how it affects others, she may be closer to phase two of Helms' WRIDM, which is Disintegration. The disintegration phase happens when a white person is learning about their whiteness, and they begin to question their prior understandings about race. Because Ann appears to be at the very most in stage two of her white racial identity development, Ann has a low racial salience and places in the low racial salience category for this study.

Intercultural Maturity

The next section focuses on the intercultural maturity of the students in this study. One caveat to intercultural maturity theory, as noted in the literature review, is the refined model by Perez et al. (2015) needs to be updated to include previous intercultural contact. As noted in the literature review, King, Perez, and Kim (2013) noted that contact with other racial groups is essential to growing intercultural maturity. For this reason, I factor contact with other racial and cultural groups in concurrence with the refined model of intercultural maturity. This means that if a student has little to no experience with other racial groups, they may fall in the initial or moderate level of intercultural maturity.

Initial Level of Intercultural Maturity

In this section, I showcase multiple quotes from different students to showcase varying levels of intercultural maturity within the dialogue. Understanding the intercultural maturity of the students upon entering the dialogue aids in explaining the dynamic of racial voyeurism later on in this chapter. Unlike the section on racial salience, there was no question created to understand the student's intercultural maturity level. The student's intercultural maturity was determined based on what they shared in their preliminary and final papers as well as their exit interviews. The following quotes are from students at the initial level of intercultural maturity.

> I think I came into this class having a **different, uh, perspective** of, um, **what racial issues are** because, um, most of the time **I spent in China**, so **I'm less familiar with, um, racial issues in them, in America than my classmates**. (Janie-Interview)

Janie is Biracial (Half White/Half Asian) white presenting ethnically Chinese student from China who identified in the dialogue with the privileged group (white students) in her dialogue. For Janie, although she grew up in China, she has not had many experiences with race-based issues in the United States. Most of Janie's friend group is also Asian and from China.

Zach is another Chinese student in this study that also commented on the dynamic of being from

another country in relation to a U.S. centric dialogue.

> So like to be honest, **I don't really think about race when I've been in China** cause I spent my life middle school, high school in China and then came here for college. But once I got here I like, I see race, um, more important, more importantly. Um, and before because, uh, like, you know, like **the United States is a very diverse country**, so you **have all different race and usually I would want to hang out with like people from the same race**. So yeah, that's the only thing that I really think about race.
> Zach confesses that he did not think much about his race when he was in China.

However, when he came to the United States for college, he began to see how diverse the

country was and that race mattered. Even though Zach understands how diverse the United

States is, he still remains around friends of the same race for the majority of his time.

Both Zach and Janie's previous quotes, as well as other comments not shown here, fall

under the guidelines for an initial level of intercultural maturity. This is due to their lack of

experiences, not only with other racial groups, but also because of whom these students spend

their time within the United States. Both students also do not have an understanding of the socio-

historical issues that plague the United States. Janie, and Zach are not alone in this category of

initial intercultural maturity. Ann also places within the category due to growing up in an

affluent, predominantly white homogenous area while also attending a private religious

institution. Though not shown in this section, Ann's comments on race-based issues also

spotlight her initial phase of intercultural maturity. These comments illustrate racial literacy in

the next section.

Intermediate Level of Intercultural Maturity

The following quote was used in the section on racial salience to discuss Brianna's racial

pride. Under the guidelines of intercultural maturity theory, Brianna is the only student in this

study to call under the intermediate level. Therefore, it is essential to use Brianna's quote again

to showcase why.

> (Voice raises in excitement) I definitely take pride in, **especially** when I see like **a on campus event being hosted**. Um, **when I see people wear like the cultural like clothes** that you know, we have and makes me **more proud to be Indian**. Um, it makes **me feel like cherished in a way**. Um, yeah. I guess like, yeah, I think **when I see other people appreciate my culture** who aren't Indian, that **makes me think about it more**. **That makes me more happy to be Indian. That makes me take more pride in it. Makes me want to go to more cultural events and stuff**.

Although Brianna shows excitement in her racial pride, it also appears that her racial

pride is tied to the enjoyment and acceptance that other racial groups have of her South Indian

heritage. While it is essential to provide inclusive cultural spaces on college campuses, Brianna's

racial pride connects to acceptance of others may suggest she is starting to develop an

understanding of positive racial characteristics in being Indian-American (South Asian

American). Due to Brianna's reliance on other racial groups to increase her racial pride and

acceptance in being Indian-American, the refined model of intercultural maturity would suggest

that she is at the intermediate level.

Mature Level of Intercultural Maturity

There are three students in this study that have a mature level of intercultural maturity

based on the model. The following quotes highlight two students' comments. The first quote

comes from Leila, a biracial (Half Asian/Half White) white passing Pilipino-American student

who identifies as an Asian/person of color.

> **I spend a lot of time** in, um, spaces that are **predominantly like communities of color and people of color**. And I have like **the ethnic background** and like **experiences** of, you know**, growing up in a multiracial household**. Um, yeah. But as a **white passing person**, **I don't feel as if I belong in those communities a lot of times or that I don't have a, like I feel like I shouldn't, you know**? Sometimes I feel like **I shouldn't voice my opinions and thoughts and feelings because people may identify me as white** even though **I have these experiences** and my, um, you know, in, in my past. So that's a lot of where the complexity for me comes in because like, I have like, I have the privileges of a white person, in terms of my social identity, um, which some of my **siblings don't even**

have. Some of my siblings are a lot, um, like have a lot more of like the **Asian Filipino features than me**.

Leila states that she spends much of her time navigating communities of Color. Leila also grew up in a multiracial household and is very perceptive about her privilege as a white-passing person, because her siblings have Asian Filipino features. Because Leila understands that others can perceive her as white, Leila has the thought that she may not belong in communities or spaces of Color even though she identifies as a person of Color and faces race-based oppression. The next student is Keanu and is an ethnically Filipino-American student who identifies as racially Asian.

> Some more background about me is **that I'm a Filipino kid from Chicago**. Um, **so that's one of the reasons why, why easy for me to get along with the Latino community because Filipinos are Seen, the Latino's of Asia** because of our religion, because of our food**. I'm Catholic and like a lot of Latino people are Catholic** as well and are **same foods**, **like our same family structure**. It's like, **it was easy for me to fit in and grow up in these Latino neighborhoods**. Whereas like a lot of my friends who grew up in the same neighborhood as I did, and these Latino communities where like Chinese or like Taiwanese were there, they're, uh, **background is totally different from like the Latino culture**. So it's hard for them to fit in. **But for me it was really easy**. And in terms of me being, like, how much does it mean to me? I would say **I love, I still love being an Asian American guy**. I think, um, I'm thankful for the experiences that I've had. I'm thankful to be here**. I'm proud to be Filipino**. **It means a lot to me**. Um, but **I'm also very open to meeting different people** in this, um, **knowing that the different parts of just the Asian American communities is cool, but like branching out to other people and learning about other people. It's just, it's just as awesome.**

Keanu comes from a very diverse Latinx community in Chicago. As a Filipino-American child, he had the opportunity of growing up with a myriad of Latinx and Asian cultures. Keanu was able to exist within a similar Latinx culture as he was able to find connecting similarities with his Pilipino ethnicity. Keanu was also able to understand that his treatment was different than his other Asian friends (Chinese and Taiwanese) who's culture did not reflect the culture of the Latinx community. While Keanu is proud to be Filipino, he also is interested in knowing different parts of the Asian community as well as people who exist outside of Asian subgroups.

Keanu's interest does not lack energy as his word use in the last sentence shows his excitement in learning from other racial and ethnic groups other than his own.

As I have repeated multiple times in this section, the refined model of intercultural maturity is a guidepost to understand where the students in this study are at regarding their intercultural maturity. Keanu and Leila both showcase that they have a high level of intercultural maturity. Both students showcase this by navigating and seeking out multiracial communities. Keanu and Leila also understand that their treatment may be different based on their racial/ethnic identities. For Leila, she understands that she is white-passing, and therefore questions what her role is while navigating different communities of color. Keanu showcased a similar understanding when he commented on being able to fit into his Latinx community, whereas other Asian subgroups (Chinese, South Asian) lacked the same ability. Through their quotes, Keanu and Leila highlight that they fit into a high level of intercultural maturity because of their openness to navigate cultures other than their own, as well as being perceptive about the racial and ethnic differences.

Racial Literacy Findings

Before introducing the findings on racial voyeurism in IGD, it is first relevant to discuss the racial literacy of a few students. I define racial literacy in this paper as a person's understanding of social, cultural, legal, economic, and political actions as they relate to race. These actions illuminate a person's understanding of how race, as a social construction, and racial power, concerning the intersections of gender, socio-economic status, and geography, connect. These links reveal how a person understands the relationship between the social constructions of race, racial power, and racial hierarchies, showing how one recognizes racial and racist dynamics in society. Understanding the student's racial literacy is essential to

understanding how students make sense of and experience racial dynamics in the IGD, specifically racial voyeurism. In this section, I highlight quotes from students who entered the dialogue with a low, medium, and high racial literacy. I coded racial literacy under the context of how much students understood about racial privilege, oppression, and power within the United States. The majority of the responses come from the student's final paper, or an exit interview, as the students did not have the reflexivity to know their racial literacy gaps before the IGD. In this section, I also discuss quotes on racial literacy in tandem with other students. A dynamic regarding low racial literacy is that some students never thought about racial privilege or oppression within the United States. Janie, a biracial half white, half Asian, and ethically Chinese student notes her understanding of racial literacy in her final paper.

> **I did not come in to this class thinking of privilege and oppression**—I didn't even have a solid opinion on **the tension between Whites and People of Color in the US society**. My experience as a White and Asian biracial **who grew up abroad does not perfectly fall into either category**, but through this class I gained more insight into **how I am navigating in the US and I can further understand how my identity shaped my experience at the global stage**.

Janie gained a new understanding of racial issues between white people and People of Color by taking the IGD. Because Janie grew up in a racially homogenous China, she did not have much of an understanding in terms of the history and racial oppression in the United States, even though one of her parents is from the United States. Janie's life and racial experiences are not the same as other U.S. born students. Because she is from China, she has never had to think about racial privilege or oppression but is now making sense of how her racial identity structures her lived racialized experience. Brianna, a South Asian American student, also notes her racial literacy in the context of the IGD in her exit interview.

> **I thought I knew** [3 second pause], I thought **I already knew what was going on**. And like I know we were going to talk about like hot topics and stuff and I thought I knew [2 second pause], but I apparently I found out like [brief pause] **I really don't know as**

much but like on top of that, like it made things like made me realize like things that like, you know, that I am **very lucky and like many aspects** and then I need to like, you know, be an **advocate for my constituents**. **Constituents who like don't have the same privileges as I do**.

Unlike Janie, who had never thought about racial privilege and oppression before the dialogue, Brianna thought and likely had some understanding of where she and her race stood in the context of racial marginalization before the IGD. By taking the IGD, Brianna learned that though she has a racial marginalization, she also has racial privileges. Brianna was able to recognize that she can be a supporter of people who maintain less racial privilege than her. Although Brianna shows growth in her racial literacy by not understanding or knowing what was happening in the context of race before the dialogue, Brianna has an intermediate racial literacy. All cases of racial literacy are not as cut and dry as Janie or Brianna. The last two quotes from students highlighted their racial salience by saying, "I thought I knew" or "I never thought about privilege and oppression." While racial literacy can be understood by declarative statements, racial literacy can also be understood by the understanding of actions and experiences. Understanding the level of one's racial literacy is evident with a CRI-dialogue interaction that Ann shares in her exit interview.

> One story that **really stuck out to me**, um, was there was another girl and she was talking about, um, we had watched a video in classes was when we were talking about, um, interracial dating and the video had some comment about like people having types[…] And in that discussion, a, um, one of the **black girls in my class**, she, um, said that in college, um, other like it's, **it was hard for her to meet other guys, the people of her same** race because, um, most and like there were **very few other like black students on campus** and like if they are on campus they're probably athletes. Um, and she said that even then the guys only go for, um, **slutty white girls because white girls are easier is a comment that she made.** And that just **stood out to me because I had never, I didn't know that girls, like white girls had that reputation on campus.** I had heard like in other countries, like if you're like, uh, a blonde American girl, like other, like in other cultures they'll be like, oh, **like the like bloody American girl [British Accent] or like you want to like marry the American girls because they're easy to fool on them.** Like you'll get an American passport or like stereotypes like that. **But I'd never heard it like on like campus.** And so hearing that was, um, **it was shocking to me, but then like hearing her talk about it, it made sense, but it was definitely something that was**

hard for me to hear. Um, but yeah, I don't know if that was just something that stood out to me and that I **still like think about a lot because I don't want to like to represent myself in that way**.

During the IGD, interracial dating is a hot topic that comes up regularly. This dialogue on dating outside of one's race stayed with Ann because of comments that were made by a Black woman regarding white women who date Black men. The Black women from the dialogue shared their candor and vexation on seeing Black men date outside of their race because it left them few if any dating prospects. The Black women also noted that the Black men she knew proceeded to date promiscuous white women, which was a surprise to Ann. From Ann's own experiences, she had heard this before in other countries. She even used a British accent to signify place of origin with the comments she has heard previously about women from the United States. Ann had no context for understanding how she as a white woman is looked at by other racial groups, Black women in particular for dating Black men, because of Ann's low racial literacy and salience.

Dating is a social practice; interracial dating is a racially social practice that has a socio-historical context that has caused pain and marginalization for Black women because they do not fit Eurocentric standards of beauty. Whereas for white women and Black men (as well as other raced men) who approve of Eurocentric beauty standards, there is a level of colorblindness, happiness, and privilege. Ann never thought she would be judged within the United States about her dating preferences. Ann has never thought critically about her race or racial privilege, which was illustrated earlier in this chapter. Ann's comments also highlight that she has a low racial literacy because she is not aware of her white privilege let alone other white women's privilege regarding interracial dating, or how interracial dating affects Women of Color, specifically Black women negatively, or how Women of Color perceive white women who date interracially.

Students With High Racial Literacy.

As stated earlier in this section on racial literacy, understanding the student's racial literacy is essential to understanding how students understand and experience racial dynamics in the IGD, specifically racial voyeurism. Through her preliminary and final paper, as well as her exit interview, Kendraya as highlighted that she has a high racial literacy by understanding her race, as well as social and historical factors that impact her race as well as the race of others. In her final paper, Kendraya illustrates her racial literacy as she describes the intersectionality of her race and gender identities.

> **A Black woman in America faces numerous challenges that impacts how she sees the world and how she sees herself in it.** My understanding of being a **Black woman remains consistent with what I experience on a daily basis**. I know that **carrying the double minority** of being **Black and a woman imposes subliminal expectations on me**, where **even before I enter a room I am assumed to be uneducated, poor, and sexual.** These stereotypes are **harmful and inadvertently cause me to overcompensate** or **explain who I am** in social situations to **prevent my peers from seeing me through this lens**. For example, **I know that I have to work 10 times harder than my non-minority peers** in order to be **considered exceptional like them**. I know that **I will be judged by everything I do** on the basis **of my skin color**. I know that **my white peers are intimidated by who I am, as my personality disproves the stereotypes they were raised to accept.**

Kendraya understands how she, as a Black woman, is viewed in not only the United States but the world. Because she is a Black woman who is oppressed because of her race and gender, Kendraya articulates that she has a bevy of racial challenges and assumptions she must face regularly. Based on her lived experiences, Kendraya knows that she connects to harmful stereotypes that face Black women (e.g., lacks of intelligence, low social class, highly sexual). While these stereotypes are harmful, Kendraya has to counterbalance them daily to halt fellow peers' expectations. To fight stereotypes, Kendraya works 10 times harder than her white peers in order for her white peers to consider her remarkable, an adjective that her white peers and her professors easily hand to her other white peers. Because she is a Black woman, conclusions are

drawn about Kendraya no matter what action she takes. Kendraya's personality unnerves her

white peers because she has to work overtime in order to dismantle stereotypes her white peers

were told about Black women. Kendraya has a high racial literacy because she understands the

social context of being a Black woman in this society. Kendraya is perceptive and realizes that

white people do not view her or other Black women positively.

Most importantly, Kendraya's racial literacy signifies that she understands racial

privilege and oppression, as well, Kendraya's racial marginalization as a Black woman in

conjunction with the racial privilege of white people. Kendraya's high racial literacy is essential

later on in this study when discussing the dynamic of racial voyeurism.

Although different from Kendraya, Leila discusses her racial literacy by regarding her

personal interest in exploring her racial identity in her final interview.

> Um, so I think it's just honestly, um, this kind of **really intense awareness** that **I've owned over** the course of the, um, **over the course of the last few years**, like being **a women's studies major, being really involved** in, um, the **Asian American community here on campus**. Um, and I think just the things that I think about a lot is like, okay, how are, how is like, how do I, **how does my whiteness affects this?** Like **what are, like the experiences that I have in the past? Like how are they affecting like the decisions and the way that I move through society and through spaces today**?

While Kendraya's racial literacy has formed based on the way she experiences the world,

Leila's racial literacy appears to draw from questions about how her biracial white-passing

identity has affected her experiences and the actions she employs. The difference between

Kendraya and Leila is that Kendraya knows how her Blackness affects her lived experiences

while Leila is still making sense of her whiteness, although Leila does understand her whiteness

does impact her lived experience. Leila's awareness derived from being a women's studies

major, along with becoming active in the Asian American community at her institution.

Although Leila is still making sense of how her white-passing identity affects her word, she has a

very critical view of her whiteness, which showcased that she has a medium-high to high racial

literacy.

Chapter 5 "They Just Were Mostly Sitting Back and Staying Quiet": Racial Voyeurism and

Cross-Racial IGD

The dynamic of racial voyeurism was evident across every study participant in this study. Multiple students mentioned this dynamic in their interviews and their final papers for the IGD course. In this next section, I am going to highlight, using the final student papers as well as exit interviews. Kendraya is a Black American woman and student; regarding the dynamic of racial voyeurism, and SOC sharing more about their race, she states in an interview,

I would say between a 1 to 10 [raises voice vehemently] a **9 or 9.5**.

Kendraya did not hold back when talking about this dynamic of racial voyeurism within the IGD space. What was interesting about this moment was the tonality of Kendraya's voice. For most of the interview, her tone stayed around the same level. However, when discussing the topic of racial voyeurism, she answered affirmatively without a doubt. Similarly, to Kendraya, Keanu, an Asian man, ethnically Filipino, also experienced the dynamic of racial voyeuristic listening within the dialogue.

Yeah. Ummm [Draws out sound, appears to be thinking, then raises voice emphatically]. **That happened. I would say that happened a lot. Um, that happens a lot**.

Though short in response about the dynamic of racial voyeurism in the dialogue, Keanu mentioned and repeated that racial voyeurism was present in his dialogue and happened consistently. Janie, a white-passing Chinese born biracial student who identified with the white student group, was asked about her experience with racial voyeurism.

[Janie's voice raised in affirmation] Um**, it was pretty, uh, obvious at the beginning of the course**. It was obvious that the, that **the white folks were, they were tending to stay, stay quiet and wanting to learn like what the students of color were experiencing**.

As Moss and Roberts (2019) note, racial voyeurism is used as a means of gathering information of People of Color. Janie, like Kendraya without dispute, noted the apparent dynamic with SOC sharing about race and white students voyeuristically listening to SOC's experiences. Janie notes that the White students stayed quiet because they wanted to know how SOC experience race. White students remaining silent to hear from SOC is aligns with racial voyeurism, because of the lack of white student responses. Leila, a biracial Asian/White/Pilipino student of color**,** commented in her final paper on the dynamic of racial voyeurism in her dialogue.

> There was **a second road bump** that we had to overcome as a group though, and that was the fact that the people in our group that **held oppressed identities were the ones that were doing the most talking and sharing of experiences whenever the facilitators would pose questions to the group**, and the students that held privileged **identities in regards to race and ethnicity (white students) would not offer experiences or opinions often**. This is problematic because it puts the stress on the oppressed group to teach the privileged group about the system of oppression and how it affects them and additionally it further perpetuates the idea that people who hold privileged identities don't experience this system at all.

Leila cloaks her response to an issue that may have shown up in the dialogue under the term "road bump." The usage of this term intends to take the sting or severity off of the issue of racial voyeurism that happened in Leila's IGD. Leila then highlights that the SOC within the dialogue was doing the majority of the sharing regarding their racial experiences. She further states that SOC sharing their experiences is problematic because it places the "stress" of teaching about race on SOC, while white students can sit back and remain in a position of racial privilege that mirrors society. SOC sharing most about their race not only places the stress of talking about race on SOC, but it also highlights who is responsible for this dynamic of racial voyeurism.

Furthermore, Leila provides an analysis that white people do not experience the system of racial oppression. While white people are not racially oppressed, they are benefactors in the

oppression of marginalized racial groups. White people's ability to share how they benefit from the system of racial oppression while SOC share their racial marginality is a crucial gap that needs to be filled by dialogue participants in order to reduce racial voyeurism. Brianna, a South-Asian American student of color, also provided her experience on racial voyeurism within the IGD.

> [5 second pause before answering] I mean it didn't bother me because I didn't notice it first. Um [pauses for 3 seconds to think], I was like one of the **few people who were, I was one of the people who was like talking**. But then that also like, and then afterwards it was brought up by our facilitators. Like that made me like, yeah, I realize that I need a monitor my air time. Okay. Um, yeah, I didn't notice it, but once it was brought up, then I actually realized it.

Brianna took a decent pause before answering the question on SOC and sharing regarding white students in the IGD. At first, the dynamic of SOC sharing did not bother her, even though she was one of the students doing the majority of the sharing in her dialogue. Once the facilitators brought up who was and was not sharing, Brianna felt the need that it was necessary to monitor her airtime. Though Brianna was a SOC that was sharing about her race, she sees her sharing as a problem, instead of the lack of sharing of white students. While monitoring airtime is essential, the overall lack of sharing of white participants created an imbalance that was troublesome for other SOC in Brianna's dialogue.

> Um, I remember some of them [SOC], bringing that up and they felt like some students felt like **they weren't getting anything like accomplished from the conversation. They felt like they weren't gaining anything from the white students because they weren't participating.** Um, and, uh, they felt like they were teaching the white students, but, um, and it isn't, and **they felt like it isn't their job and that we should all gain something from it. But they felt like they weren't gaining anything at the time.**

This example, as well as the other previous examples, highlights this dynamic of racial voyeurism with the IGD space. SOC within Brianna's dialogue felt white students did not value their time in the dialogues about race, because SOC were not receiving personal experiences

from the white students. Brianna also highlights that the SOC felt as if they were teaching white students and that the exchange of racial experiences should be reciprocal because the job of SOC was not to teach white students, and the job of white students was not to voyeuristically listen to SOC experiences without sharing their own. Imani, a Black American woman who also experienced the dynamic on racial voyeurism within her IGD:

> I feel like **it really happened a lot because oftentimes they wouldn't speak about their race, but like of their friends races and how their friends are impacted**. Like it will be like, [emulating white vocal pattern dramatically] "**Oh, I used to be problematic. But then my one friend got called the N word and then I saw the light**." [laughter].

Imani notes in her interview that the dynamic of racial voyeurism happened often due to white students' efforts to refrain from talking about their white racial experiences. One white discursive ideological practice that Imani spotlights is how white students used their friends of Color to talk about race, instead of their whiteness. Ideology is used in discourse to control the actions of marginalized groups (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1998), and power is used to regulate social behaviors (Fowler, 1985; van Dijk, 1998).White students within Imani's IGD engaged with the stories of their friends of Color in order to showcase to SOC that they were not racist or racially problematic. However, this white discursive ideological practice of sharing about friends of Color used by white students is not a sharing of their white racial experiences but a way to racially absolve themselves of their potentially racially problematic past. As white students try to racially absolve themselves from race/race based issues through white ideological practices, white students are still speaking, technically, sharing about race. The discourse of white students sharing about a friend's race, or remaining silent when asked about their whiteness exerts control over marginalized groups within the cross-racial IGD space. This is because SOC still share about their racial experiences, which provides white students more opportunities to racially voyeur while reframing from sharing about their white racial experiences. Other practices of

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white discursive ideologies that contributed to racial voyeurism is discussed in later sections of this chapter.

This section illustrates the critical finding of this study with the use of quotes from students in their final papers and exit interviews that the dynamic of racial voyeurism does exist within cross-racial intergroup dialogues and broader CRIs in general. While the dynamic of racial voyeurism does exist in the context of CRIs, it is also essential to understand how and why racial voyeurism functions. Because of the permanence of racism in U.S. society, racial voyeurism is indeed a function, and therefore, a manifestation of racism. Racism impacts all raced based interactions between individuals that have whiteness and People of Color. Because racism is endemic to all forms of American life, white discursive ideological practices have been created by white people in order to uphold the system of racism which privileges white people (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). White discursive ideological practices used within the cross-racial IGDs provides ways for white students to racially voyeur SOC by remaining silent about their whiteness while hearing the racial experiences of SOC. Within this study white discursive practices that white students utilized are identified as frames of white racial absolution. Frames of white racial absolution shown in the next few sections are as follows, the claim of white racial ignorance, telling the stories of People of Color, white silence, and leaning on other marginalities.

Understanding Racial Voyeurism

The following section uses quotes from students in the IGD as well as facilitators on the dynamic of why racial voyeurism happens. While it is essential to highlight that this issue of racial voyeurism is present within conversations about race within the IGD, and race relations in general, it is also relevant to explain the how and why this dynamic took place. As stated

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previously, understanding racial voyeurism within the IGDs is key to understanding intergroup relations within IGDs and society as a whole. Responses from students and facilitators were produced in the final interviews when asked further about racial voyeurism or in the student's final papers when connecting their IGD experiences to race relations. The next section explores Frames of white racial absolution utilized by white students within the cross-racial IGD.

White Student's Lack of Racial Understanding vs Claimed White Racial Ignorance

Keanu, an Asian Pilipino-American student, shared his thoughts on racial voyeurism and why it happened in his dialogue.

> **Yeah. ummm. That happened. I would say that happened a lot. Um, that happens a lot. Mainly because mainly because there's a lot of stories too to say as students of color.** As a student of color. It's like we, **we know we were the ones who recognize all of these microaggressions** that we have had since we were like younger students. You know, since we were kids, we, we see are maybe your parents go through like something that was like made you scratch your head. It's like those are the stories that we randomly share in class whenever it comes to our mind. **Whereas the whites, really don't think about like those microaggressions because they never like went through it.** So, it's **maybe harder for them to, recall a lot of these stories**. So that's really just about, uh, **students of color sharing and a lot of, a lot of the stories**. **So I do agree with that and it happens a decent amount.** I wouldn't say a lot of times I would say mmm. **A decent amount of time. Maybe like 60% of the time a student of color is speaking and then like 40% is I go white, participant.**

Keanu repeats what other students stated in the previous section on the existence of racism voyeurism, which is that it happened and took up a considerable amount of space within the IGD. Keanu also notes that the dynamic of SOC sharing was between 60% SOC to 40% white students in terms of speaking. While this showcases an imbalance of sharing amongst SOC and white IGD participants, it also showcases that the level of racial voyeurism could vary by the interpreter's race and IGD. For example, Kendraya, who is a Black woman and took a different race IGD than Keanu, noted that it happened 90%-95% of the time. The racial differences, as well as different facilitators and dialogue composition, may account for the spectrum of

experience. Keanu states in his interview that the dynamic of racial voyeurism happens because SOC are the ones with raced-based microaggression experiences.

SOC either experience racism firsthand or their friends or family members experience racial oppression. For white students, Keanu believes that they do not talk about race because they do not experience racial microaggressions. Keanu is correct; white people do not and cannot experience racial microaggressions, but they can commit or witness those acts onto People of Color. Furthermore, white people have racialized experiences even if they do not experience racism or racial microaggressions, because white people are in a position of power within the racial hierarchy.

Since white people can and commit harm to People of Color through harmful covert and overt racial acts, white students should be able to draw on personal experiences during cross-racial interaction in order to share about their white racial experiences. If white students have not experienced cross-racial interactions, they may need to ponder what problematic race-based thoughts they may hold about SOC. While SOC have a number of racial experiences regarding being treated negatively based on their race, white students have a lot of racial experiences as white people in society committing and observing racist acts. Though white people are a part of negative racial interactions for People of Color, in order for white people to talk about these experiences in dialogue, they first have to recognize and understand how interactions are raced and tied to their whiteness.

When talking about racial voyeurism, Kendraya points out the dynamic that white people do not think about their whiteness or other races, which adds to their silence on race.

> So a lot of times my facilitators would bring up these topics and I don't even know if it, yeah, **they just did not talk because they didn't say like we're scared.** And I do think like a lot of times that is the case. Like **people are scared to say something wrong or scared to be racist and whatnot, although that is supposed to be an environment**

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where people are to learn. But **I genuinely believe like they did**, **not speak on these topics because they've, these, they've never been met with these topics before. They've never had to think about that or** just like**, even like the idea that black history is interesting to me but only interesting to black people but not interesting to anyone else** or like **history period is interesting only to those who are being oppressed** and **just like knowing like systematic institutions and all that stuff.**

The dynamic of racial voyeurism existing connects to white people's fear and vocalization of sounding racist. Although white people may fear admitting their racist acts, if the IGD is a space for racial learning, Kendraya believes white students should share their experiences. Kendraya also cites that racial voyeurism is happening because white people do not have to think about their race or racial topics in general. I question if Kendraya truly believes that white people do not think about their race, or if Kendraya was told this ideological viewpoint from white students in her dialogue. Kendraya also notes that white people do not take an interest in the history of Blacks or other oppressed groups, and do not pay attention to systematic oppression in the world. Keanu and Kendraya's quotes provide intriguing commentary on the sharing practices of white students within cross-racial IGDs. While Keanu's quote posits white students' lack of racial sharing due to lack of experiences with racism, Kendraya's quote notes that white people do not think about race and are afraid of appearing racist. Imani provides further context on the sharing practices of white students within her cross-racial IGD and adds to the comments of Keanu and Kendraya on white racial sharing.

White Racial Absolution: White Students Sharing The Racial Experiences of People of Color

So they didn't really have like **key experiences that they thought that they could bring to the table that were significant to that other experiences of their friends of color**, which is why they felt they can contribute more if they were to speak about like their friends or their family's experience and for uh, the people of color basically, **we kind of felt like, it's kind of like they were trying to victimize us.** It was like, (emulating white vocal pattern dramatically) "**Oh, poor, like black people like this racism, like it's so wrong."** And it's more so like when we were having discussions, **we wanted to truly**

know what they were talking about, but they're like, (emulating white vocal pattern dramatically) "Oh yeah, my friend get called the n-word, it was just so terrible."

As seen with Keanu and Kendraya, Imani notes that white students within her cross-racial IGD did not feel they had white racial experiences that they (white students) could share with SOC. The white students were claiming white racial ignorance in order to divulge from sharing about their whiteness. Instead of searching for white racial experiences that the white students could have shared in the cross-racial IGD, the white students felt it was suitable to share racial stories about their friends of Color. When the white students were not speaking from the perspective of their friends of Color, they spoke about race-related incidents with their own white family members. Imani notes that the white students' actions of sharing about the racial experiences of others and not their own created a space of victimization for SOC within her own cross-racial IGD. Instead of the victimization that Imani and her dialogue participants of Color received from white students, they would have instead heard stories from white students about their white racial experiences, instead of using People of Color as a tool to showcase why racism towards People of Color is wrong. As noted in chapter 1, recent findings on white students in cross-racial dialogues suggest that white students in race and ethnicity dialogues remain silent in order to not offend SOC (Maxwell & Chesler, 2019). However, Imani dictates that SOC wanted to hear from SOC, and the victimization of SOC done by white students was not a productive practice for the cross-racial IGD.

The use of stories from other People of Color and white people from the white students within the cross-racial IGD, is a discursive white ideological practice that the white students used in order to escape from confronting their whiteness. Imani recognized the actions of white students, and in her interview, mimicked the vocal patterns and sounds of the white students dramatically to spotlight how the white students were using discursive white ideological

practices. SOC did not sign up to take the cross-racial IGD to hear from white students about why they are not racist or the negative racial actions of white family members. As Imani's quote suggests, SOC wanted to know genuinely what white students' experiences were with whiteness. A key theme in why racial voyeurism happens from Iamni, Keanu, and Kendraya is because white students within their various cross-racial IGDs did not understand their whiteness and racial issues in general, or in other words, white students having a low racial salience and racial literacy. As a result of having a low racial salience and racial literacy, white students claimed racial white ignorance, and deferred to sharing the experiences of other white people and friends of color to divest from sharing their own white racial experiences. During this time that white students are claiming white racial ignorance, white students are still receiving the comments of SOC which creates the dynamic for racial voyeurism.

While the majority of the white students in the dialogues have a low racial salience and racial literacy, white students experience the systems of race and racism. The lack of white students not talking about their race is a discursive practice of power and ideology. White people articulating that "they do not think about their race, are scared to talk about their race, do not want to seem racist, have nothing to say about race, and want to hear from People of Color about race" is a way of controlling the narrative around white people's own racial power. While white students who have not spent time learning about race and race-based issues, stating fear of talking about race or not knowing about race is a tactic of white racial absolution which white students used to enact white silence, the vocalization of SOC, and racial voyeurism.

Ann, who was in Kendraya's dialogue, noticed racial voyeurism was happening after the two facilitators (Ayesha and Alexandra) mentioned the dynamic. In her final interview, Ann provided more context to the discussion of why racial voyeurism happens.

The two African American girls in the class said like, [quoting Black women students] I've noticed that. Like, **I talk a lot more than like everyone else**. Um, uh, and like, I tried to like, get other people to like talk sometimes, but a lot of times, **like one girl said**, like, **I just like race personally**, **something that I'm really interested in and I've done a lot of like research in it, like on my free time**. Like, I enjoy that. **So like, I just feel like I like know a little bit more about this topic and like a lot of the students do. So that's why I, um, talk about it and I'm sorry if I'm like taking other people's time up**, but, um, she was like, **I'm not doing it on purpose.** Like, of course I'm happy to talk about anything and explain like, different theories that I like learned about to people. Um, so it was interesting that that was **the two African American girls who said, who do talk the most in that class, um, amongst like everyone else.**

Two of the Black women in Ann's dialogue (one being Kendraya) said within the dialogue that racial voyeurism was a dynamic that took place. Ann commented in her interview that one of the Black women in her dialogue stated that race is a personal interest, and they have spent much time studying race-based issues. Because of a Black woman taking up airtime within the dialogue, the Black woman apologized, although it appears her intent was to provide information on race and racism due to her interest. Ann, as well as the dialogue itself, is placing the blame or imbalance of sharing on the Black women within the dialogue. While the facilitators were correct to point out racial voyeurism, they are also responsible for ensuring blame is not unfairly cast on the most vulnerable community within the dialogue, Black women. One of those Black women (Kendraya) stated in her interview and a final paper that white people were not sharing about their race out of fear of saying something racist or not understanding their whiteness.

Black women take the brunt of the blame in Ann's remark about racial voyeurism with no other comment about white students or any other racial group sharing dynamics. Ann's comments, which places the blame on Black women, is due to Ann's low racial salience, racial literacy, and low inter-cultural maturity that do not allow her to understand and make sense of her white silence, or the silence of other student groups within the dialogue. When Ann did

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comment on her sharing in the dialogue, she would repeat how she was white and did not think about the race-based topic. Ann's comments display a frame of white racial absolution which is claiming white racial ignorance.

> I often find myself saying like**, oh, like I'm white. I hadn't really thought about this before. Like, this is something like new to me,** but like I recognize that I haven't thought about it cause I am privileged and **I need to work harder to like see these discriminations like in my daily life**.

As stated previously, SOC noted that white students did not speak about their own racial experiences much within the dialogue. White students used discursive ideological practices to claim racial ignorance in order to remain silent on sharing about their whiteness. According to Bonilla-Silva (2018), "rulers receive solace by believing they are not involved in the terrible ordeal of creating and maintaining inequality, the ruled are charmed by the almost magic qualities of hegemonic ideology" (p. 53). Bonilla-Silva provides an understanding for how ideology is used by privileged groups to maintain power over marginalized groups. Privileged groups (i.e., Rulers) use ideology to reinforce the status quo, by removing themselves from an ordeal and believing they are not in control while simultaneously charming marginalized groups (i.e., the ruled).

Ann's quote above showcases a discursive ideological tactic used by white people to negate talking about race which utilizes power. Ann states that she is "white," "hadn't really thought about this before. Like, this is something like new to me," "I am privileged and I need to work harder to like see these discriminations like in my daily life"; however, these statements are used by Ann to leverage racial ignorance and to avoid talking about race. While Ann signed up to take an IGD on race, has a low racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity, talking about race within IGD is vital, talking about the ways in which Ann has or has not seen or experienced racial oppression in front of SOC is important. Ann, stating that she had not

thought about race before is a brief comment that removes accountability from Ann about the sharing of her white racial experiences. It also puts the ownership of sharing on SOC, because SOC take the word of white participants when they state racial ignorance for lack of IGD sharing. Previous research on white students in cross-racial dialogues noted that white students in race and ethnicity dialogues remain silent to in order to not offend SOC (Maxwell & Chesler, 2019). However, this dialogue from Ann, white facilitators, and SOC suggest that white students do not share in cross-racial IGDs because of their use of white discursive ideological practices used to dictate racial voyeurism.

As stated earlier in this chapter, ideology is used by privileged groups to control the actions of marginalized groups, while Ann stating that "hadn't really thought about this before. Like, this is something like new to me," "I am privileged and I need to work harder to like see these discriminations like in my daily life" is a form of Ann exerting ideology and power within the IGD. Discourse is language in action that drive privilege and oppression (Fairclough, 1993; Gee, 2000; Janks, 1997; Machin & Mahr, 2012); ideology, a shared belief system, is used in discourse by privileged groups to control marginalized groups (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1998); and power is used within discourse to regulate the behavior of privileged and oppressed groups (Fowler, 1985; van Dijk, 1998). Ann uses her discourse of "hadn't really thought about this before. Like, this is something like new to me," "I am privileged and I need to work harder to like see these discriminations like in my daily life," to signal she is not going to share about her race. Ann not sharing about her race showcases that she and other white people do not know anything about race, which is an ideological viewpoint used by white students to remain silent and dictate to SOC that they as a white person has nothing to share about race. Furthermore,

power is exerted from Ann by her silence because it puts the action of sharing about race onto

SOC, which creates the dynamic of racial voyeurism.

The Foundation of Racism in the US and IGD

Alexandra provides more context on why the dynamic of racial voyeurism happens in

cross racial interactions, and why Black students tend to carry the load of educating white

students.

> I would say that **Black students tend to be in that role more often than other groups of students**. I think that like in America in general, **racism is seen as very much like a black versus white problem still**. Um, and you know, not to say that that isn't a problem of course at all, but I just think **that black students tend to face a lot of racism, particularly from like white people.** And we talk about like the **racial hierarchy in dialogue** and when we talk about that, it's usually like, you have like Black people well tend to be, you know, what the students perceive is what they sort of **talked about as the racial hierarchy.** They perceive like black students to be at the bottom of that followed by like, um, you know, Arab, Native and Latinx students. So then sort of Asian students and then like white students. **So I think it's also a replication of where like students tend to be, who's at the bottom, who is most effected by racism versus like people who are affected by racism.**

Alexandra comments that Black students are normalized by white students in the role of

racial voyeurism as the educator because of racism in the United States that is still seen as a

white vs. Black issue. Racism within U.S. society is more than a white vs. Black issue; however,

Alexandra also comments that Blacks face a vast bulk of racism from white people in society.

Finally, Alexandra suggests that racial voyeurism takes place in the CRIs because of the racial

hierarchy, which places white people at the top and Blacks at the bottom with other SOC in-

between. Thus, CRIs replicate the racial hierarchy that happens in society because racism is

permanent, which means Blacks impacted negatively the most.

Because of racial stratification in society, whiteness is often seen by white people as the

racial norm (Morrison, 1994). Though Leila was in a dialogue in a different semester than

Alexandra, Ayesha, Ann, and Kendraya, Leila pointed out the dynamic of whiteness as a norm impacting the sharing of white students.

> Like the white people in our class**, definitely had some difficulty in terms of figuring out** what they, um, **what they could contribute to the class**, um, because you know, **white's the norm.** So you don't really think about it as being, you know, **part of one of your identities** is just because that's, it just is, um, because **that's the way our society is currently structured**.

Leila is speaking to the larger issue of how racism within the United States has constructed society to uplift whiteness as the norm society should follow. Because society transcends cross racial interactions and thus the IGD space, whiteness as the racial norm is likely to permeate unless whiteness as the racial norm is deconstructed early on.

The Effects of White Silence

While commentary from Keanu, Kendraya, and Alexandra showcase that racial voyeurism was caused in the dialogues due to a low racial salience and literacy of white students, their comments do not account for white's own agency in withholding participation. A later comment from Ann when responding to a question about impactful moments that her white facilitator shared, shows that Ann withheld sharing about her race and racial issues within the dialogue space.

> It made me realize that there are **definitely a lot of times in my life where I have done racist like actions**, just like **making people feel unwelcome** but that like **I am so privileged that like I was oblivious to them**. So like I'm sure there are **more times in my life or stuff like that it's happened**, but I uh, I don't know, **I haven't even like remembered it** because **I wasn't aware at the time that I was doing something oppressive.** And it's like **wanting me to make like be more aware of like my future actions.** And just like other actions around me, like I know **I need to like it's an effort for me to see racist and oppressive things on campus** because **I just like live in my little bubble** and go about my day, like **everything looks fine to me. But like I need to acknowledge that that's not actually reality.** (CJG: This is a really powerful, um, comment that you're making and I'm wondering, um, were you able to like share that in the class?) [8 second Pause] Um, I **definitely wrote about it in my journals I have talked about it a few times** in class, but again, that's like one of the, like it's kind of the thing that **I keep repeating** is like if there's an experience that comes up or a question,

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like I often find myself saying like, **oh, like I'm white. I hadn't really thought about this before.** Like, **this is something like new to me, but like I recognize that I haven't thought about it cause I am privileged and I need to work harder to like see these discriminations like in my daily life.**

Ann states that Alexandra sharing about her race did help Ann recognize racist actions in her own life. Ann admits that she has committed racist acts towards others in the past but was unable to make sense of them until now. Due to the dialogue, Ann is starting to understand more about her white racial identity, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity, although she is still in the early phases of all three. In the future, Ann wants to make a conscious effort not to walk through life with racial blinders. Ann has lived a life of color evasion because she has been unable to tie her whiteness to her actions.

White Racial Absolution: Leaning On Non-Racial Marginalities

I followed up with Ann to see if she shared her comments about her past racist acts with her other cross-racial IGD participants. Ann was uncomfortable when answering this question, as it appeared to catch her off guard. She took a long pause and stated that she mentioned these comments about her racist actions in the past within her journals, but she only shared these comments about her racist actions a few times in class. Ann did not linger on the sharing of past racial actions for long and quickly progressed towards saying that she often repeated that she was white and never thought about her race because she is racially privileged. Ann is using her whiteness as a scapegoat, though it is unclear if it her decision is conscious. Ann is saying she is white and has not thought about specific issues; this response appears to be a discursive ideological tactic that allows her to not talk about her actions, thoughts, or opinions about race and racism. While silence was one tactic used by Ann, she also used her gender to avoid talking about her race.

Throughout class a lot, I **like leaned towards talking about like my gender** and like other identities because **like a lot of times with discussions about race,** I felt like **I didn't really have that much to say**. Like a lot of time I would just be like, oh, **I'm white, I'm privileged. I've never really thought about this**. And like I wanted to think about it more but like it was hard for me to like go past that where **it's like it was easier for to me be like my race hasn't ever been discriminated against or discriminated against.** But I think kind of, I've kind of **relate by being in a slightly similar situation like with my gender**. So it's like I would kind of try to use like **other identities to relate when I couldn't really talking about race.** But it was also like**, I think I used it as a safety net because I am so uncomfortable talking about what it means to be white** and I don't know what it means that it's easier for me to talk about like other identities.

Ann used her gender as a strategy to avoid talking about her whiteness in the context of the dialogue. Avoiding talking about race in CRIs is a form of silence because Ann made an intentional choice to rely on other social identities. As noted in the section on racial salience, Ann does not think about her race or racial issues in general. Ann would repeat surface-level comments about never experiencing racial discrimination but tried to use her gender identity to relate to race-based issues. If Ann would have pushed through her discomfort in talking about her whiteness, racial voyeurism would have been reduced by white students in her IGD. Scholars must continue to research how white people use silence and other tactics to avoid talking about race. What is perplexing about Ann's decision to not talk about her whiteness is that she signed up for a class where she knew race and her whiteness would be a topic. I question if Ann took the dialogue with the intentions of racially voyeuristically listening to the SOC. Ann was not the only student to withhold information in the dialogue setting. When asked about the sharing practices of white students within her IGD, Sarah, a white Jewish facilitator comments on the struggles of white Jewish students who spent more time talking about ethnic oppression, than their racial privilege.

And I think that, some of the **Jewish students had problems** with that and we addressed it with them and help them through their journals and challenged them. But we didn't **want the Jewish students to just focus on their, ethnicity and not their white race.** Because it was so important to realize **how they've been privileged and, and how**

they've, they've been socialized. . . . And I think that when the students of color did respond with their personal experiences, the white students were a little bit silent. And I don't think they knew how to respond.

During Sarah's dialogue, white Jewish students were taking up the majority of the air space regarding their ethnic marginality. Because white Jewish students were talking about their marginalized ethnicity, there was not much space within the dialogue to address the racial experiences of white students and SOC. While Sarah understood why the white Jewish students in her dialogue wanted to talk about their ethnic marginalization, Sarah and her co-facilitator pushed white students to consider their racial privilege. When SOC did share their personal experiences about race within Sarah's IGD, white students remained silent and showcased similar white discursive ideological practices noted earlier in this chapter by SOC. When asked what her role was in terms of contributing to the role of racial voyeurism, Janie, a Biracial White/Asian white presenting Chinese student who identified with the white student group, notes her actions.

> Yeah. Uh, to be honest, I was actually **like more quiet for the most part of the course. I have to admit that I didn't make as much input to the dialogue as I potentially could.** After the hot topic sessions, I reflected on what was discussed and realized **that I could have brought in some more aspects of current issues by drawing on what I saw in a non-Western community**. **It took a long time for me to make sense of this, but perhaps some part of the class dynamics was affected by our ethnic identities.**

Janie stated that racial voyeurism was an issue in her dialogue but that the facilitators halted racial voyeurism from happening shortly after halfway through the course. I question if Janie noticed the dynamic of racial voyeurism that continued due to her medium-low racial literacy, racial salience, and low intercultural maturity. Even though Janie said the facilitators nipped the silence out of the IGD; she still says she was silent for most of the course and could have talked more, signaling a choice that Janie made to remain silent in the IGD. Towards the end of the class, after the hot topic dialogues concluded, Janie states that there were experiences

she could have shared based on what she has seen as a white-passing person in the non-Western community. Janie's silence as a person who identified with the white student group in the dialogue contributed to the dynamic of racial voyeurism. If Janie had a higher racial salience as well as racial literacy as a white-passing biracial Asian, she might have had more to say about race and racism within the dialogue on a non-Western and Western scale.

Activities within cross-racial IGD may be a factor within the racial voyeurism of SOC. Both white students and SOC must participate in dialogue activities together and share their race-based experiences and opinions as a result. Within this section, Ann and Sarah both highlight how white students use marginalized identities in order to try to divulge from talking about their white racial experiences. Mila (co-facilitator with Jamie) provides more context of how SOC and White students share about racial experiences within cross-racial IGD activities.

> […] with testimonials, what ended up happening is **people of color really, really delved into their experiences** as a Latino woman or a black man, et cetera. While the white folk gravitated, even though we emphasize talk about race and ethnicity, **they gravitated towards another oppressed identity.** So, there was a white man who spoke about his SES and touched a little bit on being a white man. He was like, "no, look at me like I don't have enough money", yada, yada, yada. And that was an interesting dynamic to see how **people weren't able to acknowledge their privilege. So they tried to find another oppress identity to equate themselves with people of color.**

Mila notes that white students used their oppressed identities within her cross-racial IGD in order to equate themselves with SOC, whereas SOC themselves opened up about their race-based experiences. Although Mila and her co-facilitator Jamie pushed white students to share about their white race-based experiences, white students refrained. According to Mila, white students' lack of white racial sharing created the dynamic within the cross-racial IGD, where white students were not able to acknowledge their racial privilege. While Mila notes this incident as white students not engaging their privilege, it is also an early example of racial voyeurism within the cross-racial IGD. Testimonials are an activity that happens early in the cross-racial

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IGD, where students must share their race-based experiences regarding their racial identity. SOC, sharing about their racial experiences while white students absolve from sharing about their race, in lieu of other marginalized social identities, is a factor in the existence of racial voyeurism. Racial voyeurism is present in the testimonial activity because white students are participating in a dialogue with SOC, where white students are refraining from talking about their racial experiences while taking in, or racially voyeuristically, listening to the experiences of SOC.

The Impact of White Racial Absolution on SOC

Ann and Janie, as well as other white students within the cross-racial IGDs used white ideological discursive practices as a tool to exert power by proxy of their white privilege onto the IGD space. White students were noted as using white racial silence, white racial ignorance talking about friends of Color, mentioning non-racial marginalized social identities, what this study calls frames of white racial absolution. These white discursive practices are frames of white racial absolution and are used by white students to racial absolve themselves from having to encounter and share their own white racial experiences. The racial absolution of white students places an occupational-based emotional toll on SOC in cross racial dialogues. Kendraya shares further comments on the dynamic of racial voyeurism and its impact.

> **It** (racial voyeurism) **was kind of expected** only because I do have white friends and like a lot of them at first before we got to know each other, **like did not mention anything about race.** So I kind of like expected that. But for me, **I knew that them not saying anything could mean that they feel uncomfortable so I knew that like as a part of my job,** like although I am talking about like oppression and discrimination and how I feel like **I do need to ensure that the space feel comfortable for them to ask questions** and for them to inquire about it beyond just sitting in this classroom.

One reason this dynamic of racial voyeurism is happening is because white students do not have to think about their race or the consequences of (their) race. In her personal life,

Kendraya witnessed white students evading conversations about race. As a result, Kendraya expected racial voyeurism to happen within the IGD. Because Kendraya had interacted with white people previously, she placed the burden of sharing about race onto herself, because she felt it was her duty to make white students comfortable in the IGD. Therefore, she made herself open to white students asking questions about race because if she had not, there would be a significant degree of silence within the IGD.

Although Kendraya's reasoning is valiant and tied to her high racial literacy, racial salience, and intercultural maturity, as she is trying to provide what the dialogue needs based on her previous experiences with white students, her Blackness, and more extensive understanding of race and racism in society, it is not her job or duty to make white students comfortable or be a sounding board for their questions about race. Kendraya feeling that it was her job to assist white students in their racial understanding and make white students comfortable to ask questions adds to the dynamic of why racial voyeurism is happening in CRIs. Kendraya was not the only student who felt it was their job, or even took on the role of educating white students within the IGDs. Leila, who was a student in an cross-racial IGD that proceeded Kendraya, commented on the emotional effects of the IGD.

> So, I think, again, **because of that privilege that I have** (white passing), I felt like I had to take it onto myself to inform the light, like the **privileged people in our class** about the like about **issues that people of color face.** Um, and like, **so the people of color in the class didn't have to**, um**, just because I do have that privilege but also like I have my own experiences. I have my own oppressions that I'm dealing with in regard to like being part of the Asian American community, being credited Filipino community.** So just between all of that, like I think **I just felt a lot of pressure to, to be the person like educating others.** [. . .] When we did the caucus group, I went with the privileged group. Um, and then when we came back and shared what we had talked about, um, **I definitely got that the other students of color in the room had been feeling that pressure**, **like feeling the pressure to, you know, like bring their experiences into class. Like to talk about their lives and like, that's like, like bringing that type of vulnerability** and like into like a classroom setting with people like privileged, like **privileged people, like people that aren't part of your**

community, it can be really difficult. And so I definitely did get that other people in the room felt the same. [. . .] **Basically where you're gonna have the most impact. Like where are you going to like, you know, be able to make the most out of the conversation. And I was like, so I, I felt like with my background and experiences, but also my social identity as like others identifying me as white, like I have the experienced that privilege.**

Leila, as a Biracial White and Asian Pilipino American student with white-passing privilege, identifies as a person of color. However, because of her white-passing privilege, Leila, a person of color, took it upon herself to engage and educate white people in the classroom. The education of white students contributes to the dynamic of racial voyeurism because Leila saw educating white students as a role she needed to take on, similarly to Kendraya. Leila notes that she took on the role of educating white students because she has racial privilege that she experiences within the Asian community.

As a SOC with high racial literacy, racial identity salience, and intercultural maturity, Leila understood how the other SOC felt in having to share about their race. Leila notes this by using the word pressure to illustrate the strain racial voyeurism places on SOC. Racial strain is a dynamic that happens to People of Color when they must conform or meet expectations of white normalization (Ballentine & Roberts, 2007; Goode, 1960; Kahn et al., 1964). Racial voyeurism causes racial strain on SOC because of the expectations placed on them by white people to share about their racial experiences over time.

Other than the strain of racial voyeurism that SOC experienced, Leila put herself in a place of racial battle fatigue (RBF) from having to educate white students. Leila experienced RBF by going with the white caucus group (affinity groups) as a Person of Color because she felt that would be the place for her to impact white students. However, Leila's role in the dialogue was not to impact or educate white students, and like Kendraya, Leila was one of the most vocal students in her dialogue. Although both students have high racial salience, racial literacy, and

intercultural maturity, it is problematic that they took on the racial exhaustion of educating white

students. Racial exhaustion, frustration, and fatigue can set in when racial voyeurism takes place

over time in cross-racial interaction. Jamie, a white facilitator (co-facilitator with Mila), provides

more context on the frustration that occurred for SOC within his cross-racial IGD due to racial

voyeurism.

> **Several of the students of color** in my class and in the larger group dialogue afterwards, they were **expressing frustration with the direction that the white students had taken dialogue.** They were saying how, um, it's, **it's really frustrating to hear a lot of the time when they share real personal stories**, there's always a lot like **just affirmations and nothing else.** [. . .] So the students of color in this case were, I think they **were pretty frustrated**. It was the emotion that they were feeling just because **they felt stuck for so long. The dialogue hadn't gone anywhere and they really wanted it to, and the white students were feeling uncomfortable.** They (The white students) didn't like how that conversation was going. **They just were mostly sitting back and staying quiet.**

Jamie's commentary provides insight on SOC confronting white students for their lack of

white racial experience sharing within is cross-racial IGD. Jamie saw/read the emotions in the

room of the SOC and was able to witness the racial frustration that SOC took on as a result of

white students remaining silent about their white racial experiences. Even after the SOC shared

their frustration with white students, SOC were met with white silence as a result. The SOC

within Jamie's dialogue expressed signs of the RBF because the dialogue stalled by a lack of

white racial experience sharing, which caused the racial voyeurism of SOC. Ayesha, an Arab

facilitator (co-facilitator with Alexandra: facilitated Kendraya, Zach, and Ann), provides more

context on racial voyeurism, the racial exhaustion of SOC, and why SOC share more than white

students within IGD and CRIs.

> I realized that the women of color were **literally like always the one speaking in like specifically like the two black women in my dialogue** where it definitely like **consistently like keeping the conversation alive and like going and pushing it.** And so like they definitely like, **we definitely like acknowledged the amount of labor they do and how that can be draining** and they're like, **how great it is to like reciprocate that emotional sharing** and **that storytelling**. And so even though like I do acknowledge that

like **sometimes it is the POC students like teaching white students about race.** I definitely like it didn't, it doesn't, **we're not always in that kind of space though.** Like, I think that happens and it comes and goes. **But it's not always like, and I definitely think the like the students of color learned a lot about themselves.**

Ayesha's commentary highlights more of the dynamic of racial voyeurism shown in this section, which is the load of sharing and storytelling being taken on SOC, specifically, Black women in her dialogues case. Ayesha and her co-facilitator pushed other students to share as well because they note sharing as exhausting. As noted by other students in this study, while racial voyeurism was happening, it does not happen 100% of the time, but as stated in the section on racial voyeurism happening, it does exist a considerable amount in CRIs. While SOC are the primary sharers of experiences about race within IGD, Ayesha comments that SOC learned a lot about themselves in the process. While this is a positive finding, it brings into question if SOC should be learning more about themselves or white students? Ayesha expands her claim on SOC's self-learning through sharing within cross-racial interaction.

I think there is so much like **learning that happens** when you're able to like, like **say your truth and to be able to like vocalize your experiences** and to be able to like form like **a narrative about your experiences** and like **explain how that's impacted you.** That's the part where **I'm also saying it is empowering**, cause it's also like **you're teaching yourself** and **you're learning about yourself in that moment.** You're not, it's not just like **we are witnessing like what you are saying,** but **you are then like witnessing to your own self** and **your own testimonial.** So I definitely think like it happens but it's, **it's not the only thing that's like happening in that space.**

Ayesha provides more context regarding her point on the learning of SOC that happens within the IGD. Ayesha comments that SOC sharing about their race can be empowering because SOC can speak about their racial experiences. The learning moment for SOC does not come from teaching white students, or from white students racially voyeuristically listening, but from SOC having space to witness their own bravery in sharing their racial experiences. Although no SOC within this study articulated sharing as a means of empowerment, Ayesha's

comment posits that SOC gain from sharing in general, not from white students remaining silent

and voyeuristically listening. Ayesha expands her comment on racial empowerment through

sharing once more.

> Often times like when we talk about race and ethnicity it's always like in terms of like, like, **oh black and brown people are oppressed.** And then it's like, like **always talking about trauma and like oppression and pain** and like, and how like **that narrative can also like be exploited like in the classroom** especially when like **majority white students** and like, and **it really hurts to like just sit there and like listen to like white students kind of like intellectualize like racism** and so like **to be in a dialogue space where you can only speak from like your experiences** to be able to like talk about like **those positive experiences you have with your race to be able to talk about joy**. Even when people were talking about like **their experiences with racism** and how like of course that is like oppressive and like, **like hurtful like getting to a place where they can talk about it without it being like retraumatizing** or being like **painful** but like more in terms of **like solidarity and like building community** and like **that's why we're talking about it.** There's like a point to talking about it and **that's like to better ourselves and to build relationships with each other.** I think like that where it **feels more empowering** like the context and like the space.

Ayesha states that racial empowerment is possible through IGD because, within the

dialogue, white students are not able to intellectualize racism. Racial empowerment allows for

SOC to speak from their own racial experiences positively, with joy and conviction. However,

negative race-based experiences do happen within the dialogue, and it can be difficult, even

harmful, for SOC to talk about their negative racial experiences without reinjuring themselves.

Although talking about old racial incidents can cause SOC to be reinjured, Ayesha believes it is

essential to building a community and relationship within the dialogue. While Ayesha is making

convincing points about the empowerment of SOC within the dialogue, white students also must

carry their own racial weight regarding sharing. While the sharing of SOC is vital to community

building within the IGD, without white students' commentary on how they have participated,

ignored, or witnessed racism and racial issues, the community building will never fully

materialize. It is not possible to community-build around race if there is a racial imbalance

within the dialogue; this imbalance is due to racial voyeurism. If white students can forego their

racial voyeurism or enter the dialogue with a high racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural

maturity, it is possible to maintain a dialogue with minimal racial voyeurism.

Advantages Multi-Racial IGD

Although racial voyeurism and emotional exhaustion, as a result, happened within the

dialogue, SOC and white students prefer an intergroup setting and cited multiple advantages of

the cross-racial IGD. Brianna, a South Asian American student the benefits of cross-racial

intergroup dialogues in her exit interview.

> (CDJG: Were there any advantages of being in a dialogue with SOC and white students?) **[Voice raises in affirming tone] Yeah cause you can hear 'em both perspectives.** Like the white students have like a, you know, a similar background where they didn't have to like face adversities per se. The people of color have, **they all come from different environments, which I think is important.** Like the white students, **like one might come from a rural environment while my come from the city. And then the same with like people of color. But like our experiences are different.** I just think it allows **for better discussion, better dialogue,** and at the end of the day, like we all get a take home message that hopefully we can share to others who aren't in the class.

Brianna states with excitement that an advantage of cross-racial dialogue is being able to

hear the experiences and perspectives of SOC and white students, the white students to not face

racial issues, unlike the SOC. Even though one group only experiences racial marginalization,

the dialogue provides space for both student groups from different class and geographical

backgrounds to habitat a classroom space around their racial realities. Although racial voyeurism

is still persistent because the white students do not understand their whiteness, the cross-racial

IGDs are beneficial because both student groups can communicate across racial lines, which is

rare in society and at most PWIs. Zach, a Chinese student, noted the positives of the cross-racial

dialogue and spoke to the lack of racial inclusivity at his institution in his exit interview.

> Um, yeah, **definitely. Cause like you don't really get a lot of opportunities**, um, like you don't, you don't get a lot of opportunity in other class so that like **white students or people of color will have a chance to sit together, sit in a circle and talk about their experience of being like different race.** So I definitely feel like it's a really good

opportunity for me **to learn about white students and also they had opportunity for them to learn about me**.

For Zach, a student who is from China and not the United States, it was vital for him to be in a class with white students and people of color to talk about race. He felt that he was able to learn about white students, and they were able to learn about him and Chinese culture as well. Zach brings up an essential problem that higher education is facing in terms of inclusion. Students of Color and white students are not integrating and talking to each other inclusively on college campuses. Zach was not the only student to mention the lack of inclusivity in this study; multiple students (Ann, Leila, Kendraya, Keanu) noted the rarity of CRIs and the importance of cross-racial IGDs. Like Zach, Kendraya speaks on the benefits of cross-racial IGD, hearing from white students, and the lack of CRIs on her campus below.

> Um, I would say so because I feel like a lot of time **people to stay in one climate,** um, when it's just like one group of people of the same race. Um, and **when you don't really have opposing ideas**, thoughts or opinions, **you aren't learning** in my opinion. […] But like to me the thing about being in my dialogue really enjoy was being able to **learn not all but some of white perspective.** Like how they see **discrimination if they see it at all**. And it was very interesting to me cause this is like where I'm first now knowing, not first learned, **but like where I really realized like yeah, they don't think about discrimination**, **they don't think about race. It's not something that in the back of their head 24 seven it's not something that they consider when they have a job interview or when they walk into a classroom and they're looking for a lab partner. It's literally just so like benign to them and that's a part of their privilege.** And I think me understanding that, like knowing that it's now that now I'm in a position to **share my experience but also teach them about discrimination** or **where the oppression starts** and **how does it happen** and how they're, **how they may be perpetuating it even if they just don't say anything.** So I definitely think it is **very helpful** because there's a lot to learn from both ends and there's a lot that I've learned from their perspective, just how they've seen it in like what it's like **being in their position of privilege that I wouldn't have known had I not been in the dialogue.**

Even though Kendraya took on an enormous amount of emotional labor and racial voyeurism within the cross-racial IGD, she still found multiple advantages in being able to hear from white students' perspectives on race. Kendraya learned that white people might not notice

or even ponder discrimination, because white people do not think about race regularly. Kendraya

also noted that she learned how white people extend racial issues because of their silence (white

silence also caused racial voyeurism), and for that, the cross-racial IGD was helpful. Finally,

Kendraya cites the IGD as foundational in her learning about white racial privilege and how

those with that privilege move through a racialized world. Ann also shared from her perspective

on the benefits of a cross-racial dialogue.

> I think being in a class, this is the second class I've been in, um, at the university where like I was like**, there's one or two like white kids in the whole class** and **everyone else was like, students of color**. Um, and I think for this dialogue like makes a lot of sense because you can get like a lot more person, um, like backgrounds and like different people's like personalities in that and like, okay, it **definitely pushed me out of my comfort zone** because like for the first time for like the second time at Michigan, like **I can't walk into the class and assume that like my race is going to be like the majority of the race like represented.**

Ann, like the other students above, enjoyed the cross-racial IGD because of the diverse

and inclusion implications of the course, which is a rarity in comparison to other courses at the

university. Although it is unclear if Ann took the course to listen to SOC racially voyeuristically,

she notes that this dialogue pushed her out of her comfort zone, because Ann was no longer the

white majority in the classroom as most of her educational career. In fact, during Ann's dialogue,

there were fewer white students than SOC. Ann states the cross-racial dialogue pushed her, but it

is unclear if SOC pushed Ann's because of ideologies of other dialogue participants, or if she

was pushed in the IGD because she is not regularly around People of Color. More than likely,

Ann and her whiteness were pushed outside of their comfort zone due to both contact with other

racial groups as well as their experiences and ideologies about race. Black women, in particular,

were an essential source of Ann's challenging. Finally, Ayesha provides context for why cross-

racial dialogues are positive and empowering for SOC.

And also like honestly like I think race and ethnicity dialogues are **really where like students of color can take as much space as they want too.** Like I feel like **in other classroom settings,** like even when it is **like majority white students and then some POC** is like, it's definitely **like white students taking up the most space and like leading the class.** And so with dialogue, **I definitely got to see students of color, like take more of like a leadership role in like taking up like reclaiming space that belongs to them.** Um, and so being able to like **talk about race and ethnicity until like love themselves, like loudly in that space is definitely an advantage too.** And in front of like white people cause like we can do it with each other and community. Um, but sometimes like it's, **it is like empowering to like do that around white people and to let them know like this is who I am and I'm not afraid to like be that person.**

Ayesha states that cross-racial dialogues are a place for SOC to take up volume in the dialogue, which is rare in other courses with white students. SOC can lead the class instead of white students, which is atypical in higher education settings, according to Ayesha. Having a leadership role in the dialogue is seen by Ayesha as an act of reclamation of the classroom space that belongs to SOC. Moreover, Ayesha believes it is vital for SOC to show white students that they love themselves and their race unabashedly because it provides SOC with racial empowerment. Ayesha was the only participant in this study to cite racial empowerment through cross-racial dialogue, and more research needs to be conducted by scholars in order to support her claims. If racial empowerment of SOC is not an explicit goal of IGD, an intentional focus could provide specific benefits for SOC. While racial voyeuristic listening is a concern, there may be value in allowing SOC to take up space in the dialogue, if white students begin to comprehend more about their whiteness.

Chapter 6 A Discussion of Racial Voyeurism in Cross-Racial IGD: The Existence and of Racial

Voyeurism in IGD

The purpose of this study was to understand if, how, and why the dynamic of racial voyeurism was present within CRI and IGDs. Answers to the existence of racial voyeurism and its impact connect to the permanence of racism, racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity of white students and SOC.

Every student in this study, including the student facilitators, mentioned and affirmed the existence of racial voyeurism enacted by white people within their cross-racial IGDs. The qualitative data shows that racial voyeurism was an issue in cross-racial dialogues that happened consistently. One student noted that it happened on a scale of nine out of 10 times, while another said SOC spoke 60% of the time. The data of this study does not pinpoint the frequency of racial voyeurism in each session of the 15-week dialogues. However, this study does provide an answer if/how/why racial voyeurism exists within cross-racial dialogues. During the cross-racial IGDs, white and white-passing students withheld speaking about their race, and race-based experiences within the IGD. Withholding racial experience sharing by white people and white-passing students within the IGD were intentional, an unintentional action completed to exert racial power within the IGD space over SOC. During her IGD, Ann preferred to share her white racial experiences within her weekly journal, in lieu of sharing them in the class. While Ann felt her views were racially conservative, she remained silent on issues within the class due to her own white fragility. White fragility of students is expanded upon later in this findings chapter.

Due to the lack of sharing from white particpants, both SOC and white students made sense of racial voyeurism by concluding that white students lacked experiences with race, talking about race or their whiteness. White students lacking racial experiences, racial conversations, or

experiencing racial stress causes white fragility due to racial unfamiliarity (DiAngelo, 2011). The racial unfamiliarity of white students provides another layer of white fragility, which leads towards the racial voyeurism of SOC. In this study, SOC articulated experiencing and recognizing positive/negative racial interactions and thus can make sense of and share their race-based experiences in the racialized world. SOC recognizing and experiencing racial experiences is not the full truth of how and why racial voyeurism exists within cross-racial IGDs. In the following section, I highlight how racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity paves the way for racial voyeurism of SOC within cross-racial IGDs due to the permanence of racism in society.

The Impact of the Permanence of Racism on Racial Identity Salience, Racial Literacy, and Intercultural Maturity

The permanence of racism is illustrated and expanded by the existence of racial voyeurism within cross-racial IGDs. CRT scholars have outlined why and how racism is a permanent feature of U.S. society due to the historical foundation of racism within the nation. While these scholars showcase how racism is permanent through law, education, and occupation inequities in the United States (Bell, 1992; Harris, 1993; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Matsuda et al., 1993; Tate, 1997), this study expands racism as permanent by detailing the racial interactions between white people and People of Color.

This study illustrates the permanence of racism by detailing the impact of racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity of white students and Students of Color. For United States born SOCs, this study has shown the essential nature of understanding their race, race-based topics, as well as the race of others is to their racial identities. Due to the SOC's socialization under the U.S. system of race/racism, every SOC had a medium-high racial

salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity because of their experiences with race in the United States. In contrast, the white students within this study and the broader cross-racial dialogues did not have a conceptualization of their race, race-based issues, or interactions with other racial groups. White students lacking conceptualization in the previously mentioned areas are due to the privileging of the white racial identity that racism is based. The dynamic of white students lacking conceptualization of race follows the argument of white people having a low familiarity with their whiteness (DiAngelo, 2011; Helms, 1995). Because white participants within the IGDs had a low familiarity with their whiteness prior to their cross-racial IGDs, SOC, and white students in this study detailed white silence, which led to the racial voyeurism of SOC. The lack of racial sharing from white students supports previous findings on why white people may be reluctant to talk about race (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, 2015; Gurin et al., 2013; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Sue, 2007; Watt, 2007). This study provides more context on white silence about race through the ideology of claiming white racial ignorance, which provides an escape for white students talking about their whiteness and racial benefits.

This study expands the permanence of racism by illuminating the impact that our foundationally racist society has on race-based conversations within the college classroom. In the findings section, this study detailed the level of racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity of a handful of students in this study's data set. White and white-passing students in this study tended to grow up in very racially privileged homogenous environments where race and race-based issues were not at the forefront of the white community's interest. People of Color may see the lack of race and race-based issues appearing at the forefront of a white community's interest as intentional and color-evasive (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). Communities construction around

a specific racial group shows intentional planning in the segregation of a community (Rothstein, 2018).

Students who had a low racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity at the start of the IGD (White, White Passing, Chinese born Asian), originated from racially homogenous communities, were the numerical majority racialized group, maintained the most racial privilege, or did not experience the system of racism within the United States due to the homogenous racial nature of their country of origin. How racial voyeurism in IGD exists within IGD can be attributed to low racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity of white students. This study can attribute racial voyeurism's existence in cross-racial IGD to the permanent system of racism within the United States, which has created a color-evasive society that negates the importance of racial understanding.

Due to the lack of experience with race and racism, white and white-passing students did not have a sense of what their race meant to them and often did not think about their racial identity. The lack of personal, racial identity meaning and overall deficiency in thinking about their race were vital to targeting and understanding the student's low racial identity salience. This study found that the ability to not think about one's racial identity is an enormous racial privilege that is not exclusive to white people or white-passing people. Living in a community, rather a society where one is racially privileged and does not experience racism or race-based oppression aids the lack of racial identity salience. This does not mean that white people who come from racially privileged homogenous communities cannot have medium or high racial identity salience. However, white people would need to have a racial understanding or perception about how their racial privilege impacts groups that are racially marginalized by the system of racism. For example, a white person with medium racial salience must recognize that

white people do not earn nor deserve white privilege. The students who came from racially privileged homogenous communities in this study had no perception of their race, racial privilege, and marginalization at the beginning of their cross-racial IGDs. I attribute this finding to color-evasive racism in their lives, communities, and lack of cross-racial interactions. White students from homogenous communities do not have to interrogate their whiteness, white privilege, white fragility, or the impact of the systems of racism and white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2001, 2003, 2012, 2015; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Lewis, 2004). While the white students certainly experience race and racial socialization, the common perception of white people in these communities based on the aforementioned research is that race has no impact on life outcomes.

The students in this study who are from racially privileged homogenous environments also had low racial literacy. These students did not have a strong understanding of how race and racism within the United States affects social practices, culture, law, economics, and politics. These students also had little knowledge of how social class, gender, and religion overlap with racism and racial oppression of marginalized racial groups. Additionally, as noted in the findings section on racial literacy, the students with low racial literary did not understand their relationship to race-based issues in the United States and knew little about the historically racially oppressed groups (specifically Black Americans). Finally, students with low racial literacy did not have any perception of their racial privilege, oppression, and power of their racial group or others.

Additionally, the students in this study who came from racially privileged homogenous communities often portrayed a low intercultural maturity. The student's intercultural maturity was determined based on what they shared in their preliminary and final papers as well as their

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exit interviews. The students in this study who had an initial level of intercultural maturity were from racially privileged homogenous communities where their race was the dominant norm. Living within a privileged racially homogenous community with little to no interaction with other racial groups paves the way for racial voyeurism within IGD and race-based interactions. The person of the most racial privilege (more than likely white), had little understanding of how other racial groups live. This finding can be attributed because white people mostly believe their race, rather whiteness, is normalized (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). White people believe that every other race already knows everything in regard to race about whiteness. Due to the lack of intercultural maturity of white people and other racial groups that originate from racially privileged, homogenous communities want to listen and question racially marginalized groups about their experiences. Low intercultural awareness from white students led to the racial voyeurism of SOC. Members from racially privileged homogenous communities also struggle with talking to racially marginalized people because they do not have the tools for how to speak or interact with racially marginalized people. Interacting with racially marginalized people is new for people of racially privileged homogenous communities and often lack communication practices that validate the lived experiences of racially marginalized people. The lack of communication tools leads to silence or evasion of cross-racial interactions altogether, as shown in this study. Students with initial intercultural maturity admitted to not thinking about race when they were in their racially privileged homogenous communities, and after leaving their racially privileged homogenous communities, self-segregated to hanging around members from their racial groups. Even when attending a nationally recognized, diverse higher education institution, students with racial privilege segregate to the norm of the communities that matched their racial socialization. Because there is a portion of students with low intercultural maturity entering the cross-racial

IGDs, intercultural maturity theory would suggest that IGD provides them with social justice content that would close the gaps in their racial understanding that the system of racism and white supremacy would have caused (King & Baxter-Magolda, 2005; King, Magolda, Masse, 2011; Perez, Shim, King, & Baxter-Magolda, 2015).

Low Intercultural Awareness Led to the Racial Voyeurism of SOC

The lack of intercultural maturity, racial salience, and racial literacy of students from racially privileged homogenous communities lead to the mystification of SOC (Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003). This mystification that happens in racially privileged homogenous communities leads to racial voyeurism during cross-racial dialogues and interactions, where privileged racial groups are able to ask questions and experience exercises that rely on the sharing of racial experiences of students with a robust racial understanding (predominantly SOC). As illustrated by this study, sharing about racial experiences is troublesome for groups who have low racial literacy, racial salience, and initial intercultural maturity. The permeance of racism impacts the dynamics of racial mystification and voyeurism because communities, schools, and thus racial interactions, have been manufactured racial segregation and racial exclusion (Rothstein, 2018).

Students With Medium-High Racial Salience

The students in this study with medium to high racial salience did not hail from homogenous communities where they maintained the lion's share of racial privilege. The students with a medium-high racial salience were socialized through their lives in racially white homogenous, racially heterogeneous, or racially marginalized communities where they encountered the system of racism. The students within these communities (racially white homogenous, racially heterogeneous, racially marginalized homogenous communities) had varying racial salience based on how they experienced race and racism within society. SOC's

level of racial salience was determined in this study by the Minority Identity Development Model, an extension of William Cross' Black Identity Development Model (Atkinson et al., 1998; Cross, 1978). The majority of SOC in this study had a high racial salience. SOC, with a high racial salience, noted an unwavering sense of racial pride. They also stated that their racial identity was significant to their daily lives and thought about their race every day, whereas students with a medium racial salience thought about their race at least once a week but not daily. Additionally, students with a high racial salience noted that their race impacts their personal beliefs, because of the repercussions of being racially marginalized. Moreover, students that identified with a medium racial salience, race did impact their personal beliefs during their upbringing but have made a conscious effort to socialize with students of color more instead of white students.

The SOC in this study with a medium-high racial salience attributed their racial salience to the amount of racial discrimination and racism that they face in everyday life. Regardless of the community type of the student, they kept referring to how their race has impacted their education, health, friendships, living, and working conditions. Because race and the more extensive system of racism was constantly impacting the students with medium-high racial salience, they can recognize racial inequities, racial discrimination, and marginalization. SOC with medium-high racial salience, regardless of community, came from lived realities where their racialized families and communities were affected by the vestiges of racism and white supremacy. Due to the permanence of racism and historical oppression of racially marginalized people within the United States, racial salience was relevant to racial groups based on the amount of racial oppression they have witnessed, experienced, or that has been historically passed down from older generations.

There is a strong correlation in this study between the racial salience of those who are not from racially privileged homogenous communities and racial literacy. For the white, white-passing, and Chinese-born Asian students, their low racial identity salience connects to their low racial literacy and low intercultural maturity. White, white-passing, and Chinese-born Asian students did not have an understanding of their race, or at the very least, their racial privilege and oppression. For the remaining SOC who were not from racially privileged homogenous communities, they had a medium to high racial literacy. Having a medium to high racial salience is connected to one's racial literacy, rather than their understanding of social, cultural, legal, economic, and political actions as they relate to race. As stated in the previous section of SOC's racial literacy, SOC medium-high racial literacy is due to constantly having to combat the pervasive system of racism within the United States. The student with the medium racial literacy understood that she was racially marginalized but admitted to not having a good sense of her own racial privilege as well as the majority of racial issues that are currently happening. The other SOC within this study had a strong understanding of their racial privilege, marginalization, or lack thereof. Hence, the other SOC had a robust racial literacy, which again correlated to their high racial identity salience based off of their race's treatment under the permanence of racism within the United States. Due to their racialized history, SOC with high racial salience understood how and why their race, as well as other historically marginalized races, experienced racial privilege and oppression within the United States.

For the SOC with high racial literacy, they understood the intricacies of their racial privilege and oppression. They understood that they would be stereotyped and microaggressed based on their racial makeup. They maintained this racial literacy understanding due to previous and current racial experiences with white people. For example, Kendraya often had the

understanding that her white peers were intimidated by her because she did not fit the Black stereotypes that they were told about Black women by other racial groups. Kendraya had the self-perception because of her understanding of racial salience and racial literacy, that white people assumed her to lack intelligence, to have a low SES, and to be overtly sexual. Additionally, Kendraya also understood that as a Black woman, she would have to work 10 times as hard as her white peers in order to be successful in STEM. Kendraya highlights her racial literacy by understanding her racial marginalization in congruence with the racial privilege of white people. The understanding of medium-high racial salience and racial literacy is essential to highlighting the dynamic of racial voyeurism. The historical oppression of racially marginalized groups provides them with an enormous amount of racialized experiences. In contrast, white people and people of color from racially privileged communities outside of the United States do not have to face the constant racial strain of combating the endemic nature of racism. SOC from racially privileged communities, will however, encounter race-based issues within the United States; however, it is unclear how they make sense of these experiences.

A common perception of white people is that racialized experiences are only faced by POC (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Lewis 2004), meaning, white people do not carry or experience race because they assume racial normality. However, white people experience race, too, but due to color evasion in society, their white racialized experiences are not viewed as raced by white people (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). White people do not understand that they too carry race, and their actions have racialized consequences. Because the pervasiveness of racism and experiencing racism is a factor in SOC's racial salience, and racial literacy, then the inability to experience racism from white people should factor in their understanding of whiteness. However, white people do not understand their whiteness because they assume color-

evasive racial identities, where they believe race is not relevant to their life or actions. White students' lack of racial literacy of other racial groups leads to the dynamic of racial voyeurism within the IGD and cross-racial interactions.

There was no consequence or negative impact of high I.M. for SOC. SOC were used to interacting and knowing about other racial groups. The intercultural maturity of SOC was very relevant to the dynamic of racial voyeurism within the IGD and cross-racial interactions. The SOC with intermediate and mature levels of intercultural maturity attributed their comfort with other racial groups based on constantly navigating spaces outside of their own racial group. Because the majority of SOC had previous racial interactions before the dialogue with other POC, SOC were intently focused on wanting to learn about the actions of white people regarding how they treat POC. The SOC knew that they were a marginalized group and understood socio-historical issues that plagued the United States. While the SOC did hear and learn things from each other within the dialogue, a source of contention for them was not hearing from white students regarding their white racial experiences. The SOC appeared to be in the classroom to interrogate whiteness, white supremacy, and to gain an understanding of why white people complete specific racial actions.

Resistant Capital, Racial Voyeurism and the Permanence of Racism

While this study does not have a large number of white students, it does provide perspective on the racial sharing or lack thereof from white students by SOC and white students. Similarly, to the original theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985), white students (i.e., the privileged group) who enter the cross-racial IGDs see their whiteness as the racial norm. Whiteness as the racial normal is an issue in IGDs because it allows white people to refrain from sharing about their race because white people believe other races know about them. Whiteness as

normal contributes to racial voyeurism because white people tend to focus on the racial experiences of POC, instead of their own racial experiences. This point has been illustrated by Ann, Alexandria, and multiple SOC within this study.

At the start of this study, my focus was understanding how community cultural wealth impacted racial voyeurism within cross racial interactions and IGDs. The SOC and white students noted that white students do not have to think about their race, in part because they do not have to experience negative racial interactions, meaning white students lack an important form of community cultural wealth known as resistant capital. Resistant capital is a form of capital that is established within people of color because of lack of racial power and thus experience the pervasive system of racism (Yosso, 2005). While the other forms of community cultural wealth are important to one's racialization, lacking resistant capital provides a way for a low racial identity salience and racial literacy, which dictates the racial voyeurism on SOC by white students.

To bypass resistant capital, someone with racial privilege would need a moderate to high racial literacy, racial salience, and moderate-high intercultural maturity. Because white students do not inherently have resistant capital under the U.S. system of race and racism, cross racial interactions and IGD are one way in which they can understand racial resistant capital through the experiences of SOC. While white students learning about racial resistant capital from SOC is important for white students understanding the racial experiences of POC, white students must recognize and contribute their racial experiences for the learning of POC. As illustrated in this study, POC use resistant capital to make sense of their racial identity, racial literacy, and navigation of racist experiences. When talking about race, POC use racial sense making to highlight racial experiences, beliefs and actions. Without resistant capital, white students must

find a way to understand their whiteness and it's racial impact before and during cross racial interactions. White people must perceive and be aware of their whiteness in a social way, in order to not contribute to the dynamic of racial voyeurism. Additionally, White people must raise their racial literacy, racial salience, and intercultural maturity, in order to divest from reliance on racial voyeurism within cross racial interactions.

Racial Voyeurism as a Form of Racism

Racism is defined within this study as a system of oppression, meant to disadvantage POC and exert racial power by white people at the social, political, and economic levels through the means of white supremacy and POC subjugation. Racism is a tool that affects POC solely and is meant to harm POC individually, institutionally, and culturally (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Jones, 1997; Lorde, 1992; Marable, 1992). Racial voyeurism by white people cause POC to experience racial stressors which could have an impact on the experience of racial battle fatigue. Racial voyeurism is a form of racism because it caused POC to encounter racial stressors within the IGD. Racial stressors are different from experiencing racial discomfort due to privilege or marginalization. Racial stressors are only experienced when coming in contact with various forms of racism. While racism is endemic to U.S. life, and the systems within the United States, it is essential to pinpoint what type of racism racial voyeurism fits into. Recent scholarship has focused on the impact of color-evasive racism within the United States (Bonilla-Silva, 2018) and on higher education campuses (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2003). I do not foresee racial voyeurism as color-evasive racism because color-evasion is a liberal tactic used to argue the importance of racelessness (Bonilla-Silva, 2015).

While racial voyeurism is not color-evasive, it is a racist tactic used for racial stratification of POC. Within this study, all POC experienced racial voyeurism but the severity of

frustration from experiencing racial voyeurism appeared to happen most for Kendraya, a Black woman, whereas Brianna, an Indian (South Asian) student, did experience racial voyeurism but did not notice the dynamic until it was brought to her attention. Each of the POC within the dialogue experienced racial voyeurism differently and the dynamic of racial stratification as result needs further inquiry.

Racial Voyeurism and the Claim of Racial Ignorance as an Ideology of Racism

Within the study, white students and SOC commented on why the dynamic of racial voyeurism took place with their respective dialogues. Bonilla-Silva (2018) explains:

> The ideologies of the powerful are central in the production and reinforcement of the status quo. They comfort rulers and charm the ruled much like an Indian snake handler. Whereas rulers receive solace by believing they are not involved in the terrible ordeal of creating and maintaining inequality, the ruled are charmed by the almost magic qualities of hegemonic ideology. (p. 53)

SOC stated that white people did not experience racial oppression, or race largely in general, and therefore did not have much to say about race as a result. White participants stated that they were white, did not know much or did not think much about race on a regular basis. White participants in the IGDs had a low racial salience, intercultural maturity, and racial literacy which led to the discursive ideological practice of white students claiming racial ignorance. Racial ignorance is a discursive tool that uses the language of ignorance about race to escape the action of sharing about whiteness (white privilege, white guilt, white racism, white prejudice) to People of Color. The claim of racial ignorance allows for white students to give the perception (snake charm) to themselves and SOC that they do not understand or experience race and should remain silent. The ideology of racial ignorance portrayed by white students then signals to People of Color that white people do not see or understand race, and they have nothing to share about race because they are racially ignorant. White students with a low racial salience,

intercultural maturity, and racial literacy are not comfortable admitting the ills of their whiteness, how they benefit from whiteness, and how marginalized groups are harmed as a result in front of SOC. Moreover, claiming racial ignorance after multiple conversations, while a successful tactic early, begins to build up and frustrates SOC as they continue to share racialized stories and do not receive an equitable exchange for a white understanding. Because racism is permanent, racism is embedded in the ideologies that white students and SOC bring with them into the course. Racial ignorance is an ideology that white students bring with them into the course, because white students believe their whiteness is normalized; they have nothing to share about race, which causes racial voyeurism of SOC. While having conversations about race is important to undoing the system of racism within the United States, race conversations must diverge from ideologies that recreate racial hierarchy and racial dominance.

Racial Voyeurism as a Tool of White Fragility

While racial voyeurism is a form of racism, it is also vehemently connected to white fragility. White fragility is defined as a miniscule amount of white racial discomfort as a result of engaging in CRI (DiAngelo, 2011). Within the context of the IGD, whites are stepping into a space where they may face racial discomfort depending on their racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity. White fragility is invoked into the IGD space by proxy of racial voyeurism. Racial voyeurism appears through white fragility by means of white people consciously/unconsciously withholding white racial experiences from POC, while hearing the racial experiences of POC. White people evoke racial voyeurism as a tool to reduce discomfort by placing the interest of race-based experiences on other racial groups.

Frames of White Racial Absolution and Discursive Practices of Racial Voyeurism

One tactic used by white people to initiate racial voyeurism is white racial absolution which allows for the refusal to interrogate whiteness. Refusal to interrogate whiteness happens when white people remain silent and push POC to share race-based experiences out of the perception of not having any racial experiences. Furthermore, white people say "I am white" or "I have white privilege, so I do not know much about this racial experience" (i.e., white racial ignorance), "I have friends of color, and they experienced racism, therefore, I am no racist," share the stories of other marginalities which absolves white people from participating in sharing about their white racial experiences. While white people may not experience the oppression of racial experiences, they expect to hear more from SOC than they experience racial marginalization. It is not enough for white people to say that they are white or have white privilege but showcase those comments through the sharing of their white experiences. Another reason for this dynamic of racial voyeurism happening within the CRIs and IGDs is white people being afraid of appearing racist to POC. If white students remaining silent out of fear of appearing racist, it is a secondary attribute of refusal to interrogate whiteness. If white people have the fear of appearing racist, they should question what actions and beliefs they hold that may be racist or perceived as racist by others.

Voyeurism Impact on SOC

The impact of racial voyeurism on POC is a troubling dynamic. Racial voyeurism is problematic because it requires POC to share their racial experiences to white people, the racially privileged group, about the system of racism, in which both groups experience. As stated previously, white people racially voyeur POC because white people believe they are the racial norm and do not experience race. As white people communicate their racial ignorance, POC

receive the comments and believe they must carry the responsibility of sharing about race. POC listen and believe the ideological viewpoint of white people not experiencing or understanding race. White racial voyeurism of POC reestablishes racial hierarchy by normalizing the myth of white's involvement with race and racism. White people have racialized experiences because they are raced beings, and they experience the system of race and racism. White people entering into race-based conversations must understand they have experiences within the system of race and racism. White people must also be cognizant that they are perpetuators of race and racism as the most racially privileged group in society. White people maintaining the belief system that they do not experience race or racism as the most privileged racial group must be addressed early in all form of CRIs before engaging deeply in discussions about race.

The perpetuation of white people believing they do not experience race causes racial voyeurism, because white people are seeking to explore the race of others in lieu of their own whiteness. When racial voyeurism happens, it is a form of racism which uses the ideology of racial ignorance. Though I do not cite racial ignorance as a form of racial microaggression, repeated encounters with any form of racism or racialized stress cause racial role strain and racial battle fatigue. Racial voyeurism, and by proxy, the ideology of racial ignorance invokes racial stress on POC. Additionally, perpetuation of a racial hierarchy within cross racial interactions, especially within social justice settings like IGDs, establishes additional racialized stressors on POC. POC experience race and racism, and POC have an understanding that white people experience race and racism as well. If white people enter CRI believing they do not experience race or racism but POC believe the opposite, the balance of racial understanding is off center.

POC who engage and seek out CRI about race with white people expect white people to engage meaningfully about race. Because of the racial voyeurism caused by white people

towards POC, there is a lack of racial productivity in conversations. POC do not feel like their time is spent meaningfully in CRI about race, when white people racially voyeur them. When white people do not participate meaningfully in conversations on race, but POC share a plethora of raced experiences, racial hierarchy is again inserted which adds to the racial strain and stress of POC. Repeated and consistent racial strain of POC in CRIs is a factor when white people refuse or limit their sharing via the claim of racial ignorance. As racial strain builds due to claims of white racial ignorance, RBF may affect POC depending on their level of racial literacy, racial salience, and intercultural maturity.

Racial Voyeurism as Normal

Because racism is permanent and a normalized feature of U.S. American life, the same would hold true for racial voyeurism. A key finding of this study is racial voyeurism as normal. Alexandra, a white woman facilitator, noted that racism within the United States is a very white Black issue, which would suggest that talking about race at times also is a white Black issue. Additionally, Alexandra stated that racial voyeurism is normalized within CRIs because of the racial hierarchy which places white people at the top and People of Color, most notably Black people at the bottom. Because of racial voyeurism that is present via the permanence of racism in U.S. society, there is an unequal distribution of rights and privileges (i.e., racial stratification) in CRIs. Because racial stratification is present via racial voyeurism, the most affected groups have been Black students based on the formation of racial hierarchy in the United States. Thus, cross racial interactions replicate the racial hierarchy that happens in society, because racism is permanent, which means negatively impacting the most marginalized racial groups. Though racial stratification is present within CRIs, the effects of racial voyeurism could be mitigated

through intentional recognition of the racial hierarchy itself and practices that push white people

away from racial voyeurism.

Chapter 7 Conclusion, Implications, and Final Thoughts

This research study was developed and designed intentionally in order to explore and understand the pervasiveness of racism within a higher education social justice-based setting by utilizing the experiential realities of Students of Color (SOC), regarding how SOC experience race/racism within cross-racial IGDs with white students. Specifically, this study sought to discover if there was voyeuristic listening (e.g., racial voyeurism) within the race and ethnicity IGDs at an HWI Midwestern institution. The findings of this study were conceptualized primarily through Critical Race Theory (CRT) and secondarily through the theories of Racial Identity Development, Racial Literacy, and Intercultural Maturity. CRT was used within this study to understand how racism penetrated CRIs between white students and SOC via racial voyeurism. The researcher utilized the secondary theories in order to understand how/why the dynamic of racial voyeurism takes place within CRIs, due to the connection and of racial literacy, racial identity salience, and intercultural maturity that students displayed before and after the cross-racial IGD.

Restating the Problem

As noted in the problem statement of chapter 1, examining CRIs is essential to understand how racial inequality, and thus, racism, manifest within the cross-racial IGD. Recently, scholars have called researchers to search for positive and negative interactions within intergroup contact (Graf, Paolini, & Rubin, 2018). This study provides context to negative interactions that are present within IGD, due to the finding of racial voyeurism, white absolution, and white ignorance found in this study. While this study does not claim that students within the dialogue or the dialogue itself is racist, because racism is pervasive to U.S. society and evolves in a myriad of ways. Intentional CRIs are not devoid of racism, and in order to better support

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SOC, scholars must understand how racism and the dynamics of race impact SOC within a cross-racial dialogue setting. The larger body of IGD literature has focused on dialogue as a democratic process that allows students to work across their differences while promoting social justice and raising cultural competency (Buckley & Quaye, 2016; Dessel & Rodenborg, 2016; Dessel, Rogge, & Garlington, 2006; Gurin, Dey, Furin, & Hurtado, 2002; Gurin, Nagda, & Sorensen, 2011; Gurin, Nagda, & Zúñiga, 2013; Hurtado, 2005; Lopez & Zúñiga, 2010; Nagda, Gurin, & Rodreguez, 2018; Schoem, 2003). This study's focus was to read between the lines of dialogues foundations in order to understand what race-based ideological viewpoints and experiences students bring with them into CRIs. This study utilized two guiding questions: How do students manage race and racism within IGD? How much do students think about their race and what their race means to them? These questions were then utilized by the researcher to understand if the dynamic of racial voyeurism was present within the IGD and how SOC experienced the dynamic.

Though the guiding questions, insights emerged regarding how SOC experienced race and racism within cross-racial IGDs, and how/why white students utilized white racial absolution as a discursive practice to evoke racial voyeurism. Delineated in Chapters 4 and 5 are the findings of this study. The researcher displayed the levels of Racial Identity Salience, Racial Literacy, and Intercultural Maturity as themes that showcase how the students within this study understand about their race, race in general, and racial interactions with other racial groups. The researcher utilized these themes in order to make sense of the discursive actions white students and SOC utilized within the cross-racial dialogue.

Chapter 4 displayed that students who identified as a SOC had a medium-high racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity because of their experiences with race and

racism within the United States. Because SOC regularly come in contact as marginalized people, with the system of racism, SOC have a deeper understanding of their own racial experiences, race issues, and cross-racial contact. White students within this study and the more extensive cross-racial dialogues did not have a conceptualization of their whiteness, race-based issues, or interactions with other racial groups. White students lacking conceptualization in the areas mentioned above is due to the privileging of their white racial identity, in which racism was founded upon due to the system of racism.

Chapter 5 featured the central finding of this study, which is the existence of racial voyeurism (i.e., voyeuristic listening) within the IGD. Every student and facilitator within this study noted the existence of racial voyeurism enacted by white people within their cross-racial IGDs. In the origins of chapter 1, Nagda and Gurin's (2013) commentary was essential to framing this study around IGD and a favoring of the privileged group. The central finding of this study confirms that there is a favoring of white students within the race and ethnicity dialogue. The findings of this study suggest that the function of racial voyeurism does privilege white students by allowing white students to remain silent about their whiteness. Racial voyeurism definitively happened within the IGD due to the lack of sharing of white students. SOC and white students noted that racial voyeurism took place because white students lack experiences with race, talking about race, and their whiteness. White students' lack of racial experiences, race issues, and understanding their whiteness led to the discursive practices of white silence about race through the ideology of claiming white racial ignorance, which provides an escape for white people talking about their whiteness and racial privilege.

Additionally, chapter 5 provided context to how the dynamic of racial voyeurism placed a racial strain on SOC within the context of sharing about race within the dialogue. Although racial

voyeurism, a form of racism, was identified within this study, chapter 5 also notes the advantages

that both students and facilitators noted as advantages to engaging in CRIs. This study does not

seek to end cross-racial dialogues or the increase of CRIs; however, the findings suggest that

scholars need to re-conceptualize how students from different racial groups engage in

conversations about race.

At the start of this study, I was intently focused on how racism is present within IGDs

and all forms of cross-racial interactions of white people and People of Color. I did not account

for the relevancy of the pervasive system of racism before the student's participation within the

IGD. Because racism is a permanent feature of U.S. society (Bell, 1992), racism would impact

racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity of participants in cross-racial

dialogues and interactions. The foundation of this study is based on the permanence of racism

and how racism may penetrate CRIs of white people and People of Color. While this study

strived to understand how racism was a factor within the cross-racial IGD, this study had first to

posit, how racism would affect the racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural

maturity of students within the study. As noted in Chapter 6, the low of intercultural maturity,

racial salience, and racial literacy of students from racially privileged students led to the dynamic

of racial voyeurism.

Racial voyeurism within cross-racial IGD is a problem that may not be confined to the

Race and Ethnicity dialogue. Although the dialogue itself does not cause racial voyeurism, the

dialogue itself is a conduit for racial voyeurism due to the pervasiveness of racism within U.S.

society. As noted in chapter 6, several racially privileged students (white, white-passing) were

socialized by their racially homogenous communities where they had little to no interaction with

other racial groups. White and white-passing students who identified as white did not have a

strong understanding of their racial salience, racial literacy, and were often interculturally immature. The task for higher education institutions that utilize cross-racial IGDs or CRIs in general as a means of social justice, equity, and inclusion within the college environment must comprehend the endemic nature of racism within the U.S. and how it affects the dialogue/classroom space and students. SOC and white students are entering the dialogue space at different places on the spectrum in the context of race. As shown within this study, white and white-passing students who identify as white, are entering the CRIs with low racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity.

In contrast, SOC are entering the CRIs with medium to high racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity. Because SOC and white students are entering the cross-racial dialogues in different places regarding race and race-based experiences, racial voyeurism is likely to happen. If the majority of white students are entering the cross-racial dialogue space, or CRIs in general without ever having interrogated their whiteness, understanding what their whiteness means to them, how racism impacts SOC, or without having much contact with SOC, racial voyeurism occurs. Additionally, when white students have not spent consistent time around SOC, they tend to mystify SOC and their experiences (Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003). As found by this study, white students tend to be in the beginning stages of understanding their race, which SOC have surpassed earlier in their lifetimes due to having to think about their race regularly and experiencing the system of racism.

Based on the IGR/D theoretical framework, the nexus to provide an apparatus for change is communication processes (Gurin et al. 2013). Change is sown, cultivated, and harvested during this communication process where students can interact which each other across social identities. IGD's model focuses on the communication process, which, in theory, is supposed to

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cause sustainable intergroup contact, with the tools to solve disputes across social identities. However, racial voyeurism is not a dispute; it is dynamic based on ideological and discursive practices that absolve white students from having to interrogate their whiteness. As noted in chapter 6, when white students use the discursive practices of white racial absolution and white racial ignorance in order to remove themselves from the race problem. White students using racial absolution and racial ignorance paves the way for racial voyeurism because it removes the responsibility of white students having to share about race. When SOC hear the discursive practices of white racial absolution and white racial ignorance, they respond by sharing their race-based experiences. Inside of communication processes, there are four processes in general which lay the foundation for communication in IGD. For the purposes of this discussion, I focus on three of the processes, which are: appreciating difference, engaging self, and critical reflection. According to Nagda (2016), these social processes are paramount to IGD because research has shown them to help mitigate racial apathy and indifference.

In relation to conversations about social identities, the most important factor is getting groups of people together in the room and having communication; this is the central element to IGD (Allport, 1954; Gurin et al., 2013). While this premise is essential, this study provides context for contact and communication needing to be revisited as the only central elements of IGD. The students in this study do benefit from having contact and communication. However, knowledge of self needs to be implemented more significantly into the IGD model.

As this study illustrates, students are having contact and are communicating. However, the contact and communication they are having is causing racial voyeurism. According to Moya and Markus (2010), having a strong understanding of one's social identities is critical in having intergroup contact, communication, and relationships. I would argue that one must have a strong

understanding of racial literacy, intercultural contact in addition to one's racial identity salience. Based on the findings from chapter 4, SOC are entering cross-racial dialogues with a medium to a strong understanding of racial literacy, intercultural contact, and racial identity salience. White students in the dialogues overall do not have high racial salience, racial literacy, or intercultural maturity. Based on responses from SOC, conversations about race that involve whiteness was sparse. A lack of communication from the white students within the cross-racial dialogues is a breakdown in the communication process. This breakdown in communication, which led towards racial voyeurism, was not an anomaly as students/facilitators recognized it across three dialogues over two semesters. With that breakdown in social processes, productive communication is all but limited because the white privileged group has a low racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity which is needed in order to have a conversation with students of color about what it means to be White, have privilege, or speak on race-based experiences in general.

Per Gurin et al. (2013), and Moya and Markus, (2010), it is difficult for students to move their identities from a "static" environment into a space where they have increased interaction with other social identities. Race and ethnicity are not static identities; however, White and white-passing students are entering the dialogue with a static understanding of whiteness, and have been shown within this study to communicate and share about their race with SOC. White participants are entering the dialogue space with little understanding of their whiteness and have not interacted substantially with other racial groups due to racial isolation. Because the White participants enter the IGD space with a much lower racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity than SOC, the dialogue continues to reproduce the racial voyeurism. Without strong communication and awareness of social identities, racial voyeurism will continue to exist because dialogue participants will not have the ability to interact actively and participate

in the dialogue. As this study reveals, the White students that lack keen awareness become passive and cease to share, expecting to learn from SOC, while white students remain silent.

In the context of appreciating difference, scholars note it is central to make sure that appreciation does not turn into voyeuristically listening in lieu of participation (Gurin et al., 2013). However, based on the findings of this study, racial voyeurism does not happen as a result of appreciating difference. Racial voyeurism is a dynamic that happens because white students have low racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity. Moreover, racial voyeurism takes place because white students do not want to interrogate their whiteness in front of SOC, as noted with Ann, who preferred talking about whiteness in her journals instead of the cross-racial IGD.

Scholars have previously regarded engaging with self in a broad manner that often did not engage race because IGD encompasses multiple social identity-based conflicts (Gurin et al., 2013). This study posits a more race-conscious approach because the IGD in this study centers race. Dialogue should have a cyclical loop of learning that is circular, where sharing about one's social identity is equal in order to reduce racial voyeurism. White students must also be willing to integrate their whiteness, and the system of racism, instead of using white racial ignorance, and white racial absolution as a reason to disengage in cross-racial dialogues. Moreover, to have a relationship of equitable sharing and reduced racial voyeurism, white and white-passing students must focus on engaging with self, something that appears to be second nature for SOC. White and white-passing students need to have an understanding of their own racial identity-based experiences, and viewpoints in order to teach and learn equitably during IGD, instead of just learning from SOC. In order to engage self, and work on racial identity salience, white students specifically, need to individually comprehend how they have power, privilege, and

mobilize oppression of others. Based on this study, it is evident that only the SOC were able to appreciate difference, and engage self, which contributed to how much they shared. Having an understanding of their racial salience allowed SOC to teach White Students as well as each other in order to gain an understanding that they may not have had previous to the dialogue. Because White students did not engage themselves or appreciate differences, they helped to create a space of racial voyeurism within the cross-racial IGD.

It is important to note that this study is not a criticism of cross-racial dialogue, but an understanding of how racism is present within cross-racial dialogues. It is essential to understand how racism penetrates spaces premised on social justice as well as other tools of DEI within the system of higher education because it allows for an understanding of how racism operates. Though this study is not a critique of the IGD model, I must provide a brief analysis. While IGD needs to be mobilized across all social identities, the dialogues in this study were selected by the researcher due to their premise of race. The critical dialogic framework is a general model for dialogue regarding used for all social identity-based IGDs. IGDs need to individually be built by practitioners of IGD from a foundation of critical theory attached to the identity of the dialogue. In my opinion, the race and ethnicity dialogues should center through the lens of CRT. CRT would provide an essential foundation and construct for how we, as raced beings, should engage in CRI-dialogues with each other.

Within Chapter 2, the review of literature on white students within higher education highlights white students' upbringing in racially homogenous environments where their community does not commonly address race. Once white students enter HWIs, they follow assimilation patterns of self-segregation and rarely integrate with other racial groups (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005). White students also often carry racial attitudes that highlight

inexperience with the concept of race and whiteness as a race (Bonilla-Silva, 2001, 2003, 2012, 2015, 2018; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). The findings from this literature base, as well as this study, suggest that white students are entering HWIs having rarely spoken about their race, have inexperience thinking about their race, the race of others, and rarely have contact with SOC. This study suggests that once white students are within their HWIs, they still may not be maintaining conversations about race, racism, or their whiteness. While some HWIs require all students to take a course on race and ethnicity, white students are still struggling to conceptualize and communicate about their race within the college classroom. The system of racism is permanent, and white students live within the system of racism that privileges racially before they ever walk on an HWI campus. This study, as well as those listed above, highlight racial deficits that white students hold about race white students have within higher education. The students within this study spanned freshman to senior class standing, some of which already had their race and ethnicity requirements. Race- and ethnicity-required courses have a comprehensive list of topics, some of which do not interrogate racial identity or racial literacy. Higher education needs to provide widespread intentional race-based coursework within their institutions that focus on understanding one's racial identity, regarding the system of racism. Because of the permeance of racism, white students, and SOC live very racially-segregated lives. Self-segregation of racial groups happening within higher education is an issue that scholars and stakeholders should be concerned about. As higher education pushes for practices of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI), students first have to know how to communicate about their race, the system of race, to members of other racial groups.

Towards an Understanding of Discursive White Ideological Practices

The findings of this study within chapter 5 and chapter 6 highlight how white students use discursive practices (language in action) to avoid talking about race with SOC within the IGD. As noted in chapter 6, the two discursive practices were white racial absolution and claiming of racial ignorance. These findings add to the growing body of literature that showcases white ideological practices (victimization, minimize racism) within higher education (Cabrera, 2014; DeAngelo & Sensory, 2014) to push away from talking about whiteness, race or white guilt in CRIs (Hikido & Murray 2016). This study provides a gateway towards understanding the widespread use of discursive white ideological practices (white racial absolution, white-racial ignorance, white racial-deflection) that white students utilize, which ultimately cause racial harm to SOC during intentional and unintentional CRIs.

As stated in the sections above, white students are entering college, and by proxy conversations about race in college without ever interrogating what it means to be white, maintain racial privilege, and how race/racism affects other racial groups. To move towards the growth of an inclusive and diverse campus, higher education institutions must strategically and intentionally work to uncover the pervasiveness of racism, and racial identity, particularly for white students. In a sense, this study is calling for a form of racial remediation in order to ensure that white students have the ability to talk about race across the higher education environment. Though it is unclear, and untested, if white students understand their racial identity salience, racial literacy, while also having intercultural contact, the dynamic of racial voyeurism within conversations about race may reduce significantly.

Similarly, to the permanence of racism in higher education, CRIs within higher education will remain. A critique I hold of the CRI literature, as stated in chapter 2, is that the body of

literature is overwhelmingly positive and did not show the struggle of CRIs for SOC. This study

has shown that SOC want to engage in CRIs with white students; however, white students lack

the racial skillset to engage in critical race-based conversations with SOC. While the CRI

literature highlights improved cross-racial understandings (Antonio, 2001a; Astin, 1993; Chang

et al., 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Denson & Zhang, 2010; Gurin, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002;

Pike et al., 2007), benefits of racial integration in higher education (Bowman, 2013; Odell et al.,

2005), the reduction of prejudice (Gottfredson et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp &

Pettigrew, 2005), this study showcases the strain CRIs can take on SOC due to racial voyeurism

caused by white students who are not ready to discuss the concept of race. The findings of this

study do not mean we should throw away the IGD model, CRIs, or pushing to improve the rates

of SOC at HWIs, but that we need to improve how we engage in CRIs.

Formal conversations about race via IGD, classroom interactions, and informal

conversations about race need to start with both SOC and white students exploring their racial

identity, racial literacy, and if they have experienced intercultural contact. I would encourage

users of IGDs or CRIs in the context of the college classroom or new student orientations to put

white students and SOC in caucus groups at the start of any discussion or dialogue, to tease out

racial literacy, and racial identity salience, while slowing integrating the two groups with team

building activities to build common ground. Findings from this study suggest that white students

need time to be recognized, understand, and think through their whiteness while SOC need a

space to vent and claim as their own regarding issues of race/racism in society and at the

institutions. We cannot treat white students and SOC the same regarding the preparation of CRIs;

both groups need a specific set of tools for engaging with race/racism within an intergroup and

intragroup setting. One component of preparation for both SOC and white students is transparency of CRIs and emotionally draining conversations for SOC.

Due to the pervasive system of racism within the United States, SOC have experienced race-based conversations throughout their lives before engaging with white students. Depending on the racial identity or racial experiences of a SOC, they could have already experienced racial battle fatigue and racial role strain due to the system of racism. While IGDs are often a place of racial venting for SOC (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman, 2000), it is essential for white students and SOC to understand, how talking about race/racism for SOC can be draining, especially, if white students are not sharing openly and honestly about their white racial experiences.

Looking to the Bottom to Inform Racism in Higher Education

This study's central finding was the existence of racial voyeurism, a racist practice that is used by white students within CRIs and cross-racial dialogues. Critical race theory provides the framing of looking towards the bottom in order to understand how racism affects marginalized racial groups (Matsuda, 1987). The same concept was used by the researcher to understand how racism penetrated the IGD space and how SOC experienced racism within IGD via racial voyeurism. Looking to the bottom provided an understanding of what form of racism needs to be mitigated by students within CRIs. This does not mean that other forms of racism do not exist with CRIs, but racial voyeurism was the form of racism that was uncovered in this study due to the experiential reality of SOC. While there were white students who participated in this study, their qualitative data was utilized by the researcher in order to make sense of racial voyeurism once SOC confirmed that the dynamic existed.
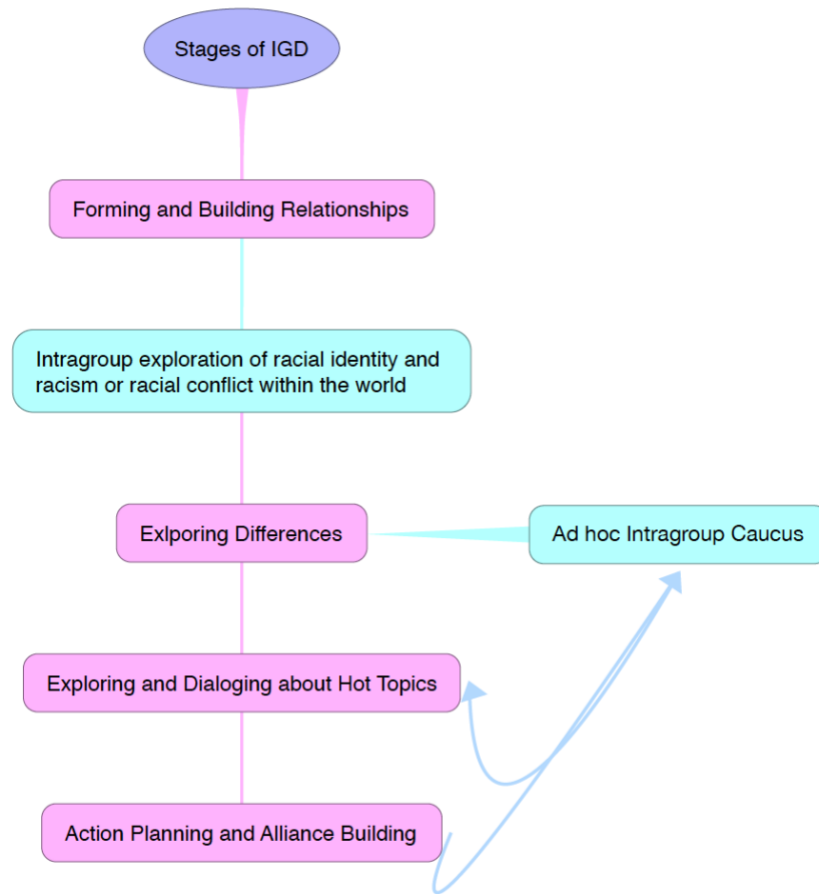
Reconceptualizing the Stages of IGD

Figure 4. Updated IGD Stages

As noted in chapter 2, there are four stages of IGD, Stage 1. Group Beginnings: Forming and Building Relationships; Stage 2. Exploring Differences and Commonalities; Stage 3. Exploring and Dialoguing about Hot Topics and Stage 4. Action Planning and Alliance Building (Zuinga et al., 2007). Based on the findings of this study, which highlights the lack of sharing from the white students (i.e., the privileged group) due to white racial absolution, which causes the racial voyeurism of SOC (i.e., the marginalized group) an alteration of the stages is required. This graphic provides a reconceptualization of the stages of IGD. This model of the stages of IGD offers a slight shift to the currently used model to encourage the reduction of white racial

absolution and white racial voyeurism of SOC within the IGD. The addition to the original

model of stages is intragroup exploration of racial identity, racism, and racial conflict within the

world. While this particular model focuses on race, the new second stage could also be used by

IGD practitioners as a guidepost for other social identity-based IGDs.

This new stage is essential to the reduction of racial voyeurism in the IGD, and it

provides a space for white students and SOC to explore their racial identities away from the

intergroup setting. As seen in this study, white students do have comments to make about race;

however, they often absolve themselves of sharing about their own racial identity to SOC due to

a low racial salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity. Providing white students with a

space to explore their racial identity while also learning how to share about their racial identity is

a crucial step missing in the cross-racial IGD process. SOC also would benefit from this updated

model because they would gain more time speaking in intragroup experiences around race and

racism. SOC would be able to share about race freely with each other and would not be frustrated

by the racial absolution of white students' early on in the dialogue while white students are

exploring their racial identity. Following the intergroup exploration stage, the IGD stages follow

their original sequence with the addition of ad hoc intragroup caucuses as needed.

Implications for Future Research

This study was to understand how the pervasiveness of racism was present within cross-

racial IGDs. While this study was about race, other studies within other social identity group

dialogues need to be completed by scholars in order to provide an understanding con how other

marginalized groups are experiencing oppression within intergroup contact. While it is essential

to continue to have social identity-based conversations between privileged and oppressed groups,

scholars need to research how the most oppressed groups are affected by that contact, which was

a goal of this study. Future research needs to inquire about sexism, LBGTQ based phobias, classism, xenophobia, colorism, ableism, etc. in corresponding dialogues. By doing so, scholars push intergroup contact within and outside of IGD spaces to consider how discrimination may enter conversations, and how to reduce harm of the marginalized group. I challenge scholars to look for the isms within the various social identity group dialogues. Dialogues are essential spaces where different social identities come together across a conflict. Within the dialogue itself, if there is oppression replicated on marginalized groups, we as users of dialogue must identify the oppression, and find strategies to improve the setting. While we cannot help the various isms that our society has been based upon, we can control if/how they enter the dialogue space, college classrooms, and how they impact marginalized individuals. We need to continue holding dialogues of all social identity groups, but we must inquire on how they can be improved moving forward. Racism, as well as other forms of social identity systems of oppression, evolve; they do not go away, and scholars who study intergroup relations need to remain intentional in tracking the evolution of said systems.

More Understanding of how SOC Experience Racism and Forms of Racism Within Higher Education

While the purpose of this study was to identify if racism was present in cross-racial IGDs, it has led me to inquire about what forms of racism are SOC experiencing within other higher education settings. While scholars have noted racial microaggressions and racial battle fatigue, scholars need to spend more time highlighting new ways in which racism may be affecting SOC. Additionally, racial voyeurism is a form of racism that was present within cross-racial IGDs. However, future research needs to explore how racial voyeurism may be present in other higher education classrooms that may or may not be explicitly focus on race.

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More Understanding of White Ideological Practices

As noted earlier in this chapter, there has been a growing body of literature that discusses what this study identifies as white discursive and ideological practices of white students in higher education (Cabrera, 2014; Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003; DeAngelo & Sensory, 2014; Hikido & Murray, 2016; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Sue, 2007; Watt, 2007). As the system of racism continues its evolutionary nature, so will the white ideological practices that seek to maintain racial privilege over marginalized racial groups. Therefore, scholars need to continue inquiry on how white students use white ideological practices in informal and formal educational settings in order to extend racial privilege.

IGD Activities, Where Did They Come From? What Works? What Doesn't? Where Did They Come From?

As stated previously within this chapter, this study was a study of race and racism within cross-racial IGDs. However, analyzing racism within cross-racial IGDs meant analyzing the activities that students participated in within the IGD. Students and facilitators mentioned a myriad of activities they participated in over the 15-week semester. While these activities all have a purpose within the context of the cross-racial IGD, I question what the origins of many of these activities are? Who created them? What was the original purpose? Are these activities contributing to racial voyeurism within the course? Practitioners use IGD activities within higher education and K-12 education (Kapolwitz, Griffin, & Seyka, 2019). Intergroup dialogue scholars need to study the origins of activities, best, and worse practices, and if there are activities that are obsolete in order to improve the practice of dialogue.

Co-Facilitator Intergroup Contact

For this study, two participants were co-facilitators of a race and ethnicity dialogue. During the separate interviews, both students talked about the challenge of facilitating a dialogue about race, with a member of a privileged/marginalized racial identity group. Further inquiry regarding the relationships between white people and People of Color facilitators about race from scholars is needed. Further research should look into the racial dynamics of the facilitators, how the facilitators cope with the racial dynamics of the IGD, and navigating intergroup conflict between the facilitators.

Critique of Liberalism and Incremental Change in Higher Education

As noted in chapter 1, the first IGD program was established by scholars and practitioners at The University of Michigan in the late 1980s due to racial unrest on the campus (Gurin et al. 2013). In 2014, Being Black at U of M (BBUM) became a national trending story as Black students noted anti-blackness at the institution. Although IGD remains a course that students can take for class credit, it appears that only a small number of students have the ability to take the IGD about race or other topics. Although IGD has positively impacted the campus, IGD appears to be a social justice model that PWIs may use for incremental change. CRT provides a framing for understanding that incremental change in the theory's critique of liberalism tenant. Applying the critique of liberalism tenant to HWIs, it appears that HWIs are implementing incremental change based on the unrest that Black students, as well as other groups of SOC, are noting on their higher education campuses. Improving, and implanting widespread race dialogues would be one way to transform the racial climate with HWIs in higher education radically.

A central finding from this study is that white students are coming into HWIs with racial deficits regarding racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural maturity. Scholars have identified that white students are entering higher education from segregated white communities with limited racial contact (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Renner & Mackin, 1998). Limited racial contact before college often creates limited racial boundaries between white students and SOC (Chesler et al., 2005; Matlock, Gurin, & Wade-Golden, 2002; Tatum, 1997). Furthermore, white students remain silent in race-based conversations due to the lack of experience that white students have (Chesler, Peet, & Sevig, 2003), which may lead to racial microaggressions of SOC (Sue & Constantine, 2007). While cross-racial dialogues are a tool for discussing race and racism for white students, the usage of dialogues on higher education campuses needs to increase the use of dialogue, white racial identity salience, racial literacy, and intercultural contact, to progress towards a race-based transformational change. Higher education needs an intentional and aggressive racial equity plan in order to combat the pervasive system of racism at their institutions. As noted in chapter 2, there is a conflation of the terms diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) regarding higher education. There are no consensus definitions of DEI, and many institutions work on DEI issues autonomously (Brennan & Naidoo, 2008). Regarding race, higher education institutions need explicit naming and consensus for the definitions for DEI regarding racial and combating the pervasive system of racism. Without the explicit naming and consensus of DEI regarding racial and racism institutionally, structurally, and within the community in which the higher education institution is, higher education institutions will continue extending the oppression of marginalized racial groups by focusing incremental change.

A Scale for Racial Literacy

One limitation to this study is there is no scale of racial literacy. Regarding racial salience and intercultural maturity, both have detailed models with scales provided which allowed for easier identification on within the scales for students in this study. Future research and theorization needs to be conducted by scholars on racial literacy in order to delineate a continuum based on the definition of racial literacy provided from previous literature.

Final Thoughts

This study builds on the previous work based on understanding white ideological discursive practices and racism that is attached (Bonilla-Silva, 2015, 2018; Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). SOC and white students are entering cross-racial IGDs different places regarding racial literacy, racial salience, and intercultural maturity. Due to the permanence of racism within the United States, SOC and white students have different experiences with race and racism before, and during their college and cross-racial IGD experience. U.S.-born SOC are more likely to have a moderate to high understanding of racial literacy, racial salience, and intercultural maturity. In contrast, White, White, passing, and non-U.S.-born SOC who hailed from racially homogenous communities had a low to moderate racial literacy, racial salience, and intercultural maturity level. The different levels of racial literacy, racial salience, and intercultural maturity and experience around race impacted racial dynamics between White students and SOC. White students' lack of experience engaging with their whiteness led to the use of white discursive ideological practices and the racial voyeurism (a tool of racism) of SOC.

While both SOC and white students wanted to hear about each other's experiences with race, white students relied on white discursive ideological tools to escape from having to engage with their white racial privilege, and virulent racist, cross-racial interactions. The use of the

white discursive ideological practices frustrated the SOC and led to the frustration, racial strain, and racial battle fatigue of SOC. While white discursive ideological practices and the racial voyeurism of SOC is an issue for practitioners of cross-racial IGDs, higher education practitioners must account for how white students are using these tools outside of cross-racial IGDs. The use of white discursive ideological practices and the racial voyeurism of SOC may also be present in-residence halls, traditional higher education courses, cross-racial interactions based or not based on race.

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ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR FOR RESEARCH

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
805 W. Pennsylvania Ave., MC-095
Urbana, IL 61801-4822

Notice of Approval: New Submission

February 27, 2019

Principal Investigator	Eboni Zamani-Gallaher
CC	Chaddrick Gallaway
Protocol Title	*Experiences of students talking about in the race & ethnicity Intergroup dialogue at The Program for Intergroup Relations*
Protocol Number	19497
Funding Source	Unfunded
Review Type	Expedited 5, 6, 7
Status	Active
Risk Determination	No more than minimal risk
Approval Date	02/27/2019
Closure Date	02/26/2024

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in the above protocol. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed and approved the research study as described.

The Principal Investigator of this study is responsible for:
- Conducting research in a manner consistent with the requirements of the University and federal regulations found at 45 CFR 46.
- Using the approved consent documents, with the footer, from this approved package.
- Requesting approval from the IRB prior to implementing modifications.
- Notifying OPRS of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated events, participant complaints, or protocol deviations.
- Notifying OPRS of the completion of the study.