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PEDAGOGY AND RACIALIZED WAYS OF KNOWING: STUDENTS AND FACULTY

ENGAGE RACIAL REALITIES IN POSTSECONDARY CLASSROOMS

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ABSTRACT

Racism continues to be a factor that negatively impedes the experiences of racial/ethnic minority students within higher education, and White students resist efforts aimed at engaging them in dialogues about racial issues in classroom contexts. However, few faculty persons have the requisite preparation, skills, and knowledge to facilitate the constructive discussion of racial realities among learners in classroom contexts. The impetus for this study was the need to describe and understand the pedagogical philosophies and practices of educators who endeavored to engage students in constructive racial interactions, as well as how they managed the challenges that resulted from that process.

Qualitative research methods were employed to examine how instructors made sense of the pedagogies they used to invite students to participate in racially-based exchanges. Specifically, critical race theory and aspects of case study methodology guided this study wherein each participant was treated as a unique racialized case who could describe the phenomenon of interest—the pedagogical methods utilized to facilitate the discussion of racial issues in the classroom. Interviews were conducted with a diverse sample of 22 participants and document review was employed to understand the readings, assignments, and engagement activities participants used to facilitate these dialogues.

Six integrated themes resulted from the data analysis that represent the varied, but related, ways in which participants facilitated these classroom-based exchanges. They reflected on their (1) backgrounds and previous experiences; (2) their definitions of race and racism; (3) their roles as educators, including their assumptions and biases; (4) the learners in their courses, how they treated them, and their expectations of them; (5) the manner in which they facilitated these dialogues; and (6) the challenges and barriers that precluded them and students from engaging race. Based on

interpretations of the data, a Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model was developed that illustrated the integrated nature of the six categories.

The findings of this study can inform the practice of professors and administrators, as they strive to create intentional spaces for racial dialogues to occur within college and university classrooms. Findings are used to suggest practical ways that educators and administrators can build upon each other's expertise to promote dialogues about race and racism in various courses. In addition, implications for future research on the process of facilitating exchanges about racial realities in postsecondary classrooms are proposed.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Frances, who passed away during my first year as an undergraduate student at James Madison University. I regret that she was not alive to witness my development into an educator and researcher but wish to recognize her for the important ways that she influenced my growth as a Black man. I thank my father, Ernest, the "real" doctor in the family, for pushing me to always excel as a student and person. I will never forget your constant reminders that I needed to work twice as hard as my White counterparts to achieve success in America. For Les, Pam, and Priscilla, my siblings, I appreciate the silent ways in which you show your love toward me. I am who I am because of you.

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CHAPTER ONE
BACKGROUND, PURPOSE, AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

On April 12, 2007, radio talk show host Don Imus was fired due to racist comments he shared about Rutgers University female basketball players. Imus called the "girls" from the University of Tennessee basketball team "cute," but referred to the African American players on the Rutgers team as "nappy-headed hos." A few days later, Imus issued an apology for his remarks, calling them insensitive and ill-conceived. However, this did not preclude several prominent people, such as the Reverend Al Sharpton and *Today Show* news anchor Al Roker from publicly condemning Imus for his statements and demanding the removal of his morning show from the air. Even though Imus took steps to rectify the situation by meeting with the coach and members of the Rutgers team, his dismissal was never overturned.

Just seven months prior at a high school in Jena, Louisiana, two Black students asked the principal if they could sit under what was referred to as the "White tree" in the school's courtyard. When the principal informed the students that they could sit anywhere on campus, they decided to sit under the tree. The following day, nooses were hung from its branches. The superintendent dismissed the nooses as a prank, leading Black students to sit in protest under the tree. Their White schoolmates who hung the nooses received in-school suspensions and Saturday detentions. The Jena case is one instance of a recent barrage of nooses found at various places across the United States in 2007, including a student's residence hall room window at the University of Maryland, a Black professor's office door at Columbia University, a flagpole at T. W. Andrews High School in North Carolina, and a construction site in Pittsburgh (Fears, 2007). Each of these incidents invokes images of the lynching of Black persons from decades ago, a time when racial hostility and oppression were overt and prevalent. These nooses suggest that racism continues to be a problem even in today's society.

Amid intense media scrutiny and coverage, the common response from people who verbalize racial insults or symbolically display their racist beliefs is to apologize for their error in judgment or to label their actions as merely jokes, claiming that those who oppose the comments and practices are being too sensitive or are overreacting. In U.S. Senator Barack Obama's (2004) autobiography, he reported that when racial/ethnic minority people respond angrily to racial incidents, such as those described above, White people often characterize them as crazy or unnecessarily irritated. "Should you lash out at your captors, they would have a name for that, too, a name that could cage you just as good. Paranoid. Militant. Violent. Nigger" (p. 85). In the midst of these attacks, racial/ethnic minorities are seen as powerless persons who must learn to live with these racist "jokes." After all, as the perpetrators usually exclaim, "I was just kidding; lighten up!"

The problem, however, is that few White people understand the level of damage to one's psyche and emotional turmoil that ensues from racism (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001). Walking around a college campus and seeing only buildings named after White men, or wondering if the White teacher was purposefully ignoring the raised hand of a Latino student can lead one to question her or his belongingness and sense of self (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). For racial/ethnic minority people in the United States, racism is a common, everyday experience with which most learn to cope (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996). It is rare that people engage in a serious discussion of racial issues, such as those noted above. When the blatant, racialized confrontation happens, the response is to devote attention to it for a few days, call upon the same persons in the media to offer their perspectives (e.g., Revs. Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton), publicly rebuke the offender, forget the situation ever occurred, and return to business-as-usual practices until someone else does something that is painstakingly racist. In essence, these represent reactionary responses that follow an incident, as opposed to intentional measures that devote sustained attention to race and racism as a means to explore its systemic effects and promote racial understanding and transformation. Also missing from

these responses is focused concentration on the subtle racist ideologies embedded in institutional structures, symbols, norms, and practices.

In response to Imus's racist remarks and the presence of nooses, I heard one viewer on CNN ask, "Why is racial tension on the rise, and how can we resolve racial divisions?" Whenever a recognized figure in society engages in racist behaviors, media pundits discuss the need for a serious dialogue about racial issues. Yet, few opportunities exist to participate meaningfully in these exchanges to understand the complexities of racial realities and seek tangible ways to challenge oppressive ideologies. Even if there are no intentional spaces for college students to contribute to these interactions, it is conceivable that they will talk about these issues within their friendship groups. If they do not have structured places in which to participate in these dialogues, they can reinforce their assumptions and stereotypes within their own racial/ethnic groups. Consequently, it is critical for educators to provide the means for students to discuss racialized issues in classroom contexts. Doing so will enable learners to understand how to address racial tensions when they feel unsafe or targeted within their institutions.

Unfortunately, there exist few places on campus where these interactions can happen purposefully with trained facilitators (Harper & antonio, 2007). Since students are continually enrolled in courses throughout their college journeys, one important arena in which to plan and facilitate these discussions is the classroom. Failure to do so can lead learners to avoid these necessary exchanges or engage with anxiety, discomfort, and fear. In addition, the lack of sustained, classroom discussions on racial issues does not provide students with constructive examples of how to respond appropriately and immediately to racial assaults that occur in the media and on their campuses. It is critical for students to develop racial consciousness and competencies that will contribute to their success in their future careers, as they work in an increasingly diverse society (Harper & antonio). Faculty persons share the responsibility for creating intentional spaces in their

classrooms that are conducive to students developing the knowledge and skills to take action when confronted by racial challenges.

I consider the ways in which educators endeavor to facilitate dialogues about race and racism among students in college and university classrooms in this dissertation. I focus specifically on instructors' pedagogical philosophies about engaging racial issues, how they enact their espoused commitments to facilitating racial exchanges in classrooms, the concrete pedagogical approaches they use, as well as how they manage obstacles that prevent students from discussing race and racism. A complementary focus is on the meanings faculty persons make of the strategies they employ to facilitate these discussions. In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the problem I sought to address in the study, as well as its purpose and significance. Following these topics, I provide definitions of key terms and concepts and conclude with an organization of the dissertation.

Statement of the Problem

Strange and Banning (2001) and Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) confirmed the positive influence that welcoming and supportive learning environments provide college students. In contradistinction, educational settings that silence students and deem their perspectives trivial are likely to stifle learning outcomes (Baxter Magolda, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Researchers have found that the presence of institutional racism detracted from learning and development, particularly among students of color (Cabrera & Nora, 1994; Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Villalpando, 2004), leading to campus cultures that were hostile, antagonistic, and conflict-ridden (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Feagin et al., 1996). Constructing campus climates that enable students to form healthy interracial relationships with their peers is an important way to improve adverse learning contexts and foster educationally enriching classroom environments (Ancis et al., 2000). Part of the process of facilitating beneficial race relations between students

involves recruiting and retaining learners from varied racial/ethnic backgrounds. Devoting attention to the composition of the student body is an important means to promote appreciation of racial/ethnic differences among students, but is inadequate in itself. As Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, and Gurin (2002) noted, simply increasing the percentages and numbers of racial/ethnic minority students without concurrent attention to structuring purposeful avenues for cross-racial dialogues to occur is counterproductive.

Critical thinking skills (Mines, King, Hood, & Wood, 1990; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005), intercultural competence (Baxter Magolda, 2001; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; Tatum, 1992), and academic and social development (Chang, 1999) are value-added outcomes that faculty and administrators strive to cultivate through students' participation in postsecondary education. Though educators can foster these competencies in multiple ways, providing structured opportunities for learners to engage in dialogues about racial diversity in classrooms is one meaningful route to enable students to achieve these goals (Gurin et al.., 2002; Maruyama & Moreno, 2000). The problem, however, is that students are rarely afforded numerous, sustained opportunities to address race meaningfully in the classroom (Chang, Chang, & Ledesma, 2005; Engberg, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; Mayhew, Grunwald, & Dey, 2005; Quaye & Harper, 2007). Students might achieve these educational benefits in other ways and in other arenas, but it remains unlikely that they will develop racial understanding without intentional exposure to and discussions about race and racism (Chang, 1999).

It would be difficult to find a college or university mission statement that did not espouse an appreciation of diversity as one of its chief aims. Diversity has become a fashionable and long-lasting buzzword within most institutions of higher learning (Astin, 1998; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1998); yet, students continue to struggle with appreciating peers from different racial/ethnic backgrounds (Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan, & Landreman, 2002; Saddlemire, 1996). Racial/ethnic diversity is becoming increasingly synonymous with the composition of the student

body while largely ignoring what transpires when students who have had minimal interaction with peers from different racial/ethnic backgrounds are expected to embrace racial/ethnic diversity upon entering higher education (Chang et al., 2005).

An alternative conception of diversity is sorely needed—one that shifts from simply structural racial/ethnic diversity (indeed a commendable, but insufficient aim) to learning from interracial differences. As Mayhew et al. (2005) found: "In terms of formal and public commitment, an institution's ability to achieve a positive climate for diversity is indeed reflected by the faculty's commitment to incorporate diversity-related issues into their academic agenda" (p. 408). Given the critical roles of instructors in enacting and reinforcing an institution's avowed commitment to diversity through curriculum and pedagogy, focusing on how they weave racial discussions into their courses is a study worth pursuing.

One problem explored in this study is the minimal engagement of racial realties between educators and students in college and university classrooms. Most institutions of higher education have become more open to learners from different racial/ethnic groups, a stark contrast compared to the seventeenth century when American colleges were founded (Geiger, 1999). Despite these important gains, when examined from the inside, higher education institutions continue to be racial/ethnic enclaves where discussions about racial realities rarely occur (Engberg, 2004; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Chang et al. (2005) referred to the "magical thinking" philosophy that undergirds most practices of racial/ethnic diversity.

> The [diversity] rationale provides no guidance for campuses on assembling the appropriate means to create environments conducive to realization of the benefits of diversity or on employing the methods necessary to facilitate the educational process to achieve those benefits. Under this rationale, the benefits will accrue as if by magic. (pp. 10-11)

Hence, a racially heterogeneous campus does not necessarily mean discussions about the effects of race and racism will occur. Engaging racial realities is a risk that requires comfort with discomfort

and a classroom environment that does not normalize silence racial matters (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Feagin et al., 1996; Villalpando, 2004).

Critical race theory provides some guidance for faculty members in addressing racial realities in the classroom and challenging colorblind practices (Villalpando, 2004). Because critical race theorists focus on examining race and racism, they reveal the importance of students having models who exemplify constructive ways of engaging in dialogues about racial issues (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Tate, 1997). However, as I will discuss more extensively in Chapter 2, even critical race theorists offer insufficient practical advice of the pedagogical approaches necessary to facilitate racial interactions. Thus, a complementary problem explored in this study is the absence of models in engaging race. Given that professors rarely facilitate the discussion of racial realities between learners in classroom settings, those who wish to begin this process have few resources on which to capitalize for their knowledge, expertise, and guidance. The dual problems of the lack of racial dialogues and models are troubling, for they preclude students from critically examining the role of race in their lives and developing useful mechanisms for learning how to address racial realities meaningfully in their future careers.

Purpose of the Study

This study will enable readers to understand concrete methods for facilitating dialogues about race and racism within postsecondary classrooms. I explored the pedagogies of instructors who sought to help students engage racial realities meaningfully in classroom settings. The purpose of the study was to examine classroom-based discussions on race and racism in order to offer students, faculty persons, and researchers insights into the reasons educators facilitated these dialogues, the challenges faced in the process, and the benefits of their pedagogical methods. By examining the facilitation process of racial dialogues, current and future instructors can learn how to structure purposeful engagement activities that facilitate the progression from "magical thinking"

that learners will by chance engage with their peers about race to intentional conditions that enable these exchanges to happen.

Some students involve themselves in numerous co-curricular activities during their collegiate years ranging from participation in student government and other student organizations, athletics, and fraternities and sororities. While discussions about race and racism might occur in these venues, unless deliberately structured, such interactions likely will not take place (Chang et al., 2005; Engberg, 2004; Harper & antonio, 2007). The curriculum is the one constant to which all students are exposed; therefore, focusing on the classroom as a site of examination was an important objective. According to Gurin et al. (2002), "Although these informal interactions with racially diverse peers can occur in many campus contexts, the majority of them occur outside of the classroom" (p. 333). In response to Gurin et al.'s finding, in this study, I did not rely on co-curricular settings for the exploration of interactions about racial realities, but instead investigated classroom dialogues about race and racism and the pedagogies that educators used to facilitate those exchanges. Through the completion of this study, readers can understand the distinguishing approaches utilized to support students in discussing and learning about racial realities.

Research Questions

Since faculty play pivotal roles in creating avenues for racial exchanges to occur, the primary research question guiding this study was the following: How do educators engage students in constructive dialogues about racial realities in postsecondary classroom settings? In addition, I explored three supplementary and related questions: (1) Why do educators strive to facilitate interactions about racial realities in classroom contexts? (2) How do educators make sense of the pedagogies they use to engage students in dialogues on racial issues? (3) How do educators describe the pedagogies they use to engage students in dialogues on racial issues? The nature of the questions

posed involved examining the *process* of classroom discussions focused on race and racism from the instructors' perspectives.

Significance of the Study

Faculty members who care deeply about the teaching and learning processes face a complex set of responsibilities each time they enter the classroom—they must synthesize and present knowledge to students, figure out ways to motivate and engage learners and make the course content relevant to their lives, provide ample spaces for students to discuss and dissect course concepts, devote attention to the varied needs of each student, and utilize verbal and nonverbal feedback from learners to improve their pedagogies in subsequent class meetings. The challenge is even greater for those who wish to respond to the realities of race in classroom settings. Garcia and Van Soest (2000) summarize this vexing problem:

> Faculty must develop comfort with discussing issues related to diversity in order to demonstrate how to place perspective on heated and strained interaction … In the midst of class interaction on diversity, faculty need to feel free to share their impressions and insights and yet maintain focus on the learning needs of students. (p. 35)

Managing the unwanted emotions that result from racial dialogues and learning how to balance sharing one's knowledge and facilitating the process of learners articulating their own perspectives on racial issues are other issues with which faculty persons must grapple. The lack of empirical research on these matters illuminates the importance of this study.

Researchers can no longer rely solely on institutional mission statements about the value of diversity or statistics about the percentages and numbers of racial/ethnic minority students. Rather, they must explore the ways in which educators enact commitments to racial/ethnic differences through their pedagogical strategies in facilitating racially-based dialogues in classrooms. Given the roles of educators in planning their courses and setting expectations of students, they are uniquely positioned to support learners in engaging racial realities in the classroom. Based on the findings of this study, readers can learn about pedagogical approaches for intentionally engaging racial realities

in classroom contexts. Moreover, the study has potential to improve hostile and antagonistic campus climates by enabling instructors and learners to address racial strife meaningfully to challenge racist assumptions and behaviors, learn about racial differences, and develop concrete mechanisms for improving campus communities.

Key Concepts and Definitions

Prior to delving into the review of related literature, it is important to clarify the meanings and interpretations I ascribe to key terms and concepts used repeatedly throughout this dissertation.

Asian American[1]—United States born people of Asian descent, for example, Japanese, Korean, Indian, and Chinese. This term does not include international students due to the differences in their college experiences compared to their United States born peers.

Black or African American—United States born persons of African descent. This term does not encompass native African persons or Caribbean-American and other international students, as their collegiate experiences likely differ from their United States born Black counterparts.

Educators, Instructors, Professors, Faculty, and Faculty Persons—I use these words interchangeably to describe those who teach in a classroom context in which students enroll for course credit. Therefore, included in these words are tenure-track faculty members, tenured professors, non-tenure track instructors, student affairs educators, visiting professors/instructors, and the like.

Hegemony—A situation created and sustained by the dominant culture in which it develops norms, values, and beliefs that become normalized and seen as natural (Hebdige, 1979). These norms become so commonsensical that subordinate groups, such as racial/ethnic minority students, also unwittingly perpetuate them and rarely question them.

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[1] I acknowledge the inherent problem in these racial/ethnic identifiers. Many students identify with multiple racial/ethnic groups, while others do not prefer the terms I have chosen to utilize. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, I use the terms most commonly known to avoid confusion and the need for recurring clarification.

Latino/a—People who were born in the United States and have family origins in Central or Latin America. I include in this group descendants of Mexican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban people.

Pedagogy—While pedagogy refers to the teaching approaches that educators use to bring about desired learning outcomes, the term also includes the philosophy that undergirds one's approach to teaching, as well as the types of engagement activities one uses, how one views the learners in the classroom, and the ways in which an educator constructs syllabi and curricula to help students meet outcomes (Stark & Lattuca, 1997).

Prejudice—To prejudge another person based on limited or no information. Tatum (1997) provided the example of living within a society where stereotypical representations of different groups are perpetuated through individual persons, the media, educational institutions, and other systems. Due to the overwhelming presence of these stereotypes, it is impossible for a person to escape the development of prejudiced attitudes. Therefore, a prejudice is the belief that people behave or are a certain way because of their membership in a particular group. It is important to note that prejudice and racism are not the same; however, prejudices can lead to racism.

Race—A socially constructed, non-biological marker used to group persons by the color of their skin.

Racial/Ethnic Minority Students or Students of Color—I utilize these two terms interchangeably to refer to the combination of Black/African American, Asian American, and Latino/a students, recognizing that these students have unique experiences and insights about race/ethnicity that can remain hidden when they are treated as a collective group. When I use these terms, I caution readers to not view these students as monolithic.

Racial Realities—The awareness of race and racism as important determinants in people's lives, and that people of different races are treated inequitably based on a system of racism.

Racialized Ways of Knowing—Borrowing from Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule's (1986) *Women's Ways of Knowing,* I refer to racialized ways of knowing as racial belief patterns and the ways people make sense of race and racism. Persons who display racialized ways of knowing contemplate issues about race and racism and are attuned to the ways in which race privileges and marginalizes certain people. This thought pattern is not comprehensive, universal, or one-dimensional; rather, I pluralize "way" to signify the multiple manners in which people can come to "know" race and racism.

Racism—In United States society, a system that typically advantages White people and disadvantages racial/ethnic minority persons based on the socially constructed nature of their races. Individual people can hold racist behaviors and attitudes, but racism is also a system that is embedded in the philosophies and practices of institutions, such as K-12 schools, colleges and universities, churches, and the government. Racism also disproportionately grants White people access to resources that are not equally afforded persons of color (Tatum, 1997).

White or Caucasian—American persons of European descent.

Organization of the Dissertation

I review and synthesize literature pertaining to race relations, pedagogy, and curricula in higher education in the next chapter. Chapter 2 also includes the theoretical framework used in the dissertation. Following the literature review, I discuss the methodology and methods of the study in Chapter 3—the research design and data collection and analytical techniques utilized. In Chapter 4, I present the findings of the study and my interpretations of the data and conclude the dissertation in Chapter 5 with a summary, discussion, and implications for practice and future research.

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, I provide an elaboration and synthesis of published research regarding race, pedagogy, and outcomes in higher education. In the literature reviewed herein, I begin broadly by looking at race relations within higher education and narrow to focus on the nexus between race, pedagogy, and curricula among faculty. I then present the theories used to inform my dissertation.

Race Relations in Higher Education

West (1993) contended that a serious discussion of race in America must move from focusing exclusively on African Americans as the problem to examining the historical legacy of racism in society and the flaws rooted in racist ideologies and practices. Following this logic, students and faculty alike are complicit in allowing racist hegemony to persist in their unwillingness and inabilities to discuss racial issues. I consider the ways racial realities have been treated within colleges and universities in order to show the influence of race on learners and educators. In so doing, I examine race relations within three arenas: (a) the role of campus climate on students; (b) cross-racial interactions among students and faculty; and (c) the educational benefits of diversity.

Role of Campus Climate on Students

A Black student in Feagin et al.'s (1996) study described perusing the college yearbook and finding minimal representations of racial/ethnic minority students among the hundreds of photos. The few pictures of Black students showed them participating in the homecoming step show or the pre-med student organization. Researchers have illuminated the power of symbols and the subtle messages that portraits—such as yearbooks—send to students from different racial/ethnic groups (Hebdige, 1979; Magolda, 1999, 2000; Quantz, 1999; Salzman, 2001). The tendency is for most alumni to reminisce about the status of their alma maters given the strong connection they held to their institutions. For White alumni, memories of their collegiate days can garner warm feelings of time spent socializing with faculty and peers who were mostly the same race/ethnicity as them; yet,

for racial/ethnic minority graduates, reflecting on their college tenures can generate memories of frustration, lack of identification, and discrimination (Magolda, 2000).

Climate refers to the overall "feel" of an institution—the attitudes, expectations, norms, and perceptions that define the members of an institution (Bauer, 1998). The yearbook is just one of many symbols that contributes to the campus climate of a college or university. Campus climates are also sustained through one's interactions with faculty and peers (Hurtado, 1992); students' participation in campus organizations (Taylor & Howard-Hamilton, 1995); and a student's exposure to discrimination and prejudice (Cabrera et al., 1999). According to Hurtado, one in three college students perceived racial tension within their respective institutions. Even though students reported racial conflict within the campus climate, most believed faculty and administrators did not regard fostering a welcoming campus environment as a high priority.

Cabrera and Nora (1994) noted a similar finding in that African American, Asian American, and Latino/a students perceived more prejudice and discrimination within their campuses than did White students, with African Americans reporting the highest levels. Additionally, all three racial/ethnic minority groups conveyed greater feelings of isolation in their courses and more instances of being singled out by professors due to their race/ethnicity. These findings are particularly important for the study I pursued. Greater perceptions of discrimination and prejudice within the classroom climates among racial/ethnic minority learners can have a dire effect on their abilities to engage in racial discussions with their peers. These perceptions can lead students of color to bear the burden of representing their entire races/ethnicities, thereby resulting in feelings of tokenism and being devalued (hooks, 1994; Tatum, 1997). Cabrera and Nora established that when White students reported discrimination and prejudice, they identified other persons besides themselves as the perpetrators. White students had minimal understanding of their own roles in reinforcing racism within their postsecondary institutions. The key conclusion in the aforementioned

study was the following—even if the larger institutional climate was racist, so long as the classroom environment was free from discrimination and prejudice, racial/ethnic minority students did not experience alienation. This point reveals the critical roles of professors in providing the means for students to address race in classroom settings. Faculty members have substantial influence over how they structure classroom contexts that are conducive to racially-focused discussions. Maintaining a healthy climate for learning within the classroom was an important way to facilitate constructive racial dialogues (antonio, 2001a; Mayhew et al., 2005).

Another arena in which the campus climate influenced student outcomes concerned the adjustment of students. Poor campus climates negatively affected a student's perception of fit within the institution and contributed to maladjustment (Hurtado, 1994; Hurtado, Carter, & Spuler, 1996). Generally, students who perceived that they had more in common with others at their institution, as well as the institution as a whole, were better able to adjust in the transition from high school to college, while those who could not readily identify with the values, norms, and beliefs of their colleges or universities experienced trouble adjusting (Ancis et al., 2000; Cabrera et al., 1999; Chang, 1999; Cokley, 1999). Cabrera et al. (1999) found that when African American students perceived more discrimination at their institution, they devoted less commitment to the institution. When campus climates were hostile toward certain groups, their identification with the campus was lessened, as were their abilities to form beneficial relationships with their peers and faculty persons (Suarez-Balcazar, Orellana-Damacela, Portillo, Rowan, & Andrews-Guillen, 2003). Of all the findings, the one related to the climate of classrooms was most striking, as I wanted to understand racially-focused interactions within classrooms in the present study.

Cross-Racial Interactions among Students and Faculty

Tatum's (1997) work challenged the common perception that racial/ethnic minority students self-segregated themselves within institutions of higher learning and contributed to the lack of

interracial discussions. Even within racially/ethnically diverse institutions, Hurtado et al. (1999) found a lack of cross-racial interactions between students. Three major issues serve as the basis for this section: (a) lack of racial discussions between students; (b) conditions that promote cross-racial interactions; and (c) faculty skills and preparedness in facilitating constructive racial exchanges.

Lack of Racial Discussions between Students

While it is likely that White students on predominantly White campuses can attend classes and participate in athletic events, student organizations, and informal conversations over meals and not engage with racial/ethnic minority students on a regular basis, students of color are not afforded this same homogeneous experience. Racial/ethnic minority students cannot escape interacting with their White peers due to the overwhelming presence of White students at largely White higher education institutions (Chang et al., 2005). For instance, the Black students in Feagin et al.'s (1996) study spoke about the abundant presence of White racialized spaces that denoted their invisibility and "alien" statuses, as well as the daily challenges of confronting White peers who were hostile, antagonistic, and racist toward them. Due to their underrepresentation and racism of their White peers, there were few places on campus where Black students felt welcome. Therefore, even when students of color appeared to isolate themselves (Tatum, 1997), it was virtually impossible for them to proceed throughout their collegiate tenures without interacting with White students (Feagin et al., 1996; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998). However, for purposeful learning about race to occur, racial/ethnic minority students should not be the only persons who customarily step out of their comfort zones to engage with their racially/ethnically different counterparts (Zúñiga, Nagda, & Sevig, 2002).

Race continues to be a taboo topic that generates unwanted feelings as persons worry about appearing racist, and therefore, recoil from candidly discussing racialized matters (Gasman, Gerstl-Pepin, Anderson-Thompkins, Rasheed, & Hathaway, 2004; Parker & Stovall, 2004; Thompson,

1997). For White learners, being scolded by adults when they asked race-related questions as children has led to a lifetime of socialization that they are to remain silent on racial matters; for racial/ethnic minority students, they often become tired with frequently reporting acts of racism toward them and not being believed by their White counterparts and faculty or having to educate their peers (and often professors) on racial issues (Bennett, 2001; Fishman & McCarthy, 2005; Jones, 1999; Tatum, 1992). When students are confronted with their racist assumptions or acknowledge the United States as an unjust society, the feelings of guilt, embarrassment, anger, and frustration are so overwhelming that they feel powerless and unable to act (Zúñiga, 2003). As I will describe shortly, not only do students reinforce the lack of discussing race with their peers; educators also contribute to the culture of silence on racial realities.

Conditions that Promote Cross-Racial Interaction

Chang's (1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2003, 2005) work has focused largely on the influence of racial interactions among students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. The research cited above from Chang elucidated outcomes that were accrued from discussions about race among students, the role of students' participation in campus organizations in altering the racial climate, and the influence of diversity courses on students' racial prejudices. Two studies, both focused on the benefits and consequences of cross-racial interactions, are worth describing in-depth in this section due to their relevance to the dissertation.

Chang, Astin, and Kim (2004) identified the conditions that facilitated dialogue among students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds and found that students were often not afforded numerous, sustained opportunities to discuss racial issues candidly. Specifically, the authors reported that students who lived and worked on campus had a greater propensity to interact across and about racial differences. Even so, few educators provided students with organized means to engage racial realities. In the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) sample, being White negatively

correlated with one's frequency of cross-racial interactions. The authors suggested that this finding might be due to the higher probability that students of color would interact with their White peers on a predominantly White campus given their underrepresentation within the population. By contrast, the greater numbers of White students led to a reduced chance of coming into contact with their racial/ethnic minority counterparts. Chang et al. also reported that a student's commitment to promoting racial understanding also influenced her or his willingness to seek out dialogues with peers of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, not only were intentional opportunities for racial dialogues important, but also a student's value of those exchanges. Finally, similar to earlier studies (e.g., antonio, 2001a, 2001b; Chang, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002;), the authors found that the racial/ethnic composition of the student body affected the amount of cross-racial discussions among students, as well as gains in cognitive development (antonio et al., 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; King & Baxter Magolda, 2004), academic and social self-confidence (Chang, 1999), cultural awareness (antonio, 2001b; Milem, 1994), and overall satisfaction with college (Chang, 1999).

In a more recent study using CIRP participants, Chang, Denson, Sáenz, and Misa (2006) investigated whether students who were exposed to higher frequencies of cross-racial interactions had higher levels of cognitive development, openness to diversity, and self-confidence than their peers with lower instances of interracial dialogues. Chang and his colleagues also posed the following research question: "Do students who attend institutions with higher average peer levels of CRI [cross-racial interaction] tend to report higher levels on those same outcomes than their peers who attend institutions with lower average peer levels of CRI report" (p. 434)? The authors identified the conditions that encouraged healthy racial discussions and found a positive correlation between students who engaged in dialogues with their peers about racial issues and gains in cognitive development, self-confidence, and openness to diversity. Of particular importance was Chang et al.'s finding regarding the second research question. Students who reported low frequencies of cross-

racial discussions but were enrolled in institutions with high average levels among the student body conveyed greater openness to racial/ethnic differences than their counterparts enrolled at institutions with low average levels of cross-racial interactions. Chang et al. suggested that when administrators and faculty created the conditions to foster interracial interactions through structured spaces and healthy campus climates, "even students who report little or no interaction will also likely benefit from institutional efforts to sustain positive race relations" (p. 451).

The findings above specify possibilities for cultivating conditions that advance the productive discussion of racial realities among learners. Chang and his colleagues (2004, 2006) denoted the importance of cross-racial interactions in enabling students to achieve desired outcomes. In sum, students were more likely to engage in exchanges across racial differences when they lived and worked on campus, had a commitment to seeking out interracial dialogues with their peers, and when they were enrolled within a postsecondary institution that had a racially/ethnically mixed student body with high average levels of peer interactions across differences. Thus far, I have focused exclusively on interracial discussions between students; in the next section, I explore the roles of educators in facilitating these dialogues in classroom contexts.

Faculty Skills and Preparedness in Facilitating Constructive Racial Exchanges

Garcia and Van Soest's (2000) study of faculty effectively teaching about race and racism in the classroom signified the benefits of professors learning to address race meaningfully and intentionally in classroom settings. Some faculty persons attempted to deflect racial tensions through humor, a culturally destructive response, while others (mostly racial/ethnic minority faculty) exhibited cultural competence through inviting students to engage honestly with each other about racial conflicts (Garcia & Van Soest). The authors examined faculty persons' responses to critical incidents related to racism in classrooms as well as their sensitivities to racism. They found that African American/Black faculty responded at a higher level than White faculty to a critical incident

involving a derogatory slur targeted at a Black learner in the classroom, while Latino/Hispanic faculty demonstrated higher responsiveness to an incident involving a Latino/Hispanic student. This finding showed the significance of faculty training and development with respect to managing critical racial incidents. Other researchers have also noted the importance of preparation among instructors for facilitating racial dialogues (Beale, Thompson, & Chesler, 2001; Brookfield & Preskill, 1999; Fox, 2001; Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). Faculty of color cannot be expected to be the sole facilitators of race-focused dialogues. Given that racial/ethnic minority instructors continue to be underrepresented across higher education institutions (Bowen & Bok, 1998; NCES, 2002), it is equally important for White educators to develop knowledge on and comfort with engaging students in racial discussions in the classroom. These data illuminate the need to describe the efforts of faculty persons in facilitating racial interactions between students, particularly among White professors.

Stassen's (1995) study of White professors' responses to integrating racial/ethnic diversity within their courses revealed some interesting paradoxes among faculty. Though those with more formal education, such as faculty persons, tended to hold views consistent with a respect for racial/ethnic differences and a propensity to provide avenues for racial dialogues to occur (Schuman & Bobo, 1988; Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985), faculty—particularly White instructors—were the most resistant campus employees to implementing specific measures to improve the climate for students of color (Stassen, 1995). Stassen suggested that part of the reason for this hesitancy and resistance to utilizing pedagogy for racial understanding was due to the context for race within postsecondary institutions. When faculty viewed addressing diversity in the classroom as conflicting with educational quality, they refused to alter their pedagogy and curricula to be more reflective of multiculturalism and racial inclusiveness. This finding was similar to that of Bennett (2001) and Weissman, Bulakowski, and Jumisko (1998) who noted that most faculty failed to revise their

courses to address cultural diversity and perpetuated the status quo in using readings that did not pertain to the cultural experiences of racial/ethnic minority students, and Garcia and Smith's (1996) conclusion that faculty socialization influenced the lack of preparedness of professors in facilitating exchanges about racial realities in classroom settings.

Roberson, Kulik, and Pepper (2002) attempted to measure the cultural competence of instructors teaching business courses through the development of the Instructor Cultural Competence Questionnaire (ICCQ). Unlike training programs that taught educators appropriate ways to manage diversity in the classroom, the ICCQ was intended to help researchers measure the behaviors or skills of instructors. Respondents were presented with job-related incidents and asked to comment on what they would do in each situation, rather than on their beliefs or attitudes about diversity. In a particular scenario, participants responded to an incident involving a student making derogatory comments about African Americans during a class presentation. Survey respondents were asked to address this issue given that the sole African American student in the class appeared uncomfortable with the student's disparaging remarks. The behavioral dimension of the ICCQ was indeed an important improvement over tests that measured only the attitudes and beliefs of educators with respect to diversity (e.g., Helm, Sedlacek, & Prieto, 1998). However, the ICCQ did not examine participants' actual practices in the classroom nor did it enable researchers to understand how faculty taught about race and facilitated racial exchanges in classroom settings. Consequently, there was still minimal evidence of the specific pedagogies and curricula necessary to promote racial understanding and the abilities of instructors to address racial realities in classrooms.

To allay this shortcoming, Schmidt (2005) identified seven concepts that faculty persons could utilize to respond to racial realities in classrooms. A common problem that educators encountered in addressing race was helping students examine the structural and systemic factors that influenced racism within institutions. Students readily understood that individual people could be

racist through the telling of racist jokes or the use of racial epithets; however, they had trouble

seeing and understanding the larger system of White supremacy embedded in the practices, norms,

and values of postsecondary institutions. Similarly, most professors could identify when a racist

assault was used by a student during a discussion, but were unable to structure meaningful dialogues

that moved beyond the individual toward racialized ways of knowing (Feagin, 2001).

In Schmidt's (2005) first concept, *race as a social construction*, educators taught about race as a

non-biological notion that had been socially constructed over time to grant privileges to White

persons and disadvantages to people of color. Knowing how race was socially constructed could

enable students to understand the *interconnected levels of racism: individual, institutional, and cultural*, the

second concept. Faculty explained racism within systems through the use of data and statistics

involving educational disparities among various racial/ethnic groups. Next, students strived to

understand *dominant and subordinate groups* and the power that came from one's position in the racial

hierarchy. The fourth concept, *internalized racism*, helped students see how subordinate groups

reinforced their marginalized positions through believing the common stereotypes perpetuated

about them through the media, schools, people, and others. In the *White privilege* concept, instructors

engaged learners in understanding how White people benefited from this racist system whether or

not they considered themselves racist. Because White students often had trouble viewing themselves

as privileged simply because of their membership in the White race, a discussion of *multiple social*

group memberships, the next concept, was warranted. During these dialogues, students began to

understand how their class, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, and other social categories contributed

to the multiple forms of oppression and advantages they experienced. Therefore, a White student

could have privileges because of her or his race, but also be at a disadvantage due to her or his

sexual orientation or socioeconomic status. The seventh and final dimension was *historical inequality*.

Faculty supported students in engaging with each other about United States history and how certain versions of history painted people of color negatively while depicting White people in positive ways.

Although I have only briefly described Schmidt's (2005) seven concepts for teaching about race, she highlighted several examples to use when teaching students these concepts, as well as resources on which educators could capitalize to help concretize the concepts. As Chang et al. (2006) maintained, in order for racial dialogues to be effective, they must occur repeatedly over time and in multiple classroom settings. Otherwise, students will have limited opportunities to practice addressing racial issues with their peers. Therefore, Schmidt's analysis was lacking in that she did not offer guidance about the specific pedagogical activities for faculty to use in engaging students in discussions about these concepts. She focused almost exclusively on content (only one component of pedagogy) and devoted little attention to the process by which to incorporate this content purposefully in the classroom. Nonetheless, she offered important recommendations to counter the above literature on faculty negligence and under-preparedness in responding to racial realities in classroom contexts. In discussing interactions among students and faculty about racial realities, I have briefly cited the learning outcomes that result from these dialogues when structured appropriately. In the next section, I offer a fuller treatment of the educational benefits of diversity.

Educational Benefits of Diversity

The outcomes associated with meaningful exposure to racial/ethnic differences have been well-documented among researchers. Widely cited is Gurin et al.'s (2002) investigation of the educational gains of diversity. The authors indicated that intellectual engagement and motivation, academic skills, and active thinking were important outcomes that students accrued from racial diversity. When Gurin et al. isolated and analyzed classroom diversity, they found these important benefits across all racial/ethnic groups. Likewise, Chang (1999) found that when students

participated in interracial dialogues, their intellectual and social self-confidence, overall college satisfaction, and retention increased.

The intergroup dialogues approach has also been shown to lead to significant learning outcomes when led by a trained facilitator and appropriately structured (Zúñiga, 2003; Zúñiga et al., 2002). During intergroup dialogues, trained peers from different cultural backgrounds (e.g., a White woman with a Latino man) were paired to facilitate discussions about identity and social differences (Zúñiga, 2003). Zúñiga's four-stage, sequential process began by creating an environment for dialogue where students developed relationships with each other as a means to begin talking. In Stage 2, participants learned about each other's differences and commonalities. The third stage built on that knowledge to explore conflicts and encourage discussions about contentious issues. When students moved from dialogue to action by doing their part to make their campus communities more accepting of diversity, they concretized the final stage of intergroup dialogues (Beale et al., 2001; Zúñiga, 2003; Zúñiga et al., 2002). The objective was for participants to learn from each other, challenge their assumptions, and collaborate to repair their campus communities.

Intergroup dialogues coincided with the nationwide Difficult Dialogues Initiative, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, that prepared students to engage in exchanges about complex and emotionally-laden topics (Difficult Dialogues Initiative, 2006). Gurin, Peng, Lopez, and Nagda (1999) found that students who participated in the Intergroup Relations, Conflict, and Community (IGRC) program at the University of Michigan developed positive intergroup perceptions and attitudes. Other researchers confirmed similar outcomes from intergroup dialogues including appreciation of differences, competencies in interracial interactions, critical thinking skills, perspective-taking, and comfort with diversity (Chang, 1999; Engberg, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; hooks, 1994; Hurtado, 2001; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; Milem, 2003; Zúñiga, 2003).

With respect to what occurred in the classroom, Terenzini, Cabrera, Colbeck, Bjorklund, and Parente (2001) found a statistically significant positive relationship between level of classroom diversity and gains in group and problem-solving skills among students from multiple racial/ethnic groups. This finding was important because almost all of the literature reported thus far relate to the educational benefits of diversity in co-curricular settings Although out-of-class dialogues about racial realities are important, waiting for these necessary interactions to happen solely outside of the classroom is problematic because it is a haphazard approach—informal dialogues might eventually lead to important learning outcomes, but expecting students to engage by chance with their peers about racial/ethnic differences in a meaningful way might not be conducive to their learning. As Hurtado et al. (2002) contended, formal educational activities, such as intergroup dialogues, workshops that enabled students to become aware of the realities of race, and social diversity courses were the most effective in producing the kinds of outcomes mentioned in this section. Furthermore, faculty who devoted considerable attention to preparing students to talk about race meaningfully in the classroom demonstrated the seriousness with which racial matters should be treated. They also exemplified their readiness to offer students the types of engagement activities that would enable learners to become effective addressors of racialized issues.

Engaging race in a structured and purposeful context can lead to beneficial outcomes over time: appreciation of and comfort with racial/ethnic differences (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2004; Chang, Witt, Jones, & Hakuta, 2003); perspective-taking (Chang, 1999); critical thinking skills (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005); academic and social self-confidence (Hurtado, Dey, Gurin, & Gurin, 2003); overall satisfaction with college (Chang, 1999); challenging of stereotypes and assumptions (Allport, 1954; Bowen & Bok, 1998); racial identity development (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Tatum, 1997); and democratic outcomes (Hurtado et al., 2002). Despite these value-added outcomes, there is a lack of empirical evidence about *how* educators

facilitate these benefits by engaging students in exchanges about racial realities in postsecondary classrooms. An in-depth understanding of what occurs in the classroom when faculty persons concentrate on race and racism among students remains largely unaddressed. Researchers have provided insights into the importance of racial/ethnic diversity to student learning and development (Baxter Magolda, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2003; Maruyama & Moreno, 2000), but less is understood about the process of facilitating that learning within classroom contexts. The studies disproportionately focus on outcomes and devote little attention to the process required to achieve such outcomes. Part of the process necessary to help students realize these learning outcomes involves examining the intersection between faculty pedagogy and curricula in addressing racial realities.

Pedagogy and Curricula in Higher Education

Pedagogy and curricula have undergone important changes throughout the history of higher education in the United States (Geiger, 1999). Stark and Lattuca (1997) contended that curricula change and are not static entities. As different learners entered college campuses, the need for curricular transformation to accommodate diverse student bodies and learning styles became apparent (Gardner, 1993). I discuss four ways of structuring pedagogy and curricula in this section: (a) monocultural pedagogy and curricula; (b) multicultural pedagogy and curricula; (c) culturally responsive pedagogy and curricula; and (d) anti-racist pedagogy and curricula. As I will demonstrate in defining the important characteristics of each approach, utilizing certain pedagogical and curricular tactics are more conducive to helping students discuss racial realities and producing the learning outcomes from dialogues on racial realities outlined above.

Monocultural Pedagogy and Curricula

Monocultural pedagogy and curricula was based on the assumption that there is one culture—American culture—that is important for students to learn in order to thrive in United

States society (Giroux, 1992). This culture was Anglocentric and male-centered and minimally acknowledged the contributions of other groups to the founding and development of American society (Banks, 1996, 2001). This monocultural, Anglocentric perspective thrived particularly during the era in which Harvard University was founded, given the college-going clientele at the time—college was mostly limited to White men; consequently, the curriculum pertained to their needs and cultural heritage (Geiger, 1999).

Within monocultural curricula, debates have consistently concerned the canon and special interests. Proponents of the canon asserted that there were foundational beliefs and knowledge that all students should know regardless of their particular cultural backgrounds and values (Bloom, 1987; Hirsch, 1987). This knowledge was seemingly universal because it extended beyond people's particular social identities and special interests. Supporters of the canon—monocultural curricula—espoused the belief that when pedagogy and curricula were focused on the needs of diverse learners, special interests were favored over universal goals and needs. As Banks (2001) asserted, since the dominant group in society has shaped pedagogy and curricula according to their particular identities and needs, its interests appeared to be commonsensical and hence, not special. Advocates of monoculturalism espoused a view of colorblindness, believing that the best way to educate students was to treat them the same and avoid attending to their differences. As Hunter and Nettles (1999) maintained, students were primarily socialized to believe erroneously that ignoring racial/ethnic differences was an equitable pedagogical approach. One saw this colorblind ideology in discussions about race when students asserted that they recognized no differences, just people, or that the only race evident was the human race. It comes as no surprise, then, that these same students struggled when asked to engage in meaningful interactions about race—discussions that challenged their colorblind philosophies and prompted them to rethink their assumptions about privilege, racial equity and justice, and differences (Fox, 2001).

The monocultural view had key implications for how one approached pedagogy in the classroom, specifically, in exchanges about race. Monocultural pedagogy and curricula did not provide sufficient avenues for interrogating and discussing race as a social marker that disproportionately advantaged White persons and simultaneously discriminated against racial/ethnic minority people (Banks, 2001; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Sleeter & Grant, 1999). Multiculturalism, the framework discussed next, addressed these limitations.

<p align="center">*Multicultural Pedagogy and Curricula*</p>

Curricula are not simply made up of syllabi, books, articles, notes, and assignments. Rather, Stark and Lattuca (1997) described the curriculum as an academic plan that included choices, purposes, activities, and concrete ways to evaluate outcomes. As diverse students have enrolled in higher education institutions, they have demanded changes in curricula that reflected their divergent needs, interests, and backgrounds (Watkins, 2001). Slaughter (2002) wrote: "I see faculty and administrators as making little effort to accommodate the curricular interests of new groups until student and community activists demanded that knowledge central to these groups be incorporated into the curricula" (p. 269). Geiger (1999) also noted how student unrest caused educators to modify curricular offerings even within early American postsecondary schools. Multiculturalism arose out of the various student movements in the mid-1900s, as women and racial/ethnic minority students became incessantly frustrated with readings, teaching methods, and classroom climates that ignored the contributions of their cultural groups (Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Rhoads, 1998). Out of these protests grew multicultural courses, specifically Women, African American, and Ethnic Studies (Pewewardy & Frey).

Banks (1996, 2001) and Banks and McGee Banks (2007) wrote extensively about multiculturalism, which rested on the assumption that the norms, values, beliefs, and practices of certain groups of students aligned more with those of the educational institution, which ultimately

led privileged students to achieve academically and thrive socially within the school at higher rates than those who experienced incongruence between their home and school cultures (Banks, 2001; Banks & McGee Banks, 2007; de Anda, 1984; Gonzalez, 2003; Tinto, 1993; Valentine, 1971). Multicultural education was targeted at all students, indicating that diverse educational tools would benefit White and racial/ethnic minority students in their abilities to interact effectively with members from different racial/ethnic groups (Bartolome, 1994; Delpit, 1995).

Several researchers found that multiculturalism improved the learning of White and racial/ethnic minority students (antonio, 2001a; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Hurtado et al., 1999; Terenzini et al., 2001; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Researchers have examined what Banks (2001) referred to as the additive approach to multiculturalism, where institutions simply added "diversity courses" to the already established curriculum and required students to fulfill general education requirements through credits in these courses (Chang, 2002c; Engberg, 2004; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Palmer, 2000). The additive approach did not fundamentally alter the Anglocentric canon, nor did it provide ample spaces for students to question the pedagogy and curricula used to educate them (Banks, 1996, 2001).

Henderson-King and Stewart (1999) found that participants who completed a Women's Studies course exhibited more positive feelings toward feminists, and women in general, and in their evaluations of racial/ethnic minority people, while those in the control group became less positive toward women and racial/ethnic minority persons. To extend her research to racially-focused courses, Henderson-King collaborated with Kaleta (2000) to examine the influence of race and ethnicity courses on student attitudes and beliefs through a pre- and posttest survey. At the conclusion of the course, the authors concluded that students' completion of race and ethnicity courses lowered their negativity toward students who differed in race, ethnicity, and gender.

Students who did not enroll in these courses developed higher negative feelings toward their peers of differing backgrounds.

With respect to faculty, Stassen (1995) found that professors influence the enactment of an institution's espoused commitment to multiculturalism. Appel, Cartwright, Smith, and Wolf (1996) found that faculty saw multicultural issues as residing outside of the classroom and as the concern for others, and that faculty resistance was the most difficult factor to address in multicultural initiatives. Educators played a central role in what transpired in the classroom; if they were hesitant to incorporate multicultural perspectives in their teaching, there was little space for learners to engage race meaningfully within the classroom (Mayhew et al., 2005).

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy and Curricula

The growth of multicultural education as an important means to respond to an increasingly diverse society resulted in specific pedagogy and curricula tailored toward the needs of learners who were previously denied recognition in the Anglocentric classroom. Culturally responsive pedagogy— also called culturally relevant, congruent, reflective, centered, sensitive, mediated, synchronized, and contextualized—was borne out of Gay's (2000) work of preparing teachers to be effective educators of African American, Asian American, and Latino/a students. Gay contended that students were capable of learning if educators provided learning environments, pedagogical methods, and curricular content that were reflective of learners' particular identities, backgrounds, norms, and values. Akin to multicultural education, culturally responsive pedagogy attended to diverse educational approaches that treated learners as competent and capable of meeting high standards. Four key tenets comprised culturally responsive pedagogy—curricula, learning communities, cross-cultural communication, and instruction. Though each of these are interwoven and build upon each other, I discuss them in isolation for ease of understanding. In so doing, I demonstrate how culturally responsive pedagogy and curricula apply to the present study.

Curricula

Gay (2000, 2002) argued that the process by which an educator facilitated a culturally responsive classroom was more important than the course content utilized. Accordingly, an essential component of a culturally responsive learning environment was the active incorporation of readings, assignments, engagement activities, and other materials that reflected the different cultural backgrounds and heritages of learners. This demanded that educators pay particular attention to the contributions to knowledge from racial/ethnic minority groups not just during Black or Women's History Months, for example, but throughout the entire academic year. These educators should not merely expose students to the popular examples of which most are accustomed to hearing (e.g., Martin Luther King, Jr., Harriet Tubman, Susan B. Anthony, and George Washington Carver), but should instead transform curricular content in ways that do not tokenize racial/ethnic minority persons and their involvement in society.

In his review of the extant literature on diverse curricula, Engberg (2004) concluded that while most institutions had "multicultural courses," few instructors intentionally wove divergent perspectives throughout the content of their courses in ways that enabled students to glean an integrated and connected view of multiculturalism. Consequently, most students continued to be exposed to underrepresented theories and perspectives on the lives of racial/ethnic minority groups in fragmented, sparse fashions (Au, 1998; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001; Mayhew et al., 2005). These approaches led students to view race and racial dialogues as aberrant, resulting in strained interactions and silence on racial issues (Fishman & McCarthy, 2005). By contrast, employers of culturally responsive pedagogy placed analyses of race and ethnicity at the forefront and acknowledged that multiple and often competing perspectives on knowledge, power, and identity existed (Gay, 2002). Most importantly, culturally responsive pedagogy was grounded in the evidence that curricular content that was meaningful to students improved their learning (Bartolome, 1994;

Baxter Magolda, 2001; Delpit, 1995; Quaye & Harper, 2007). When students saw themselves represented in curricula, they were more likely to achieve goals and learning outcomes (Baxter Magolda, 2001).

Learning Communities

Scholars have described most classroom climates as competitive, individualistic-oriented, and based on notions of meritocratic individualism (Goodman, 2001; Nieto, 2000). People who subscribed to a meritocratic philosophy believed success was an individual process, and those who put forth the most effort and worked the hardest reaped the most benefits (MacLeod, 1995). Meritocratic individualism was void of the influence of cultural, economic, political, and racial structures in persons' lives (Durrenberger & Erem, 2005; MacLeod). Faculty who practiced this philosophy, therefore, conceived of their classrooms in ways that were antithetical to the goals of learning communities—they rewarded the individual learner and privileged certain students who were accustomed to the mores of dominant learning environments. For instance, some faculty persons might believe that in order to have fair and equal standards, they must treat learners the same. However, employers of culturally responsive pedagogy do not lower standards for racial/ethnic minority learners and teach them different content; instead, they endeavor to foster classroom climates that are conducive to learning. According to Gay (2000, 2002), this did not mean holding racial/ethnic minority learners to a different set of expectations, but instead paying attention to student differences in order to enable those who were not privileged by traditional classroom norms to succeed.

Learning communities have been shown to be effective in producing desired learning outcomes among students (Cross, 1998; MacGregor & Smith, 2005; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). As such, culturally responsive pedagogy shifted from competition to collaboration through the use of learning communities. As Gay (2002) noted, learning communities provided a cultural scaffolding

that incorporated the voices, knowledge, and experiences of students to enable them to succeed

academically. With respect to facilitating learning environments that enabled students to discuss race

meaningfully, one can see how intentional learning communities aids in this process. When the goal

was not to get *it* right—that is, talk about racial issues in the one, right way—learning communities

structured opportunities for students to engage with their peers who held differing opinions and

identities, thus, building camaraderie and respect (MacGregor & Smith, 2005). As Gurin et al. (2002)

maintained, when race was discussed, these dialogues often occurred in informal out-of-class

settings. This might be the case because informal settings were the places in which students felt

comfortable and did not have to conform to the formal and competitive-oriented norms of some

classroom settings. These informal arenas were also the spaces where learners had taken time to

build meaningful relationships with their peers, albeit often along similar racial/ethnic lines (Chang

et al., 2005). With learning communities, the classroom environment could thus be constructed in

ways that mirrored the spaces in which students discussed racial realities, while utilizing purposeful

pedagogical approaches to help students interact about these issues (Gurin et al., 2002).

Cross-Cultural Communication

The discussion above leads into the topic of cross-cultural communication. Culturally

responsive pedagogy was attuned to the importance of creating numerous, sustained spaces for

students to engage in constructive dialogues with their peers across cultural lines and about issues

that differentially affected persons of various racial/ethnic backgrounds, such as discrimination,

power and privilege, academic achievement, social integration, and media representations (Gay,

2000, 2002). I emphasize "numerous" and "sustained" because in order for learners to become

comfortable with racial/ethnic differences and not view such diversity as abnormal, they needed to

speak about racial/ethnic matters routinely and in multiple, structured classroom contexts (Perry,

2006). Otherwise, cross-cultural communication would be seen as unusual and peripheral to the common, dominant approaches that occurred (Gay, 2000, 2002).

One of the most frequently mentioned points in the literature on engaging racial realities is the need for effective facilitators to manage the dialogues so that deep learning can transpire. Discussing race and racism can provoke many uncomfortable emotions, such as anger, frustration, confusion, denial, and guilt, which can lead students and faculty to retreat from the necessary learning process (Bennett, 2001). Researchers suggested that educators who developed the skills to facilitate difficult dialogues enabled students to work through their necessary and important uncomfortable emotions, leading to beneficial learning outcomes—meaningful appreciation of differences, skills in interracial interactions, critical thinking competencies, and perspective-taking (Engberg, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; hooks, 1994; Hurtado, 2001; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; Milem, 2003; Zúñiga, 2003). Consequently, cross-cultural communication was an essential component for culturally responsive pedagogy.

Gay (2000, 2002) avowed that her research demonstrated different communication preferences among cultural groups. She noted that while most instructors focused on a passive-receptive style to teaching in which they expected students to raise their hands and wait for recognition, listen to the teacher dominate the discourse, and patiently respect their peers who were called on to speak, many students of color utilized more active-participatory manners of communicating. These learning preferences could create conflict in mainstream classroom environments for racial/ethnic minority learners. The communication patterns used by racial/ethnic minority groups coincided with the tenets of constructivist theory (addressed more fully in the theoretical framework), which focused on active, collaborative participation as a tool for learning (Burbules, 2000; Perkins, 1999; Phillips & Soltis, 2004). The roles of speaker and listener were fluid with each building upon the perspectives of others. Therefore, when these speaking approaches

were used in a classroom, educators often labeled racial/ethnic minority students as rude, uncouth, and disrupting the orderly functioning of the classroom (Gay, 2000). A caveat is worth mentioning here. While Gay was careful to remind readers not to essentialize racial/ethnic minority groups and believe mistakenly that all members of a certain racial/ethnic group communicated in a similar way, her cautions could be overlooked easily by readers seeking to find a "one-size-fits-all" approach to teaching diverse learners. Culturally responsive pedagogy did not offer such a mechanistic view of teaching; rather, it recognized that faculty must devote attention to the learners in their courses and tailor their methods to respond to the backgrounds, ideas, needs, and identities of particular students. This meant that pedagogy was altered continuously as contexts and students changed.

Instruction

The final element of culturally responsive pedagogy concerned instruction. This component encompassed the previous three as it related to how instructors utilized pedagogy to facilitate desired learning outcomes. Previous home and schooling socialization experiences led learners from different backgrounds to privilege and expect certain kinds of instruction (Gay, 2000). As such, the culturally responsive educator was attuned to the ways in which different students learned and the specific pedagogical approaches necessary to maximize student learning. I outlined earlier research on the role of learning communities and intergroup dialogues on student learning. Because engaging in dialogues about race is uncommon in most classroom environments (Gurin et al., 2002), faculty who sought to help students constructively engage racial realities grappled with the dominant modes in which students had been socialized in classroom contexts—passive receivers of knowledge, individual merit, competition, and avoidance of racialized matters (Perry, 2006).

Hunter and Nettles (1999) explored the issue of socialization in their study of student resistance to race in a Women's Studies course. The authors noticed that even college and university faculty who addressed multicultural issues placed Whiteness at the center of the course. Because

most learners had been socialized according to White norms, even racial/ethnic minority students within the Women's Studies course could not operate from alternative perspectives. For instance, when professors introduced readings about students of color, a Chinese American student in the course questioned the content of the course and wanted more knowledge about White women, a desire that corresponded with that of White students (Hunter & Nettles). Another researcher confirmed this finding, indicating that students believed that focusing on narratives from racial/ethnic minority groups somehow biased the curriculum and unfairly advantaged racial/ethnic minority students (Fox, 2001). Hunter and Nettles's research illustrated the challenges that arose when educators endeavored to construct culturally responsive pedagogy and learning environments. Culturally responsive pedagogy did not ignore the impact of Whiteness, but it sought to direct attention toward knowledge that was often silenced in the teaching process. This meant arranging the classroom in ways that mirrored collaboration and participation, selecting relevant examples that showed racial/ethnic minority people in positive ways, helping students connect their prior cultural knowledge with the views and information presented in class, relying on students to deem the perspectives of their peers as important sources of knowledge, and expecting learners to demonstrate and meet their potentials (Bartolome, 1994; Gay, 2000, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995).

Culturally responsive pedagogy required that its users display self-awareness, paying particular attention to the knowledge and skills that they lacked and devoting time and energy to remedying them. A self-reflective educator understood that culturally responsive pedagogy and curricula were configured differently depending on who the faculty person was and the students with whom she or he worked (Gay, 2002). Combined, the four components of culturally responsive pedagogy—curricula, learning communities, cross-cultural communication, and instruction—shifted the classroom from a monocultural space that privileged men and Whiteness to a place where learners were expected to showcase understanding in multiple ways and respect the varied cultural

mores and practices of their peers (Gay, 2000, 2002). Although culturally responsive pedagogy enhanced one's understanding of addressing race meaningfully in the classroom, anti-racist pedagogy and curricula, the next topic explored, devoted explicit attention to racial realities.

Anti-Racist Pedagogy and Curricula

Educators who practice anti-racist pedagogy focus on how power grants privileged groups control over curricula of college and university classrooms. In addition, they concentrate on the marginalization of student differences and the ignoring of race in many courses (Wagner, 2005). Several educators and researchers have critiqued multicultural education for its lack of close attention to power structures and the role of race in differentially limiting people's abilities to succeed within higher education in particular and society at large (Kailin, 2002; Wagner, 2005). Critics have also noted that multicultural educators were responsible for the common view of diversity as an "add-on" topic in that faculty merely felt comfortable inserting a few "diverse" topics into their courses in isolated and haphazard ways without devoting careful attention to restructuring the entire course from a multicultural framework (Giroux, 1994; Kailin). Therefore, the assumptions and values on which knowledge rested in the course were left fundamentally unchanged (hooks, 1994; McLaren, 1997). Professors could then feel good about their knowledge of diversity without truly understanding the necessity of totally revamping their pedagogy and curricula from an anti-racist framework (Stassen, 1995). While the underlying principles of multicultural education were positive and could transform education, the ways they had been implemented into classroom contexts had sometimes led to further subjugation and tokenism among students of color (Giroux, 1994; McLaren, 1997; Torres, 1998). Supporters of multiculturalism were limited in their abilities to address structural conditions that reproduced inequities—in essence, fundamental knowledge that led to racialized ways of knowing.

When multicultural education was mostly limited to finding places within curricula to become aware of and appreciate differences, engaging racial realities in classroom contexts remained difficult. In order for these dialogues to occur, one had to recognize the importance of domination, racism, and power—key elements on which anti-racist pedagogy and curricula concentrated. Kailin (2002) asserted that empowerment was also a critical component of anti-racist pedagogy. Empowerment meant:

> Education is viewed as a tool to critically analyze existing power relations and knowledge paradigms. This means that knowledge presented from mainstream perspectives has to be subjected to a critical analysis in order to reveal the existing relations of race and class domination. (pp. 55-56)

Although power, domination, racism, and empowerment are present in courses where these issues are not the central focus, I discuss research on the influence of race/ethnic relations courses on student outcomes since attention to racial realities most frequently occurs in these courses.

Faculty using anti-racist pedagogy expected conflict and realized constructive ways to handle it. For instance, Wagner (2005) asserted that the common approach was to avoid conflict at all costs in a classroom setting; however, for meaningful learning to transpire, disagreements and tension needed to be welcomed and managed appropriately. This same author found that students were most intimidated by the unknown; communicating to students at the outset of a course that they should expect to be challenged and made to feel uncomfortable acknowledged the importance of racialized topics and the emotions they ensued. This recognition could also mitigate students from withdrawing from these necessary interactions (Wagner, 2005). In addition to Wagner's research, Wahl, Perez, Deegan, Sanchez, and Applegate (2000) found that creating a core group among faculty who taught race/ethnic relations (or similar) courses created support networks and resources to offer suggestions for addressing tension in these courses. The authors concluded that when such a group was present, instructors became more knowledgeable of concrete ways to help students learn from disagreements and not withdraw from the dialogues. For power relations to lessen, Wahl et al.

contended that race relations courses should also be taught by White faculty persons. This reinforced to learners that creating racially/ethnically inclusive environments was a shared responsibility of White and racial/ethnic minority persons.

Anti-racist pedagogy and curricula were only effective when students actively participated in avenues toward change within their respective institutional contexts, for instance, through their involvement in a service-learning project. Anti-racist pedagogy was an activist-oriented method that connected theory to practice. Marullo's (1998) research on the role of service-learning within a race relations course was consistent with this view. The author's main objective was to enable students to apply the sociological theories and concepts to their lives beyond the classroom. First, Marullo matched students with a peer of a different race/ethnicity and asked them to jointly attend various cultural events throughout the campus community and discuss and write about their experiences. While students learned from this pedagogical method, Marullo found that students still lacked the ability to understand the structural influences on race within society and develop ways to address those realities. He then utilized service-learning in order to help students think about these broad systemic forces. Service-learning within the race relations course enabled students to apply theories to their service sites. Working on a common solution to problems with people from various racial/ethnic backgrounds enabled students to not only discuss racial/ethnic differences, but to also see these differences firsthand. Akin to the role of collaboration in culturally responsive pedagogy, working together with their peers on a mutually defined problem provided students with a sense of ownership, responsibility, and care for others (Marullo). Marullo found that learners who participated in service-learning in the race relations course showed greater increases in their diversity awareness than those who did not participate in such experiences. For anti-racist pedagogy to produce desired outcomes, educators connected it to learning opportunities that enabled students to apply knowledge to real-world settings.

The preceding discussion of pedagogy and curricula in higher education revealed the ways that influxes of racially/ethnically diverse students fueled changes that respected student differences and knowledge. Race relations in higher education have led to transformation in curricular offerings and pedagogies. Although this review of literature demonstrated the importance of cross-racial dialogues and the kinds of pedagogy that can potentially facilitate racial exchanges, few researchers have specifically examined pedagogical processes concerning racial realities in the classroom. Before moving into a discussion about how I studied educators' facilitation approaches, an overview and explanation of the theoretical framework that guided my dissertation are provided.

Theoretical Framework

Thus far in this literature review, I have laid the groundwork for understanding the nexus between race and pedagogy in higher education. The present study focused on understanding the roles of faculty in facilitating constructive discussions on racial realities within classrooms. In addition to the overarching racial climate, I acknowledge that the combination of the specific learners in the classroom and the educator would influence students' willingness and abilities to engage in open and honest dialogue about racial matters. Although I was interested in listening to participants describe the pedagogies they used to facilitate these dialogues, there were theories that framed the study.. Accordingly, in this section I describe four theories—critical race theory, theory of culturally relevant pedagogy, learning theories, and contact theory—that highlighted the important pedagogical issues in this study.

Critical Race Theory

Arguably one of the most cogent theories about race within higher education, critical race theory (CRT) provides a lens through which to view, deconstruct, and understand racial realities. Originating from law and legal studies, CRT has been applied to the social sciences. The basic premise of CRT is that if researchers and educators are to improve race relations within society at

large and campuses in particular, they should base their analyses on four primary tenets: (a) attention to race and racism; (b) challenge to dominant ideologies; (c) recognition of experiential knowledge; and (d) transformation. Each of these components will be discussed in isolation before applying them holistically to the current study.

Attention to Race and Racism

Critical race theorists lay at their foundation that racism still exists within contemporary society even though some of these acts are less blatant, which make them harder to detect. These subtle and seemingly innocuous forms of racism—microaggressions—are interwoven into the structures and policies of institutions, such as churches, K-12 schools, government, and postsecondary institutions (Solórzano et al., 2000). Even though individual people might not carry out acts of racism, because of the historical legacy of racism, racist norms and beliefs are embedded within higher education institutions, making race an important determinant in the lives of racial/ethnic minority persons (Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998; Villalpando, 2004). The theory's intersectionality focus recognizes that a person's race/ethnicity intersects with her or his other social categories—gender, sexual orientation, age, ability, and socioeconomic status—contributing to the multiple forms of oppression and privilege that people experience (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Solórzano et al., 2000; Villalpando, 2004).

Microaggressions can result in stereotype threat, which Steele (1997) described as a condition in which racial/ethnic minority students lower their academic expectations and/or dis-identify with educational goals in response to commonplace negative stereotypes about people of color. For example, stereotype threat can occur when White people assume that racial/ethnic minority persons are underachievers from single-parent homes or have a parent in prison (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). These subtle, verbal and nonverbal racist assaults targeted at people of color result in a "chilly" climate for racial/ethnic minority students because they cause them to question their

belongingness, worth, and academic abilities. Critical race theorists assert that it is vital to challenge microaggressions and draw attention to racism within educational institutions in order to promote classroom climates that are responsive to racial/ethnic differences and the discussion of racial realities (Solórzano et al, 2000; Villalpando, 2004).

Challenge to Dominant Ideologies

Hegemony is a situation created and sustained by the dominant culture where it sets certain norms, values, beliefs, and expectations to which minority groups are subjected. When dominant groups perpetuate hegemony, their beliefs become engrained into the fabric of educational institutions because they seem commonsensical and natural (Hebdige, 1979). Hence, minority groups end up identifying with and reproducing norms—dominant ideologies—that further oppress them. One dominant ideology that exists is colorblindness. A common belief is that faculty should treat students the same in the classroom and ignore their racial/ethnic differences as to not unfairly privilege certain students (Bergerson, 2003; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993). While this belief might seem harmless, it actually reinforces hegemony. Colorblind philosophies and educational practices further marginalize racial/ethnic minority students, as their unique needs and cultural backgrounds are ignored (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Solórzano, 1998). One important aim of critical race theorists is to interrogate dominant ideologies in order to demonstrate their flaws.

When instructors exercise colorblindness, they might rely on the sole racial/ethnic minority student in a classroom to educate others about, for example, the life of Latino/a student (Jones, 1999). This over-reliance on the Latino/a student to speak continually about Latino/a persons is a problematic pedagogical practice. If this particular student becomes angry in class, students may mistakenly assume that all Latino/a students behave this way and label them as angry persons, while a White student who becomes angry is seen as simply having a bad day. Therefore, White persons are regarded as individuals—their character traits and emotional responses usually have no bearing

on White people as a racial group. While educators might believe they are validating the voice of this particular student, they can actually silence and place an unfair burden onto that student (hooks, 1994; Gasman et al., 2004). It also removes the onus from professors having to educate themselves about the knowledge they lack about racial/ethnic minority groups.

Recognition of Experiential Knowledge

The educator example in the previous section illuminates the importance of experiential knowledge. Although the faculty person might have isolated this particular student by calling on her or him to represent all Latino/a people, this pedagogical method, if appropriately and thoughtfully utilized, can also recognize the importance of experiential knowledge. Users of CRT acknowledge the importance of knowledge based on a person's experience (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano et al., 2000). For instance, because of the ways in which Latino/a persons are treated in society, they might have a different view of the social order that is important to understand in order to improve their collegiate experiences. Educators should thus validate this knowledge as unique and important. However, critical race theorists also contend that all Latino/a students do not share the same experiences and should not be regarded as a monolithic group (Tate, 1997; Villalpando, 2004). Validating experiential knowledge from multiple students is an important way to show within-group differences among racial/ethnic minority persons (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Tokenism differs from the acknowledgement of experiential knowledge in that the former places sole responsibility onto racial/ethnic minority students to educate others about their particular experiences; whereas, in the latter, faculty assume the majority of the onus for educating themselves about the experiences of students of color. When educators recognize experiential knowledge, they validate the voices of learners and concurrently incorporate curricula and pedagogical practices into their courses that evince the unique contributions of racial/ethnic minority groups to society.

When racial/ethnic minority learners share their perspectives about their treatment in society, this knowledge is often referred to as counter-narratives or counter-worldviews (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Stanley, 2007). They are in opposition to the dominant, Anglocentric viewpoint mentioned in the section on monocultural pedagogy and curricula. In classroom contexts, learners become accustomed to hearing and reproducing what Lyotard (1984) termed the master or grand narrative. Their K-12 and postsecondary experiences have socialized them to knowledge that is often void of stories from underrepresented groups (Au, 1998; Delpit, 1988; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 2001). When students do not see themselves represented in the master narrative, they develop counter-narratives that critique the grand narrative and provide alternative conceptions of the social order (Stanley). Critical race theorists denote the importance of providing ample spaces for counter-worldviews within classroom settings in order to offer students multiple interpretations and stories from which to analyze and critique (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2000).

Transformation

The combination of the previous three tenets of CRT is futile unless its users also seek ways to encourage changes that improve racial realities for students within higher education. Candidly attending to race and racism is a means to change systems — classroom structures and interactions — that are typically based on race-neutrality and colorblindness. In order for transformation to happen within classrooms, critical race theorists ask educators to shift from a conceptualization of their role as repository and dispenser of knowledge to a new role as active facilitator of varied forms of knowledge, including the counter-narratives of previously excluded persons (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano, 1998). Transformation can occur when students of color share the microaggressions that have happened to them and begin to work with their White and racial/ethnic minority peers and professors to amend classroom practices in ways that validate their knowledge and experiences. According to critical race theorists, the classroom must move from its current

status as a space that is typically silent on racial matters to a forum where reflective dialogues on race occur in meaningful ways (Tate, 1997).

CRT was important for my dissertation study, as it provided an important framework through which to understand racial realities. The theory has potential to promote racialized ways of knowing, as its advocates ask students and faculty to consider dominant ideologies and alternative understandings of the world based on the experiences of racial/ethnic minority persons. However, since CRT focuses more on the broad institutional structures that contribute to racism and marginalization, it provides little pedagogical directions for how instructors should arrange classroom environments to make them conducive to racial dialogues. The other theories that comprise this theoretical framework offer more tangible possibilities.

Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

The theory of culturally relevant pedagogy provides more guidance for translating theories about race and culture into one's classroom practices (Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995). In the section on pedagogy and curricula in higher education, I outlined culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000, 2002). Though culturally responsive pedagogy aligned with many of the same principles as culturally relevant pedagogy, Gay did not refer to her pedagogy as a theory, whereas Ladson-Billings did. Since culturally relevant and responsive pedagogies are often used synonymously, they do share some common bases. For example, both are concerned with contextualizing knowledge so that the prior knowledge and experiences of students are incorporated throughout the learning process. Both also focus on aligning classroom practices with learners' particular identities, cultures, and norms. In addition, Ladson-Billings and Gay asserted that culturally responsive/relevant pedagogy assumes that all students are capable of meeting high standards, but that certain students do not because of classroom climates and pedagogies that are disconnected from their experiences and knowledge. Educators who practice culturally relevant pedagogy concentrate on three primary principles: (a)

conceptions of self and others; (b) manner of structuring social relations; and (c) conceptions of knowledge.

Conceptions of Self and Others

Ladson-Billings (1994, 1995) developed her theory from her work of exemplary African American teachers. She noticed that these teachers taught students in ways that enabled them to consistently meet their own as well as the teachers' expectations. She found that educators countered anti-deficit thought patterns and instead deemed each racial/ethnic minority learner competent. These teachers held different conceptions of themselves and others. They viewed their teacher roles as giving back to the community and as pulling knowledge out of students rather than imparting knowledge upon them. The educators in Ladson-Billings's (1995) study either lived or spent significant time in the community where their students also resided. They deemed this necessary in order to understand how students' home environments affected their abilities to achieve within the schooling context. Teachers saw the home cultures of students as not divorced from the learning process, but as integral components of it. Ultimately, they did not accept failure from racial/ethnic minority students, but found ways to help them succeed despite not being afforded the same privileges as their White counterparts.

Manner of Structuring Social Relations

Not only did educators who used culturally relevant pedagogy think differently about themselves and students, but they also utilized alternative methods for enabling students to learn. These educators recognized that in order for students to thrive within dominant society, they had to develop conventional skills necessary for success, such as literacy and math competencies. Even though teachers believed in traditional notions of achievement (e.g., test scores), they structured their classroom environments in ways that challenged traditional arrangements between students and teachers. They saw students as teachers and envisioned themselves as learners, thus participating in

fluid teacher-student relationships (Pewewardy, 1994). Instructors strived to develop learning communities, which Gay (2000, 2002) described as one of the essential components of culturally responsive pedagogy. These teachers believed that learning was not a competitive, individualistic process, but that group work was essential to promoting the success of all learners. Collaborative learning exercises promoted within students a sense of leadership and expertise, as their knowledge was encouraged and seen as vital. In Ladson-Billings's (1995) work, students learned that they were responsible in part for not only their learning, but also the learning of their peers, and they sought ways to help each other meet objectives. For instance, Ladson-Billings observed one teacher using a "buddy system" where students were paired with one of their peers and jointly checked each other's homework and class assignments. Doing so gave students ownership over portions of their education, and they relied less on the teacher as the sole authority figure, but saw themselves and their peers as active agents in the learning process.

Conceptions of Knowledge

Ladson-Billings (1994, 1995) confirmed that educators who subscribed to culturally relevant pedagogy held different conceptions of knowledge. These teachers believed that "knowledge is not static; it is shared, recycled, and constructed" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 481). Due to this social construction of knowledge, teachers could not simply lecture to students and expect them to absorb knowledge. Rather, educators had to enable students to apply knowledge by using it. Knowledge creation came from doing, as students identified relevant problems in their communities and mutually created solutions to the problems. For example, one student wondered why predominantly racial/ethnic minority communities had more liquor stores; whereas, the communities of White persons contained fewer (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Students worked with the teacher and each other to develop maps, graphs, and charts detailing the zoning of "wet" areas compared to "dry" regions. Students wrote letters to their congresspersons asking relevant questions regarding liquor licenses.

The teacher's reliance on student insights demonstrated her belief that learners held valid opinions to share, and that their knowledge was an important source for learning and growth. In addition, educators using culturally relevant pedagogy found ways to assess student knowledge in multifaceted ways. One teacher, for instance, asked students to choose relevant evaluation standards and how the educator could know if students met the objectives.

Culturally relevant pedagogy offered interesting prospects for organizing classroom environments so that students can discuss racial realities. Though Ladson-Billings's (1994, 1995) work was couched in K-12 settings, the three principles can be applied to higher education. The racial discussions I explored in this dissertation warranted divergent conceptions of self, others, and knowledge and structuring of social relationships. CRT provided the overarching assumptions that guided race relations within higher education, while the theory of culturally relevant pedagogy offered strategies for building classroom contexts that promoted constructive racial dialogues. What culturally relevant pedagogy lacked, however, was a strict attention to race and an explicit focus on how the difficult process of racial interactions transpired in a college classroom.

Learning Theories

I mentioned above that CRT offered minimal practical suggestions for how faculty might utilize the four tenets in a classroom to promote racial dialogues among students. Culturally relevant pedagogy provided some tangible implications for structuring classroom environments in ways that recognized students' cultures, knowledge, and experiences. Despite these value-added contributions, culturally relevant pedagogy did not focus specifically on the topic of the present study—facilitation of racially-based exchanges. Hence, I turn to learning theories to explore how widely-accepted notions about how students learn fit into my dissertation. Although different learning theories exist, such as behaviorism and information processing, Quaye and Lattuca (2006) focused on the linkages between the tenets of constructivism and the principles of CRT and culturally relevant pedagogy. As

I will illustrate in-depth below, constructivists' focus on the multiple ways that persons interpret reality and make meaning of the social order could facilitate the process of learners and educators discussing racial realities in classrooms.

Constructivist Theory

Constructivism is based on the social and active construction of knowledge. Constructivists assert that knowledge development is a social process, meaning multiple interpretations of reality exist given the diversity of persons available who mutually (re)interpret and (re)build knowledge (Schunk, 2004). Because knowledge is socially defined, there is an active process to knowledge acquisition. When knowledge is determined, it can be revised and reformed when different people enter the dialogical process. Knowledge is also based on what people already know given their experiences in the world, and what one knows is socially and culturally derived (Marin, Bennaroch, & Jimenez Gomez, 2000). These fundamental assumptions guide the varying strands of constructivist theories.

Piaget, Dewey, and Vygotsky contended that humans learn based on their surroundings. Human beings are not merely passive persons in their environments, but are active agents and learn based on previous experiences (Dewey, 1938; Phillips & Soltis, 2004; Vygotsky, 1978). All three viewed learning as an adaptive function that aided the survival of humans. Piaget argued that persons assimilated and accommodated knowledge, making room for new information to enter their current worldviews (assimilation) and allowing their perspectives to change if this new information fundamentally challenged existing knowledge (accommodation) (Fosnot, 1996). Vygotsky, Piaget, and Dewey stressed the role of language and culture in the learning process and believed that humans learned by interacting with others in their environment. Thus, people became accustomed to certain knowledge and ways of functioning based on what was acceptable and normalized within their communities (Wertsch, 2002).

The differences between Piaget, Dewey, and Vygotsky concerned their specific emphases—psychological versus social processes. Piaget was more concerned with individual people and their meaning-making systems; whereas, Vygotsky focused on the social-ladenness of learners with the people within their contexts (Minick, Stone, & Forman,1993; Wertsch, 2002). Vygotsky and Dewey placed the context at the forefront; whereas, Piaget focused on the individual. In addition, Vygotsky (1938) argued that one could not understand the individual without also understanding the environment in which she or he was embedded. Despite these differences, three shared premises guide constructivism: (a) the learner as an active agent in the construction of knowledge; (b) the social process guiding knowledge construction; and (c) the role of prior knowledge as an influential agent in the learning process (Palmer, 2005; Quaye & Lattuca, 2006). Active participation in the learning process is a necessary component of constructivism. Learners have to dissect, interpret, and build knowledge with their peers and professors in order to learn and build stronger conceptions of themselves and others. Knowledge is not set in stone, but can be altered when new evidence is presented and negotiated. Thus, in college classrooms, students learn in ways that are consistent with constructivist theory when they build knowledge by taking control of their learning and working collaboratively with faculty and their peers to develop new knowledge. This means that students are both teachers and learners and must articulate their opinions and challenge each other's assumptions in order to facilitate learning.

The intent here was not to lay out a constructivist pedagogy based on the assumptions of constructivist learning theories. Doing so would only present a superficial set of practices that may or may not work given the particular setting. Rather, the hope was to identify the facets of constructivism that guided my research. Constructivism provides an array of possibilities for understanding how race can be discussed within a classroom. Given the preceding discussion of

CRT and culturally relevant pedagogy, constructivist theory provides a connecting lens for

conceiving knowledge and the process necessary to produce knowledge about race among learners.

Learning Partnerships Model

Another learning theory that is consistent with constructivism is the Learning Partnerships

Model (LPM) (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2004). Although the LPM is grounded in cognitive

development theory (Baxter Magolda, 2003; Evans et al., 1998), it is also a pedagogical approach

used to help students progress in their psychosocial development—their identity and self in

relationship to others. Baxter Magolda's (2001, 2004) model emerged from her longitudinal study of

young adults' development, as she wanted to build a theory that helped educators understand the

complex changes that students undergo during their college years. Her model serves as a way to

promote students' development and enrich their learning.

The LPM begins with three assumptions about knowledge: (1) knowledge is complex and

socially constructed; (2) one's self is central to the knowledge construction process; and (3) expertise

and authority are mutually shared in the knowledge construction process (Baxter Magolda, 2004).

These assumptions are complementary to those of constructivism and culturally relevant pedagogy.

Baxter Magolda's knowledge foundations evince the socially constructed nature of knowledge, and

that knowledge does not reside only in one authority figure—the professor. Rather, students have

valid perspectives to share alongside those of the faculty person. These three assumptions about

knowledge are supplemented by three corresponding principles to promote complex development:

(1) validate learners as knowers; (2) situate learning in students' experiences; and (3) mutually

construct knowledge with students (Baxter Magolda). Again, similar to the preceding theories,

Baxter Magolda deems students important contributors to the learning process and treats their prior

experiences and home cultures as unique sources of knowledge in the exchange of ideas. Because

learners are also experts in the classroom, employers of the LPM join students in the knowledge

construction process as opposed to the traditional notion of teacher as sole expert (Rogers,

Magolda, Baxter Magolda, & Knight Abowitz, 2004).

The LPM is not simply a model of development grounded in constructivist theory, but it also offers ideas for how faculty might structure learning environments that motivate students to learn. The LPM is both a model and a theory because of its assumptions and principles about knowledge. It serves as an attractive lens through which to contemplate racial realities. For instance, White students might be more inclined to join their racial/ethnic minority counterparts in racial dialogues if they see themselves as important contributors to the process. Because the LPM begins with where students are and invites them to use their experiences in the learning process, it can offer White students a place to start in these dialogues where they often believe they have minimal ideas to contribute (Baxter Magolda, 2001). Consequently, the LPM has potential to take the knowledge that White students hold, in combination with racial/ethnic minority students' viewpoints, and use that as a starting point for developing additional knowledge. Hence, students and faculty are in positions to learn because the LPM enables them to ground their insights in their own experiences.

Contact Theory

A common mistaken belief is that the mere presence of racially/ethnically diverse students will automatically lead to increased understanding of differences and a mitigation of stereotypes (Chang et al., 2006; Helm et al., 1998). The assumption is that if one hopes to help students become comfortable with racial/ethnic diversity and develop skills in interacting across racial/ethnic boundaries, she or he should place students in close proximity within the same campus or classroom and students will begin talking and challenging each other's beliefs (Chang et al., 2005; Helm et al.). However, when students are haphazardly grouped together with no purposeful mechanisms for facilitating effective dialogues, assumptions and stereotypes can become reinforced and

discrimination can occur more frequently. Allport (1954) discovered this in his research, leading to the development of contact theory.

The premise of Allport's (1954) theory is that the *nature* of the contact among persons of differing social categories influences the learning and stereotype-reduction processes. Because people are inclined to look for signs in an out-group that confirm their stereotypes, the nature of contact between different persons is even more important. Allport found that 80 percent of White people who lived in integrated housing units with Negros (the term used by Allport) agreed that Negros were the same as White persons; only 57 percent of respondents in segregated housing units deemed this true. Allport was careful to point out that it was not the mere living side-by-side with Negros that increased White people's positive feelings toward them; rather, it was the types of association that close proximity provided—access to the same community projects, more personal conversations, and shared work on various community endeavors. Allport's research illuminated three important findings regarding the reduction of prejudice: (1) equal status between majority and minority groups when contact occurs; (2) the pursuit of mutual goals and interests and a sense of common humanity; and (3) when "contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere)" (p. 281).

Contact theory served as a basis for this study due to the implications it provided faculty. For educators who believed teaching the content of their specific courses was their primary purpose when they entered the classroom, the theory reveals how stereotypes could be strengthened among students even when the numbers and percentages of diversity were present. Therefore, these professors could inadvertently lead students to develop higher levels of prejudice toward their peers because spaces for racial/ethnic dialogues were not available. Instructors who provide ample room for students to discuss racial realities could also stimulate conflict and prejudice among students if the nature of contact between learners was not purposefully planned. However, the latter was a

more productive approach when organized intentionally and sustained, because it provides students with the necessary time to work through racial realities. Both of these cases clarified the importance of devoting attention to the nature of contact within a classroom. One important area examined in this dissertation was how faculty persons structured the contact among students during dialogues about racial realities.

Summary of the Literature

Considering the literature reviewed in this chapter, there is a need to understand from educators' vantage points the concrete approaches they use to support students in engaging racial realities in classroom contexts. While the published literature suggests the influence of racial climates on students and the educational benefits of cross-racial dialogues among learners, researchers have disproportionately focused on outcomes with little attention to the practical strategies instructors employ to facilitate racial dialogues. Thus, in the present study, I focused on the experiences of faculty as they engaged learners in interactions about racial realities in the classroom.

The theoretical framework suggested some possibilities for structuring these exchanges in ways that enable learners to participate actively in them. Critical race theorists provide a broad understanding of racial dominance and how hegemonic norms impact relations between different racial/ethnic groups in society. However, the theory offers minimal knowledge about how to apply its constructs in working with students in a college classroom. Both culturally relevant pedagogy and the Learning Partnerships Model have been shown empirically to produce learning outcomes among students. Culturally relevant pedagogy has enabled racial/ethnic minority students to achieve academically and socially in their schooling environments (Delpit, 1988; Gay, 2000, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Pewewardy, 1994) and the LPM has fostered students' cognitive and psychosocial development and enabled them to shift from a reliance on authority to an ability to make decisions based on their own values (Baxter Magolda, 2001, 2004; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). Culturally

relevant pedagogy focuses on race, but more broadly through the lens of culture, while the LPM does not focus explicitly on racial realities. The merging of CRT with culturally relevant pedagogy and the LPM offers knowledge of the historical and cultural implications of race and racism in United States society with ideas about how to support students of different backgrounds, prior experiences, knowledge, and comfort levels in challenging themselves and their peers to discuss racial issues. Finally, contact theory contains theoretical and practical principles, as it demonstrates the importance of how classroom relationships between students are structured to facilitate the discussion of racial realities.

Given the gaps in the literature and the implications of the theoretical framework, I pursued a study focused on exploring how faculty persons engaged racial issues in a classroom context. I could not solely rely on the ideas reviewed in the literature and theoretical framework. Instead, I learned from educators about the pedagogical approaches they used to address the absence of models and minimal opportunities for learners to participate in racial exchanges in classroom settings. In the next chapter, I discuss the methods employed to design and execute this study.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

In the preceding two chapters, I made a case for the warrant and significance of the present study and synthesized literature pertaining to the influence of race, pedagogy and curricula on students. I have laid the groundwork for understanding some of the essential features for promoting the discussion of racial realities in the classroom—faculty skills and intentionality, racially/ethnically diverse students, structured contact among learners, and spaces for sustained dialogue. In this chapter, I discuss the research design of my dissertation—the ways in which I studied the topic and answered the research questions.

I concentrated on the following overarching research question: How do educators engage students in constructive dialogues about racial realities in postsecondary classroom settings? In order to study this problem, I explored (a) why educators facilitated interactions about racial issues in the classroom; (b) how participants made sense of the pedagogies they used to engage students in racial dialogues; and (c) how faculty persons described their pedagogies for promoting the discussion of race and racism. I sought to understand instructors who taught about and engaged learners in productive interactions about racial realities and develop a set of practices useful for facilitating racial exchanges in the classroom. My objectives were to describe, critique, understand, and interpret the facilitation of racial interactions in participants' own words.

What follows is a description of the methodology and methods that guided my study. I begin by briefly illustrating the underlying paradigm, or worldview, that formed the basis for my dissertation. I narrow from this paradigm by discussing the appropriate methodology and methods that enabled me to answer the research questions. At a later point in this chapter, I also clarify the trustworthiness and limitations of this study and my role as a researcher.

Research Design

Figure 1 visually depicts the elements of the research design chosen. I framed my data collection and analysis in critical race theory (CRT) as an inquiry approach. In addition, the study was guided by some of the tenets of case study methodology. I utilized qualitative methods to study faculty who facilitated racial dialogues in classroom contexts. A constructivist paradigm, the underlying and overarching framework that guided this dissertation, is justified and discussed in greater detail in the next section. Although each box in the research design is interconnected, I first discuss each in isolation for ease of understanding. I then integrate and synthesize the components to illustrate the research design used.

Figure 1: Research Design
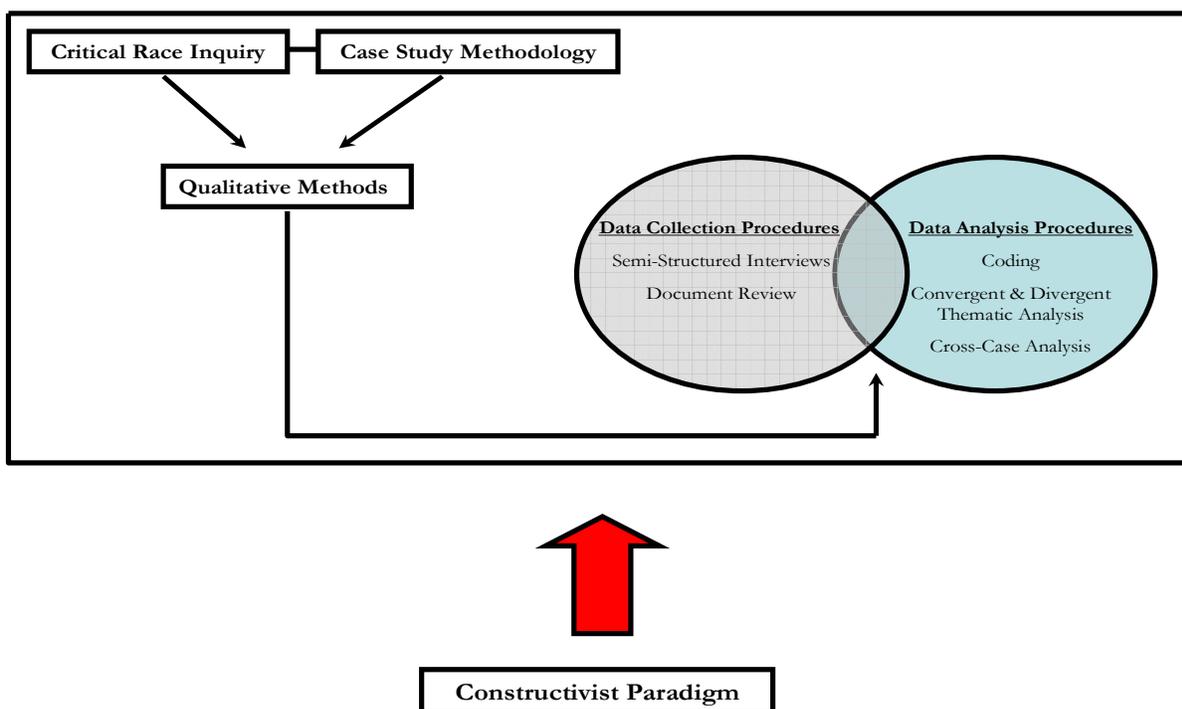
Constructivist Paradigm

A paradigm is a set of assumptions and beliefs that organizes and guides one's behaviors and practices (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Constructivism served as the paradigm for this study and framed

the issues explored. In Chapter 2, I defined constructivist theory as a worldview in which persons

socially construct knowledge in order to make meaning of their experiences (Baxter Magolda, 2001;

Schunk, 2004). Knowledge development and learning happen through the active interpretation of

multiple perspectives in concert with persons from differing vantage points (Palmer, 2005). The

ways in which people operating from a constructivist paradigm build knowledge and meaning are

through a naturalistic inquiry process—persons' experiences in their environments serve as

guideposts to their realities (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The constructivist

paradigm, consequently, necessitates a research approach that asks participants to share their

meanings of reality and their experiences related to the phenomenon of interest (Crotty, 2003;

Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

One of the essential features of constructivism is its reliance on the varied interpretation of

truths. Constructivists maintain that there is no universal truth in the world waiting to be discovered

by researchers (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Patton, 2002). Rather, there are multiple contested truths, or

interpretations of the social order, that exist, and what counts as true in one instance can be

redefined and renegotiated depending on the perspectives and experiences that a group of people

shares (Crotty, 2003). Constructivists support a relativistic stance; however, this does not mean all

perspectives are equally meaningful and true (Baxter Magolda, 2001). Operating from a

constructivist paradigm in the present study meant I expected and sought divergent examples of

facilitating the discussion of racial issues given the different college and university classrooms in

which faculty persons taught. I engaged in a research approach that provided space for participants

to challenge my interpretations of their pedagogies and vice versa in order to garner alternative

accounts of unique pedagogies for promoting the exploration of racial realities.

Critical Race Inquiry

Proponents of critical inquiries contend that some viewpoints are more liberating and less oppressive than others. Meanings of reality that lead to a just and healthy existence for marginalized persons are those for which people should strive (Crotty, 2003). I label the juxtaposition of CRT with constructivism as the belief in *socially constructed real interpretations*. An example will help crystallize this point. Consider the role of race in the experiences of students of color. Even though race is non-biological and is socially constructed (Schmidt, 2005), this does not preclude some people from using race to oppress and discriminate against racial/ethnic minority students. Therefore, race is a socially constructed phenomenon that has real implications for students of color within postsecondary institutions.

Advocates of critical inquiries are concerned with power imbalances and how they serve to reproduce hegemony (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, 2005). According to Crotty (2003), critical inquiries are:

> At all times alive to the contribution that false consciousness makes to oppression and manipulation and invites researchers and participants (ideally one and the same) to discard false consciousness, open themselves to new ways of understanding, and take effective action for change. (p. 157)

Critical race inquiry is concerned with racially-focused power relationships and serves as a tool in examining how race and racism influence people's particular circumstances. The insertion of "race" into "critical inquiry" meant that race was at the forefront of investigating the interpretations participants made of their experiences (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Although I validated and explored the views of educators in this study, I simultaneously critiqued their perspectives and shared my interpretations of them. In addition, I listened to participants describe the racial climates of their institutions in order to understand the challenges of facilitating these dialogues when racial divisions were present.

Case Study Methodology

Context is a vital reason for the selection of a case study methodology (Merriam, 2002a; Ragin, 1992; Yin, 2003). If a researcher believes a particular context is unique or will illuminate issues important for an audience to know, then a case study is an appropriate methodological choice (Stake, 1995). Case studies are useful when a bounded system is present where a researcher defines the unit(s) of analysis and the context(s) under investigation (Merriam, 1988, 1998). According to Merriam (1988), a case study differs from other methodologies in that researchers seek to answer "how" and "why" questions and are not interested in the control element important in experimental designs. Case studies strive for holistic interpretations of a phenomenon (in my study, the facilitation of racially-based dialogues) through intensive examination and are grounded in the data collected and analyzed (Merriam, 1988).

In a study of reform within Chicago public schools, Stake (1995) was interested in selecting a school that could enable him to understand the specific elements of reform. He wrote: "The principal criterion of selection of schools was less 'What schools represent the totality of Chicago?' but, rather, 'What group of schools will help us understand the problems facing school reform in Chicago' " (p. 5)? The distinction between these two questions is critical. In the former, the researcher is interested in generalizing from a specific sample of schools to Chicago schools as a whole. To answer the first question, a researcher might use probability sampling to choose schools at random so that every school in Chicago has an equal chance of being selected for the study (Glass & Hopkins, 1996). In the latter question, Stake sought to purposefully choose particular schools that helped him explore in-depth the phenomenon under investigation—school reform. Stake was interested in gaining a rich understanding of the problems of school reform within Chicago. Therefore, answering the second question required a different research approach—one in which

Stake could meaningfully describe reform by selecting schools that treated reform in distinctive ways. Hence, a case study was necessary to provide these insights.

For my dissertation, I treated the individual faculty persons as multiple, unique cases (Merriam, 2002a). Given that I relied mostly on interviews from participants to describe their facilitation approaches, I did not use case study methodology in the traditional sense. However, I borrowed aspects of the case study tradition through the treatment of participants as unique cases. In addition, the higher education institutions in which participants taught was the larger context for the study. Given their situatedness within this context, they were socialized by institutional norms and practices concerning the treatment of racial issues in their courses. They needed to be aware of how this context influenced their facilitation of racial exchanges.

The phenomenon of interest was understanding the distinguishing ways that educators engaged racial issues with students in classroom contexts. My aim was to select instructors (cases) who illustrated the process of facilitating racial dialogues. Exploring a set of faculty cases would be helpful in illuminating the philosophies, behaviors, practices, and engagement activities that were conducive to learners discussing racial realities. My goal was to portray constructive pedagogical practices for racial dialogues from the vantage points of those who addressed racial realities in college classrooms.

Because I focused on individuals as cases, I employed tenets of a psychological case study, as defined by Merriam (1988).

> The focus of the individual as a way to investigate some aspect of human behavior is what characterizes the psychological case study. In education a case study of an individual, program, event, or process might well be informed by a psychological concept. (pp. 25-26)

Using the psychological case study, readers could learn about aspects of a phenomenon based on an in-depth exploration of one or several persons. For the present study, each individual educator as a case enabled me to describe the phenomenon of facilitating classroom-based exchanges about race

and racism. Even though the individual served as the case, the combination of the multiple cases yielded knowledge about pedagogies for racial discussions in college classrooms (Creswell, 1998).

Qualitative Methods

Since I did not know a priori what I would find, I used qualitative methods in the present study. However, I did not enter the research process with a blank state. Based on the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, I had knowledge about the features that might be prominent in instructors' pedagogies. Despite these assumptions, I was still interested in how participants described the approaches they used to enable students to address racial realities in their courses. The knowledge, experiences, and words of participants, essential qualitative data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 2005; Patton, 2002), took prominence in the study. Because I recognized and outlined my assumptions based on theories and relevant literature, I was cognizant of when participants' insights validated and disconfirmed my biases and beliefs.

Employers of qualitative methods focus on the particular through an inductive data gathering process (Creswell, 1998). This means that researchers are not interested in testing hypotheses but instead collect data to build theories, concepts, or themes (Merriam, 2002b). When qualitative methods are used, a smaller sample size can be quite useful in understanding the details and nuances of a phenomenon if described richly (Patton, 2002). The use of qualitative methods in the study meant I sought new and emergent patterns from the data (Merriam, 2002b; Patton, 2002). This alternative knowledge of what constituted pedagogy for facilitating the discussion of racial issues was important to the study.

Another distinctive feature of qualitative methods is the presentation of data in participants' own words. Harrison (2002) and Delgado and Stefancic (2001) emphasized that storytelling was an important way for persons to make sense of the world and to enable others to understand the world as they experienced it. In using verbatim quotations from participants in the presentation of their

perspectives, the role of the researcher is important (Creswell, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Patton, 2002). The researcher presents the narrative accounts from participants and is expected to interpret these stories in order to offer a picture of the phenomenon under study (I discuss my role as a researcher further in the concluding section of this chapter) (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Researchers must be cognizant of the biases they bring to the study, note them, and continually reflect on how they affect the data collection and analysis procedures (Patton, 2002).

Rationale for the Selection of Qualitative Methods

The research questions posed were best answered using qualitative methods in that I was able to provide a thick description of the experiences of faculty persons who facilitated interactions about racial realities among students (Yin, 2003). I endeavored to paint a portrait of the imaginative strategies participants employed to support students in engaging race and racism. Qualitative methods enabled me to describe in detail the varied attributes of participants' pedagogies, their reasons for facilitating these interactions, and the challenges they faced in the process. These goals necessitated an ability to use direct quotations from participants about their efforts in facilitating constructive interactions about race and racism. The power of voice was a benefit of qualitative methods—as participants shared their narratives, they could learn about themselves and others through the process of constructed meaning (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). When faculty were able to describe their own experiences, it enabled readers to think about the ways their pedagogies either facilitated or served as barriers to constructive racial dialogues. The multiple and competing voices from educators created insightful knowledge of how to plan and facilitate racial exchanges. Qualitative methods oriented readers to the unique strategies participants utilized when engaging racial issues in the classroom with learners.

Integration and Synthesis

The merging of critical race inquiry with aspects of case study methodology enabled me to focus on individual behaviors and practices as well as the broad, overarching structures that influenced participants' pedagogies (Yin, 2003). By treating faculty persons as individual cases, I garnered comparable and divergent descriptions of the pedagogies they used to enable students to discuss race and racism with each other. The addition of a critical race lens allowed me to explore how race relations within the campus influenced instructors' abilities, comfort, and willingness to engage students in racial discussions. This critical race lens also provided spaces for the exploration of participants' racialized narratives. As Merriam (2002b) noted, "Critical educational research … queries the context where learning takes place, including the larger systems of society, the culture and institutions that shape educational practice, the structural and historical conditions framing practice" (pp. 9-10). This research design framed important issues in the learning environment that precluded learners from candidly discussing race with their peers, as well as the pedagogical approaches that placed the deconstruction, examination, and discussion of racial realities at the forefront of the learning process (Solórzano et al., 2000).

Data Collection Procedures

As illustrated in the research design figure presented at the outset of this chapter, I collected data through semi-structured interviews and document analysis. Prior to discussing these methods, I concentrate on the site and selection of participants.

Site

The primary site for data collection was the 2007 National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education (NCORE) in San Francisco, California. NCORE was created by members of the Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies at the University of Oklahoma. Members wanted to study racism within higher education and create avenues for

participants to address the underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minority persons in postsecondary institutions and improve race relations. At NCORE, participants present on a range of topics, including curricular and pedagogical approaches for racial development, policy implications concerning race, theoretical perspectives on race and ethnicity, and the promotion of racial/ethnic inclusion among students, administrators, staff, and faculty. In its twentieth year of existence, NCORE attracts nearly 2,000 participants annually (National Conference on Race & Ethnicity in American Higher Education, 2007).

I selected NCORE as the site for my dissertation due to its comprehensive focus on and examination of race and ethnicity in higher education. Few other places provide the level of depth and insight into racial/ethnic realities as does NCORE. The possibilities of interviewing participants who had knowledge of and perhaps experience with facilitating racial dialogues in the classroom were improved through using NCORE as the site. My choice of NCORE was grounded in important assumptions. I presumed that people attending this conference either had prior knowledge about helping students talk about race with their peers in a classroom setting or were interested in learning how to do so. I also assumed that conference attendees would be able to offer thick descriptions of their efforts to facilitate racial interactions and the challenges associated with that process.

Participants

To select participants for my research, I performed a comprehensive analysis of the Program and Resource Guide (i.e., the program booklet) from the 2004 to 2007 NCORE meetings. In accordance with case study methodology, I purposefully sampled participants who had presented workshops directly related to my study—providing intentional, sustained spaces for racial exchanges to occur within classroom contexts (Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1988, 1998; Patton, 2002). A direct

quotation from a session abstract printed in the 2004 Guide, "Teaching about the Psychology of

Race and Racism: Lessons Learned," crystallizes the selection of participants for the study.

> This session focuses on the challenges of developing and teaching a course that critically examines matters of race and racism. The course emphasizes a theoretical and conceptual approach toward understanding the psychology of racialized thinking. The primary objectives of the course is [sic] to expose students to the myriad ways, subtle and overt, in which race and racism dramatically impact and influence intergroup and intragroup relations, as well as person's life chances. Teaching about race and racism is often a thankless job that is extremely challenging and frequently demoralizing. Faculty of color frequently initiated the responsibility of teaching classes that deal with race, ethnicity, and culture, where they meet with students who are resistant to talking about these emotionally-charged issues. The session will discuss how faculty express their own personal anxiety in the form of poor evaluations and complaints to administrators, which results in demoralization of instructors. This session should particularly benefit those who teach emotionally-charged classes on race and racism, those who want to learn how to teach such classes and facilitate difficult discussions on race, and those who want to learn how to effectively utilize the racial and ethnic demographics of the classroom to enhance the learning of all students. (Cokley, 2004, p. 74)

The aforementioned abstract details issues with which my dissertation dealt—difficult dialogues on

race, the role of faculty members in facilitating these discussions, and student responses and

resistance to engaging racial realities in postsecondary classrooms. In a 2006 session, Bell, Bonair-

Agard, Duskin, Irani, and Roberts presented their efforts in teaching about race and racism through

the use of the arts and storytelling. Presenters discussed counter-stories, an approach mentioned

earlier of critical race theorists (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2000), and relevant

engagement activities through art that enabled students to discuss candidly their experiences with

and knowledge about race and racism. These are two examples of the types of participants who were

selected for this study—those who had knowledge about the engagement of racial realities through

classroom interactions.

As a result of the comprehensive analysis, I selected 26 workshops from the 2004 NCORE,

33 from 2005, 32 from 2006, and 3 from 2007. At the time of purposefully choosing participants,

the 2007 program booklet was not yet released. Only the pre-conference sessions and major

workshops were available, hence the inclusion of only three workshops from 2007. From this first

analysis, I chose 240 people as possible participants for the study. Subsequent to this initial review, I revisited the Program and Resource Guides and removed persons who did not teach in a classroom. For example, several participants were consultants who traveled to different colleges and universities to support institution leaders in addressing racial issues. I also removed people whose workshops were focused on facilitating racial dialogues in out-of-class contexts. As a result of these decisions, 153 people ultimately met the aforementioned criteria for inclusion in the study.

I contacted participants via e-mail (see Appendix A for the "Faculty Recruitment Script"), described my study, explained that I had chosen them based on a workshop they presented at a previous NCORE, and requested an interview with them should they be attending the 2007 conference. For those who had not responded within two weeks, I sent a follow-up e-mail (see Appendix B for the "Faculty Follow-up Recruitment Script"). Forty-nine people responded to my request. Of this number, 25 attended NCORE in 2007 and were interested in being interviewed; 24 were unable to attend the conference, but were still interested in participating. Ultimately, the sample for the study included 22 participants, 18 of whom I interviewed face-to-face at the conference and the remaining five via telephone.

Table 1 provides details of the sample for the study. Given the literature reviewed in the previous chapter concerning the lack of involvement in facilitating racial dialogues by White persons, I wanted to ensure that White educators participated in the study. Therefore, I purposefully included more White faculty persons in the study than racial/ethnic minority instructors. Thirteen professors were White, and 16 were women. Two of the participants, Calista and Trinity, were not employed at a college or university. However, they facilitated dialogues about racial issues with students and collaborated with faculty members who wanted to engage in this process in their own courses. In order to protect their identities, I did not provide the name of the place where they

worked. Most of the participants were professors and worked within predominantly White

institutions. All taught courses in the social sciences, education, humanities, and arts.

Table 1: Participant Demographic Information

Participant	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Years	Position	Discipline/Field	Courses	Composition
Calista	White	Female	3	Program Director	N/A	Sustained Dialogue	N/A
Corrine	White	Female	21	Professor	Conflict Studies Women's Studies Social Justice Studies	Role of Conflict in Social Change Women, Conflict, and Social Change Women and Madness	77% White
Cynthia	African American	Female	10	Associate Professor	Psychology	Psychology of Diversity Drugs and Behavior	84% White
Dalton	White	Male	10	Assistant Professor	Philosophy	Philosophy of Race and Racism	80% White
Danielle	African American	Female	20	Professor	Music	University Gospel Choir	86% White
Dolores	White	Female	15	Associate Professor	Public Health	Community Organization Women's Health	74% White
Ines	Black	Female	11	Instructor	Multicultural Affairs	Diversity Issues	85% White
Kaden	African American Hispanic	Male	8	Assistant Professor	Visual Arts	Sculpture 3D Design	86% White
Kaela	Lebanese American	Female	15	Assistant Professor	English Women's Studies	Approaches to Women's Studies Comparative Women's Experience: Brazil and U.S.	75% White
Karl	African American Hispanic	Male	8	Assistant Professor	Art	Sculpture Ceramics	79% White
Keely	White	Female	15	Associate Professor	Student Development	Diversity 101	59% White
Laurel	Black	Female	15	Director	Institutional Equity and Diversity	Freshman Seminar	84% White
Lois	White Jewish	Female	20	Adjunct Professor	Human and Community Development	Ethnicity and American Communities	36% White
Mae	African American	Female	10	Assistant Dean & Co-Director	Intergroup Relations	Social Psychology in Community Settings	66% White
Malcolm	White Jewish	Male	40	Professor	Sociology	Training Processes of Intergroup Dialogues	66% White
Paige	Caucasian	Female	16	Associate Professor	Special Education	Introduction to Exceptional Children	75% White
Raymond	White	Male	22	Professor	Philosophy	Worldviews (White Privilege)	66% White
Sabrina	White	Female	20	Associate Professor & Director	Women's Studies Difference, Power, and Discrimination Program	Systems of Oppression in Women's Lives Hate, Resistance, and Reconciliation Women and Sexuality	74% White
Samuel	African American	Male	17	Director & Lecturer	Human Development and Educational Foundations	Development of Ethnic Identity Cross-Cultural Issues in Human Development	92% White

Savanna	White N/A	Female	26	Associate Professor & Director	Service-Learning Behavioral Sciences Psychology	Cross-Cultural Psychology	21% White
Teva	White	Female	4	Instructor	Child Development and Family Studies	Child, Family, and Community	23% White
Trinity	Asian Pacific Islander	Female	4	Program Director	N/A	Sustained Dialogue	N/A

Notes:
- All participant names are pseudonyms.
- "Years" refers to the number of years the participant has taught college students.
- "Composition" refers to the percentage of White students at the participant's institution. These data taken from NCES (2007).

Semi-Structured Interviews

Prior to the start of each interview, participants signed a consent form acknowledging their willingness to participate in the study (see Appendix C for the "Faculty Informed Consent Form"). I conducted semi-structured interviews with each instructor that lasted between 60 and 120 minutes (see Appendix D for the "Faculty Interview Guide" listing the topics and questions I asked each participant). Semi-structured interviews provide a list of issues important to address, but also enable the researcher to be flexible in allowing participants to dictate relevant topics during the course of the interview (Bernard, 1998, 2006; Fontana & Frey, 2000). Consistent with the critical race case study methodology used, I modified questions on the interview guide during the course of data collection as relevant themes and patterns emerged from interviews (Merriam, 1988; Patton, 2002). For example, after three interviews, I noticed that participants continually reflected on their racial identities in describing their teaching philosophies. Therefore, I added the following question: "How does your identity influence your abilities to facilitate racial dialogues?" I also found that some participants described their fears in the process of engaging race. Consequently, I asked the remaining instructors to discuss their fears about facilitating racial exchanges.

Since the goal of my research was to understand the pedagogical approaches of faculty persons who facilitated the discussion of racial realities, I asked participants to discuss their teaching philosophies, the meanings they make of racial realities, the organization of their courses around issues of race and racism, how they plan and structure discussions about racial issues, and the advantages and challenges of engaging race in the classroom. The interviews were an opportunity for educators to reflect on their pedagogies and detail the distinguishing features of their approaches for helping students personalize and discuss issues of race.

Documents

There were several texts—news press releases about the racial climate of participants'
respective institutions, faculty syllabi, student assignments, and course readings—that complemented
the data from interviews. Racial incidents that occurred on participants' campuses affected their
abilities and readiness to engage racial realities in classroom contexts. Institution leaders who
provided more structured opportunities for students to talk openly about racial matters also
influenced the responsiveness of professors and students to engage race and racism. Noting relevant
racialized issues coincides with the methodology utilized. Professors often communicate directly and
subtly their expectations, learning goals, and philosophies through the syllabi they develop. In turn,
students determine what is required of them and the significance faculty persons attach to certain
authors and ideas through the readings they select and the primary topics of the course. These
documents were necessary to review during the data collection processes. Hodder (2000) wrote
about the significance of documents:

> Once words are transformed into a written text, the gap between the "author" and the
> "reader" widens and the possibility of multiple reinterpretations increases …. Text and
> context are in a continual state of tension, each defining and redefining the other, saying and
> doing things differently through time. (p. 704)

Given the multiple interpretations of written words among different persons, document review
enabled me to understand the messages participants conveyed through their syllabi, including their
expectations of learners, teaching philosophies, assumptions about race and racism, and engagement
activities to facilitate the discussion of racial issues. Documents enhanced my understanding of
providing structured opportunities for learners to engage racial realties by enabling me to explore
how participants described relevant experiences through text (Merriam, 1988).

Data Analysis Procedures

One aspect that separates qualitative from quantitative methods is the analysis of data. With
qualitative methods, data are often analyzed throughout the data collection processes. For some

studies, there is not a separate data collection phase and data analysis phase. Rather, both happen

concurrently as researchers interview and observe participants and collect documents (Yin, 2003).

The intertwinement of data collection and analysis are visually represented in Figure 2 by the overlap

among the procedures. Due to the volume of information gathered qualitatively, it is difficult for the

researcher to avoid organizing patterns and themes as she or he collects data (Merriam, 1988). Thus,

I used three primary data analysis techniques throughout this study: (a) coding, (b) convergent and

divergent thematic analysis, and (c) cross-case analysis. Although I discuss each of these separately, it

is important to bear in mind that I utilized these procedures in conjunction.

<div align="center">*Coding*</div>

Using techniques prescribed by Merriam (1988, 1998), Patton (2002), and Yin (2003), data

analysis began with documenting my initial assumptions and biases about the dissertation topic (see

"Role of Researcher" for a fuller treatment of these issues). Each interview was audio-taped and

transcribed verbatim. I then coded and analyzed each transcript using the NVivo® Software

Package for Qualitative Research. I first grouped data according to codes and then organized them

by relevant and recurring themes mentioned by participants. The coding process yielded 224 code

words to represent the ways that participants described their efforts to engage learners in racial

discussions (see Appendix E for the "Data Analysis Code List"). Thematic analysis followed by

grouping items that emerged using the NVivo® Software Package for Qualitative Research. I

explored similarities and differences between faculty persons' philosophies and approaches for

organizing these dialogues, as well as the meanings they made of their facilitation efforts. As I coded

data, I revisited the interviews to clarify my interpretations and make further sense of the data.

<div align="center">*Convergent and Divergent Thematic Analysis*</div>

Convergence and divergence were other issues that warranted attention when examining the

data collected. Akin to coding, when researchers use convergent analysis, they look for repeated

patterns in the data—ideas or experiences shared by multiple participants. When convergence occurred, it meant this particular experience was important to most participants (Patton, 2002; Yin, 2003). Audiences often expect harmony when reading a case study report—they want to see the common experiences from the case, the relevant organizing frames in order to make sense of the case (Stake, 1995). However, exclusively upholding convergence often obscures the different experiences of others. Therefore, conducting divergent analysis was also an important consideration in this study (Patton, 2002). With divergence, I examined data from participants that differed from the common themes. Dissimilar experiences were important because they illuminated issues not cited by others and added depth to and an alternative understanding of the case (Yin, 2003).

For my particular study, convergent and divergent thematic analysis was used to highlight the distinguishing features of facilitating exchanges about race and racism. Because there is a dearth of literature on models who engage race in classroom contexts, my goal was to surface what made these educators unique and how their pedagogical approaches facilitated the process of racial dialogues among students. Entering the study, I realized that instructors would conceivably facilitate racial discussions in the classroom in different ways. Interviewing participants and examining their syllabi, course readings, expectations, and assignments enabled me to describe the similar pedagogical approaches used by professors, as well as their differing strategies. There was not a singular, comprehensive way to facilitate these interactions; however, there were related strategies used among various participants. The goal was to document aspects of participants' pedagogies that were shared and also highlight features that only one or a few used. In the presentation and interpretation of data in the subsequent chapter, I note the consistencies in instructors' pedagogies, and where possible, the different elements of their facilitation processes.

Cross-Case Analysis

Lightfoot's (1983) work serves as an example of using cross-case analysis to make sense of qualitative data. She studied six high schools to examine what constituted a good high school. Each school represented a unique case, and the combination of the practices used by educators within the schools led to Lightfoot's conceptualization of essential elements found within a good high school. Merriam (1988) noted that Lightfoot provided generalizations about a good high school from the data she collected. I preferred not to use the term "generalization" in my study, as I was not intending to describe *the* pedagogy that was conducive to engaging students in dialogues about race in all settings void of context. The present study yielded knowledge about the practices that facilitated constructive racial exchanges in classrooms. However, examining the multiple cases demonstrated the varied ways the educators facilitated the dialogues. I analyzed each individual faculty case to "build abstractions across cases …. and to maximize and to minimize differences in the phenomenon of interest" (Merriam, 1988, p. 154). I wanted to describe from multiple cases what an observer would see if she or he entered a classroom where the professor facilitated interactions about racial realities among learners. After the data were analyzed using the NVivo® Software Package for Qualitative Research, I explored the comparable approaches that each faculty person— the individual cases—utilized, as well as their different pedagogies (Stake, 1995, 2005; Yin, 2003).

Data Analysis Summary

After describing the procedures for data analysis, it is apparent how the three strategies were interrelated and used concomitantly throughout the research process. Data analysis began even before I interviewed a single person by recording my preconceptions, prior knowledge, and expectations about the research. Doing so enabled me to know when the data confirmed my biases and to take caution and revisit the data when this occurred in the joint collection and analysis phase. I was most concerned with making sense of the volume of data gathered; organizing the information

by patterns and differences was the strategy I used. My aim was to provide readers with enough thick description of the context and multiple cases so that they could evaluate my data collection and analysis procedures, critique the shortcomings of my choices and approaches, and judge for themselves the usefulness of facilitating racially-based dialogues in their particular settings. The next section on trustworthiness deals more with these issues and is followed by the limitations of my methodological choices.

Trustworthiness

I strived to make the familiar strange and the strange familiar in the research process (Patton, 2002). Two of the most vexing tasks for researchers who use qualitative methods are describing meanings that often remain tacit to participants (i.e., making the strange familiar) and detailing those meanings participants take-for-granted and rarely question (i.e., making the familiar strange) (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). Actively listening to how participants described their philosophies and practices was a way to comprehend the intricacies of their pedagogies for promoting the discussion of racial issues. Guba and Lincoln (1989) identified important standards for judging the quality of qualitative methods. In this section, I describe how I ensured the trustworthiness—or goodness—of my study through (a) member checks, (b) peer debriefing, (c) reflective journaling, and (d) triangulation (Arminio & Hultgren, 2002; Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2006).

Member Checks

Given the participation of educators, I provided them with an opportunity to offer feedback during the study. This important approach—member checks (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake, 1995)—permitted the revision of my interpretations based on participants' reactions. After each interview was transcribed, I sent a copy to each participant and asked her or him to comment on the adequacy of my descriptions. Twelve educators responded to my request and made minor adjustments to their transcripts. Member checks

facilitated my own and participants' understandings of the strange and familiar. For instance, a few instructors commented on how reviewing their transcripts enabled them to rethink their pedagogies and examine aspects of their approaches that they rarely questioned. As such, member checks enhanced my understanding of the choices participants made in facilitating these dialogues and enabled them to recall aspects of their philosophies and practices not mentioned during interviews.

Peer Debriefing

Combined with member checks, peer debriefing was another means to acquire feedback on the developing findings. Asking persons who were both familiar and unfamiliar with the study to comment on the data analysis procedures and findings was one way to clarify ambiguous descriptions and interpretations (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988). These peer debriefers asked difficult questions that prompted me to reconsider my assumptions and emerging insights. The Chair of my dissertation committee, who had the most access to the ideas communicated in my study, served in this capacity by reviewing drafts of my interpretations, as well as offering different critiques of and insights about the study. In addition, I met with two persons who had no role in my study to garner perspectives from others external to the dissertation process. These peer debriefers offered alternative viewpoints into the development and execution of this study that strengthened the plausibility of my analyses.

Reflective Journaling

As noted in the "Role of Researcher" section, I hold several assumptions about the necessary pedagogical approaches to facilitate constructive dialogues about racial realities. In order to be aware of when I projected my beliefs onto participants, I kept a reflective journal to disclose my interpretations, challenges, emotions, revelations, and biases about participants and their narratives. This journal enabled me to reflect on my insights during the study. To ensure that I

would concentrate on participant knowledge that differed from my expectations, this journal was another means to enhance the quality of my interpretations (Merriam, 1988).

<div align="center">Triangulation</div>

Triangulation is the process of utilizing multiple approaches to enhance the soundness of a study (Creswell, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995). The combination of different qualitative methods—individual interviews and document review—and peer debriefers helped to ensure the trustworthiness of this study. Because I employed different approaches to collect data, I did not solely rely on one method to understand participants' stories. Moreover, the use of different people to review and offer feedback on the development and execution of the study led to investigator triangulation, where different researchers comment on the procedures of a study (Patton, 2002). A caveat is important here—my intent was not to use triangulation as a way to test the accuracy or truth of my insights; rather, triangulation enabled me to see whether my meanings made sense given the data presented. Different interpretations exist, which can strengthen the study and provide deeper knowledge about the phenomenon of interest (Patton).

<div align="center">**Limitations**</div>

One limitation of this study was the selection bias of the sample of participants. Although I employed purposeful sampling techniques (Patton, 2002), choosing participants based on their previous involvement at NCORE was a shortcoming. Since I limited my sample to NCORE participants, I overlooked other persons who facilitated racial exchanges in the classroom. There were likely faculty who did not attend NCORE, but still engaged students in meaningful and intentional discussions about racial realities.

The non-contextual nature of this research was another shortcoming. Because I interviewed participants outside of their institutions, it is conceivable that there were essential factors about racial realities within the campus that would have added further substance to the interviews. Although I

reviewed relevant documents about the campus racial climate and asked participants to comment on the responsiveness of institution leaders to racial dialogues, not being immersed within the particular college or university limited my ability to describe the influence of participants' contexts on their facilitation approaches.

Another limitation of this dissertation, which will be remedied in follow-up studies, is the lack of observations of the faculty persons. I relied on participants' self-reports of the pedagogies they utilized to provide structured avenues for racial exchanges. Observing their strategies might reveal differences. These observations could have provided an alternative perspective given my role as an outsider. What people think they do is sometimes different from what others witness them doing. Consequently, noting my observations of educators' pedagogies and how learners made sense of their facilitation would enhance this study.

My social location and how that affected my interpretation of the data is a final limitation, and benefit, of this study. Given my background and experiences with race and racism, I likely made different meanings of participants' narratives than would, for example, a White female researcher. My lens and prior and current experiences affected how I interpreted participants' efforts at facilitating racial interactions. Keeping this in mind, I was not interested in describing constructive ways to facilitate dialogues about racial realties across all classrooms. I provided my account of the pedagogies participants employed and described in detail the procedures used, so that others could critique my interpretations and offer alternative understandings of the data.

Role of Researcher

I deem myself a critical race theorist—someone who deconstructs and interrogates race and racism within society in order to enable students of color to have enriching educational experiences within their particular campus contexts. As such, I am constantly examining racism within academic institutions and critiquing the ways in which privilege advantages some and marginalizes others.

There are challenges in using a theory in which I am deeply embedded. The research process was not simply a means to an end—rather, I hoped to promote change through the execution of this study. By illuminating how faculty persons facilitated dialogues about racial issues, I endeavored to make the examination and discussion of racial realities within classroom contexts no longer taboo and, to paraphrase hooks (2000), move the treatment of race from margin to center.

When people talk about race, they are often ignored or silenced, and instructors continue to struggle with providing constructive avenues in their courses for students to interact about racial realities openly and honestly. As Ladson-Billings (2000) suggested: "CRT asks the critical qualitative researcher to operate in a self-revelatory mode, to acknowledge the double (or multiple) consciousness in which she or he is operating" (p. 273). I am operating in multiple, overlapping spheres—as a student who has consistently been denied spaces in the classroom to share my counter-narratives on race; as a researcher seeking to understand how faculty can teach about racial realities in the classroom; and as a future professor who wishes to facilitate racial interactions in my own courses to enable students to achieve racialized ways of knowing. My research is personal and political—it is intended to alter conventional ways of thinking, knowing, and acting and shatter walls of oppression and veils of hegemony in the classroom on issues of race and racism.

I concur with Ladson-Billings (2000) and also ask: "Where is 'race' in the discourse of critical qualitative researchers" (p. 272)? and summon others to pose and answer this same question. The research described herein is not neutral, but has implications for how faculty persons conduct their courses and treat race in the classroom. As a critical race qualitative researcher, I believe every student is capable of learning, but some have not because of pedagogical practices that deny the existence of race and subtly and overtly reinforce silence on racial matters. My purpose was to organize for readers the distinctive ways that participants facilitated racial discussions, the advantages of doing so, and the challenges they encountered in the process. In so doing, I put "race" squarely in

the research discourse. As someone who is concerned about racial realities and constructive pedagogies to facilitate the discussion of racial issues, my academic and personal experiences as a Ghanaian/American student aided in the dissertation and provided me with a unique lens through which to examine the data collected.

Prior to engaging in this study, I expected to learn about the process of designing and executing a qualitative research study. I knew I would mold my interviewing skills, gain experience in analyzing qualitative data, and develop the ability to make sense of a wealth of data. However, I did not fully anticipate the ways in which I would be changed personally as a result of this study. As participants shared with me their struggles in doing the kind of work described in this study, I learned from them innovative ways to facilitate dialogues in my own work as a faculty member in the future. I felt a sense of personal connection to these courageous educators and felt responsible for doing my part to enhance racial understanding among students. I felt humbled by their knowledge, anxious to undertake this work, and also more ready to do so.

During a few of the interviews, participants began to cry, and they discussed the challenges of facilitating these dialogues, the lack of external rewards for doing so, and the lack of understanding among their colleagues for the importance of this work. They mentioned that they had few meaningful opportunities to discuss their experiences with others and appreciated my research and the interview process. These interviews demonstrated the importance of providing faculty members who facilitate these dialogues with spaces to share their frustrations, fears, and triumphs in undertaking these exchanges. For instance, NCORE provided this kind of venue for participants to reenergize in the company of similar others who devoted their time to addressing racial realities. Professors regularly cited that they anticipated attending NCORE each year, for it was the only place where they felt supported in their facilitation efforts. My experiences attending this

conference were similar to that of the participants in this study in that I also found NCORE to be a place where one could learn from others who had knowledge and expertise of racial issues.

CHAPTER FOUR
FINDINGS

I present the findings that emerged from the data analysis in this chapter. When describing their pedagogical strategies, participants talked about the careful planning and organizing that was necessary for constructive dialogues, as well as the practical approaches they utilized to actually facilitate the discussions. Consequently, I divide this chapter into two parts. I first concentrate on the abstract and conceptual knowledge of educators—the level of prior thinking and conceptualizing that was needed to teach in ways that maximized student learning about racial realities. Background and Previous Experiences, Race and Racism, Self, and Learners serve as the focuses of the first half of this chapter. In the second section, I discuss the concrete pedagogical tools—Teaching—participants used to facilitate racially-based exchanges, as well as the obstacles—Challenges and Barriers—that at times precluded them and students from having constructive interactions.

Interviews with the 22 participants and document review yielded a Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model (see Figure 2) to depict the ways educators engaged students in constructive dialogues about racial realities in postsecondary classroom contexts. An examination of the model reveals intersecting lines between each of the four boxes in the center of the model. These lines demonstrate the interconnectedness of facilitating racial exchanges. Thinking about one's role as an educator, how one defined race and racism, the beliefs one had about learners, and how one envisioned her or his teaching were equally important to consider in supporting students in discussing racial realities with their peers. In addition, one's prior knowledge and experiences engaging race and comfort with doing so influenced the facilitation process. Moreover, an instructor needed to anticipate certain difficulties and obstacles and respond to them for productive exchanges to take place.

Figure 2: Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   Background and     │
                    │ Previous Experiences │
                    └─────────────────────┘
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Social construction of race

Systematic influences of racism

Racism through ways of knowing

Benefits of being a White educator

Challenges of being a racial/ethnic minority educator

Acknowledging one's assumptions, biases, and limitations

Race and Racism	Self
Learners	Teaching

Holism

Co-construction of knowledge

Classroom communities for learning

Framing the dialogue

Facilitating the dialogue

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                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │  Challenges  │
                    │     and      │
                    │   Barriers   │
                    └──────────────┘
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As seen throughout the findings, there was not one correct way to facilitate these dialogues. Professors combined elements of the six areas in different ways depending on their identities, skills, the students in their courses, their institutional contexts, and teaching philosophies. Although they used diverse approaches, their common mindset was an awareness of the need to integrate each of these elements in their pedagogical methods. Their narratives reveal this synthesis and its potency. Though each of these six areas is interrelated, I present them in isolation for the purposes of understanding. Throughout the presentation of data, readers will see the relatedness of these themes, as participants demonstrated the manner in which they interwove the six components to influence

their facilitation of racialized interactions. At the conclusion of this chapter, I provide a thematic integration to advocate for the importance of treating racial realities in an connected manner.

Background and Previous Experiences

Participants described the process of facilitating classroom-based dialogues on racial issues as vexing, tiring, and often not externally rewarding. Despite these mitigating factors, they persisted in their efforts to help students discuss candidly racial matters. Educators mentioned their upbringing and previous experiences that ultimately led to their desires to undertake this task. White participants shared stories of experiencing the racial turmoil of the mid-1900s and wondering why those tensions existed ("I lived through the racial unrest of the [19]60s, and I never could quite understand why everybody was fighting because I was young then."), while racial/ethnic minority participants alluded to their personal experiences with racism that influenced their interests in promoting change. When asked why he personally found it important to engage students in topics related to race, Samuel offered the following reason:

> Growing up Black in America. What the heck is the alternative? This [racism] is a problem; it's not going to go away in my lifetime; it's not going to end, so doing nothing will increase the probability that it will be worse and last longer. The illusion that I can run away and avoid it as a Black person is not okay. I'm not sure what the alternative is.

For Samuel, and other participants in this study, avoiding race in the classroom was not an option. They felt a personal obligation to engage racial realities in order to help transform society into a racially just and welcoming place.

Many spoke of their participation in responding to racial issues as a "calling" or "personal responsibility." One participant shared the following:

> I grew up in a very racist family. I've never been in denial about the role of race in American life. I knew who fell where on the social spectrum. Once I came to the conviction that racism is wrong, it's my responsibility to do something about it. It put me on a mission. It's like a single-minded zeal about it.

Remarks such as these evinced the sense of personal responsibility that led participants into this work in order to "make the world a better place."

> I feel the need to confront it [racial realities] and to put it on the table and to be open and honest about it. I want to engage young people in that, so the world would be a better place. Every little bit helps, and I want to be a part of helping. It's sometimes draining, difficult, [and] hard. It seems overwhelming for about six weeks [in the semester], and then in the last few weeks, you can reflect back and see where people have come, and then you feel a little better, but you're tired.

Despite the difficulties of helping students talk openly about race and racism, participants persisted. As seen in these narratives, they did not ignore racial intolerance and oppression or wait for others to address these issues. Instead, they ensured they would do their part to improve the circumstances of the future students who would enroll at their institutions. For Teva, her interest in facilitating racial exchanges stemmed from forming friendships with those different from her and addressing homophobia during college. "By having friendships with people different from me, I started to see the way injustice played out in individual lives. In college, I got involved in feminist organizing, sexual assault prevention, anti-oppression work around homophobia, and eventually anti-racism work." She saw the different ways that female, homosexual, and racial/ethnic minority persons were treated in society as well as the similar injustices faced by members of these groups. Like the other participants interviewed, she developed a desire to undertake the task of helping students grapple with racial issues in order to foster racially equitable campus climates.

Participants also came to this work through witnessing the differential treatment of racial/ethnic minority people in society, particularly by their own family members, or due to their experiences of being discriminated against. The following example illustrated this point.

> I grew up in a household with two bigoted parents who absolutely refused to allow my sister and me to become bigoted. We couldn't talk about race. My mom and dad made it clear that my sister and I could not talk, treat, or behave in a discriminatory manner towards people of color. We grew up with these really mixed messages, but it created a space for me to take a look at, "Why do I feel this way, why are my thoughts this way, why is my behavior this way?"

This story exemplified the role of racism in influencing the choices participants made about their involvement in racial healing and dialogue. The mixed messages Paige received as a child contributed to her questioning how people could practice racism, as her parents did, but not expect or want others to do the same. As a result, she strived to resolve these tensions for herself. She could have used her upbringing to reify the racist behaviors she witnessed, but instead, she capitalized on her experiences as opportunities to work with students in discussing the implications of racism on the lives of White and racial/ethnic minority persons.

Seeing people targeted because of their race prompted some participants to work as educators for racial justice, while others became involved in this work due to racial oppression they experienced directly. The latter was the case for Lois:

> I was born to do this work for several reasons. As a Jew, my people have been oppressed since the beginning of their history. I'm here in this world to help people understand and to stop this [racial oppression] with each other. I have an empathy that goes beyond my own personal and ancestral history to the impact it has on other people.

Given her direct experience with racism, Lois saw the importance of educating others about its effects and working with students to discuss these issues as opportunities for learning and development. She did not want others to experience the racial discrimination that she did as a Jewish person. Therefore, she developed an empathy for others who were oppressed and sought to help learners move beyond racial hostility and differential treatment toward an appreciation of racial diversity. Trinity and Calista, the youngest educators in the study, spoke of their previous experiences as undergraduate students seeing racial divisions and wanting to remedy them.

> I saw racial lines and racial divisions every day. My roommate and good friend was an African American student. I observed that we were having in some ways very similar experiences and in some ways drastically different experiences. Involvement with [racial] dialogues came out of the personal experience of having had dialogue opened for me and having found it to be incredibly profound and illuminating and a generally challenging but positive experience. – Trinity

> When I was an undergrad, people kept coming up to me with stories of incidents of racism that they were experiencing on campus. They were emotional every time. They had no

outlet. They said that they didn't want to compromise their grades, especially if the altercation happened between a student and a faculty member. I had this experience called "Learning to Talk about Race." I was like, "Oh my goodness, every student on campus needs to learn about different cultures and understand each other's stories and be engaged with one another!" I saw transformation happen. I saw a White male who was hesitant to go in the first place but came out of the experience crying because he was really moved by it. – Calista

Although Trinity and Calista worked with a sustained dialogue program that primarily took place outside the classroom, they had also collaborated with faculty persons to develop strategies for addressing race in the curriculum. Participants disclosed similar reasons for endeavoring to facilitate racial interactions in their courses. They had witnessed racism or been the targets of racial injustice and used their emotions of anger, confusion, frustration, and hope to bring about change. However, they were not naïve to the obstacles that confronted them; they often became overwhelmed and tired, but continued even in moments where positive transformation seemed impossible.

Finally, graduate school socialization experiences played a role in participants' readiness (or lack thereof) for addressing race and racism. For Raymond, his graduate training led him to adopt and practice conventional ways of teaching. He became a successful philosopher who did not incorporate racial matters into his classroom, but instead focused on a teaching approach that reinforced his authority: "I was the person who was conferring information upon my students. Students had no knowledge; I had the knowledge and the expertise. I gave it to them, and I judged how well they took up that knowledge." When Raymond started listening to his colleagues' stories of the sexism and racism they experienced, he questioned his strict adherence to conventional academic norms and figured out ways to help students share their knowledge about racial issues. By contrast, Kaela received academic training that prepared her to engage race in the classroom.

> Thanks to having some really good professors when I was in graduate school, I thought a lot about my own identity. I feel pretty secure in that [my identity]. You could feel really insecure about talking about race as a White woman. I realized all these border parts of my own identity having grown up with a sister who is severely physically disabled—the variety of borderlands I lived in related to my own identity and not just my ethnic one. Having

> spent quite a bit of time reflecting on myself puts me in a position of feeling really comfortable hearing other people talk about these things.

Kaela's previous opportunities to consider her self enabled her to be comfortable with engaging race with students. She showed how the process of understanding one's background was an important part of facilitating constructive dialogues with learners and remaining calm in the midst of difficult dialogues. Had her professors in graduate school not invited her to reflect on her identity, she likely would have struggled with asking students to do the same. Both Kaela and Raymond devoted their faculty careers to helping students grapple with racial realities, though they learned to do so at different phases in their lives and through differing graduate school experiences. As a result, their stories demonstrated the varied ways that participants gained interest in this work and offer hope to those who desire to start facilitating dialogues after several years of not doing so.

The data offered in this section reveal the significance of one's background and previous experiences in the facilitation of racially-focused interactions. The educators represented herein used elements of their upbringing, racial identities and experiences, and contact with racially/ethnically diverse others as integral components of their current pedagogical approaches. Their stories served as anchors for how they went about facilitating classroom-based racial dialogues. Leaving racial exploration to others would have been the easier route, but instead they used experiences that took them out of their comfort zones to support students in doing the same.

Race and Racism

Given that the focus of this study was on the process of instructors facilitating the discussion of racial realities in classroom settings, it made sense to the understand how participants defined and made meaning of race and racism. As I show throughout this chapter, these definitions influenced how they organized their courses and planned opportunities for learners to engage in these interactions. Participants offered relatively consistent descriptions of race and racism: race as socially constructed, racism as a system of advantages, and racial realities connected to ways of

knowing. They strived to help students understand the combination of these three definitions during dialogues.

Social Construction of Race

Participants grappled with concrete ways to help students understand the socially constructed nature of race in the United States and how the biological notion of race has been used to provide demarcations between various racial groups. They vehemently denounced any connection between race and biology and understood the harmful implications of this belief. For instance, Ines offered the following point:

> Biologically as human beings, there really is no such thing as race. Because we've constructed this idea that there is, then racism means that we can treat people a certain way based on physical characteristics that we've added value to, but don't really have anything to do with who we are as human beings.

Ines contended that race did not exist on its own, but that persons had decided together to develop racial groupings. Her point about the value-ladenness of race is important. The collective decision-making of persons and the value they attached to race made it a reality. The meaning that people have given race resulted in an effort to maintain power over others, as Samuel noted: "Race is an artificial construct designed to maintain power and privilege among the dominant group." Sabrina added: "When I talk about race, I always talk about it as a cultural construction that's really about maintaining social, economic, and political power of some people over other people." While Samuel called race "artificial," Sabrina described it as "cultural." Both of their accounts revealed how race was not a notion that existed regardless of the presence of humans; rather, it was a social, cultural, historical, and artificial idea to which people had given meaning and reified over time.

In interviews, the significance of the biological nature of race arose. Though participants acknowledged they did not believe race was tied to one's biology, they recognized that debates about the biological influence of race were persistent even in today's society. Some tried to distinguish between phenotypic notions of race and skin color compared to cultural manifestations of race.

Race is that part of yourself that you don't get to select. It's a part of your birth, the package of your bloodline and your heritage. You don't get to decide what race you are. You're either Black or not. You're either born with African blood or Puerto Rican blood or Hispanic or whatever. You can't decide. You may have some more choices about what ethnicity you identify with. Racism is the inappropriate treatment of a person because of their race, because of that biology.

Danielle was one of several faculty persons who distinguished "race" from "ethnicity." Whereas one could not choose her or his skin color, or race, Danielle claimed that a person had more choices in her or his ethnicity. Even though she did not explain what she meant by ethnicity, she made an effort to separate the race that one was given at birth from the ethnic group with which a person identified post-birth. Lois offered a similar sentiment:

I use race, and I distinguish it from ethnicity. Race is the social construction used to define a person by secondary characteristics, such as skin tone, facial features, and hair. [Race] looks like a biological thing, but it really is socially constructed. I call it the accident of biology. We come out looking different depending upon our parents and how the genes flow.

There is a striking likeness in Lois and Danielle's definitions of race and ethnicity. Lois used the term "accident of biology" to refer to the lack of control people had over their race. Depending on the genotype of parents, children were born with a specific race, a race that was also defined by persons in society. Even though they believed race was socially constructed, educators still recognized those constructions were difficult to alter: "Race is a social construction and classification system. It is practically on every survey you see. Ever since the beginning of our time, people are classifying one another based on the shade of their skin." From college applications, surveys, and government documents, racial classifications were ubiquitous, hence the continued struggle of people to make sense of these constructions.

Given that participants used descriptors, such as "fiction," "arbitrary," "constructed," and "artificial" to describe race, readers might question the purpose of engaging in dialogues about an unreal notion. It is important to point out that even though they believed race was socially

constructed, participants did not deny the realities of racism in people's lives. The following

narratives illustrate this point.

> Race is only real in our minds, and it is real only because of the way that racism is real. – Teva

> Race, I understand as an arbitrary marker of identity that's socially constructed. It has a very significant and real meaning and impact on people's lives, but only because of our social history, the history of that term, and the modern era. – Dalton

As reflected in these statements, professors realized the potency of race and racism on people's lives.

Therefore, they viewed race as a socially constructed phenomenon that had real implications, a

position I supported in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. In order to engage students in dialogues about

race, they could not merely label it as an arbitrary marker that was fictional, but had to pay attention

to the ways in which racial classifications, though socially decided by members of society, had real

impacts on the lives of learners in their courses. Helping students understand the real implications of

race on people's lives was one of the catalysts that prompted constructive dialogues about racial

realities.

Systematic Influences of Racism

Participants stressed the importance of enabling learners to consider how racist assumptions

and beliefs were embedded in various institutions. Educators reported that students could identify

racism as individual acts perpetuated by people with relative ease, but had difficulty viewing the

larger influences of race in institutional structures, norms, values, and ways of knowing. Educators

described that one of their goals was to help students see how individual people perpetuated racism

and how hegemonic norms were maintained by the political, cultural, and social milieus of society.

In discussing racism, a few faculty persons mentioned *Portraits of White Racism*, written by

Wellman (1993). They shared that they preferred to use his definition because it was often easier for

students to understand. As Dalton noted:

> The simple definition I like to use [of racism] is from David Wellman from his *Portraits of White Racism*, "Racism is a system of advantages and disadvantages based on race." I define racism primarily as a systemic phenomenon and not as an individual belief or attitude to affect others, [but as] a derivative of the system of racial oppression. I understand racism as a system of White supremacy, that is, there is a very clear hierarchy with White dominance being a clear marker of that hierarchy indicator. I want them [students] to understand that racism is not just about prejudice and discrimination, but it's a social system.

The systematic nature of Wellman's definition drove some educators to assign his book to students. Seen in Dalton's story was the challenge of moving students from "racism as individual" toward "racism as individual and systemic." Participants endeavored to help students see racism as more than just the discriminatory acts of a few persons, but more importantly, the subtle racism entrenched in educational and social institutions. Laurel said:

> I don't think of racism as prejudice. I think of racism as the ability to impede, to negate, to put forth, privilege, and to maintain it for generations. I think about racism as institutional structures, policies, procedures, banks, schools, and higher education is one of those systems. I think about it [racism] in a macro level.

Laurel's broad conception of racism is akin to other instructors' descriptions. They observed racism in policies, educational institutions, promotion and tenure processes, hiring decisions, reward structures, and the courses that were privileged at their institutions. Therefore, participants noted that one could choose not to demonstrate overt racism, but still unconsciously perpetuate its effects due to their membership in various institutions that were aligned with racist standards and procedures.

Even when professors tried to help learners move beyond only associating individual acts with racism, unless these dialogues were concretized with examples relevant to their lives, participants observed that students had difficulty participating in them. Malcolm offered the methods he used to support students in thinking about and discussing systemic racism.

> Racism is a set of institutional arrangements and practices that perpetuate inequality and invidious distinctions among people—the macro-level, societal, natural of our economy, and our polity, and our culture that establishes, maintains, [and] reproduces advantage for certain racial/ethnic groups and disadvantages for others. I mean the various meso-level practices of corporations, schools, universities that pass on those patterns of inequity and ideologies that

justify inequity into the ways that individuals think and behave. All of us who live in this society carry prejudice and individual racist assumptions and behaviors that reflect the nature of growing up and living within a polity, an economy, and a culture. We still keep talking about prejudice. Trent Lott says this thing, and we talk about Trent Lott as a racist as opposed to the broader culture and political structures of racism that he and we are embedded in. We still individualize this stuff in the broader culture partly as a way for everyone else to think they are free of this shit. We continue to see racial prejudice as a bad thing that some bad people have or do, or that good people who had a slip of the tongue.

I provide Malcolm's story at-length for the depth of insight he offered. He illustrated the multiple levels of racism on which he focused during his courses: the micro- (individual), meso- (K-12 schools and postsecondary institutions), and macro-levels (society and culture). He observed that these levels of distinction were important for helping students understand how, for example, Trent Lott could utter a racist claim as an individual that had broad implications for the racist society in which we live. Malcolm explained how people who were not racist could perpetuate racist thinking patterns and beliefs, a point that was necessary for students to understand in order to promote change. In addition, students needed to see the multiple effects of racism so that they did not conclude erroneously that individual merit was equally rewarded in spite of one's race.

In an episode on the *Today Show*, news anchor Matt Lauer asked a guest if we live in a "gotcha" culture, wherein the goal is not education and open discussion, but instead to be on the lookout for people who articulate a racist comment in order to shame them and provoke media attention. To some extent, Malcolm reflected this point in his narrative. Rather than devoting attention to these individual "gotcha" racist epithets and statements (an important, but insufficient goal), the participants in this study advocated for illuminating the influence of race and racism in the norms and standards of institutions and working to facilitate dialogues about these issues. Doing so, they reported, enabled students to understand how these structures affected their particular places in life and develop the agency to make necessary changes.

Racism through Ways of Knowing

The final manner in which educators defined racism was how dominant beliefs about what counted as knowledge were reinforced and seen as the only way of knowing that was privileged and rewarded. Participants described how they unconsciously participated in labeling certain ways of thinking and behaving as normal, even as they worked to help learners examine the hidden norms and beliefs that contributed to racism. Due to the racist society in which learners were situated, participants thought that students learned to value those beliefs and practices that were deemed "rational" and overlooked those that were "subjective." Kaela stated the following in her interview:

> In Western culture, we value that which has stemmed from the Enlightenment. Since the Enlightenment, we value that which can be proven by the scientific message—problems that can be solved in a particular way. We value reasoning in our culture, and there are ways of knowing the world—be it intuitive or spiritual—that aren't valued, and I think that's connected to racism.

The aforementioned quotation illustrated privileged knowledge as a way of buttressing racism. Instructors described forms of knowledge that were considered intuitive or spiritual, such as storytelling among African American and Native American persons. Therefore, this knowledge was not seen as reasoned and defensible by empirical evidence, features of the Enlightenment period to which Kaela referred.

In classrooms, participants could unintentionally maintain these one-dimensional standards in their pedagogical philosophies and practices. When they did this, they participated in unaware racism, a concept that Teva strived to help students recognize and understand during the facilitation of racial discussions.

> I use this for all oppressions: cultural, institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal—within yourself. I am familiar with the term "aversive racism," so I talk about that sometimes, and internalized racism, institutional racism, and cultural racism. I like the term "unaware racism" because it helps people know that it is unaware, and maybe people will become less defensive.

Educators participated in unaware racism when they privileged only forms of knowledge that were rational and could be subjected to empirical evidence. Consequently, they needed to structure their courses in ways that multiple ways of knowing were valued and encouraged. An additional statement from Sabrina further clarified the notion of unaware racism and its connection to ways of knowing.

> [Students] are just taken aback that somebody would actually say it—every White person in this country is a racist. That is the nature of the beast. That's not just because of my attitudes. It's about participating in a system that advantages me based on my skin color. I participated, and I'm complicit with it [racism] even as I work against it. Once they're over the shock factor, then they're like, "Okay. I guess if you can say that, then I can admit it, too."

When professors tried to facilitate interactions about racial realities, they were confronted with White students who were defensive, claiming they were not racist. They found it unusual that anybody, especially a faculty person, would admit she or he was racist, as they had learned from their previous instructors to not be vulnerable and blatantly honest in classroom contexts and to never appear racist. Viewing racism as individual acts, as mentioned earlier, was usually the reason that learners became defensive and resisted talking about it. However, as the two stories above revealed, participants challenged hegemonic ways of knowing concerning race through two processes: showing the ways in which racial realities were tied to knowledge and commonplace assumptions and disclosing that they were also complicit in racism, even as they tried to dismantle it. Professors observed that helping students see how unaware racism existed was one way to lessen the guilt learners felt when they admitted they had privileges not afforded to their racial/ethnic minority counterparts.

Understanding how participants made sense of race and racism was critical to the present study, as these understandings were central to the pedagogies they used to address racial realities with students. Participants reported race as a social construction, racism as a system of advantages that reproduced inequities, and racism as shaping ways of knowing. They first had to contemplate their definitions and understandings of racial realities in order to support learners in coming to terms

with their own conceptualizations. In the following sections, I illuminate how faculty capitalized on these racial beliefs in their courses.

Self

Facilitating constructive dialogues about racial issues necessitated a willingness to reflect on one's assumptions, identity, strengths, and shortcomings as an educator. Participants spoke of the awareness they had of themselves as racial beings and how their identity helped them engage race or served as a challenge to facilitating these interactions. In addition, they willingly admitted their biases to students and the privileges that were afforded to them given their White racial backgrounds.

Benefits of being a White Educator

Racial/ethnic minority professors and their White counterparts acknowledged the privileges that were granted White educators and how being White made it easier to engage students in racial dialogues, given the authority and respect that students accorded them. Dalton shared his experiences as a White man:

> I'm at a predominantly White institution, so as a White guy talking about race, I am able to be effective at reaching White students. I'm accorded by the students a certain degree of respect and legitimacy that my White, female colleagues or my Black, female colleagues and Latino, male colleagues don't receive. In my "Philosophy on Race" class, I talk about what it means for me, as a White guy, to be teaching this, how they perceive that, what their assumptions were coming in, and how they might treat me in the class—what the data show in terms of the reception of faculty who are White or not White.

Given that most of the students who enrolled in Dalton's courses were White, he noticed that he was able to use his race to develop rapport with students in ways that his racial/ethnic minority colleagues could not. Students deemed him legitimate and were able to identify with his racial background. However, rather than simply accepting his privileged race, Dalton asked learners to question the assumptions he held as a White faculty person and how the course would be different if a person of a different race were the instructor. In essence, he problematized his White race, a practice that Sabrina, a White woman, strived to model as well.

> The problem is how do you handle the privileging of my voice over the voices of women of color given I'm the one that's standing in front of the class? How do I not let my voice predominate in our discussions of the writings of women of color? The best I can do is to keep problematizing it [my Whiteness] so that it's always on the table. This is a difficulty. [Saying to students:] "We're going to have this conversation, but keep in mind [that] you've got a White woman up here talking to you about the experiences of women of color."

By interrogating their voices and identities, participants in the study worked to be conscious of who they were and how their particular racial identities influenced their pedagogies. They did not divorce their White identities from the learning process, but saw them as integral components that needed to be acknowledged, questioned, and reconstructed as a result of participating in dialogues with learners.

All participants reported that for students, in particular White students, discussing race with peers could be a fearful and confusing undertaking. Students often had few models and examples of useful ways to engage race and the benefits of doing so, the educators reported. Therefore, given the power given to participants simply due to their title "professor," they were uniquely positioned to demonstrate to learners concrete methods for discussing racial issues. For those who were White, this modeling became even more crucial.

> My identity gives me a lot of cache. I use my identity as a way of working with both White kids and students of color. As a White person, I can model White anti-racist behavior for White kids, so they can see what it looks like. I can model attempts to create coalition or alliances with people of color, so that White kids and students of color can see how that is done. That means that I, as the oldest White male, the most privileged person in the facilitator training core, have to behave in ways that represent a different kind of Whiteness and a different kind of maleness.

Malcolm identified the intersecting facets of his identity—race, gender, and age—that contributed to his privileges. Participants believed that this level of awareness was quite unusual for postsecondary educators, particular those who were White. Malcolm strategically used his privileges to model anti-racist behaviors for students and an alternative conception of Whiteness. He did not allow his privileges to overwhelm him into inaction, nor did he feel immense guilt for being White; instead, he

was cognizant of the advantages he possessed, utilized them in ways to make connections with learners, and worked to exemplify non-racist practices from which students could learn.

The fact that White faculty persons comprised over half of the participants in the study portrayed the importance of White people taking an active role in facilitating racial dialogues. These White educators recognized the assumptions students often held of those who taught about race. They observed that White and racial/ethnic minority students alike were often surprised when White instructors wanted them to engage in these interactions. Participants acknowledged the unusualness of their roles as racially conscious educators, as noted below by a White male educator.

> On the first day of my "Philosophy of Racism" class, I'll talk to students about, "Who did you expect to walk in here?" People who didn't know who I was, more often than not, they were assuming that I was going to be a person of color.

Participants evinced a consciousness of who they were as White educators and how that influenced their abilities to teach about race, and the presumptions students had of who they expected to facilitate the discussion of racial realities. Professors challenged learners' beliefs by showing that White people, too, could and should be involved in racial dialogues.

Most of the participants interviewed shared similar examples of the ways in which White people were able to better connect with White students and encourage them to participate in racial dialogues. Participants spoke of the trust that White students gave their White instructors and the challenges of these same educators gaining similar trust from racial/ethnic minority students. Simply stated, participants reported that students deemed faculty of a similar race more credible than those who were of a different race than them. Consequently, for the racial/ethnic minority educators in this study, facilitating these dialogues was challenging, particularly given that most of the students in their courses were White. Dolores, a White woman, cited her experience.

> If I were a Black person talking about White privilege, I don't think it would have been as well-received. Because I am a White person, and I say, "This is what White privilege is, and we have got to stop it," they [White students] tend to listen. They think that they can tell me that is not true, too. I get a lot of flack, but that's okay. It gives me more credibility to be

White and to talk about these things. The fact that I am a woman does not give me credibility because we have lots of gender issues.

Dolores recognized the complexities of Whiteness, how her race intersected with her gender, and reconstructed her identity in the process. Although she could readily connect with White students given her race, she was less able to do so when issues of gender surfaced. Participants' selves were not stable and fixed. The context and relationships with learners influenced perceptions of themselves as racial beings. In some cases, women used their Whiteness to support students in dialogues about privilege; at other times, their disadvantaged gender hindered their abilities to skillfully facilitate racial dialogues. Their identities shifted given their varying privileges and disadvantages.

<p style="text-align:center">Challenges of being a Racial/Ethnic Minority Educator</p>

Including the aforementioned examples from White participants are important given that the experiences of White people teaching about race are rarities in the literature on faculty facilitating dialogues about race in classrooms. The level of reverence and authority granted these White participants cannot be overstated. They noted that students were more inclined to believe that racism existed and that racial/ethnic minority students faced different challenges than did White students if their White instructors, especially men, made these claims. Consequently, participants acknowledged how White educators conceived of their selves differently than their racial/ethnic minority counterparts given the ways students responded to them and treated them during these dialogues. It was more difficult for racial/ethnic minority educators to facilitate the exchanges because they felt the need to prove themselves as knowledgeable and capable instructors. Mae noted this challenge:

> As an African American woman at a large, predominantly White institution, often you're not seen as knowledgeable and perhaps you got the job through affirmative action. Your credibility isn't the same. I often work with older White men who have been teaching for 30 years. They have Ph.D.s, and some are tenured professors. In that environment, [I am] not seen as an equal to that person; therefore, [I am] more challenged by students. Students feel

that they could say things to me that they wouldn't say to the other person or challenge me in ways that they wouldn't challenge the other person's authority or knowledge.

Mae shared her differential treatment by White students given her identity as an African American woman. When facilitating dialogues about race, she observed that learners challenged her in ways that were different than her White male colleagues, which created different difficulties for her. Not only was she confronted by non-receptive students, but she also had to work in the midst of assumptions that she was an affirmative action hire, and therefore, not qualified to teach. Given Mae's race and the ways learners made sense of her racial identity, she thought of herself differently than the White professors in this study. Another Black woman cited a similar experience.

> I have to work through preconceived notions in a way that some of my White peers may not have to. Some of my students have not had a faculty member of color. [My race] impacts people in saying, "I can learn from you, or I can't learn from you. You have nothing to offer me." I have to work through that. I have to prove myself in a way that my [White] peers may not have to. This, I have to do simultaneous to my teaching. So, this is double consciousness of proving myself to you [students], to my department, and [having] to teach.

Akin to Mae's story, the quotation above denotes the different challenges that racial/ethnic minority participants faced compared to their White colleagues. As the data suggested, racial/ethnic minority educators were often confronted with White students who believed they could not learn from them given their appearances. Educators noted that students saw a person whose skin color and physical features looked different than theirs, and they immediately perceived that they had nothing in common with this educator. As this theme indicates, instructors conceived of themselves differently given their particular identities—race/ethnicity, age, and gender. For faculty of color, they contemplated how to respond to learner hesitancies and use their racial/ethnic identities in ways that could benefit students, while White educators employed their White privilege to connect with students and invite them to participate in these dialogues.

Although the African American educators in this study noted the difficulties they had with gaining respect from White students, a few mentioned challenges with Black students as well, as seen in Danielle's comments:

> The students I have the hardest time with are not the White students; it's the Black students. This whole racism thing is responsible for that. We also have to prove ourselves to them. I was at the school maybe two years and having an African American female student tell me that she needed to find a faculty mentor. I was like, "Okay, well, what am I?" She said, "I don't have anybody to identify with. I need to find a mentor." I'm thinking, "Well, why are you in my office?" She didn't even see me as a mentor. It's very strange.

Danielle had trouble understanding why this particular student could not see her as a potential mentor, especially given the underrepresentation of African American faculty persons on campus. She struggled to make sense of why these challenges occurred with the Black students with whom she came in contact. Not only did African American students sometimes have difficulties identifying with their Black educators, but these educators also spoke of challenges associated with the ways in which they structured their classrooms and positioned themselves during dialogues. Because they strived to diminish the power imbalances between professor and student in order to help learners see themselves as knowledgeable, they cited being faced with racial/ethnic minority students who wanted them to increase their authority. For example, Mae stated the following:

> In the ways in which I set up the classroom, I'm trying to minimize the authority and the power I have in the room. To minimize your authority and power and be already seen as not being the real authority or not having much power seems like a double-edged sword. African American students feel like I'm their first faculty member in the classroom that they've had. They want a connection, and they don't want to see my power diminished in the room. They want me to be the authority in the room. I'm trying to set an example and trying to share power. It's a different thing when I'm still seen as in control, but also trying to equalize the power in the room as opposed to them diminishing my power. I feel the need to balance all of those things—being an authority and a role model for students of color, but also not being too authoritative, and wanting to develop a community, but not to the extent that some students see me as totally devalued as the authority. That's a challenge.

These two examples illustrated how racial/ethnic minority instructors struggled with their underrepresented racial identities in the predominantly White contexts in which they taught. They weighed wanting students to see them as valuable contributors to their institutions, while

simultaneously organizing their courses in ways that were conducive to the production of racial

dialogues. The manner in which they conceived of their identities sometimes diminished their

authority, but also exemplified their community-mindedness. These challenges revealed differences

in identity formation, as racial/ethnic minority educators endeavored to merge multiple roles—that

of professor, racial/ethnic minority person, role model, collaborator, and mentor. These were

unique challenges not faced by their White counterparts.

Acknowledging One's Assumptions, Biases, and Limitations

Prior to entering the classroom and throughout the teaching process, educators reflected on

their roles as educators. They were comfortable admitting their biases, privileges, and assumptions,

for they believed that doing so would enable students to reciprocate the process. They contended

that the key to a constructive discussion began with an examination of one's self in relationship to

teaching. Teva shared the importance of this self-reflection:

> We need to start with ourselves and look at ourselves internally and our biases. We all have
> biases. We catch things from the environment, and we have to look at what we have caught.
> [I] use myself as a model, share biases that I have discovered in myself, and try to break the
> political correctness.

Akin to the self-examination in which Teva engaged, Raymond focused on the biases he brought to

the classroom: "I would get to the front of the class, and I would tell them [learners] the results of

my hidden bias test, so they could all know that I was as affected by White supremacy as anybody."

The hidden bias test (found at https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/) to which Raymond referred

was developed by researchers at Harvard University and the Universities of Virginia and Washington

in order to measure a person's unconscious preferences for different races. Some test takers realized

they tended to have a preference for White people, as a result of living in a racist society where

White models of beauty, worth, and significance were valued. Sharing with students the results of his

exam, Raymond noted, encouraged them to see him as also affected by White supremacy even

though he had been a participant in examining racial issues over several years. Teva and Raymond

disclosed limitations within themselves that resulted from racism in order to open up opportunities for learners to do the same.

Educators described that when they admitted the areas in which they needed to grow or knowledge they did not possess, they created a sense of humanness between them and learners that lessened their power influences. For example, Ines stated:

> When I don't know something, I admit that and say, "That's something that is new for me, something I hadn't experienced or encountered before." I try to affirm people. I [don't] tell them, "I'm the authority, and I'm telling you this, and you don't know anything." There's a way that we can make people feel small and less intelligent or like, "You should know this." Some people think that they know everything; that's one of my pet peeves.

Rather than striving to appear all-knowing, Ines was comfortable confessing when there was knowledge about race that she did not know in order to lessen her role as authority figure in the classroom. She found it appropriate to embody an attitude that conveyed her willingness to learn more, and that the process of participating in and learning from racial dialogues was a lifelong journey. Laurel believed in a similar approach: "In that book, *I Won't Learn from You* [Kohl, 1994], students can tell when you are fumbling over this [racial] matter. You should just say, 'You know what? We should stop here. I'm way out of my league.' " Instead of pretending to know everything about the history of race relations in society, Laurel, and the other professors interviewed, readily acknowledged when they needed to study more about an issue. They understood that facilitating racial discussions was not about displaying arrogance and unwavering knowledge. Rather, given their beliefs in the socially constructed nature of knowledge, they learned from students and did not attempt to fake their way through these interactions. They confessed when they needed to learn more about a topic to model to learners the complicated journey of becoming racially conscious.

Although participants admitted when they lacked knowledge, they did not use these occurrences as excuses to abdicate their roles as instructors. They took their positions seriously and engaged in daily reflection about their pedagogical methods. What distinguished them was their

incessant reliance on thinking about their biases and how that influenced the facilitation process.

According to Lois:

> I think White, male teachers [should] talk about themselves being White males, and [that] they come out of certain paradigms and biases. All of us have biases, and it's foolish to think we didn't. The best we can say is where they came from and identify them when they are there. Every teacher should have a responsible way of positioning themselves and being overt about who they are, because as a White person, my White students are seeing themselves up there. It's a bond that they can make to me. My females are seeing a female up there. My students of color are not. I say it on the first night. "Here I am a White female in front of this class," and if I have two TA's with me who will again be White this quarter, I will say, "What is wrong with this picture?" When I say, "I'm White," the White students are looking at me like, "Why did she say that?" The students of color are smiling and nodding their head[s] because they've already registered it. I'm making it conscious for them.

Lois illuminated the importance of being cognizant of one's privileges and biases during the facilitation of these dialogues. By reflecting upon who she was, she observed being able to enable students to see White as a race that should be considered, interrogated, and defined. She modeled the importance of self-reflection for learners in the course, in particular those who were White. Like the other participants in this study, Keely shared her narratives to help students witness her developmental path: "I like to use personal stories to illustrate my own growth, my own journey." By showing the ways in which one had grown, it illustrated the journey on which she or he had embarked in addressing racial issues. This disclosure demonstrated to learners the progression of learning about racial issues, and that educators also had limited knowledge about these issues at a previous point in their lives. Facilitation became more fruitful when educators divulged their developmental paths and assumptions. They enabled students to see them as part of these dialogues and also willing to challenge themselves to improve.

When participants did not understand a racialized issue or needed to learn more about the impact of race in a particular situation, they did not simply give up because of the overwhelming feelings that ensued from facilitating these dialogues. Instead, they used their lack of knowledge as opportunities to study more and continue their journeys toward racial understanding. As one faculty

person noted, "I want to grow in having good dialogue and in my knowledge and analysis. There is always new stuff coming out, like the [NCORE] keynote person we heard. I want to buy his book and read it." This willingness to continue enhancing one's knowledge of racial issues and abilities to facilitate constructive interactions was a unique characteristic of those interviewed. Instead of withdrawing from the discussions due to their difficulties, they continued the process of admitting their limitations and seeking ways to remedy them through readings, continued self-reflection, and interactions with others.

The motivation of participants to share themselves with students in the classroom was not free from problems and difficulties. Because they and learners departed from the norm, class members contended with unanticipated outcomes. For Dalton, his desire to enact this alternative pedagogical philosophy regularly conflicted with his previous socialization experiences.

> I've been socialized as a White guy and as a philosopher, so that means emotions are always marginalized and put in the background because we're supposed to just pay attention to reason. When dealing with race and racism, I depersonalize the issues because it can be effective. Students won't get defensive. We can just talk about this argument and its strengths and weaknesses and not about what you believe. On the other hand, to really learn about the issues, you need to deal with the emotional side. A challenge that I face facilitating these discussions is dealing effectively with the emotional side of the issues—how it affects me emotionally, how it affects other people emotionally, and how I can manage that in having conversations about race. That's a big piece that I'm still trying to learn about.

Though participants stressed the importance of disclosing their biases and emotions in an effort to personalize racial realities, doing so was particularly vexing for those who were not expected to engage in these processes during their graduate school tenures or faculty careers. Prior training and experience in facilitating constructive racial conversations was not part of the curriculum of most doctoral programs; therefore, those who chose to teach in this manner needed to combat previous assumptions, as articulated by Dalton. They had to engage in processes of self-reflection based on knowledge and experiences they did not previously have. They learned through the actual process of facilitating these dialogues and made changes as necessary. Corrine, a White woman, explained how

she had to respond to questions about her teaching approaches in her courses that addressed race

but not in the others, where racial issues were apparently not explored.

> Teaching about race has made me be much more attentive to what my assumptions are. Both colleagues and students ask a lot more questions. They don't care how I teach if I'm teaching "Organization Theory." If I'm teaching "Education and Cultural Diversity," required for people who are getting teaching licenses in Minnesota, then they want to know, "Why do you do this, and why do you do it this way?"

Some courses, like "Organization Theory," were not about racial realities; whereas others,

"Education and Cultural Diversity" clearly were. The assumption in this statement is that the

exploration and discussion of racial realities belonged in the purview of a few restricted courses, but

not in others. As a result, when race was addressed, questions about one's pedagogical practices

surfaced; whereas, in the more "general" courses, similar questions remained unasked. As Corrine

noted, given the questions that her colleagues and students asked in the "diversity course," she

became more aware of her assumptions, as she regularly had to think about and defend them. Faced

with challenges about their teaching methods, the participants interviewed had to be more cognizant

of their pedagogical assumptions and philosophies in facilitating racial dialogues, especially because

they often were not considered the norm.

Participants believed the self was one of the necessary elements to consider in facilitating

beneficial discussions about race in a classroom. Issues in this theme involved the ways in which

professors made sense of their racial identities, the different challenges faced by racial/ethnic

minority educators in comparison to their White counterparts, and the recognition of one's

limitations, assumptions, and biases. Self was illuminated through participants' willingness to engage

in critical self-reflection about their biases, assumptions, limitations, and privileges and an awareness

of how their racial identities affected the abilities of students to participate openly in racial dialogues.

Participants did not separate who they were from the educational process, but sought concrete ways

to disclose their inner struggles in order to model to learners the process of speaking openly about racial realities.

Learners

In detailing their teaching philosophies and practices, faculty persons referred to their beliefs about learners—their expectations of students, the ways they treated learners, the roles they invited students to perform in their courses, and their assumptions about what constituted learning. Participants acknowledged how their graduate training reinforced longstanding dichotomies between themselves and students: teacher/student, expert/non-expert, speaker/listener, controller/non-controller, and decision-maker about direction of class/lack of choice in course direction. However, they quickly recognized that facilitating dialogues about racial issues necessitated a shifting of their roles as educators; they needed to embody principles of holism, co-construction, and collaboration. Using pedagogy to facilitate the discussion of racial realities required alternative notions about what it meant to be a learner. Instructors developed opportunities for students to demonstrate their knowledge and expertise in the classroom, included multiple learner voices, and partnered with students in the learning process.

Holism

Given learners' experiences in other courses, professors observed that students who entered the classrooms of the participants in this study expected similar norms—the professor lectured and imparted knowledge, and students had minimal input in that process. They were often surprised by the level of responsibility that educators conferred on them. Educators stressed that in order to engage in dialogues about racial realities, students would have to connect the theoretical insights read to their personal lives. In essence, faculty persons valued holism in the classroom where educators and students shared personal narratives related to race and racism. As avowed by Sabrina:

> I used to do the traditional, "Here's the content, let me lecture, let's have a discussion." I realized that students would learn better though concrete experience, reflection, and

application than they do necessarily though abstract thinking. It's important for students to bring their whole selves to the classroom—there's room for emotion and personal storytelling. I make sure [their experience] is as valued as the expert content that comes in the readings or the lectures. I try to be flexible in that if there's something that they want to know or a place they want to go, I'm willing to change the syllabus or pursue something different. I want them to own their own learning.

Sabrina taught several courses in Women's Studies, all of which pertained to the exploration of gendered and racial identities in society at-large and the campus environment, in particular. She referred to the importance of students exhibiting holism in class where they used their personal experiences to learn about the theoretical and abstract ideas presented in course readings and lectures. Sabrina encouraged learners to make issues of race personal and to not intellectualize those issues at a distance. Because the material was concretized in their stories, Sabrina indicated that students exhibited deeper learning and were better able to apply academic content. Sabrina's conceptions of learners as holistic persons who had perspectives to contribute to racial dialogues was consistent with that of Trinity, who described her experience as such:

It's important to build relationships before solving problems. If you try to hastily solve a problem in one meeting, you might get a superficial solution. People are left still bitter and angry because people are human, and they must be given time to grieve, reflect, and share stories. We need to spend some time building the relationships and trust with one another. It takes time to break down those walls. It's so important to listen to the emotions and the stories that are behind what people are going through, and then complement it with the realism and facts of racism in the U.S.

Relationship-building was a key element of facilitating racial dialogues cited by participants in this study, and they attempted to build these relationships through knowing students on a personal basis. Instructors met consistently with learners outside of class, addressed them by their names, knew important elements of their backgrounds and histories, and took time to understand the needs of students prior to beginning racial dialogues. As Trinity noted, the emotional side of students was critical to their full participation in discussions. Faculty persons cited that it was common for White students to detach themselves from racism, as they had not personally experienced it; however, when educators invited them to also disclose their experiences with race and racism (e.g., "Describe

the number of teachers and peers you came in contact with who were of a different race than you growing up."), they found that learners began to deem themselves important contributors to these dialogues as well.

Holism, the union between personal stories and academic content, demanded a comfort with the messiness that resulted when learners and educators brought emotions into the classroom. Faculty had to be willing to relinquish their usual control in the classroom and allow student narratives to determine some of the direction of the course. One participant described why she used learners' experiences as starting points for racial interactions.

> The most productive way to teach [about racial realities] is to engage students about first their personal experiences, beliefs, advice, and biases, instead of just going in and presenting all this data and lecture materials and the history. It won't mean quite as much to them unless they first think about their own experiences and what they've learned in their lives from their parents, school, and society. I would engage them in an activity first around the topic and then process and follow-up with data to create as safe of an environment in the classroom as possible, so that students feel comfortable being honest and open about what they've learned and what they think.

Beginning with the fears, stories, and insights of learners was one way to invite them gradually into the dialogue. Rather than starting with data and readings about race and lecturing to students about racial problems in society, participants began with learners and their experiences. "I help them see and talk about who they are first," one participant noted. They capitalized on students' personal experiences as the starting point for knowledge construction about racial realties. Instructors saw that because learners understood their own experiences best, they were able to comment on them and relate them to course content. Although others did not explicitly mention theories in which their teaching philosophies of holism were grounded, Kaela referred to her reliance on Baxter Magolda's (2004) Learning Partnerships Model (described in-depth in Chapter 2).

> My philosophy is rooted in Baxter Magolda's theories of teaching and learning—to ground material in students' experiences. I try to create an environment that's going to facilitate students moving into more complex, critical, and conceptual ways of knowing. According to Baxter Magolda, that's related to students feeling like the material really applies to them personally and has something to do with their lives, giving them an opportunity for voice. I

encourage them to do some writing where they're using first person, and they're relating to the material not just intellectually, but in other ways, too, especially teaching about gender and race because it is personal.

For Kaela, holism meant providing students with opportunities to situate the discussion of racial realties in their experiences. She observed that students needed to see how these issues applied to them and why they were important to their lives in order to learn. Kaela enabled them to use their voices in the classroom as a means to better understand their personal experiences in relation to the course material on racial realities.

Grounding racial realities in the lives of learners required additional time and effort on the part of educators. They had to help students make sense of their narratives in relation to theoretical ideas about race and racism and display a willingness to support students in dealing with the dissonance and uncomfortable feelings that occurred as a result of these interactions. A healthy balance was needed—instructors had to resist turning the course into a "therapy session," but also demonstrate to learners the importance of their emotions and stories. Teva described this tricky balance.

> In discussions [about racial realities], I wouldn't completely step back at first because it is so emotional. It is an important place to hold emotions. I have a lot of students who say my class is like group therapy, and I say, "It is very different from therapy groups that I have been a part of or that I have facilitated. We just have emotions in our class, and that is not therapy. Those are emotions, those are part of life." That is a very feminist-influenced philosophy that I have. Emotions are a part of that process, and we have to find out how to work with our emotions and how to be with our emotions because they are important.

Teva valued the role of emotions in the classroom, but simultaneously tried not to make her courses similar to group therapy sessions. Instead, she took care to explain to students the differences between her course and therapy sessions and why she provided ample space for their feelings. She eschewed traditional expectations that the classroom be a place of intellectualization devoid of the personal and portrayed to students the connection between humanness and emotionality.

When professors valued holism, they prepared themselves to handle student emotions during interactions about race-related issues. Other participants, like Malcolm, used examples relevant to learners' circumstances to manage dissonance and discomfort.

> People learn when they are encountering things that are important to them. They learn when they are in situations of dissidence or discomfort where they are going in with assumptions about themselves and what they know, and their world is challenged in ways that help them be open to rethinking those assumptions or ways of being. My job, as a teacher, is to help promote those kinds of learning experiences. What is generally most in front of people is their own direct experience, so I try to work with direct experiences that people have with one another and their environment as stimuli for learning.

Malcolm understood the need to incorporate material with which students could connect to promote learning from dissonance. Although reflecting on this uneasiness could be a challenge for learners, Malcolm believed that students were more likely to persist through the conflict when content was rooted in their knowledge and experiences. They witnessed their peers also struggling with similar issues and were able to build on each other's experiences for learning. Sabrina offered a comparable holistic philosophy:

> I ask White students to remember when they first became aware of race and ask students of color to do that. I ask them to talk about if they've experienced overt or covert acts of racism. I ask the White students to talk about if they ever participated in those [acts of racism] and how [they came] to this new anti-racist understanding that [they] have. We do some storytelling with it and some case studies. We look at Tiger Woods and talk about why do people persist in calling him Black even though he, himself, identifies as a word he's made up that incorporates all his ethnic identities? If I just come in and say, "This is racism, and this how it works," then they react, and it's not good.

Multiple elements of holism are seen in the above example. First, like the other professors described herein, Sabrina contemplated the readiness of students to participate in these dialogues. She refrained from immediately discussing racial issues with learners, but waited to gauge their level of preparedness through listening to their experiences with race and racism in their upbringing and different learning environments. She also employed activities and examples that were relevant to the lives of learners. Asking students to ponder Tiger Woods and his racial identity was transferable to students' experiences, as he was an easily recognizable figure in society. Through this example, they

learned to question the role of race and how it was socially constructed, a point mentioned earlier.

Finally, Sabrina actively refused to accept the demarcation between teacher and learner. She valued

the expertise of learners and deemed them integral contributors to classroom interactions. Holism

was reflected in the motivation of educators to structure curricula and pedagogy based on the

vantage points of students, building a classroom environment that was responsive to their academic

needs and personal experiences.

<p align="center">*Co-Construction of Knowledge*</p>

Though their given title as "professor" inevitably created power imbalances, participants

worked tirelessly to break down these assumptions about what it meant to be an authority figure in

the classroom. They regularly referred to themselves as both teachers and learners and used similar

language in describing students. They exhibited mutuality in the learning process and believed that

students were competent and achieved outcomes when educators set high expectations for academic

achievement. Though most faculty outside of this study would likely claim that they, too, held lofty

standards for students, what differed among participants in the present study was their willingness to

partner with students in the discussion of racial realities and treat them as experts.

Because they subscribed to the socially constructed nature of knowledge, instructors built

knowledge jointly with students, as conveyed by Kaela:

> I give them [learners] opportunities to create knowledge together to understand that
> knowledge is socially constructed. For some students, that's really hard because they think,
> "You mean, you're not just going to tell me the answer, and I give it back to you on a test?"
> It's really important for students to understand that what we're going to be doing in the
> classroom is a creation of knowledge, that what they're learning is not just what they're going
> to find in the textbook. They're going to learn from each other, and they're going to learn
> from their own selves and their reflections.

Like the other participants in this study, Kaela conceived of learners as important contributors in the

classroom. She provided opportunities for students to demonstrate their expertise, share their

opinions during class, and learn from their peers. Each learner's perspective offered a value-added

insight that was helpful to pushing the racial discussions forward and enabling others to question

their assumptions and beliefs. Although Kaela intentionally created these opportunities for students

to contribute, it is important to note that the professor was not removed from the process.

Raymond discussed this further.

> With experiential learning, you devise classroom situations in which students are engaged in various activities. Some of those activities are determined by the students, and some of those activities are determined by me. I'll usually go along with anything in class that they want to try and do to enjoy the process. I encourage that kind of creativity on their part, and frankly, they have better ideas than I do a lot of the time. I split them up into groups or do the fish bowl exercise—just any exercise where students are doing interactive learning, where they are teaching each other. I can sit there on the side, not at the front of the room but in a chair in the classroom, and ask a question or bring up a point that I think they might have missed and ask them what they think of this.

When a group of people socially constructed knowledge, mutuality was critical—each person shared

her or his viewpoint and other members could critique those ideas, offer their own views, and in the

process, a richer understanding of the issues under evaluation resulted. Readers might find it unusual

that Raymond admitted that students, sometimes, had better ideas than he did. The socialization of

faculty persons taught them to deem themselves the only valuable voice in the room; clearly,

participants subverted this kind of prior training. They recognized that given the situations in which

learners had been involved, they would likely have unique knowledge that was necessary for others

to hear. By providing them with ample spaces to contribute to classroom discussions, a

reconstruction of knowledge through collaboration was possible. Because Raymond provided

learners with opportunities to decide on some of the course activities, he reported that they were

more likely to participate during the racial discussions. The exchanges were based on topics that they

deemed meaningful, thereby, improving their commitment to the process.

During the facilitation of interactions about racial realities, educators regarded students as

experts. After all, "who knows more about their experiences than students themselves?" asked one

participant. In particular, it was vital that instructors validated the experiences of racial/ethnic

minority students, as their knowledge had often been silenced and seen as too subjective or

inaccurate when they reported acts of racism. An African American woman found it especially

important to help racial/ethnic minority students see themselves as scholars.

> My work is to make people curious and help them to know that I'm not all-knowing. The
> work for you [learners] is to be curious and to know more—to help you see yourself as a
> scholar, instead of just taking this class because it's "check-off as you move through."
> Particularly for students of color, I need to help you see yourself as a scholar.

Professors as not omniscient and racial/ethnic minority students as scholars were two phrases that

challenged conventional and stereotypical ways of thinking about both groups. To hear an educator

say both expressed the alternative conceptions of learners held by participants. They viewed learners

as capable knowers and expected them to participate fully in racial dialogues by articulating their

perspectives, grounding them in relevant examples from their lives, and using the course readings to

apply their experiences to situations beyond their localized circumstances. As a result, participants

suspected that students began to see themselves as scholars and knowledgeable about racial issues.

Another narrative further clarified this point.

> [I espouse] a Freireian sense of participation in education. I have maybe a broader
> knowledge, but I don't have all the knowledge, so I encourage sharing of that knowledge by
> students with me and others. I enter the classroom as a teacher and a learner. I try to
> equalize the power dynamics in the room. We're in a circle in the classroom. I try to create
> an atmosphere that we're all here in a lifelong learning process. This isn't going to be the
> definitive class on race or ethnicity. It's a lot of self-exploration, reflection, learning about
> one's own self and be[ing] willing to listen and understand the perspectives of others. [We
> try to] understand society, structures, systems of oppression, and how they play out for one
> individually, depending on their identity and how that affects others. We're not just teaching
> about the oppressed group. We're teaching about the oppressor as well.

Multiple elements of knowledge construction are revealed in this quotation. Laurel's pedagogy was

anchored in Freire's (1970) notions of the oppressed and the oppressor, where those who were

oppressed had to speak from their vantage points, take ownership over their educational

experiences, and see themselves as knowledgeable. She not only supported Freireian principles of

knowledge, but also organized her courses in ways that diminished her as the central knower, such

as the physical arrangements of the circle. Moreover, she emphasized to students that hopefully, her course was one of many in which students would enroll, and that the process of learning about race and racism occurred throughout one's entire lifetime. Consequently, she did not privilege students searching for answers about problems in society, but encouraged them to engage in these dialogues in different settings outside of this particular course. These processes showed students that knowledge development was a lifelong journey and that based on the particular group of learners in the room, the constructed knowledge would be different. When faculty co-constructed knowledge with learners, these components were usually a part of the process, as reflected in the other experiences of participants.

Although participants in this study tried to deemphasize their power as educators, there were a few who used their authority to challenge students and push them to further ponder their perspectives during dialogues. For instance, an educator described his teaching efforts:

> I try to de-center myself. I tell students that while I've studied and thought about these issues for quite some time, I don't consider myself to be the expert on the issues. I emphasize that we're all learning about this together, and that I will continue to learn about it as hopefully they will. I still have a degree of authority in my classroom that I will use to challenge students to think more deeply about their beliefs. I'll guide them through the issues, and I have certain information and knowledge that they don't have, but that doesn't mean I'm the final word on it. I try to model that, which is difficult, because I want to challenge their reasoning, thinking, and assumptions further. That makes it sound like I'm speaking as an expert. It's a difficult balancing act.

This balancing act was exemplified in several interviews. In co-constructing knowledge with students, readers might erroneously conclude that these educators abdicated their responsibilities as educators and practiced an "anything goes" philosophy. In reality, the role of a professor in facilitating the discussion of racial issues was more difficult and uncertain. When student stories, emotions, and perspectives were not included in the classroom, the educational process was easier to manage. However, as manifested in the above quotation, instructors faced a delicate balance in allowing learners to guide classroom dialogues, but also challenging them to think more deeply

about their perspectives when necessary. There were no easily-transferable solutions for establishing and maintaining this effective balance, which one could imitate void of context. Rather, as participants noted, one needed to consider the learners, their readiness, the knowledge they possessed, and their previous and current experiences with racial realties. In so doing, educators could be conscious about their responsibilities as faculty persons and simultaneously encourage a classroom environment that privileged the voices of learners and their expertise.

Educators who facilitated constructive dialogues about race and racism considered students as leaders. To do so, they relinquished their desires to control classroom discussions and be the only decider on the path to pursue. They did not sit idly by while students participated in dialogues about racial matters and also did not treat themselves as the sole authority figures in the room. Even though they saw firsthand the outcomes that were accrued through their teaching philosophies, they still worried about the ramifications of departing from convention. Below is an account from Corrine in a course where students explored conflict and social change.

> We don't teach people to say, "I don't know, or I've never heard that before." There was less parading around of how much we know. I loved going to that class and felt like I was always going to learn as much as the students. I had many moments when I thought, "How would I explain this? What if the department chair walks in, or what if the dean walks in?" It's not like their opinion matters. It would be, "How do I explain this?" It's something the students have chosen to do to— somehow embody the ideas.

Despite the learning that she believed she and students gained from grappling with racial realities, Corrine still questioned her approaches and wondered how she would explain what was happening in her courses to outside observers and those unfamiliar with her pedagogical philosophy. She knew that the ways in which she structured her courses to develop knowledge with students was unusual and would likely be seen as outside of the norm. However, she continued her pedagogical methods in part due to perceived student receptivity in exploring the racialized experiences of their peers and their willingness to admit the knowledge they lacked. As Corrine's questioning conveyed, the lack of

total control by an educator could be received by mixed messages to those who do not know the reasons underlying these pedagogical decisions.

When instructors provided numerous, sustained opportunities for students to share their narratives during class, they observed that both racial/ethnic minority learners and White students started to value their own perspectives. For racial/ethnic minority students in particular, this proved to be a rewarding experience, as they were rarely seen as competent persons. According to one participant: "There's so much that we don't know because we haven't heard enough from people who lived in the margins and the borders; we haven't had access to such voices." As participants co-constructed knowledge with learners, they reported that underrepresented students learned the importance of their racialized experiences that were often denied space in previous classrooms. Rather than these students believing that they needed to be silent about the personal, they were encouraged to communicate these insights for the betterment of their peers and professors. Educators saw that racial interactions strengthened when previously excluded voices were deemed important.

At this point, one might question the academic merits of such an enterprise and ask: How are students supposed to learn simply by focusing on perspectives from their peers and their personal knowledge? I would be remiss if I did not state that these educators did not lower academic expectations or dilute the curriculum by the inclusion of student perspectives and co-constructing knowledge with them. In reality, their courses were quite demanding on students and required a major investment from learners. A participant described her expectation of students:

> The image I like is that of a midwife—I'm really helping students give birth to their own knowledge. The classroom is a place where knowledge is contracted. I [am not] the expert who comes in, opens their little heads, and pours the content in, but rather someone who facilitates the production of knowledge. I am student-centered and passionate about the content at the same time. I give them freedom to learn and space to pursue what's of interest to them. I am still demanding and push them to excel. We get a lot first-generation college students—they don't know the world of academia. They haven't been pushed to be as good

as they can be. I say, "You can write better than this, and you can think better than this. Let's work on these skills."

This professor established high expectations for student learning and had no problem being honest with students when they did not meet these standards. She believed in conventional skills that students needed to develop in order to succeed in college and their careers post-higher education, such as the ability to write well and exhibit critical thinking skills. Therefore, similar to other courses not focused on addressing racial realities, the educators in this study established goals for students, monitored their progress toward those goals, and provided feedback to students, as they strived to attain these aims. They insisted on the success of underserved students, displayed a willingness to develop knowledge jointly with learners, and focused on the exploration of racialized issues. They facilitated the learning process, invited students to take ownership for their education, mutually partnered with them in that process, and co-constructed knowledge with learners. These pedagogical components resulted in the creation of classroom communities for learning, the topic explored next.

Classroom Communities for Learning

Participants described that for many learners who they encountered, the classroom was a space of competition and exclusion where the voices and experiences of students did not matter and the goal was to earn the highest grade possible. Although instructors valued academic achievement and wanted students to submit their best work, the manner in which they structured their classrooms was different. They focused on ways to enable learners (and themselves) to develop a sense of belongingness in the classroom and work together to improve each other's learning and development. Inclusion, relationship-building, a sense of mattering, and collaboration were key norms in these environments. However, the building of classroom communities for learning often proved challenging for both learners and educators.

Participants resisted the urge to begin immediately facilitating dialogues about racial realities. They knew that involving oneself in these discussions would be particularly difficult without first

building personal relationships. Professors stated that students needed to value the other class

members on a personal level before they would be willing to take risks and share their assumptions,

biases, and fears. An example from Teva provided evidence for this point.

> We do introductions and things like icebreakers where they get to know each other, and
> there is an entryway into some of the material of the class. That brings up culturally
> meaningful things to someone. You need community; where people start to care about each
> other, it is easier to have dialogues. One of the things that helps me in having dialogues is
> remembering that group theory that talks about forming, storming, norming, and
> conforming. Storming is part of it, and students get anxious in the storming part of it, and I
> do, too, but then we can move through that, and we are able to go through that process.

Other professors reading the above might cringe at the mention of "icebreakers" as one of Teva's

teaching approaches. Readers might perceive icebreakers to be silly, trivial games that are totally

divorced from the academic purpose of college courses. Though this could be the case, the manner

in which Teva used them permitted the development of relationships among class members. There

was no mention of race in the above example, for Teva recognized the importance of providing

chances for students to know each other personally prior to engaging in these dialogues. Although

she did not focus on race during this first class session, her activities did stimulate issues of

difference in students, as they shared facets of their home cultures and values. At that point, Teva

and learners began to see the contributions each member brought to the class and formed bonds

across differences and based on similarities. Interestingly, her pedagogy is grounded in knowledge

about the formation of groups. She referred to the storming stage where members worked through

difficulties and differences in an effort to build stronger communities (see Tuckman, 1965). The

process led to tensions and anxieties in community members, but because they had taken time to

build relationships, Teva observed, they would likely continue to progress beyond this stage and

return to it as necessary during the course of difficult dialogues.

An essential element of a classroom community for learning was that the educator was a part

of it—not the leader or expert—but a willing participant who provided students with opportunities

to decide upon the important racialized issues with which to contend. Again, professors did not remove themselves from the process, but their involvement was different.

> Faculty members just put it [their agenda] onto students without even knowing their audience. It's important to hear from students what they want to talk about. What are they concerned with? What are their perceptions on race? [It is important to] get some preliminary information from your audience to what their concerns are so that you are addressing them and realizing where the imbalances are. That could help them [educators] in terms of a springboard of how to engage students more effectively. That might call for them to change their curriculum and what they were about to teach. They should be open to that based on the range of knowledge that students have.

As this participant suggested, there was a tendency for instructors to want to be the sole decider of the content students should know. Similarly, the inclination in racial interactions was to act and develop solutions without first understanding the complexities of a community's concerns. Because each course on race relations was different given the learners and educators present, it was vital to ask members to define their needs and issues as a means of preparing for these dialogues. Doing so, participants believed, ensured that community constituents had a vested interest in participating in the discussions because they were rooted in their circumstances.

Even when participants spent time implementing exercises that would enable students to build relationships with each other, these racially-based exchanges were sometimes still difficult. Learning through community-building required a foundation of trust that was not similarly cultivated in the other courses in which students were enrolled. Therefore, educators had to contemplate ways to generate trust among class members. Malcolm detailed his experience.

> Learning, in general, and certainly about race and ethnicity, is not just a matter of communicating material to people. It is a matter of building an interactive environment and community in the classroom where people can relate to one another in sufficiently open and trusting terms, so that they can engage in talking about the most difficult, hidden, confused, and ideologically screwed up stuff that society has to deal with.

Part of the difficulty of facilitating constructive discussions about racial realities were the levels of honesty and openness that were needed from those participating. For instance, educators noted that students wondered, "If I say something that offends people, am I going to be labeled as racist

among my peers, regardless of what else I say during the course? Will they know that I am not trying

to be racist, but that I am genuinely interested in learning? How will they ever trust me again?" The

anxiety that ensued from thinking that one might verbalize a racist statement was quite debilitating

to students. To lessen these fears, Malcolm, along with the other educators interviewed, focused on

building classroom communities that were trusting, open, and forgiving. This was not an easy task

for the reasons Malcolm described—the "screwed up stuff" of race and racism in America.

Educators devoted time and commitment toward developing these communities. Some, like Mae,

even did so in off-campus retreats.

> Students are taken off-campus for two days. We engage in experiential activities to highlight
> the "who am I piece,"—get to know each other through group bonding and group
> formation. Usually, students stay up playing games or talking. Fighting the resistance is on
> the front end, so you set up a dynamic that this is a community of caring.

To combat the resistance that was a central part of racial dialogues, Mae partnered with students to

formulate a community of caring that extended beyond the walls of the classroom. Students

discussed who they were and learned what joined them as community members in order to

participate willingly in the difficult discussions of race and racism. Mae observed that they formed

relationships early on with the intention of establishing a firm foundation for the remainder of the

term. Mae's decision to take students off-campus also broke down expectations of formality that

were present in classroom settings.

A common idea that participants mentioned as they described classroom communities for

learning was the notion of a safe space. Many campus administrators and student affairs educators

encouraged these safe spaces where students congregated without worrying about being targeted due

to their race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, or other facets of their identities. Members of

campus even used "Safe Zone" stickers in their offices to show students that they were committed

to ensuring that students felt welcome and that they mattered. For the participants in this study, safe

spaces involved an atmosphere created in the classroom that valued learners, deemed them able, and

encouraged open and honest racialized discourses. Paige strived to develop these spaces in the courses of which she was a part.

> I don't believe that you can learn anything if you don't trust the person. The climate of your class has to be trustworthy; it has to be the kind of place that people feel safe. It is important to establish and meet the needs of students in terms of their trust level—to ask questions, to inquire, to learn, and a trust level that I am going to do my best to provide the kinds of experiences and information that they need to do well.

Though the notion of trust connoted a different meaning depending on who defined it, in Paige's case, trust was ensured when learners were free to ask questions and learn from each other. In addition, students had to trust that the educator asked them to participate in these dialogues for a reason, and that she or he was going to support them in the process. When learners and professors did not establish or broke trust, silence and withdrawal were likely unintended outcomes. Akin to trust, safety was viewed differently depending on a person's vantage point. Laurel defined her notion of a safe space.

> You don't start off, "So, let's talk about race." It's a gradation. I have to create a safe space first. I start from a place of non-judgment, and I will do some exercises first to make people easy in talking. I tend to talk in a way that people can be somewhat detached and not have to necessarily feel that they're going to be the guilty White person, the angry Black person, the quiet Asian person, or all of the stereotypes that we struggle with. I want to protect students, not from what they hear, but from being hurt unnecessarily. I try to create safe spaces, where people can leave class going, "Hmm," as opposed to, "I'm never going to go back to that class again. I'm done. I'm dropping this class." We might go to a lecture on Ann Coulter, or somebody who is on the opposite side of me, so they can see that I'm not this "one conversation Laurel."

Contrary to the other educators described in this section, Laurel wanted students to engage race at a distance prior to personalizing it. She understood the strong emotions that these discussions invoked and worked to have learners focus on facts about race relations before using their experiences. So that students did not immediately withdraw from these discussions, she began slowly and refrained from judging people's remarks. Part of the process of creating a safe space involved presenting multiple sides of an issue, so that students did not claim that educators were inculcating them with their agendas. When participants did so, they showed learners that they, too, should share

their perspectives, even if they differed from the norm, and be willing to be challenged in the process. Participants observed that safe spaces were places where learners felt valued and that their experiences and perspectives mattered.

Given the data presented thus far, it might appear that safe spaces were unproblematic places where openness and honesty flowed freely. However, other faculty persons illuminated the complexities associated with safe spaces. For example, a female educator noted:

> [Safe space] means that people feel like they can speak their opinions or tell their stories or ask questions and not feel like they're going to be ridiculed or put down or judged. It doesn't mean that the ideas can't be critiqued. If an idea is out there, it's fair game. If it's them telling their "coming out" story, that's not fair game to critique. You don't want to turn it into group therapy, but at the same time, we want it to be a place where people can bring their narratives, and those narratives become part of the knowledge that we produce as a class.

This notion of a safe space was somewhat different from the other examples presented above. This particular instructor formed distinctions between issues that learners could critique—the ideas of class members—compared to those that were not suitable for analysis—personal experiences. For example, learners could interrogate their peer's belief in the biological determinacy of race; whereas, they could not critique one's experience with being racially profiled in a department store. Though this participant and the students with whom she worked highlighted these lines, understanding the distinction between the personal and the academic was not always easy, particularly in classrooms where educators privileged both forms of knowledge. The inclusion of narratives as knowledge illuminated the interconnected nature of stories and theoretical material.

Educators found that for some students who had been marginalized, the classroom was never an arena of safety. These learners contended with monolithic treatment by professors outside of this study and the denial of their experiences in courses. In addition, participants reported that students sometimes viewed safe spaces as places where negative feelings were never present. However, racial interactions triggered undesirable reactions in learners and educators. Recognizing

the challenges of safe spaces, some participants preferred the term "safer space." I provide one example below.

> I don't believe in "safe space." I believe in a "safer space," and safety includes discomfort. Part of a safer space is, how do we move through discomfort? How do we deal with anger? How do we deal with sadness? Part of safety is not "no one ever makes me angry." That is not safe because that is not real. If it is real, it is like, "Okay, when I feel that, how do I work with it in a class?"

Addressing unwanted feelings in the classroom was a challenge with which participants contended. Safer spaces normalized discomfort, pain, anger, and sadness—emotions that often surfaced in the midst of racial dialogues. The challenge for those who wished to facilitate racial exchanges was how to enable class members to acknowledge these feelings and work through them, so that they did not inhibit dialogue. The development of classroom communities for learning, as evinced throughout this section, was one approach for managing emotions and encouraging the capacity for sustained discussions about racial realities in the company of other committed persons.

The educators represented in this chapter used different terms to describe their classrooms—communities, learning communities, communities of caring, safe spaces, and safer spaces. Regardless of the preferred word, the similarities of their courses entailed the lessening of the authority of professors and the focus on narratives, relationships, trust, openness, and feelings. These classroom environments did not encourage competition and power imbalances, but instead concentrated on cooperation, mattering, and patience. Learners and educators did not immediately begin talking about racial issues, but took time to know each other personally inside and outside of the classroom. The process was not easy or free from difficulties and misunderstandings, but learners and faculty persons were more likely to persist through them because they cared about the success and personal development of each other. Instructors conceived of learners differently—they saw them as equal participants, validated them as experts, deemed their stories important to the

learning process, and focused on holism, the connection between the personal and academic, to facilitate the process of racial discussions.

In the preceding section, I provided data to support the elements that comprised educators' thinking and planning processes, as they prepared to facilitate the discussion of racial realities. As such, I focused on ways that the background and previous experiences of professors and definitions of race and racism influenced their teaching approaches, as well as their conceptualizations of themselves as educators and their views of the learners in their courses. In order to offer readers a tangible portrait of how the facilitation process looks, it is important to concentrate on the actual approaches that participants utilized during these exchanges. Toward that end, I move from the abstract to the practical by describing the fifth theme, Teaching. In so doing, I illuminate the barriers that instructors faced during these interactions and the methods they used to respond to them, so that the necessary discussions would not be stifled.

Teaching

Given that I sought to describe how professors made sense of the pedagogies they used to engage students in dialogues about racial issues, I asked each participant to describe what I would see them and students doing if I observed their class sessions. In response, they mentioned their roles as facilitators during these exchanges, students' experiences discussing racial realities, and the process of structuring purposeful spaces for these dialogues to occur. Consequently, I divide this theme into two sections that illustrated the manner in which participants conceived of their teaching. In Framing the Dialogue, I discuss how educators worked with students to develop strategies for approaching these discussions in constructive ways and focus on the incorporation of practical activities to facilitate the exchanges in Facilitating the Dialogue.

Framing the Dialogue

In order to engage students in constructive dialogues about racial realities in postsecondary classrooms, participants considered ways to frame these discussions so that students would contribute to them. This involved thinking of one's role as a facilitator, establishing ground rules for discussion, managing students' comfort levels and readiness to participate in the dialogues, and finding ways to purposefully build groups that were racially/ethnically diverse.

Educator as Facilitator

When describing their roles in the classroom, participants refrained from calling themselves educators, instructors, faculty members, teachers, and the like. Instead, they preferred the term facilitator ("I try to be a true facilitator, making sure that everybody has a voice in the classroom and nobody feels left out."), as they underscored that they made provisions for racial dialogues to occur, but were not the sole persons who dictated the topics explored in the classroom. They helped students discuss racial matters by organizing the classroom in ways that were conducive to engaging in open dialogues and provided students with the resources to make this happen. Laurel verbalized her role in this manner:

> A good faculty member and/or teacher is more a facilitator than a teacher. The teacher role really presumes that knowledge is happening one way. "I'm the teacher, you're the student, and so you really don't have anything to bring to class." I see an effective faculty member or teacher as a facilitator of helping students know what they know and helping them know what they don't know.

According to Laurel, a facilitator regarded knowledge as a two-way process between teachers and learners. Students and educators assumed the responsibilities of both teaching and learning during the exchanges and engaged in a mutual knowledge-generation process. An interesting element offered by Laurel was the facilitator validating what students knew and helping them discover what they did not already know. Therefore, both forms of knowledge—what was known and not known—were seen as essential components of the learning process. Validating students as knowers

and contributors to others' knowledge involved providing opportunities for them to use their voices,

a method used by Keely.

> I would be facilitating an activity, and students would be in small groups talking. As a
> facilitator, I would be reflecting, staying in tune with the dynamics of the classroom. "What's
> going on here or there? Who's talking? Who's not talking?" You would see me trying to get
> the students talking more than me.

Thinking about whose voices were included was one element of facilitation that participants noted.

They were aware of when they spoke too much and when only a few students participated. For

these dialogues to be meaningful, they knew that multiple learners needed to be involved and sought

to include those who were not.

As much as participants did not want to be seen as the primary knowers in the classroom on

racial issues, they sometimes had to use their expertise to help students understand complex

concepts and theories. The optimal balance between speaking and allowing students to share their

opinions was a tricky one that presented no easy solutions. Dalton discussed this in his interview.

> When we're reading philosophical essays, it's difficult because they [students] often don't
> have the skills to read and understand those essays well, and they often get lost in them. I
> have to give them an overview, a summary of the argument, and then let them engage that
> argument however they see fit. They'll be critical of the argument, which is a good thing, and
> then I stand in as the author to defend it and get a debate going back and forth. While I
> think that's effective, [doing so] has the appearance that I'm taking on the expert role. I try
> to minimize lecturing as much as possible, though it's still necessary to set the framework for
> the discussion, and then I try to facilitate the discussion through a Socratic method by asking
> probing questions and follow-up questions.

When learners did not have the foundation to participate meaningfully in racially-focused

interactions, the educator position became more complicated. As Dalton recognized, the discussion

of racial realities was not simply a case where students came to class, talked for some time, and then

went their separate ways. It was not just about sharing one's personal feelings, experiences, and

opinions. Rather, the goal was to enable students to understand the history of race relations and

theoretical insights about racism and use that knowledge in relation to their personal lives to bring

about change. Therefore, philosophical essays, as seen above, could be quite challenging for learners

to understand and apply. Faculty persons did not want to appear as the only experts in the room, but often had to use their previous experiences, knowledge, and expertise to help students make sense of racialized content. Doing so still aligned with their facilitation philosophies. They helped learners understand new forms of knowledge by asking questions and inviting them to reflect on, critique, and summarize key issues presented. Facilitation was about understanding learners' needs, knowing how to address those needs, and acknowledging varied vantage points.

Ground Rules

Before beginning the first discussion of racial realities, participants developed a set of ground rules for class discussion and behavior in conjunction with students. They described these rules as what class members expected of each other and as "working documents" that members could revisit and revise as necessary throughout the course. Teva pointed out the flexibility of these ground rules.

> Part of community-building is creating group agreements and talking about them as working documents. When I decided not to do them [group agreements], I've seen a difference. You need to be active with them. It is not like you can just say what they are and put them on the wall each time and be done with them. You have to come back to them and use them in your facilitation. I would say, " I appreciate what you have to say, but we need to leave some space for other folks to talk, so that we can hear all the voices in the room." I come back to the core values.

Referring to ground rules as modifiable documents, Teva highlighted the need to be cognizant of these agreements at multiple times throughout the course. Doing so reminded class members of their commitment to each other and the overall learning experience. Two ground rules that Teva and students decided upon was that they would provide space for all voices to be heard and that no member would dominate the discussions. Rather than using her authority to silence those who talked more than others, Teva reminded students of the group agreements that they co-created as opportunities to include marginalized voices. Because she did not formulate the group agreements on her own, she saw that students were more likely to abide by them and hold each other

accountable. Another participant, Corrine, communicated the importance of learners developing

these ground rules.

> Learning and teaching happen best when there is a sense of shared ground rules or practices. I always start the term with multiple discussions about, "What do you need to do your best learning in a group setting?" I try to get students to articulate what kind of environment they need. It's hard to get them all to agree, but they just have to hear each other. I also periodically give everybody a chance to comment on how those rules are working.

Participants believed that when students developed ground rules in collaboration with their peers

and the educator, they took more responsibility for enacting them, as seen in the above example. As

a facilitator, Corrine helped students build these group agreements by suggesting areas to consider

when they did not mention them on their own. She paid attention to the learners in the classroom

and used her previous experiences and knowledge to prompt them to contemplate different ground

rules, but ultimately, the decision was theirs. It made sense that participants engaged in this process

given their treatment of learners as active agents and collaborators in the learning process.

When I asked participants to name some of the ground rules that class members identified,

two common responses were "respect" and "giving people the benefit of the doubt when they said

potentially racist comments." Given that respect and benefit of the doubt were practiced differently

depending on the person, educators often had to push students to define further what they meant by

these terms.

> When someone brings up "respect others," [I ask] "What do you mean by respect? What does respect look like to you? Do [people] have a different concept and what that looks like for them?" [After students contemplate those questions,] there's a better understanding among the group and normalizing.

> I have a set of guidelines for creating a safe space in the classroom. It's a list of things like giving people the benefit of the doubt, assuming we're all doing our best, [and] being open to being called on for say[ing] something that is racist, sexist, or heterosexist. If something gets out of hand, we'll pull that out, "Look, remember we promised each other that we would do this, and we're not doing this right now."

As evinced in the aforementioned quotations, these group agreements were difficult to enact among

classroom community members. Because professors and students brought varied levels of defining

and understanding behaviors and actions and treated each other differently based on their understandings of those terms, what was disrespectful to one person might not have been to another. The process of collaborating to develop ground rules made efforts to normalize behaviors and expectations nearly impossible. Therefore, the creation of these rules necessitated a patience with the process and a willingness to revisit them as necessary.

Although ground rules was a novel pedagogical practice used by participants, they realized that the mere development process was insufficient, but that the daily usage and interpretation of these agreements was the more important matter. Teacher-learners had to find ways to work with these group norms, test them in certain cases, ask questions of each other when they did not understand their meaning, and hold each other accountable when they did not implement them.

> At the first step, we make some verbal contract that gives us some guidelines, although no one is fully ready to believe that in practice. Then, we have to demonstrate through a series of encounters that people can take risks, and that it can be uncomfortable, but that the sky doesn't fall, and people don't get ripped up. If they do, we can come back and talk about it. It is an interactive process.

Malcolm's narrative is illustrative of the extensive process involved in group agreements. They simply were not one-time encounters where people came together, developed rules, and that was sufficient. They had to work with them in each class period, develop trust that other members would follow them, and openly address the persons who were failing to abide by the rules. Malcolm outlined a two-step process with risk-taking as the more critical and time-consuming step—the daily living of these group agreements.

Comfort Zones

Even when faculty and students jointly created ground rules for participating in these race-related discussions, actually engaging in them was still difficult. Because most participants taught at predominantly White institutions, they found that the learners with whom they worked usually lacked direct exposure to racial/ethnic differences and were under-prepared for speaking about

racial realities with not only their White peers but also the few racial/ethnic minority students with whom they interacted during class. Professors, therefore, strived to enable students to step outside their comfort zones, an expectation that was particularly challenging. A common goal among the participants in this study was to combine classroom exchanges with encounters that enabled students to experience discomfort as a means for learning. It was important for learners to participate in racial interactions, but a different challenge to move beyond dialogues to confront racial realities on campus and in the surrounding campus communities. These types of experiences, educators inferred, often stretched students and took them out of their comfort zones and normal ways of functioning.

Framing the dialogue involved an awareness of learners' comfort zones and the types of activities in which they needed to participate to move beyond that comfort. Pushing students too soon could stifle the discussions and their willingness to participate in future dialogues. As a result, instructors often checked with students to determine their levels of comfort before progressing into more difficult areas. Paige described this situation.

> The minute you bring up race, it's like this cloud descends in the classroom. Everybody gets tense, everybody gets nervous, and people start looking at one another. When I facilitate dialogue, I am up front in saying, "Something just changed in this classroom. Can you feel it? Can you feel how it's different in here? I notice that you guys are sitting up a little straighter; people are a little more tense here. Why is that? Why do I feel this? Can you help me understand why I feel this way, or why I perceive this?" Some people say, "I don't want to offend someone," or "I am uncomfortable because I don't understand what they want," meaning people of color.

Like the other participants interviewed, Paige ascertained the level of comfort and tenseness in the classroom as members discussed racial realities. She observed nonverbal signs of discomfort, such as lack of eye contact and posture, as well as learners exhibiting deflection in their statements—"I don't know what they want." Not paying attention to learners' comfort during dialogues could cause more harm, as racial/ethnic minority students became further silenced, and White students refused to participate. Faculty had to develop an acute awareness of what transpired in the classroom—the

noticeable signals as well as those that were covert. Asking students to step beyond their comfort zones had to be tempered with questions that enabled them to reflect on and share their reasons for hesitating to engage in dialogue. Both practices—the pushing and the stepping back—were critical to productive interactions.

Central to the issues outlined thus far in this section was the notion of meeting students at their current developmental places and levels of awareness and comfort in an effort to help them progress and learn more about themselves and those who were different from them. This premise meant that participants could not merely apply a "one-size-fits-all" approach; instead, they had to tailor their pedagogical methods depending on the course, the context in which they taught, and the group of learners present. Mae talked about this during her interview.

> I start out talking about what their [students] needs are. I've had a class of students that had a lot of passion, but maybe not a lot of content knowledge. So, we would focus on readings. If they brought in content knowledge, but didn't have facilitation skills, we might have to spend time [developing those skills]. We think about it as about 75% content, 25% facilitation.

Mae was responsible for working with students who wanted to become intergroup dialogue facilitators. Depending on the composition of the class and the skills and knowledge learners possessed, she altered her "75% content, 25% facilitation" approach. She displayed a flexibility in pedagogical methods that were aligned with her own expertise and skills and those of the learners. She met students where they were, gauged their preparedness and knowledge, and changed her pedagogical approaches to best maximize student learning and prepare them to address racial issues. Describing her philosophy as cliché, another participant shared that she tried to meet the needs of learners and did so by determining the previous experiences and knowledge they brought to class and incorporating activities that would develop their knowledge base and skill set. Educators needed to help students develop a comfort with racial realities given the future environments in which they would work that were racially/ethnically diverse.

Racially/Ethnically Diverse Groups

The final element of framing these dialogues was to structure groups that were purposefully racially/ethnically diverse. Given the predominantly White contexts in which participants taught, providing learners with actual exposure to racial/ethnic differences was challenging. Consequently, they used other ways to help students grapple with racial/ethnic diversity. For instance, Samuel tried helping students think more broadly about diversity.

> When I have more diversity in the room, the conversations become richer. Even if you had an all-White, all-male, all-able-bodied, all-heterosexual class, you still have issues of class, sexual orientation, and regional differences. There's still stuff to work with there. Facilitation depends on, "What does it mean to a bunch of White students to have an African American talking about race? How comfortable do they feel with that?" I have to build that it's okay. It's a double-edged sword because then they say things, which are sometimes atrocious, but at least it's on the table for discussion versus the other way around.

For Samuel, and others like him, two factors were present in his role as facilitator of racial interactions: lack of racial/ethnic diversity among students and his racial/ethnic background as an African American educator that was different from most of the students in his courses. The interplay of these two facets created a dilemma for students. On the one hand, he contended with "atrocious" remarks, as well as learners whose identities were not as racially/ethnically diverse as he would have liked. On the other hand, he was not able to provide students with actual encounters during classroom-based dialogues about racial/ethnic differences since they were mostly engaging with peers of the same race/ethnicity as them. Even though Samuel found that these dialogues were not as rich as he wanted, he stressed the importance of faculty paying attention to other facets of diversity and incorporating those elements into their courses. Another educator discussed the importance of having a racially/ethnically heterogeneous class: "It's important to make sure that the groups are diverse, or else you end up with a homogenous group that feels like you're preaching to the choir, or there's not enough substance to really make progress." Participants noticed that it was easier to discuss racial realities at a distance when there were few racial/ethnic minority people

present with whom to engage. However, as instructors wanted students to personalize racial issues, they needed to find ways to help them do that, despite the limitations of the contexts in which they taught. In Facilitating the Dialogue, I offer examples of how participants worked to combat this lack of racial/ethnic diversity in their courses.

Framing was essential to a constructive discussion of racial issues. Faculty persons could not simply begin the exchanges and expect students to participate. They had to spend time understanding students, their passions, fears, goals, and readiness. In essence, knowing students' current levels of readiness and what they needed to participate in racial dialogues entailed a metaphorical bridge over which students could cross to challenge themselves and grow from these discussions. Malcolm summarized this notion of framing the dialogue:

> The starting point is where are the learners, and what is it that they want to understand? The next question is what do I know about that stuff that I can be useful at? Then, how do I bridge that gap between what I think is important for them to learn and what they want to learn? I have to learn who they are, where they are coming from, and what they are in this for, so that I can work off their experiences.

The participants in this study used their roles as facilitators to consider what students needed in order to engage in constructive interactions about racial realities. This often meant the establishment of ground rules and experiences that prompted learners to acknowledge their comfort and discomfort and push themselves to new levels of learning. The roles of an educator and student had to be re-conceptualized into a vision of collaboration and mutual expertise. When participants were clear at the outset of the purpose of racial dialogues, they helped students understand why they were asked to participate in these interactions, and what they could gain from the process. Starting with this clear purpose made it known to learners they were capable of progressing through the discussions, even when they were difficult, in order to reach new levels of awareness, preparedness, and understanding.

Facilitating the Dialogue

At this point, it is evident that participants included numerous other factors in their pedagogies beyond simply "teaching about race." Because they wanted to facilitate constructive discussions about racial realities, they spent time contemplating other elements in addition to refining their facilitation skills. They needed to reflect on themselves as educators, examine their pedagogical philosophies, develop a set of ideas about learners, and integrate and translate those conceptions into their actual facilitation efforts. In this section, I describe the ways in which professors facilitated these exchanges through the use of different engagement activities. They did so primarily in four ways: (a) group discussions, (b) integrated assortment of resources, (c) application of racial concepts and theories, and (d) debriefing.

Group Discussions

As the purpose of this research was to understand the facilitation of constructive racial interactions, I asked participants, "How do you facilitate dialogues on race?" Each educator discussed at length the importance of enabling students to collaborate with their peers through group work and group discussions. Since participants strived to build classroom communities for learning, they believed that a central aspect of community-building was providing learners with opportunities to discuss issues together. An instructor noted:

> I use small groups to promote a degree of honesty and a level or participation that I can't get with the whole class. Often, they engage with the material and each other in a different way that I find useful in getting them to reflect more carefully about the issues. I want them to challenge each other to think more deeply and to justify what they're saying. I encourage that through group work. That way, I'm not standing up there lecturing and telling them what they need to think.

Group dialogue was a concrete way to make a large class feel smaller, which increased students' comfort with addressing racial realities. Because learners were not accustomed to challenging each other's opinions during class, faculty persons reported, dividing them into small groups helped them

start this process and realize that their experiences and perspectives were important components of the course that enhanced the learning of other members. Participants helped learners make sense of complicated issues through their engagement with each other. They used small group dialogues before engaging the whole class in racial realities. After students had spent time reflecting on racial issues and sharing their opinions and experiences with their peers in smaller clusters, then they reported back to the larger class. Professors found that the smaller group provided a sense of safety and comfort for students to process racial realities before articulating their viewpoints to other class members.

Working and learning together were key processes that faculty persons stressed in forming these groups. The mere process of assigning students into groups did not necessarily foster a sense of collaboration in learners. Educators had to be intentional during group discussions. According to Paige:

> I have students doing projects, and they work together in a cooperative fashion. I divide the students into groups of three. You'd see a certain amount of lecture, but then you'd see students talking with one another, collaborating together, working together on big projects. You would see dialogue and hands-on-type things.

By working and talking together in groups of three, students could participate in these dialogues in ways that were more meaningful, as opposed to only facilitating discussion among the entire class. Group discussions were central to the courses in which educators addressed racial realities. In courses with a large number of students, instructors sought ways to make the class feel manageable to students; assigning learners into small groups was one successful approach. Facilitating dialogues on racial realities necessitated tangible, hands-on opportunities for learners to actually engage race and racism, and group work was one means to do so.

Integrated Assortment of Resources

Participants had to be creative and use whatever resources necessary to facilitate the process of racial exchanges. As they became more experienced in facilitating these dialogues, they also

became more adept at figuring out which resources to use to engage learners. However, each time a new combination of students entered the classroom, they could not simply rely on old formulas, but had to treat this group of learners differently and figure out what would enable them to participate in the interactions. Educators incorporated lecture, readings, reflection, and various multimedia in their facilitation processes.

Lecture. While most viewed and described lectures with a hint of disdain, a few lectured, though it was not their primary pedagogical method. One participant, Corrine, talked about why she chose not to lecture in her courses: "You would never see me lecture. I can't. I know there are students who love it, but I just feel like I don't know enough to lecture." In the theme Learners, I described participants' teaching philosophies as the belief in the mutual construction of knowledge with students and expecting students to contribute to classroom discussions based on their personal experiences and knowledge. Consequently, lecturing lied in contradistinction to Corrine's philosophy, even though, as she believed, most students had been socialized to value lecturing, as that was the most common approach with which they were familiar. Raymond discussed his "guide on the side" approach to teaching that did not favor lectures.

> I don't lecture at all. I am committed to experiential learning—to having every student in the class talk at every class meeting. I break them up into groups where I am a guide on the side to facilitate a discussion on some of the material we are reading. Although I assign books, students prepare the questions that we are going to use to discuss the reading. I believe in empowering students to help determine what content we discuss and what material is deemed important, so that it is not just coming from me.

During his doctoral training in Philosophy, Raymond learned that he was the bearer of knowledge, and that he had to share that knowledge with students. In his interview, he provided examples of how his teaching philosophy evolved in that he now actively chose not to lecture and instead used activities where students had ownership over the learning process. The knowledge no longer only came from him; instead, he developed knowledge in partnership with learners. In order to be an asset to learners during racial interactions, professors favored facilitation over lecturing. They

needed to enable students to feel empowered by becoming meaningful contributors to the process of learning about racial realities.

Even though instructors resisted the urge to lecture about racial issues, they found it difficult to not return to their customary lecturing format when students were silent on racial matters. The key to successful racial exchanges, as Dolores contended, was communicating to students the different expectations that educators had for their participation in the course. They had to let learners know that lecturing was not going to be a central component of the course, but instead they expected students to take an active role in their learning.

> I am constantly asking questions of the class. I don't lecture very often. I might say, "This is what we are going to talk about today." I give a structured learning assignment for the class, so that when I come in, there is an expectation that they have done their part. If they don't, I make it really clear that we can't have a conversation unless you do your part. I said, "Then, it is going to be me talking to you, and I don't want to do that."

Dolores outlined what she required of students in her courses and offered reasons for those expectations. She underscored the importance of students being prepared and contributing to the success of other members. Consequently, she and learners reinforced the classroom community for learning and co-construction of knowledge principles previously described.

Although the faculty above highlighted their rationales for not lecturing, a few lectured when they saw students struggling to understand concepts and theories or to supplement dialogues with necessary information. For example, Kaela said:

> I usually do a lecture that's related to the readings. While I'm doing a lecture, I have questions within that lecture, so that everybody's participating. We have discussion. I keep it structured. We'll do group work where they have a certain amount of time with questions that they need to answer and then report back to a larger group. You'll see some of that and lots of discussion booths.

In an effort to complement class material with her own knowledge, Kaela lectured on topics that were related to course readings. She suspected that doing so provided students with supplementary information that helped them make sense of readings. Although she lectured, she still incorporated

other pedagogical tools into the learning process—discussion, group work, and questions—that prompted students to understand racial realities. She did not solely rely upon learners discussing course material from their vantage points, but offered additional perspectives as necessary that helped them gain deeper knowledge of the effects of racism on their lives. Cynthia utilized a comparable approach.

> You would see during the lecture a slide with the question, "Why is there a difference in jail sentences for the use of these drugs?" I ask that question to the class and give a few minutes to think about why that would be. After we have had some discussion, you would see a new slide with the statistics and the demographics of the sentencing differences. Then, I tell the group to break up into small groups. There would be time to debate the facts and figures, and then, I would ask, "What did your group discuss?" Each representative person from all over the class would have the time to say what their group said.

The course to which Cynthia referred was called "Drugs and Behavior." She wanted students to understand the composition of various drugs, and more importantly, racialized prison sentencing for the use of certain drugs. According to Cynthia, although crack cocaine and powder cocaine were virtually the same composition, sentencing for the use of both substances were drastically different. Users of crack (mostly poor, urbanite, African American persons) received jail terms of five years on average; whereas, persons using powder (mostly college-educated, suburbanite, wealthier White people) typically received six-month jail sentences. Students engaged in dialogues about why these racial differences existed and the consequences of judges and juries making these decisions. Akin to Kaela, Cynthia did not solely rely on lecture, but used it when necessary to help students grapple with racial concepts. Both educators deemed lecturing as one component of a larger array of methods they employed to facilitate exchanges about racial realities.

Lecturing was a way to provide students with data and statistics about racial disparities in society and challenge their myths and assumptions about racial realities. When necessary, instructors used relevant data to help learners make sense of race and racism. Participants believed that students needed to understand facts about racism in United States society in addition to their localized,

personal experiences. When students employed both sources of data, faculty persons observed, they were better able to participate meaningfully in these dialogues. As one educator noted:

> We talk about disparities and statistics. Also, I do personal accounts. When I have students who have been [racially] profiled, they can talk about those experiences. It does raise awareness for students because all of a sudden, a light goes on in their life. When I say, "What is a flesh color?" everybody looks at me. "What do you mean, flesh color? What color is that?" Then, they get it that we don't have black Band-Aids—that the majority of them are going to be flesh-colored from the perspective of Caucasians. They start thinking about how that would be if they never could come and get their color of skin Band-Aid. It's things like that that we can talk about, and then it raises their awareness of how advantaged they are in terms of getting privilege.

Combining statistics on racial disparities with personal accounts, this particular professor capitalized on lecturing in her courses in order to help students rethink their beliefs and consider perspectives different from their own. She integrated data from racial profiling of students on campus, statistical records about racial inequalities, and questions about privileged persons to help students think about and engage in exchanges about racial realties. She carefully assimilated various resources to promote student learning. She noticed that learners constantly wrestled with their individual stories and relevant data to supplement their experiences. The interplay between these resources enabled students to ponder issues not previously explored and consider how their peers had different experiences.

Kaela shared another approach that aligned with lecturing: "Ironically, I'm critical of the Enlightenment, and yet I'm still committed to teaching critical thinking, constructive arguments, and problem-solving where you're gathering evidence. But we can value other forms of knowing as well." For the faculty persons in this study, designing the effective blend of the personal with the theoretical was a difficult undertaking. They wanted students to learn about the history of race relations and the implications of racial realities in contemporary society through these dialogues. Therefore, they did not abandon the pursuit of knowledge and the development of critical thinking skills. Instead, they balanced Enlightenment principles and historical content with subjective

personal narratives, as this union was necessary for productive racial discussions. Participants did

not encourage a loose atmosphere in the classroom where learners could say whatever they wanted

and not be challenged, since it was their viewpoint. Instead, they balanced their philosophies about

the mutual and social development of knowledge with a realization that students simultaneously

needed to learn the theoretical underpinnings of race relations in order to stimulate change in their

communities. As such, some educators used lecturing and the presentation of data as a means to

illustrate the racialized nature of society. They believed they could help students develop critical

thinking and problem-solving skills, longstanding goals of higher education, and also value the other

forms of knowing, such as storytelling, that were necessary for constructive racial dialogues.

Readings. The central resource on which participants capitalized were books and articles

about race and racism. The three most common readings cited were *Readings for Diversity and Social

Justice* (Adams et al., 2000), "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" (McIntosh, 1990)

and *A Different Mirror* (Takaki, 1993), a revisionist book about the history of multiculturalism in

America. The assigning of these readings often combined a reflection component where educators

asked students to keep a journal about their reactions and insights about race and racism and

contemplate the relevance of the readings to their lives. Recognizing who the learners were in her

courses, Corrine assigned relevant readings to engage them in racial dialogues.

> There's a book that was published in 1960 called *Black Like Me* [Griffin, 1960]. The guy who
> wrote it was a White guy who went through a chemical process of changing his skin color
> because he wanted to document, "Was it [differential treatment by race] really as bad as
> people said it was?" Students are absolutely horrified at what they read. It's about how this
> man whose experience as a White man but appears to be dark-skinned, what he sees when
> he looks in the mirror, how he experiences being treated by others who have no idea that he
> has experience as a White man. You're so inside his experience. It just turns everything that
> they have in their heads upside down.

Because Corrine wanted students to accept the fact that racial differences existed, she asked them to

read a book that would help them personalize racial issues. Especially for White students, given the

experiences and racial identity of this author, they related to what he wrote. Corrine stated that

White learners often had trouble believing that people of color were treated differently simply because of their racial/ethnic identities. Because this book was grounded in their experiences and written by an author who was of the same race as them, they believed the implications of the text. Samuel also assigned readings that were rooted in the lives of students.

> They [learners] essentialize race, so I give them Shelby Steele [1990]—*The Content of Our Character.* They think he's White. When they realize he's Black, they give all these explanations for why a Black person would hold these views. Then, I give them Claude [Steele] to read and say, "This is his identical twin. So, if you've essentialized that it's because of his class and his education, alright, here's the other brother who's also a Ph.D. and has an entirely different view. Here's his stuff on stereotype threat. How do you explain these twins now? You can't play the genetic card here." [I am] trying to provide both challenge and support. [I am] also trying to facilitate them talking to each other as much as they're talking to me or talking to the authors.

Using authors who held varying positions about race in America, Samuel stressed the importance of challenging students when they essentialized race and treated members of racial/ethnic groups as monolithic. He wanted students to see the differences among individual members of racial/ethnic groups. In so doing, he worked to make issues of race personal for White students, in particular, so they learned to see themselves as racial beings and how people of the same race could have drastically different stances on potential solutions for racial inequities. The educators represented in this chapter evinced how purposeful selection of readings combined with meaningful discussion about them was a means to improve students' understanding of racial realities. Both had to be integrated and sustained throughout the course to improve learning.

A careful collection of readings not only enabled learners to wrestle with race and racism, but professors also used literature to focus on the intersections between the multiple parts that comprised one's identity, such as race/ethnicity, gender, class, ability, and sexual orientation. When students were able to connect race/ethnicity with other social identities, they were less likely to essentialize issues of race. As an instructor who taught mostly adult learners stated:

> We read Sonia Nieto's [1999] chapter "Culture and Learning" from *The Light in Their Eyes* book. It puts culture in the context of power relationships, which is really important. It talks

about how culture is multifaceted, and sexual orientation, gender, and class are included. I use a multiple identities approach, an intersectionality approach. There is a good article that is an interview with Cornel West called "Heterosexism and Transformation." We talk about racism within the LGBT [lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender] community. The LGBT community that is presented in the media is usually White, upper-class, gay men and some women. It doesn't usually include the transgendered folks. That was another way that I intentionally and specifically bring up the dialogue about race and other "isms."

In an effort to ensure that learners observed the relatedness of racism to other "isms" (e.g., classism, sexism, and heterosexism), this participant used readings that focused on intersectionality. She expected that students would read about the multiple factors that comprised culture and connect that knowledge with other readings about differential treatment by gender, class, and sexual orientation. Participants believed that when students developed an intersectionality mindset, facilitating these dialogues would be more productive, as learners disclosed how racism influenced other facets of their lives. The aforementioned account offered readers an understanding of the complexities of facilitating racial dialogues and the importance of one's choices in readings.

When educators picked readings that were situated in students' experiences, they saw that learners became comfortable with and willing to take more responsibility for their learning by sharing their own out-of-class knowledge with other class members. In participants' courses, many students for the first time had the opportunity to read about and discuss racial issues in ways that mattered to them. Doing so stimulated their interest in seeking out other literature relevant to their circumstances. My interview with Lois exemplified this point.

> Lois: Students read this poetry book called *Making face, making soul: Haciendo Caras* [Anzaldúa, 1990]. Students volunteer to take one poem from the book to read in front of the class. The books are written by radical women of color, so some of them are hard-hitting; they're angry; they're bitter. They're talking about their own problems of identity or feeling ugly, so they're very moving. We don't critique it [the women's stories]; we don't talk about it; we just let it be a voice in the room. It moves me. It moves them. Eventually, students say, "Can I bring in my own poetry? Can I do this spoken word that I do?"
>
> Stephen: So, in a sense, you're really giving students ownership over their learning process?
>
> Lois: That sounded nice. Yes, call it liberatory education—Paulo Freire. They bring in [their narratives], and then they learn and share who they are as a way to teach others.

Lois spoke with excitement and passion as she shared her experience of students wanting to read their own race-related work during class. She illuminated the ideal case for which the other educators in this study strived—when learners deemed the discussion of racial realities important and developed an agency and sense of urgency for examining how they could contribute meaningfully to these exchanges beyond their particular courses. Lois found a way to draw students into these racial dialogues by using readings that related to their personal lives. Because learners saw their own stories in the poetry of the authors, this compelled them to write their own narratives about their experiences with race and racism and share it with their peers as a vehicle for making sense of racialized issues. Lois also utilized a pedagogical tool that was necessary to promote learning about race—active listening. Rather than immediately critiquing the ideas of the authors, she wanted students to let the voices be in the room and truly pay attention to what the authors communicated in their stories. Doing so, she suspected, enabled learners to develop a better understanding of life from the vantage points of others.

Reflection. Participants reported that the reason students developed the ability to make sense of the racialized themes and concepts present in the readings was because professors designed and implemented purposeful reflection exercises to help students sort out their feelings and perspectives on the issues. During each class period, educators expected that students had not only read the material, but more importantly, that they considered the relevance of the readings to their own and others' lives. The combination of questioning and reflection led to richer classroom exchanges and a greater understanding of concepts.

> As a facilitator, I would be reflecting, staying in tune with the dynamics of the classroom. "What's going on here or there? Who's talking? Who's not talking?" I would get the students talking more than me. If I'm not getting a lot of response, I have them do a silent writing activity. That [silence] says they're not feeling safe. I'll take it down a notch and have them silently reflect individually—that usually gets them to open up with the dialogue.

Keely employed active reflection to gauge students' comfort with the material and to consider why some might be silent on certain issues. Rather than inserting her voice when there was silence or believing that students did not care about these issues, she waited patiently and linked the hesitancy to talk to issues of safe spaces. Expecting and developing a comfort with silence was a skill that participants used to analyze nonverbal signals. When she noticed that learners were not engaging with each other, Keely paused and invited them to reflect on their reasons. This demonstrated to students that she cared about their participation in the course by using a method—individual reflection—that made students feel safer.

Other faculty persons preferred to address race with students in a more roundabout way. Through reflection exercises, they helped students think about their backgrounds and previous experiences and how those impacted their current understandings of and comfort with racial issues.

> I would not start off talking about race. I'd start talking about difference. I stay away from buzzwords, like "diversity." I ask seemingly innocuous or innocent questions. I might ask, "How is it that this class is all-White? Give me some reasons why you think that might be the case." I may have them do a chart. "Where'd you get your belief system from? What church did you go to? Describe your bank. Describe your school. Describe your home life. Describe your social life. Describe your whole life sketch." Then, we'd put them up, and I'd look for some similarities.

By asking what she called "seemingly innocuous" questions, this participant believed that she prompted students think about racial issues. She invited them to consider the racial composition of the course and what that signified about race relations in the larger university context. Moreover, learners reflected on their backgrounds and previous experiences with differences as a means to begin exploring racial realties. Malcolm utilized a "corners" exercise to help students contemplate racial issues.

> I will ask a question like, "We ought to have an amnesty program in immigration, or racial profiling is a very common experience." People will go to the corner of the room, which represents their view. I might say, "For next week, I want you to keep a diary of all the instances where you see Whiteness being expressed on campus." I might say, "Go to the [student] union and take a look at all the pictures of people, or all the presidents over the last 150 years, and tell me what that tells you." We will talk about what different people saw,

> what it means to them, how they felt when they were seeing that, and what that tells them about institutional racism in the university.

Because Malcolm recognized that most students visited the campus student union on a regular basis, the reflective questions he posed were anchored in learners' actual experiences. Rather than having them consider some arbitrary example of institutionalized racism, he invited them to imagine what student union symbols conveyed about particular students' experiences at the university, and whose voices were marginalized in that process. Therefore, he witnessed that learners began to see racism as relevant in today's society rather than as a belief system and practices of the past. Malcolm not only provided students with reflective exercises during class to consider, but he introduced students' out-of-class encounters in-class to help them make sense of racial realities with their peers. Active reflection was essential to facilitate the discussion of racial realties.

Multimedia. Written materials were sometimes insufficient to enable students to understand the multifaceted arenas in which racial issues were present. Inviting learners to reflect on their personal experiences, asking them questions to contemplate, and assigning readings had to be supplemented with various multimedia resources—speakers, videos, and music. By using multimedia, faculty tailored their methods to the diverse learning styles in the classroom, and learners were able to identify and make meaning of the influences of race and racism in varied ways. Faculty found that some students participated in exchanges about racial issues when they read material that related to their lives. However, other learners needed to hear a speaker share her or his story with race to be willing to engage in dialogues with others. Still, it was not until some students watched a film that contained racialized content that they wanted to speak with their peers about these issues. Consequently, participants integrated an assortment of multimedia resources to situate learning in students' varied experiences.

Given the predominantly White institutions at which most of these professors taught, students usually discussed racial realities with others who had similar racial/ethnic backgrounds and

experiences. Bringing in diverse speakers, educators saw, not only enabled White students to hear the voices of people often not considered, but it also enabled racial/ethnic minority students to listen to others who shared similar experiences as them and learn innovative ways to succeed within their institutions in spite of the racism with which they contended. As one of few African American men with a position in studio arts, Kaden shared his reasons for including speakers in his courses.

> It's a fair thing to bring in speakers, artists, to talk about it [racial realities]. If you're coming from a White perspective, then you might come with misconceived perceptions. [It is important] to have visible people, instead of dragging out the same books. I remember in school dragging out the same Black history book. There are contemporary people out there right now that are living it, driving it, or educating. Students need to see that.

When students observed successful members in the careers to which they aspired, it provided tangible examples that they, too, could achieve in these fields, despite the underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minority persons. Moreover, as Kaden noted, speakers shared stories of how they thrived in a racist society and strategies students could emulate to do the same. These examples provided material for learners to discuss with each other during class and enabled them to develop potential solutions for improving the racial climates in their own institutions. Lois coordinated a panel of racially/ethnically diverse students in her courses.

> I have a panel of students, and each one tells their story. One week, they'll be all-Black or African American. The next week, they're Hispanic, Latino, or Chicano. The next week, they're Asian. The next week, they may be multicultural/bi-cultural. I never did have the European group, but after doing it three or four times and getting students' feedback, I now have a White European American group. They see each other, and they are riveted. They cry, and they talk about racism or oppression they've experienced. Students in the lecture hall often say that was their favorite part. They just are hungry to listen to each other.

Participants often found that when student panels talked about their experiences, White students were less likely to dismiss them and see racism as not relevant in contemporary society. Therefore, the introduction of speakers enabled learners to historicize and personalize racism. Because the speakers were also students, participants perceived that learners could relate better to them and their experiences. They enjoyed the opportunity to listen to how students of different racial/ethnic

groups experienced the campus environment, and how those experiences were similar to or different from their own. In addition, professors reported that speakers provided students with additional voices in the room—voices for which students hungered given that their other courses did not provide these speakers.

Other media, such as videos and music, provided supplementary ways to make sense of racial realities. For instance, a few participants used *Crash* (Haggis, 2004), a movie depicting how various characters are connected through different racial incidents.

> I show them *Do the Right Thing* [Lee, 1989], *American History X* [Morrissey, Kaye, & McKenna, 1998], and *Higher Learning* [Singleton, 1995]. I give them the assignment on the first day of class and say, "This is [sic] the questions that you need to answer while you are watching these videos. Then, you have to write a paper about it." I don't give a damn about the paper. I want them to sit through a movie like *Crash* or *Do the Right Thing* and think about it critically. I am looking to change their behaviors, so that when they see another film, they will think about it critically. The grade is really superfluous. Learning takes place when they write the paper because they have to organize that information and reflect upon it.

Videos provided students with another opportunity to develop critical thinking skills and critique the racial realities in the films. As seen in the above quotation, the inclusion of the video in conjunction with reflective exercises was intended to help students make sense of the key issues outlined in the movies. Not motivated by student grades, this participant was instead concerned about how learners made sense of racialized issues together with their peers. He carefully selected videos with racial themes and introduced them in such a way where students critically reflected upon the issues in an effort to personalize them and discuss them with each other. In another educator's courses, videos offered learners different experiences to consider.

> In the "Role of Conflict in Social Change" [course], documentary footage is incredibly powerful—*Eyes on the Prize* [Hampton, 1987] or any of the others. The text materials, the documentaries, and then the discussions that come out of that are so challenging. They are so immediate and deep. A lot of times they are filled with screaming and crying because White students are sometimes very defensive. "This stuff is history." They can say that until a student of color in the room says, "That's my experience."

As noted above, the combination of media resources made it more difficult for White students to reject the truthfulness of the experiences of racial/ethnic minority students. As students saw, heard, and discussed multiple examples of racism in the past and in contemporary society, they began to appreciate that others had different experiences from their own, and that those experiences provided opportunities for learning. Faculty stated that when their racial/ethnic minority peers addressed how the issues in the documentaries dovetailed with experiences in their own lives, White students lessened their defense mechanisms and started to appreciate the applicability of the videos to their circumstances as well.

Samuel's teaching philosophy was rooted in the work of Gardner (1993), as he believed in the importance of tailoring his pedagogy to the multiple intelligences of students. Therefore, to make students more willing to engage in racial dialogues, he used multiple methods that addressed the different needs of students.

> I believe in multiple intelligences, so trying to do things that address more reflective learners and more visual learners. I use songs, whether it's Bruce Hornsby or Johnny Clay. I have students bring in more recent stuff, since I don't keep up on some of the more modern music that talk about [racial] issues, as well as have them read the theoretical pieces in terms of identity development. Recently, I've started using Def Poetry Jam. There are some really good poems and presenters who raise these issues from a different medium.

Realizing that learners needed different aids to help them concretize racial realities, Samuel assigned songs that addressed the circumstances of different people in society. Equally important, he invited students to integrate the music that they listened to—a recognition that he was not the sole holder of knowledge. He even incorporated Def Poetry Jam, featuring performances by different poets, in this case, poetry related to the exploration of racial realties. All of these methods demonstrated that Samuel was attuned to the needs of learners and sought creative ways to help them make sense of racism. Espousing a similar philosophy, another participant used music to teach about race.

> "Sweet Honey in the Rock" is an a cappella African American women singing group. Ysaye Barnwell is now the head of it, and she wrote a song called "Ain't No Mirrors in My Nana's House." What it [the song] goes on to say is that "because there weren't any mirrors in my

Nana's house, I didn't know my face was too Black. I didn't know my nose was too flat; all I saw was the love in my Nana's eyes. And she was beautiful in her eyes." I play the CD and sing with it; I just love things like that.

As this professor talked about and made meaning of the significance of "Sweet Honey in the Rock," she indicated the power of the song not only to the African American students in her courses, but other racial/ethnic minority students and White students. Learners listened to the identity formation among members of the a cappella group and considered how they constructed their own identities. Media enabled students to make sense of the abstract theories and concepts they read, reflected on, and discussed.

What impressed me about these participants was their willingness to use any methods necessary to facilitate constructive racial exchanges. They relied on improving their knowledge of various pedagogical approaches and multimedia resources. Dialogues included an awareness of learners' needs and previous experiences and the kinds of resources that would facilitate their understanding of racial realities. Lectures, readings, videos, speakers, and music helped students read about, see, hear, and reflect on examples of stories similar to and unalike their own. However, as discussed in the next section, educators also needed to provide students with opportunities to apply racial concepts and theories in order to maximize learning.

Application of Racial Concepts and Theories

When instructors asked learners to relate course readings and discussions to their personal narratives, they knew that absent of broader application, students would not move beyond a localized understanding of racial issues. They needed to request that students step outside their own circumstances to examine racial realities in other contexts and communities of which they were not as familiar. This meant finding ways for students to apply what they read, watched, listened to, reflected on, and discussed. Participants incorporated service-learning, role plays, case studies,

interviews, and other experiential activities to help students relate racial theories to events on campus and in the larger society.

Corrine required that students visit a local public school in the area to see firsthand racial and educational disparities.

> [Middle-school] students come to my class, and they narrate a slide show about the history of kids in the Civil Rights Movement. My students, their faces are priceless. It's like, "How do you guys know this? How do you remember it all?" The college students are humbled. They think that they are going to know way more than the kids. The kids have questions for them. "What's college like, and can we see your dorm room?" It's a wonderful collaboration. Then, we go to their school. My students have assumed because the kids know so much, that they're the cream of the crop, that they are the smartest kids. Actually, they are kids who have not been successful in traditional public school classrooms. Some might have a family member who is incarcerated. They might have parents who haven't lived together. There was a kid whose mom was dying of HIV. There were a couple of kids who had been homeless who explained to college students what it means to move from shelter to shelter. They have this incredible range of experience. The college students end up feeling so incredibly naïve and humbled.

Although this application exercise made students feel naïve, the point was not for them to feel stupid, but to enable them to realize and be humbled by experiences that were different from their own. As the college students interacted with students in middle school and visited their educational environment, they witnessed the effects of race and racism on people's lives, and in the process, rethought their previous assumptions. Corrine saw that visiting this school and talking with the students enabled them to further concretize the exchanges in which they engaged during class. Corrine was cognizant of the knowledge students lacked and sought specific ways to enable them to learn more about racial realities.

Not only did educators identify shortcomings in learners, but they also noted their own limitations. Recognizing her limitations as a White woman and the mostly White students in her courses, Sabrina supplemented course readings and dialogues with the expectation that learners become involved with a group of people who had experiences outside of their own.

> In the "Feminist Organizing" [course,] I take them to New York and D.C. and put them in situations where they get to experience people who are different and live in different life

settings. I use literature as a way to bring voices in. The bulk of them tend to be novels by women of color. I'm always clear that I can't represent the voices of the women of color. I talk about, "It is problematic that you've got a White woman up here that is trying to help you interpret the writings of a Black woman. Let's just get that on the table." It's better to do it than not to do it. I encourage them to study abroad, to participate in other cultures, to get involved in social justice movements. We have these amazing cultural centers on campus. All of them sponsor educational events and social events. I encourage them to participate.

Both Sabrina and Corrine insisted on learners visiting schools, cities, cultural centers, and other places where they would be directly exposed to racial situations dissimilar to their own. They were cognizant of the knowledge, life experiences, and expertise they lacked and trusted that other people in different settings could provide students with concrete racialized experiences. For the educators in this study, facilitating the discussion of racial realities involved more than just talking about the issues. They found that students needed to tie course readings and exchanges with application exercises. Participants concluded that as students read, participated in intentional dialogues, and applied content, they learned more about racialized situations.

Service-learning, another application approach cited by instructors, entailed students actively taking part in projects throughout the communities that surrounded the campus environment. By definition, service-learning combined essential components of intentional reflection with action. Although he ultimately saw the benefits of service-learning, Dalton pointed out its difficulties.

> [Service-learning] could challenge students' perspectives [and enable] them to see that race does make a difference in their lives. I want them to see that students of color face certain barriers that they, as White students, didn't face growing up. Even though I try to talk about this in the classroom and give them some reflection assignments, I still worry that the White students go into a community of color and see themselves as helping these poor kids of color. I don't want them to have that helping attitude. I worry about service-learning just reproducing certain stereotypes, so I haven't found a way to do it really well yet.

Dalton's careful assessment of service-learning illustrated the potential benefits and harms of service-learning. Even though he realized that service-learning could improve students' understanding of racism as a structural system and not just as individual attitudes and beliefs, when educators did not employ service-learning with caution, it could reinforce stereotypes and a "helping

attitude" about racial/ethnic minority persons by White students. Service-learning had the potential

to enable White learners to become educated about racial realties in different communities, while

simultaneously contributing to them reinforcing their privileges by believing that they had all the

answers for resolving racialized problems within communities that were different from their own.

An example from Dolores further addressed the efficacies and complexities of service-learning.

> We do activities, and they are more service kind of activities. I do one where I have them actually immerse themselves in an urban community, where they have to ride the bus, and they have to go to different spots. A lot of these kids have never come from a bigger city. I just think immersion and experiencing working with people [makes] the difference—not in a helping manner, just in a conversation.

Again, the notion of helping was reinforced in the sentiment from Dolores. She noted that when

students became immersed in a culture different from their own, they experienced life from another

person's vantage point. Stressing that the point of service-learning was not for students to help

others, but to have a conversation with them, she believed these discussions facilitated an

understanding of diversity and made a difference in learners' lives. Educators could use service-

learning as a tool to facilitate interactions about racial differences, as opposed to a charitable

situation where students felt the need to help those less capable than themselves.

Service-learning was but one experiential activity utilized to help students apply racial

concepts and theories. In addition, participants employed case studies, role plays, and interviews. I

include one example of each below.

> I use case studies in the Conflict Studies and the Women's Studies courses. I write versions of things that happen either on campus or in the community or that are in the newspaper and ask the students to apply the theories that they have learned to these case studies.

> I do simulations and role plays. I do switching of roles, which is not always easy because they can't always play the other role. "Let's imagine you were born in a different [racial] category than what you are now. How would life be different?" They have to come up with how that might be.

> I had them go out and interview people. Some of them interviewed their parents. They asked dad, who was a police officer, "When were you aware that you were White? How do you experience Whiteness?" His father looked at him like he had two heads, like he didn't know

what he was talking about. Students had an experience of feeling like, "I know something that mom and dad don't know. That's really kind of cool. I could teach them."

These three stories provided examples of how practical activities could aid in students' efforts to make sense of abstract theories and concepts. Discussing with their peers systemic racism, the different experiences of racial/ethnic minority people compared to White persons, racism within campus, and Whiteness could be difficult for learners due to their previous lack of exposure to racial realities. Knowing this, the faculty persons interviewed wrote case studies that helped students discuss and propose potential solutions to racial incidents that were grounded in theories; developed role play exercises in which students imagined life from the vantage point of someone different than them; and designed interview assignments that enabled students to reflect on their upbringing and how that influenced their current conceptualizations of racial realties. These application assignments proved fruitful, as learners became more comfortable making sense of the theories read and engaging in dialogues with each other about them and their relevance to their lives on campus. Participants reported that having numerous, sustained opportunities to apply racial theories and concepts to society at-large and their localized campus communities in particular provided students with a sense of understanding racial realities through the lenses of others. These application exercises pushed students beyond their own reflections and enabled them to examine racial disparities in the communities that surrounded them.

Debriefing

Throughout each class period, learners and professors discussed many critical issues: racial identity development, racial disparities in housing, the intersections between race, class, sexual orientation, and gender, racism in their campus environments, and Whiteness and White privilege, among others. These topics often incited overwhelming feelings of anger, pain, embarrassment, guilt, and cynicism. Therefore, students often left class with a sense of disillusionment, a lack of hope that society could be repaired, or lingering questions about the issues that surfaced during

class. In order to address adequately these emotions and concerns, participants provided space for

class members to debrief at the conclusion of each session.

Sabrina incorporated many of the facilitation activities described in this chapter. Specifically,

she asked students to participate in group work where they responded to questions about the

readings and articulated related information based on their own experiences. She described the

purpose of debriefing as such:

> Whenever we do the activities, we also have debriefing time. We go around, and we talk
> about what happened here, and what did you observe, what did you learn, how does this
> connect to the readings, how does it connect to our theories, what difference does it make in
> the real world, and that sort of stuff.

The debriefing in which Sabrina engaged was multifaceted. She not only asked students to comment

on what they observed in the readings, but she also wanted to know what they learned, and how the

issues outlined in the readings applied to events occurring in the world. She used debriefing as an

opportunity to help students organize and synthesize the issues discussed during class. Similar to

Sabrina, Mae checked on unresolved issues and told learners of topics to expect in forthcoming class

sessions.

> By the end of the class, we'd all be back in our circle in some way and probably in different
> seats, and I'd make some concluding or closing remarks about the day. We'd do a round and
> ask people a question that they need to reflect on like, "What happened today? What's left
> unsaid? What do they need to move forward, or what was particularly good for them or hard
> for them? We'd do that round, and then I'd do some, "Okay, what's coming up next week"
> kind of pieces.

The use of carefully constructed questions helped provide some closure to the class session and a

summary of the issues explored. Although Mae knew that racial realities could not be solved in one

class period, and that there was really no closure to race and racism, so to speak, these concluding

questions enabled students to process what else they needed in order to gain clarity on racial issues.

In addition, faculty observed that debriefing allowed learners the chance to consider their personal

struggles, as well as areas where they had confidence, as they developed competencies in dealing

with race and racism. Debriefing offered learners (and educators) guidance on the relationship between what they discussed during the particular class and the topics they would explore in subsequent sessions. The purpose of debriefing was to determine students' levels of comfort, knowledge, and confusion and prepare them to engage in racial interactions in the future.

The most common activity employed by participants to gauge students' knowledge and emotions near the end of each class was "one-minute memos" or "quick writes."

> At the end of class, I do a one-minute memo where I say, "Which of these [ground] rules are working to support your learning? Which of these rules is not effective and give us some examples?" Then, I feed that back to the class at the beginning of the next session. I eventually want everybody to share responsibility for maintaining the climate.

> If I feel it is emotional in class, I say, "Let's stop; I am feeling some energy in the room; let's do a quick write." They can write whatever they are feeling, and we can talk about it.

One-minute memos and quick writes were relatively brief but meaningful ways for faculty persons to understand areas of confusion for students and their reactions to the racial exchanges. They used debriefing exercises to return to the ground rules they and learners generated on the first day of class. Doing so reminded students that professors took the group agreements seriously and valued their input and efforts in not only espousing, but enacting them. Participants helped learners manage their emotions through intentional mechanisms for students to process their feelings about racial content. Despite differing terminologies for debriefing, faculty shared a mutual goal of not just ending class and leaving lingering questions unacknowledged. Though they appreciated the complicated nature of interacting about racial realities, they equally saw the importance of trying to help students make sense of these issues and organize some level of coherence between issues. Debriefing provided a structured and purposeful way to reflect further on one's feelings and unresolved issues and synthesize racial concepts and theories explored in multiple class sessions.

Facilitating interactions about racial realities was a knotty undertaking that involved multiple components when carried out meaningfully. Participants interwove the processes of framing the

dialogue (devoting attention to how to set up the discussion best for learners) and facilitating the dialogue—the tangible methods they used to maximize student participation and learning. Eschewing their former socialization experiences, educators did not simply prepare course syllabi, assign readings, and lecture about racial theories and concepts. While these practices were indeed part of their pedagogies, more importantly, they sought ways to structure a meaningful learning experience for students through the use of ground rules, mutual partnerships, positioning themselves as teacher-learners, formulating racially/ethnically diverse groups when possible, utilizing group work, reflective exercises, and multimedia resources, and planning time for students to debrief at the conclusion of each class period. Some of these approaches differed from traditional pedagogies that focused on the primary authority and power of the professor and imparting knowledge onto students in a one-way direction. Facilitating racial exchanges necessitated comfort with undesirable emotions, acknowledgement of and patience with fears and frustrations, and a willingness to share one's self and limitations—both among learners and educators.

Challenges and Barriers

Thus far, the picture that I have presented through my interpretation of the data appears to be deceptively simple, utopian, and fairly straightforward. Readers have seen mostly the advantages of encouraging classroom discussions about racial realities. The portrait would remain myopic without a presentation of the challenges and barriers that educators faced in facilitating these dialogues. Several factors precluded them and learners from participating in these exchanges, including resistance, under-preparation, fears, and lack of institutional receptiveness to these discussions. I divide these difficulties and impediments into three broader categories—institutional, educator, and student—to reveal the different levels that influenced the abilities of participants to address racial matters with learners. Throughout this theme, when necessary, I illustrate the ways in which instructors responded to these barriers and the outcomes of their approaches.

Institutional Challenges and Barriers

Factors within the campus environment of the institutions at which participants worked

often prevented them from facilitating constructive interactions about racial realities. Foremost,

educators talked about the predominantly White context in which they taught and how this did not

afford students sufficient exposure to people who were racially/ethnically different. Students needed

this diversity to help them personalize the dialogues. Sabrina's experience reflected this point.

> Students come from backgrounds where they have been taught that racism is wrong as an
> attitude. Because they never interacted with people of color, they came to campus, and
> they're not racist because they don't think they have these bad feelings. It's really hard to get
> them to recognize this system of racism and the ways they have privilege in it. I have them
> read Peggy McIntosh, and that's always eye opening for them. Something clicks, and they
> say, "Oh, I do walk through the world differently, and I do have a different experience."

Since the students in Sabrina's courses were from mostly White areas, talking about racial issues was

particularly difficult. She reported that students tended to believe that racism no longer existed, and

that if they did not display racist attitudes, they were not racist. While learners knew that they should

not practice racism, their lack of experience interacting with racial/ethnic minority people did not

enable them to personalize issues of race and racism, until they read about and understood the

notion of White privilege. Dolores also acknowledged how her predominantly White classroom

served as a limitation:

> You have a White professor talking to predominantly a White group of students. We have
> some people of color, but not many. The breadth of experience isn't there. If I had more
> diversity, the experience would be so much better in the classroom. The lack of diversity
> becomes a real barrier to talking about racial differences. When you have a comment that
> can be derogatory or discriminatory, you have students who won't speak up because they
> don't have experiences. Even though they disagree with it, they don't speak up because they
> don't have enough of their own tools to talk against it. Then, it is myself defending.

The underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minority learners did not provide White students with

tangible opportunities to grapple with racial realties through discussions with their racial/ethnic

minority peers. As Dolores noted, this was problematic because students were unable to understand

racism from the lives of people who actually experienced it. Not only did a predominantly White

environment disadvantage White students, but faculty indicated that racial/ethnic minority students also tended to feel unsafe and unwilling to speak in courses the study participants facilitated. Students also struggled to counter racist remarks due to lack of meaningful chances to respond to racism in their previous experiences. Consequently, facilitating racial dialogues was a challenge when the racial/ethnic diversity in the room was insufficient for learners to interact with those who were different from them.

Another challenge within the institution was the lack of numerous, sustained spaces for racial exchanges to occur within the classroom. Faculty persons noticed that they were one of few who valued racial dialogues and intentionally incorporated them into their courses. As a result, students did not have sufficient opportunities to engage in these exchanges elsewhere and viewed racial issues as unimportant and isolated concerns. As a participant noted: "By and large, teaching to race and discussing racism don't happen as formally inside [the classroom]. They are set for co-curricular experiences, and they are volunteer. It's very sad." When racial interactions occurred mostly in co-curricular settings on a volunteer basis, learners who self-selected to participate in them were likely different from those who did not; only the interested and willing students would conceivably participate in the discussions. It was important for these discussions to take place within classrooms where multiple students could benefit from them. Dalton reflected on the importance of engaging these issues over time.

> It's very important that these issues not be dealt with too briefly, although, certainly in some of my classes, they are just a small unit in the class. That's why I'm skeptical about faculty development efforts, for example, that are just one-shot workshops, more of a phantom of longer-term engagement with the issue.

Even though he admitted that he too sometimes treated issues of race "too briefly," Dalton recognized the significance of sustained interactions. According to all participants, the problem, however, was that other professors and students dealt with racial realities far too infrequently across the campuses of participants. "One-time forums about race, ethnicity, and discrimination," as Calista

described them, were trivial and did not help students develop skills and comfort with engaging in dialogues.

Laurel talked further about the marginalization and ghettoization of courses in which racial realties were addressed.

> There may be many students in individual departments saying, "Why even bother?" Junior faculty, especially, say, "We want tenure; what are the rewards for it [facilitating racial dialogues]? Is this going to ghettoize me?" The ghettoization of teaching social justice is a challenge to junior faculty in particular. At predominantly White universities, those courses tend to be centrist. They don't sit in the hard sciences. You don't see them institutionalized. Only a handful of faculty teach those courses. When those faculty leave, those courses are no longer taught until they go hire somebody else to teach those courses. Those courses are still on the margins in many ways. Those faculty who teach those courses can, thereby, be marginalized. It's like the gym teacher in high school.

Several barriers are seen in the above account. First, the dearth of opportunities for learners to address racial issues with their peers could lead many students to develop an uncaring attitude and a lack of understanding about the importance of racial dialogues. Faculty in the study reported that when learners witnessed race treated in marginalized ways by institutional constituents, they displayed hostility toward educators who asked them to participate in racial discussions. Furthermore, institutional reward structures, such as promotion and tenure, trivialized those who facilitated these dialogues by expecting only a small number of racial/ethnic minority people to teach these courses, and then, not rewarding them in similar ways as their colleagues who taught dominant courses. Finally, the relegation of racial issues as supplementary courses compared to those that were institutionalized, such as courses in the natural and physical sciences, further demonstrated to students the limited value in responding to racial realities. Therefore, espoused institutional values—this university seeks to foster an appreciation of differences in students and values the contributions of various racial/ethnic groups—in actuality were not enacted. Faculty who endeavored to facilitate racial exchanges, therefore, tended to be marginalized and unsupported by their institutions and individual departments.

Finally, participants alluded to difficulties within the campus climate of their institutions that prevented a constructive treatment of racial realities. Intolerance targeted at racial/ethnic minority students by their White peers created a campus climate that was antagonistic and unwelcoming. Institutional members were hesitant to discuss racial issues given the racial/ethnic divisions among students. According to a White male educator:

> Many [racial/ethnic minority] students are unhappy with the campus climate, but others are less concerned about it. The White students, as would be expected, don't pay a lot of attention to it. It's clear that students and faculty of color are not very happy and do not feel very welcome, included, and so on. The White faculty and White students are oblivious to that fact. It's very divided. Once every year or two, there is some incident on campus that starts a big debate around race. There is a lot of attention during those periods. In between, there is still a lot of racial division, but it's not addressed seriously. We drape paper over it and pretend everybody is getting along. That's deeply unfortunate.

Similar to the other narratives above, few people were concerned about and responded to racial realities within the institution. Akin to most campuses, when a racial incident occurred, people tended to take action and engage in a campus-wide discussion of the confrontation. However, shortly thereafter, business-as-usual approaches returned, and race remained largely unaddressed within the institution at-large and specific courses in particular. In addition, the racial/ethnic divisions and racism within the campus environment created a level of fear around issues of race and a lack of attention by White students and professors. Even though the educators interviewed strived to facilitate exchanges about racial realities, they found doing so difficult given the aforementioned institutional impediments. They often had to find creative ways to circumvent these obstacles and persist despite the lack of institutional attentiveness to these issues.

Educator Challenges and Barriers

The norms and values that were central to the educator cultures on campus led to certain expectations about race and racism. The most common belief was that instructors should not focus on racial realities in their courses. By addressing race meaningfully within the classroom, participants blatantly chose not to reinforce these hegemonic standards, and instead, carried out alternative

practices. Despite their willingness to serve as role models for others who wished to incorporate

racial realties in their courses, it was clear from interviews with participants that most of them were

not trained purposefully at any point during their graduate school tenures and faculty careers to

facilitate racial dialogues. As a result, they worried about the preparedness of their colleagues to

contend with racial realties.

> I know colleagues who teach courses on race and racism, and I'm skeptical about how
> effective they are at really getting the students to be critically reflective about race, rather
> than just reinforcing certain beliefs the students had. How often it's [racial issues] seriously
> incorporated in the classes, it's difficult to say. Many of my colleagues talk about diversity or
> different cultural viewpoints, which is not a bad thing in itself, but doesn't really get us to the
> real issues. I worry about that and have worked to develop some faculty development
> programs to move people beyond that and into a more serious consideration of racial
> oppression and not just diversity.

> Faculty, particularly at predominantly White universities, are completely ill-equipped to talk
> about race. It boggles the mind that you could go through so much school and never have a
> discussion about race and social justice, which speaks volumes to the [graduate school]
> programs that we have.

As these participants asserted, because faculty in most graduate programs did not prepare future

educators to be responsive to racial realities, it came as no surprise that their colleagues had largely

ignored issues of race and racism, leading to a lack of attention to these issues in their courses. One

main goal of participants was to help students shift from seeing racism as random acts by ignorant

White people to identifying racist beliefs and norms embedded in institutions. However, because

many of their colleagues also did not understand the systematic influences of racist ideologies, they

struggled to help students develop their abilities to reflect critically on racial issues. Other

participants agreed and were dismayed that they had received post-baccalaureate training for several

years and had failed to interact about racial realties with their peers at any point during their graduate

educations. Consequently, most of their colleagues avoided issues of race and racism in classroom

contexts.

When instructors were not prepared adequately to facilitate exchanges about race and racism, more harm than good resulted from these dialogues. Educators in the present study observed that for students who had never participated in racial dialogues, fear was a common emotion. When this apprehension was exacerbated by poor pedagogical approaches, silence on racial matters was reinforced. During her interview, Corrine reported on the courage and honesty of a student who told a group of faculty members the potential damage they caused when they did not take racial issues seriously.

> Injury happens when people don't teach in ways that give students a chance to do this work. A graduating senior said, "The worst thing is when a faculty member opens that can of worms, meaning the discussion of race, and then mucks it up, doesn't have information, has misinformation, and can't manage the conversation. It would be so much better not to open the can." Who polices the faculty? It's not going to be the students. That's too risky. Students do actually make more change than the faculty do. Students say, "I just can't believe this. We're told you're [students] here to learn and put these things [racial issues] together, and you can ask us [professors] anything you want." I always say to them, "Higher education is a very conservative place. Higher education is here to keep certain knowledge important and to punish people who challenge [privileged knowledge]."

It was quite problematic and discouraging when learners believed their professors disregarded racial issues and had to share this with them, particularly given the existence of power imbalances between students and faculty. In courses the participants taught, it was conceivable that students would have less trouble articulating their honest perspectives when they felt hurt as a result of a dialogue given the attention to partnerships and mutuality that participants worked to enact. However, in courses where racial issues were not addressed and traditional conceptions of instructor and student roles were reinforced, students might not be as inclined to be honest with educators, as the fourth-year student was in the above narrative. Corrine's experience illustrated the problematic outcomes of under-preparation and lack of attention to racial issues. The aforementioned quotation leads me to ask a particularly vexing question—should educators who were not trained to facilitate racial discussions, but wished to do so, refrain from engaging this process due to the harm they could cause? Clues from the above story might indicate an affirmative response to that question; however,

a closer read would reveal otherwise. Students could tell when professors were not committed to exploring race or did so out of a requirement and not an inner passion. Corrine's experience did not absolve educators from facilitating these dialogues; rather, it provided a caution for the seriousness with which these issues should be accorded.

In addition, Samuel underscored the importance of educators devoting a sincere commitment to understanding racial realties by improving their knowledge of these issues.

> Students become resistant and feel like they're being preached to when the level of complexity of the instructor is limited. When they've had Peggy McIntosh four times in the four diversity classes, they have a reason to say that it's not substantive, it's not serious, and that they just feel like they're being indoctrinated. You can't keep having the same diversity module repeated over and over again throughout the curriculum, or students (A) aren't learning what they need to, and (B) you're reaffirming for them that there is not a rich, depth, broad body of work to understand. People doing it poorly has been one of the challenges at a predominantly White institution. White faculty mean well, but they have a limited scope of background that unless they're willing to get out and do the work, they tend to all be reading from the same JSTOR [The Scholarly Journal Archive] articles.

Just as learners saw that their other courses had an extensive knowledge base important for them to learn, Samuel explained that educators needed to treat racial realities in the same way. Otherwise, students were likely to believe that racial issues were superfluous to the hegemonic curriculum. This educator challenge was seen among Samuel's White colleagues who read the same articles about race and did not devote time to exploring the wealth of literature that existed about racial realties. It should come as no surprise that students questioned the need for discussing race and racism. According to Samuel, students asked, "If my professors were not serious about the influences of race and racism on our lives, then why should we be?"

Another issue that threatened the meaningful discussion of racial matters was when only the few racial/ethnic minority educators on campus addressed these issues. As seen in the data represented throughout this chapter, several White educators facilitated these dialogues. However, this was not common, as described by Cynthia: "The people that [sic] are most committed to conversations on diversity are themselves members of some minority group. I have not had support

from my White colleagues, who say they are sensitive, but the actions don't necessarily match."

Cynthia cited an experience shared by other members in this study—their White colleagues

indicating that they cared about racial issues, but failing to show support in their actions. Therefore,

racial/ethnic minority participants believed that if it were not for them, racial realities would remain

largely unaddressed. Kaden offered this example:

> Being in the department, especially when we're breaking down into committees, automatically you are the "go-to person" for the minority recruiting. I always pose that question back to the faculty. "Why isn't that important to you? Why is it just an issue for me?" If something goes wrong, then I am the person to blame. That's something that's been ongoing within my department.

When providing ample spaces for racially-based exchanges to occur in the classroom was mainly the

responsibility of racial/ethnic minority instructors, the underlying message was that these issues

were not central to the educational philosophies of their colleagues. Furthermore, all participants

explained that it led learners to believe mistakenly that racial realities only belonged in those courses

that were placed on the margins. When racial/ethnic minority educators could not rely on their

White colleagues to facilitate these dialogues, it placed an unfair burden onto those professors to be

solely responsible for educating students about racial issues.

<div align="center">Student Challenges and Barriers</div>

The last category in which I present data to support challenges and barriers concerned

students. Facilitating classroom-based interactions on race and racism was trying due to learners

having few occasions to talk with their peers about these issues prior to their enrollment in

participants' courses, students' previous socialization experiences, which prevented them from

admitting their vulnerabilities and mistakes, and resistance to engaging racial realities.

Lack of Previous Experiences Engaging Race

Most of the White learners with whom participants came into contact in their courses

seldom interacted with racial/ethnic minority people given the mostly White environments in which

they inhabited. In addition, the underrepresentation of racial/ethnic minority students at these

institutions meant that students of color had few chances to engage with each other about race in

the classroom. Both of these factors, most of those interviewed reported, resulted in hesitancies

among learners to participate in discussing racial realities. Keely verbalized this challenge.

> Where I teach, it's a predominantly White school, so one of the biggest challenges is their [students'] lack of exposure to difference. It's easy for them to deny [racism] due to lack of experience and naiveté. Because they're younger, traditional, college-aged students, typically [they] haven't had a lot of experience. When you grow up in a privileged environment, it's [level of experience with race] even less. That's the biggest challenge.

As students grew up in mostly White environments and then attended institutions that were also

predominantly White, the cycle of not considering racial issues continued. Faculty persons suspected

that learners struggled to talk with their peers about racial realties mainly because they had not done

so previously. When students did participate in dialogues, they only engaged race superficially, as

Dalton claimed:

> In our culture, we don't really engage in serious discussions about very many things, let alone race. There is this widespread perception that we're always talking about race, but really, we're not. We're not talking about it in a serious way, at least in the public sphere. All of that seeps into the classroom, so students think they know something about race and racism, but it's very superficial knowledge. They're just repeating certain tropes they've heard in the media, and they don't really understand when pressed what the issues are about.

Dalton blamed the larger culture in which learners were situated for the lack of honest and sincere

exchanges. Receiving messages from the media, students learned the acceptable terms and ways to

talk about race, that is, what some would describe as politically correct measures. Due to the media

sensationalizing certain racial incidents, such as the Don Imus case presented in Chapter 1, it would

appear that people in society constantly discussed race; however, as Dalton observed, students in his

courses did not address these issues deeply enough.

Prior Socialization Experiences

Those interviewed believed that fears of being labeled a "racist" or saying the "wrong thing"

also prevented learners from engaging in racially-based interactions. Given students' previous

schooling experiences, professors had taught them to strive for perfection, to avoid making

mistakes, and to use reason and rationality in constructing and defending their arguments. However,

the process of engaging racial issues often meant that learners would have to become comfortable

with not knowing everything and disclosing their lack of knowledge, vulnerabilities, and struggles in

this process. Sabrina expressed the following during her interview:

> The hardest thing about having conversations about race is they [learners] are terrified of saying something wrong and be[ing] perceived as racist. I start off the class, and I say, " I'm a racist. I grew up in this. I've learned this stuff, and I have to struggle with it. My choice is now that I have become an anti-racist, but that doesn't mean I don't participate in the system of racism." I hope that creates a space where they can make a mistake or say the wrong thing or ask the wrong question out of the best motives, and to have a place where we're not going to go, "Oh my God, you racist! How could you say that?" Instead, you can say, "You just got a little bit of misinformation there. Let's talk about why that's a problem."

Sabrina operated from a philosophy of communicating to learners that part of the process of racial

discussions was making mistakes and learning from them. She noticed that students had to trust they

could stumble at times during dialogues and not be shunned for their lack of understanding.

Acknowledging missteps did not mean one was free from being accountable for her or his opinions;

rather as Sabrina noted, it meant responding to problematic comments in ways that lessened fears

and encouraged students to continue formulating their perspectives.

Malcolm further supported the difficulties of helping students move beyond their previous

socialization experiences to engage race in the classroom.

> Students are worried about being vulnerable and making mistakes. If one can create an environment, which is relatively safe and where the phenomena we are talking about can be looked at, resistance can be overcome. None of us wants to be embarrassed or make mistakes in public. We all worry about getting trashed for our mistakes, so somehow reducing the level of trashing, accepting the level of ignorance, and inviting people to inquire into phenomena that they have experienced, those seem to be the keys to having those conversations.

Fear was a natural emotion that surfaced during racial interactions. When it was present, the

customary response was to avoid the situation that made one afraid. The participants in this study

worked directly with student fears, as this was a barrier that impacted their facilitation efforts. As

Sabrina and Malcolm communicated, they had to demonstrate to learners that they could share their honest viewpoints and not be silenced in the process for doing so. Students also had to learn to take responsibility for their remarks and strive to develop their knowledge of racial realities. It was important for participants to create an environment where continual learning was acknowledged, what one did not know was admitted, and educators and learners were comfortable revealing parts of their lives, struggles, and experiences with racial realities. Since educators expected students to participate in these dialogues during class, they also had to willingly do so. The process of candid racial interactions began with disclosing one's fears, biases, and vulnerabilities—elements that were often marginalized and seen as non-academic in traditional classrooms. Instructors counteracted the search for rightness about racial issues to mitigate student worries.

Resistance

Because learners rarely discussed racial realities in their past educational experiences, they displayed resistance when invited to do so by faculty in the present study. Students were hesitant to discuss racial issues and had trouble believing that racism still existed. Not only was it essential to describe the resistance participants encountered, but equally as important was detailing the methods they used to respond to it as soon as it occurred. One common approach employed by educators was an effort to build personal relationships with students that extended beyond the classroom. An example from Raymond was noteworthy.

> I try to build social capital with every student in my class. I learn their names. I talk to them outside of class. I joke around with them. I try to use my White privilege to deal with resistance. It's going to be harder for a faculty person of color to do what I'm doing. When we started with Tatum[1997, *Why are all the Black Kids Sitting in the Cafeteria*?], within a week, my students said, "She's got an agenda." They had already written her off because of her color, regardless of what the message was. Once they are like that [display resistance], it's [getting them to participate in racial exchanges] very hard.

Raymond realized the advantages that were afforded to him due to his White race and used that privilege to counter resistance displayed by White students. Since nearly 100 students enrolled in his

course, his efforts to learn their names and build personal relationships with them was indeed time-consuming, but necessary to facilitating dialogues about race and racism and contending with the resistance that ensued. Because he had spent time getting to know students on a personal basis, he used those relationships—social capital—to ask them to persist during the dialogues. The trust he had developed with learners enabled him to push them further.

In addition to establishing relationships with students, other participants, like Keely, addressed silence on racial matters directly by drawing attention to it when it occurred.

> I don't try and stop it [resistance]. I name it. "This is my observation; this is what I'm seeing. What do you think about that?" I have them recognize what's going on in the classroom instead of fighting it. There's a lot of learning for them in that process. My race helps. It's a predominantly White institution, and White people are more likely to listen to White people on issues of oppression. The gender sometimes works against me because I've noticed that when I'm teaching the class by myself, I definitely get more challenges from the males in the room. They don't take it as valid. There's not as high of a level of respect in the room as when I have a male co-teacher or the guy is teaching it on his own. When I notice that's happening, I will name it and see what they think about that and get them to think about the dynamics of what's going on in the classroom.

The approaches that Keely utilized to address resistance were multifaceted. Akin to Raymond, she used her White privilege to her advantage to show students the importance and struggles of White persons addressing racial realities, although she often received challenges from men in her courses due to her gender. She "named" resistance when she noticed it and invited students to consider why they were unwilling to participate in dialogues. Rather than fighting or ignoring resistance, she focused attention on it and used it for educational purposes. She suspected that her process enabled students to learn how to recognize resistance and demonstrated to them that she was aware of the difficulties they faced in contending with these issues.

"Normalizing" resistance was how Mae described her approach to countering it. Similar to Keely, she asked questions, developed relationships, and addressed resistance directly at the moment it occurred.

> When they start to resist, we can have a conversation about, "Tell me what's going on. Tell me why you're feeling that way." I probe and ask questions about, "What's going on, what's the struggle with the assignment, what's the struggle with the reading?" They start to disclose that it's really hard for them, this is the family they came from, this is the belief system that they have, it's an internal struggle between what I've been told and taught my entire life and what you're trying to tell me now, or what I'm hearing in class from other students. I try to normalize that [resistance] for them. They get called on it, and they struggle, and they process with other classmates, through journal writing, or with the instructor one-on-one.

As seen in the above quotation, when students trusted that their educators understood the challenges of engaging in racial discussions, it gave learners opportunities to be vulnerable and make mistakes. Study participants described that part of the reason that students were reluctant to discuss race was that other professors had never asked them to do so previously. Therefore, participants had to expect and be comfortable with students resisting the process, getting angry during dialogues, and blaming others for racism. When learners witnessed that others faced similar challenges, it enabled them to see that their emotions were "normal." Allowing space for these natural feelings to occur, and not fighting them, was one means to counter resistance and promote continued dialogue.

Finally, the atmosphere of openness and honesty that participants strived to cultivate in their courses was challenged when students shared egregious perspectives that sometimes made others hesitant to speak. Therefore, this created a different type of resistance—one in which students felt uncomfortable participating in dialogue because of not knowing how to respond to a peer's racist comment. Two participants spoke about their experiences managing resistance of this kind.

> If people are willing to come out and say something, and they take a risk, I support them even if I don't like what they have to say. You let people know that everybody has feelings about certain issues, and nothing is wrong with those feelings. That gives them permission to talk about that.

> One of the challenges is balancing that conversation. You need to address what they've said in such a way to clarify that there is a social implication, that it does represent a particular worldview that marginalizes some people, that it is prejudiced and racist, and at the same time, not silencing them so that they never say anything again in your class. As long as they're willing to listen and be respectful, then this is about our attempting to understand viewpoints, whether we agree with them or not.

Weighing how to address racist remarks and simultaneously not silence students for sharing their honest opinions was a tricky undertaking, as seen in the above narratives. The challenge for members of this study was letting students know when they articulated problematic comments, but doing so in a way that still encouraged them to verbalize their viewpoints. The case became even more vexing since instructors only had a few racial/ethnic minority students in their courses. Even as participants acknowledged White students' feelings, they risked leading racial/ethnic minority students to feel further marginalized during these dialogues. It was important to encourage learners to share freely, but also to not allow racist sentiments to exist unchallenged. Educators realized that they could not put the onus onto racial/ethnic minority students for responding to racist remarks; therefore, they had to challenge White students when they verbalized harmful statements.

The educators in this study worked diligently to construct classroom environments that were conducive to the discussion of racial realities. Their facilitation skills often encouraged learners to collaborate with their peers in engaging racial issues candidly. However, as seen throughout this section, facilitating these dialogues was often met with challenges and barriers that sometimes weakened constructive and open exchanges. Participants contended with institutional barriers that made racial exchanges isolated and present in only a few places, educator barriers with their colleagues refusing to see the importance of encouraging these discussions in their courses, and student barriers—fears, lack of preparation, and resistance. The combination of these challenges and barriers resulted in them facilitating racial discussions often on their own without the support of other institutional members. In the presence of these obstacles, they still sought creative ways to persist and continue the interactions, for they saw the benefits of doing so.

Thematic Integration

The faculty described herein used a variety of strategies to facilitate constructive dialogues about racial realities in postsecondary classroom contexts. Their pedagogies were multifaceted, as

they searched for beneficial ways to support students in participating in racially-based exchanges, often for the first time in learners' lives. Participants needed to combine their thought patterns about how to make these discussions happen with the actual practical methods they employed. In this final section of the findings chapter, I remind readers of the holistic Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model (see Figure 2) to demonstrate how educators merged their previous experiences with race, their definitions of race and racism, and the ways they viewed themselves and learners with the teaching approaches they utilized to address racial realities with students despite mitigating challenges and barriers. I provide three examples that illuminated the significance of integration.

Trinity was particularly descriptive about the pedagogy she employed to facilitate racial dialogues and the progression she saw in her methods.

> The first stage is [having] a specific way to design the groups so that they are particularly diverse. The second stage is focusing on the relationship aspect. We spend some time in trust-building exercises, storytelling, and identity exercises in which they would reveal the dynamics of how they've grown up, where they've come from, and who they are—a lot of self-awareness is happening and a lot of venting. It can get really emotional. This is where a lot of the stereotypes and the judgments come out. Stage three is when I elicit the most common issues that are coming out of this dialogue. The content is dictated by the students because each are talking about their own identities. Stage-four thinking is, "What are the issues that are happening on our campus, and what does our dialogue group want to address?" Then, stage five is the follow through—what is their product, and what do they want to achieve, and what do they want to share with the greater campus community? Another lasting impact of the fifth stage is that people go ahead and create new spaces.

Although the other participants were not as specific in presenting a five-stage facilitation process, each person highlighted similar thought processes and activities in her or his courses. What readers saw in the above was the integrated nature of facilitating these dialogues—how Trinity thought about race and racism, herself, learners, and teaching simultaneously. Starting from the concerns of learners meant that there might have been general principles that one could apply in different contexts, but that who the learners and educators were and their stories determined the direction and issues explored during these dialogues. Trinity strived to build relationships with students in order for them to feel comfortable articulating their concerns, fears, biases, and assumptions. This

enabled her to ascertain their previous knowledge and levels of readiness and plan her facilitation in ways that responded to their needs. Because learners dictated the issues important to them, they were more likely to persist in responding to them in an effort to promote changes within their communities (application of racial concepts and theories). Finally, as a result of learners participating in the dialogues that Trinity facilitated, she observed that they were motivated to try and create similar spaces in other arenas to extend their knowledge of racial realities and involvement in additional dialogues beyond this one course.

Trinity evinced a careful understanding of how to structure her classroom for the purposeful discussion of racial realities to occur. Although different from Trinity, Samuel employed dialogue methods that were appropriate in his courses.

> One of the first things I do in my classes is give students a definitions exercise. I want the definitions in their head, not out of the dictionary. I give them an assignment that addressed the concepts of race and ethnicity, and how they have socially constructed them. I assign readings on these issues. I bring in speakers. Sometimes on the board, I use graphic representations to explain the interactions between race and other social components of identity. I introduce them to models of racial and ethnic identity development. I do things like a social barometer to represent their attitudes and beliefs around some of these issues. I facilitate discussions about their opinions, attitudes, and reactions to readings.

Samuel identified the concrete methods he employed as a means to encourage race-related exchanges during class—speakers, lectures, and readings—as well as the conceptual factors that influenced his pedagogy, such as wanting learners to provide their own definitions of race and racism in order to structure the class based on their needs and understandings. As a result, he paid attention to the learners in his courses by integrating various pedagogical methods to improve their learning—lecture, visual aids, and discussions with each other. This demonstrated his teaching beliefs and practices by the ways in which he framed and facilitated the dialogue. For instance, he used the social barometer exercise to ascertain student attitudes and beliefs and their comfort around racialized issues (framing) and invited learners to share their opinions, attitudes, and reactions during dialogues (facilitating). The models of racial identity development encouraged

learners to reflect on themselves as racial beings, thereby, improving their abilities to engage in these interactions with their peers.

Another participant in the present study, Lois, described the combination of approaches she utilized to engage students in racial dialogues.

> I'm a very highly participatory, experientially, education-orientated teacher. I use interaction; the students talk to each other. I use them telling their own stories and testifying and bearing witness. I use films. I have a larger library of films than I'll ever be able to use in the classroom. We'll have buzz groups. I have them write about themselves. I use the activities that have become classical in the diversity world. Oh, I use music.

Similar to Samuel, Lois mentioned the use of a diverse array of resources to facilitate dialogues about racial realities in her courses. She expected learners to take ownership in the classroom by inviting them to participate in the dialogues, as reflected in her view of learners. In addition, by asking students to share their stories, she situated the exploration of racial issues in their own experiences. Her facilitation methods involved interaction, films, music, and activities that enabled students to apply racial concepts and theories. Consequently, she understood her identity as an educator and capitalized on her strengths to determine how to motivate students to discuss racial issues with their peers. She espoused and practiced a belief in the importance group work and personal reflection to productive dialogues about race and racism.

Each of the six themes influenced the facilitation process of racial dialogues; no one area was more important than another. The union of race and racism, self, learners, and teaching with educators' backgrounds and previous experiences and challenges and barriers ultimately led to their experiences thinking about, planning, and organizing their courses in ways that were conducive to the discussion of racial realties. Although participants did not devote equal attention to each of these areas, they used some combination of each theme. At times, they needed to concentrate more on pressing challenges that affected their abilities to facilitate these dialogues; whereas, other times the composition of students in their courses demanded an immediate focus on the learners, their

strengths, contributions, limitations, and comfort levels. When confronted with students who resisted their efforts to engage them in dialogue, they recognized the knowledge they possessed and incorporated that knowledge into the classroom to respond to student hesitancies.

Facilitating these dialogues in classroom settings necessitated a comfort with uncertainty and a willingness to persist despite the challenges associated with the exploration of racial realties. Instructors continually revised their methods based on how students responded to them. Their pedagogical process was fluid and aligned with alternative values and goals given their beliefs in the socially constructed nature of knowledge. They were comfortable with reflecting on their identities and deficiencies as professors and inviting students to expand their knowledge through the articulation of learners' own perspectives. Most importantly, they never deemed themselves experts on racial issues, but relentlessly pushed themselves to learn more, explore different areas, and challenge students to do the same. Developing pedagogical proficiencies in responding to racial realities was a lifelong educational journey filled with hope and cynicism, patience and a sense of urgency, and an unwavering commitment to social change.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

In this study, I explored how faculty facilitated constructive dialogues about racial realities in college and university classrooms. In addition, I considered how these educators described and made sense of the pedagogies they employed to engage students in discussions about racial issues. Twenty-two participants of different races and ethnicities, genders, years of professional experience, and disciplines/fields comprised the sample from various four-year public and private institutions and community colleges across the United States. To be considered for participation, an instructor had to have previously presented a workshop at the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education (NCORE) between 2004 and 2007 that was central to the phenomenon explored in this study—purposefully structuring opportunities for learners to engage in racially-focused exchanges within a course. Not only was presenting on this topic a necessary criterion, but more importantly, participants had to be cognizant of their pedagogies for racial discussions and be able to describe their approaches, critically reflect upon them, and make sense of them.

In this chapter, I first provide a summary of the study, including the research methods and key findings. Then, the relationship of the findings to published literature guides the discussion section. I note consistencies within the findings to the literature reviewed, as well as new insights that emerged from the research. In order to help postsecondary educators and administrators improve their attempts at improving their own and students' understanding of racial realities, I offer implications for practice and conclude with possible directions for future research on the nexus between pedagogy and racialized ways of knowing.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand how postsecondary educators facilitate the discussion of racial realities among students in their courses. The primary research question was: How do educators engage students in constructive dialogues about racial realities in postsecondary

classroom settings? Three supplementary and related questions were also pursued: (1) Why do educators strive to facilitate interactions about racial realities in classroom contexts? (2) How do educators make sense of the pedagogies they use to engage students in dialogues on racial issues? (3) How do educators describe the pedagogies they use to engage students in dialogues on racial issues?

Researchers have given considerable attention to exploring issues of race and racism within higher education. They have noted the effects of institutional racism on learning and development among racial/ethnic minority students (Cabrera & Nora, 1994; Cabrera et al., 1999; Hurtado et al., 1999); the role of campus climates on students (Ancis et al., 2000; Feagin et al., 1996; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Mayhew et al., 2005); the shortage of intentional opportunities for cross-racial interactions between students (Chang et al., 2005; Harper & antonio, 2007; Parker & Stovall, 2004; Thompson, 1997); the importance and limitations of the composition of the student body on encouraging dialogues about race (Gurin et al., 2002); the educational benefits of diversity (Chang, 1999; Gurin et al., 1999; Hurtado et al., 1999; Zúñiga, 2003); lack of faculty skills and preparation in facilitating racial exchanges (Garcia & Van Soest, 2000; Quaye & Harper, 2007; Stassen, 1995; Zúñiga et al., 2007); and the importance of racially conscious pedagogy and curricula in influencing classroom-based interactions on racial realities (Baxter Magolda, 2004; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995). Despite the presence of the aforementioned research and published literature, relatively little is known about the actual pedagogical practices professors use when they introduce racialized material in their courses and endeavor to engage students in dialogues about the effects of racial realities on their lives. In addition, there is a lack of knowledge from educators' vantage points about how they make sense of their philosophies of teaching and learning about race, their pedagogies for racial understanding, and their decisions about racialized content and engagement activities. Investigators of the literature on pedagogies for facilitating dialogues about race and racism were left with few examples and models of the process of engaging race

meaningfully in a classroom setting. These gaps in the literature served as the impetus for the present study.

Theories from law and legal studies, education, psychology, and student development comprised the theoretical framework of this study. Specifically, critical race theory enabled me to understand the influence of race and racism on the lives of White and racial/ethnic minority students and instructors, while the theory of culturally relevant pedagogy provided practical possibilities for arranging classroom environments that were conducive to the discussion of racial realities. I used this theory to understand how faculty could think about themselves and learners in order to structure the appropriate means for racial exchanges to occur. Learning theories and models, such as constructivist theory and the Learning Partnerships Model, provided an understanding of the socially constructed nature of knowledge and the importance of previous experiences and agency in the learning process. Contact theory offered guidance for structuring the nature of contact between learners in the classroom in ways that would be conducive to their discussion of racial issues.

I employed qualitative research methods to examine participants' pedagogies for racial interactions. My research was guided by critical race inquiry—the belief in socially constructed interpretations of reality—and tenets of psychological case study, wherein I treated each educator as an individual, racialized case (Crotty, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Merriam, 1988; Merriam, 2002a; Stake, 1995). Even though I considered each instructor a case, given the integrated nature of how they described and made sense of their pedagogies, the combination of each case led to multiple cases that provided evidence for the findings chapter. Each case could be seen on its own as one example of how to facilitate dialogues about racial realities in a classroom setting, or multiple cases could provide varying insights about the pedagogical process and similar approaches that were noted among different participants. The research design enabled me to place particular emphasis on the

role of race and racism in participants' lives and on their pedagogies and understand the interconnected nature of their conceptual and practical methods for facilitating the discussion of racial issues.

Because I sought to describe and understand how postsecondary educators made sense of the pedagogies they employed to engage learners in racial discussions, I conducted face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with 17 of the 22 participants at the 2007 NCORE. I interviewed the remaining five participants who were unable to attend the conference by telephone. I first contacted each participant to describe the goals and purposes of the study, confirm her or his willingness to participate, and to respond to any questions or concerns she or he had. After participants decided to participate in the study, we communicated additional times through email to schedule a time and place to interview at NCORE or a time to conduct the telephone interview. Each interview was audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. I coded and analyzed all data using the NVivo® Software Package for Qualitative Research.

To ensure trustworthiness, I employed several steps. First, I took notes during each interview to record my initial assumptions and interpretations of what participants shared. In addition, I wrote comments about particularly interesting insights they offered to remind myself to follow-up with them on these remarks. I kept a reflective journal wherein I noted my assumptions and biases, emotions, and reactions to the data. Using member checks was also an approach undertaken for trustworthiness. I sent participants the full transcript of their interview and requested that they clarify any unclear points, add additional information as necessary, and revise their perspectives if they desired. Twelve of the 22 participants responded to my request and made minor adjustments to their transcripts. I also assembled and met with peer debriefers who were able to challenge my interpretations of the data and offer additional insights.

Despite the steps taken to conduct a trustworthy study, several limitations in my methodological decisions are evident in this study. First, selection bias resulted by only selecting participants who attended NCORE. There were likely many other educators who did not attend or present workshops at NCORE, but facilitated dialogues about racial realities. Next, the non-contextual nature of the study was a shortcoming. Because I interviewed participants via telephone and face-to-face at NCORE, I was unable to explore issues related to the racial climate of their institutions. Third, I chose not to observe participants for this study. Therefore, I am solely relying on their self-reports and their understandings of their pedagogies. Although the purpose of this study was to understand how professors facilitated the discussion of racial issues in their own words, it is sometimes difficult for persons to describe their approaches when they are immersed in their practices. Therefore, this observational component would have offered another perspective to supplement the data from participants.

I utilized several techniques to analyze the data collected from the interviews with the 22 participants. I printed each transcript, read it in its entirety, and made comments on the margins that reflected my initial interpretations of the data. I then revisited each transcript to note similarities and differences in educators' pedagogies. I used these initial interpretations to develop the list of codes for analysis in the NVivo® Software Package for Qualitative Research (see Appendix E for the "Data Analysis Code List"). The combination of coding, convergent and divergent thematic analysis, and cross-case analysis resulted in an integrated *Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model* (see Figure 3) that conveyed the ways in which participants facilitated dialogues about racial realities in classroom settings. Based on the data, I developed six related categories to represent the areas to which instructors devoted attention in their pedagogies for racial interactions: (1) Background and Previous Experiences, (2) Race and Racism, (3) Self, (4) Learners, (5) Teaching, and (6) Challenges and Barriers.

Figure 3: Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model
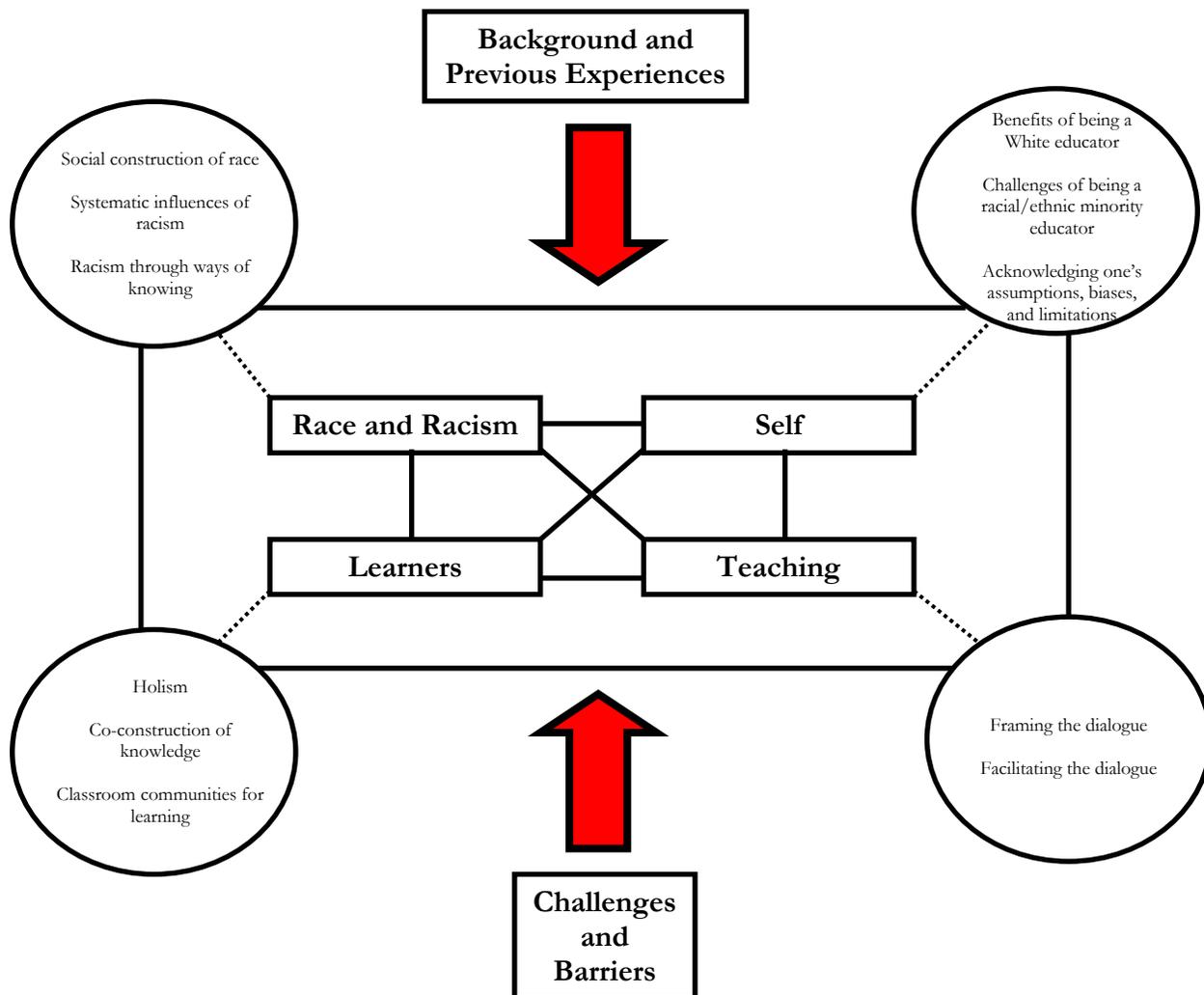
Participants discussed factors in their *backgrounds and previous experiences* that served as catalysts for their engagement in racial realities. They held a sense of personal responsibility for improving race relations at their institutions and used their experiences of witnessing or being the target of racial discrimination as motivation for engaging students in these dialogues. They were able to articulate the reasons for their decisions to facilitate these dialogues and the extent to which their previous experiences prepared them (or did not) for these interactions.

Race and Racism included participants' definitions of race and racism and how they used those understandings in the classroom. They viewed race as a social construction that was maintained by

persons in society and challenged students' beliefs in the biological determinacy of race. They struggled to help students systematize racial issues and not only see racism as individual acts perpetrated by a few, ignorant White people. Furthermore, they examined racism in dominant ways of knowing that privileged rationality and reason, but marginalized stories and subjective accounts that were necessary for learners to personalize racial issues.

Since faculty persons were addressing racial matters, they learned that they could not divorce their identities from the facilitation process and worked to explore their selves and support students in doing the same. In *Self*, White participants realized the benefits and privileges they held because of their Whiteness and garnered the respect of White students due to racial similarities. Racial/ethnic minority educators, on the other hand, talked about the difficulties they faced in working with White learners to examine issues of race. They were often seen as incapable and unqualified and felt the need to prove themselves to their colleagues and students. Despite racial differences among professors, they saw the benefits of disclosing to learners their lack of knowledge about racial issues when necessary and admitting their biases, assumptions, and limitations as educators. Doing so encouraged students to refrain from seeking correct solutions to racial problems, and develop comfort with the messiness that ensued from these dialogues.

In *Learners*, participants described their alternative beliefs about what constituted learning and the manner in which they treated students. They held high expectations for learners and wanted them to cultivate skills that reflected common goals of higher education, such as critical thinking and writing proficiencies. However, they also valued other ways of knowing and displaying one's achievement through inviting learners to reflect on their personal experiences and apply academic content to their lives in order to improve their campus communities. Thus, they encouraged holism among students by welcoming emotions and vulnerabilities in the classroom and sought to co-construct knowledge with learners. They allowed students to dictate the direction of some course

material and saw both themselves and students as learners. In the process of facilitating these discussions, they stressed the importance of fostering classroom communities for learning and worked to develop a collaborative learning environment that focused on cooperation, safe spaces, and the inclusion of previously excluded voices.

To engage learners in constructive discussions about racial issues, participants focused on framing and facilitating the dialogue. For framing, they worked with students to develop useful strategies for approaching these dialogues. For example, they saw themselves as facilitators of the learning process, sought to help students articulate their perspectives, and valued the knowledge that learners held. Prior to beginning the dialogues, they worked jointly with learners to construct ground rules for discussion and expected students to hold each other accountable for implementing these group agreements. They also ascertained the level of comfort among learners and their preparation for participating in the exchanges. They developed methods to expose students to racial/ethnic differences, even when this diversity was not present among learners. In facilitating the dialogue, educators described the concrete approaches they used, including group discussions, an integrated assortment of resources (lecture, readings, reflection, and multimedia) application of racial concepts and theories (service-learning, case studies, role plays, and interviews) and debriefing—helping students synthesize issues discussed and note any lingering questions and concerns. *Teaching* involved participants' methods for structuring these dialogues in ways that would encourage students to participate actively in them, and the tangible engagement activities they utilized to help learners make sense of racial realities.

Facilitating these dialogues was met with *challenges and barriers* that made it difficult for learners and faculty persons to participate. The predominantly White institutions at which most participants taught precluded White students from discussing these issues with their racial/ethnic minority counterparts. Consequently, these learners had difficulties internalizing issues of race and

believing that racism existed. Furthermore, participants persisted in their efforts despite a lack of support from their colleagues, feelings of isolation, and being one of few who critically engaged racial issues. Their previous socialization experiences as doctoral students and their current careers as professors also served as obstacles to the pedagogical methods they needed to adopt to facilitate the exchanges. Finally, students, including their lack of previous experiences engaging race, their prior socialization experiences, and resistance, served as additional barriers during the classroom-based interactions about race and racism. Learners found it challenging to step outside of their comfort zones and interact with their racially/ethnically different peers, and as a result, often withdrew from these dialogues.

The combination of these six categories influenced educators' efforts to facilitate dialogues about racial realities. In some cases, one of these themes played a more dominant role depending on the instructor, the learners present, and the institution at which she or he taught. It is important to note that each theme was important, and participants treated their pedagogies as interconnected and holistic. Facilitating constructive dialogues about racial realities necessitated an awareness of one's background and previous experiences, an attention to race and racism, self, learners, and teaching, and knowledge of how to respond to challenges and barriers in the planning and facilitation processes.

Discussion

Researchers have considered the benefits of intentionally engaging racial issues in classroom contexts between students and faculty (Baxter Magolda, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Quaye & Harper, 2007). However, there have continually been insufficient opportunities for learners to interact with their peers about race and racism in postsecondary classrooms, as well as persistent under-preparedness among educators to facilitate these dialogues. The findings of this

study confirmed the published literature in Chapter 2; however, some inconsistencies and new insights emerged.

Wahl et al. (2000) suggested that White faculty members should participate in teaching race relations courses to demonstrate to learners that it is also the responsibility of White people to address issues of race. Given that most of the participants in the present study were White, they revealed the importance of White educators facilitating these dialogues. Participants understood that facilitating constructive discussions about racial issues began with an understanding of themselves—their racial identities, assumptions, biases, strengths, and limitations as instructors. They were comfortable disclosing their lack of knowledge, struggles, and areas of growth to serve as role models for students and colleagues.

As a White researcher, Bergerson (2003) noted that faculty who participated in social justice education were mostly racial/ethnic minorities. Accordingly, she used her journey of developing consciousness of her Whiteness and argued for the importance of White people assuming responsibility for facilitating exchanges about racial realities and using their privileges to help students personalize issues of race. The findings of the present study make a contribution to the literature in that I included White instructors in my sample. Given that most of the students who enrolled in the courses of participants were White, it was important for White professors to facilitate these interactions. Racial/ethnic minority educators were confronted with microaggressions from White students, such as beliefs that they were affirmative action hires, and therefore, unqualified, as well as more overt forms of racism. However, their White counterparts, especially White men, did not face similar challenges to their qualifications. When participants were White, learners were more likely to believe in the existence of racism and White privilege and more willing to discuss racial issues with their peers. White participants shared the ways in which their racial identities afforded them unearned advantages, authority, respect, and legitimacy, and the importance of White people

taking an active role in challenging racial injustices and working with students to do the same. The knowledge White instructors shared was essential to responding to Bergerson's assertion concerning White professors. When they treated racial realities seriously, it conveyed to learners the importance of race in their lives and increased the frequency with which they would discuss racial realities with their peers. It also removed a portion of the onus from their racial/ethnic minority colleagues to be the only people who cared about and addressed racial realities (hooks, 1994; Tatum, 1997).

Despite the overrepresentation of White faculty persons in this study, in actuality, these educators were outside of the norm in their willingness to facilitate classroom-based racial dialogues. They often contended with White colleagues who did not support their efforts and relied solely upon racial/ethnic minority instructors to devote attention to these issues. Consequently, their experiences were consistent with previous research focused on the lack of involvement in racial issues by White faculty (Bennett, 2001; Stassen, 1995; Weissman et al., 1998). Participants usually found they had to defend their pedagogical approaches and offer reasons for the manner in which they structured their courses to facilitate these discussions. They also reported feeling isolated and unsupported by their institutions and colleagues, leading them to have few models to emulate and seek advice in their pedagogical approaches.

The *Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model* developed based on my interpretations of the data in the study. The six tenets of the model reflect previous research from learning theorists (Dewey, 1938; Schunk, 2004; Vygotsky, 1978), scholars of culturally relevant pedagogy (Gay, 2000, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995), critical race theorists (Solórzano et al., 2000; Tate, 1997; Villalpando, 2004), and a college student development researcher (Baxter Magolda, 2004). Though related to the aforementioned theorists, the manner in which I conceptualized the model was a unique feature of the present study.

Learning theorists, such as Dewey (1938) and Vygotsky (1978), focused on the role of previous experience as a central factor in learning. A sociocultural view of learning was espoused by Dewey and Vygotsky in that they believed in the socially elaborated process of learning, by which more experienced students used their knowledge and experiences to promote the learning of their peers. Building on these capacities, students learned the importance of social and cultural influences on knowledge development through collaborative exercises that encouraged cooperation, the inclusion of their identities, and their active engagement in the educational process. These scholars contended that learning occurred when a student was able to use her or his past and current experiences as the foundation for new experiences that were encountered inside and outside the classroom. This meant that learning was inherently a social process wherein students needed to interact with other class members, reflect on their experiences, and apply knowledge to their lives. In this manner, professors in the present study used their *backgrounds and previous experiences* as sources of knowledge in facilitating racial dialogues. They reflected on their exposure to racial discrimination, either directly or through someone else, and used that knowledge to determine how to enable students to discuss racial issues. In addition, they expected students to engage in collaborative practices with their peers through the incorporation of group work and discussion. In these dialogues, they encouraged learners to reflect on their exposure (or lack thereof) to racial/ethnic minority persons and how this influenced their abilities and willingness to engage racial issues in their current courses. Educators and learners built knowledge together through the active process of making connections between their past experiences and present journeys of exploring racial matters.

During dialogues, participants endeavored to treat knowledge as socially constructed, a philosophy that was illustrative of their beliefs in constructivist theory. Faculty persons saw knowledge development as a social process and thus structured classroom environments where learners could reinterpret their beliefs and make mistakes during the exchanges to enhance their

understanding of racial realities. When knowledge was socially defined, as Marin et al. (2000) and Schunk (2004) emphasized, learners became active agents in their education and worked with their peers to make meaning of issues. In this way, participants worked to help students develop agency in their learning, be willing to share their developing knowledge of racial realities, and challenge the viewpoints of their peers as a means to build a deeper knowledge of race and racism. These factors were demonstrated in the ways participants viewed and treated *learners*.

In *Self*, instructors referred to the ways they thought of themselves as racial beings and acknowledged their assumptions, biases, and limitations. Their efforts illuminated a consciousness of the role of their identities in facilitating racial dialogues. This construct of the model was consistent with the work of Ladson-Billings (1994, 1995) who found that effective teachers of racial/ethnic minority students sought to explore the knowledge that students held as opposed to imparting only their own knowledge onto learners. Similarly, participants in the present study held alternative beliefs about the position of a professor. They saw themselves as facilitators of the learning process and sought ways to help students see themselves as experts.

Ladson-Billings (1994, 1995) reported that the teachers in her study also viewed themselves as learners and strived to develop learning communities that focused on mutual expertise. Other researchers have explored the benefits of learning communities that deemphasized competition, individual merit, and grade-consciousness (Cross, 1998; MacGregor & Smith, 2005; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Participants in the present study focused on classroom communities for learning as one approach to facilitate constructive discussions about racial realities, and noted that they learned from students articulating their perspectives on race and racism. The learning process became culturally relevant (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995), as educators invited students to contribute to classroom exchanges and deemed their perspectives important, even when those viewpoints were racially intolerant. Participants revealed their lack of knowledge to learners, as a means to

demonstrate vulnerability and humanness in the classroom. These were necessary practices to facilitate racial interactions based on honesty, emotionality, and self-awareness.

Participants described ways they incorporated their definitions and understandings of *race and racism* during dialogues and how they revised those meanings as learners shared their own knowledge about racial realities. As such, they embodied tenets of critical race theory, particularly the attention to race and racism, challenge to dominant ideologies, and recognition of experiential knowledge. Contrary to what was expected of them given their previous socialization, participants stressed the importance of racial issues in their courses and strived to help students subvert expectations from their past courses that they were to remain silent on racial issues. Instead, they provided purposeful avenues for racial exchanges to take place and acknowledged the influence of race and racism on learners' lives. Specifically, they exemplified the intersectionality focus of critical race theorists (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Solórzano et al., 2000; Villalpando, 2004) by not only deeming race an important factor in one's experiences, but enabling students to reflect on other facets of their identities, for instance, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and gender. Equally important, educators privileged experiential knowledge by providing space for the counter-narratives of previously excluded voices in readings, videos, speakers, and classroom interactions. Although Delgado and Stefancic (2001) and Stanley (2007) focused primarily on experiential knowledge from racial/ethnic minority persons, in this study, participants invited White students to communicate their experiences with race and racism as well. Doing so reminded White learners that they also had racialized experiences and provided them with a way to participate in dialogues with which they were unfamiliar. Consequently, both forms of experiential knowledge—from racial/ethnic minority students and White students alike—were important to help learners personalize issues of race.

In addition to exemplifying the work of learning theorists, culturally relevant researchers, and critical race theorists in their pedagogical philosophies, participants confirmed findings from Baxter

Magolda's (2004) longitudinal research, as seen in her Learning Partnerships Model. Baxter

Magolda's principles to promote students' development are validating students as knowers, situating

learning in students' experiences, and mutually constructing knowledge with students. Each of these

principles was seen in the practices of those in the present study. Their conceptions of learners

began with an assumption that students needed to consider themselves capable and knowledgeable

in order to participate in racial dialogues. By this, participants recognized they were not the sole

experts during dialogues, but that learners had insights to share to enhance the knowledge of other

class members. To demonstrate this principle, they structured their courses differently. For example,

they used circles to counteract the professor in front of the room conferring knowledge upon

students. They also situated learning in students' experiences by asking them to engage in journal

writing, apply racial concepts and theories to their lives, and respond to questions about racialized

issues within their campus communities. Racial content was relevant to the pressing issues affecting

learners; consequently, they were willing to participate actively in the interactions. To enact their

holistic philosophies, educators co-constructed knowledge with students. They decided on necessary

activities to engage learners about racial realities, but also provided opportunities for students to

determine course material and activities aligned with their current struggles and experiences. Chang

et al. (2004) found that a student's interest in promoting racial understanding was one factor that

affected her or his ability to discuss racial issues. Seen in the approaches of participants was the

recognition of Baxter Magolda and Chang et al.'s research—they understood the need to enable

students to contribute in meaningful ways to classroom interactions in order to increase learners'

investment in racial realities.

The pre-socialization experiences of participants during graduate school also affected their

abilities to facilitate constructive dialogues about race and racism. They had not been trained to

address racial issues, nor were they expected to do so in their careers. Their graduate education

prepared them to conduct original research, teach disciplinary content, and evaluate students through examinations and papers. Zúñiga et al. (2007) and Quaye and Harper (2007) identified factors that precluded faculty members from participating in intergroup dialogues. Of particular relevance were institutional and disciplinary barriers (e.g., lack of rewards) and lack of pedagogical skill among faculty who were trained in traditional ways. Participants noted the ghettoization and lack of rewards for those who addressed racial issues in the classroom, as well as the harm experienced by students from educators who endeavored to facilitate these dialogues, but could not manage the emotions, tension, and resistance that ensued. Consistent with previous literature, the ways in which instructors had been socialized to teach college students meant that participants would have to subvert previous expectations and develop alternative conceptions of learning and race and racism in order to facilitate these exchanges in ways that prompted students' interests (Fox, 2001; Garcia & Van Soest, 2000; Quaye & Harper; Zúñiga et al., 2007).

Previous researchers have suggested that formal educational activities, such as courses focused on diversity issues—Women's Studies and race/ethnicity courses— were helpful in producing the learning outcomes highlighted in the literature review (Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Henderson-King & Stewart, 1999; Hurtado et al., 2002). Although I did not focus on measurable learning outcomes from participants' pedagogies, they indicated the ways in which students developed and learned from discussing racial realities with each other. Participants referred to students taking ownership of their learning by introducing their peers to material they read outside of class, as well as their increased abilities and willingness to discuss racial issues with others, namely parents, professors, and peers. Whether it was "Philosophy of Race and Racism," "Hate, Resistance, and Reconciliation," "Women and Sexuality," or a course focused on examining Whiteness, instructors addressed how these race-based seminars exposed learners to discussing, deconstructing, and understanding race and racism in ways previously unexplored.

Participants repeatedly reported on the components included in their pedagogies when facilitating the exchanges. They referred to six of Schmidt's (2005) seven concepts. According to Schmidt, faculty members struggled to help students see the historical roots of racism and not focus on prejudicial feelings and individual acts of discrimination. Similarly, participants in the present study remarked on the difficulties of working with students to gain a broader view of racism as embedded in institutions. In addition, they incorporated Schmidt's concepts of race as a social construction, the interconnected levels of racism (individual, institutional, and cultural), dominant and subordinate groups, White privilege, and multiple social group memberships, such as race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, age, ability, and sexual orientation. To varying degrees, participants supported learners in engaging in dialogues about and exploration of these concepts as a means to historicize and contemporize racial realities. Their pedagogies were flexible and revisable; meaning when necessary, they emphasized one or more of these concepts depending on the composition of learners, their knowledge, comfort, readiness, and previous experiences. To respond to the shortcomings of Schmidt's research in her over-reliance on content and lack of attention to process, participants described their pedagogical practices in facilitating these dialogues through group discussions, reflection, lecture, and multimedia, to name a few.

Zúñiga (2003), Zúñiga et al. (2002), and Zúñiga et al. (2007) described the four-stage sequential process of intergroup dialogues. Founded on principles of consciousness-raising, relationship-building, and promoting social justice, this dialogic approach has been used by students, faculty members, student affairs educators, and administrators both in-class and within co-curricular settings. Two of the participants in this study currently work with a similar intergroup dialogue program and with faculty colleagues who wished to incorporate its principles into their courses. They stressed the importance of building relationships before engaging racial issues, a core component of intergroup dialogues. Likewise, the other educators started with understanding

learners on an individual level by joking with them, using their names, recalling and referring to previously-told stories during conversations, and meeting individually with them outside of class. They supported this relationship-building aspect of intergroup dialogues because they understood the importance of knowing learners on a personal basis in order to ask them to participate in classroom dialogues about racial realities. In addition, they formulated questions to help students reflect on their upbringing and exposure to racial differences (consciousness-raising) and used application exercises to help them connect racial content to their campus communities (promoting social justice).

Participants encouraged students to visit local schools in the community, interact with middle and high school students, and engage in service-learning activities in order to apply racial concepts and theories. These approaches reflected an anti-racist pedagogical practice, as seen in the research of Marullo (1998). He incorporated service-learning in a race relations course to help students think about broad, systemic factors of racism in society. He found that students had an increased awareness of diversity when service-learning was a required component of the course. Although instructors in the present study saw the benefits of service-learning, they underscored the difficulties of using it due to the "helping attitude" that students developed of racial/ethnic minority people. Learners viewed the racial/ethnic minorities with whom they worked as powerless and needing their help to thrive. Unlike in the Marullo study, service-learning was a problematic method for which few participants had found solutions. Other activities, such as case studies, role plays, and interviews seemed to produce more benefits.

Allport's (1954) contact theory revealed the importance of the nature of contact among racially/ethically diverse persons. Other researchers, such as Chang et al. (2004), Helm et al. (1998), and Chang et al. (2005) found that the presence of racial/ethnic diversity was important to beneficial dialogues and student learning, but that more important was how these groups were structured.

Participants in the present study emphasized the importance of having racial/ethnic diversity in their courses and the difficulties of facilitating constructive interactions given the presence of mostly White students. They faced challenges outlined by scholars about the lack of opportunities for meaningful, sustained dialogues in classroom settings (Feagin et al., 1996; Gasman et al., 2004; Tatum, 1997). The White learners they encountered had been socialized to believe that racism was no longer a problem, that they always talked about race, and that they were not racist if they did not use racial epithets. To counteract this prior socialization, when possible, educators purposefully structured discussion groups that were comprised of learners from varied racial/ethnic backgrounds. When this diversity was not available, they invited speakers to discuss their experiences with race and used songs and videos with racialized themes to show students the role of racism in contemporary society. They often found they needed to be creative in responding to the lack of racial/ethnic diversity in their courses. Purposeful contact with racial/ethnic diversity was important, but this contact was not necessarily a required component of constructive interactions. They discovered other resourceful ways to expose students to racial/ethnic differences through readings, engagement activities, and multimedia resources.

The campus climate of the institutions at which participants taught mirrored the climates of other predominantly White institutions, including racial/ethnic divisions, hostility toward racial/ethnic minority learners and faculty, and lack of attention to issues of race among White professors and students (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Cabrera and Nora (1994) found that African American, Asian American, and Latino/a students perceived more discrimination on their campuses than did their White counterparts. Participants contended with facilitating dialogues within campus environments that were unwelcoming to students and instructors of color. They were confronted with White learners and educators who did not understand the need to discuss racial realities, and campus administrators who responded poorly to racial incidents on campus. Participants noted that

this made their facilitation efforts even more difficult. On the contrary, a few participants worked within institutions with relatively healthy campus climates where institution leaders addressed racial incidents immediately and endeavored to enact espoused commitments to diversity, even though they still needed to make concerted efforts toward the realization of these goals. Mayhew et al. (2005) found that campus climates were affected by the commitments of faculty to diversity issues in their courses. For the instructors in the present study, the lack of support from their colleagues in incorporating racial issues in their courses served to undermine their facilitation efforts.

Not only did participants contend with learners who did not understand the importance of racial issues, but they managed resistance during the exchanges. According to Wagner (2005), faculty members tended to avoid conflicts that occurred during class. Findings from my study confirmed otherwise. As participants noted, in order for learners to engage in racially-based discussions, educators need to expect and welcome tension, disagreements, and resistance and respond to them appropriately. Participants described their efforts to manage student resistance through normalizing those feelings, identifying resistance at the moment it occurred, and acknowledging to learners the difficulties of engaging race. Wagner found that professors who informed learners that they should expect to be challenged and experience uncomfortable emotions during interactions achieved greater outcomes than those who did not. Participants observed that students were most afraid of the unknown—not knowing what to expect when they shared their experiences, assumptions, and beliefs about race and racism. When educators communicated to learners what would likely transpire during the dialogues, such as students articulating comments that were disagreeable; expecting to be challenged by each other; and contending with feelings of guilt, anger, frustration, and pain, they better managed the resistance that ensued.

Appel et al. (1996), Mayhew et al. (2005), and Maruyama and Moreno (2000) outlined the critical roles of faculty members in enacting an institution's espoused commitment to diversity.

When faculty were not concerned with actively incorporating issues of diversity (including, but not limited to race/ethnicity) into their courses, students learned that appreciating differences was not an important goal of their education. Participants refrained from accepting and reinforcing this common practice, and instead, devoted a sincere commitment to exploring racial realities. Like those in Appel et al.'s study, they did not view issues of race as exclusively the concern of student affairs professionals, administrators, or others working in co-curricular settings. Even as they strived to help students develop skills that were typically marginalized within higher education—such as facility in speaking with others about racial issues, knowledge of historical and contemporary influences of racism, and translation of racial concepts and theories into concrete interventions for remedying racial injustices in one's communities—they devoted equal attention to the development of conventional critical thinking, problem-solving, and writing proficiencies. Therefore, they held broader conceptions of their responsibilities as professors, as they used students' out-of-class learning to enhance in-class dialogues. In the process, they demonstrated specific ways learners could enact the institutional value of an appreciation of differences.

Previous researchers have observed the shortage of effective models in engaging race in classroom settings (Engberg, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002). This study provides a contribution by offering examples of the varied ways that educators facilitated dialogues about race and racism in the classroom with one caveat—readers should not merely focus on the practical activities on which participants capitalized, but must also pay attention to the complete portrait, as depicted in the *Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model.* An examination of the issues explored in Chapter 4 reveals the importance of context in facilitating dialogues, the learners one encounters during discussions, and instructors' identities, backgrounds, and previous experiences. Managing racial exchanges was not just limited to selecting and implementing the "right" engagement activities, but also concerned how one prepared for and planned these dialogues, the thinking processes of faculty

persons, and responding appropriately to unanticipated challenges. The participants described in this study are indeed exemplars for others wishing to begin these dialogues in their own courses, but readers should exercise caution in translating their approaches to their own settings.

Conclusions

Given the findings of this study about the process of facilitating constructive dialogues about racial realities in classrooms, four conclusions are offered.

1. Racial/ethnic identity is an important and dynamic factor in facilitating racial discussions. As seen throughout Chapter 4, educators needed to display a constant awareness of their race/ethnicity and its influence during interactions. Participants could not teach about racial issues from a distance and depersonalize them, but instead had to incorporate who they were into the process. This meant that their identities as racial/ethnic beings were not static. They reflected on their selves throughout the exchanges, as they listened to students contemplate their own racial backgrounds. Professors held knowledge of their varying races/ethnicities, thought about the privileges and disadvantages of their racial/ethnic identities, and sought ways to use their identities in beneficial ways throughout the course. Based on how learners responded, instructors reconceptualized who they were and developed more complex understandings of themselves. Depending on the composition of learners in the classroom, participants expected multiple possibilities for how students would make sense of their pedagogies. Therefore, their identities were in constant contemplation, as they connected with some learners due to their race/ethnicity and contended with resistance and challenges from other students.

2. The inclusion of White faculty in facilitating racial dialogues in classroom settings is critical. Related to the first conclusion, White participants were better able to work with White students in addressing racial realities. While it is still important for educators of varied

races/ethnicities to participate in engaging learners in racial exchanges, it is even more important for White instructors to do so. There continues to be a dearth of White people involved in facilitating racial interactions in classroom contexts (Wahl et al., 2000). Given that predominantly White institutions of higher education continue to contend with campus climates that are hostile and unwelcoming toward racial/ethnic minority people, improving these campus climates demands the participation of White professors. Participants illustrated the ways in which they capitalized on their privileged Whiteness to encourage White learners to engage in the discussions. Therefore, if White faculty take an active interest in exploring racial issues, it is highly conceivable that more learners will be willing to participate in and benefit from these dialogues.

3. Developing course expectations that are challenging and academically motivating are meaningful components of facilitating constructive dialogues about racial realities. Contrary to beliefs that teaching about racial issues and inviting personal narratives somehow diluted the curriculum, participants revealed the lofty goals they held for learners and the methods they used to help them meet those aims. They wanted students to develop critical thinking, problem-solving, and writing abilities. They evaluated students' progress toward goals, were honest with learners when they underperformed, and expected students to take responsibility for their education. However, participants did not only reinforce conventional aims, but they structured their courses differently. They valued other ways of knowing (e.g., subjective knowledge based on personal experiences), deemed students as knowers, and worked to create collaborative classrooms that were not grade-focused or competitive, but instead, cooperative and learning-centered. They emphasized traditional classroom practices and simultaneously provided ample spaces for the alternative conceptions that were necessary for the racial discussions they endeavored to facilitate.

4. Integration and holism are important principles in developing pedagogies for racially-based interactions. The present study yielded findings about the manner in which participants combined multiple elements into their pedagogies to facilitate the discussion of racial realities. I cannot offer a list of the "top ten things" to do in order to engage students in productive exchanges about race and racism. Void of context, this list would be superficial and lacking. However, the data reveal important facets to consider if one wishes to begin the process of organizing these dialogues in her or his own courses. There are varied ways to incorporate the six categories presented in the previous chapter; however, each component was essential in the case of participants. During interviews, they did not present their pedagogical approaches in a singular, linear, or step-wise fashion. They mentioned their beliefs about learning and how they structured their courses according to those assumptions. They discussed students' lack of exposure to racial/ethnic differences, how this served as a challenge during dialogues, and the methods they used to respond to learners' prior experiences, such as lecturing about the historical roots of racism and asking questions about students' upbringing. They shared the process of constructing group agreements and how their use of ground rules intersected with their co-construction of knowledge beliefs. They used group discussions to help students process and apply the racial concepts and theories they read. In sum, they exerted a willingness to try certain approaches aligned with their philosophies of teaching and learning, evaluate their effectiveness, and revise them as necessary. They displayed an attention to themselves as educators, as well as the learners in their courses. They confidently described their varied methods and principles, as if they were habitual given their years of experience facilitating racial dialogues among college students. They also displayed a reflective uncertainty, but showed a consciousness of what they were doing, an awareness of the reasons for those pedagogical decisions, and an attitude of never

being wholeheartedly satisfied with their approaches. They practiced holism by respecting emotionality, humanness, and intellectuality in the classroom and integrated multiple pedagogical elements that were consistent with the learners they encountered and their own abilities as instructors.

Implications for Practice

Based on the findings of this study, I have compiled recommendations for improving the efforts of faculty in facilitating constructive exchanges about racial realities in college and university courses. In this section, I offer suggestions for postsecondary educators and administrators.

Postsecondary Educators

Incorporating racial matters into one's course must begin with an examination of one's self. When asked to offer advice for those who wished to begin this process of engaging racial realities, participants repeatedly cited the importance of "doing one's own work." In order to help learners grasp the influences of racist ideologies on their lives and in society as a whole, educators must develop comfort with exploring their assumptions, racial identities, and biases. This knowledge is important for supporting students in doing the same. In particular, White professors should reflect on their privileges and the ways in which their Whiteness serves as both a barrier and an advantage in facilitating these dialogues. This inner work is critical to knowing how one can contend with racial issues and develop comfort with responding to potentially racist comments shared during dialogues.

Similar to the previous recommendation, instructors should be willing to confess to learners when they lack specific knowledge about racial issues, as well as mistakes they have made in addressing racial matters. This vulnerability is essential in demonstrating to learners that resolving racial problems cannot be limited to easy solutions. While faculty can enhance their expertise about race and racism and develop their abilities to facilitate the discussion of these issues through practice and an attention to their identities, the journey of racial consciousness is ever-evolving. As such,

educators should not treat studying racial issues as another body of knowledge to be mastered for their own personal gain. As participants mentioned, humility was an essential attitude with which students identified. It is important for faculty persons to develop a willingness to learn more about race and racism and challenge themselves to grow through seeking out additional readings, participating in community projects with racially/ethnically diverse persons, and engaging in dialogues with others, including students, who know more about these issues.

There is a dire need for White educators, particularly men, to serve as role models for students and colleagues. The data from this study reveal the importance of White faculty addressing issues of race. They are well-situated to model appropriate and meaningful ways to respond to racial issues in classroom environments. Racial/ethnic minority educators can no longer be the majority of persons who facilitate these dialogues in their courses. As participants noted, White students were more likely to participate in these dialogues when White professors demonstrated productive ways for them to do so. At present, there is a lack of exposure to White models who positively engage racial realities. White instructors who are committed to these dialogues can plan workshops for their colleagues, engage in peer review of colleagues' syllabi to ascertain the level of racial consciousness embedded in course material and their philosophies, suggest readings, and serve as contacts with whom other faculty can discuss the process of facilitating these dialogues.

Researchers have shown that racial/ethnic minority faculty are typically more invested in addressing racial issues in their courses and are more cognizant of the role of their racial identities in facilitating these dialogues (Stassen, 1995; Maruyama & Moreno, 2000; Weissman et al., 1998). Yet, they continue to be underrepresented across institutions of higher education and disproportionately represented in courses in which racial issues are examined (NCES, 2002; Wahl et al., 2000). As such, White educators should seek knowledge from their racial/ethnic minority colleagues about imaginative approaches to engaging issues of race in their courses. When White instructors show an

interest in improving their knowledge and pedagogical practice, it confirms for racial/ethnic minority professors that others within the institution recognize their efforts and are willing to share some of the responsibility for enhancing student learning about racial maters.

Faculty are socialized to focus almost exclusively on content as the dominant component of their pedagogies. While content knowledge is important, it is but one of many other necessary elements in fostering engaging classroom environments. Participants observed the numerous factors they incorporated into their pedagogies—an understanding of themselves and their roles as educators, knowledge of learners, their preparedness, prior experiences, and exposure to racial/ethnic diversity, an understanding of race and racism in America, and a recognition of the engagement activities that were necessary to facilitate the discussion of racial issues. Therefore, readings, lectures, and statistics about race relations was a small piece of their pedagogies. Postsecondary educators interested in facilitating the discussion of racial realities must shift their priorities about what counts as knowledge in the classroom and evince an understanding of the benefits of integration and holism in their pedagogies. Racial dialogues were enhanced when multiple elements were combined to respond to students' varied preferences for learning and identities. Most importantly, instructors need to develop comfort with revising their approaches given the learners with whom they come in contact.

Faculty socialization tends to negatively impact the abilities of educators to facilitate dialogues about racial issues in their courses. Because almost all of the participants in this study had not previously explored their racial identities or been asked to reflect on their pedagogies for racial discussion, few knew how to do so as professors. They learned through practice, readings, and discussions with others. "Magical thinking" assumptions that learners will somehow achieve the outcomes associated with exposure to racial/ethnic diversity must be challenged. Instead, purposeful professional development opportunities for faculty persons to learn how to engage students in

dialogues about race are important. Department chairs and deans should require that faculty participate in these workshops at multiple times throughout their careers to reflect on their pedagogies and engage in dialogue with others committed to addressing racial issues. The educational benefits of diversity have received much attention in recent years. Making participants aware of this empirical research during the professional development sessions is important.

Those who are interested in facilitating dialogues about racial issues must develop different beliefs about what constitutes learning. Multiple sources of knowledge should be invited and expected in classrooms settings. For instance, participants spoke of the importance of asking students to reflect on their personal experiences and including that knowledge in their courses. For these classroom-based racial exchanges to be productive, it is vital that instructors introduce opportunities for learners to connect academic content with their personal experiences. Educators should ask students to reflect on their upbringings, their prior exposure to racial/ethnic differences, their White privilege, as well as the source of their hesitancies for participating in the interactions.

Professors must demonstrate a willingness to build relationships with students that extend beyond the classroom. Participants strived to learn facets of students' backgrounds, interests, and motivations and used this knowledge to encourage them to continue when dialogues became difficult. Because educators knew them on a personal basis, students were more devoted to exploring these issues despite the challenges. As noted by Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh, and Whitt (2005), these student-faculty relationships were critical to learners' engagement on campus. In the case of participants in the present study, engagement involved reading about and exploring racial issues, using one's personal experiences to concretize racial concepts and theories, and discussing racial realities with peers. Those who facilitate these dialogues should meet individually with students outside class and use knowledge learned from these encounters to develop customized approaches for increasing learners' interest in race and racism. For example, an instructor might learn that a

White student wants to participate in classroom dialogues but is hesitant to do so because her developing awareness of racial issues is creating distance between she and her White peers. Knowing this, the faculty person could connect this student with White allies across campus who are also invested in exploring racial realities. This out-of-class relationship could enhance classroom exchanges and increase this learner's willingness to persist throughout the discussions, even though she might ultimately lose some friends in the process. Furthermore, the knowledge gleaned from classroom dialogues and collaborations with White allies can enable her to develop confidence and skills in encouraging her friends to reflect on their own Whiteness.

Participants underscored the difficulties of helping students identify the systematic influences of racist ideologies, as learners believed that racism no longer existed. Instructors sought ways to help students apply the racial concepts and theories presented during class to situations within their localized communities. Service-learning was an approach cited by participants as potentially useful, though difficult. Professors should explore the merits of service-learning and incorporate it as one engagement activity to address racial issues. When utilized with active reflection and purpose, service-learning has the potential to help learners concretize racial issues discussed during class by participating actively within the communities surrounding their institutions.

Competition and exclusion cannot be the norms of those courses in which racial matters are explored and discussed. Instead, faculty should strive to develop classroom communities for learning that are focused on cooperation, collaboration, and inclusion. When learners co-construct knowledge with instructors in a classroom community for learning, they discover the importance of working together to remedy racial injustices. They learn to develop potential solutions to racial problems that are grounded in relationships and partnerships between different persons. Educators can cultivate classroom communities through group discussions, group work, requesting that students connect academic content to their personal lives, and embodying principles that members

of the course are teachers and learners. Faculty can also invite students to suggest the topics of class sessions, lead class members in dialogues, and identify important issues to discuss related to race and racism.

Participants described the uncomfortable emotions that ensued from racial dialogues. I recommend that faculty persons develop ground rules or group agreements on the first day of class that will guide discussions and enable class members to respond appropriately to undesirable, albeit necessary, feelings. Not only were these rules helpful in holding students and educators accountable, but participants spoke to the importance of revisiting them throughout the course to remind class members of their commitments to each other. The group agreements were viewed as "living documents" that could be modified as necessary. Instructors should use their knowledge to suggest additional rules for learners to consider, but should also allow students to dictate the agreements that they deem important.

In Zúñiga et al.'s (2007) intergroup dialogues approach, they suggested that tenure-track or tenured faculty members were rarely involved in racial interactions. Their empirically-grounded framework has gained significant attention in the past decade. Despite this, few postsecondary educators integrate its components into their courses. As such, intergroup dialogues are mainly used in co-curricular settings with students as the facilitators (Zúñiga, 2003). While it is important for learners to take ownership in facilitating dialogues among their peers, equally important is the participation of professors. When intergroup dialogues are used in a classroom setting, student learning about differences, critical thinking skills, and comfort with difficult dialogues are enhanced (Zúñiga et al.). Therefore, faculty should explore the value-added outcomes associated with intergroup dialogues and capitalize on its principles in their courses.

Faculty should exercise caution in translating the findings of this study to their own facilitation efforts. I offer in this study ways to think about structuring one's courses for racial

dialogues. Those wishing to do so cannot simply take the *Facilitating Dialogues about Racial Realities Model*, for example, and implement the six categories in their courses. Indeed, the model provides suggestions and possibilities for thinking about and addressing race in a postsecondary classroom; however, it is context-bound, fluid, and rooted in the data of the present study. As such, educators should pay attention to the learners in their courses, their comfort and skills as facilitators, and the institutional context in which they teach. All of these elements will influence the applicability of the model to one's specific courses.

This final educator recommendation concerns high school teachers. Although this study was focused on racial interactions within higher education classroom settings, there are implications for those who teach in high school settings. Learners' K-12 schooling experiences train them to be silent on racial matters and to only pay occasional attention to racial/ethnic differences at predetermined times throughout the year, such as, during Black History and Hispanic Heritage Months. They arrive as first-year students in college within institutions that espouse an appreciation for diversity. However, students are rarely provided opportunities to understand how to fulfill this expectation. Therefore, it is important that secondary school educators engage students in dialogues about race and racism. Doing so will enable learners to be better prepared to explore these issues in college. Postsecondary educators can form partnerships with local middle and high schools in the area and work with teachers to explore how race influences students' lives. Corrine's story from Chapter 4 serves as an example of this recommendation, as she invited middle-school students into her course to talk about the Civil Rights Movement. By having college students visit local K-12 schools and high school students visit colleges and universities, both groups of learners can explore and engage in dialogues about racial differences in these settings. College learners can utilize this knowledge in their classroom discussions to concretize issues of race in the communities of which they are part. This practice also enables students to identify the pressing racialized issues affecting their

communities, thereby leading them to have sustained commitments to developing possible solutions.

<center>*Postsecondary Administrators*</center>

Those who utilized pedagogy for racialized ways of knowing in classroom environments often contended with feelings of isolation and a lack of support from others. Therefore, instructors were often tired and rarely rewarded by their institutions for their efforts. Administrators can create educator network support groups for those who undertake this work. Even though faculty might not find sources of support within their individual departments and programs, there are likely persons within the larger campus who are also committed to racial exploration. Therefore, these network support groups can serve as rejuvenating spaces and encourage collaboration between educators across different disciplines and co-curricular programs. Partnering with centers for teaching and learning on campus is also conducive to sustaining these groups over time.

There exists a misperception that participating in dialogues about racial realities somehow dilutes the curriculum and is secondary to the academic pursuit of knowledge (Banks, 2001). The erroneous assumption is that facilitating racial understanding, acknowledging racial discrimination, and developing healthy campus climates belong in the purview of student affairs and not academic courses. The participants in this study decided that it was their responsibility to contribute to improving racial issues within the institution through preparing students to engage racial realities. They conveyed high academic standards and demonstrated that they could combine personal reflections with academic content and not weaken the development of critical thinking, writing, active reflection, and application skills. As such, educators and campus administrators should capitalize on each other's expertise and focus on the importance of classroom learning about racial issues. Participants understood the importance of connecting learners' out-of-class experiences to

their classroom learning. This holistic mindset is reinforced when campus administrators and professors form partnerships for supporting students in discussing racial issues.

Administrators and educators should provide students with numerous, sustained opportunities to discuss racial issues. In order for learners to see the value of racial discussions, they must be integrated in co-curricular contexts, as well as their courses. This enables them to practice talking openly about these issues with their peers in different contexts. Learners are accustomed to seeing race and racism as fragmented notions that bear little relevance to their lives (Tatum, 1992). Not only will engaging racial realities in various settings enhance students' knowledge of racial issues, but it will develop their abilities to address race in multiple places beyond their college years.

Acknowledging racism as present within the institution is also critically important. Racial/ethnic minority instructors and students struggle with not being believed when they report racist incidents they have experienced. Participants referred to the lack of involvement by their White colleagues in facilitating racial interactions, since they did not see racism as still detrimental in today's society. Administrators should commission and take seriously institutional climate surveys that each member of the campus completes. Several institutions already use these surveys to ascertain the campus climate. In addition, qualitative data gathering approaches that involve interviews and focus groups with students, faculty, administrators, and staff are important to collect in-depth information about the campus climate that cannot be gained from surveys. These qualitative and quantitative data should be disaggregated at minimum by race/ethnicity and gender, so that members can see the different perceptions of the campus climate among people of various backgrounds. These data should then be made available to faculty in order to acknowledge potentially harmful racial climates in courses. Institutional constituents can engage in campus-wide dialogues to respond to and make sense of the data and develop ways to improve the campus climate for various groups.

Postsecondary administrators should institutionalize courses focused on the exploration of racial realities. Adequate fiscal and human resources should be made available for these courses. Participants stressed the marginalization of those who taught these courses. When these courses are viewed as supplementary to the dominant curriculum, students learn to trivialize issues of race. Consequently, race relations courses should be made central to the institution's mission and purpose of enhancing learning through diversity among college students. Those who support learners in fulfilling the institution's expectation of appreciating racial/ethnic differences through classroom dialogues should be publicly acknowledged and rewarded for their efforts. For example, instructors can receive institutional grants and scholarships to improve their facilitation of racial exchanges. In addition, those who practice racially conscious pedagogical approaches can be recognized during campus-wide banquets attended by prominent institutional members, such as the president, provost, and academic deans.

Implications for Future Research

I completed this study to understand the ways in which faculty facilitated constructive dialogues about racial realities in postsecondary classroom contexts. Of particular interest were how educators described and made sense of their pedagogies for racial discussions. Although participants named learning outcomes they believed students accrued as a result of these interactions, such as awareness-raising, positive social change, analytical skills, and confidence in addressing racial issues, future researchers should conduct empirically-based studies to measure the outcomes of classroom-based dialogues on race and racism. The intergroup dialogues approach has been shown to produce several learning outcomes, among them consciousness-raising, bridging differences, building capacity for social change, and perspective-taking (Zúñiga et al., 2007). Researchers should explore if these same outcomes, or others, are produced from discussing issues of race in a structured

classroom environment in the ways described by faculty in this study. Doing so would increase the likelihood that professors would incorporate racial interactions in their own courses.

The courses in which participants facilitated the discussion of racial issues were mainly in the social sciences, humanities, and arts. Readers might wonder about the possibilities of engaging in these dialogues with students in different areas, such as the natural and physical sciences, mathematics, or engineering. Although I do not expect mathematics professors, for instance, to engage learners in dialogues about racial realities in their courses, there are principles about teaching and learning by responding to students' personal experiences and cultural backgrounds that could provide directions for making these courses more culturally relevant and racially conscious. As such, researchers should examine the efficacies of racial dialogues in different disciplines and the merits of developing alternative conceptions of race and racism, self, learners, and teaching in those fields.

Because this study was focused on exploring the pedagogies of participants who facilitated racial interactions in classrooms, I limited my sample to educators. Therefore, I relied primarily on them describing their approaches, reflecting on the challenges they faced, and articulating the reasons for their decisions in how they structured their courses and facilitated these exchanges. Absent from my study is how learners responded to instructors' pedagogies and made sense of their facilitation methods. It is important to interview students, hear their voices, and understand their roles in these dialogues. Learners can discuss their efforts to engage race with their peers, how they evaluate their roles as teacher-learners, their previous experiences exploring racial realties, and the challenges they face in discussing these issues with their peers. Research of this kind will offer additional perspectives on classroom-based dialogues that will enhance readers' knowledge of the process and outcomes of racial exchanges in college courses.

I conducted interviews for this study face-to-face at one conference and via telephone during May and June 2007. Most of these educators were not teaching a course at the time, as

students were on summer break. It might be useful to interview faculty persons on their campuses and when they are actively engaged in facilitating these dialogues. This could enhance their abilities to reflect on their pedagogies and articulate their approaches, as they are currently utilizing them. Furthermore, follow-up studies with participants could include longitudinal research that explores pedagogical philosophies and practices throughout multiple courses to note changes in beliefs and methods over time. Included in this longitudinal study would be observations of educators' pedagogies, interviews with students, reviews of campus climate surveys, and further document analyses of syllabi, student and instructor journals, and student assignments.

Finally, the institutions at which these participants taught were mostly White. Consequently, there were few opportunities for professors and students to participate in dialogues with their racial/ethnic minority counterparts. Additional research should be conducted within different institutional contexts, such as Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Tribal Colleges, racially-diverse four-year institutions and community colleges, and Hispanic-Serving Institutions, to examine if similar challenges and barriers are faced by educators when they facilitate these dialogues with predominantly racial/ethnic minority learners.

Closing

> The teacher [should] be intelligently aware of the capacities, needs, and past experiences of those under instruction, and, allow the suggestion made to develop into a plan and project by means of the further suggestions contributed and organized into a whole by the members of the group. The plan, in other words, is a co-operative enterprise, not a dictation. The teacher's suggestion is … a starting point to be developed into a plan through contributions from the experience of all engaged in the learning process. The development occurs through reciprocal give-and-take, the teacher taking but not being afraid also to give. (Dewey, 1938, pp. 71-72)

Almost 70 years ago, Dewey (1938) outlined the principles of progressive educational practice, which were seen in the data presented and interpreted throughout this study. For Dewey, learning was a mutual engagement process between teachers and students, as they used each other's experiences as sources of knowledge in the learning process. Part of the struggle of participants in

this study was establishing the optimal balance of offering their knowledge and experiences and providing ample spaces for learners to share their perspectives. Although educators served as guides or facilitators of racial dialogues, they did not remove themselves from the process. Instead, they reciprocated teaching and learning with students, as noted by Dewey. They were participants in these interactions, even as they facilitated them. These faculty persons shared their expertise and invited students to do the same. They determined engagement activities, assigned readings related to racial concepts and theories, used lectures to explain racial disparities, and simultaneously expected students to be leaders during dialogues and invited them to integrate out-of-class readings and experiences during the exchanges. Their pedagogies for racialized ways of knowing reflected this "give-and-take" philosophy described by Dewey, as they saw themselves and students as collaborators in the classroom.

Racism continues to be a pervasive factor that influences people's lives, but rarely are there opportunities to discuss candidly racial realities. Within the larger society and localized campus environments, there are few models of constructive ways to engage racial matters. Thus, the majority of learners and professors continue to resist efforts to address these issues for fear of appearing racist or ignorant. The instructors descried herein were lifelong learners who saw racial exploration as a journey with no final destination. The 22 participants in this study courageously and painstakingly devoted their careers to helping students explore racial realities in postsecondary classrooms through dialogue, reflection, and active engagement. They were conscious of their pedagogical mistakes, reflected on themselves as racial beings, and saw themselves and students as teacher-learners in the classroom. Despite the difficulties of engaging in racial exchanges, they refused to retreat from facilitating these dialogues and continually displayed a willingness to learn more about themselves, racial concepts and theories, and the learners with whom they came in contact. I trust that readers will treat the findings and insights that emerged from this study with

seriousness and urgency, use them to improve racial climates for students who continue to be marginalized, and enhance their efforts to engage learners in meaningful dialogues about the effects of racial realities in society. I am indeed fortunate to have learned from these knowledgeable, self-aware, racially conscious educators.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Faculty Recruitment Script

Dear [Insert Faculty Person's Name]:

I hope this note finds you well. I am a doctoral candidate in the Higher Education Program at Penn State University. I was perusing the [insert year] National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education program booklet and came across your session on [insert title of session]. I was intrigued by your session because it relates directly to the topic of my dissertation: exploring how faculty engage students in dialogues about race in the classroom. I hope to interview faculty members at this year's NCORE to understand the pedagogies they use in facilitating constructive discussions about race in their courses.

I would very much appreciate the opportunity to hear more about your expertise on this topic. Specifically, I am interested in knowing more about how you address race with students in your own teaching. Will you be attending this year's NCORE? If so, could we possibly find time to connect for an interview?

I hope we can arrange a meeting at the conference, as I believe your perspective will enrich my dissertation research. Please contact me by phone [213.840.4795] or e-mail [quaye@psu.edu] should you have questions, need additional information, or wish to negotiate possible meeting times. Thanks in advance for your consideration.

All the Best,
Stephen

Appendix B: Faculty Follow-up Recruitment Script

Dear [Insert Faculty Person's Name]:

I hope you are doing well.

Two weeks ago, I sent you an e-mail to request your participation in a study on understanding the pedagogy faculty use in facilitating constructive discussions about race in their courses. I selected you based on a session you presented at the [insert year] NCORE that is similar to my dissertation topic.

Since I have not heard from you, I write to see if you will be attending this year's NCORE meeting, and if so, if you would be willing to interview with me about your experiences engaging race in the classroom.

I hope you will accept my offer, as I believe I can learn much from you about this topic. Thanks in advance for your consideration. Please do not hesitate to contact me by phone [213.840.4795] or e-mail [quaye@psu.edu] should you have questions or want to discuss your interest in participating in my research further.

Many thanks,
Stephen

Appendix C: Faculty Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research

The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Study:	Pedagogy and Racialized Ways of Knowing: Students and Faculty Engage Racial Realities in Postsecondary Classrooms
Principal Investigator:	Stephen John Quaye, Doctoral Candidate Center for the Study of Higher Education 400 Rackley Building University Park, PA 16802 814.863.2654 / quaye@psu.edu
Dissertation Chair:	Dr. Shaun R. Harper, Assistant Professor and Research Associate Center for the Study of Higher Education 400 Rackley Building University Park, PA 16802 814.863.5553 / sharper@psu.edu

1. **Purpose of the Study:** The purpose of this research study is to explore how faculty enable college students to candidly discuss race and racism with their peers in a classroom setting. Of particular interest are how those discussions occur, the challenges involved in the process, and the potential learning that transpires. The study endeavors to explore the teaching techniques that facilitate difficult dialogues on race and racism.

2. **Procedures to be followed:** You will be asked interview questions about your teaching style, practices, and philosophy related to addressing race in your courses. You might also be asked to participate in a voluntary observation to further ascertain how you engage race in classroom contexts.

3. **Benefits:** This research can provide a better understanding of how race and racism affect college students. This information could help plan specific measures that enable students to talk with their peers about racial differences. The information gleaned from the study can also help improve faculty teaching and the facilitation of difficult dialogues to improve the learning of students on this topic.

4. **Duration of Interviews:** Interview(s) will last between 60 and 90 minutes and will be audio recorded.

   (a) The recordings will be stored in a locked cabinet in the principal investigator's office.
   (b) Only the principal investigator, Stephen John Quaye, and the Faculty Advisor, Dr. Shaun R. Harper, will have access to the recordings.
   (c) Each interviewee will be assigned a pseudonym that disguises her or his real identity. The recordings will be transcribed and coded according to this assigned pseudonym; therefore, all remaining identifiers of real names will not be known. The research team [noted above] is more interested in participants' comments, not their actual names.
   (d) Recordings will be transcribed by the principal investigator or a member of Absolute Marketing and Research in Bloomington, Indiana. Because the recordings will have no identifying information, this person will not be able to know your identity.

5. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. Because you will be assigned a pseudonym, the observations and interviews do not ask for any information that would potentially identify your real identity. In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared because your name is in no way linked to your responses.

6. **Right to Ask Questions:** You can ask questions about this research. Contact Stephen John Quaye at 814.863.2654 or quaye@psu.edu with questions. You can also call this number or write to this e-mail address if you have complaints or concerns about this research.

7. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study.

Signing this form below acknowledges that you have read the information in this form and consent to take part in the research. You will receive a copy of this form for your records or future reference.

Many thanks for your time and participation!

Participant Signature for Interview: _____   Date: _____

Researcher Signature for Interview: _____   Date: _____

Participant Signature for Observation: _____   Date: _____

Researcher Signature for Observation: _____   Date: _____

Appendix D: Faculty Interview Guide

General Demographic Information
Faculty Person's Race/Ethnicity: _____
Faculty Person's Gender: _____
Number of Years Faculty Member has Taught College Students: _____
Faculty Person's Institution: _____
Faculty Person's Department/Program: _____
Faculty Person's Rank/Position: _____
Name/Type of Course(s): _____

Initial Questions
What do race and racism mean to you? / How do you define both terms?

Tell me about your teaching philosophy.
> Probes
> How did you come to this philosophy?
> How has it evolved over time?

Let's talk more about your teaching philosophy, but this time let's focus specifically on your teaching philosophy regarding race.

Tell me about the classes in which you address racial issues.

What are your teaching practices in the class(es) you just described?
> Probes
> If I was in one of your classes, what would I see you doing? What would I see students doing? What would you expect of me as a student in your course?
> Describe for me a typical class session.
> Describe for me your syllabus. What kinds of readings do you use? What kinds of assignments do you use? Why?

How do you facilitate dialogues on race?
> Probes
> How do you incorporate race into classroom dialogues?
> How do you teach students about racial issues?

Why do you personally find it important to engage students in topics related to race?

What are the advantages to facilitating dialogues on race?

What are the challenges to facilitating dialogues on race?
> Probe
> What challenges do students face in engaging race in the classroom?

How has your teaching about race evolved/changed over the years?
> Probe
> How will it continue to evolve/change?

What learning outcomes do you hope students achieve from your teaching and talking about race?

How common are the practices you use among your colleagues in your program/department?
What is your campus/program/department like?
> Probes
> Race relations
> Racial/ethnic diversity

What advice would you give those who endeavor to engage race in classroom dialogues and incorporate race into their course content and teaching practices?

Let's go just a tad bit deeper. If you were leading a workshop for faculty, let's say most of them White, what would you emphasize and what kinds of practical things would you encourage them to do?

Added Questions
How does your identity influence your abilities to facilitate racial dialogues?

What are your fears in facilitating these dialogues?

How does the racial/ethnic makeup of your courses affect the racial dialogues?

Appendix E: Data Analysis Code List

	Code	Description
	Code	Description
1	race	List--how participants define race and racism
2	construction	Race is socially constructed
3	advantage	Race as a system of privilege
4	power	Race is about maintaining social, economic, and political power over others
5	biology	Race is based on what people perceive to be biological
6	system	Racism as a system that maintains inequities
7	racism	Racism as bigger than individual attitudes and prejudices, but also partly these
8	supremacy	Racism as the belief in White supremacy
9	destiny	Racism as the belief that it was White people's destiny or right to enslave people of color
10	knowing	Racism as connected to privileged and dominant ways of knowing
11	course	List--courses in which educators address racial issues
12	diversity	A course related to exploring diversity issues
13	whiteness	A course related to exploring Whiteness
14	social justice	A course related to exploring social justice issues
15	gender	A course related to exploring feminist, gender, or women's issues
16	discrimination	A course related to exploring discrimination and marginalization issues
17	sexuality	A course related to exploring sexuality issues
18	hate	A course related to exploring hate issues
19	oppression	A course related to exploring oppression issues
20	ethnicity	A course related to exploring issues of race and racism
21	background	List--elements of participants' background that led to interest in addressing racial issues
22	limitation	Not having the knowledge base to teach students and wanting to learn more
23	privilege	Wanting to acknowledge privileges and do something about them
24	curiosity	Wanting to understand more about difference and why people are treated differently based on race
25	experience	Experiences with race and racism growing up that led to view of the world
26	teaching	List--participants' teaching philosophy and practices
27	no lecture	No lecturing during class
28	mini lecture	Engage in mini lectures during class to orient students to racial topics and issues

29	yes lecture	Use traditional lecture format to teach about racial issues
30	experiential	Providing opportunities for students to learn based on experience
31	discussion	Providing opportunities for students to talk to each other
32	group	Dividing students into small groups to work together
33	facilitator	Seeing role as facilitator of the learning process
34	question	Providing opportunities for students to ask questions and educators also asking students questions
35	leader	Allowing students to lead the class, guide the discussion and content, and make decisions about direction of class
36	empower	Providing opportunities for students to feel empowered and in control of class
37	mutual	Mutual determination of class activities between students and educator
38	reading	Providing diverse readings for students related to racial issues
39	student teacher	Students as teachers during class time
40	position	Educators position selves in ways that diminish their authority
41	speaker	Bring speakers to class who have knowledge about racial issues
42	video	Use videos relevant to racial issues to engage students
43	work	Find out what works for students on an individual level and group level
44	interview	Have students interview different people to learn about their race and privilege
45	expert	Put students in positions where they learn that they are experts of certain knowledge and experiences
46	non expert	Not seeing oneself as an expert who puts knowledge in students' heads
47	open	Create an environment that is open, trusting, and honest for discussion to occur
48	comfort zone	Have students participate in experiences outside of their comfort zone (e.g., attending BSA meeting)
49	action	Have students participate in tangible actions related to race
50	self	Share self, disclose, and become vulnerable with students--limitations, biases, assumptions, difficulties
51	assumption	Share assumptions and biases with students
52	ground rules	Develop a set of ground rules for behavior, expectations of each other, and discussions
53	reflection	Have students reflect on their selves, changes, and experiences with racism
54	change	Exerting a willingness to change readings, teaching, assignments, etc. based on students in class; be flexible
55	role play	Have students engage in role play activities to apply racial issues
56	case study	Use case studies to help students apply racial issues to "real-life" scenarios
57	student centered	Be student centered by focusing on students' needs, learning styles, comfort zones, experience, etc.
58	demanding	Be demanding and expect much from students so that they achieve high goals
59	learning style	Make teaching connect to students' learning styles and preferences
60	holistic	Invite students to bring whole selves to learning process -- emotions and personal stories
61	personal	Connect racial issues to students personal narratives. Have them share personal stories
62	intersection	Focus on intersections between different social identities -- gender, race, sexuality, identity, social class

63	debrief	Providing opportunities for students to debrief on discussions, questions, and issues raised and learned during class
64	safe space	Creating a safe space in which students feel free to share comments and be open about racial assumptions and issues and not judged
65	yes power	Use power as an educator/authority figure in such a way to explain race-related content
66	data	Use data, statistics, facts about race to help students understand racial issues
67	apply	Provide opportunities for students to apply race-related information
68	active	Engage students in active learning techniques
69	voice	Make sure all students have voices in the classroom and feel included
70	sustain	Sustain racial dialogues over time and in multiple class sessions
71	balance	Educators balance challenging students, de-centering themselves, and seeing themselves also as learners
72	service	Incorporate service-learning or community service to help students apply racial concepts
73	revise	Exert a willingness to revise course as necessary and given different learners and their needs and interests
74	defensive	Working to not put students on the defensive or "lose" them in the process of racial dialogues. Ensuring that students do not withdraw.
75	role model	Model effective behaviors and be an example of a positive educator of color for students
76	co construct	Provide opportunities for students to create knowledge together
77	reason	Use evidence for justification of answers and positions; Enlightenment beliefs; critical thinking
78	grading	Use a grading rubric to let students know how they will be graded -- grading not based on students' perspectives or opinions
79	music	Use songs/music to teach about racial issues
80	purpose	Be clear at outset about why you want students to talk about race, so that students see the connections and relevance
81	quick write	Have students write quick thoughts (i.e., 5 minutes) about reflections on emotions when there is tension
82	diverse	Intentionally create discussion groups that are racially/ethnically diverse
83	community	Create a learning community where students and educators care about each other on a personal level
84	teaching race	List--participants' teaching philosophy and practices regarding race
85	self selection	Students self-selecting themselves into courses focused on race so they are receptive
86	non receptive	Teaching to students who are uninterested in issues about race and non-receptive and resistant
87	marginalized	Teaching about voices from people of color who have been marginalized and silenced in society
88	upset	Dealing effectively with students who are upset about discussing issues of race
89	doubt	Use relevant examples to combat students' doubt about racism being something of the past and nonexistent in today's society
90	theory	Use theories to connect to practice with racial issues
91	cultural center	Encourage students to participate in different cultural centers on campus
92	abroad	Encourage students to study abroad to learn about different races and cultures
93	content	Focus more on content to give students the history of race relations
94	why	List--why participants find it important to engage students in topics related to race

95	passion	They feel led to do so; it is their passion
96	student change	To see students change and display behaviors that are more racially just
97	thrive	To see students thrive in an increasingly racially/ethnically diverse world
98	benefit	List--the advantages to facilitating dialogues on race
99	awareness	That students become aware of their privilege and raise their consciousness about race and racism
100	ready	That students become ready to encounter racial/ethnic differences in their lives post-college
101	insights	That students gain different perspectives and learn from others
102	critical mass	That campuses get enough people (students and faculty) to create institutional change through these racial dialogues
103	validation	That the stories and experiences of racism among students of color are validated; different lived experiences provided space
104	expectation	List--educators' expectations of students in their courses
105	attend	That students attend every class
106	participate	That students actively participate during class
107	new behavior	That students engage in behaviors outside of their normal ways of functioning
108	read	That students do the readings for each class session
109	assignment	That students complete the course assignments
110	write	That students write well
111	high	Being demanding and expecting much of students
112	no grade	Not focused on student grades, but instead on the learning process
113	process	That students process and reflect on their learning about race and their own experiences with race
114	critique	That students critique the ideas and readings, but not each other personally
115	listen	That students listen actively to their peers
116	civil	That students will be civil and engage with each other respectfully
117	resistance	List--ways educators handle students' resistance to talking about race
118	multiple	The incorporation of multiple strategies to manage resistance
119	victim	To view students as victims in a racist society--almost not their fault
120	address	Figure out what students are resistant to and address it head on
121	not lose	Address resistance in ways that do not lose students or turn them off
122	book	Use different readings that relate more to (White) students' experiences
123	example	Use examples that are relevant to students' lives and experiences
124	relationship	Try to build relationships with students on a personal level and outside of class
125	white privilege	Use White privilege to influence students and connect with them

126	relevant	Ground content in relevant experiences to students
127	concrete	Provide students with concrete experiences in which to ground course content
128	fact	Provide students with facts about race and racism and documentation of where facts come from
129	opinion	Expose students to different opinions of their peers during discussions
130	back off	Do not confront resistance head-on, but back off and ask questions and listen to students
131	continue	Continue to challenge students to think about issues and ask them questions when they display resistance
132	call	Call directly on students to speak to counter passive resistance
133	slow	Realize that learning about race is a slow, long process -- must persevere
134	bilingual	Being versed in dominant and "minority" literature to combat resistance; educators must know their "stuff"
135	legitimate	Having colleagues to bounce ideas off and ensuring legitimacy of racial dialogues among students
136	challenge	List--challenges to facilitating dialogues on race
137	preparation	Students not prepared to discuss racial issues
138	pwi	Students enrolled in predominantly White institutions that do not provide opportunities to engage with peers and faculty of color
139	lived experience	White students not having the lived experience of actually talking with people who are racially different
140	native informant	Students of color expected to speak on behalf of their entire racial/ethnic group
141	racism over	Students believing that racism no longer exists
142	wrong thing	Students and educators worried and fearful about saying the wrong thing and appearing racist and feeling guilt
143	white student	White students having blinders and not seeing their privilege and how it influences their lives
144	history	Students not understanding the history of race/racism
145	helping	White students displaying the attitude that they are helping poor people of color -- exhibiting a "better than" attitude
146	evaluation	Educators receiving low or poor teacher evaluations from students
147	bad teaching	Educators (mostly White) not teaching in ways that help students talk about race -- do more harm and heighten racial tensions
148	disrespect	Receiving disrespect from Black students because they do not know how to respond to Black professors -- make casual remarks
149	affirmative action	White students believing that faculty of color are affirmative action hires and not knowledgeable or qualified
150	tired	Being tired or exhausted from doing this kind of work -- it is hard work
151	got it	White faculty members believing they know how to do this and do not need any help
152	tainted	White students believing that the curriculum is only focused on race or the experiences of people of color
153	tenure	Faculty who do this work are not rewarded and it negatively impacts their tenure
154	enough	Racially-focused dialogues in classroom contexts not happening enough; isolated, fragmented, and seen in only a few courses
155	margin	Courses that focus on racial dialogues are on the margins; they are not institutionalized and practiced by many faculty
156	agency	Feeling like no change is possible; problem of racism is too big and overwhelming; knowing one can make localized changes
157	impatience	Wanting to immediately act to end racism without understanding the complexities of the issue; not wanting to talk, but just move to act

158	evolve	List--how educators' teaching about race has evolved over the years
159	direct	Educators being more direct with students about race
160	intentional	Educators being more intentional about teaching approaches to ground issues of race
161	activist focused	Educators being more activist focused in their teaching
162	secure	Educators being more secure in their selves, what they do, and their abilities -- not worried about others
163	skilled	Educators being more skilled about theory, countering resistance, and facilitation of racial dialogues
164	inclusive	Educators being more inclusive with material related to other races and social identities
165	too few	Educators being more balanced in helping all students succeed and not just the few students of color
166	savior	Educators no longer trying to be the "savior" who saves everyone and does it all -- focused on smaller, manageable race-related issues
167	learning outcomes	List--learning outcomes that educators hope students achieve from racial teaching and dialogues
168	anti racist	That students become anti-racists and committed to issues of racial equity and justice
169	behavior	That students will exhibit new behaviors that are racially just and equitable
170	critical thinking	That students will develop critical thinking skills and be able to analyze racialized situations
171	reflect	That students will reflect on their experiences and what they have learned about race
172	activism	That students will become social justice activists working for change about racial issues
173	attitude	That students will change their attitudes about race and values and feel differently
174	communicate	That students will be able to talk openly and freely with those who are racially/ethnically different from them
175	collective	That students will start to see race as a collective effort -- the need to combine individual and systemic acts
176	advice	List--advice participants would give to those who wish to engage race in their courses
177	workshop	Attend workshops and seminars on racial issues
178	practical	Engage in role playing activities to see how one would respond to pedagogical challenges about race
179	learn	Exhibit a willingness to learn new behaviors and practices and admit what one does not know and then go and learn it
180	material	Exhibit a willingness to read new material different from one's experiences and knowledge
181	know self	Engage in practices that are consistent with who you are as an educator
182	own	Do one's own "inner" work and examine one's self
183	field	Make sure to acknowledge that there is a place for race in any content area, field, or discipline
184	context	Know the institutional context and race relations in that context
185	dilute	Do not dilute or water down racial issues
186	wrong	Know that you will make mistakes and be wrong at times
187	central	Make exploring issues of race in the classroom central to the Provost and other administrators on campus
188	humor	Take work seriously, but not too seriously; be able to laugh at oneself
189	network	Build a network of people with whom to debrief and gripe who are also concerned about racial issues

190	fun	Find ways to make discussing race fun for educators and students
191	reality	Realize that not everyone will change; realize that this work is often painful, not very rewarding, and difficult
192	unpopular	Be willing to be unpopular and take a backlash from others (colleagues and students)
193	identity	List--how one's identity influences their abilities to facilitate dialogues on racial issues
194	white man	Being a White man as one advantage over persons of color
195	authority	Authority as White person is respected by students
196	not questioned	Not questioned or challenged by students given White race
197	no agenda	Seen as having no biased agenda due to White race
198	respect	Given respect by students given White race
199	problematize	Continue to problematize one's identity and limitations as a White educator
200	easier	Easier for White people on predominantly White campuses to take on issues of race than people of color
201	serious	White faculty taken more seriously when teaching about racial issues
202	know identity	Reflect on your identity so that you know its influence on your teaching about race and facilitating these dialogues
203	syllabus	List--how educators structure their syllabus
204	structure	Changes in how one organizes class, readings, assignments, schedule
205	colleague	List--how common the racial pedagogical practices are used among colleagues in educators' program/department
206	minority	Mostly used among racial/ethnic minority educators
207	white	No commitment by White colleagues or do more harm to students when they try to engage race
208	risky	White educators thinking that talking about race is too risky
209	common	Colleagues care about similar issues and are committed to racial issues
210	uncommon	Colleagues do not care about similar issues and are not committed to racial issues; this commitment rarely happens
211	offend	Colleagues not making it known to students that students should tell the educator when they have been offended
212	socialized	Colleagues not socialized to teach about and engage racial issues
213	climate	List--racial issues in the educator's campus climate
214	divided	Division and tension among different racial/ethnic groups
215	urban	Challenges due to urban environment
216	intolerance	Racially intolerant and discriminatory incidents by White students, faculty, and administrators
217	welcome	Climate welcomes racial discussions; open to these dialogues more so than other places
218	not welcomed	Students and educators of color not welcomed in the campus environment
219	low numbers	The continued underrepresentation of students and faculty of color; difficult for racial dialogues

220	growth	List--areas in which educators still need to grow
221	culture	The need to learn more about culture
222	discomfort	The need to be taken more out of their comfort zone
223	internalized	The ability to help students of color work through internalized racism
224	facilitation	The need to improve one's facilitation skills of racial dialogues

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EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, Higher Education
The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
Cognate: Anthropology
Dissertation: *Pedagogy and Racialized Ways of Knowing: Students and Faculty Engage Racial Realities in Postsecondary Classrooms*

Master of Science, College Student Personnel
Miami University, Oxford, OH
Concentrations: College Student Development and Student Affairs Administration

Bachelor of Science, Psychology
James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT

Assistant Professor, Counseling and Personnel Services Department, College Student Personnel Program
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- Maintain an active research agenda exploring gains and outcomes associated with inclusive racial climates, cross-racial interactions, and color-conscious pedagogical approaches.
- Meet regularly with and advise master's and doctoral students.
- Employ innovative pedagogical practices to facilitate engaging learning environments.
- Develop and teach courses, including Facilitating Student Learning in Higher Education; Race, Class, and Gender; Student Development Theory; and Qualitative Research Methods.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Quaye, S. J., & Harper, S. R. (2007). Faculty accountability for culturally inclusive pedagogy and curricula. *Liberal Education, 93*(3), 32-39.

Quaye, S. J., & Baxter Magolda, M. B. (2007). Enhancing racial self-understanding through structured learning and reflective experiences. In S. R. Harper & L. D. Patton (Eds.), *Responding to the realities of race on campus. New Directions for Student Services* (No. 120, pp. 55-66). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Quaye, S. J. (2007). Hope and learning: The outcomes of contemporary student activism. *About Campus, 12*(2), 2-9.