ILLUMINATING WHITENESS:

An Exploration of
White Racial Identity Consciousness and the Expression of Colorblindness

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Abstract

Whites are often unaware of their racial identity and its societal implications. This lack of awareness informs how many Whites view issues of race. Specifically, colorblindness has emerged as the primary way for Whites to explain racial inequalities in education, wealth, and mortality. It allows Whites to disregard the meaning and impact of their Whiteness in a racialized social system. The current study explored the connection between White racial identity consciousness and the expression of colorblindness for 21 White students in a dialogue course on race during Winter 2010. Students came from two interracial dialogues and one White-only dialogue. The dialogue course consisted of fourteen weekly sessions about identity power, privilege, and oppression in the United States based on race and ethnicity. Participant preliminary papers, final papers, and interviews were coded for White racial identity consciousness and expression of colorblindness. Findings indicate that generally, White racial identity consciousness increased and the expression of colorblindness decreased over the course of the semester. Overall, higher racial consciousness was linked with fewer expressions of colorblindness. The link was found for both interracial dialogues and the White-only dialogue. The implications of these findings are discussed in relation to existing literature as well as systemic racism in the current historical moment.

INTRODUCTION

The United States is a racialized social system. In this system, Whites are systemically privileged and people of color are systemically disadvantaged (Bonilla-Silva 2006). This systemic privilege and disadvantage has tangible consequences for the lives of people of color and Whites. For example, most Whites attend schools that are almost entirely White, live in highly racially segregated neighborhoods, and have little sustained contact with people of color (Lewis 2001). Whites consistently fare better on indicators of wealth, health, and social status (Branscombe et al. 2007). Whites are more likely than Blacks, Latinos, or Asian Americans to receive appropriate medical treatment (Malat et al. 2010). Blacks and Latinos are more likely than Whites to be incarcerated (Gusa 2010). What these realities reveal is that people of color and Whites live essentially different racial lives.

The racial disparities between people of color and Whites are not passive and immutable social realities. The racialized social system changes with time as members of the dominant race struggle to maintain their privilege and as members of subordinated groups struggle to change the status quo (Bonilla-Silva 2006). One of the largest shifts in the racialized system of the United States occurred with the Civil Rights Movement of the twentieth century (Bonilla-Silva 2000). As a result of the efforts of African Americans in coalition with Whites, racism was altered drastically in laws and public policies. However, in the time since this shift, multiple scholars have theorized about the emergence of new forms of racism (Bobo 1997, Bonilla-Silva 2006, Trepagnier 2007).

Whereas racism was once more overt, colorblind racism now operates as a subtle force to maintain and perpetuate racial inequalities (Coates 2008). In the past fifty years, colorblind racism has emerged as the dominant form of racism (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Bonilla-Silva et al.

(2003) describe colorblind racism as a racial ideology that, "unlike Jim Crow racism, is anchored on the abstract extension of egalitarian values to racial minorities and the notion that racial minorities are culturally deficient (113)." By utilizing egalitarian values, such as hard work and merit, colorblindness enables Whites to explain away racial differences as due to individual motivation and talent instead of systemic racism. It allows Whites to imagine themselves outside of a racialized social system in which they receive systemic White privilege. In imagining themselves outside of a racialized social system, Whites can remain unaware of their racial identity and its meaning in society (Lewis 2004). This is problematic considering the privileged social location of Whites.

Theoretical and empirical work affirms a connection between how Whites understand their racial identity and their expression of racist beliefs. Less advanced understandings of White racial identity has been linked to the expression of more racist beliefs (Carter 1990, Pope-Davis 1994). They have also been linked with the expression of more colorblind beliefs (Gushue and Constantine 2007). Although a previous study found a link between the expression of colorblindness and White racial identity, research studies that explore this link are sparse. Moreover, no studies have explored how changes in understandings of racial identity might link with changes in the expression of colorblindness by Whites.

This study seeks to explore how changes in understanding of White racial identity intersect with the expression of colorblindness. One medium that allows Whites to learn about their racial identity and its societal meaning is intergroup and intragroup dialogue. These dialogues are guided by a goal to critically analyze power, privilege, and oppression in society on the basis of social identities (Nagda and Zúñiga 2003). By participating in intergroup and intragroup dialogues focused specifically systemic racism, Whites may be able to connect with

their racial identity and understand its societal implications. Moreover, Whites may able to redefine their White racial identities as a positive and actively anti-racist force for change rather than an identity whose systemic privileges must be sustained. How White participants in these dialogues understand their White racial identity thus represents an interesting area of inquiry. Findings from such inquiries will have broader implications for efforts that challenge systemic racism in the United States.

Research Question:

Racism remains an important factor in shaping the life experiences and outcomes of individuals within the United States. It systemically privileges Whites and disadvantages people of color in multiple ways. Despite the persistence of racism, many White people claim that they are colorblind and do not see race. Although such claims may be guided by good intentions and situated within a history of progressive colorblind rhetoric, colorblindness amounts to a form of racism. By not recognizing race, Whites can ignore their White racial identity as well as its impact on their lives and the lives of people of color. Moreover, colorblindness enables Whites to reject the evidence that racism exists. They can identify 'non-racial' factors, such as individual motivation and ability, to explain away racial inequalities. The effects of colorblindness thus serve to maintain systemic racism whereby Whites are privileged and racial minorities are oppressed. In light of this, I asked how Whites' understandings of their racial identity are related to their expressions of colorblindness. To answer this question, I examined how Whites' understanding their racial identity develops over time in a context where race is intentionally discussed and what this development means for colorblindness.

RESEARCH AND THEORY

The nature of my research required a review of three bodies of literature. First, I discuss existing literature on White racial identity development. I present: the origins of racial identity development theories, three influential White racial identity development (WRID) models and critiques of these WRID models, a White racial consciousness model and critiques of it, the relationship between White identity and racism, and White racial awareness among White college students. Second, I discuss extant literature on colorblind racism. In this discussion, I describe: the origins of colorblind racism, several conceptualizations of colorblind racism with a primary focus on the work of Bonilla-Silva, the deployment of colorblind racism in certain social domains and by various racial actors, and the role of colorblind racism in perpetuating White privilege. Last, I provide a brief overview of literature on intergroup and intra-group dialogues. Because my data set is participants from intergroup dialogues, this literature will provide some context. In this overview, I discuss: the history of intergroup dialogue, the aims of inter- and intra-group dialogue, and outcomes of dialogue focused on race and ethnicity.

White Racial Identity and Consciousness Models

Broadly, White racial identity consciousness concerns how Whites understand their racial identity and what that means. The notion of consciousness captures how aware Whites are of their Whiteness and what types of expression this awareness takes (e.g., beliefs). White racial identity consciousness has undergone theorization and investigation in two strands of literature: White racial identity development models and White racial consciousness models. I discuss each of these literatures. In doing so, I argue for a model of White racial identity that integrates development and consciousness models.

The most prominent body of literature on White racial identity posits a stage-model progression of White racial identity development. In this approach, Whites are seen to progress

from no understanding to a secure understanding of their White racial identity. This conceptualization has received the most attention and theorization. I present the literature on stage-models first. The second conceptualization of White racial identity is a consciousness model. Consciousness refers to particular understandings Whites hold at a given moment in time of their White racial identity. I present the literature on White consciousness second.

Understanding White racial identity requires examining the context from which White racial identity development models emerged. A focus on racial identity development emerged in the early 1970s; however, the initial focus was on the identity development of racial minorities (Hardiman 1994, Phinney 1996). Interest in the racial identity development of other marginalized racial groups followed. Gradually, several scholars recognized the lack of attention to Whiteness (Sabnani 1991). It was recognized that people of color are not the only ones who undergo a process of racial identity formation. Moreover, it was recognized that studying the racial identity of persons who constitute a numerical, political, and sociocultural majority was an important task.

Models of White racial identity emerged throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Initially, these models were developed to describe the adaptation of Whites in a racialized system in which they are members of the dominant racial group (Helms 1995). This focus on adaptation paralleled the focus of racial minority identity development models that sought to explain how racial minorities adapted to an environment of institutional and interpersonal racism. Although several models exist, three models dominate the literature on White racial identity development: Hardiman's White Identity Development (WID) model (1992, 1994), Helms's (1995), and Ponterotto's White Racial Identity Model (1988). These models were developed in the context of psychology and counselor training and share several understandings of White racial identity. For one, these

models recognize that many Whites in the United States take their Whiteness for granted to the extent that they do not actively think about their racial identity (Hardiman 1994). In this sense, these models describe a process whereby Whites come to understand the implications of their Whiteness as they think more about their racial identity. Secondly, these models assume that White people experience a describable process of identity development (Leach et al. 2002). In other words, they see Whites as having a racial identity that undergoes a process of identity formation. I present brief descriptions of each of these models and a more detailed description of a model that synthesizes all three. In the descriptions of the three models, I do not describe in detail their particular stages. Instead, I describe the meaning of specific stages when discussing the synthesized model.

White Racial Identity Development: Stage Models

Hardiman's model was one of the first White racial identity development models. Hardiman notes the importance of contextualizing her model in relation to her social identities as a White woman (Hardiman 2001). She was aware that her identities as a White woman could influence her understanding of White racial identity and the model she developed. Hardiman reviewed identity development theory on race and gender to identify five stages of identity development: pre-socialization, acceptance of socialization, rejection of socialization, redefinition, and internalization. The Hardiman White Identity Model applies these five stages to the process by which Whites move toward a White racial identity not defined by racism (Hardiman 1994). Hardiman adds two caveats to her model. For one, because of the fluid and localized meanings of Whiteness, her model aims to describe a developmental process for only Whites in the United States. Secondly, although her model is presented in linear fashion, she believes that it makes more sense to conceptualize the stages as stages of consciousness that can

vary across situations, issues, and other racial groups (Hardiman 1994). For example, a White person might be at the highest stage possible with regard to their understanding of race-conscious affirmative action, but may also be uncomfortable around people of color. This means that Whites can be in multiple stages at the same time, allowing for discrepancies in how Whites understand their identity.

Helms's model of White racial identity development differs from Hardiman's WID model in several ways. For one, Helms developed her model as a Black woman investigating Black-White dynamics in counseling relationships (Hardiman 2001). Secondly for Helms, the most pressing developmental issue for Whites is abandoning the entitlement they receive as White (i.e., White privilege). Contrast this with Hardiman, whose model focuses specifically on abandonment and active challenging of racism. Although this might entail abandoning White privilege, it is not explicitly stated in Hardiman's model. Helms's original model was a stage model of six stages: contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy. One difference between Helms and Hardiman is that Helms does not begin with a stage of no consciousness. Additionally, Helms updated her initial model in order to address criticisms that her model was too static and linear (Helms 1995, Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson 1994). In her updated model, stages became statuses. These statuses represent schemata, or ways of viewing the world. Even with a change in language, Helms's model remains one focused on progressive identity development.

The third prominent model of White racial identity is Ponterotto's Model (1988). What differentiates Ponterotto from Hardiman and Helms is that he developed his model based on observations from White students enrolled in graduate counseling programs (Hardiman 1994: 137). Ponterotto's model is different from Helm's model in that it represents a model for White

interaction with all racial minority groups instead of solely with Blacks. Despite the usefulness of such generalizability for White interactions with all minority groups, the primary developmental task of Ponterotto's initial model seems to be for Whites to develop nonracist attitudes toward minority groups. There is less of a focus on Whites redefining their own White identity as nonracist.

The three predominant models of White racial identity development can be synthesized into one stage-model of White racial identity development. Sabnani, Ponterotto, and Borodovsky (1991) proposed an integrated model collapsing Helms, Hardiman, and Ponterotto into one model of White racial identity development. In this model, there are six stages: (1) lack of awareness of self as a racial being, (2) interaction with members of other cultures, (3) breakdown of former knowledge regarding racial matters and conflict, (4) pro-minority stance, (5) pro-White and anti-minority stance, and (6) internalization.

In stage one, Whites lack an understanding of themselves as racial beings. In stage two, Whites physically encounter individuals from other racial and ethnic minority groups. Whites progress from stage two to stage three if they begin to examine their own cultural values and acknowledge their Whiteness, including privileges that it gives them. In stage three, the new examination of Whiteness causes conflict because previous worldviews are challenged. How Whites progress from stage three depends on how they respond to the conflict they experience. Whites who react positively to the conflict they experience progress to stage four, where they hold a pro-minority stance. Whites who react negatively to the conflict they experience in stage three progress to stage five, where they retreat into White culture and hold an anti-minority stance. Whites will progress from stage four to stage six if they decide not to retreat into White culture (the stage five response). In stage six, Whites incorporate their new understandings of

Whiteness into their new selves. Whites in stage five can progress to stage six if their reaction to the conflict they experienced in stage three becomes less rigid. In this sense, they become more flexible in how they understand their Whiteness and can being to integrate it into a fuller understanding of themselves. Despite the starkly linear nature of this model, Sabnani et al. (1991) claim that movement between stages is not linear, but rather complex and marked by regression into earlier stages. Even with this qualifier, it seems that the model indubitably presents a linear progression of White racial identity development albeit with some divergent paths.

Stage models of White racial identity face criticism because of their inherently linear nature. Noted earlier, Helms updated her identity development model to replace the concept of *stages* with *statuses*. Such a revision has not gained traction in the literature. Most discussion of White identity development models understands identity development as a linear progression. Leach et al. (2002) argue that this linearity makes stage models vulnerable to concerns about measurability because it is difficult to measure empirically the theoretical structure posited by stage-models. Specifically, the linearity theorized by the models cannot be measured fully because the models take a lifespan perspective on identity development. It may not be possible to measure for certain stages. In fact, the only White racial identity model that has undergone empirical investigation is that of Helms (Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson 1994). Two scales were developed to assess White racial identity development based on Helms's model: the White Racial Consciousness Development Scale (WRCDS and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) (Lee et al. 2007). The existence of multiple scales alludes to the difficulty in measurement faced by identity development models.

White racial identity development models face other criticisms. First, with the exception of one or two stages at most, these models do not seem to emphasize a White person's connectedness with Whites as a racial group (Leach, Behren, and LaFleur 2002). Instead, these models emphasize how Whites react to racial minorities. Although reactions to other racial groups are important in a racialized system in which privilege and oppression are relationally defined, these reactions can only partially inform an understanding of one's White racial identity. A significant part of identity development is the particular understandings one has of one's own racial identity, understandings that are shared with and shaped by others in one's racial group. A second criticism specific to Helms's model is that her model of White racial identity development parallels the developmental process of minority identity development. As Rowe et al. (1994) note, identity development processes are likely different for Whites and racial minorities because of differences in minority and dominant positions in society. Whereas racial minorities must develop an identity that overcomes internalized racism, Whites develop an identity in relation to the White privilege they receive (Helms 1995). They internalize this privilege with little to no awareness of its existence. Conceptualizations of White racial identity development must respond to this criticism of different identity development processes by creating models not predicated on identity development experienced by racial minorities.

An Alternative: White Racial Consciousness

An alternative conceptualization of White racial identity seeks to address the criticisms faced by White racial identity development models. This conceptualization is White racial consciousness. White racial consciousness differs from White racial identity development models in one significant way: White racial consciousness is conceptually grounded in actual observations of how Whites understand their racial identity. In other words, White racial

consciousness is descriptive of how Whites actually reflect on their racial identity and what it means, whereas identity development models are prescriptive in how they see White identity development (Leach et al. 2002). White racial identity development models assume a progression of steps toward a positive White racial identity whereas white racial consciousness seeks to identify types of attitudes, as they actually exist without placing them within a developmental model of progression. The descriptive nature of White racial consciousness is the strength of the White racial consciousness conceptualization (Leach et al. 2002).

Rowe et al. (1994) proposed the primary model of White racial consciousness. They defined white racial consciousness as "one's awareness of being White and what that implies in relation to those who do not share White group membership (Rowe et al. 1994: 134)." They saw this model as superior to Whiter racial identity development models because it could "describe the phenomena more accurately, predict relationships better, and provide a more stable base for assessment (Block and Carter 1996: 326, Rowe et al. 1994: 133)."

In the White racial consciousness model, there are two main constructs of unachieved and achieved racial consciousness, each with attitudinal sub-types. Unachieved racial consciousness includes attitudes where exploration of racial matters and/or commitment to beliefs is lacking. There are three sub-types for unachieved racial consciousness: avoidant, dependent, and dissonant. The avoidant sub-type ignores the significance of racial issues. The dependent type bases their attitudes on other's opinions. The dissonant type has tentative attitudes because of the dissonance they experience with racial issues. Achieved racial consciousness requires some exploration or consideration of racial concerns and commitment to some beliefs. The four sub-types are dominative, conflictive, reactive, and integrative. The dominative type takes a strong ethnocentric perspective and sees Whites as superior. The conflictive type is opposed to overt

instances of discrimination against racial minorities and yet also opposes interventions against structural racism (e.g., affirmative action). The reactive type is aware of racial/ethnic discrimination as a core feature of U.S. society and tends to feel that they have much in common with minorities. They tend to endorse egalitarian values and yet ignore personal responsibility in the perpetuation of racism. The integrative type has integrated a sense of Whiteness with a regard for racial/ethnic minorities; they are comfortable with their Whiteness.

In order to assess empirically the proposed model of White racial consciousness, the Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale (ORAS) was developed. In response to psychometric analyses of the ORAS, LaFleur et al. (2002) proposed a reconfiguration of the original model of White racial consciousness. This reconceptualization eliminated the statuses of unachieved and achieved. LaFleur et al. (2002) offer the explanation that they eliminate unachieved statuses because unachieved status does not reflect racial attitude content, but rather the degree of one's commitment to racial attitudes. Instead the achieved and unachieved statuses, LaFleur et al. (2002) propose two basic constructs of racial acceptance and racial justice to replace these statuses. Racial acceptance is an attitudinal spectrum that focuses on how Whites respond to racial minorities. On one end of the spectrum, Whites accept a negative image of racial minorities and at the other end express comfort with racial minorities. This construct of racial acceptance incorporates the dominative and integrative attitudinal sub-types of the original consciousness model. Racial justice is an attitudinal spectrum that focuses on how Whites conceptualize racial discrimination. At one end of the spectrum, Whites believe that efforts to support racial minorities discriminate against Whites. At the other end of the spectrum, Whites believe that they benefit from White privilege. The construct of racial justice incorporates the

conflictive and reactive attitudinal sub-types. This updated model of White racial consciousness awaits further empirical investigation.

Several criticisms of the White racial consciousness model have been advanced. Block and Carter (1996) argue that the consciousness model is actually a variant of Helms's identity development model. They identify similarities between each type of consciousness and Helms's model with exception for the integrative type, which appears to have nuanced differences from Helms's autonomy stage. Block and Carter (1996) advance another criticism of the consciousness model, arguing that the model does not adequately address how Whites move from one type of consciousness to another. This criticism seems unwarranted given that the aim of the consciousness model is not to describe a developmental process. Nonetheless, it seems that research could investigate how Whites move from one attitudinal type to another. Withstanding the criticism advanced primarily by Block and Carter (1996), Leach et al. (2002) contend that the White racial consciousness model faces fewer problems with testability compared to White racial identity development models that use far more constructs in their conceptualization of White racial identity. Thus, despite the similarities with stage models, the White racial consciousness model might be a better tool for assessing the racial outlook of Whites in the United States.

How are White Racial Identity and Racism Related?

Although there is little consensus on which models of White racial identity adequately capture the process by which Whites understand their racial identity, researchers have investigated the relationship between Whites' racial identity and racism. These investigations have only used scales developed on Helms's model. Early investigations of this relationship used a broad definition of racism, in which racism was not specified to be colorblind racism. Carter (1990) conducted one of the earliest studies on the relationship between racism and racial

identity. Carter (1990) used the White Racial Identity Scale (WRIAS) based on Helms's White racial identity development model and the New Racism Scale developed by Jacobson (1985) that focuses specifically on White attitudes toward Blacks. Carter (1990) found that White men had higher levels of Disintegration, whereas White women had higher levels of Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy. This finding suggested that White men were more confused about racial matters than White women, who tended to have a more secure understanding of their White racial identity. Carter suggests that awareness of sex discrimination by women might explain this gender difference. Awareness of male privilege and the experience of sex discrimination may allow White women to better understand White privilege relative to White men. Carter (1990) found that Reintegration attitudes were the closest to being a significant predictor of racism for White men. In the Reintegration stage of Helms's model, Whites idealize Whiteness and exhibit anti-Black attitudes. White women were found to express more racist attitudes when their level of racial awareness was low. Pope-Davis (1994) replicated Carter's study and found similar results. White women were found to have achieved higher stages of White racial identity development than White men. Pope-Davis (1994) also found that older Whites had achieved higher stages of White racial identity development than younger Whites. Overall, attitudes characteristic of the Reintegration stage were positively related to racist beliefs. This suggests that the more racist beliefs Whites hold, the more they idealize Whiteness and dislike aspects of minority groups, as is characteristic in the Reintegration stage. What these two studies also suggest is that there is a relationship between how one understands their racial identity and racist attitudes.

Recent work has investigated the relationship between White racial identity and colorblindness. Using both the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) and the White

Racial Identity Scale (WRIAS), Gushue and Constantine (2007) found that higher levels of attitudes that negated or distorted the existence of contemporary racism were related to attitudes associated with less advanced White racial identity statuses. Additionally, greater awareness of racism was positively associated with more integrated racial identity statuses. It is important to note that contemporary racism is not colorblind racism; however, the two findings by Gushue and Constantine (2007) support the hypothesis that there is a relationship between how Whites understand their racial identity and whether or not they endorse colorblindness.

Racial Awareness and White College Students

Enriching the literature on White racial identity are several studies about racial awareness among White college students. Given that my study focuses on White college students, this literature is of interest. The literature on White racial identity among White college students represents conflicting findings. In a study of college students, Gallagher found that White students were aware of their Whiteness (Gallagher 1994). This finding contrasted with conceptualizations of Whiteness as invisible and an unmarked category (Frankenberg 1993). He argues that "racial identity politics has forced white students to think about their race and about what being white means culturally" (Gallagher 1994: 306). In this new construction of what Whiteness means for them, these students constructed a White identity that shed White as oppressor and saw Whiteness as a liability. Gallagher (1994) found that many of the White students in his study denied receiving White privilege. A study that contrasted with Gallagher's finding that White students were aware of their Whiteness was a study by Chesler, Peet, and Sevig (2003). They found that some White students were not aware of their Whiteness even with the presence of racial diversity on their campus. Similar to Gallagher, Chesler et al. (2003) found that some White students saw themselves as "new victims" of racism, while denying their status

as White in a system that gives them White privilege. Despite these findings, Chesler at al. (2003) also found that some White students were developing progressive, antiracist stances. The different findings of Chesler et al. (2003) and Gallagher (1993) indicate a need for further research on White racial identity development among White students.

A New Approach

In reviewing the literature on White racial identity development and White racial consciousness, it is clear that much room for growth remains in the field of White racial identity development. There is lack of consensus on whether White racial identity development or consciousness models actually capture the process by which Whites develop and understand their racial identity, indicating that more insight can be gained from continuing to study White racial identity development. Compounding the need for further study is an issue with methodology. Empirical investigation of these models tends to focus on one moment in time instead of approaching identity development with a longitudinal focus. This seems counterintuitive given that development occurs over time. In this sense, the literature on White racial identity can be enriched by studies that seek to understand longitudinal racial identity formation or change in Whites.

My study enriches the literature by proposing a new conceptualization of White racial identity development. In this study, I propose *White racial identity consciousness* as a model for understanding how Whites' understanding of their racial identity develops over time. White racial identity consciousness is a hybrid of stage-models and consciousness models. Drawing from these models, I propose three levels of consciousness: unachieved (negative), intermediate (dissonant), and achieved (positive). Unachieved consciousness is characterized by an intensity of belief whereby these beliefs represent a negative sense of Whiteness and White identity. The

use of the term "negative" is not meant to be evaluative. Instead, it is used to capture the use of

negative language that Whites demonstrating an Unachieved racial consciousness express, such

"I don't receive White privilege" or "Whiteness is not important to me." Intermediate

consciousness is characterized by conflicting and dissonant attitudes. Whites grapple with new

beliefs that challenge previous perceptions. They have either a personal or intellectual

connection, but not both, to new information about their racial identity and racism. Achieved

consciousness is characterized by a positive sense of Whiteness and White identity that is

integrated into an entire sense of self. Whites have both a personal and intellectual/cognitive

connection to new information about racism.

In order to assess identity development, my model seeks to capture levels of

consciousness and how they differ over time. Levels of consciousness are not necessarily stable

and fixed. Because the racial landscape changes continually in terms of demography, public

policy, and locality, racial consciousness may also change. In this sense, my model represents a

conceptualization of White racial identity development that is specific to a particular moment in

which Whites receive White privilege and are a numerical majority. I contend that changes in

consciousness that occur within this context constitute the White racial identity development in

which I am interested.

Colorblind Racism

Colorblind racism finds its origins in the color-blind ideals that were a reaction to the

overt focus on racial differences characterizing much of the pre-Civil Rights Era. One of the first

references to colorblindness is the often-quoted language of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harlan's

dissent in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that states, "our constitution is color-blind, and neither

knows nor tolerates classes among citizens." Although Justice Harlan's words suggested a

progressive vision for race relations in the United States, Harlan recognized Whites as the immutably dominant race in the United States in his dissent. Nevertheless, Harlan's words represented a refuge for African Americans seeking to challenge racism. Berry (1996) argues that African-American leaders, such as Martin Luther King Jr., used the color-blind principle because "it fit their agenda of political equality as a route to economic and social equality (138)." In this sense, colorblindness represented a way to undermine ideas of race as a marker of superiority for Whites and inferiority for non-White racial minorities.

The efforts of African-American leaders to attain colorblindness at a societal level succeeded in certain domains. Formally, laws permitting segregation were abolished and racial discrimination was prohibited in employment and public accommodation. Shifts in the attitudes of Whites complemented this formal progress. Traditional measures demonstrated that White racial attitudes changed dramatically during the past century. In spite of this progress, race remains an important factor in determining the life outcomes of people in the United States. Berry (1996) argues that African-American leaders realized the limitations of colorblindness soon after peak moments of the Civil Rights Movements. Specifically, they observed that, "many schools remained segregated and unequal, and employment and business opportunities remained limited" (Berry 1996: 138). Their observations continue to be true. Residential segregation between racial minorities and Whites, income and wealth disparities between racial groups, and differential access to health care by race are among several racial inequalities that persist (Brown 2003: 12-15). The dissonance between racial progress and persisting racial inequalities suggests that the nature of racism of has shifted (Bobo et al. 1997).

New forms of racism

Several researchers have theorized the existence of new forms of subtle racism. Sears and Kinder proposed the concept of *symbolic racism*, whereby racism is a blend of anti-Black affect and traditional American moral values. Trepagnier (2007) proposed the idea of *silent racism*, or racism by people who would be classified as "not racist." Bobo (1995) proposed the notion of *laissez-faire racism* as "an ideology that blames Blacks for their poorer relative economic standing, seeing it as the function of perceived cultural inferiority." An additional conceptualization of new racism that has gained much attention and that draws on the salience of colorblind ideals in the social imagination of the U.S. is *colorblind racism* or *colorblindness*.

Several theorists offered similar conceptualizations of colorblind racism. Recent conceptualization of colorblind racism argues that colorblindness is a contemporary set of beliefs the serves to minimize, ignore, and/or distort the existence of race and racism (Neville 2005). An older conceptualization of colorblindness emerges from the work of Frankenberg. In a study of White women and race, Frankenberg (1993) found three types of racial attitudes. Although Frankenberg does not use the explicit language of colorblindness, she characterized one attitude deployed by White women as colorblindness in that it was about "color and power evasiveness" (Page 1995). Colorblindness in this sense is color evasive because it holds that race should not matter, nor should differences that make people feel "bad." It is power evasive in that, by not recognizing race and racial differences, White women could disconnect themselves from a system whereby Whites receive power and resources whereas racial minorities are disadvantaged. What should matter are differences that make people "feel good." In this conceptualization, colorblindness constitutes a desire to avoid explicit reference to race as well as discussion of racial matters with negative connotations. In Richeson and Nussbaum's (2004) account, colorblindness proposes that racial categories do not matter and should not be

considered when making decisions such as hiring and school admissions. Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, and Chow (2009) contend that these versions of colorblindness can entrench inequality by requiring equal treatment, even when unequal treatment might reduce racial inequalities. It is this particular use of colorblindness that constitutes the colorblind racism theorized by Bonilla-Silva.

Bonilla-Silva's conceptualization of colorblind racism

Bonilla-Silva (2006) theorizes colorblind racism most extensively and it is his theorization that guides the analysis of colorblindness in my study. As such, I provide a more detailed description of Bonilla-Silva's work. Broadly, Bonilla-Silva proposes that we view colorblind racism as a racial ideology. He describes colorblindness as a new racial ideology that emerged in the late 1960s in order to justify a new racial order (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Racial ideologies are racially-based frameworks used by actors to explain or justify (dominant race) or challenge (subordinate race or races) the racial status quo" (Bonilla-Silva 2003: 65). Based on two empirical studies, Bonilla-Silva proposed that there are four primary frames that constitute colorblindness: abstract liberalism, cultural racism, minimization of racism, and naturalization of racism.

According to Bonilla-Silva (2003), abstract liberalism is the most important frame and constitutes the foundation of colorblind racism. Abstract liberalism uses the ideas of political and economic liberalism (e.g., "equal opportunity" and "individual choice") in an abstract manner to explain racial matters (Bonilla-Silva 2006: 28). An example of abstract liberalism is "you can get ahead if you work hard enough." Such a sentiment effectively denies the existence of structural forces that may prevent one from "getting ahead." Cultural racism is a frame that relies on culturally based arguments to explain the standing of minorities in society. An example of

cultural racism is the statement that "Mexicans do not put much emphasis on education" (Bonilla-Silva 2006:28). When this statement is used to explain racial disparities, such as the underrepresentation of Mexicans in higher education, it acquires the potency of cultural racism. Naturalization is a frame that allows Whites to explain away racial phenomena, such as *de facto* racial residential segregation and same-race friendships, by suggesting that they are natural occurrences and have little or nothing to do with racism (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Bonilla-Silva found that although the naturalization frame was the least used frame of his two studies, nearly 50 percent used the frame. Minimization of racism is a frame that posits that discrimination is no longer a central factor affecting minorities' life chances. Bonilla-Silva found that multiple frames were often deployed together, demonstrating that these frames may often work together to create a cohesive colorblind racial ideology.

How colorblindness works

Given that individuals live within a racialized social system, it is important to examine racial actors and their relationship to colorblind racism. We must understand who deploys colorblind racism and how they deploy it. Colorblindness manifests at particular localized levels of the law, political discourse, and interpersonal interactions. At the intersection of law and political discourse, colorblindness plays a significant role in debates about affirmative action. Morrison (1993) describes colorblindness as the primary moral argument offered by opponents of affirmative action. The colorblind argument has gained significant traction in legal decisions on affirmative action. Summer (1996) argues that colorblindness rhetoric underscores anti-affirmative action policy decision such as with *Hopwood v. Texas* and the California Civil Rights Initiative. Knowles et al. (2009) argue that colorblind ideology also guided the U.S. Supreme

Court's decision to terminate Seattle school district's efforts to racially integrate its campuses in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District.*

At the level of interpersonal interactions, evidence suggests that that the race of individual actors correlates with the intensity, presence, and expression of colorblind racism. Bonilla-Silva found that compared to Blacks, Whites used colorblind racism much more frequently across all frames of colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Although quantitative work on colorblindness is limited, Neville (2000) developed the Colorblind Racial Attitude Scale to measure levels of colorblind attitudes. He found that Blacks and Latinos averaged less colorblind attitudes compared with White respondents (Neville 2000). This suggests that there are racial differences in who does and does not ascribe to colorblindness.

This difference may have implications for interactions between Whites and people of color. Specifically, colorblindness may inhibit the interpersonal interactions between White people and people of color. Richeson and Nussbaum (2004) found that priming colorblind beliefs in Whites generated greater racial bias against racial minorities. To prime colorblind beliefs, Richeson and Nussbaum (2004) had White students read a one-page statement endorsing colorblindness. They then assessed how Whites responded to issues involving racial minorities. The implication of this finding is that colorblindness can perpetuate racism.

Because differential expression of colorblindness does not exist within a vacuum, we must understand what the systemic implications of colorblindness are for racism. The literature on colorblindness suggests that colorblind racial ideology serves the interests of Whites as the dominant racial group in the United States. Specifically, colorblind racism operates to maintain White privilege by perpetuating a system wherein Whiteness is normative (Gallagher 2003, McClelland and Linnander 2006, Simpson 2008). This is a form of White privilege because it

discounts the experiences of people of color and their life experiences as non-normative or deviant rather than different or equally valid to the experiences of Whites (Simpson 2008). Gallagher (2003) writes that colorblindness allows Whites to imagine a society where institutional racism no longer exists and racial barriers to upward mobility have been removed. The experiences of people of color challenge this view. Colorblindness allows Whites to "minimize" or "forget" about the structural resources and economic advantages available to them as Whites (DiTomaso, Park-Yancey, and Post, 2003: 198). By minimizing or forgetting about the advantages they receive for being White, Whites can imagine a society where anyone can succeed if they work hard enough. In this sense, Whiteness as normative makes Whites unaware of how they benefit from White privilege. This allows White privilege to go unchallenged.

Although the literature on colorblindness and colorblind racism is growing, much research remains to be done. Although Bonilla-Silva (2006) has made headway with a few qualitative and quantitative studies of colorblind racism, further studies with new samples can verify and add to his findings. What seem to be lacking are additional quantitative and qualitative analyses of colorblind racism. My study pursues this direction by employing a qualitative analysis of White students who were enrolled in intergroup dialogue courses.

Intergroup Dialogue

What are intergroup dialogues?

Intergroup dialogue is a model of engaging across differences in which there is an intentional, sustained, and reciprocal process of intergroup interaction (Nagda and Zúñiga 2003). Through these intergroup interactions, participants examine how group differences are located in systems of privilege and oppression and explore possibilities for challenging such systems. Intergroup dialogue brings together members of two or more social identity groups that have a history of

social conflict. Nagda, Gurin, Gurin-Sands, and Osuna (2009) contend that intergroup dialogue is an effective educational medium by which to overcome psychological and social barriers to learning about, critiquing, and challenging inequality. Intergroup dialogue can thus bring about new interactions and perspectives among groups that are historically and currently disconnected from each other as well as differently (dis-)advantaged.

This disconnect is part of a particular sociohistorical moment within which efforts to foster intergroup dialogue occur. Residential, educational, and workplace segregation along racial lines persist (Peterson and Krivo 1999, Lankford 2006). This segregation has implications for people's lived experiences. People from different backgrounds are likely to have different experiences of the world and perceptions of group membership, differences that impact intergroup interactions (Nagda 2006, Schoem 2001). Such divergent experiences and perceptions can intensify intergroup conflict (Dessel and Rogge 2008). This conflict can hinder democracy in a pluralistic society stratified along social identities, such as race and socioeconomic status. In light of this, intergroup dialogue serves to bridge the differences that arise from social stratification. In this sense, intergroup dialogue can be used as part of deliberative democracy, whereby individuals learn to confront "the confining and stratified walls of their segregated 'comfort zones' (Dessel and Rogge 2008, Schoem 2001).

Several types of intergroup dialogue formats exist. One format of particular interest is intergroup dialogue courses in colleges and universities. Intergroup dialogue courses emerged in the late 1980s in reaction to hostile racial climates across U.S. colleges and universities. The courses focus on a particular identity, such as race and ethnicity or gender. For the identity of focus, intergroup dialogue courses include equal numbers of students from each social identity group being examined (12-16 total). These students typically meet for a 2 to 3 hours session

weekly over the course of a 10 to 12 week period. Two trained facilitators, one from each identity group represented in the dialogue, guide the dialogue. Typically, students apply to take an intergroup dialogue course online so that program coordinators can place students in intergroup dialogue section based on their social identities. These several features demonstrate the intentionality behind intergroup dialogues.

Intergroup dialogue curriculum combines a critical analysis of group differences with developmental and experiential learning approaches to intergroup education with dialogue (Nagda and Zúñiga 2003). The critical aspect arises from a conscientious effort to examine how individual and group life are meaningfully connected to group identity, and how those identities exist in structures of stratification that give some groups privilege and other disadvantage (Nagda, Gurin, Sorensen, Gurin-Sands, and Osuna 2009). In other words, intergroup dialogue curriculum seeks to make privilege received by advantaged groups and oppression experienced by disadvantaged groups visible. Instead of taking a colorblind approach, intergroup dialogue makes identity salient (Sorensen, Nagda, Gurin, and Maxwell 2009). Thus, participants are encouraged to connect their group membership with experiences of oppression and privilege. This awareness is cultivated and reinforced by dialogue. The dialogue aspect of dialogue is about the interactions and communication between members of different groups within intergroup dialogue (Nagda, Gurin, Sorensen, Gurin-Sands, and Osuna 2009). This combination of critical analysis and dialogue represents a comprehensive model for fostering structural and individual awareness about group inequalities.

Building on intergroup dialogues are intra-group dialogues. Intra-group dialogues offer a space where only students from one particular social identity dialogue about a particular issues. Some issues that arise in intergroup dialogues are less likely to arise in intra-group dialogues. For

example, minority and majority group members approach intergroup interaction differently: Saguy, Dovidio, and Pratto (2008) found that disadvantaged groups want to talk about power differences and change the power structure more than do members of advantaged group, who prefer to talk primarily about commonalities between groups. This suggests that in a dialogue where all students come from an advantaged group, such as in a White-only dialogue, the goals and cultural styles of the group may be more similar compared to the differences evident in an intergroup dialogue.

Effects of participation in intergroup dialogues

Several studies have assessed the impact of intergroup dialogues on participants. In one of the most extensive quantitative studies of intergroup dialogue, Gurin et al. (1999) found that students who participated in programs with lectures and dialogues perceived more positive views of conflict and expressed greater support for affirmative action policies than did a matched group of nonparticipants. Studies have also assessed the long-term impact of intergroup dialogue. In a quasi-experimental study of the intergroup dialogue program at the University of Michigan, Gurin, Nagda, and Lopez (2004) found that students who took an intergroup dialogue course during their first year showed differences in several outcomes relative to peers matched with their social identities by their senior year. Among these outcomes were that: (a) they more frequently expressed democratic outcomes, (b) they showed significantly greater motivation to take the perspective of others, (c) they less often evaluated their University's emphasis on diversity as producing divisiveness between groups and with other groups, (d) they thought more about their own group memberships during their college years, (e) they learned more about other racial/ethnic groups and their contributions to U.S. society, and (f) they acquired and demonstrated more complex thinking about structural explanations of inequality. A quantitative

analysis of intergroup dialogues at nine universities and colleges found that relative to randomized control groups, intergroup dialogue participants showed significantly larger increases in critiquing inequality. Moreover, intergroup dialogue participants demonstrated significantly larger increases in commitment to post-college action to redress inequality than participants in the randomized control groups.

Studies on intergroup dialogue suggest that there are specific outcomes related to race. Nagda and Zúñiga (2003) found a significant impact of intergroup dialogue on the importance and centrality of race for participants. Participants more strongly considered race as an important social identity in how they thought about themselves and thought more frequently about being a member of a racial group. Although not labeled as an intergroup dialogue, McClelland and Linnander (2006) found that intensive contact with racial minorities predicted changes in contemporary racism beliefs among White students. Specifically, more contact was related to fewer beliefs in contemporary racism. This means that they expressed less racist beliefs. The findings of this study seem promising for how interaction with a diverse group of peers in an intergroup dialogue may impact White students; however, other studies of intergroup dialogue have found that students of color view the dialogue learning process as more important than do White students (Nagda, Kim, and Truelove 2004; Nagda and Zúñiga 2003; Nagda, McCoy, and Barrett 2006). This could be related to the different goals members from advantaged groups bring to a dialogue compared to members of disadvantaged groups (Saguy, Dovidio, and Pratto 2008). Students of color may see the dialogue as a space where their experiences in a predominantly White society are valued.

Despite evidence of the positive effects of intergroup dialogue on participants, criticisms of intergroup dialogue exist. Gorski (2007) contends that while research assesses how intergroup

dialogue can lead to short-term changes in attitudes and cross-group interactions for individual people, none of the research provides evidence that intergroup dialogue has a positive effect on eliminating or alleviating systemic inequities and injustices (Gorski 2007). According to Gorski (2007), intergroup dialogue can even reinforce differential power hierarchies that exist outside of a controlled dialogue space if the dialogue "is not grounded explicitly in an acknowledgment of inequities in access to power (8)." These criticisms may be of little relevance for the intergroup and intragroup dialogues that are guided by critical analysis of power, privilege, and oppression on the basis of social identity. Nonetheless, I view Gorski's criticism as an important one. Research on intergroup dialogues must connect advantaged group members' experiences of dialogue about systemic privilege and oppression to implications for the future of such systems.

Aside from these criticisms, current research on intergroup dialogue has not investigated some issues. For one, studies have not examined how Whites view themselves as White people after participating in an intergroup dialogue. McClelland and Linnander (2006) suggest that in-group reappraisal is a necessary step for producing change in contemporary racism. With a new perspective on how the system of racism works in the United States, Whites can begin to question their race-based privileges (McClelland and Linnander 2006). Thinking about group membership is integral to the process of intergroup dialogue, yet I found no studies that explored Whites' understanding of their racial identity within the context of an intergroup dialogue program. Because Whites occupy a dominant position in society, the impact of intergroup dialogue on White students is of particular importance.

My analysis of the literature on intergroup indicates that there is a need for more research on intergroup dialogue. Moreover, there is a need for qualitative inquiries of intergroup dialogue. Gurin and Nagda (2006) argue that qualitative methods can be a source for generating new

findings about intergroup dialogue by capturing the complexity of participant experiences. Qualitative methods can capture valuable insights into participant experience (Dessel and Rogge 2008). In view of these claims, my study is situated within a research stream of qualitative analysis on intergroup and intra-group dialogue participants.

The Present Study

Sociological Significance: My research project exists in a context much bigger than what my study can capture. Several forms of racism have emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century; colorblindness is merely one form receiving attention. The enactment of these forms of racism has tangible consequences for the life experiences of people of color and Whites that will impact the direction of the United States. What makes the effects of current forms of racism that privilege Whites and disadvantage racial minorities even more significant are the immense demographic changes that are expected to occur. It is predicted that Whites will be a numerical minority by 2050. As the demography of the nation changes, what it means to be White in the United States will also change. How we talk about what it means to be a person of color or a White person in terms of our particular racial identities and their implications for society are also likely to change.

My research project exists at the intersection of research on White racial identity development, colorblind racism, and intergroup dialogue. Each of these lines of research awaits further investigation. White racial identity development models need further empirical investigation to determine how Whites conceive of their racial identity across the lifespan. Pre-existing research emphasizes one-time measurement of White racial identity, which removes research findings from a developmental analysis. Moreover, pre-existing research primarily

utilizes quantitative analysis limited to closed-item questionnaires, possibly inhibiting revision and/or creation of new models of White racial identity.

Research on colorblindness as a racial ideology represents an area of recent interest in the sociological literature, particularly because of the implications for the perpetuation of newer, less overt forms of racism. Although a few studies examine the nature of colorblind racism and how it is deployed to maintain racial inequalities, further research with new samples can provide verification of these studies. Investigation of intergroup dialogue has not focused extensively on how students from advantaged groups react to intergroup dialogue curriculum. Few studies have examined how advantaged students from intergroup dialogues conceptualize their membership in an advantaged group. Yet, intergroup dialogue represents one of the strongest areas for such examination, given that it is a structured space for dialogue about systemic privilege and oppression in relation to group membership. By utilizing qualitative analysis, the current study can provide new insight into each of these lines of research and suggest further areas of analysis.

Empirical significance: In empirical terms, my study is an examination of the relationship between White racial identity development and colorblindness within a space of structured dialogue about racism and racial identity. I conducted this examination by reading and coding papers and interviews from White participants in two-mixed race dialogue courses and one White racial identity dialogue course. In conducting this examination, I was interested in capturing the White racial identity development of White participants. Entailed in this examination was how White racial identity development might differ based on whether Whites were in an interracial group or an all-White group. Additionally, I examined how participants deployed colorblindness over the course of the semester. Lastly, I explored the relationship

between different levels of White racial identity consciousness and the types of colorblindness deployed by participants.

Hypotheses

The overarching hypothesis (H1) of my study was that dialogue participants would overall exhibit less colorblindness over the course of the semester as they became more aware of the White racial identity and its implications for systems of oppression and privilege. Embedded in this overarching hypothesis were two corollary hypotheses: (H2) that participants would experience higher awareness of their White racial identity over the course of the semester and (H3) that participants would exhibit fewer expressions of colorblindness over the course of the semester. Guiding my overarching hypothesis and its corollaries is an understanding of intergroup dialogue as a process whereby students learn about their social identities and their individual connection to structural inequality. Because of this, it seemed to me that White students would understand that they receive White privilege both cognitively and personally by the end of the semester. Such an understanding would reflect the Achieved consciousness level in my model of White racial identity consciousness. It seems that understanding that Whites receive White privilege is inconsistent with colorblind ideology because such ideology, by definition, minimizes the role of race and racism in influencing outcomes for persons of different racial groups. Thus, I expected Achieved consciousness to be associated with fewer expressions of colorblindness, or none.

In addition to my overarching hypothesis, I hypothesized (H4) that there would be differences between the interracial race dialogues and the White racial identity dialogue. Specifically, I hypothesized that White participants in the interracial dialogues would exhibit

fewer codings for colorblindness and higher awareness of their White racial identity by the end

of the semester relative to White participants in the all White, White racial identity dialogue. I

made this hypothesis because I expected the White participants in the former dialogues would be

exposed to racial minorities and would more likely have to confront their White privilege

directly in the space compared to White racial identity dialogue participants.

METHODOLOGY

Data Source and Sample

The focus of my research project is the connection between Whiteness and

colorblindness. My guiding hypothesis in this research was that White people would express less

colorblindness as their awareness about their racial identity increased. Due to the nature of my

research project, I chose to utilize pre-existing data from race dialogues conducted in Winter

2010 by an intergroup relations program at a large Midwestern research university. The

intergroup relations program offered two types of dialogues in Winter 2010: Race and Ethnicity

(RE) dialogues and White Racial Identity Dialogues (WRID). The RE dialogues consisted of half

students of color and half White students. The WRID consisted of only White students. In

Winter 2010, there were two RE dialogues (RE1: n=13, RE4: n=12) and one WRID (n=12).

I chose this pre-existing data set for several reasons. Specifically, the nature of this pre-

existing dataset allows me to address potential problems I would have likely encountered if I had

collected my own data. Given that I was interested in White racial identity development, I would

have encountered many difficulties in finding a sample that I could observe and analyze over a

long period time. Moreover, I would not have been able to address my interest in development

sparked by intense discussion of race and racism without some sort of intervention or educational

program about Whiteness and White racial identity. Compounding these issues would have been additional issues in looking at colorblindness. Studies demonstrate that race and racism remain topics seldom discussed explicitly in college classrooms or everyday conversation. This means that I may not have been able to collect data that addressed my focus on colorblindness as a racial ideology. Because of these issues, the pre-existing dataset represented rich data that could address both aspects of my research project.

The race dialogues represent spaces with a critical focus on race and racism. The race dialogues are structured spaces where student participants dialogue about race and racism over the course of a semester. In these spaces, peer facilitators engage students with readings, activities, and dialogues about race and racism. Student participants completed weekly journals to critically reflect on their experiences in dialogue and react to curriculum. Given this intentional and continual focus on race and racism, the pre-existing data from these dialogues represented a way to effectively answer my research question.

To provide some context, the pre-existing data come from an ongoing larger research project conducted by the same intergroup relations program. The goal of this larger research project is to measure the effects of dialogue on: (1) communication processes, (2) understandings about social identities, and (3) understandings about racism. This research project collected three data points for each participant over the course of a semester. The data points are respectively a pre-paper, a final paper, and an hour long interview. The pre-paper and final paper explicitly asked participants to reflect on their racial identity and their understandings of racism. Researchers collected the pre-papers at the beginning of the semester and final papers at the end of the semester. Student researchers conducted the interviews with the student participants after student participants provided their final papers. Generally, White interviewers interviewed White

participants and interviewers of color interview participants of color. The interview questions focused on communication process, experiences in dialogue, and understandings of racism.

Researchers obtained consent at the beginning of the semester. Additionally, researchers asked for consent when conducting interviews with participants who did not give initial consent. Thirty-six out of thirty-seven students consented to research (97.29%). Both interracial dialogues had consent from every White participant. The WRID had consent from eleven of twelve students (91.67%). Regardless of whether or not participants gave consent, the research project removed all identifying information, such as names. Participants created four digit numbers as self-identifiers in order to ensure anonymity. The research project will code all data for only each participant who consented to being a part of the research project.

The sample I selected for my project consisted of only White students who consented to the larger research project. Because of my focus on Whiteness, I excluded all students who did not identify as White from my sample. There was difficulty for three participants. Two of these three participants identified as Arab-American and would be classified as White by the U.S. government. Another participant was an Asian women who was transracially adopted by a White family. Because none of these three participants self-identified as White, they were excluded from my sample. This resulted in a sample size of 21. Eleven students are from the WRID, five are from RE1, and five are from RE2.

There were additional characteristics of interest in my sample. All participants self reported these characteristics in one or all of their data points. Participants represented a range of religious backgrounds (Jewish, Catholic, Christian, atheist), although Jewish students represented a large proportion. Participants identified with several socioeconomic classes (middle class, upper-middle class, and working class). Most participants identified as upper-

middle class. Many participants claimed a European ethnic background (Jewish, Polish, Hungarian, Irish, Russian, etc.). With regard to gender, more participants identified as female than as male.

Analytic Plan

Although my study was a secondary analysis of pre-existing data, I employed a comparative longitudinal analysis of this data. I chose to conduct a longitudinal analysis in order to examine temporal changes in how White participants understood their Whiteness and how these changes connected to expression of colorblindness over the course of a semester. A comparative analysis allowed me to account for potential differences in the experiences of White students in the two types of dialogues as well as relative to each other on an individual level. Initially, I did not intend to conduct a comparative study of the types of dialogues. Because my study focused on how White people understand their Whiteness, I initially intended to limit my study to the WRID. However, there were fewer WRID codings for colorblindness than I had anticipated. I decided to include White participants from the RE dialogues to obtain a richer dataset.

In addition to the potential for of a richer dataset, including White participants from RE dialogues could indicate differences in the structured spaces between the two types of race dialogues. Such differences might be of importance for intergroup dialogue and intragroup dialogue practice that focuses on race. Anecdotal and empirical evidence recognize that White people communicate differently about race and racism when in all-White spaces versus mixed-race spaces. Because of this, I was interested in comparing White students in RE dialogues and the WRID. A comparative study allowed me to assess similarities and differences in how White

students understood their racial identity and how they expressed colorblindness when in dialogues of different racial compositions.

Codes

The codes I employed derived from the larger research project conducted by the intergroup relations program. For my involvement in the larger project, I coded for two measures that capture the areas of interest in my study. The codes utilized in the project are the products of a larger process of refinement by which student researchers worked in small teams to openly code the data points for each participant. In these small teams, student researchers worked individually to find codings for particular categories (e.g., understandings of racism). Student researchers then met to determine whether there was agreement on the codings. If there was disagreement, researchers discussed the disagreement and took actions to resolve the coding discrepancy (e.g., remove coding, argue for a code with greater specificity). If there were no indications that a code captured the data, researchers either removed or refined the code. Through this process, we arrived at a list of eighteen codes in the larger research process. I utilized two of these codes in my study.

Meanings and Development of Racial/Ethnic Identity

The first theme was meanings and development of racial/ethnic identity. This measure assessed how students understand their racial identities. The code was used to determine how (un)-aware students are, what they were (un)-taught about their racial identity, where they learned about their racial identities, and what their racial identity means to them. For my study, I did not alter this code. I limit the data from this code to the 21 participants who comprise my sample of White students.

Although this code allowed me to code for Whiteness, I employed additional codes to explore White racial identity development. For this additional coding, I created three codes for White racial identity consciousness: Unachieved (negative), Intermediate (dissonant), and Achieved (positive). These codes emerged from observation of the data in relation to previous literature on White racial identity development. Each consciousness type represents a particular understanding of White racial identity. This understanding encompasses what a White person might say about their White racial identity and its implications in society at each level of consciousness. This enabled me to code statements for particular consciousness. I provide a description of each consciousness type with several statements that would fall within them. It is important to note that example statements of racial consciousness provided in this section do not fully capture the subjectivity of the coding process. Decisions to code for a particular racial consciousness instead of another racial consciousness were made based on the context within which particular statements appeared. This resulted in particular nuances to codings for racial consciousness that are exemplified by the qualitative section in my results on White racial consciousness.

Unachieved (negative): Unachieved consciousness is characterized by an intensity of negative belief about one's racial identity and its implications. It is important to note that negative should not be interpreted as an evaluative judgment on the type of consciousness displayed. Instead, negative encompasses how Whites might talk about their Whiteness in ways that are framed in negative statements (e.g., "I don't", "I am not," etc.). This consciousness does not understand systemic oppression of racial minorities and systemic privilege received by Whites. If a White person with this consciousness references personal experienced with racial discrimination, they may attempt to portray Whites and people of color as experiencing the same

levels of oppression. If they acknowledge racism, they will say that racism only affects people of color. Statements that exemplify this consciousness could include:

- "There is no such thing as White privilege."

- "Whiteness is not important to me."

- "Racism does not affect other White people or me. It only affects people of color."

- "I do not understand how to use my Whiteness to challenge racism."

Intermediate (dissonant): Intermediate consciousness is characterized by conflicting and dissonant attitudes with regard to racism and White racial identity. Whites may grapple with new beliefs that challenge previous conceptions. They may expression hesitation to adopt a new belief. Whites with an Intermediate consciousness may give the appearance of an Achieved consciousness because they articulate understandings of racism and White racial identity. The difference is that they have either a personal or intellectual connection to their White racial identity and its implications in society, but do not have both. Whites with an Intermediate consciousness may also distance themselves from other White people by recognizing that other Whites may be racist, but they surely are not. They may be interested in learning more about racism, but will see people of color as having more experience with race and racism. Statements that exemplify Intermediate consciousness are:

- "I understand that Whites collectively receive systemic privilege, but I don't see how I personally receive White privilege."

- "I know about my Whiteness, but it is not really important to me." (This is different from a previous statement in Unachieved consciousness because it indicates a dissonant attitude toward their Whiteness).

- "I do not think that I am racist, but I see how other White people are racist."

Achieved (positive): An Achieved consciousness is characterized by a positive sense of Whiteness and White identity that is integrated into an entire sense of self. Whites do not deem their Whiteness as "unimportant." Whites with an Achieved consciousness will have both a personal and intellectual connection to their Whiteness and their White racial identity. They are able to recognize collective White privilege as well as apply that understanding to their personal lives. They recognize that people of color are not the only source of knowledge about racism. Statements that exemplify Achieved consciousness are:

- "I understand that Whites collectively receive systemic privilege and that I personally benefit from White privilege."

- "Whites cannot experience oppression because of the systemic privilege we receive."

- "Other Whites and me may experience occasional discrimination but we do not experience it regularly or institutionally."

- "I am connected to other White people and my White racial identity."

- "I do not need to rely primarily on people of color to learn about racism."

In coding for the three sub-codes for meanings and development of racial/ethnic identity, I obtained three samples from the data. I present the sample sizes below with the proportion of their codings relative to total codings for meanings and development of racial/ethnic identity:

Meanings and Development of Racial/Ethnic Identity	Total Codings (% of Total Sample)
Unachieved	94 (21.17%)
Intermediate	166 (37.39%)
Achieved	184 (41.44%)
Total Sample	444 (100%)

Given that I coded portions of preliminary papers, final papers, and interview for the racial consciousness types, participants demonstrated a mixture of codings for the three consciousness types. In order to provide a more nuanced lens of the data on White racial consciousness, I used a four-step process. First, I determined the number of codings per participant for each level of consciousness at each data point available for them. Second, I determined the total number of consciousness codings per participant at each data point. Third, I divided the number of codings for each level of consciousness at each data point into the total number of consciousness coding for the data point. This allowed me to determine proportions of each consciousness level at a given data point for a participant. Fourth, I determined a consciousness type based on the proportion of each consciousness level for a given participants relative to total codings. If a participant had a coding proportion of 50% or more for a given consciousness level, then he or she was considered to display that consciousness as their dominant consciousness. If a participant also had a coding proportion between 30% and 49% for another consciousness, they were considered to display a secondary consciousness level. Doing this allowed me to capture the complexity of White racial identity consciousness by allowing for several types of consciousness combinations. By using the four-step process described above, I was able to see how consciousness differed for participants at each available data point.

To capture differences in consciousness type from a numerical perspective, I assigned each dominant and secondary consciousness type a number from 1 to 9. Assigning a numerical value allowed me to calculate average racial consciousness for dialogue and groups of participants. The typology I used was as follows: 0= no data point, 1=Unachieved-Unachieved, 2= Unachieved-Intermediate, 3= Unachieved-Achieved, 4= Intermediate-Unachieved, 5= Intermediate-Intermediate, 6=Intermediate-Achieved, 7= Achieved-Unachieved, 8= Achieved-

Intermediate, and 9= Achieved-Achieved. Generally, 1-3 represented Unachieved, 4-6 represented Intermediate, and 7-9 represented Achieved. In this typology, increases in number value signify the display of a higher consciousness level and decreases in number value signify the display of a lower consciousness level. This scale is thus ordinal in nature.

As a note, I treated participants who did not display a secondary consciousness that was between 30% and 49% of total codings as having the same dominant and secondary consciousness. For example, a participant displaying an Achieved dominant consciousness and no secondary consciousness was treated as also displaying an Achieved secondary consciousness.

Colorblindness

The second code used in the larger research project is colorblindness. In the larger research project, the code was: "colorblindness, individualisms, we are all alike/humans." This code was a broad measure of colorblindness. Although I coded for this in the larger research project, I utilized the theoretical framework provided by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva for my thesis project to provide more specificity to the forms colorblindness takes. Bonilla-Silva proposed that colorblindness is comprised of four frames: abstract liberalism, naturalization of racism, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. I utilized these frames in coding for colorblindness.

Before describing what these frames mean, I would like to offer a methodological note regarding my study on colorblindness that arises from using these frames to code colorblindness. By focusing on statements that exemplify the frames of colorblindness, I did not consider that someone may have beliefs other than colorblindness. In my study, I was concerned only with how particular statements signify colorblind racial ideology.

Abstract liberalism: The frame of abstract liberalism involves using notions that derive from political liberalism in an *abstract* manner to explain racial matters. Keys notions of abstract liberalism are: (1) that everyone has an equal opportunity, (2) individuality, (3) "merit" should determine outcomes, and (4) personal choice. Examples of abstract liberalism include: "Everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed if they work hard," "We are really all the same," and "Individual merit should determine one's success."

Naturalization: The frame of naturalization allows people to explain away racial phenomena, such as residential segregation and lack of interracial friendships, as natural occurrences. Examples of naturalization include: "People of the same race stick together because they have more in common" and "People tend to gravitate toward people who look like them."

Cultural racism: The frame of cultural racism is a frame that relies on culturally-based arguments to explain the standing of minorities in society. An example of this frame is "People of color do not succeed because they don't emphasize education in their culture."

Minimization of racism: The frame of minimization of racism is frame that suggests that discrimination is no longer a salient factor influencing the life outcomes of minorities. Examples of minimization of racism include: "Race is not really important," "The United States is not segregated anymore," and "Other things, like socioeconomic status, are more important than racism."

In coding for the four frames of colorblind racism, I obtained four groups of codings. I added the total coding for each group to determine the total number of codings for colorblindness.

Colorblindness	Total Codings (% of Total Sample)
Abstract Liberalism	47 (48.45%)
Cultural Racism	3 (3.1%)
Minimization of Racism	21 (21.65%)
Naturalization	26 (26.8%)
Total Sample	97 (100%)

In order to make meaning of these total codings, I assessed changes in the expression of colorblindness for dialogues and groups of participants by dividing the total codings for colorblindness by the total number of participants for each data point. This allowed me to determine mean expression of colorblindness. Mean codings were not assessed for statistical significance.

Prompts: Participants in my study were given three prompts while they were enrolled in their dialogue courses. Participants responded the first two prompts via reflective essays. The third prompt was the interview, for which participants met with an interview who shared a similar racial identity for about an hour. I include the prompts in the appendix to demonstrate the fundamental differences between the first two prompts and the interview. Because of their fundamental differences, the results from the interview should be understood as potentially reflecting a difference in format.

As a note, participant quotes are labeled in the Results section according to the prompt from which they came (i.e., Preliminary Paper, Final Paper, and Interview). Participant quotes in the Results section are also labeled according to the participant responding to the prompt. For

example, W10WRIDS05 would represent a participant (S05) from the winter semester (W10) that was in the White-only dialogue (WRID).

Reflexivity

An important factor in my research is my personal standpoint. Although my primary role in this project is as a researcher, two important aspects influenced my interaction with the data: (1) my social identities and (2) my experience as a peer facilitator for the intergroup relations program that conducted the race dialogues in my dataset. The first aspect that influenced my interaction with the data is my own social identities. I identify as a working-class Latino man of multi-ethnic parentage. My mother is White, Euro-American and my father is Mexican-American. Throughout my life, I have lived in low-income communities that are predominantly Latino and African-American. The confluence of my identities and experiences held important implications for my interaction with the data. Because of my racial and socioeconomic positions, I have a critical consciousness about race. In particular, I am especially critical of White privilege and high-SES privilege. I believe that this critical consciousness enabled me to uncover more examples of colorblindness than others who do not share my identities and experiences. A possible downfall of this critical consciousness is that it may have caused me to over-code for colorblindness. However, the relatively low levels of coding for colorblindness suggest that this did not occur. What I am aware of is that my critical consciousness with regard to race affected me while coding for Whiteness.

The second aspect that influenced my interaction with the data is my experience as a peer facilitator for the intergroup relations program that conducted the race dialogues. I facilitated three semester-long courses for the program, including two Race and Ethnicity dialogues. This means two things. First, it means that I was strongly invested in the larger research project as

well as my own. I have an interest in knowing how effective the dialogues are for participant learning. This could be a potential problem insofar as I unconsciously searched for data that confirms the effectiveness of the dialogues. However, I have tried to counteract this possibility by not exploring the effectiveness of the dialogue for participants. I have constructed a narrower scope for my study by only focusing on how what White participants say about their Whiteness and their expressions of colorblindness change over time. Secondly, my experience as a facilitator means that I am familiar with the dialogue process referenced by participants in the dataset. This means that I was aware of activities and readings referenced across data points. This knowledge could have affected how I interpreted certain reflections on readings and activities on participants. I may have unknowingly over-coded for my codes of interest based on my perceptions of participant reflections on these activities.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Given the scope of my project, I divide my results and analysis into three chapters: (1) White racial identity consciousness, (2) colorblindness, and (3) the relationship between White racial identity consciousness and colorblindness. In each section, I first present the rich qualitative dimensions of my data by examining themes that emerged and relating them to existing literature. Presenting the qualitative dimensions first allows me to capture the complexity evidenced in the data and provides a lens by which to approach the quantitative results. Second, I discuss the quantitative results of my data to construct a broader picture and present findings that cannot be concisely demonstrated through qualitative references.

I.   White Racial Identity Consciousness

A. Themes on White Racial Identity

Several themes emerged from the data. I focus on the themes that constitute key elements in understanding what it means to be White at an individual level and in the context of society. These themes are: importance of White racial identity, White privilege, and reflections on racism.

Importance of White Racial Identity: At the beginning of the dialogue, many participants across the dialogues expressed that they did not see their White racial identity as important. In fact, writing the preliminary paper represented the first time that some of the participants reflected on their racial identity. One participant remarked:

> This paper marks the first time I have ever sat down to reflect about my own identity and how it translates to my own place in society. I am a senior, and I decided that it would be beneficial to my personal development to engage in a course like this to explore the rich diversity that certainly exists at the University.

-W10WRIDS05 Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

This remark is notable in that it indicates a desire to learn about one's identity. Although it is not clear that this participant desires to specifically learn about his Whiteness, it is likely that his open-mindedness to learning about his identity includes learning about what it means to be White. His statement later on in the preliminary paper that "I consider myself to be 'White,' although I am not quite sure what it means to belong to this group" suggests that his open-mindedness toward learning about this identity includes learning about his White racial identity. Embedded in this remark is the implication that despite the "rich diversity" that exists at their school, this participant has not explored what his Whiteness means in a systematic manner. The participant's quote implicitly supports arguments in the literature on diversity at college campuses. The presence of racial diversity is itself not sufficient to trigger new understandings

about race; institutions of higher education must create opportunities for interaction among

diverse students to cultivate the benefits of a diverse institution (Gurin 2004). Based on the

participant's quote, it seems that his enrollment in a dialogue course is a medium for him to

experience the benefits of such diversity.

Not all participants expressed a similar desire to learn more about their White racial

identity. One participant adamantly de-emphasized the importance of their White racial identity:

> My racial identity as a white person is definitely not one of the most important aspects of my life. When describing myself to a new acquaintance in the past, I have never mentioned my race or ethnicity. I admire that many people do consider it as one of their most important personal characteristics, but I think living a life immersed in cultural tradition may be influential in possessing this quality. Besides a few old traditions like making classic shortbread at Christmas time and other Scottish foods, my nationality has not been implemented into my upbringing and daily life.

> -W10RE4S08 Final Paper, Unachieved

Another participant expressed a similar sentiment:

> In association with building an identity based on personality, being white was never one of the most important aspects of my life. I wouldn't start an introduction over phone or computer by saying I'm white or mostly German and Irish. Those types of things do not cross my mind as important information on my life. I might say where I grew up, what I like to do, or my favorite things because those seem like more of a thing of interest to the person I am talking to.

> -W10RES05, Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

In the course of de-emphasizing their Whiteness, these participants suggest that racial identity is

more of a "personal characteristic" whose experience by other people can be admired. Such a

characterization represents an understanding of Whiteness that ignores the importance of

Whiteness in the context of a racialized social system. As Lewis (2004) notes, "even as race is

shaping their lives, experiences, and opportunities, they [Whites] may not experience race

necessarily as a meaningful part of their lives." Although the quotes above support this account

of Whiteness, not all White participants reflected an understanding of Whiteness that ignored the

importance of Whiteness in a racialized social system at the preliminary paper.

One participant recognized the salience of their White racial identity throughout several aspects of their life:

> Although I have never really given it much thought, my racial identity as a white person is an important aspect of my life. I mean, it is very much a part of who I am. I cannot imagine myself as a person of color, but how could I? To imagine being a different person is not very realistic. Until you have walked in another person's shoes, it is impossible to fully understand what it would be like to live their life. I was born and raised as a white person, so therefore being white is very important to me. My entire family is white and so are all my friends, so I can identify with them well. If I was a member of another race, I can't help but feeling the dynamics of our relationships would change.
>
> -W10WRIDS09, Preliminary Paper, Achieved

Although this participant recognizes that they have not thought about their White racial identity too much, they are able to acutely reflect on how Whiteness pervades their life. The reflection by the participant suggests that some Whites are able to see the importance of Whiteness in their lives.

By the end of the dialogue, some participants' reflection on the importance of their Whiteness assumed a different tone. Whereas participants commented on not seeing their Whiteness as important in the preliminary paper because they had never thought about it before, several participants continued to say that their Whiteness was not important to them:

> Racial identity is not a very important aspect of my life. Although I am proud of my culture, it is not one of the first things I would describe myself as. I feel like other qualities would better describe me. Further, I don't want people to have pre-determined thoughts about me due to my skin color. There is so much more to every individual than appearance.
>
> -W10RE4S07, Final Paper, Intermediate

> Being white does not play an important aspect in my everyday life. Yes, I am white, but I don't believe that I have ever used the word "white" to describe myself. I believe that this is because I have always been in an environment where the majority is white; therefore, people will assume that one is white unless they specify otherwise. In addition, if someone knows my name, they would make the correct assumption that I am white. My name is NAME. NAME is an extremely common Jewish last name and most Jews are white.
>
> -W10RE1S06, Final Paper, Intermediate

> I would not describe myself as white, or male, because a tremendous amount of the population is the same way. Therefore, I have realized that being Jewish becomes an easy way to give myself

an identity, and more importantly, a means to explore my own heritage and tradition. Therefore, it really doesn't mean much to me to be a white person. I do love baseball and hot dogs, but feel that these "white" stereotypes are more of an American culture, if anything.

Each of these three participants shares the belief that their Whiteness is not important. Considering that these quotes come after the participants had sixteen weeks of dialogue with an intentional focus on race and racial identity, it is striking to see that they do not see their Whiteness as an important personal characteristic. This suggests that awareness of racial identity is not synonymous with increased connectedness to that identity. These quotes also present a challenge to previous research by Nagda and Zúñiga (2003), which found a significant impact of intergroup dialogue on the participants' importance and centrality of race. Specifically, Nagda and Zúñiga (2003) found that participants in intergroup dialogue more strongly considered race as an important social identity by the end of their dialogue. Based on what the latter two participants said, it seems that the lack of importance they attributed to their White racial identity stems from the fact that Whites are numerical majority both nationally and within their personal lives. In this sense, their Whiteness loses importance because it is what most other people have.

Some participants expressed a reflexive awareness about this dynamic. One participant explained how their dialogue group addressed the low attribution of importance Whites gave their Whiteness. This participant wrote:

Through our dialogues, my group came to the broad generalization that whites create their dominant identities from other characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, and religion. This was even the topic that my Intragroup Collaborative Project group focused on and the theory that we tested out through surveying our peers. Our sample size was limited, but our results supported this idea. Nonetheless, after taking this course, I now find myself considering the racial diversity of different organizations and situations in which I find myself, for example. Therefore, race is becoming more of a prominent consideration of mine.

Embedded in this quote is a realization that some Whites will embrace as most important to them social identities in which they are a member of disadvantaged group. For Whites who emphasize other identities, that de-emphasizing Whiteness is a way of evading the implications of their Whiteness in a racialized society in which Whites receive systemic privilege.

Whereas the previous participant expressed a reflexive awareness about why Whites attribute less importance to their Whiteness, another participant actively embraced the reasoning. In response to a question from the interviewer as to why they had put White in air-quotes, this participant remarked:

> R: Well, I feel like everyone especially being White, that's not really something I identify with strongly, like if I was just describing myself to you I wouldn't be like, oh I'm White. 'Cause I'd be like, oh I'm a woman, I like these things, this is, my interests, this is my major, things that I personally choose…? And I feel like, being White doesn't directly influence my personal identity and I found, one thing we mentioned in our group was the other people who were classified as White all had a different identity that they most strongly identified with, because there isn't as strong of a White identity.

> -W10RE1S04 Interview, Intermediate

In this quote, the participant acknowledges that she and other Whites identify with characteristics other than their race. Embracing characteristics other than their race allows Whites to distance themselves from what Whiteness means. However, this participant embraces this as a reason to justify and support why they do not see their White racial identity as important. This suggests that some participants may have used the language of the dialogue in ways that perpetuated their White privilege of not seeing racial identity even while acknowledging their racial identity.

White Privilege: In the preliminary paper, participants generally did not understand what White privilege was and how they benefit from it. One participant expressed a conception of privilege similar to many participants:

> I am very privileged in my life, and have been fortunate throughout with many different aspects. I do not know if someone of a different race was given my life they would have been as fortunate, but I generally feel that my parents worked hard for the things they have given our family, and I

> have worked hard for my success. There are small things I notice like when my friends and I go shopping at the Lansing Mall that the sales associates follow a group of African-American girls around instead of us because they stereotype them as more likely to shop lift. I am sure from a different viewpoint that my life would seem as I had what I did because I was white, but as of right now I cannot think of any privilege I have that other races do not have, except falling victim to stereotypes.
>
> -W10RE1S05 Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

Although the participant deployed the terminology of privilege and provided a generic example, the participant does not grasp the systemic nature of privilege that Whites receive. The participant wants to cling to the idea that their parents did not benefit from such privilege. Nonetheless, this quote represents a passive acknowledgment of the existence of White privilege. Other participants actively denied receiving privilege. One participant avowed that her race actively worked against her:

> My racial identity has not brought my any privileges of benefits. In the performing world I would go so far as to say that my race has worked against me. I have a very soulful voice, but was never given any gospel or Motown songs to sing because I am white. Rather, these songs have gone to black singers purely because of their race. However I also realize that my race has allowed me to never have to truly experience racism. Sure, people have said things about my religion, but nothing too hurtful or mean. I have been able to skate on by as a white girl- never drawing too much attention to myself.
>
> -W10WRIDS04, Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

Even as the participant denies receiving White privilege, the participant acknowledges not truly experiencing racism. The two previous quotes present an interesting picture about how acknowledgment of White privilege might work. At their core, these quotes suggest that some Whites have the cognitive resources available to them to understand White privilege. They recognize that they can "skate on by" for being White, but experiences of seeing family members "work hard" and experiences of one's race "working against" one's success prevents some Whites from connecting their ability to "skate on by" to the concept of White privilege.

Based on the quotes from the final paper, it seems that the dialogue allowed for some participants to make the connection between passively knowing how they benefit from being White and actively acknowledging the existence of systemic White privilege. Several participants articulated in detail their new understanding of White privilege:

> My "white" dialogue taught me about my white privilege and my white culture. Finding my white privilege was a challenge, but it is like learning a language, where you never know your own language until you learn another. By learning about the struggles of minorities, I was able to learn so much about myself (Conley). I learned that I have an immediate advantage over someone of a separate race when I walk into an interview.
>
> -W10WRIDS03, Final Paper, Achieved

> So, I've established that by being white I know I receive privileges, but to specify what privileges is hard to do. I am a fourth generation college student on one side, and a third on the other side, and this education was something that was expected of me. This is not the case for a lot of people, particularly people of different races. I've had the benefit of my parents not making me work until the summer I graduated from high school, because they did not need another income to support the family's needs. Also, I lived in an expensive home in a white town; even though I did not live in a neighborhood there I still reaped the benefits of the housing boom in my town. Perhaps it is not as hard as I thought it would be to pin point my privileges. It seems wealth, education, and housing are the main areas that I, as a white person, have received many privileges. As proud as I am of my parent's success, it makes me wonder if they would have the same success if they were African-American, Latino/Hispanic, or Asian.
>
> -W10RE1S05, Final Paper, Achieved

> Since I never had to think about my race in most of the social situations that I put myself in, I was completely flustered at the time when I did experience discrimination based on my race. One of my privileges of being white was that I did not have to go in to a relationship with the thought that their family would dislike or disrespect me because of the color of my skin. "White privilege gives whites little reason to pay attention to African Americans or how white privilege affects them" (Johnson, 14). My privilege, until taking sociology classes and reading articles like this, has been completely hidden in my head and it is something that I do not think about because I don't have to worry about such situations influencing my future. Something that I found very interesting in dialogue was when I asked the other members in the white caucus group if they would give up their privilege if they knew that the world would be more equal. Their response was very delayed and when they did answer, many of them said they were not sure. There is comfort from being in power and it is going to be very interesting to see if white racial hierarchy will diminish as the world becomes more globalized.
>
> -W10RE4S05, Final Paper, Achieved

These participants acknowledge the existence of White privilege and how they benefit from it. Although these participants voice previous difficulties in grasping the concept of White privilege or understanding how they personally receive White privilege, they are able to name their White privilege in detail and convey its complexity. It is noteworthy that participant RE1S05 also

discusses White privilege in way that demonstrates Achieved White racial consciousness,

considering his earlier statement on White privilege that conveyed an Unachieved White racial

consciousness (see page 51).

In a subtle contrast to these detailed articulations of White privilege are descriptions of

White privilege characterized by guilt:

> It was voiced during class by several of the people who identified as white, myself included, that it was uncomfortable discussing the privilege that we receive. There was also a certain amount of guilt towards the fact that we receive certain advantages that other races do not. I don't think that guilt is a useful emotion in this situation, though. I can feel righteous anger that the structure of our society has been set up to keep some people ahead of others, but is it really fair for me to feel guilty about my skin color? As a person who identifies as white, it is almost expected of me to feel bad about my advantages, but this is the exact opposite of the message we send people of color. It could be argued that I'm not allowed to be proud of my whiteness. Even those words on the page conjure up thoughts of white supremacy and the KKK. I don't think that I am better because I am white; I just want to be able to appreciate the color of my skin.
>
> -W10RE1S04, Final Paper, Intermediate

> On the topic of privileges, I realize that I have more privileges than minorities. I have never been told that, but I can see that my upbringing gave me many advantages that many minorities do not have access to, such as a good school system and enough money to attend a University. I know that because my father is white, he most likely had an easier time reaching his upper-middle class status than a black man would have with the same qualifications. Allan G. Johnson mentioned in his article "Privilege, Oppression, and Difference" that many people are embarrassed by the fact that they have privileges. I fall under this category. I do not like to admit that I have more benefits in life simply because of the amount of pigment in my skin, but sadly, it is true.
>
> -W10RE1S06 Final Paper, Intermediate

> Being a white person is not something that I think about too often, so I never really realize how privileged I am. There is a lot of guilt that I feel like I have developed throughout my time in IGR. But then I think about my Jewish heritage and how oppressed we were all across the world, and the guilt seem to disappear. Although being Jewish is not technically a person of color, our ancestors still went through difficult times in and out of the United States.
>
> - W10RE1S08, Final Paper, Intermediate

The expression of guilt by participants is characteristic of people displaying an Intermediate

consciousness of White racial identity. It is interesting that participant RE1S08 feels that her

Jewish heritage makes her feel less guilty about receiving White privilege because of the

oppression faced by Jewish people. It is reminiscent how embracing identities other than Whiteness can allow Whites to distance themselves from the implications of their Whiteness. Overall, the latter three participants were still struggling with demonstrating a positive and integrated understanding of their Whiteness.

Despite the finding that many participants recognized their White privilege by the final paper, some participants still did not grasp what White privilege was. The most telling case was a participant who denied the existence of White privilege on both social and personal levels:

> To my knowledge, I haven't received special treatment because I'm white. There is a privilege factor that plays a role though. When I hear words like privilege and oppression, honestly, I do not like talking about it. There is no specific reason but sometimes I just feel uncomfortable. I never talked about it while I was growing up. Like Allen Johnson says in "Privilege, Oppression, and Difference", "Talking openly about power and privilege isn't easy, which is why people rarely do". I know how privileged I am. When I say that I mean I know that I don't have to go bed every night in a tent in a third world country or sitting on the street wondering when my next meal is going to be. I feel like one of the luckiest people in the world. I have amazing family, great friends, and I'm studying at one of the top ranked universities. There are so many people in the world that deserve to be studying here and unfortunately they don't get that opportunity.
> -W10RE1S08 Final Paper, Unachieved

Initially, it seems that this participant will recognize that she receives White privilege, but no "special treatment." Yet, as she continues, it becomes clear that there is a disjuncture between the terminology she uses and her understanding of what White privilege means. For her, privilege is about comparing her life circumstances to people in other countries or presumably to the homeless. Although these may reflect systemic privilege with regard to other social identities, her discussion of these types of privilege serves to deny the existence of White privilege. For her, she is simply a "lucky" person, rather than a person who has benefitted systematically from White privilege in the United States.

Reflections on Racism: A third theme that emerged in the data concerned how White participants reflected on racism. Some participants reflected on racism explicitly, whereas other reflected on racism more subtly, sharing sentiments that reflected a lack of awareness about the

nature of racism. These reflections on racism are somewhat disparate. Participants discussed racism in several ways, including the possible racist connotations of a claiming a White racial identity, "new" racism against Whites in the form of affirmative action, and the collection of information about one's race by employers.

In reflecting on racism, many participants noted the difficulty in claiming a positive White identity because of what that might mean in relation to racism. Although several participants noted this difficulty, they differed in their reactions. The following participant acknowledged the possible racist connotations of White racial identity while also denying the importance of their own racial identity:

> The only real times I describe myself as white, or Caucasian, is on standardized tests. In part, I feel that it is more difficult for a member of the majority to have a strong racial identity. The minority can have groups of only a particular race, or pride rallies, but if a white group did the same, they would be considered racists or supremacists. If the races were truly attempting to be equal that wouldn't be the case. It also just seems silly to classify people into categories that don't necessarily tell you anything about them. There are certainly people whom strongly identify with their race, and that is a large part of their personality, but I feel that the choice to identify yourself speaks more about who you are than what color you are supporting. I personally feel that I'm rather peachy-pink, and that is just as much of a color as anything else, but that doesn't even begin to encompass anything more than my appearance. I love a lot of things that are much more important in the grand scheme of things than my skin color and it is just as easy for me to love all these things as it is for someone of a different race.
> -W10RE1S04 Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

For this participant, having a strong White racial identity means being considered racist or a White supremacist. This reflects a negative understanding of White racial identity because it does not consider that a positive White racial identity that challenges racism may exist. Instead, this participant would rather not see their racial identity as a salient social identity. In a study of White college students, McKinney (2003) found that many of the White students in her study did not feel comfortable associating with a White racial identity because of either the historical connotations of racism or because of how White students perceived the reactions of people of

color toward them as White. The quote above from the participant exemplifies the findings from the previous study because of the participant's implicit move away from her White racial identity because of its possible racist connotations.

Another participant characterized Whiteness as racist in a more subtle manner compared to the previous participant:

I: Okay. And then also in terms of kind of how you were maybe, you mentioned how you were brought up in your town, do you think that there were any experiences or certain I guess kind of things that you were taught about what it means to be white?

R: Well,

I: Or how you should act being white?

R: I guess in a little bit. Since there was no diversity and most of the people there have lived there their whole lives. Like their parents have lived there their whole lives, and people didn't really want to leave ever, or like go anyplace so they just made it seem like I wouldn't say they were racist, because a lot of people just hadn't been taught that that was not right. But I mean when they're like using all kinds of like racial slurs and what not in school, like the teachers are doing it, like then it's obviously a problem and I knew that wasn't right, so I mean yeah.

-W10WRIDS08 Interview, Unachieved

This participant makes a subtle reference to Whiteness as racist in that he answers a question about what he was taught about what it means to be White by referring to the racist environment in which he grew up. He does not explicitly name that he was taught that Whiteness means being racist, yet he recognizes the racist atmosphere of his community. Because the participant says he knew that the use of racial slurs "wasn't right," it would seem that he might have an Intermediate consciousness. However, his attempts to explain away the overt expressions of racism he observed by saying that the people in his community did not know better embodies a negative understanding of the role of Whites in perpetuating and enacting racism. Using racial slurs only because one does not know it is "not right" given one's environment does not remove a person

from actively participating in a system of racism. His attempt to explain away their racism is problematic given the role Whites have in perpetuating and enacting this system of racism.

Whereas some participants reflected on the connotations of embracing a White racial identity, other participants reflected on how others might view their actions as racist because they are White. The following participant believes that saying "black boy" would result in an uproar by local media:

> My first year of football, I remember being intimidated when older African-American guys on the team called me "white boy" as if it was synonymous with unathletic. After I made a few plays I proved that while I was white, it had no effect on my athletic ability. I could only let my actions speak for retorting with "black boy", not that I would have regardless of the circumstances, would have had the local news station at the school in minutes.

> -W10WRIDS06, Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

This participant discusses racial tension between he and older African-American men on his sports team. It is interesting that this participant felt that he had to "prove" his athletic ability to these players and that doing so would substitute for responding to his team members in explicitly racial language. What signifies an Unachieved racial consciousness is his notion about what his saying "black boy" would mean. His statement that local news media would have responded to it implicitly acknowledges that he did not state this because of its possibly racist implications. This participant discusses his experience in way that overlooks the implications of his White racial identity for racism. For him, what is problematic about saying "black boy" is the possible reaction by news media, not the fact that his saying "black boy" might indicate his own insensitivity or carry racist connotations specifically because of the history of racism enacted by Whites against people of color. The way in which he characterizes possible reaction to him saying "black boy" indicates an implicit understanding of Whiteness as visible only in moments

of racial tension and of Whiteness as a liability that makes one subject to scrutiny in such moments.

Whereas the previous participant reflected on Whiteness in a way that overlooks systemic racism and what this means personally for him, the following participant struggles with a systemic understanding of racism in way that is characteristic of an Intermediate White racial consciousness. This participant discussed the use of "the n word":

> I: Did it ever get addressed in the dialogue, or…
>
> R: No, I… I think I submitted it as a topic that I wanted to talk about, and also using with the n word, like those things I was confused about, um…
>
> I: What do you, what do you mean?
>
> R: Like, the n word, 'cause like, is that what you're talking about?
>
> I: I mean I know what that is, but I mean what's your confusion about it?
>
> R: About using it?
>
> I: Yeah.
>
> R: Because one of the boys in my class, I friended him on Facebook, and he like, uses it in status, like with my, you know, and I'm just like, so it is okay, if you're Black you can say it, but I was taught in society that if you're White you can't say it,
>
> I: Is he Black?
>
> R: Yeah. And so, I was just, I noticed that and I was like oh, we should talk about that in class. But we didn't. But… people have told me before that like, I asked people who were Black and they're like well yeah, we can use it… but you can't…. yeah.
>
> I: Right. How, what do you think about that.
>
> R: Um….? I mean, I guess I understand their reasoning… but personally, um, I just think it can be used by everyone or not used. 'Cause either I think it's like a word, and it's like offensive… well, I don't know, I guess I have mixed feelings on it. 'Cause I obviously wouldn't use it, um, 'cause it might offend some people and not others.
>
> -W10RE1S06, Interview, Intermediate

This participant demonstrates an understanding that she should not use "the n word" because she is White. However, it is not clear that she understand why this is the case aside from her being taught not to say "the n word" because she is White. She believes that all racial groups should be

held to the same standard regarding the word. Whether or not that may be the case, her belief suggests a lack of understanding about how the meaning of the word might be different when used by Whites toward African-American versus by African-Americans toward other African-Americans. It is clear that she is grappling with understanding this, especially given that she acknowledges she would not use it. This acknowledgement serves to recognize that Whites have used this word pejoratively against African-Americans and that her use of the word would be interpreted as racist because of this. In this sense, she recognizes her role in racism more than does the participant who reflected on his use of the phrase "black boy."

In contrast to the latter two participants who reflected on how their actions might be interpreted as racist because of their White racial identities, other participants describe how the dialogue allowed them to create a new understanding of what it means to be White. With this new understanding, these participants describe the ways in which they can challenge racism because of the privileged position Whites have in the United States. One participant seemed to be in the process of creating a White racial identity defined by challenging racism:

> One of the greatest things I learned in this White Racial Identity dialogue, something that I did not get out of my previous dialogue, was a better understanding of white it means to be white and what my role is as a member of the dominant group. As a white male, I can play a huge part in breaking down social barriers and making people aware of injustice and oppression in our society. Moving forward, I would like to continue to learn more about social identities and social change. For now, I will look to educate friends and family members who are blind to many of the problems with race in our country. I have also been telling underclassmen in my fraternity and other student organizations to take an IGR class.

> -W10WRIDS07, Final Paper, Achieved

This participant reports that he now understands his role as a White person in challenging oppression in society because he was in the White Racial Identity. This participant is not paralyzed by the belief that a strong White racial identity means being racist. Instead, it seems

that this participant is in the process of constructing a White racial identity predicated on

challenging racism by discussing race and racism with others around him.

Another participant articulated her new understanding of Whiteness with specific

reference to White privilege:

> We must recognize the racism that is still present today and collaborate to decease it. I further feel that this dialogue had made me realize that white people must work on giving up their privileges to create an equal society. Also, I have begun to feel really emotional when people are racist or stereotypical, because I now understand the affects it can have on people. For instance, when my friends at lunch were making racist jokes, I questioned them on why they were doing this. I expressed to them how what they were doing was wrong and the affect it has on others; I would have never stood up to them before this class. I have realized that even a small step like speaking up when your friends are saying a racist joke can do a lot in the long run.
>
> -W10RE4S07, Final Paper, Achieved

The way in which this participant reflects on what she can do to challenge racism reflects an

awareness characteristic of an Achieved White racial identity consciousness. This participant

recognizes that racism persists and that White people hold an integral position in dismantling

systemic racism. This participant even cites examples of how she has challenged others on racist

comments, indicating that she has integrated her new understanding of racism into other settings

outside of the dialogue.

Other participants reflected a similar awareness. However, there was an interesting

difference in how they talked about how to challenge racism. Specifically, these participants

talked in ways that demonstrated a lack of awareness about how their conceptions of challenging

racism might perpetuate actually perpetuate racism. One participant reflected:

> Those who qualify for the norm can only make things better by trying to get things changed. Perhaps this can better sum up my feelings: "White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks." That was taken from the second reading about White Man's Privilege. I think we all need to keep in mind that yes, there are a lot of social injustices out there and that there can be a lot of negative things associated with being white. But we should be thankful, as the majority race, that we have these privileges, and take advantage of them in good way. We should also try to extend as much as we can to the minority races so that they, too, can have a better life and a better future ahead. I think that's what being the majority (in anything) is about. You help out the others.
>
> -W10WRIDS08, Final Paper, Intermediate

The participant recognizes the existence of White privilege. She believes that Whites can use this privilege to make a change. Although this might seem like a positive step forward, the language this participant uses is problematic. By stating that "we should also try to extend as much as we can to the minority races," the participant's seemingly good intentions are overtaken by an implicit reinforcement of White privilege. Extending as much as one can, as a White person to a person of color because of one's White privilege, is not the same as working to dismantle the system that creates and maintains White privilege. Because it is not initially clear what the participant believes Whites should extend to people of color, it is possible that she could mean using White privilege to challenge systemic racism. Nonetheless, it becomes subtly clearer that the participant is advocating action that implicitly maintains White privilege. By saying that part of being in the majority is to "help out the others, " the participant discounts the functional role of Whites as a majority in perpetuating systemic racism and protecting White privilege. Moreover, the notion of "helping out the others" maintains White privilege by ignoring the possibility of coalitions between people of color and Whites, instead of action by Whites for people of color. The former represents mutual cooperation and shared vision, whereas the latter relies on a pre-existing structure of power and privilege based on racial identity.

Similar to how this participant demonstrated awareness about how to use their Whiteness to challenge racism while also exhibiting an understanding that would be problematic in actual interracial interactions, another participant displayed a lack of important nuance in how to talk about people of color:

> Colored people are constantly forced to think that they are being oppressed. They have to continuously prove themselves to society. All these things are often taken for granted by the privileged white people. It's hard for white people to come to this realization of oppression, since they have never experienced this within their own lives. Many white people do not realize that colored people have to work much harder to receive the same recognition of a white person. According to Martinez, to reach the common dream it requires us to build alliances among progressive people of color (Martinez, 11). White people must work with the colored people to create an equal society; it cannot be done by a single race.

What the participant says about how racism affects people of color and White people demonstrates a higher awareness of racism than what someone demonstrating an Unachieved consciousness might use. This participant acknowledges the disadvantages that people of color face and that Whites face challenges in recognizing these disadvantages. For this participant, White people are an integral to challenging to racism in society. What is striking is that this participant refers to people of color as "colored people" three times in her reflection on challenging racism. Because this term is no longer used to refer to people of color and is reminiscent of the era of the Civil Rights Movement, this participant demonstrates a lack of awareness about how to talk about racial minorities and how it would appear for she as White person to refer to people of color as "colored people." Whereas this participant demonstrated an understanding of the importance of using her White racial identity to challenge racism, other participants reflected on racism in a manner that suggested White people are now targets of racism.

One participant who reflected on racism this manner suggested that White people are now the targets of racism because of affirmative action programs:

> In modern society, however, I do believe that there is a growing sort of "racism" against white people. Perhaps racism is the wrong word, but being white does have its sort of disadvantages when it comes to getting into college and even possibly when getting hired into a career. For example, take affirmative action. Although I do believe affirmative action is a good concept in order to provide minorities with better opportunities, it does place a disadvantage on members of the white race, like me. If another candidate who was of a different race and I were competing for the same position in school, should the final decision really be based on the fact that I am white and he/she isn't? What if I am a slightly better candidate, but they get in on the basis that they are the minority? Is this fair to me? I think that these types of programs initially mean well, but can end up becoming problematic, messy, and politically incorrect. The same goes for if I was going up against an equal competitor for a job. If I am slightly better equipped for the job, shouldn't I be hired no matter what? Why does race have to come into play at all? It would be so convenient if race just didn't matter when it comes to these types of situations.

<div align="right">-W10WRIDS09 Preliminary Paper, Intermediate</div>

Although this participant recognizes that racism might not be the correct word to use when discussing affirmative action for racial minorities, the participant's description of affirmative action suggests a view of affirmative action as something which systematically disadvantages White people. Other studies of White college students' conceptions of affirmative action find that this understanding of affirmative action is prevalent among White college students (Gallagher 1997, McKinney 2003, Bonilla-Silva 2006). The participant acknowledges that affirmative action provides minorities with better opportunities, but does not describe why she feels it is good for racial minorities. What is missing from her discussion is a reflection on racism experienced by racial minority as a reason why affirmative action provides minorities with "better opportunities." The cornerstone of her reflection on affirmative action is how Whites are disadvantaged by affirmative action. This participant wishes that race did not matter when it comes to hiring decision and college admissions. Yet, this desire is situated within her discussion of how Whites are disadvantaged by affirmative action, rather than within a discussion of how racism has created a structure that gives Whites privilege.

On a similar note, another participant discussed a situation in which she had been hired for a particular position. This participant seem unable to grasp why she would have to inform her employer of her race and sex even after being hired:

> Recently I accepted a job at a major television network and had to fill out paperwork in order to become an official employee. Throughout the course of thirty-five pages of contracts and policies I had to check off three times both my sex and my race. The funny thing was that I had already gotten the job! However, I was still having to classify myself. This whole process left me wondering why Human Resources at the company I am working for need to know my race and sex. Why does it matter if their bosses have already decided that I am an individual who is qualified to work for their company? Our society will never able to be completely get over the issues of race until we stop pointing out our racial differences to everyone in a way that makes us feel judged. The color of our skin should be something that makes us unique. I am white, but I like my pale skin because I think it brings out my blue eyes. Race should be seen in a positive manner, such as this, and not in a way that makes anyone feel inadequate.

This participant seems to lack an awareness of why race would be an importance piece of information for her employer. For this participant, collection of racial data is not something that arises out of a history in which racism excluded and excludes racial minorities from many jobs. Instead, she sees mentioning race as something that we should "get over" and stop pointing out because this it is has implications of judgment. Instead, race is something that should be seen in a more positive light because of the aesthetic qualities it might represent for certain phenotypes. This reference to the aesthetic qualities of particular phenotypes is disconnected from a larger social reality in which the aesthetics of White phenotypes are already seen as better than the aesthetics of phenotypes associated with people of color (Tatum, 2001). Overall, the sentiments expressed by this participant represent a lack of awareness about racism as a structure that impacts who does and does not get certain jobs and who is or is not seen as attractive.

B. General Results about White Racial Identity Development

Overall White Racial Identity Development: My first corollary hypothesis was that the participants would demonstrate increased awareness of their White racial identity and its societal implications between the preliminary paper and the final paper. I considered changes in the consciousness type displayed by participants to be indicative of White racial identity development.

Results indicate a complex picture of White racial identity development for the group of participants overall. The graph below demonstrates the number of participants displaying a particular dominant consciousness at each data point.

Differences in the Display of White Racial Consciousness
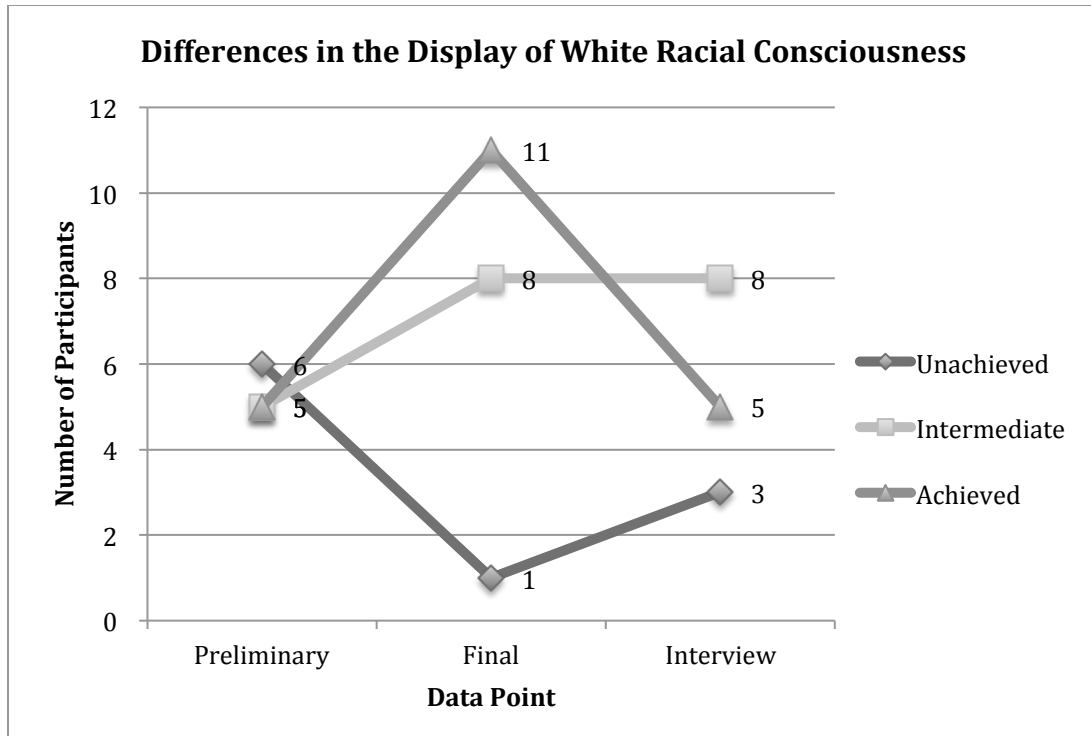
The graph illustrates several results. First, it shows that most participants displayed an

Unachieved or Intermediate dominant consciousness at the preliminary paper ($N = 16$). This

means that some participants demonstrated a negative[1] understanding of their White racial

identity and some participants demonstrated more dissonant attitudes toward their White racial

identity. Second, the graph reveals that more participants demonstrated either an Achieved or

Intermediate consciousness at the final paper ($N = 19$). Most participants demonstrated an

Achieved consciousness ($N = 11$). This means that more participants showed more positive,

integrated understandings of their racial identity compared to the preliminary paper and the other

consciousness levels. This is related to the much lower display of Unachieved consciousness at

the final paper compared to the preliminary paper.

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[1] As a note, "negative" here should not be understood in an evaluative sense. It is meant to capture the descriptively negative beliefs that are characteristic of an Unachieved racial consciousness. Some examples would be "I don't receive White privilege" and "I don't think racism exists."

Comparing White Racial Identity Development between Dialogues: I assessed differences in demonstration of racial consciousness within each dialogue by looking at changes in demonstrated racial consciousness for individual participants within the dialogues. The graph below shows differences in consciousness at each data point for the three dialogues. I have included the sample size at each data point to provide a fuller picture of the data.
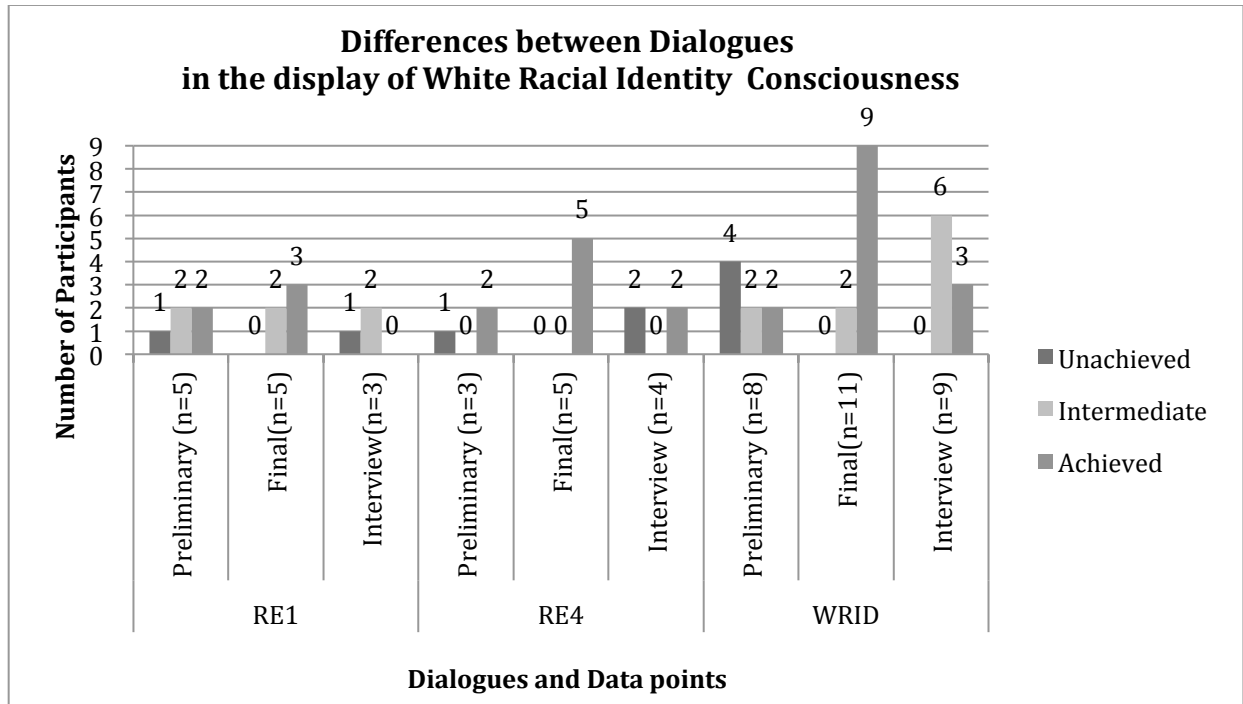

The graph reveals several interesting aspects about how the dialogues differed in the display of White racial identity consciousness. At the preliminary paper, participants in RE1 and RE4 displayed similar consciousness types. Each displayed a mixture of the three consciousness types. WRID participants were interesting in that half of them displayed Unachieved consciousness. This means that more WRID participants demonstrated a lack of understanding about White racial identity in their preliminary paper compared to participants in other dialogues. At the final paper, participants across the dialogues displayed more Achieved consciousness. For RE1, the increase in display of Achieved consciousness was minimal compared to RE4 and

WRID. All RE4 participants and the majority of WRID participants demonstrated Achieved consciousness at the final paper.
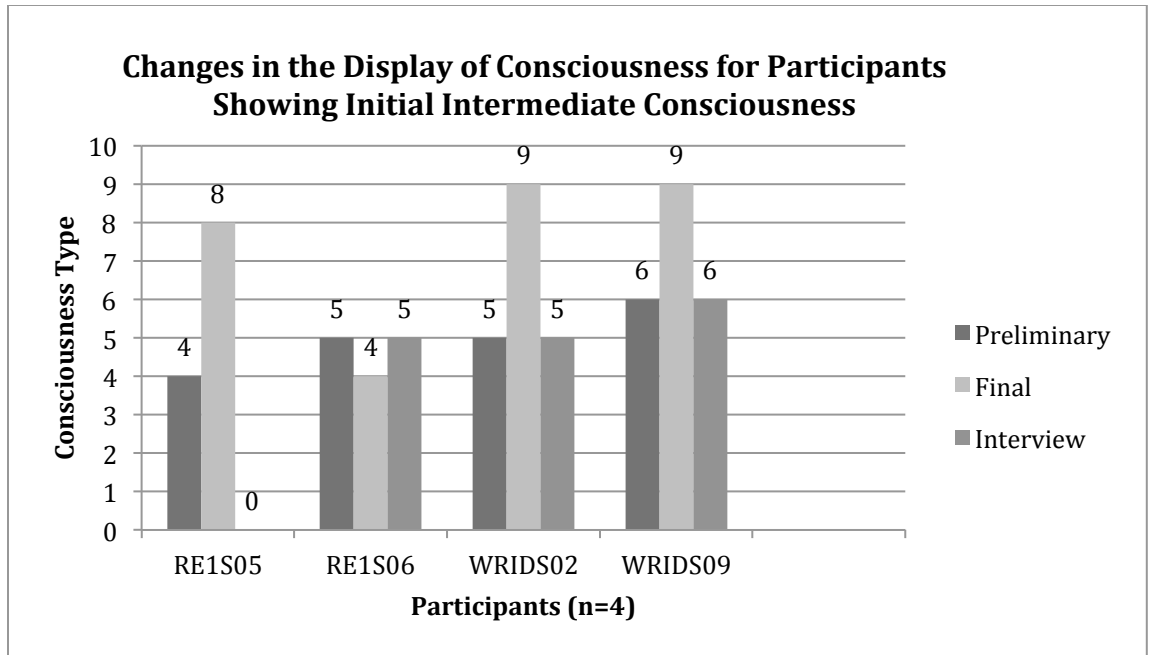
Individual Differences in White racial identity development: I was interested in individual differences in White racial identity development. As mentioned in Methodology, I assigned each dominant and secondary consciousness type a number from 1 to 9. Assigning a numerical value allowed me to calculate average racial consciousness for dialogue and groups of participants. The typology I used was as follows: 0= no data point, 1=Unachieved-Unachieved, 2= Unachieved-Intermediate, 3= Unachieved-Achieved, 4= Intermediate-Unachieved, 5= Intermediate-Intermediate, 6=Intermediate-Achieved, 7= Achieved-Unachieved, 8= Achieved-Intermediate, and 9= Achieved-Achieved. Generally, 1-3 represented Unachieved, 4-6 represented Intermediate, and 7-9 represented Achieved. In this typology, increases in number value signify the display of a higher consciousness level and decreases in number value signify the display of a lower consciousness level. This scale is thus ordinal in nature.

Participants who initially demonstrated a dominant Unachieved consciousness are the first group of interest. The graph below shows the six participants with initial Unachieved consciousness and their demonstrated consciousness type at each available data point.

Changes in the Display of Consciousness for Participants Showing Initial Unachieved Consciousness
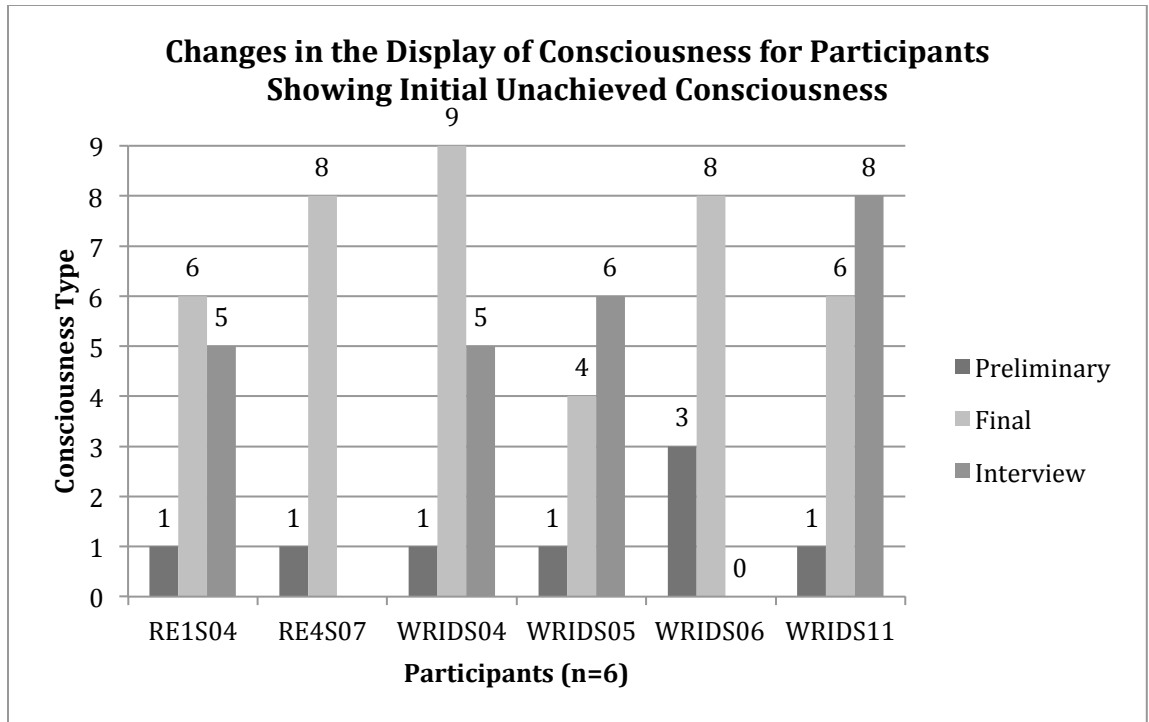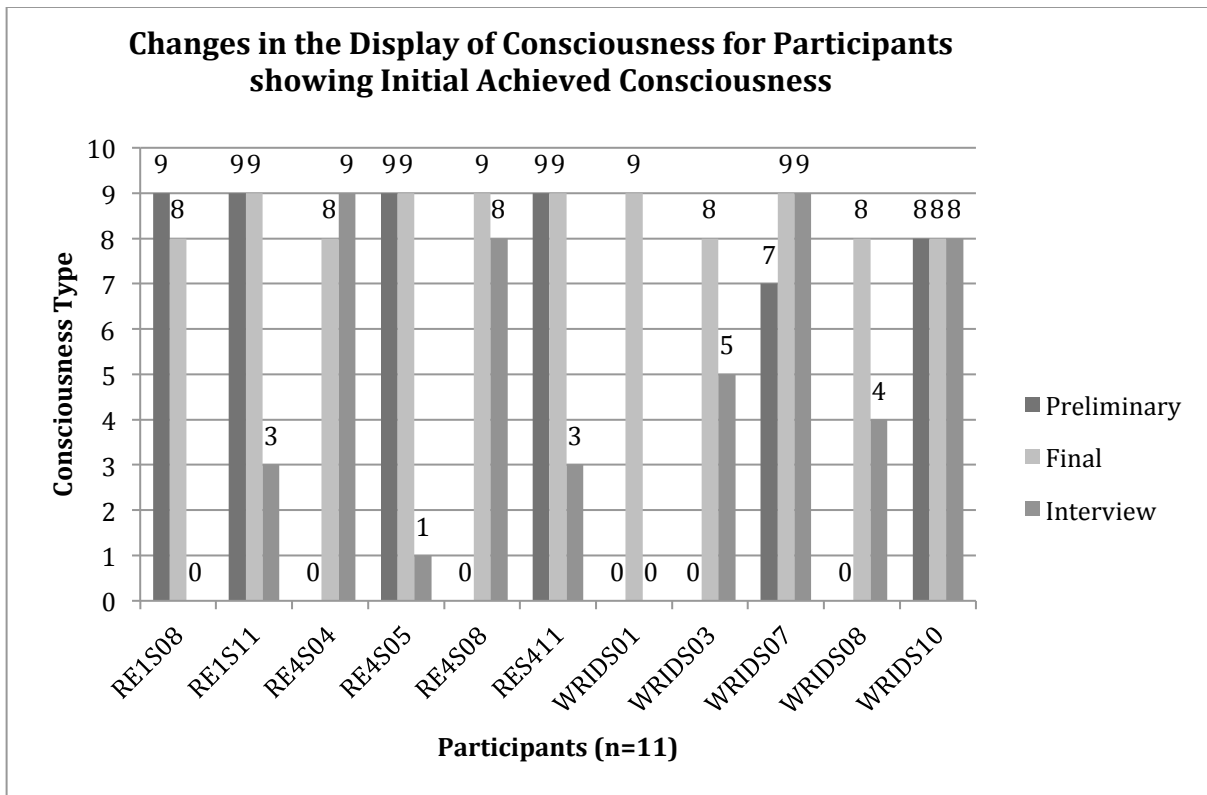

All but one of these participants demonstrated a dominant and secondary Unachieved consciousness at the preliminary paper. None of the participants in this group demonstrated a dominant Unachieved consciousness at either the final paper or the interview. At the final paper, half of the participants demonstrated a dominant Intermediate consciousness and half demonstrated a dominant Achieved consciousness. This signifies that the group showed an upward trend in their consciousness between the preliminary paper and the final paper.

Participants who initially demonstrated a dominant Intermediate consciousness comprise the second group of interest. The graph below shows four participants with an initial dominant Intermediate consciousness and their demonstrated consciousness type at each available data point.

Changes in the Display of Consciousness for Participants Showing Initial Intermediate Consciousness

A bar chart titled "Changes in the Display of Consciousness for Participants Showing Initial Intermediate Consciousness" with the y-axis labeled "Consciousness Type" (0 to 10) and the x-axis labeled "Participants (n=4)". The categories are RE1S05, RE1S06, WRIDS02, and WRIDS09. The legend indicates Preliminary, Final, and Interview series.

- RE1S05: Preliminary 4, Final 8, Interview 0
- RE1S06: Preliminary 5, Final 4, Interview 5
- WRIDS02: Preliminary 5, Final 9, Interview 5
- WRIDS09: Preliminary 6, Final 9, Interview 6

At the preliminary paper, these participants demonstrated a various levels of Intermediate racial consciousness. At the final paper, the majority of these participants demonstrated a dominant Achieved consciousness. One participant, however, continued to demonstrate a dominant Intermediate consciousness. This signifies that the group generally exhibited an upward trend in their consciousness type between the preliminary paper and the final paper. This trend is similar to the trend exhibited by the initial Unachieved group between the preliminary paper and the final paper.

Participants who initially demonstrated a dominant Achieved consciousness comprise the third group of interest. The graph below shows the eleven participants with an initial dominant Achieved consciousness and their demonstrated consciousness type at each available data point. Slightly more than half of the participants in my study demonstrated an initially dominant Achieved consciousness.

Changes in the Display of Consciousness for Participants showing Initial Achieved Consciousness

At the preliminary paper, most of the participants in this group demonstrated higher (either an 8 or 9 numeric value) consciousness within the Achieved consciousness type. At the final paper, two participants demonstrated lower secondary consciousness while two demonstrated higher secondary consciousness. Four participants demonstrated the same dominant and secondary consciousness type. All of the participants continued to demonstrate a dominant Achieved consciousness. This suggests that those with a dominant Achieved consciousness exhibited stable consciousness between the preliminary paper and the final paper.

Interview: Generally, there were greater displays of racial consciousness compared to the racial consciousness demonstrated in the final papers.

At the level of individual participants, the display of Achieved consciousness was lower at the interview compared to the display in the final paper, whereas the display of Intermediate consciousness remained stable and the display of Unachieved consciousness was slightly higher.

This means that participants demonstrated more dissonant attitudes toward their White racial identity when discussing their racial identity with another person than when writing about their White racial identity.

At the level of dialogues, all dialogues exhibited a lower racial consciousness in the interview transcripts compared to the racial consciousness they displayed in the final paper. For each dialogue, more participants showed Unachieved and Intermediate consciousness in the interview compared to the final paper. No participant in RE1 demonstrated Achieved consciousness whereas RE4 and WRID participants continued displaying Achieved consciousness.

All participant groups demonstrated lower racial consciousness in the interview. For participants demonstrating an initially Unachieved racial consciousness, three participants demonstrated a dominant Intermediate consciousness and one demonstrated a dominant Achieved consciousness. For participants exhibiting an initially Intermediate racial consciousness, all participants demonstrated a dominant Intermediate consciousness, except for RE1S05 who did not have an available data point. For participants demonstrating an initially Achieved racial consciousness, three participants demonstrated a dominant Unachieved consciousness, two exhibited a dominant Intermediate consciousness, and two showed a dominant Achieved consciousness. Interestingly, this group was the only group to demonstrate a dominant Unachieved consciousness at the interview.

Summary of Key Findings on White Racial Consciousness
1. All participants demonstrated an upward trend in demonstrated racial consciousness regardless of initially dominant consciousness.
2. More participants demonstrated a dominant Achieved or Intermediate racial consciousness at

the final paper relative to the preliminary paper.

3. Across dialogues, WRID and RE4 participants demonstrated more total increases in racial consciousness in the final paper compared to the preliminary paper than did RE1.

4. All dialogues and participants displayed a lower racial consciousness in the interview compared to the racial consciousness demonstrated in the final paper, regardless of the initially dominant consciousness displayed.

II. Colorblindness

A. Themes on Colorblindness:

Discussing colorblindness requires discussing how colorblindness appeared in the data with specific attention to the frame of colorblind racism proposed by Bonilla-Silva (2006). In this section, I present how participants expressed these frames across data points. Additionally, I present direct and indirect critiques of colorblindness as a theme that emerged from the data. In order to clarify why quotes reflect particular frames of colorblindness, I discuss how they embody the particular frames in detail.

Abstract liberalism: The frame of abstract liberalism was the frame expressed most by participants at each data point. For Bonilla-Silva (2006), this frame involves abstractly using notions that derive from political liberalism in order to explain away racial issues. Such notions include the concepts of equal opportunity, individuality, merit, and personal choice. Throughout their papers, participants expressed sentiments embodying one or more of these notions. Some participants expressed abstract liberalism in ways that would also signify the expression of other frames of colorblindness. Because abstract liberalism was the frame participants expressed the

most across data points, this section is lengthier than sections for the other frames of colorblindness.

Participants expressed abstract liberalism when discussing interpersonal interactions. The participant below explained how he learned to judge people by their actions:

> I personally struggle with categorizing myself as a White person, as my parents always taught me to judge people by their actions and not by the color of their skin. My father is "an equal opportunity hater" as we like to say in our family. In the car, for example, it didn't matter if the person driving the car next to us was white, black, Asian, male or old. If they did something to irritate my father behind the wheel, he would get angry regardless of what they looked like. Although the previous story is meant to be comical, it should shed light into the way I was raised. Although nobody is perfect, I like to believe that most of the time I won't judge a person through stereotypes the same way I wouldn't judge a book by its cover. However, I inevitably am aware of the numerous stereotypes that exist in our society, and most of them are transmitted to me through the media.
>
> -W10WRIDS05 Preliminary Paper

This participant expresses abstract liberalism in two ways. First, he seems himself as not judging people by their color of their skin, but rather by their actions. Exactly what this means is not explicitly clear, but the notion of being an "equal opportunity hater" seems to indicate that it means treating everyone equally. This phrase "equal opportunity hater" suggests that, for the participant and his family, treating everyone equally meant not 'seeing' the race of other people or themselves. Secondly, the participant expresses abstract liberalism in that he implicitly indicates that he has trouble identifying as White because his parents taught him to judge people by their actions and not their skin color. It is noteworthy that this participant acknowledges the existence of stereotypes in society and that these stereotypes have been expressed to him. However, the only "stereotype" to which he refers is the "stereotype" that White people are the majority. This is not a stereotype given that White people are a numerical majority. It is not clear what this stereotype actually means for him when he attempts to judge people by their actions. Overall, his lack of discussion about how stereotypes and misinformation about people of color

can impact how he perceives the actions of people of color indicates that he does not see how not

seeing the race of the people with whom he interacts can actually perpetuate racist dynamics.

Another participant expressed a greater awareness about the stereotypes about people of

color. Nevertheless, this participant describes this awareness in such a way that disconnects her

from the impact of these stereotypes:

> I am a firm believer that a person's character is what truly matters. However, even to the most cultured and respectful of people it is sometimes hard to forgo the stereotypes that abound in society today. Turn on the television or watch a movie and more often than not the gangster will be African-American, the lawyer will be Jewish, and an Asian will be using martial arts in a fight. While many of these stereotypes are intended to be harmless, when you see them enough it becomes instinctual to buy into them, hindering one's ability to fairly and accurately judge another's character.

-W10WRIDS06 Preliminary Paper

What this participant shares toward the end of her statement seems remarkable. She describes the

stereotypes about racial minorities that pervade television and movies and even acknowledges

that these stereotypes can inhibit a person's ability to judge the character of another person. What

is problematic is that the participant describes these stereotypes as "intended to be harmless."

The participant does not realize that her perspective as someone who is not a person of color may

inform her belief that these stereotypes are "intended to be harmless." As someone who does not

experience the negative impact of these stereotypes directly in interpersonal interactions, she can

exculpate the people who choose to portray racial minorities in certain ways for their actions.

Secondly, and what is most tellingly abstract liberalism, is that she sees herself as a "firm

believer that a person's character is what truly matters." Her entire discussion about stereotypes

seems to be qualifier about her belief. For Bonilla-Silva (2006), this discussion would represent a

nuanced, stylistic way of exhibiting abstract liberalism. The participant can acknowledge that

racial stereotypes are damaging, but she does not internalize that acknowledgement by reflecting

on how she personally might not be able to judge accurately the character of people of color. By

not reflecting on this, she can maintain her belief that a person's character is what truly matters.

The racial implications of a firm belief in approaching people as individual people were

evident in a sentiment shared by another participant:

> R: Hm… um… well, I… I noticed that within my social group, the majority of my friends are
> White, and I like sort of just, I looked at it and I was like oh, yes, they are all White, and that
> wasn't like, on purpose, it's not like I have like other friends of minorities but the majority of them
> and I think that like part of it is because the school is majority White, the other part is I'm not in
> like, a cultural organization, where a lot of people who are minority I think, join those groups, and
> um, so the groups I join like, I'm in student government, and the majority of our members are
> White, and my reasoning I think, is because either A, minorities are deterred from joining because
> there aren't many on already, or B, there are so many other opportunities for students of minority
> to join, like, cultural groups and stuff like that, that they're joining those groups instead of this
> one, like there are more opportunities um, available to join I think because of the normal
> organizations that you know, the general population joins and then the minority groups,
> multicultural groups that technically can join but typically it's the groups that, like the group was
> made for. So basically I just do activities I like, and they happen to be majority White people in it.
> Um.. yeah, and I mean I guess I don't seek out friends of minorities but that's just because I'm just
> friends… I'm just friends with everyone… and more of the people that I meet are White.

-W10RE1S06 Interview

This participant's acknowledgment that her primary social circles are predominantly White

signifies an ability to name the racial identities of those around her. This might be interpreted as

an action that is not colorblind. However, her process of attempting to explain why this is the

case represents colorblindness in several respects. First, she does not consider that White

students on student government may actually enact racism in their organizations to the effect that

racial minorities are excluded. In this sense, there is a minimization of racism. Secondly, this

participant attempts to naturalize the racial dynamics she observes and in which she participates

by explaining that minorities join "cultural organizations" rather than "normal organizations."

She claims that racial minorities have more "opportunities" to join these groups, a statement

which implicitly serves to acknowledge racism within predominantly White student

organizations. Lastly, and more directly concerning abstract liberalism, this participant explains

away the fact that all of her social circles are predominantly White by invoking the notion that

she "just" does what she likes and is "just friends with everyone." In other words, she is exercising her personal choices in doing what she likes. As such, she does not see it as her fault that she is mostly around other White people. This explanation allows her to mentally remove herself from systemic racism and to point to the actions of racial minorities rather than examine more critically the implications of her actions in a system of racism.

Other participants used expressed abstract liberalism in ways that discounted the existence of White privilege. The following participant enacts abstract liberalism in way that neglects the role of White privilege in determining her life outcomes and those of her family as White people:

> I do not know if someone of a different race was given my life they would have been as fortunate, but I generally feel that my parents worked hard for the things they have given our family, and I have worked hard for my success.

-W10RE1S05 Preliminary Paper

This participant openly wonders about what someone of another race might achieve if they had her life. She halts this wonderment rather quickly, preventing her from speculating more systematically about what a person of color could achieve if they were in her circumstances and what that would mean about her life. Instead, this participant affirms that her parents "worked hard" for what they have and that she "works hard" for her success. This statement serves to effectively challenge an idea to which she is implicitly reacting: that it is easier for White people to attain success in the United States because of the privilege systemic racism accords them. By maintaining that she and her family have worked hard for their success, she uses notions of individuality and merit as explanations for what her family has attained.

The notion of merit appeared in sentiments shared by another participant. The following participant enacts the notion of merit to challenge the current implementation of affirmative action programs:

> In the United States, I feel that attempts to end inequalities are right in their intentions, but have flaws. Affirmative action is one matter that looks good on paper, and ideally could work and be very affective, but when executed is flawed. In attempting to make everyone equal, those implementing affirmative action are actually taking away from the many to help the few. It seems that there are better ways of implementing affirmative action though. For example, refocus affirmative action to target those financially disadvantaged and rather than offering assistance when it is almost too late, begin at the source of the problem. Specifically when it comes to education, affirmative action should not focus on college admission, but rather go straight to the source of the problem: primary education. Once everyone is playing from an equal level, affirmative action would not be necessary for college entry. Merit and experience should be more important than skin color.

-W10RE1S11 Final Paper

This participant presents a critique of affirmative action for racial minorities. For her, affirmative action is flawed because it takes away from the many to help the few and because it does not target the financially disadvantaged. Both of the flaws she identifies express the minimization of racism frame. The idea that affirmative action is flawed because it takes away from the many to help the few represents an inattention to the impact of White privilege on "the many" and how that privilege effectively excludes "the few" from many opportunities. By indicating that the financially disadvantaged should receive affirmative action instead of people of color (although these groups are not mutually exclusive), this participant assumes that people of color do not encounter the racism that would necessitate race-conscious affirmative action. In this sense, her claim that affirmative action should go to the financially disadvantaged serves to undercut the need for affirmative action for racial minorities. A third way in which she minimizes racism is by suggesting that affirmative action should be applied at the level of primary education, rather than college education. Such a suggestion ignores the pervasiveness of racism through multiple institutions and at multiple levels. Making one level more

integrated does not necessarily mean that other levels will reflect that integration. After demonstrating minimization of racism in three ways, this participant concludes her discussion of affirmative action by stating that "merit and experience" should be more important than the color of one's skin. In other words, she expresses a key notion of abstract liberalism: the idea that one should rise and fall according to the level of merit one attains. In order to ascribe to the concept of merit, this participant has to minimize and effectively deny the importance of racism in determining life outcomes for people based on the racial membership. The discussion about this participant reveals that, abstract liberalism often linked to the expression of minimization of racism.

This link between abstract liberalism and the minimization of racism appears in another expression of abstract liberalism. The following participant acknowledges White privilege, and yet contends that individual people can escape their circumstances if they work hard enough:

> There is a distinct advantage of entering the current world white, even though few want to formally admit it. I will still hold stern to my belief that anyone can escape poverty with personal strength and determination and support from loved ones.

<div align="right">-W10WRIDS03 Final Paper</div>

It is remarkable that this participant is aware that few people want to admit that there is an advantage to being White. Despite the acknowledgement of White privilege, this participant emphatically contends that any person can escape their circumstances on the basis of personal attributes. This language is a direct instance of abstract liberalism in that it emphasizes personal choices and the idea of equal potential for individual success while disregarding the force of systemic racism in preventing many people of color from success in their life endeavors. By focusing on personal attributes, this participant can ignore the effects of White privilege on

people of color. Specifically, the cumulative effects of White privilege can serve to exclude people of color from many areas of success.

Cultural Racism: The frame of cultural racism was the frame expressed least by participants. For Bonilla-Silva (2006), this frame relies on culturally based arguments to explain the racial inequalities and other phenomena involving race in the United States. I present two expressions of colorblindness out of the three total expressions in order to provide examples of this frame in the data.

The first participant expressed cultural racism in relation to interracial dating. This participant asserts that she is a "bit more accepting of interracial dating":

I: Did that have an effect on how you feel about interracial dating or just the experience was interesting?

R: I guess it made me be a little bit more accepting of it. I mean I, I can't really say because unless I enter, wanted, had the desire to enter into an interracial relationship. For me, interracial relationships are completely fine. Like they're, I, I'm completely supportive of them. The thing that makes me upset is when there is some sort of like tradition or culture behind that race that is going to be, just make things difficult. So maybe if you have someone who had moved directly from another country and had grown up in that country, has those traditions, you know, is affiliated with a certain religion, that like say a white woman is not going to be welcome in, then that's when I kind of get a little bit iffy and I get protective of looking (20:32) entering that type relationship. But other than that, I am all for interracial dating.

-W10RE4S08 Interview

Although the participant states that she is a bit more accepting of interracial dating, her description about the cultural background of a racial minority in relation to White women in particular represents the an expression of cultural racism. She indicates that her support for interracial dating wavers when there are cultural elements of particular race that "make things difficult" for "like say a White woman" to the effect that she will "be welcome." Such a statement reflects cultural racism because she is able to rescind her support for interracial dating by referring to the cultural background of racial minorities as something that would make her not support interracial dating. It is telling that she does not indicate that her support wavers because

of particular elements within White culture that might make people of color feel unwelcome in possible attempts to engage in interracial dating. Instead, the cultural problems that this participant envisions originate in the cultural background of racial minorities. In effect, her conception of how culture affects interracial dating allows her to normalize White culture as something that could not be a potential source of cultural problems.

The following participant expressed cultural racism in relation to some of his peers of color in high school:

> My testimonial that I told in class clearly demonstrated the unequal opportunities that people of color face in my town. The starting five on my 6th grade basketball team was one of the best in the state. It was me, and four other black kids who were already being recruited from different private schools around the state. Their futures were looking bright and almost as if they would be able to escape the continuing oppression that they faced, through the mechanism of basketball. Long story short, after many years of continuing to play basketball, I looked around the varsity basketball team and did not see any one of these other four kids who had some of the greatest potential in the state of Illinois. Three kids were in jail for possession and distribution of controlled substances and the other remained kicked off the team for behavioral problems. While they were caught up in bad behavior, their lack of focus on education created negative events in their life. Trueba talks about education being key in Latino progression towards a more equal society, "Going to school and graduating are seen as the first steps to becoming somebody" (Trueba,14). Even though Trueba is talking primarily about Latino's and their self-identity, I think that education is a universal potential liberator for people of color. It is disappointing to me that the people who had such a promising life ahead of them were able to throw it away because they felt as if education was not an important part in their culture. It is sad to think that this is the future for many people of color in Evanston because of their culture that they grow up in and because they do not have similar opportunities as white people do to progress their futures beyond local gangs and rep within the community.

-W10RE4S05 Final Paper

This participant describes how he saw the "bright" futures of some of his peers of color with "some of the greatest potential in that state of Illinois" falter. His peers became involved in possessing and distributing substances. For the participant, he sees their "lack of focus on education" as something that was part of their culture. Beyond his the fates of his peers, he claims that "this is the future for many people of color." It is important to note that he acknowledges that people of color do not have similar opportunities as White people to advance in society. However, this statement seems to be more of an afterthought to his overall claim that

education is not a cultural value of racial minorities. This claim allows him to effectively

undermine the importance of intersecting class and racial oppression in shaping the perspectives

people of color in his city may take toward their future. What this participant sees as a cultural

phenomenon may more likely a result of this intersecting oppression, rather than something is

culturally transmitted. Moreover, locating the lack of focus in education in the culture of

minorities allows this participant to explain away the primacy of White privilege and systemic

racial oppression in shaping the life outcomes of people of color across multiple contexts,

including education.

Naturalization of Racism: The frame of naturalization of racism was the second most

expressed frame by participant across data points. I include all expressions of colorblindness in

order to provide examples of this frame in the data. For Bonilla-Silva (2006), this frame allows

Whites to explain away racial phenomena, such as *de facto* racial residential segregation and

same-race friendships, by suggesting that they are natural occurrences. In the data, the frame of

naturalization was expressed overwhelmingly in relation to friendships.

The following participant expressed one of the most concrete expressions of

naturalization. She contends that people naturally gravitate toward people of the same racial

background:

> I have other friends that are Indian, Arab, Asian, etc. Although, overall I would say the majority
> of my friends are Caucasian. I think, unconsciously as human beings, we identify better with
> people of our own race. When looking for friends people tend to lean towards others with similar
> interests or ideas as themselves. People of the same race often share common traditions or
> customs, which automatically gives an individual something to talk about and allows them to form
> a relationship.

> -W10RE4S07 Preliminary Paper

Initially, this participant describes the racial composition of most of her friends.

Subsequently, she attempts to explain why most of her friends are White. Her explanation hinges

on the belief that people of the same racial group "unconsciously" gravitate toward people of

their same race. She cites similar interests, idea, and traditions as examples of what people of the

same racial background have in common. Her explanation effectively allows her to overlook

how historical and current racial segregation in housing, employment, and schooling create the

illusion of natural differences between racial groups. Systemic racism that has separate people of

color and White people has given her the illusion that White people naturally befriend White

people and people of color naturally befriend other people of color. Applying an even broader

historical lens, her explanation ignores the fact that racial groups and the meaning of race change

with time. Racial groups that are recognized today were not recognized in the past and may not

be recognized in the future. Her suggestion that humans naturally tend toward people of the same

racial group essentializes what is fundamentally a changing concept. Who might be racially

similar today may not be racially similar tomorrow.

This notion of similarity with people of the same race emerged as a theme in the

expression of naturalization across many participants to describe why their friends are primarily

White. The following participant described how he became friends with mostly people of a

similar background:

> I went to a Jewish preschool and a predominantly white elementary school, though the race of
> friends I had who were not white was not a factor in my eyes. When I got to middle school
> though, I found my group of friends becoming more and more homogeneous, white and Jewish.
> There was no malice or intent in this happening but rather I just found that I had more common
> experiences and tastes to kids from similar backgrounds to mine. We lived near each other, our
> families had similar socioeconomic backgrounds, and we had had similar experiences in our lives
> in the way of bar mitzvahs and family vacations.

-W10WRIDS06 Preliminary Paper

This participant indicates that he went to schools that primarily had people with his racial

background when he was younger. He contends that the race of people who were not White was

not a factor in his eyes. This is intriguing considering that the implication of this statement is that

their race actually did matter to him. If he were not looking at race as a factor, then the race of

his White friends—not just his friends who are not White—should also not be a factor in his eyes. This participant describes that his friend group was becoming more homogenous, but that this was simply because he "just" found that he had more in common with people of the same racial background. They shared similar socioeconomic backgrounds and even lived close to each other. These statements embody an indirect manifestation of naturalization. To this participant, it is not apparent that the similarities to which he refers are similarities that arise from systemic racism that segregates people of different racial backgrounds. His "just" finding that he had more in common with people from "similar" backgrounds did not occur by happenstance.

The following participant attempted to explain why most of her friends are White in a manner similar to previous participant:

> The majority of my friends are white. This is not on purpose, it just happened that way. One of my best friends is Indian and the other is black, but the rest are white. I believe that this I because white has been the majority everywhere I have lived. I come from a predominately white town and the University of Michigan, albeit it has more diversity than my town, has a white majority. I suppose I have not done anything to actively seek out friends from different backgrounds. I typically participate in the things I love and meet friends there. Whether or not the friends I make are a minority never really crosses my mind. For example, I am a member of Student Government. I absolutely love this activity and have made many friends in the group. However, this group has very few members of the minority, thus my large base on campus is mostly white. I am simply doing the activities I enjoy and making friends along the way.

> -W10RE1S06 Final Paper

This participant states that the majority of her friends are White. She immediately assures that she has not intentionally chosen only Whites as friends; two of her best friends are people of color. She explains that White people have always been the majority where she lives, and it seems that this is her explanation for why she primarily has White friends. Considering what she says toward the end of her statement; however, it appears that she uses the fact that White people are a numerical majority as a reason for why she primarily has White friends. As she sees it, she just makes friends doing the activities she enjoys. Such a notion represents an indirect manifestation of naturalization because it implies that her friend group has occurred merely as a

result of the way the world works. As evidenced in other participants who expressed

naturalization, this participant ignores the existence of systemic racism that effectively allows for

Whites to be a numerical majority. In this sense, her friend group is not arbitrary.

Participants expressed naturalization also in how they talked about systems of oppression

and privilege in society. The following participant expressed naturalization in seeing oppression

as unchangeable:

> My heart breaks for people who are discriminated against because of who they are. Whether it is gender, race, or homosexuality. My uncle is a gay man in California. He is a successful real estate agent and has the most amazing partner. He has never told me about his experiences about being gay and not being gay I can't really relate but I would certainly try. That is how it is with African Americans or Asians or whoever isn't white. I do not understand how people can be so ignorant but then I think that is the way the world works and it is pretty hard to change.

-W10RE1S08 Preliminary Paper

This participant exhibits sympathy for people who are targeted because of their social identities.

It is interesting that she transfers her experience with her uncle as a gay man to her

understanding of oppression faced by people of color. Her statement that this discrimination is

from ignorant people serves two functions. First, it ignores the significance and prevalence of

systemic oppression. In particular, systemic oppression does not necessarily need ignorant

people who enact overt acts of oppression. Systemic oppression is maintained by inaction that

does not challenge its existence. Secondly, her statement serves to distinguish herself from other

people who are overtly prejudiced. She can imagine that she is outside of systemic racism, and

therefore does not participate it the perpetuation of such racism. The participant ultimately

concludes that the oppression faced by people of color is a fact of the world that is hard to

change. In light of this, her statement signifies naturalization of racism. It is important to

emphasize that her expression is a softer form of naturalization. Her statement suggests the

presence of hopelessness with regard to ending oppression. It might merely be the case that she

cannot see any way of challenging racism and, therefore, attributes immutability to racism. Such a belief in the immutability of racism; however, is dangerous because it undermines the notion that systemic racism can be challenged. It suggests that actions against racism do not matter in the grander scheme because such racism will always exist.

The expression of naturalization of the following participant is palpably different from the expression by the previous participant. The following participant actively embraced privilege as a natural:

> Although I have had very little experience with racial discrimination, it is not possible to ignore other types of discrimination that I have experienced. Because of the lack of diversity in the region where I grew up, it would be hard to really identify any privileges that I may have had within that area. Stepping back from local privilege, I am very privileged to have grown up in the nice area that I did and to have been able to go to the good school district that I went to. Though these privileges are seen as "unearned privileges," I am not ashamed of having had them. Historical events that led to those privileges were not my responsibility. And it does not make sense to punish people today for the actions of their ancestors. Each person has certain privilege and lack thereof. "Life isn't fair." Anytime I complained about how unfair something was, my parents would respond in this way. As much as I wish this was not the case, it is reality.

-W10RE1S11 Final Paper

This participant acknowledges the existence of privilege and that she has received such privilege throughout her life. Initially, she appears understand what privilege is. However, it becomes clear that this participant does not see the existence of this privilege as problematic. When all of these statements are taken together, it is very clear that she naturalizes the existence of racism. For her, it is simply "reality" that "each person has certain privilege and lack thereof." By stating this, she can exculpate herself for receiving privilege because it is how the world works. Even if she receives systemic privilege because of centuries of oppression of people of color in the United States, she does not need to feel "ashamed" because it is just how things work. In an interesting move, she claims that people today are punished for the actions of their ancestors that gave them the systemic privilege they receive. Such a claim perpetuates the privileged position she holds as a White person by suggesting that she and other White people play no role in the

perpetuation of privilege. On the contrary, the fact that she does not see anything wrong with the privilege she receives serves to perpetuate that privilege. Compared to the previous participant who shared a softer form of naturalization, this participant shared one of the strongest expressions of naturalization.

Minimization of Racism: The frame of minimization of racism was the third most expressed frame by participant across data points and even overtook naturalization of racism as the second most expressed frame at the final paper. For Bonilla-Silva (2006), statements and beliefs characteristic of this frame posit that discrimination and racism are no longer central factors affecting the life chances of racial minorities. Participants who expressed minimization of racism often minimized the importance of racism in relation to themselves, in terms of the chance for racial minorities to succeed, and in terms of how important they felt other systems of oppression are.

The following participant minimized racism directly in relation to herself:

My race has little to no influence on how I identify myself as a person, and more specifically as a woman. I moved from suburban Colorado into a predominantly white, upper-middle class neighborhood when I was starting school, and had very little direct interaction with other races. My parents never discussed race with me, and there were never enough of any minority to cause conflict in school. This allowed me to come to my own conclusions as I grew up and gained the capacity to consider such things. I decided that, for me, it didn't matter. I am fully aware that there is racism in the world, and that in a lot of places minorities are still oppressed and persecuted in ways that I can barely imagine, but none of that has a real impact on my life. I don't identify as white, so it really shouldn't matter, socially, if someone else chooses to identify as anything other race or creed.

-W10RE1S04, Preliminary Paper

This participant claims that she came to her "own conclusions" about racism because her family never discussed race with her. Although this is not the primary expression of minimization in her statement, the fact that her family never discussed race suggests that her family minimized the importance of racism and race. She concludes that racism has no "real impact on my life." She sees racism as something that affects people of color "in ways that I can barely imagine." As

such, the fact that she is White "really shouldn't matter." Her discussion reveals that she does not

understand how she benefits from the existence of racism by receiving systemic White privilege.

She does not see that racism is as much about her being White and what that means as it is about

people of color and the oppression they experience as such. By claiming that racism does not

really matter she can minimize the importance of racism in shaping her life as a White person

and she can distance herself from her White racial identity.

Similar to the previous participant, the following participant minimized racism in such a

way as to ignore systemic White privilege:

> I, of course, considered how certain people feel that others are privileged or benefit as a result of their race. I don't believe that I enjoy certain privileges because of my race. I do consider myself very fortunate to be where and who I am. I could be a lot of places in the world where my life would not be as good as it is now. Even though I work hard I understand that I am not wholly deserving of such a good life, but I don't feel that it has anything to do with race. However, there are many people of the same race that do not have the same opportunities that I do. I feel that there are many other factors that contribute to what one would consider a privilege or benefit in life and these features cannot be solely attributed to race.

-W10WRIDS11 Preliminary Paper

This participant acknowledges that she "considered how certain people feel that others

are privileged or benefit as a result of their race." This language already suggests a minimization

of racism because it implies that systemic race privilege is not something that objectively exists,

but is rather a concept imagined by the subjective consciousness of "others." Her statement that

she does not believe that she receives privilege because of her race serves to confirm the

meaning of her first statement. Because she sees privilege as something existing in the subjective

consciousness of other people, she can discount that she receives White privilege. She believes

that the "good life" she has is not the result of this privilege. She points to other people of her

race who do not share the "same opportunities" she has as evidence for her contention that she

does not race privilege. This statement, however, ignores the intersectionality of identities

experienced by White people and the effects of this intersectionality in according different

opportunities. However, the accordance of different opportunities is not the result of their race, but rather the result of having other social identities. Her last statement about "many other factors" serves to buttress her belief that race is not that important in shaping her life outcomes and those of other White people.

The following participant expressed minimization of racism by suggesting that talking about race is a barrier to progress:

> Just because I don't feel that race should play a role in daily life, doesn't mean that I don't understand that minorities don't experience oppression on a level that I don't necessarily understand. There are a lot of issues surrounding race, even today, and I am fully aware of many of these issues. I am not uninformed, and I don't feel entitled to this opinion simply because I am a member of the racial majority. I simply feel that if everyone wasn't so focused on race, we, as a nation, could probably get much more accomplished.

> -W10RE1S04, Preliminary Paper

It is important to note that this participant was the first participant presented in this section on minimization of racism. This current expression of minimization suggests continuity for this participant in the expression of minimization of racism. In this current expression, this participant acknowledges that racial minorities experience oppression in ways that she may not understand. However, she concludes that we could get more done as a nation if we stopped focusing on race. This conclusion represents a stylistic way of minimizing racism. She can acknowledge that racism exists, but she can also downplay the significance of such racism. Moreover, she can claim that everyone else is "so focused on race" that progress is inhibited (although it is not clear what progress means for her).

In contrast to the minimization of racism expressed by the previous participant, the next participant expressed minimization in relation specifically to her own actions:

> I do believe, however, that in a new environment, people tend to gravitate towards people who look like them. I am no exception to this rule. When I walk into a classroom on the first day of school, I will usually end up sitting by someone who is a white girl and is dressed cute. For some reason, I assume that this person will be nice and maybe have something in common with me. I suppose this could be some form of discrimination. I don't think that a black girl who isn't dressed

cute won't be nice, but I naturally go towards someone who is similar to me on the outside because I hope that they will be similar to me on the inside.

This participant expresses naturalization of racism in the beginning of her statement. She suggests that, "people tend to gravitate toward people who look like them." However, she does not realize that race is one among many factors—factors that are not social identities—that could easily be a basis for believing that another person looks similar to oneself. She continues by describing what gravitating toward similarly looking people means for her. It means that she usually sits next to someone "who is a white girl and is dressed cute." She reluctantly wonders whether this could represent a form of discrimination, but cuts this thought short by saying that she just naturally goes to someone who is similar to her on the outside. This move represents an indirect expression of minimization of racism because although she considers whether her actions are discriminatory or not, she ultimately defends her action by indicating that her actions are simply something she does "naturally." She does not follow through analytically with what her actions could actually mean in terms of the perpetuation of racism in interpersonal dynamics. In this sense, she minimizes the racism that her actions may actually signify.

Other participants expressed minimization of racism in relation to the action of people of color. The following participant asserts that everyone should "go for their dreams" by suggesting significantly racism prevents racial minorities from succeeding

Everyone, no matter the color of their skin, or race/ethnicity, anything, should go for their dreams and confront roadblocks that may stand in their way. It makes someone stronger overcoming a difficult situation like discrimination, and people who have, made a difference in our world; and will continue to defy odds.

-W10RE1S08 Final Paper

There is nothing inherently problematic about the assertion that everyone should go for their dreams. However, this assertion serves to minimize the impact of racism on people of color as a

group in being able to overcome "a difficult situation like discrimination." The systemic

discrimination faced by people of color is not simply "a difficult situation," it is situation that

leads to barriers that effectively prevent people of color from "defying odds." For example, a

higher infant mortality rate among African Americans that is twice that of Whites is an example

of a barrier rooted in systemic racism that cannot be overcome by "defying odds" (Dominguez

2011). The notion that everyone should go for their dreams represents an expression of abstract

liberalism by locating the onus for challenging racism in the actions of individual people of

color, rather than the collective actions of people of color and White people.

Similar to the previous participant, the following participant asserts that everyone has an

equal chance to succeed from birth:

> In my opinion, everyone from birth has the chance for success. However, target groups have a
> more difficult time reaching a pinnacle than do members of agent groups. I will admit here that the
> concept of white privilege exists, but doesn't dominate the business world. This issue is less about
> white privilege than it is about socioeconomic privilege, ideas confused all to easily in my
> dialogue. After my parents successfully climbed the socioeconomic ladder to the upper-middle
> class, it was far easier for me to reach success. My mother nurtured me into the success that I have
> already become, and I hope to use her loving care as staple for my future. However, even a person
> from a lower class has the ability to become successful. My father was born into a family in
> poverty. His father drove trucks and his mother worked as a cashier during the night shift. He,
> though, desired better for himself and applied to attend the Jewish day school on one hundred
> percent scholarship to avoid the decrepit public city school for which he was zoned. After
> graduation from the Jewish high school, he enrolled at the University of Maryland again on
> scholarship, grants and loans, and graduated with a job in investment. I see his story as one of
> survival and success and I try to emulate his character in my life.

-W10WRIDS03 Final Paper

This participant immediately asserts that she everyone has the chance for success from birth. She

acknowledges that target groups, such as people of color, encounter difficulty "reaching a

pinnacle." However, rather than critically analyze what this means specifically for people of

color, this participant contends that what is really at issue is socioeconomic privilege. She cites

her parents as an example of how her parents attained socioeconomic success, which she in turn

sees as supporting her success. Missing from her analysis is a consideration that her parents may

have been able to attain their socioeconomic success because of systemic racial privilege. By focusing only on socioeconomic status, this participant can minimize the role of racism in influencing what her parents can attain. Subsequently, she can minimize the role of racism significantly altering the life outcomes of people of color independently of socioeconomic status. Although she contends that target groups encounter more difficulty in attaining success, it is clear that she firmly believes that everyone has a chance for success. Her belief regarding success and her belief that socioeconomic status is a more important factor jointly serve as a minimization of racism.

Another participant also expressed a focus on attributing more importance to socioeconomic status rather than racism:

> People have always had certain expectations for me. For a long time I did not attribute these expectations to race and I still believe there are other crucial factors in their existence, but I see now that race does play a vital role. I have always been expected to succeed academically and to continue my education to the college level. I was never expected to work to support my family. While I think socioeconomic status is the ultimate determinate of expectations and outcomes like those I have suggested, I feel that race is too crucial an aspect to ignore.

-W10WRIDS11 Final Paper

It is striking that this participant acknowledges that race is an important factor in determining the life outcomes of people of color and White people. This would appear to indicate an awareness of the importance of racism. However, the participant undercuts this awareness by maintaining that socioeconomic status the "ultimate determinate of expectations and outcomes." Such a claim represents an indirect way of minimizing racism even while she acknowledges that racism is an important factor. By giving socioeconomic status primacy, she can downplay how socioeconomic status and systemic racism intersect beyond what she might imagine.

Critiquing Colorblindness: In addition to discussing how the participants expressed the frames of colorblindness across the data points, it is important to recognize that some

participants indirectly and directly criticized colorblindness. In this section, I present some of the critiques that arose. Many of them appeared in the final paper, rather than earlier at the preliminary paper.

One of the first critiques of colorblindness appeared in the preliminary paper. The participant who expressed it was a participant who had already taken an interracial dialogue and was now in the WRID. He acknowledges realizing the important role of race:

> Prior to taking the race and ethnicity dialogue in the fall semester of 2008, I never considered race an important characteristic but now that I have learned of how important a role race plays in everyone's life, I realize it's significance.

-W10WRIDS07 Preliminary Paper

By acknowledging the significance of race, this participant challenges minimization of racism.

Similar to this previous participant's challenge to minimization of racism, another participant expressed a challenge to the minimization frame in her interview:

> I: Ok. And did your dialogue experience have an impact on how you feel now about people from another racial identity group.
>
> R: Mm, yea I think it like, there are, like, there have been experiences where people are I feel like, like not like they see things like 'oh, that was racist' like that was and I'm like 'oh, like I don't think so like you're kind of just like interpreting these things that I don't see'. But like making, it like made me aware that I haven't experienced these things so, and they have, so like, maybe like, the things they've experienced like, that is racism to them or like its reminding them of a time where they did go through something. So like rather than me just jumping to like judging them, and not even judging them but being like 'you're crazy like you're just feeling things that aren't there' it's kind of made me be like 'no like maybe they are and I can't, I can't like say they aren't, just because I'm not feeling it.' So yea, it's kind of like increased my understanding of other people and kind of just like given me more empathy for like when you know maybe they are going through something and I shouldn't just be quick to put them down.

-W10WRIDS04 Interview

The participant acknowledges how she used to challenge perceptions of racism by other people. Her dialogue experience has enabled her to see that she cannot make such a judgment because she does not know what it is like to experience certain forms of racism. This new understanding embodies a challenge to the previous way in which she expressed the minimization frame. By

checking her perceptions of racism, this participant can prevent herself from minimizing racism by denying that something might actually represent racism.

Another participant expressed an indirect critique of the abstract liberalism and minimization frames:

> Of course my parents worked hard to provide such a great life for my brothers and me, but in this class I learned that it isn't always a matter of work ethic, but of the government's racial regulations in the past. Specifically we focused on the African-American oppression in the housing loans, and the value of their homes dropping. They were not able to accumulate the same net worth whites were, and thus could not pass such a wealth to their children. This caused the wealth gap to increase in whites and blacks. This is something I had no idea about being raised where everyone was pretty much equal, but IGR has opened my eyes to the unfairness of wealth.
>
> -W10RE1S05 Final Paper

This participant acknowledges that, even though her parents worked hard to achieve what they have, systemic racism created a structure that perpetuates oppression of people of color and White privilege. This recognition also represents a challenge to minimization of racism because it recognizes that the current position of people of color is informed by systemic racism. This recognition suggests a challenge to abstract liberalism because it recognizes that people of color and White people do not occupy an equal playing field where how far one advances in society is only a matter of how hard one works. They are differently situated in relation to each other, with past governmental regulations allowing Whites to accumulate wealth.

Similar to the challenge to abstract liberalism suggested by the previous participant's quote, the next participant expressed a challenge to abstract liberalism by reflecting on what she has been taught about success:

> Society and my parents have taught me that I can do anything I put my mind to. I have no limits or restrictions to my potential. I am the one who decides my future. Reflecting on this, I do believe that some of these statements and beliefs are affected by the color of my skin. Because my parents are white, they had many privileges growing up that allowed them to attend school and have a career. With this career my father was able to buy a nice house in a nice neighborhood with a great school district. The great school district prepared me for college and allowed me to get into a top-notch University. I believe that education is the key to one's future and my reasoning suggests that being white is essentially giving me the opportunity for a better future.
>
> -W10RE1S06 Final Paper

This participant recognizes that she has received specific lessons from her parents about her capacity for success. She was taught that she, as an individual, could attain anything she wanted. Rather than channel this lesson into a belief that anyone can achieve what they want, this participant recognizes that these lessons are linked to the privilege she and her parents receive as White people. In this sense, she indirectly critiques abstract liberalism because she can identify the effects of systemic racism on the lessons she learned about success.

Each of the previous participants expressed indirect critiques of colorblindness. The next participants each expressed direct critiques of colorblindness. In this sense, they explicitly challenge the notion of colorblindness. The first participant recognized the impracticality of colorblindness:

> "Racism is both a crime and a disease" (Lawrence III). Failure to recognize that racism can infiltrate anyone is failure to recognize racism still exists. There is a façade that people use to portray themselves as "colorblind," but a colorblind society is nearly unachievable. How many people can truly not have an immediate reaction to another persons skin color? I may not think of a person as any different, but I will surely notice the difference. Is it a crime to have this immediate reaction of noticing another persons skin color? This is not my definition of racism. My definition of racism stems from personal attacks and bigotry that I faced.
>
> -W10WRIDS03 Final Paper

This participant recognizes that colorblindness is "nearly unachievable." One cannot look at a person and believe that they do not make judgments about their racial background. Moreover, this participant recognizes that simply acknowledging the racial background of a person does not represent racism. It merely represents recognizing their racial background.

The next participant refers to what being colorblind may have actually meant for her:

> Knowledge is the first step towards making a change; we must inform and share our knowledge with others to promote this change. I've realized that from me being "color-blind" before, I may not have directly added to discrimination, but I was making no effort to stop discrimination. We must recognize the racism that is still present today and collaborate to decease it.
>
> -W10RE4S07 Final Paper

This participant demonstrates awareness that by trying to be colorblind, she made no effort to stop discrimination. In this sense, she recognizes that her colorblindness perpetuated discrimination because she did nothing to challenge it. She now acknowledges that racism still exists and it must be actively confronted. Her use of the word "we" suggests that she sees herself as part of this active confrontation of racism.

The following participant challenged colorblindness as connected to Ward Connerly, one of the most visible national opponents of affirmative action for racial minorities:

> One method of combating racism that I considered was from an IGR reading called "Don't Box me In". In this article, Ward Connerly presents an argument for a colorblind society. He believed that our society should aim to create a colorblind society because that would prevent people from being boxed into a certain group based on race. With much introspection and pondering, I decided that I think creating a colorblind society is not a realistic nor optimal way to combat this problem. Connerly explained that he believed people should not be classified based on race, color, ethnicity, or national origin. While I do understand his rationale that race is socially constructed and this construction is what has held people back for years as well as perpetuated a racist society, I strongly disagree with his point of view. I believe that creating such a society would completely eliminate the idea of culture being connected to race, ethnicities, and nationalities as well as eliminate the validity of the struggles due to those different categories that people in our society are still experiencing. Bonilla-Silva illustrated this concept when he discussed systematic racism, stating, "people of color still experience systematic discrimination and remain appreciably behind whites in many important areas of life." Attempting to create a society where people pretend not to notice color and race seems impossible at best, and unintelligent at worse

-W10WRIDS01 Final Paper

This participant acknowledges undergoing much thought about whether or not she believes in colorblindness as proposed by Ward Connerly. In the end, she criticizes colorblindness in two ways. First, she believes that colorblindness, in terms of eliminating race altogether, would be detrimental to the culture people feel with their racial groups and would erase the history of struggles people have faced due to their racial background. Secondly, she recognizes that colorblindness is impractical because of the prevalence of systemic racism that detrimentally affects people of color. Pretending that race does not exist means denying the root cause of

discrimination against people on the basis of their race. Taken together, her statements represent critiques of abstract liberalism and minimization of racism.

B. General results and findings:

Overall Changes in Colorblindness: My first corollary hypothesis was that there would be fewer expressions of colorblindness by the end of the dialogue. The graph below illustrates the mean codings for expression of colorblindness across data points.

Mean Codings for Colorblindness
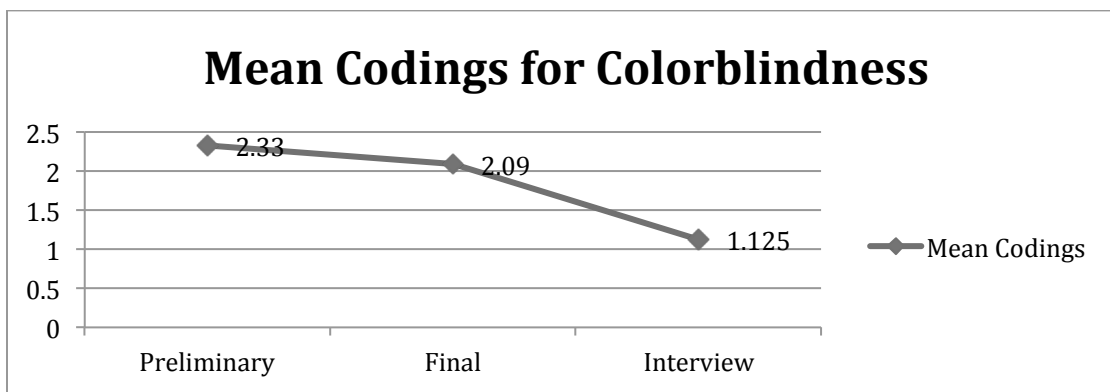
The graph reveals that the average number of expressions of colorblindness declined at the final paper relative to the preliminary paper. This suggests that expressions of colorblindness decreased over the course of the semester. The graph also indicates that participants expressed the lowest mean expression of colorblindness in the interview. To gain more insight into these results, I assessed how the expression of specific frames of colorblindness differed over the course of the semester.

To determine how the expression of specific frames differed over the course of the semester, I determined how many codings of colorblindness there were for each frame at each data point. The chart below indicates the results.
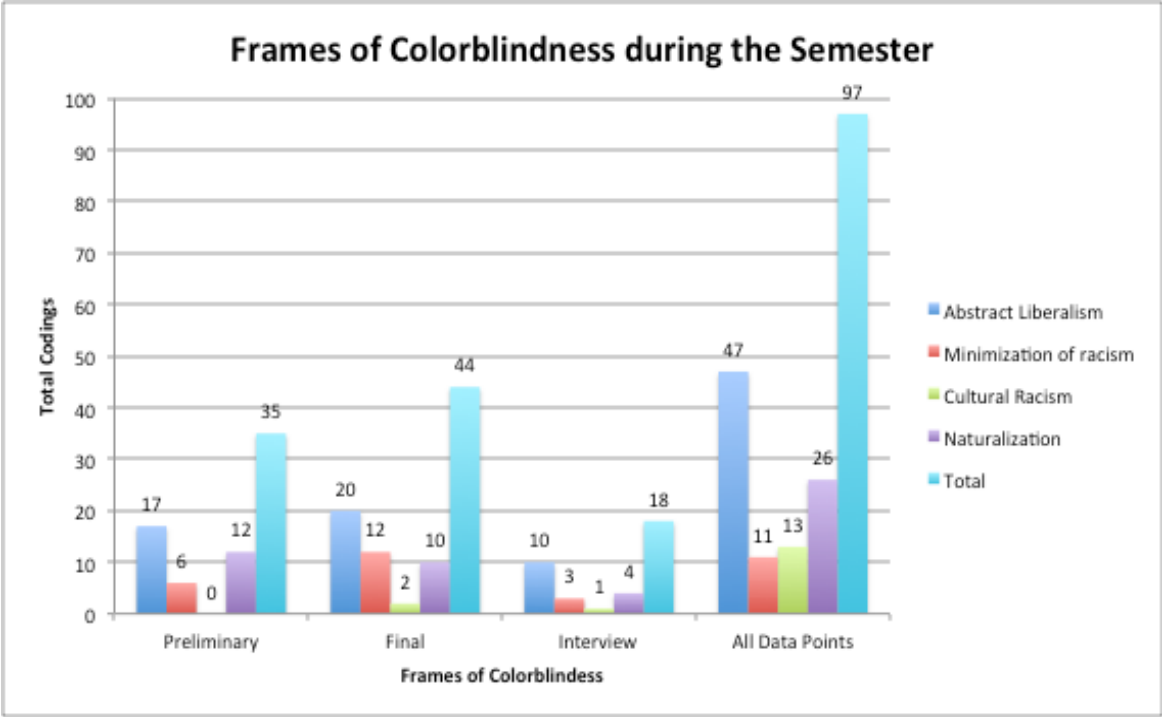
As is evident, abstract liberalism was expressed the most over the course of the semester for each data point. The expression of abstract liberalism increased slightly between the preliminary paper and the final paper; its lowest expression was in the interview. The chart suggests that all of the other frames were used inconsistently across data points. Although the chart provides a clear visual about how each frame differed with regard to total codings, it does not capture the expression of these frames relative to the number of data points available. A different picture of the results emerged when I analyzed the frames relative to the number of data points available. The table below shows the mean number of codings for frame at each data point.

	Abstract Liberalism	Minimization of Racism	Cultural Racism	Naturalization
Preliminary	1.13	0.40	0.000	0.800
Final	0.950	0.570	0.095	0.476
Interview	0.625	0.188	0.100	0.250

The results of this chart show a more precise picture of how the expression of certain frames of colorblindness differed over the course of the semester. They indicate that mean expression of abstract liberalism actually decreased over the course of the semester. Even so, abstract liberalism was the dominant frame for at each data point. The mean expression of minimization of racism increased between the preliminary paper and the final paper. Despite this, its lowest expression occurred in the interview. Cultural racism was a virtually not expressed. The mean expression of naturalization of racism decreased between the preliminary paper and the final paper, although it was more or less the frame expressed more frequently after abstract liberalism.

Colorblindness Between Dialogues: To assess differences in the expression of colorblindness between dialogues, I analyzed the mean expression of colorblindness for each dialogue at each data point. I did not assess for statistical significance when comparing mean expressions of colorblindness. The table below shows the results.

	RE1	RE4	WRID
Preliminary	2.40	2.00	2.42
Final	4.20	1.40	1.45
Interview	2.00	1.75	0.50

Overall, all dialogues had their lowest mean expression of colorblindness in their interview. Nonetheless, the table reveals several differences between the dialogues. The WRID and RE4 both demonstrated a lower mean expression of colorblindness at the final paper relative to the preliminary paper. The WRID had the lowest mean expression of any dialogue at the interview. RE1 had a large increase in mean expression from the preliminary paper to the final paper. It had the highest mean expression at the final paper and the interview relative to the other two dialogues. RE4 represents the only case in which the mean expression of colorblindness was higher in the interview than the mean expression in the final paper. These results suggest a

finding with mixed meaning. Specifically, they seem to indicate that there was a difference

between RE1 and the other two dialogues. RE1 exhibited erratic changes in the mean expression

of colorblindness whereas RE4 and the WRID exhibited a stable downward trend in the mean

expression of colorblindness between the final paper and the preliminary paper.

   Individual Differences in Colorblindness: Another aspect of the data in which I was

interested was individual differences in colorblindness across the course of the semester. The

graph below demonstrates total codings of colorblindness at each available data point for a

participant:
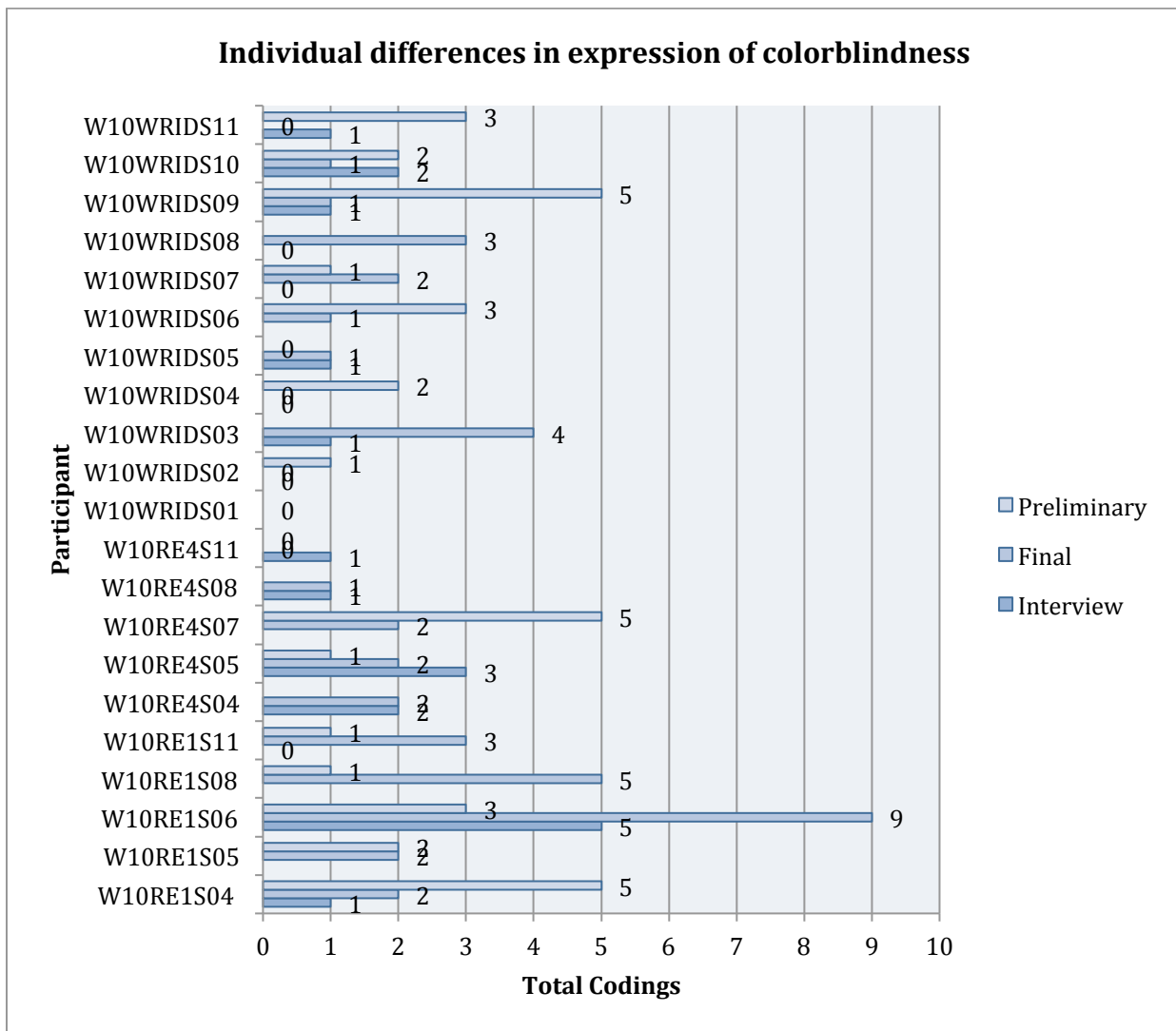
The graph demonstrates several interesting aspects about individual differences. Of the sixteen participants with an available preliminary paper and a final paper, nine expressed less colorblindness, five expressed more colorblindness, and two had no change in expression of colorblindness. The results suggest that although a majority of participants expressed less colorblindness in the final paper relative to the preliminary paper, a sizeable number of participants expressed more colorblindness. One participant had only one data point available and so I could not assess change in expression of colorblindness. Most participants had demonstrated lower or similar expression of colorblindness in the interview compared to their expression of colorblindness in the final paper.

Summary of Key Findings on Colorblindness
1. Overall, participants demonstrated modestly lower mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and the final paper.
2. Overall, abstract liberalism had the highest mean expression at each data point.
3. With regard to dialogues, RE1 exhibited an increase in mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and final paper. RE4 and WRID exhibited decreases in the mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and the final paper.
4. Participants also demonstrated the lowest mean expression of colorblindness in the interview compared to the mean expression demonstrated at either the preliminary or final papers. Each frame, except cultural racism, had the lowest mean expression in the interview compared to their mean expression in both the preliminary and final paper. WRID expressed the lowest mean expression of any dialogue in the interview.

III. White Racial Identity Consciousness and Colorblindness

A. Themes from the Intersection of White Racial Identity Consciousness and Colorblindness:

In presenting themes from the intersection of White racial identity consciousness and the expression of colorblindness, I present specific frames of colorblindness as they appeared in direct intersections with the different displays of White racial identity consciousness. In this section, I have selected quotes that best demonstrate this intersection. Because not all expressed frames directly intersected with displays of White racial identity consciousness, some frames are not included in this section. The general purpose of this section is to show that the demonstration of each racial consciousness appeared alongside expressions of colorblindness. If anything, this section should show that demonstrating an Achieved consciousness did not preclude the expression of colorblindness for some participants. Some of the quotes that I use in this section are quotes presented in previous qualitative sections.

Abstract Liberalism: The quote below is an example of how an expression of abstract liberalism intersected with a display of Unachieved White racial identity consciousness:

> I am very privileged in my life, and have been fortunate throughout with many different aspects. I do not know if someone of a different race was given my life they would have been as fortunate, but I generally feel that my parents worked hard for the things they have given our family, and I have worked hard for my success. There are small things I notice like when my friends and I go shopping at the Lansing Mall that the sales associates follow a group of African-American girls around instead of us because they stereotype them as more likely to shop lift. I am sure from a different viewpoint that my life would seem as I had what I did because I was white, but as of right now I cannot think of any privilege I have that other races do not have, except falling victim to stereotypes.

> -W10RES05 Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

This participant demonstrates an Unachieved racial consciousness because she does not understand that she receives White privilege. Initially, it seems that she might acknowledge such privilege; however, it is clear by the end of her statement that she does not recognize the concept of privilege to mean the privileges that constitute White privilege. Although this participant

demonstrates an awareness of what "African-American girls" experience at her local shopping mall, it is not clear that she understands this as characteristic of systemic racism. Overall, her lack of understanding about White privilege and how it allows her not to be subject to vigilance by sales associates at the mall indicates that she displays Unachieved racial consciousness. During this display of Unachieved racial consciousness, the participant also expresses abstract liberalism. She believes that she and her parents have worked hard for their success. This belief serves as a challenge to the concept of White privilege by implying that White privilege has not allowed she and her family to attain what they have. Her expression of abstract liberalism enables her to implicitly deny that systemic racism has allowed her family to attain why they have.

Whereas the previous participant exhibited an intersection of Unachieved White racial consciousness and abstract liberalism, the next participant exhibited an intersection of Intermediate White racial consciousness and abstract liberalism. For this participant, her Intermediate White racial consciousness is directly linked to her expression of abstract liberalism:

> Throughout the dialogue I kept changing my personal views on topics which I had never formally formed opinions prior. I learned from both my classmates and my instructors, whom I could relate closely. Their benevolence for ending racism was generally sincere, even though it took a long time for me to realize it. I entered the class with a grudge and am leaving with a smile, something that I can smile about for a long time. There is a distinct advantage of entering the current world white, even though few want to formally admit it. I will still hold stern to my belief that anyone can escape poverty with personal strength and determination and support from loved ones. However, I will formally change my opinion from my preliminary essay that I care about helping now. In the beginning, I was complacent to the matter and uneasy about personally delving into possible solutions, but I hate taking the easy way out.

> - W10WRIDS03 Final Paper, Intermediate

This participant acknowledges that her personal views changed throughout the course of the dialogue. She discusses that there is a "distinct advantage" of being White in society. Taken

together, these statements suggest that she has developed an understanding of White privilege and appreciation of the process for learning about such privilege. In spite of this, the participant contends that she will "hold stern" to hear belief that "anyone can escape poverty." This belief embodies an expression of abstract liberalism. Although this participant recognizes systemic White privilege, she maintains a belief that effectively undermines how systemic racism constrains many people of color. When juxtaposed with her previous statements about the "distinct advantage" of being White, the expression of abstract liberalism indicates an Intermediate racial consciousness. The statements suggest that the participant's consciousness is undergoing dissonance, whereby she has received new knowledge about White privilege but grapples with how that impacts her beliefs about what people can achieve.

The following participant demonstrated an intersection of Achieved White racial consciousness and an expression of abstract liberalism:

> Being white has brought me plenty of privileges and benefits. Some examples are not being stopped in the hallways of high school after the bell rang because security guards assumed the white students had errands to run for the teacher and would never skip out on class and getting out of a speeding ticket because I was a girl, but a white girl specifically. Being white in America means when I do something wrong it is not blamed on my race, as it often is with minorities, but blamed on me as individual, as it should be. I have the privilege of driving late at night and not being pulled over by cops, the privilege of walking into any store and not being looked at suspiciously, the privilege of being able to apply for a job and not wonder if I didn't get it because of my race. It is unfortunate that I have all these privileges and benefits because that is not how a just world should be, but it is sadly how some aspects of American society work. I wish I did not have all these benefits and that our society was a more fair place where everyone was taken for the individual they are and not stereotyped by the color of their skin, even if the color of their skin guarantees them the benefit of the doubt. Everyone should be looked at equally and if someone is going to cut someone some slack, everyone should be cut the same slack.

> -W10WRIDS10 Preliminary Paper

This participant exhibits a strong awareness about what it means to be White. She names several privileges and benefits that she receives as White in several areas of her life. This suggests an implicit understanding of the systemic nature of White privilege. This participant expresses abstract liberalism toward the end of her quote when she expresses that "everyone should be

looked at equally." This statement seems understandable given that she has indicated that she feels "sadly" about how racial privilege works in the United States. In this sense, her statements that everyone should be treated equally and "cut the same slack" seem to be a response to White privilege. Nonetheless, her statement suggests that challenging White privilege is a matter of treating everyone as an "individual." What makes this statement problematic is that treating people as individuals allows for the perpetuation of systemic racism because systemic racism operates at the institutional level (Gallagher, 2003). By approaching people as solely individuals, systemic racism can be rendered invisible even when the desire is to challenge the existence of White privilege. Another problem with her contention that people should be treated as individuals is that it presumes that the existence of racial categories themselves is the fundamental problem underlying racism. However, the existence of racial categories does not inherently translate into a racial hierarchy in which certain racial groups are systemically privileged and oppressed. Deconstructing her statement reveals that, for her, approaching people individually serves to dispel racial matters.

Extrapolating beyond this particular participant and her statement, this quote reveals that the display of a particular racial consciousness, such as an Achieved consciousness, does not mean that one is incapable of expressing colorblindness. Given how connected the display of an Unachieved and an Intermediate racial consciousness was to the expression of colorblindness for the previous two participants, this quote presents a more nuanced picture about the connection between racial consciousness and the expression of colorblindness. Specifically, one can demonstrate an Achieved racial consciousness and still express aspects of colorblindness.

Minimization of Racism: The following participant demonstrated an Unachieved racial consciousness and expressed minimization of racism:

> My race has little to no influence on how I identify myself as a person, and more specifically as a woman. I moved from suburban Colorado into a predominantly white, upper-middle class neighborhood when I was starting school, and had very little direct interaction with other races. My parents never discussed race with me, and there were never enough of any minority to cause conflict in school. This allowed me to come to my own conclusions as I grew up and gained the capacity to consider such things. I decided that, for me, it didn't matter. I am fully aware that there is racism in the world, and that in a lot of places minorities are still oppressed and persecuted in ways that I can barely imagine, but none of that has a real impact on my life. I don't identify as white, so it really shouldn't matter, socially, if someone else chooses to identify as anything other race or creed.
>
> -W10RE1S04 Preliminary Paper, Unachieved

This participant demonstrates an Unachieved racial consciousness by claiming that her race has little to no influence on how she identifies as a person. Although she has had little interaction with people of color and has lived in predominantly White communities, she does not link the Whiteness in her life to how she identifies as a person. Instead, this participant contends that race does not matter to her because racism does not impact her. Each of these statements encompasses beliefs characteristic of Unachieved racial consciousness. Directly entailed in these statements is an expression of colorblindness that minimizes racism. As discussed on page 86, she can minimize the importance of racism in shaping her life as a White person and she can distance herself from her White racial identity by claiming that racism and race do not matter.

In contrast to the previous contention that her race does not matter, the following participant spoke about her Whiteness in a different way:

> Being white does not play an important aspect in my everyday life. Yes, I am white, but I don't believe that I have ever used the word "white" to describe myself. I believe that this is because I have always been in an environment where the majority is white; therefore, people will assume that one is white unless they specify otherwise. In addition, if someone knows my name, they would make the correct assumption that I am white. My name is NAME. NAME is an extremely common Jewish last name and most Jews are white.
>
> -W10RE1S06 Final Paper, Intermediate

This participant acknowledges that she is White. However, she does not believe that being White plays an important aspect in her everyday life. This belief constitutes the expression of minimization of racism. It ignores how systemic racism makes Whiteness an important aspect of

her everyday life by influencing interpersonal relations, the social institutions in which she participates, and the demography of her geographical location. These two statements together reflect an Intermediate racial consciousness in the sense that this participant does not deny that she is White, but she does not see how it is an important factor in shaping her life experiences. The reflexivity she expresses about why she has never used the word "White" to describe herself indicates that she can understand cognitively why she might not describe herself by her race. However, she does not see how the pervasiveness of Whiteness in her life has impacted her. This suggests that the participant experiences some dissonance between cognitively understanding her White racial identity and applying that understanding to realize the importance of Whiteness in her life.

The following participant demonstrated an Achieved racial consciousness as she also expressed minimization of racism.

> Personally, I identify most with being Caucasian as my race. And I understand that it has its advantages and disadvantages. I know that as a group, we have never been oppressed, which can be seen in both lights. I truly believe that white people have had their turn in the spotlight and it's time for the score to balance out. Everyone, no matter the color of their skin, or race/ethnicity, anything, should go for their dreams and confront roadblocks that may stand in their way. It makes someone stronger overcoming a difficult situation like discrimination, and people who have, made a difference in our world; and will continue to defy odds.

> -W10RE1S08 Final Paper, Achieved

This participant indicates that she identifies most with being Caucasian. She acknowledges that she receives advantages for being White. She also says that being White has it disadvantage, although it is not clear what she means. It is remarkable that she recognizes that White people have never been oppressed as a racial group. These statements signify an Achieved racial consciousness because she connects with her White identity and recognizes the implications of Whiteness in systemic racism. The last part of her statement; however, represents an expression of minimization of racism combined with an expression of abstract liberalism. As discussed on

page 89, the notion that everyone should go for their dreams represents an expression of abstract liberalism by locating the onus for challenging racism in the actions of individual people of color, rather than the collective actions of people of color and White people. In expressing this abstract liberalism, the participant minimizes the role of racism in significantly impacting the ability of people of color to "go for their dreams and confront roadblocks." Moreover, this participant minimizes racism by disregarding the differential position of Whites and people of color in society to have access to opportunities that allow them to succeed. By saying that "everyone should go for their dreams," this participant ignores her previous acknowledgment of the existence of White privilege and how this privilege means that White people will not face systemic "roadblocks" because of their race.

Naturalization of Racism: For the following participant, the display of Unachieved racial consciousness was directly linked with the expression of naturalization:

> Although I have had very little experience with racial discrimination, it is not possible to ignore other types of discrimination that I have experienced. Because of the lack of diversity in the region where I grew up, it would be hard to really identify any privileges that I may have had within that area. Stepping back from local privilege, I am very privileged to have grown up in the nice area that I did and to have been able to go to the good school district that I went to. Though these privileges are seen as "unearned privileges," I am not ashamed of having had them. Historical events that led to those privileges were not my responsibility. And it does not make sense to punish people today for the actions of their ancestors. Each person has certain privilege and lack thereof. "Life isn't fair." Anytime I complained about how unfair something was, my parents would respond in this way. As much as I wish this was not the case, it is reality.

> W10RE1S11 Final Paper, Unachieved

This participant uses the terminology of "privilege," but does not demonstrate an understanding of what White privilege is. Her statement that she cannot really identify privileges she received "because of the lack of diversity" where she grew up, suggests that her understanding of privilege is limited. She does not realize that the lack of diversity in the area where she grew up may reflect that White people can choose to live in communities that are predominantly White

(McIntosh. 1988). Later in the quote, this participant embraces the privilege she receives and claims that it is not her responsibility that she receives such privilege. By doing this, she demonstrates support for the maintenance of systemic racism. This is characteristic of an Unachieved racial consciousness. As discussed on page 85, her statement that privilege is a "reality" embodies a naturalization of racism. By stating this, she can exculpate herself for receiving privilege because it is how the world works. Even if she receives systemic privilege because of centuries of oppression of people of color in the United States, she does not need to feel "ashamed" because it is just how things work.

In contrast to the previous participant, the following participant demonstrated an Intermediate racial consciousness:

> I do believe, however, that in a new environment, people tend to gravitate towards people who look like them. I am no exception to this rule. When I walk into a classroom on the first day of school, I will usually end up sitting by someone who is a white girl and is dressed cute. For some reason, I assume that this person will be nice and maybe have something in common with me. I suppose this could be some form of discrimination. I don't think that a black girl who isn't dressed cute won't be nice, but I naturally go towards someone who is similar to me on the outside because I hope that they will be similar to me on the inside. I would be interested in finding out why this phenomenon occurs and why my brain thinks in this way.
>
> -W10RE1S06 Preliminary Paper, Intermediate

This participant demonstrates an Intermediate racial consciousness primarily because she is able to write reflexively about how her actions are racialized. In particular, she does not claim that she does not react to the race of other people. She names that she reacts to the racial background of other people. However, she expresses some concern about what her tendency to go to a "White girl" means in relation to people of color. This suggests that she experiences some dissonance between what her actions are and what they might mean. Her indication of being interested in learning about why she tends to gravitate toward White women suggests that a willingness to explore that would not be characteristic of an Unachieved racial consciousness. This participant

expresses naturalization of racism by claiming that people tend to gravitate toward people who look like them. As discussed on page 88, she does not realize that race is one among many factors—factors that are not social identities—that could easily be a basis for believing that another person looks similar to oneself. The selection of race as the determining factor of whether or not someone looks similar to oneself is something rooted in a particular racial history of systemic racism. By describing her tendency as something that occurs "naturally," this participant disregards the role of systemic racism in shaping race as a salient factor in shaping whether or not people conceive of themselves as different or similar to other people.

The following participant demonstrated an intersection of Achieved racial consciousness and the expression of naturalization of racism. In contrast to the previous two participants, this participant expresses naturalization in a more indirect manner:

> I would say that it was not until middle school that I truly became aware that being white was a major part of my identity, at least in the eyes of others. I went to a Jewish preschool and a predominantly white elementary school, though the race of friends I had who were not white was not a factor in my eyes. When I got to middle school though, I found my group of friends becoming more and more homogeneous, white and Jewish. There was no malice or intent in this happening but rather I just found that I had more common experiences and tastes to kids from similar backgrounds to mine. We lived near each other, our families had similar socioeconomic backgrounds, and we had had similar experiences in our lives in the way of bar mitzvahs and family vacations. Ironically enough my friends were, and some including myself still are, huge rap fans. There was no place that made segregation based on race as well as socioeconomic class more plain to see than the lunchroom. There was a table where you could find most of the white and Jewish and kids, a table strictly of African-Americans, a table of Asian students, and so forth. There was interaction and intermixing between tables, but ultimately students sat with students who looked like them. Additionally, there began to be a large divide racially in the classes I was in. I was in the high-level courses in my school and it was hard not to notice that these classes were overwhelmingly white. In my non-academic classes there was no such segregation.

> -W10WRIDS06 Preliminary Paper, Achieved

The reflexivity expressed by this participant in relation to his White racial identity is characteristic of an Achieved racial consciousness. This participant acknowledges becoming aware "that being white was a major part of my identity." Although he qualifies by saying "at least in the eye of others," he proceeds to exhibit awareness about race in his friendships, at

school, and in his neighborhood. This participant recognizes the racial dynamics that emerged throughout middle and high school. His explanation of these dynamics as something that happened because he "just found" that he had more in common with "kids from similar backgrounds" effectively represents an indirect expression of the naturalization of racism. As discussed on page 82, it is not apparent that the similarities to which he refers are similarities that arise from systemic racism that segregates people of different racial backgrounds. His "just" finding that he had more in common with people from "similar" backgrounds did not occur by happenstance. In light of this, naturalization of racism serves to insulate the participant from claims that his friends were racially similar to him because of "malice" he may have had.

B. *General results:*

Overall Relationship between White Racial Identity Consciousness and Colorblindness: My primary hypothesis was that as participants demonstrated higher consciousness about their White racial identity they would express less colorblindness. To assess this relationship, I compared mean expression of colorblindness with the average consciousness type at each data point. To assess for average consciousness type, I used the typology for consciousness types in which I assigned a numeric value to each consciousness type. These numeric values constitute a scale in which consciousness types can be described as higher and lower relative to other consciousness types. For example, Achieved racial consciousness can be considered a higher racial consciousness than Unachieved racial consciousness.

The graph below shows the average consciousness type in relation to mean expression of colorblindness for all participants between the preliminary paper and the final paper. T1 refers to the preliminary paper and T2 refers to the final paper. For all graphs without the labels, all graph points on the left of the graph indicate T1 and all graph points on the right of the graph indicate
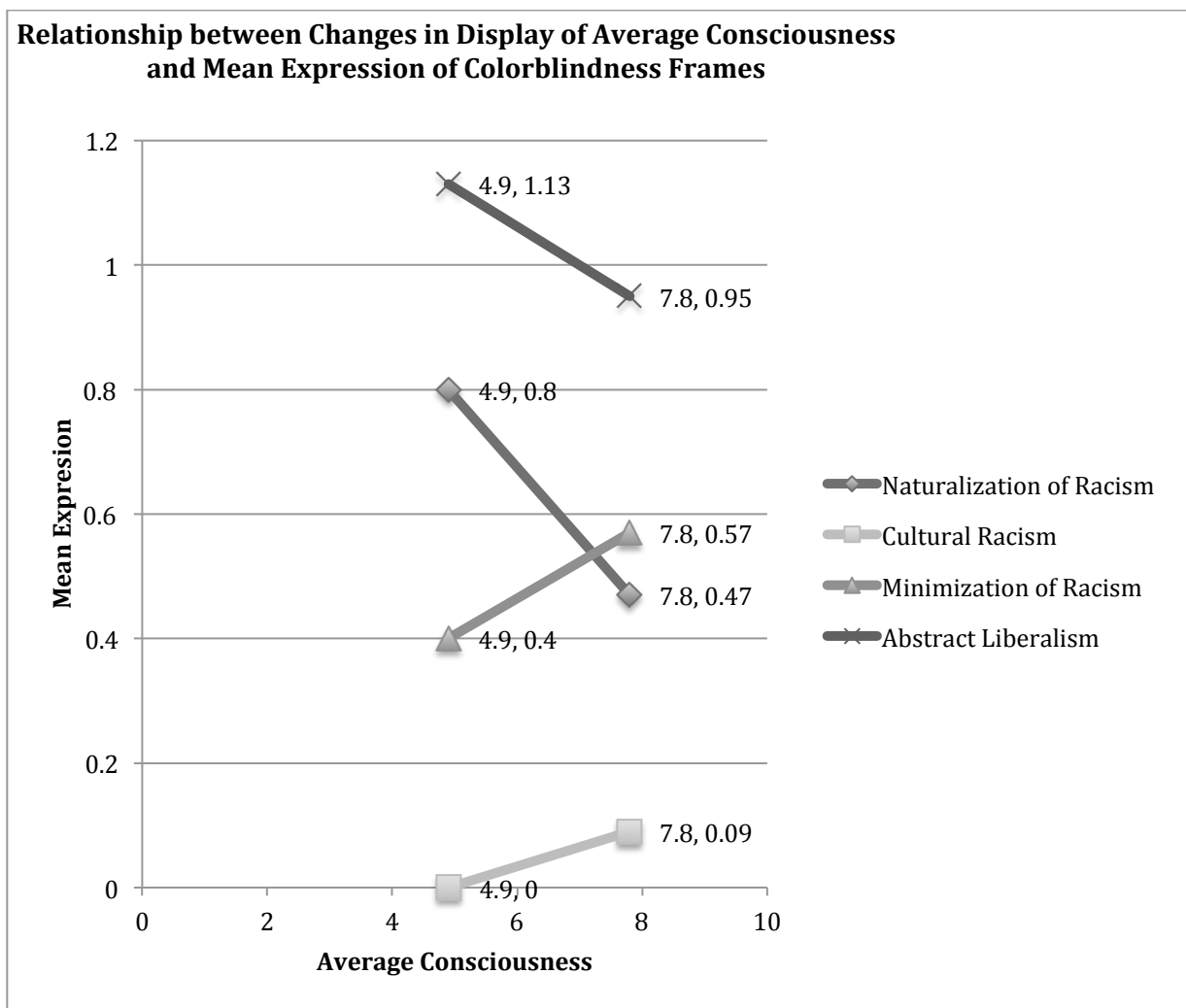
T2.

Relationship between Average Consciousness Demonstrated and Mean Expression of Colorblindness
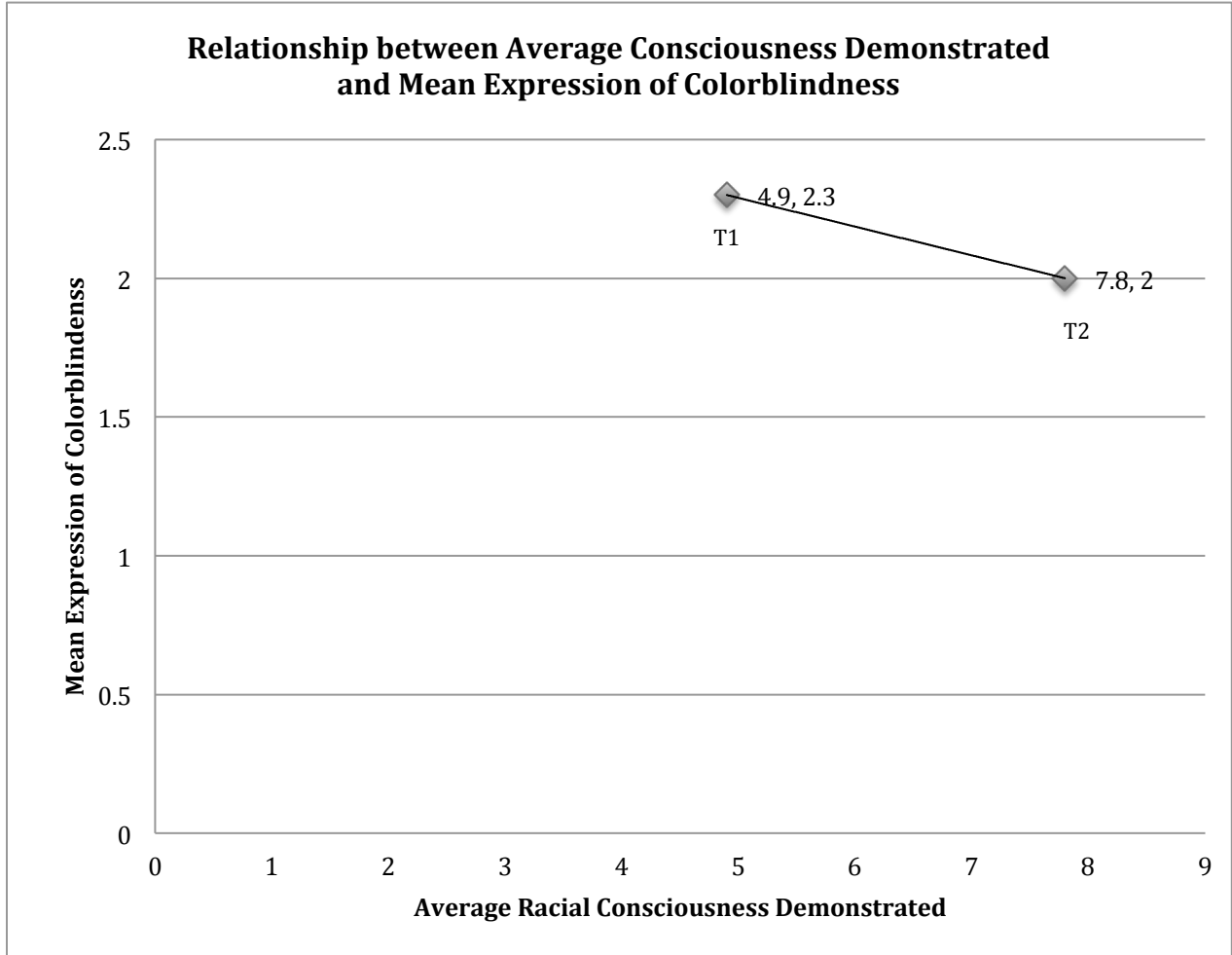
This graph reveals that participants generally demonstrated a dominant Intermediate

consciousness ($M = 4.9$) at the preliminary paper. This would signify a dissonant understanding

of White racial identity with some negative understandings of Whiteness. Mean expression of

colorblindness was highest at the preliminary paper ($M = 2.3$). At the final paper, the average

consciousness demonstrated was a dominant Achieved consciousness ($M = 7.8$). This represents

an increase from the preliminary paper in demonstrated racial consciousness. This would

represent a primarily positive and integrated understanding of White racial identity. Mean

expression of colorblindness ($M = 2$) decreased slightly at the final paper relative to the

preliminary paper. What these results suggest is that as White racial identity consciousness increased, expression of colorblindness decreased modestly.

In addition to looking at the relationship between mean expression of colorblindness overall and average consciousness exhibited, I looked at the relationship between mean expression of specific frames of colorblindness and average consciousness. The graph below illustrates this relationship.

Relationship between Changes in Display of Average Consciousness and Mean Expression of Colorblindness Frames

Y-axis: Mean Expresion (1.2, 1, 0.8, 0.6, 0.4, 0.2, 0)
X-axis: Average Consciousness (0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10)

Data points:
- 4.9, 1.13
- 7.8, 0.95
- 4.9, 0.8
- 7.8, 0.57
- 7.8, 0.47
- 4.9, 0.4
- 7.8, 0.09
- 4.9, 0

Legend:
- Naturalization of Racism
- Cultural Racism
- Minimization of Racism
- Abstract Liberalism

Examining the graph reveals several results about the relationship between demonstrated average consciousness and the mean expression of colorblindness. At the preliminary paper, the average

consciousness demonstrated was a dominant Intermediate consciousness (M = 4.9). Abstract liberalism had the highest mean expression (M = 1.13) for this data point, followed by naturalization of racism (M =.8) and minimization of racism (M = .4). Cultural racism was not expressed at this data point. At the final paper, the average consciousness demonstrated was a dominant Achieved consciousness (M = 7.8). This was an increase from the average consciousness demonstrated at the preliminary paper. Mean expression of abstract liberalism and naturalization of racism decreased at the final paper rel.ative to the preliminary paper. Mean expression of minimization of racism and cultural racism increased slightly at the final paper relative to the preliminary paper. Abstract liberalism remained the frame with the highest mean expression (M = .95) of colorblindness, followed by minimization of racism (M = .57), naturalization of racism (M = .47), and cultural racism (M = .09). This suggests that higher racial consciousness was linked to lower mean expression of abstract liberalism and naturalization, whereas it was linked with slightly higher mean expression of minimization of racism and cultural racism.

Dialogues and the Relationship between White Racial Identity Consciousness and Colorblindness: To examine differences in the relationship between White racial identity consciousness and colorblindness between dialogues, I compared mean expression of colorblindness to the average consciousness type exhibited within each dialogue. The graph below demonstrates the relationship between White racial identity consciousness and the expression of colorblindness within each dialogue.

Relationship Between Average Consciousness to Mean Expression of Colorblindness among Dialogues
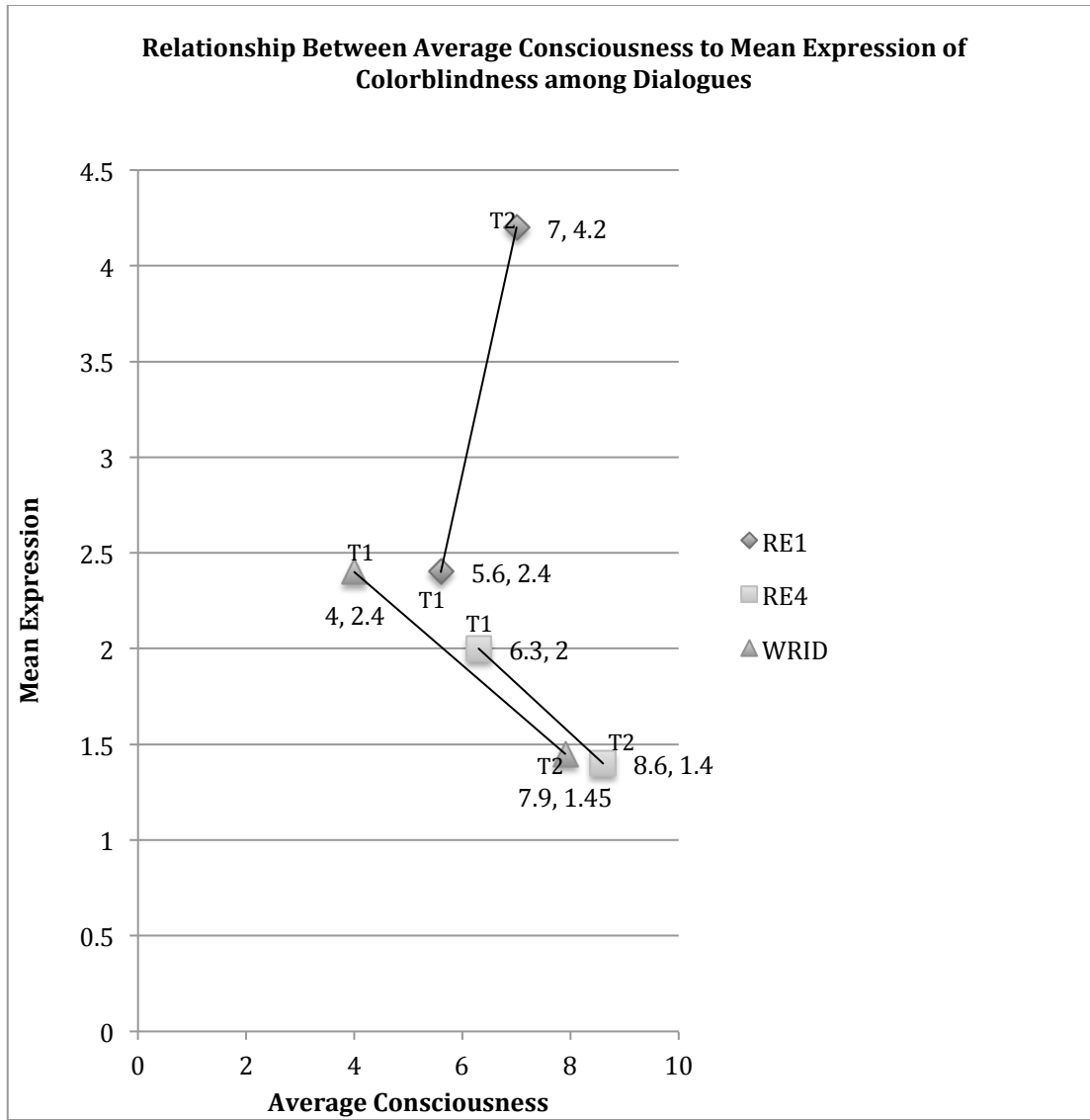
This graph shows that the average consciousness demonstrated by RE1 at the preliminary paper was a dominant Intermediate consciousness ($M = 5.6$). The average consciousness demonstrated by RE1 ($M = 7$) increased to a dominant Achieved consciousness at the final paper. This meant that participants in RE1 demonstrated, on average, more positive and integrated understandings of their White racial identity in the final paper relative to the preliminary. Interestingly, RE1 demonstrated a higher mean expression of colorblindness ($M = 4.2$) at the final paper. This means that for RE1 a higher demonstrated racial consciousness was linked with greater

expression of colorblindness. This link contrasts with the results for all participants, for which higher racial consciousness was linked with lower expression of colorblindness.

The second dialogue I looked at was RE4. The graph above demonstrates the average consciousness type and the mean expression of colorblindness for RE4 at each data point. At the preliminary paper, participants in RE4 demonstrated on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness ($M = 6.3$). This is similar to the average consciousness demonstrated by RE1 at the preliminary paper; however, RE4 demonstrated slightly higher average consciousness at the preliminary paper than RE1. RE4 also demonstrated a lower mean expression of colorblindness at the preliminary paper ($M = 2$) compared to RE1. This would suggest that higher average racial consciousness for RE4 was linked with a lower mean expression of colorblindness. This contrasts with the results for RE1, for which a higher racial consciousness was linked with a slightly higher mean expression of colorblindness.

At the final paper, RE4 demonstrated on average a dominant Achieved consciousness ($M = 8.6$). This suggests that participants in RE4 exhibited higher awareness of their White racial identity at the final paper relative to the preliminary paper. Moreover, the RE4 participants demonstrated the highest average consciousness at the final paper relative to RE1 and the WRID. The mean expression of colorblindness also decreased at the final paper ($M = 1.4$) relative to the preliminary paper. RE4 participants demonstrated the lowest mean expression of colorblindness at the final paper relative to the other two dialogues. This suggests that as participants in RE4 exhibited greater awareness of their White racial identity, they expressed less colorblindness more in relation to the other dialogues. The trend displayed by RE4 between the preliminary paper and the final paper differs from the trend displayed by RE1 for the same data points.

The last dialogue I examined was the WRID. The graph above demonstrates the average consciousness type and the mean expression of colorblindness for WRID. At the preliminary paper, WRID participants demonstrated on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness ($M =$ 4). This is similar to both RE1 and RE4, which demonstrated on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness at the preliminary paper. The WRID, however, also demonstrated the lowest average consciousness at the preliminary paper relative to the other two dialogues. This suggests that at the preliminary paper, WRID participants on average demonstrated lower racial consciousness about their White racial identity relative to the participants in the other two dialogues. The WRID also demonstrated the highest mean expression of colorblindness at the preliminary paper ($M = 2.4$). This means that showing the lowest average consciousness of all the dialogues occurred as the WRID also expressed the highest mean expression of colorblindness relative to the other two dialogues.

At the final paper, WRID participants demonstrated on average a dominant Achieved consciousness ($M = 7.9$). The average consciousness at the final paper was higher compared to their average consciousness at the preliminary paper. WRID participants also exhibited a lower mean expression of colorblindness at the final paper ($M = 1.45$) relative to the preliminary paper. This means that as the WRID participants demonstrated higher average consciousness of their White racial identity they also exhibited fewer expressions of colorblindness. This trend is similar to the trend demonstrated by RE4 participants between the same two data points.

Individual Differences in the Relationship between White racial identity consciousness and Colorblindness: To analyze individual differences in the relationship between White racial identity consciousness and the expression of colorblindness, I examined the expression of colorblindness for participants according to the three groups I discussed in the results section on

White racial identity development. I looked at the participants who had an initial dominant

consciousness of Unachieved, Intermediate, and Achieved consciousness. I then examined their

initial dominant consciousness in relation to their mean expression of colorblindness at each data

point. The graph below captures the changes in display of average consciousness for participants

based on their initially dominant racial consciousness and their mean expression of
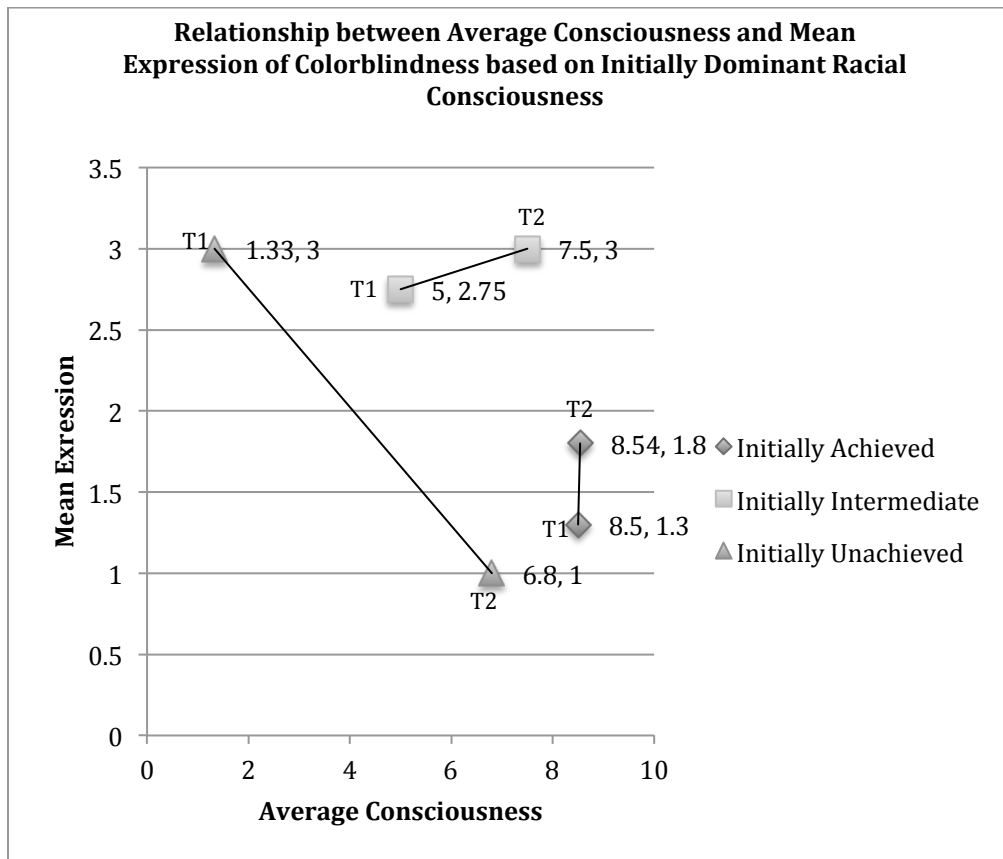
colorblindness.

At the preliminary paper, participants with an initially dominant Unachieved consciousness

demonstrated on average the lowest Unachieved consciousness ($M = 1.33$). These participants

also expressed the highest mean colorblindness ($M = 3$) compared to the participants with an

initially Intermediate consciousness and participants with an initially Achieved consciousness.

At the final paper, participants with an initially dominant Unachieved consciousness

demonstrated on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness ($M = 6.8$). In fact, their average was close to a dominant Achieved consciousness. This signifies an upward trend in the display of average consciousness. Their upward trend in consciousness was the greatest upward trend between the preliminary paper and the final paper in consciousness compared to the other two groups. These participants also displayed the lowest mean expression of colorblindness ($M = 1$) at the final paper. This signifies that for participants with an initially Unachieved racial consciousness, higher racial consciousness was linked with the lowest expression of colorblindness.

Participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness demonstrated a different trend in their relationship between their dominant racial consciousness and their mean expression of colorblindness. At the preliminary paper, these participants exhibited a dominant Intermediate consciousness ($M = 5$). They also exhibited the highest mean expression of colorblindness ($M = 2.75$) at the preliminary paper compared to the participants with an initially dominant Unachieved consciousness and participants with an initially dominant Achieved consciousness. At the final paper, these participants exhibited on average a dominant Achieved consciousness ($M = 7.5$). This signifies an upward trend in average consciousness between the final paper and the preliminary paper. Despite the increase in average consciousness, participants also exhibited an increase in mean expression of colorblindness. Their mean expression of colorblindness at the final paper was the highest mean expression of all groups of participants.

Participants with an initially dominant Achieved consciousness exhibited a slight upward trend in both the demonstrated racial consciousness and their mean expression of colorblindness. At the preliminary paper, participants with an initially dominant Achieved consciousness exhibited on average a high dominant Achieved consciousness ($M = 8.5$). They also
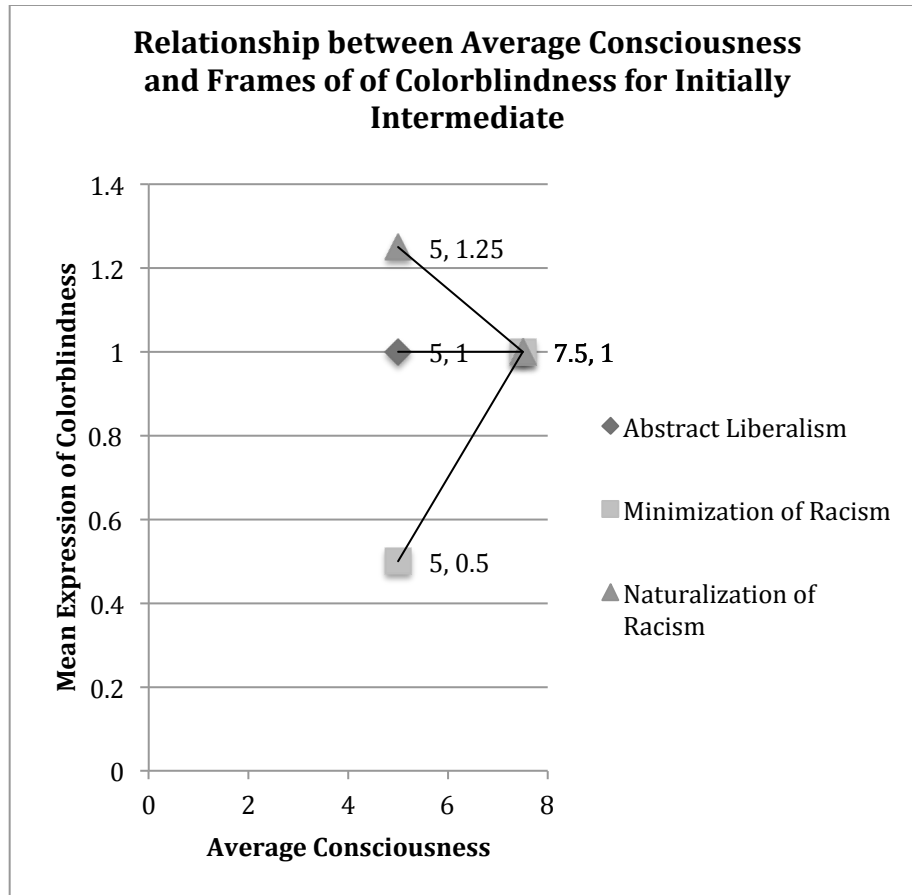
demonstrated the lowest mean expression of colorblindness ($M = 1.3$) at the preliminary paper relative to the other groups. At the final paper, these participants experienced a slight increase in average consciousness ($M = 8.54$) and continued to demonstrate on average a dominant Achieved consciousness. Despite this, these participants also exhibited an increase in the mean expression of colorblindness ($M = 1.8$) between the final paper and the preliminary paper. This upward trend in the mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and the final paper is similar to upward trend in mean expression of colorblindness exhibited by participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness.

In addition to examining the expression of colorblindness overall for participants according to the three groups, I also examined the mean expression of particular frames of colorblindness by each group at each of the data points. The first group I examined consisted of the participants with an initially dominant Unachieved consciousness. The graph below illustrates the results.

Relationship between Average Consciousness and Frames of Colorblindness for Initially Unachieved
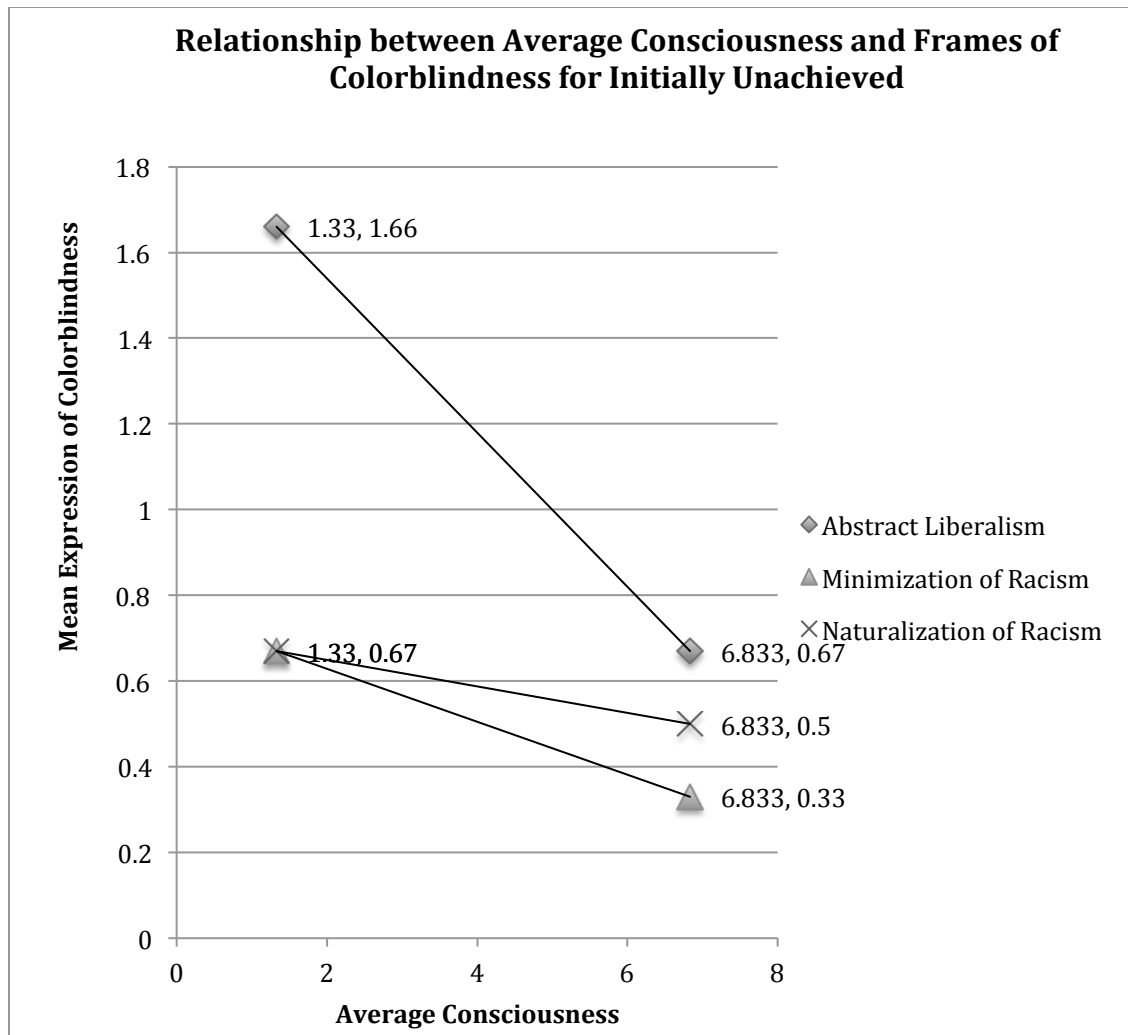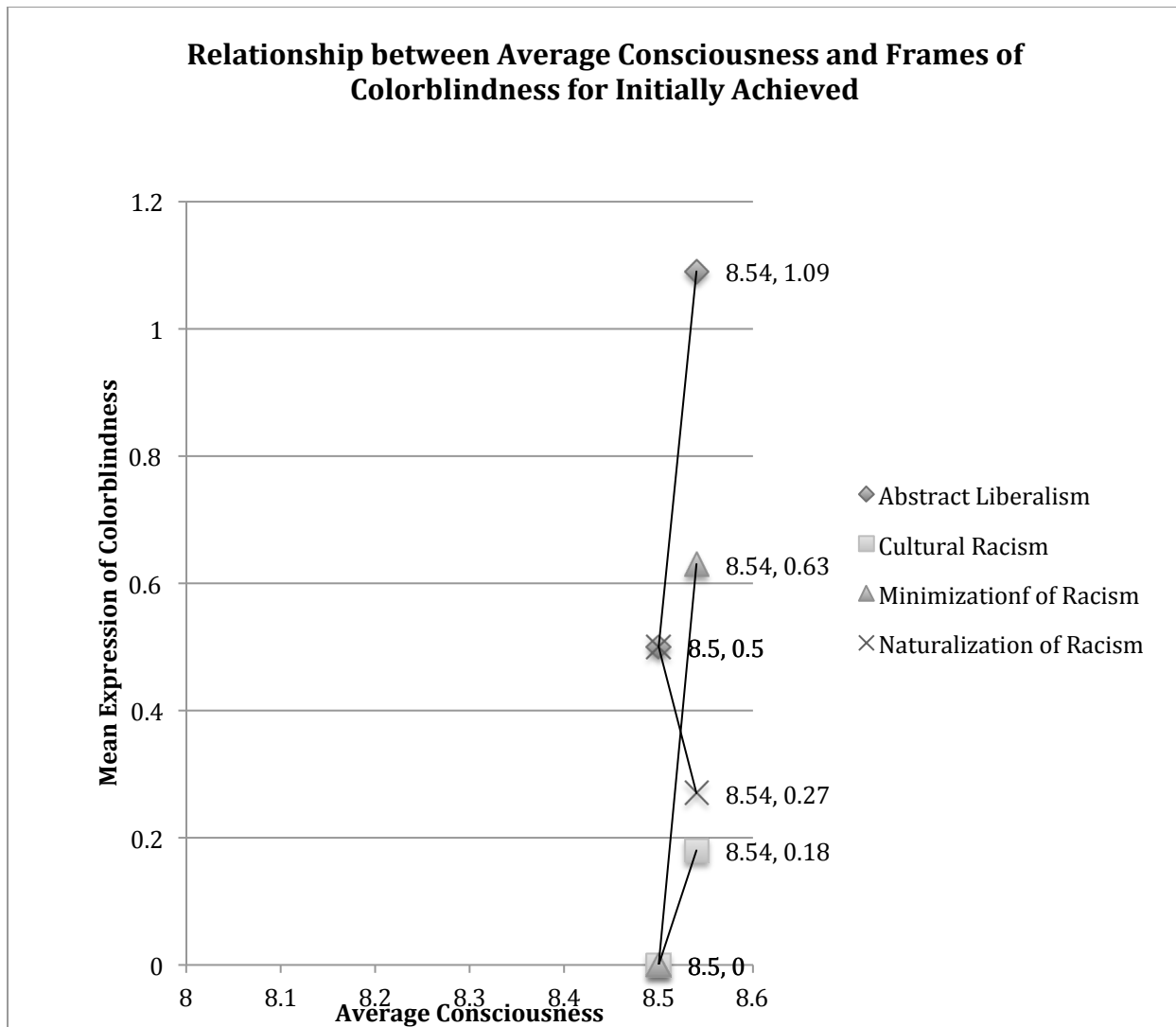
At the preliminary paper, these participants exhibited the highest mean expression of abstract liberalism compared to participants with either an initially dominant Intermediate or Achieved consciousness. These participants had a higher mean expression of minimization of racism at the preliminary paper than did the other groups. At the final paper, these participants demonstrated decreases in the mean expression of all frames of colorblindness. Abstract liberalism remained 5the frame with the highest mean expression.

The second group I examined consisted of the participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness. The graph below presents the results.

Relationship between Average Consciousness and Frames of of Colorblindness for Initially Intermediate

At the preliminary paper, participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness had the highest mean expression of the naturalization of racism of any group of participants. At the final paper, they demonstrated an increase in mean expression of the minimization of racism and a slight decrease in the mean expression of naturalization of racism.

The third group I examined consisted of the participants with an initially dominant Achieved consciousness. The graph below illustrates the results. Please note the horizontal axis is altered in order to demonstrate the changes.

Relationship between Average Consciousness and Frames of Colorblindness for Initially Achieved

At the preliminary paper, participants with an initially dominant Achieved consciousness had overall the lowest mean expression for each frame of colorblindness compared to the other two groups. At the final paper, they exhibited a slight decrease in the mean expression of naturalization of racism. However, they exhibited increases in the mean expression of all other frames. This group of participants was the only group to express cultural racism. They exhibited the highest mean expression of abstract liberalism at the final paper compared to the other two groups. These increases occurred even while the participants with an initially dominant Achieved consciousness exhibited a higher average consciousness.

Interview: The results from the interview present a different relationship between Whiter racial identity consciousness and the expression of colorblindness than the picture that emerged in the changes between the preliminary paper and final paper.

For all participants, average consciousness demonstrated was a dominant Intermediate consciousness with a secondary Intermediate consciousness ($M = 5.6$) in the interview. This would signify a dissonant understanding of White racial identity. Mean expression of overall colorblindness in the interview was lower than the mean expression of overall colorblindness ($M = 1.1$) in the final paper or preliminary paper. This suggests that the demonstration of a lower racial consciousness in the interview compared to the demonstration of racial consciousness in the final paper did not signify a greater mean expression of colorblindness as occurred in the preliminary paper. Mean expression of abstract liberalism ($M = .6$), minimization of racism ($M = .18$), and naturalization of racism ($M = .25$) had lower mean expressions in the interview compared to their mean expressions in the preliminary paper and the final paper. Mean expression of cultural racism ($M = .1$) was slightly higher in the interview than its mean expression in the preliminary paper and the final paper.

Across dialogues, there were demonstrations of lower average racial consciousness compared to the racial consciousness displayed in the final papers. RE1 demonstrated an average Intermediate consciousness ($M = 4.33$), which was lower compared to the racial consciousness it demonstrated in the final paper. Mean expression of colorblindness was lower in the interview ($M = 2$) than the mean expression in either the preliminary paper or the final paper. This suggests that for RE1 a lower average consciousness in the interview was linked to lower mean expression of colorblindness. Nonetheless, RE1 had the highest mean expression of colorblindness in the interview compared to the other dialogues. RE4 participants on average

displayed a dominant Intermediate consciousness (M = 5.25). This average racial consciousness was the lowest demonstration of racial consciousness than that demonstrated in either the preliminary paper or the final paper. This result is similar to the results for the RE1 participants in their interview. What makes RE4 different from RE1 is that RE4 demonstrated a slightly higher mean expression of colorblindness in the interview (M = 1.75) than in the final paper. This suggests that the demonstration of lower racial consciousness for RE4 participants at the interview was linked with slightly more expressions of colorblindness. WRID participants demonstrated on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness (M = 6.2). This signifies a lower average consciousness than the racial consciousness exhibited in the final paper. Nonetheless, the WRID participants demonstrated the highest average Intermediate consciousness in the interview relative to the other two dialogues. WRID participants also demonstrated the lowest mean expression of colorblindness (M = .5) in the interview compared to the other two dialogues. The WRID was the only dialogue to exhibit a lower expression of colorblindness at each data point.

The relationship between White racial consciousness and mean expression of overall colorblindness in the interview for participants based on initial displays of dominant consciousness was similar to relationship participants overall (see page 123). Specifically, there were generally displays of lower average racial consciousness alongside lower mean expression of colorblindness. Participants exhibiting an initially dominant Unachieved consciousness displayed on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness (M = 6). This means that the average racial consciousness demonstrated in the interview was similar to the average racial consciousness they demonstrated in the final paper. Participants exhibiting an initially dominant Unachieved consciousness also expressed the lowest mean expression of colorblindness (M = .6)

in the interview. Participants exhibiting an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness exhibited on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness ($M = 5.3$). These participants exhibited the lowest average consciousness in the interview relative to the other two groups of participants. They demonstrated lower mean expression of colorblindness in the interview than in the final paper, yet their mean expression ($M = 2$) in the interview remained the highest mean expression compared to the other two groups. Participants displaying an initially dominant Achieved racial consciousness exhibited on average a dominant Intermediate consciousness ($M = 5.5$). These participants also exhibited a lower mean expression of colorblindness in the interview ($M = 1.2$) than their mean expression of colorblindness in the final paper and the preliminary paper. This suggests that although they demonstrated on average a less positive and integrated understanding of Whiteness in the interview, they also expressed on average less colorblindness. Although it is evident that the groups of participants displayed lower average racial consciousness and lower mean expression of colorblindness, it is also evident that they differed in how high there mean expression of colorblindness was.

The relationship between mean expression for frames of colorblindness and average racial consciousness differed for the three groups of participants. Mean expression of all frames was lower than their mean expression in the final paper for participants displaying an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness. Abstract liberalism remained the frame with the highest mean expression ($M = .5$). However, these participants exhibited the lowest mean expression of abstract liberalism at the interview compared to the other groups. The mean expression of minimization of racism ($M = .25$) was lowest in the interview compared to the mean expression of minimization in the preliminary and final papers. Cultural racism and naturalization of racism were not expressed in the interview. Participants exhibiting an initially

dominant Intermediate racial consciousness demonstrated slightly lower mean expression of all

frames except abstract liberalism compared to the mean expression of these frames in the final

paper. Their mean expression of abstract liberalism ($M = 1$) at the interview was the highest

mean expression of all groups. Both the mean expression of minimization of racism ($M = .33$)

and naturalization of racism ($M = .67$) were at their lowest compared to their mean expression in

the preliminary and final papers. Participants exhibiting an initially dominant Achieved racial

consciousness demonstrated lower mean expression of each frame of colorblindness. Abstract

liberalism had the highest mean expression ($M = .55$), followed by naturalization of racism ($M = .22$). Cultural racism and minimization of racism had the same mean expression ($M = .11$).

Summary of Key Findings on the Relationship between White Racial Consciousness and Colorblindness
1. Generally, as average racial consciousness increased, participants expressed modestly less colorblindness between the preliminary and final papers.
2. Generally, higher racial consciousness was linked with lower expression of abstract liberalism.
3. For RE1, higher average racial consciousness was linked with higher expression of colorblindness. In contrast, higher average racial consciousness was linked with lower expression of colorblindness for RE4 and WRID.
4. Whereas higher racial consciousness was linked with the lowest mean expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness, higher racial consciousness was linked with the highest expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness. Slightly higher racial consciousness was linked with slightly higher mean expression of colorblindness for participants demonstrating an initially Achieved racial consciousness.

5. Racial consciousness was generally lower in the interview and was linked to lower expression of colorblindness.

DISCUSSION

In my study, there were four hypotheses. The overarching hypothesis (H1) was that dialogue participants overall would exhibit less colorblindness over the course of the semester as they became more aware of the White racial identity and its implications for systems of oppression and privilege. Embedded in this overarching hypothesis were two corollary hypotheses that (H2) participants would experience higher awareness of their White racial identity over the course of the semester and that (H3) participants would exhibit fewer expressions of colorblindness over the course of the semester. My last hypothesis (H4) was that White participants in the interracial dialogues would exhibit fewer codings for colorblindness and higher awareness of their White racial identity by the end of the semester relative to White participants in the all White dialogue.

A. *Results and Findings:*

The results from the data as a whole support the first three hypotheses. However, approaching the data from the separate dialogues and individual participants reveals nuanced findings that complicate the meaning of the results for the data overall. I discuss the findings in relation to my hypotheses and existing literature. As a note, the findings appear in the following order for each section: (1) findings about all participants, (2) findings about results between dialogues, and (3) findings about individual participants.

White Racial Identity Consciousness Development:

There are four key findings about White racial identity consciousness in my study: (1) all participants demonstrated an upward trend in demonstrated racial consciousness regardless of initially dominant consciousness. (2) More participants demonstrated a dominant Achieved or Intermediate racial consciousness at the final paper relative to the preliminary paper. (3) Across dialogues, WRID and RE4 participants demonstrated more total increases in racial consciousness in the final paper compared to the preliminary paper than did RE1. (4) All dialogues and participants displayed a lower racial consciousness in the interview compared to the racial consciousness demonstrated in the final paper, regardless of the initially dominant consciousness displayed.

First Key Finding: The first finding was that across dialogues, WRID and RE4 participants demonstrated more total increases in racial consciousness in the final paper compared to the preliminary paper than did RE1. This finding does not support the second part of H4. H4 was that White participants in the interracial dialogues would exhibit fewer codings for colorblindness and higher awareness of their White racial identity by the end of the semester relative to White participants in the all White dialogue. The second part of H4 concerns whether or not White participants in the interracial dialogues would exhibit higher awareness of their White racial identity by the end of the semester relative to White participants in the all White dialogue. Across dialogues, WRID and RE4 participants demonstrated more total increases in racial consciousness in the final paper compared to the preliminary paper than did RE1.

This first finding suggests two things. First, it suggests that being in a White-only dialogue can elicit similar demonstrated racial consciousness as being in an interracial dialogue. In other words, being in a White-only dialogue does not necessarily mean that participants cannot critically analyze their White racial identity. White participants may able to engage their

White racial identity in spaces where there are no people who identify as people of color. This interpretation finds support in the work of some scholars who contend that White people do not need people of color to learn about their White racial identity.

Second, this finding suggests that the outcomes for White students in different interracial dialogues are not the same. Specifically, there may differences between interracial dialogues that influence how White students in different interracial dialogues understand their White racial identity. Although this study did not assess specific effects of intergroup dialogue on participants, this finding contributes to research on what the effects of intergroup dialogue might be on participants by suggesting that outcomes may vary even with similar elements between dialogues. Such a possibility has not been explicitly considered by previous research, including one of the largest empirical studies on intergroup dialogue by Gurin, Nagda, and Lopez (2004).

Second Key Finding: The second finding on White racial identity consciousness supports H2. H2 was that participants would experience higher awareness of their White racial identity over the course of the semester. Over the course of the semester, participants overall demonstrated higher awareness of their White racial identity. This finding contributes to the literature in two ways. First, it contributes to the literature on White racial identity development. Previous literature has not longitudinally examined how Whites demonstrate different racial consciousness over the course of an intergroup or intragroup dialogue with an intentional focus on race. The finding that participants overall demonstrated higher awareness of their White racial identity at the final paper relative to the preliminary paper suggests that how Whites understand their White racial identity can be positively affected by intentional dialogues on race. This claim is supported by studies of changes in White racial identity in the context of classrooms settings on focused on race, but that are not structured dialogues (Dass-Brailsford 2007). Although this

study could not assess the particular effects of the dialogues on participants, anecdotal evidence from the participant quotes suggests that they appraised the dialogue as causing their changes in perspective (see page 52).

The second finding also contributes to the literature on intergroup and intragroup dialogue. Because higher awareness within this study was indicative of understanding systemic racism and privilege intellectually and being able to apply that to oneself, the overall results suggest a concordance between the aim of intergroup dialogue and generally demonstrated racial consciousness in this group. The goal of intergroup dialogue is critical analysis of how individual and group life are meaningfully connected to group identity, and how those identities exist in structures of stratification that give some groups privilege and others disadvantage (Nagda, Gurin, Sorensen, Gurin-Sands, and Osuna 2009). The second finding suggests that the goal of intergroup dialogue was actualized to some degree for this group of participants.

Third Key Finding: The third finding is that all participants demonstrated an upward trend in demonstrated racial consciousness regardless of initially dominant consciousness. Specifically, both sets of participants demonstrating an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness and participants demonstrating an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness showed upward trends in the display of racial consciousness between the preliminary paper and final paper. Participants with an initially dominant Achieved racial consciousness demonstrated a stable Achieved racial consciousness between the preliminary paper and the final paper. This finding provides a more nuanced picture of support for H2 that participants would demonstrate higher racial consciousness over the course of the semester. This nuanced picture encompasses three areas of discussion: (1) the initially dominant consciousness

demonstrated by participants at the preliminary paper, (2) the significance of the longitudinal results in this finding, and (3) the types of consciousness demonstrated by participants.

The first area of discussion about the third finding concerns the initially dominant consciousness demonstrated by participants at the preliminary paper. This information is important because it provides some context about the participants in the intergroup and intragroup dialogues in my study. Half of the participants demonstrated an Achieved racial consciousness at the preliminary paper. The other half demonstrated either Unachieved or Intermediate racial consciousness at the preliminary paper point. The result that half of the participants demonstrated an Achieved racial consciousness at the preliminary paper relates to Gallagher's (1994) study of White college students, in which he found that White students were aware of their Whiteness. His finding contrasted with conceptualizations of Whiteness as invisible and an unmarked category (Frankenberg 1993, McIntosh 1988, Suchet 2007), which posits that White people rarely see their Whiteness. Similar to Gallagher (1994), the finding that half of participants demonstrated an Achieved racial consciousness at the preliminary paper suggests that Whiteness may not be as invisible and unmarked for some Whites as proposed by Frankenberg (1993). Some Whites may be able to understand their White racial identity in ways that suggest they predominantly hold a positive and integrated sense of White racial identity.

The difference between Frankenberg's conceptualization and findings that contest it may be explained by whether or not there is a context of racial diversity. Gallagher's (1994) study focused on White students in an "urban" area with racial diversity. The current study focused on White students at a university with some racial diversity as well. In light of this, the results of this study explain how some Whites understand their Whiteness in a particular geographical context where there is some racial diversity. Frankenberg's conceptualization may still explain

how Whiteness operates in geographical contexts in which there is little to no racial diversity. Croll's finding (2007) that Whites are not a homogenous group with similar views and understanding about what it means to be White supports this interpretation. In light of this, it is possible that Gallagher (1993) and my study capture understandings of White racial identity specific to particular contexts.

The second area of discussion about the third finding concerns the significance of the longitudinal results it conveys. Both participants demonstrating an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness and participants demonstrating an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness showed upward trends in the display of racial consciousness between the preliminary paper and final paper. Participants with an initially dominant Achieved racial consciousness demonstrated a stable Achieved racial consciousness between the preliminary paper and the final paper. The significance of these longitudinal results is twofold.

First, ascertaining changes over time in demonstrated consciousness addresses previous criticisms about the lack of longitudinal investigation on White racial consciousness. Specifically, Block and Carter (1996) criticized the White racial consciousness model created by LaFleur et al. (1994) for not investigating how Whites moves from one attitudinal type in their consciousness model to another. The results of my study address this criticism by offering a window concerning differences in White racial consciousness for participants who demonstrated lower racial consciousness at the preliminary paper. Given that these participants demonstrated upward trends in the display of dominant racial consciousness between the preliminary and final paper, it seems that demonstrations of White racial consciousness can change over time.

Second, the longitudinal results offer insight about participants who demonstrated an initially dominant Achieved racial consciousness. These participants continued to demonstrate an

Achieved racial consciousness at the final paper. This suggests that Achieved racial consciousness may be a stable racial consciousness. This finding may be explained by several factors. First, several participants indicated having taken academic classes that focused on race. It is possible that the demonstration of a dominant Achieved racial consciousness can be partially explained by this. Taking classes dealing explicitly with race may allow Whites to think about their White racial identity or to learn about the systemic nature of racism. Secondly, this finding might be partially explained by the racial diversity at the University. As discussed earlier, Gallagher (1994) found that White students at a university in an "urban" setting were aware of their Whiteness. If racial diversity is an explanatory factor, it might be possible that the demonstration of a stable Achieved racial consciousness may be specific to the particular racial context at the university the students attended. Their racial consciousness could shift downward if they encounter a new racial context. This possibility is plausible from the perspective of Hardiman's (1996) and Helms's (1994) racial identity development models.

The third area of discussion concerning the third finding on White racial consciousness is that participants demonstrated a mixture of consciousness types. Although dominant consciousness represented the primary consciousness participants demonstrated in their understandings of Whiteness, participants also demonstrated other consciousness types. This is important to note because it provides empirical support for the complexity of White racial identity noted by Hardiman (1994). Hardiman (1994) cautioned that it makes more sense to conceptualize the stages in her White racial identity development model as stages of consciousness that can vary across situations, issues, and other racial groups. In other words, a White person can be in different stages of racial identity development depending on the topic at hand and the racial group of reference. Although the model used in my study was not a stage

model, its structure was flexible enough to capture Hardiman's statement that Whites can be demonstrate beliefs characteristic of multiple stages of racial development at one moment in time.

Fourth Key Finding: The fourth finding on White racial consciousness is that all dialogues and participants displayed a lower racial consciousness in the interview compared to the racial consciousness demonstrated in the final paper. This may be explained by differences in format between the interview and the first two data points. First, the preliminary and final papers were written, graded assignments for the dialogue courses whereas the interview was neither graded, nor required for credit. Secondly, the prompts for the two papers dealt more explicitly with race than did the prompts in the interview. In light of this, the demonstration of lower racial consciousness among dialogues and individual participants in the interview may be explained by a lack of more prompts dealing explicitly with race and less need to conform to course expectations.

A different interpretation of the lower racial consciousness demonstrated in the interview also exists. It is possible that participants generally did demonstrate lower racial consciousness in the interview. Although there were fewer prompts dealing explicitly with racial identity and racism, there were nonetheless prompts focusing on these topics. Thus, the demonstration of lower racial consciousness in the interview in which participants interacted with a White interviewer could mean something beyond the differences in prompts.

Expression of Colorblindness:

There were four key findings in my study about the expression of colorblindness: (1) overall, participants demonstrated lower mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and the final paper. (2) Overall, abstract liberalism had the highest mean

expression at each data point. (3) With regard to dialogues, RE1 exhibited an increase in mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and final paper. RE4 and WRID exhibited decreases in the mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and the final paper. (4) Participants also demonstrated the lowest mean expression of colorblindness in the interview compared to the mean expression demonstrated at either the preliminary or final papers. Each frame, except cultural racism, had the lowest mean expression in the interview compared to their mean expression in both the preliminary and final paper. WRID expressed the lowest mean expression of any dialogue in the interview.

First Key Finding: The first finding on colorblindness is that participants overall demonstrated modestly lower mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and the final paper. This means that participants as a group overall expressed less colorblindness over the course of the semester. This finding supports H3 and contributes to the literature in two ways. First, this finding contributes to the literature because it comes from the first longitudinal study examining differences in the expression of colorblindness. Previous studies, such as those conducted by Bonilla-Silva (2006) and Gushue and Constantine (2007) were only one-time assessments of colorblindness. They did not assess for changes in the expression of colorblindness over a substantial amount of time as this study did. Second, this finding contributes to the literature by showing that the expression of colorblindness is not a static phenomenon. The White students in this study were, as a group, able to express less colorblindness at the end of semester long dialogue course on race and ethnicity. Qualitative evidence from the papers shows that some of these students even explicitly criticized a colorblind approach to race, suggesting that not only can expression of colorblindness decrease but critical analysis of colorblindness can also emerge.

Second Key Finding: The second finding on the expression of colorblindness concerns the expression of particular frames of colorblindness. Although abstract liberalism decreased between the preliminary and final papers, abstract liberalism had the highest mean expression at each data point for participants overall. Abstract liberalism was thus the cornerstone of colorblind racism for the participants. This is consistent with Bonilla-Silva's (2006) findings about abstract liberalism in his studies of college students and Detroit area residents. Participants in my study expressed abstract liberalism to claim that they approach people as individuals, to deny the effects of White privilege on their success and the success of their parents, to critique affirmative action programs for racial minorities, and to argue that anyone can succeed through individual efforts. The uses of these expressions of abstract liberalism by some participants were similar to the uses Bonilla-Silva (2006) described in his study of colorblindness. Participants expressed abstract liberalism in ways that allowed them to ignore systemic racism and the perpetuation of racism in interpersonal dynamics.

Third Key Finding: The third finding is that RE1 exhibited an increase in mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and final paper, whereas RE4 and WRID exhibited decreases in the mean expression of colorblindness between the preliminary paper and the final paper. This third finding does not support H4. H4 was that White participants in the interracial dialogues would exhibit fewer codings for colorblindness and higher awareness of their White racial identity by the end of the semester relative to White participants in the all White dialogue. The third finding on colorblindness addresses the first part of H4. As with a similar finding about the dialogues concerning White racial identity consciousness, this finding suggests that there were few differences in terms of outcomes for expression of colorblindness between the White-only dialogue and the other dialogues. If this is the case, then the third

finding on colorblindness contributes to existing literature that has only examined how contact with racial minorities affects beliefs in particular forms of racism. Linnander (2006) found that White students expressed less racist beliefs because of intensive contact with racial minorities. The finding in my study suggests that contact with other White students in a dialogue guided by critical analysis of race may also be linked with expression of fewer colorblind beliefs.

Rather than the WRID expressing more colorblindness as I had hypothesized, it seems that what differences existed between dialogues concerned the interracial dialogues. Thus, it seems that differences between dialogues, independently of the racial demographics, may influence how White students in different dialogues express colorblindness. Possible differences that could have negatively affected the expression of colorblindness in RE1 include the skill of the facilitators as well as resistance from particular White participants. Although I could not directly determine what contributed to the higher expression of colorblindness in RE1, previous studies suggest that the higher expression of colorblindness may generate greater racial bias against racial minorities (Richeson and Nussbaum 2004). Richeson and Nussbaum's (2004) finding makes the higher expression of colorblindness in RE1 troubling.

The third finding also adds another interpretive dimension to the first finding about the overall expression of colorblindness. When examining all participants as a group, the decrease in the mean expression of colorblindness was moderate. Approaching the results about the mean expression of colorblindness in specific dialogues reveals that the decreases in mean expression were greatest for RE4 and WRID. The data from RE1 may be negatively affecting the results for participants overall. In particular, the high mean expression of colorblindness in RE1 at the final paper may explain why the decrease in mean expression of colorblindness for participants overall was modest. If this is the case, then solely focusing on the decreases in mean expression

of colorblindness in RE4 and WRID demonstrates stronger support for H3 that the expression of colorblindness would decrease. By including RE1 in the results, the decrease in mean expression of colorblindness for all White participants becomes modest.

Fourth Key Finding: The fourth finding concerns the expression of colorblindness in the interview by participants overall, by dialogues, and by individual participants. Overall, participants collectively demonstrated the lowest mean expression of colorblindness in the interview compared to the mean expression demonstrated at either the preliminary paper or final paper. Each frame, except cultural racism, had the lowest mean expression in the interview compared to their mean expression in both the preliminary and final paper. Of the dialogues, WRID expressed the lowest mean expression of colorblindness by any dialogue in the interview. Similar to the finding about the lower demonstration of White racial consciousness in the interview, it seems that the lower expression of colorblindness may be related to a difference in format between papers and an interview. Participants had fewer opportunities to express colorblindness in the interview because of the questions interviewers asked. Although the expression of colorblindness in the interview is still interesting from a qualitative perspective, it seems that the quantitative data about colorblindness should not be seen as a challenge to previous calls by Bonilla-Silva (2006) to utilize interviewing methods to capture colorblindness.

<u>*Relationship between Whiter Racial Identity Consciousness Development and Colorblindness:*</u>

There were five key findings for my study concerning the relationship between White racial identity consciousness development and the expression of colorblindness: (1) generally, as average racial consciousness increased, participants expressed modestly less colorblindness between the preliminary and final papers. (2) Generally, higher racial consciousness was linked with lower expression of abstract liberalism. (3) For RE1, higher average racial consciousness

was linked with higher expression of colorblindness. In contrast, higher average racial consciousness was linked with lower expression of colorblindness for RE4 and WRID. (4) Whereas higher racial consciousness was linked with the lowest mean expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness, higher racial consciousness was linked with the highest expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness. Slightly higher racial consciousness was linked with slightly higher mean expression of colorblindness for participants demonstrating an initially Achieved racial consciousness. (5) Racial consciousness was generally lower in the interview and was linked to lower expression of colorblindness.

First Key Finding: The first finding on the relationship between the demonstration of White racial consciousness and the expression of colorblindness is that as average racial consciousness increased, participants generally expressed modestly less colorblindness between the preliminary and final papers. This means that, over the course of the semester, higher racial consciousness was linked with somewhat lower expression of colorblindness. This result indicates some support for H1. H1 was that dialogue participants would overall exhibit less colorblindness over the course of the semester as they became more aware of their White racial identity and its implications for systems of oppression and privilege.

This finding provides some support for a previous finding by Gushue and Constantine (2007), who found that higher levels of attitudes that negated or distorted the existence of contemporary racism were related to attitudes associated with less advanced understandings of White racial identity. The finding is more clearly supported by the data from the preliminary paper, at which participants overall demonstrated lower racial consciousness and expressed more colorblindness. The results from the final paper show weak support for the Gushue and

Constantine (2007) finding because the decline in mean expression of colorblindness was not as large as might be expected given the increase in racial consciousness demonstrated by participants overall. The difference in support for the Gushue and Constantine (2007) finding in the data may be explained when looking at mean expression of colorblindness and demonstrated racial consciousness by individual dialogues (see third key finding).

Second Key Finding: The second finding was that higher racial consciousness was generally linked with lower expression of abstract liberalism. This finding is of special importance considering previous research on colorblindness by Bonilla-Silva (2006). As discussed earlier, Bonilla-Silva found that abstract liberalism constitutes the core of colorblind racism. The connection between higher racial consciousness and lower expression of abstract liberalism suggests that the expression of abstract liberalism may decline when Whites demonstrate a higher racial consciousness. One possible explanation for this relies on the finding by Gurin, Nagda, and Lopez (2004) that students who took an intergroup dialogue course during their first year acquired and demonstrated more complex thinking about structural explanations of inequality relative to peers matched with their social identities by their senior year. Although there was no control in my study and there is a large time difference between the two studies, the outcome regarding more structural explanations of inequality may relate to the finding that the expression of abstract liberalism decreased as demonstration of racial consciousness increased. In my model of White racial identity consciousness, demonstration of higher racial consciousness means understanding systemic racism and how race structures social relations. Abstract liberalism focuses intensely on individual people and, thus, precludes a systemic understanding of racism. In this sense, the occurrence of a decrease in the expression of abstract liberalism while the demonstration of racial consciousness increases may capture the effects of a

greater understanding of systemic racism. A similar connection may explain why the expression

of naturalization of racism also decreased alongside an increase in demonstrated racial

consciousness. Naturalization necessarily precludes understanding how systemic racism

structures the demographics of schools, communities, and the country because it sees such

phenomenon as natural occurrences rather than the product of specific actions.

Third Key Finding: The third finding concerns the relationship between the

demonstration of White racial consciousness and the expression of colorblindness among the

dialogues. I consider there two to be two sub-findings. The first sub-finding is that higher

average racial consciousness was linked with lower expression of colorblindness for RE4 and

WRID. The first sub-finding does not support H4. H4 was that White participants in the

interracial dialogues would exhibit fewer codings for colorblindness and higher awareness of

their White racial identity by the end of the semester relative to White participants in the all

White dialogue. Although the first sub-finding does not support H4, it seems to indicate that a

White-only dialogue can lead to a similar outcome as an interracial dialogue. Specifically, the

first sub-finding demonstrates that Whites in White-only spaces can learn about their Whiteness

and its societal implications.

The second sub-finding is that higher average racial consciousness was linked with

higher expression of colorblindness for RE1. The results from RE1 contradict previous findings

that higher levels of attitudes that negated or distorted the existence of racism are related to

attitudes associated with less advanced understanding of White racial identity (Gushue and

Constantine 2007). In the case of RE1, more advanced understanding of White racial identity

occurred with higher expression of colorblindness. The results from RE1 seem to have affected

the relationship between White racial identity consciousness and the mean expression of

colorblindness for White participants overall. If results from only the RE4 and WRID are considered, the relationship might be stronger. This shows how the demonstration of White racial identity and expression of colorblindness by one group of White students can affect the overall results for White students. The findings from RE1 contradict H4 because it seems that results from the data did not reflect differences in dialogue type. The results from RE1 indicate that some other variable(s) impacted the data.

There are several variables that might explain the stark difference between the results for RE1 and the other dialogues. One variable could the facilitators. It is possible that although they were trained in a semester long course, the facilitators may not have been skillful co-facilitators. The facilitators may not have had a strong ability to jointly challenge participants in their process of learning about systemic privilege and oppression. If this were the case, the results indicate that facilitator skill might not fully explain what happened in RE1 because participants demonstrated higher average racial consciousness in the final paper. Although we cannot assess the direct effect of the facilitators on the RE1 participants, this demonstration of higher average racial consciousness at the final paper for RE1 participants suggests that the facilitators had some impact on the participants. At most, the results about the stark increase in mean expression of colorblindness for RE1 suggest that the facilitators may not have been fully effective in challenging participants in their understanding, or lack thereof, of systemic privilege and oppression based on race.

A second variable that might explain the difference between the results of RE1 and the other dialogues concerns the White participants who were a part of RE1. The higher mean expression of colorblindness could be a result of idiosyncratic qualities of the participants in RE1. To determine if this might be the case, I looked at the initially dominant racial

consciousness of RE1 participants. Of the five participants, one demonstrated an Unachieved, two demonstrated Intermediate, and two demonstrated Achieved. This means that there was a mixture of consciousness types at the beginning of the dialogue as signified by the preliminary paper. Thus, it is likely that consciousness type is not the explanatory variable when looking at individual participants. This suggests that there are other variables of concern. Unfortunately, the design of my study cannot determine what these variables might have been.

Fourth Key Finding: The fourth finding addresses the relationship between the dominant racial consciousness demonstrated by White participants and their expression of colorblindness. Whereas higher racial consciousness was linked with the lowest mean expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness, higher racial consciousness was linked with the highest expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness. Slightly higher racial consciousness was linked with slightly higher mean expression of colorblindness for participants demonstrating an initially Achieved racial consciousness.

The finding means that there were two different trends in the relationship between White racial consciousness and the expression of colorblindness. Because Intermediate racial consciousness represents an advanced understanding of White racial identity relative to Unachieved racial consciousness, it is troubling that the demonstration of higher racial consciousness for participants with an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness would be linked with higher mean expression of colorblindness. The significance of this relationship on the data suggests a similar issue that arose when examining the relationship between demonstrated racial consciousness and the mean expression for individual dialogues. It seems that that results from one particular group of students disproportionately affected the

results for the participants overall. Because higher racial consciousness was linked with the highest expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Intermediate consciousness, the overall relationship between demonstrated racial consciousness and the mean expression of colorblindness seems to be weaker. Specifically, the decreases in mean expression of colorblindness at the final paper was not as great as might be expected given the increases in demonstrated racial consciousness.

The fourth finding merits additional interpretation about the differences in the relationship between initially demonstrated racial consciousness and the expression of colorblindness for participants with an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness. It is results from these participants that contradict Gushue and Constantine (2007). Conflicting and dissonant attitudes towards one's White racial identity characterize an Intermediate White racial consciousness. Whites grapple with new beliefs and information that challenges previous perceptions about their White racial identity. They recognize that they are White, but may not see it as an important identity or will demonstrate an incomplete understanding of the implications of their White racial identity.

It is possible that these features of an Intermediate racial consciousness are linked to the expression of greater colorblindness as a strategy to defend the position of Whites in society and a way to reduce anxiety of an unclear or mixed outlook. Findings by Branscombe et al. (2007) support such a link. Branscombe et al. (2007) found that White college student participants in their study general expressed the most modern racism when they were asked to discuss White privilege. Thoughts of White privilege increased racism the most among Whites who were highly identified with their race, whereas discussing White privilege reduced modern racism in Whites with sufficiently low White racial identification (Branscombe et al. 2007). The features

of this study share some similarities to my study. High identification with Whiteness was measured by items asking about the comfort with being white, taking pride in White people, feeling good about being white, and not being embarrassed to admit being White (Branscombe et al. 2007). These items represent understandings about Whiteness similar to those that would characterize Intermediate and Achieved racial consciousness in my model of White racial identity consciousness. Modern racism in this study was conceptually similar to colorblind racism. In view of these similarities, it seems that my results concerning Intermediate racial consciousness are consistent with the finding by Branscombe et al. (2007). The Branscombe et al. study (2007) suggests that participants exhibiting an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness would feel more threatened by learning about systemic White privilege and would attempt to defend the privileged position of Whites. Qualitative references in my study concerning how some participants demonstrating an Intermediate consciousness acknowledged White privilege and also firmly believed that anyone can succeed lend support to this interpretation.

It is important to note that my model of White racial identity consciousness incorporated understandings of White privilege along with appraisals of White identity into each racial identity consciousness type. This is different from the Branscombe et al. (2007) study, which examined the relationship between appraisal of White racial identity and reactions to White privilege. This note does not necessarily challenge the link between the findings by Branscombe et al. (2007) and my study, but rather suggests that participants exhibiting an Intermediate racial consciousness should demonstrate the most expressions of colorblindness because they lack an integrated, positive sense of Whiteness with a full understanding of systemic privilege and racism.

Fifth Key Finding: The fifth finding concerns the relationship between the demonstration of White racial consciousness and the expression of specific frames of colorblindness in the interview. Racial consciousness was generally lower in the interview and was linked to lower expression of colorblindness for participants overall, for the three dialogues, and for participants based on their initially dominant racial consciousness. As discussed, this finding can be explained by a difference in format between the papers and the interview.

B. Limitations and Future Directions for Research

My study faced several sets of limitations concerning generalizability, using a pre-existing data set, and coding reliability. I address these limitations and offer directions for future research.

Generalizability: The first set of limitations concerns the generalizability of my findings. The findings of my study may not be generalizable in a few ways. For one, the participants in the sample may not be representative of other White people. The White people in my sample represent a select group of White people who attend a prestigious Midwestern research university where the overall student body has proportionally more White people than the national and state populations and proportionally more people from higher-SES than the overall population. In this context, how the White participants understood their White racial identity may be connected to this context as discussed earlier (see page 132).

A second limitation concerns the fact that the students in my sample may not be representative of other White students because they were enrolled in an intergroup dialogue course. The race dialogues are semester long courses in which students voluntarily enroll. This raises three issues. First, it raises the question of whether or not White students in my sample represent a self-selected sample. The finding that most participants demonstrated an Achieved

racial consciousness in the preliminary paper might be evidence of such self-selection. Even with such self-selection, several of my findings are consistent with existing literature. This suggests some continuity between the sample in my study and the samples of other Whites. Nonetheless, several of my findings contradicted existing literature, which suggests that self-selection could have impacted my findings. Although self-selection may have occurred with regard to participants enrolling in the dialogue course, self-selection did not occur in relation to particular topics, such as race and ethnicity. Participants ranked their top three topics in which they were interested. Administrators made final decisions about the placement of participants into particular dialogue topics by considering the participant's ranking of topics and the needs of particular dialogues for participants with certain identities. The latter consideration was highly relevant for the two interracial dialogues, considering that the dialogues seek to bring together about 5-6 students of color and 5-6 White students. In this sense, self-selection was addressed to an extent.

The second issue raised is that the intergroup and intragroup dialogue courses represent tangibly different spaces than what most White people experience. These courses are intentionally structured spaces in which systemic privilege and oppression on the basis of race and ethnicity are under critical analysis (Nagda and Zúñiga 2003). Most White people do not experience spaces in which they must talk about their racial identity and racism (Pope-Davis 1994). In view of this, the findings of this study may not generalize to settings in which Whites do not discuss their White racial identity in the context of systemic racism and privilege. Thus, it is important to recognize that the findings of this study come from a particular context that does not characterize how discussions (as opposed to dialogues) about racism occur outside of an intergroup dialogue.

The third limitation was using a sample of participants from intergroup and intragroup dialogue courses for which participants received both credit and grades in these courses. Each of these features could have affected how participants reacted in their pre-papers and final papers. For example, students may have felt obligated to write about race and racism to fulfill perceived expectations of either the facilitators or the course itself. Although this might have happened, qualitative evidence from the papers demonstrates that participants wrote about privilege and racism in ways that did not fully capture the goal of critical analysis that guides intergroup dialogue. Specifically, some participants minimized the importance of racism, distanced themselves from their White racial identity, and embraced receiving White privilege among other moves. These moves suggest that whatever expectations participants may have perceived with regard to the papers, they might not have had the necessary understandings to fulfill such expectations. What should be evident is that what the participants wrote in the preliminary and final papers reflects particular understandings they had of their White racial identity, even if they attempted to fulfill perceived expectations. How they may have tried to fulfill such expectations would still reflect particular understandings of their White racial identity that are not congruent with imagined expectations.

Future research could address the limitations in generalizability in several ways. First, future research could explore White racial consciousness in other populations. As noted earlier, the White students in this study attended a Midwestern university with some racial diversity in the student body. A future study could utilize a comparative longitudinal study to assess for differences between geographic regions and degrees of racial diversity in student bodies. Such a study could assess for how White racial consciousness might differ depending on region and

degree of racial diversity. Such a study could capture the complexity in how Whites understand their White racial identity on a national scale.

Future studies could also explore White racial consciousness beyond White college students. Several studies have already taken this route by exploring how White teachers and White adult educators understand their White racial identity (Middleton 2009, Picower 2009). Nonetheless, these studies are still focused on White racial consciousness of persons within the education system. Future studies could explore White racial consciousness in other domains, such as business, law, and government. These studies could capture how Whites in powerful social institutions understand their White racial identity. Such information could be used to determine how the White racial consciousness of people within these domains informs important decisions that reverberate across the nation. It might not be as feasible to conduct a longitudinal study of White racial consciousness in such domains.

Pre-existing Dataset: A second set of limitations arose in my study because I used a pre-existing data set. One weakness is that there were missing data points. These missing data points mean that I could not assess for changes in how some individual White participants understood their racial identity over time. Nevertheless, the missing data points only constituted roughly 15% of all possible data points. This indicates that an overwhelming majority of data points were present in the study. As such, it is not likely that the findings in the data would be drastically altered were these other data points to be included.

A second weakness in using a pre-existing data set is that I did not have control over the wording of the pre-paper and final paper assignments, nor did I have control over the questions asked in the interviews. What this means is that the data in the dataset may not fully capture the goals of my research project. Specifically, if I had conducted the study myself, I could have

formatted the prompts to align more precisely to the interest of my study. The results from the interview seem to reflect the issue over lack of control in the prompts most explicitly. I addressed this issue with the interview by focusing my interpretation on findings from the preliminary and final papers. Overall, I think the pre-existing data set was the best data set available to answer my research questions because of the explicit focus on race and ethnicity in the dialogue courses.

A third weakness of using a pre-existing data set is that the dialogues did not share the exact same curriculum. Although peers facilitators for the race dialogues had a general curriculum from which they created weekly lesson plans, facilitators altered weekly curriculum to address the needs of their particular participants. What this means is that participants did not have exactly the same weekly content across dialogues. The differences in content could explain differences in findings, especially for RE1. Nevertheless, the participants would have received a more or less similar general curriculum for most session.

Future studies can easily address the limitations in using a pre-existing data set in several ways. First, future studies could ensure that all data is safely stored. Safely storing the data will enable a full understanding of what occurs in possible data sets. Second, future studies could devise questions or prompts specific to the capturing beliefs about colorblindness and understandings of White racial identity. Bonilla-Silva (2006) has already used prompts specific to his research interest in order to capture possible expressions of colorblindness. Interestingly, Bonilla-Silva (2006) used interviews to capture expressions of colorblindness. This suggests that the interview data in my study were highly limited by my inability to devise specific prompts informed by my research interests.

Future studies must exercise caution in trying to address the third limitation in using a pre-existing data set for my study. Curriculum for intergroup and intragroup dialogue must be sensitive to the needs of particular groups. Rather than attempt to perfectly standardize curriculum, future studies might collect data on the weekly curriculum used by facilitators to determine how divergent dialogue experiences are between different dialogues.

Coding Reliability: Another set of limitations concerns the reliability of the codings in my study for White racial identity consciousness and the expression of colorblindness. One person coded for both White racial identity consciousness and colorblindness in this study. The results of this study would have stronger reliability if inter-rater reliability were established. Interestingly, the lack of inter-rater reliability may actually represent a window into how a person of color perceives how White people understand their White racial identity. Because of the often differently lived experiences around race, such a claim seems tenable (Lewis 2001). Nonetheless, I have attempted to be as objective as possible and consistent in coding for White racial consciousness and the expression of colorblindness. I relied on pre-existing theoretical understandings of White racial identity development and colorblindness to inform my coding.

Study Design: Another limitation concerns the design of my study. My study was a longitudinal comparative study that coded qualitative data. I did not conduct follow-up interviews or assessments with facilitators or participants. Conducting such interviews or assessments may have allowed me to provide more explanations for the findings that contradicted my hypotheses. In particular, I could have interviewed the facilitators for RE1 and/or examined RE1 participant course evaluations. Unfortunately, my study could not provide more substantive explanations for some of the findings in my study because of this limitation.

CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations of my study, my findings have broader implications for how we understand race and systemic racism in the context of race-focused intergroup dialogue in the United States. My study occupies the intersection of intergroup dialogue, White racial identity consciousness, and colorblind racism. This intersection holds particular meaning for how we can engage identity awareness in critical ways that allow for us to challenge systemic privilege and racism on the basis of race.

The findings on intergroup and intragroup dialogue reveal the potential of critical dialogue to unmask, make visible, and interrogate White racial identity. In their dialogues, the White students in my study came to understand their White racial identity in more advanced ways compared to when they started the dialogue. It seems that dialogue guided by critical analysis of systemic privilege and oppression in the United States can serve as a medium by which Whites students become more aware of their White racial identity and its meaning in a racialized society. Specifically, White students can learn about White privilege, understand their role in racism, and realize the racialized nature of their lives by dialoguing about race.

My finding that increased awareness of White racial identity did not occur in a uniform manner points to the complexity of White racial identity consciousness. Although White students may demonstrate a dominant understanding of their White racial identity, they may also demonstrate understandings that conflict with this. This suggests that efforts to increase awareness among White students of their White racial identity may need to be sustained in order to address understandings that conflict with the primary understanding of their racial identity Whites express. One example of such a conflicting understanding was that many White students in my study who demonstrated higher White racial identity consciousness claimed that their

White racial identity was not important to them. Such an understanding undermines awareness of systemic privilege and oppression based on race by denying the central role of race in defining the types of lives many people live in the United States (Lewis 2001, 2004). Intergroup and intragroup dialogue efforts must enable White students with conflicting understandings of their Whiteness, such as this one, to connect personally with the meaning of their Whiteness in racialized society.

The findings on the intragroup dialogue indicate that White students can become aware of White racial identity and its societal implications even in White-only spaces. This finding suggests that White students can work to educate each other about their White racial identities. This challenges the notion some Whites hold that they can only learn about their Whiteness and racism from people of color (Potapchuk et al. 2005). Such a notion is predicated on the idea that White people do not have experiences with race whereas people of color do. However, this is not the case. Whites have a race whose societal meaning structures opportunities for them on the basis of race throughout the course of their lives. They have experiences with race whether or not they consciously realize it. Because continuing racial segregation in schools, communities, and employment means that Whites interact primarily with other Whites, the ability of Whites to interrogate systemic privilege and oppression together is of special importance (Lewis 2001, Potapchuk et al. 2005). White people will need to rely on each to learn about and understand their Whiteness because there will be moments in which they can turn only to each other. This should not be interpreted to mean that Whites should only work with other Whites in making each other aware of their White racial identity and its societal implications. It should not also be interpreted as the final step in the process of challenging racism. Other steps are likely to be necessary, including steps that require interactions between people of color and Whites.

Specifically, Whites will need to work in coalition with people of color to challenge systemic racism (Wolff 2001).

Without an interrogation of Whiteness by Whites either with other Whites or people of color, colorblind racism can remain a powerful explanatory tool for Whites to deny the existence of systemic privilege and oppression. The quotes from participants in my study demonstrate that White students may use traditional values of liberalism, such as working hard and merit, to discount systemic White privilege. White students may claim that it is "natural" for them to gravitate toward other White people, rather than realizing that their actions reflect the intentional selection of race as one of the most important social markers of difference currently and historically (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Whites may outright minimize the importance of systemic racism in impacting the life outcomes of racial minorities by claiming that socioeconomic status is more important or that anyone can achieve what they want. Although participants expressed these beliefs throughout the papers, they expressed modestly less colorblindness at the final paper. The centrality of abstract liberalism beliefs for the White participants in my study suggests that challenging individualistic notions about achievement and success, which dominate in the United States, may be key to counteracting colorblind racism.

Connecting awareness of systemic privilege and racism to racial identity can serve as a challenge to individualistic notions of achievement and success. When one understands that the United States has a particular social structure that allocates opportunities based on race to racial groups, it becomes difficult to blame those excluded from these opportunities as deficient in talent or personal motivation. As the findings in my study reveal, higher White racial identity consciousness occurred with modestly less colorblindness when looking at the White participants overall. In looking at the results for particular dialogues, the link between higher White racial

identity consciousness and less colorblindness becomes stronger. Including the seemingly anomalous results from one of the dialogues seemed to weaken the relationship for participants overall. This suggests two things.

First, the results from the RE4, WRID, and participants with an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness suggest that the link between how White students understand their racial identity and the type of beliefs they hold about how society works may not be uniformly expressed by different groups of Whites. Specifically, three groups of White students in my study demonstrated greater understanding of their White racial identity and expressed less colorblindness. Although the exact strength of this link was not ascertained by this study, the link between higher White racial identity consciousness and reduced colorblindness for some Whites matters in a racialized society in which people experience their race very differently. This link suggests that awareness of White racial identity and its societal implications can challenge colorblind racism for some Whites.

Second, the impact of the results for RE1 and participants with an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness on the overall results has an important societal implication. There were only five White participants in RE1 and only four participants who demonstrated an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness. Yet, their expression of colorblindness in the final paper affected the relationship between demonstrated racial consciousness and expression of colorblindness for all White participants. This dynamic presents an interesting view about how a small number of Whites can change the overall racial outlook for Whites as a collective. A small group of Whites can create the perception that Whites learning about their White racial identity does not necessarily mean that they will use their new understandings to challenge systemic racism. Moreover, a small group of Whites may inhibit the ability of Whites

as a collective to interact with people of color. The impact of the results from RE1 and participants with an initially dominant Intermediate racial consciousness on the overall results illustrates that what occurs for some Whites is important to the overall outlook for Whites as a group.

Other Whites must address this dynamic. Whites who exhibit understandings of their Whiteness similar to the White participants in my study from RE4, WRID, and those demonstrating an initially dominant Unachieved racial consciousness may be best situated to address this dynamic. Whites who are able to demonstrate higher racial consciousness and less colorblindness may be able to work with Whites who do not. This work may serve to challenge particular understandings of systemic racism that perpetuate colorblind racism.

The results of my study suggest that challenges to colorblind racism must be carefully constructed to meet the particular needs of White students based on their White racial identity consciousness. For Whites with relatively low awareness of their White racial identity, intergroup and intragroup dialogue may represent an effective way of challenging the expression of colorblind racism. For White students that demonstrate higher White racial identity consciousness, intergroup and intragroup dialogue will need to assist them in working through conflicting and dissonant attitudes toward their Whiteness. White students who lack a fuller understanding of systemic privilege and oppression may be especially vulnerable to defending the position of Whites by expressing colorblind racism. Facilitators who structure curriculum for intergroup and intragroup dialogue will need to encourage these White students to complete their understandings of systemic privilege and oppression on the basis of race. For Whites who primarily demonstrate a positive, integrated understanding of their Whiteness, the expression of colorblindness may be minimal but is still present. This suggests that White racial identity

consciousness does not halt once White students demonstrate a positive, integrated sense of their White racial identity. There must be sustained efforts for White students to continually reflect on the societal implications of their White racial identity.

The connection between awareness of White racial identity and the expression of colorblind racism discussed in this study represents findings from a particular historical moment in which Whites are a numerical majority relative to people of color. It is a particular historical moment in which Whites dominate leadership positions across society. Predictions about the racial demographics strongly suggest that this particular historical moment is fading. Whites are predicted to become a numerical minority relative to people of color by mid-century (Alba 2010). How Whites understand what it means to be White is likely to change with these demographic shifts. Because of the privileged position of Whites as a group, how Whites understand their racial identity may greatly inform the racial future of the nation (Bonilla-Silva 2000).

Multiple racial futures are possible. One racial future is the perpetuation of the current system of racism in which Whites receive systemic privilege. Another racial future could be a system in which racial groups exist in cooperation. A third possibility is the rise of a new racialized system in which different racial groups become the new bearers of systemic privilege at the expense of other racial groups (Bonilla-Silva and Lewis 2003, Bonilla-Silva 2006). Whatever system arises, it is clear that the current historical moment will lay its groundwork. As such, how Whites understand their White racial identity now will inform how they understand their Whiteness in the future. If Whites can understand systemic privilege and can understand the systemic oppression of people of color, we may be able to move positively toward dismantling our current system of racism and redefining relationships between racial groups (Asumah 2004).

Quotes from participants in my study suggest that some Whites are able to redefine their White racial identity as antiracist. Whites, such as these participants, may play an integral role in driving efforts to make other Whites more aware of their White racial identity.

The characteristics of the data in my sample complicate the issue of efforts by some Whites to increase awareness in other Whites of their White racial identity and its societal implications. Specifically, the participants in my study were predominately from an upper-middle class background. Most participants were White women. The entire sample came from an institution with substantial resources compared to other institutions of higher education. Moreover, the sample would not exist if the institution did not offer intergroup dialogue courses. These characteristics raise some interesting issues about who has access to structured efforts that enable Whites to learn about their White racial identity. If such efforts reach only a minority of Whites with higher socioeconomic status attending universities and colleges that have extensive financial resources, then these efforts may be contained within small pockets of the most privileged Whites. Although it could be argued that Whites who take intergroup and intragroup dialogue courses in these institutions are better positioned to cultivate awareness in college-educated Whites who are likely to lead important social institutions, these efforts are nonetheless limited in their scope. Efforts to increase awareness in Whites about their White racial identity must reach Whites in other contexts if widespread systemic change both within institutions and in everyday interactions is to occur.

Although intergroup and intergroup dialogue may represent a medium for Whites to learn about their White racial identity and redefine it in antiracist terms, such consciousness-raising will not be enough. One of the fundamental issues for which my study could not assess was the ability of the participants in my study to translate their understandings of their White racial

identity into action. The results of this study may have little meaning for systemic racism if Whites cannot channel their understandings into action.

Systemic racism does not disappear because White people have better understandings of their location within such a system. In a telling example, racial disparities in education, wealth, health, employment, and housing that persist even after the Civil Rights Movement challenged the racial system in the United States. Greater awareness in Whites did not translate into an end of a racialized social system in which Whites are accorded systemic privilege. Although awareness is a first step, it is a step that must occur with actions that seek to challenge racial disparities in education, wealth, health, employment and housing. Bonilla-Silva (2003) has proposed reparations for past and present racial injustices to all minorities. Whether or not reparations are the specific solution that must accompany greater awareness among Whites to dismantle systemic racism is a separate matter. Nonetheless, it makes clear that greater awareness among Whites will have little practical meaning if such awareness does not also mean positive changes in the life outcomes for people of color.

ACKNOWLEDMENTS

APPENDICES

PRELIMINARY PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to help you prepare for your conversations and readings in this Race/Ethnicity dialogue. This initial paper assignment is a 6 page (double-spaced) semi-biographical and self-reflection paper. You should write about your experiences, your thoughts and reflections. The paper should address the specific questions below but should not be written in a "question-answer" format; try to integrate your ideas in each section into a coherent reflection and finally into a single paper that reads smoothly across a series of sections and questions.
To the extent that you can, write about your own experience with race.

Please indicate how you identify:
Your gender_____.
Your race_____.
Your ethnicity or national origin_____.
Your socioeconomic class_____
Your religion_____
Have you taken another 122 dialogue before?_____ If yes, which one.
Have you taken any other courses about race/ethnicity? _____If yes, which ones.

With regard to social identity

1.   What and how were you taught (explicitly or implicitly) about what it means to be your race, in terms of attitudes, behaviors, your future, the nature of the society, etc.?

2.   Is your racial/ethnic identity as a person of color or a white person one of the most important aspects of your life? For example, when you describe yourself to others (i.e. over the phone or internet), is it one of the first things you would think of to say? Explain.

3.   What do you know about your ethnic/cultural heritage (i.e., the culture, country or region of the world from which your ancestors came)? And how might this affect your feelings about being considered part of your racial group?

4.   What are some experiences that have made your race/ethnicity visible to you?

With regard to social structures

6.   Throughout your life, have most of your friends and other people close to you been of the same racial/ethnic background? If so, why do you think this was the case? If not, what do you think led you to cross racial/ethnic lines in these relationships?

7.   Have you been subject to discrimination based on your race/ethnicity? If so, what type of discrimination (be specific with examples)?

8.   Has your racial/ethnic identity brought you any privileges or benefits? If so, what types of privileges or benefits (be specific with examples)?

8.   How do you think demographic changes that are currently underway in the U.S. and the world will affect your experiences and attitudes relating to race/ethnicity and racism?

With regard to the dialogue

9.   What are some of your hopes, or learning objectives, for this dialogue? What issues do you wish to discuss.

10.   What are some of your fears or concerns about participating in this dialogue?

FINAL PAPER FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE RACE/ETHNICITY IDENTITY DIALOGUE

The purpose of this paper is to help you integrate your learnings in the dialogue. The final paper assignment is an 8-10 page (double-spaced) self-reflection paper. You should write about your experiences, your thoughts and reflections during and outside the dialogue itself (use your journals and your ICP experience as well), as well as discuss how the readings helped you understand issues within a broader context. Articles that you elect to integrate into your paper are your choice, but you must incorporate at least 6-8 of the readings. The paper should address the specific questions below but should not be written in a "question-answer" format; try to integrate your ideas in each section into a coherent reflection and finally into a single paper that reads smoothly across a series of sections and questions.

To the extent that you can, write about your own racial experiences.

Please indicate:
 Your gender_____.
 Your ethnicity or national origin_____.
 Your socioeconomic class_____
 Your religion _____

With regard to social identity
1. What and how were you taught (explicitly or implicitly) about what it means to be a person of color or a white person, in terms of attitudes, behaviors, your future, the nature of the society, etc.?
2. Broadly speaking, what does it mean to you to be a white person or a person of color?
3. Is your racial/ethnic identity as a person of color or a white person one of the most important aspects of your life? For example, when you describe yourself to others (i.e. over the phone or internet), is it one of the first things you would think of to say?
4. What do you know about your ethnic/cultural heritage (i.e., the culture, country or region of the world from which your ancestors came)? And how might this affect your feelings about being part of your racial group?
5. What are some experiences that have made your race/ethnicity visible to you?

With regard to social structures
6. Throughout your life, have most of your friends and other people close to you been of the same racial/ethnic background? If so, why do you think this was the case? If not, what do you think led you to cross racial/ethnic lines in these relationships?
7. Have you been subject to discrimination based on your race/ethnicity? If so what type of discrimination (be specific with examples)?
8. Has your racial/ethnic identity brought you any privileges or benefits? If so, what types of privileges or benefits (be specific with examples)?
9. How do you think demographic changes that are currently underway in the U.S. and the world will affect your experiences and attitudes relating to race/ethnicity and racism?
10. Do you think racism is becoming more of a problem, less of a problem, or not changing much in the U.S.?

With regard to the dialogue - current and future
11. How did your own participation in this class (including the exercises, discussions and ICP) affect the group's dynamics?
12. If you were to participate in this dialogue again, how would you want your participation to be different?
13. What has been the impact of this semester's dialogue on your knowledge and views about being white or a person of color in the U.S. society?
14. What has been the impact of this semester's dialogue on your knowledge and views about race/ethnicity and racism?
15. What, if any, are your goals for personal next steps concerning the topic of this dialogue?

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<u>FINAL PAPER FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY DIALOGUE</u>

The purpose of this paper is to help you integrate your learnings in the dialogue. The final paper assignment is an 8-10 page (double-spaced) self-reflection paper. You should write about your experiences, your thoughts and reflections during and outside the dialogue itself (use your journals and your ICP experience as well), as well as discuss how the readings helped you understand issues within a broader context. Articles that you elect to integrate into your paper are your choice, but you must incorporate <u>at least 6-8</u> of the readings. The paper should address the specific questions below but should not be written in a "question-answer" format; try to integrate your ideas in each section into a coherent reflection and finally into a single paper that reads smoothly across a series of sections and questions.

To the extent that you can, write about your own racial experiences.

Please indicate:
Your gender_____.
Your ethnicity or national origin_____.
Your socioeconomic class_____
Your religion _____

<u>With regard to social identity</u>
16. What and how were you taught (explicitly or implicitly) about what it means to be a person of color or a white person, in terms of attitudes, behaviors, your future, the nature of the society, etc.?
17. Broadly speaking, what does it mean to you to be a white person or a person of color?
18. Is your racial/ethnic identity as a person of color or a white person one of the most important aspects of your life? For example, when you describe yourself to others (i.e. over the phone or internet), is it one of the first things you would think of to say?
19. Where would you place yourself in the Hardiman or Helms typology of the stages of white racial identity development? Why?
20. What do you know about your ethnic/cultural heritage (i.e., the culture, country or region of the world from which your ancestors came)? And how might this affect your feelings about being part of your racial group?
21. What are some experiences that have made your race/ethnicity visible to you?

<u>With regard to social structures</u>
22. Throughout your life, have most of your friends and other people close to you been of the same racial/ethnic background? If so, why do you think this was the case? If not, what do you think led you to cross racial/ethnic lines in these relationships?
23. Have you been subject to discrimination based on your race/ethnicity? If so what type of discrimination (be specific with examples)?
24. Has your racial/ethnic identity brought you any privileges or benefits? If so, what types of privileges or benefits (be specific with examples)?
25. How do you think demographic changes that are currently underway in the U.S. and the world will affect your experiences and attitudes relating to race/ethnicity and racism?
26. Do you think racism is becoming more of a problem, less of a problem, or not changing much in the U.S.?

<u>With regard to the dialogue - current and future</u>
27. How did your own participation in this class (including the exercises, discussions and ICP) affect the group's dynamics?
28. If you were to participate in this dialogue again, how would you want your participation to be different?
29. What has been the impact of this semester's dialogue on your knowledge and views about being white or a person of color in the U.S. society?
30. What has been the impact of this semester's dialogue on your knowledge and views about race/ethnicity and racism?
31. What, if any, are your goals for personal next steps concerning the topic of this dialogue?

INTERVIEW PROMPTS

General: Background Information and Racial Identity:
1. You recently completed an (IGD on R/E or WRID) course with the program at the University. A good portion of this course focused on social identities. So in terms of race and gender, how did you identify yourself in this class?
   a. What does that mean to you?
   b. How often do you think about your racial identification?
2. How does your racial identification shape your personal beliefs?
   a. What were you taught, explicitly or implicitly, about what it means to be (a White person or a person of color)? [e.g., attitudes, behaviors, your future, the nature of society, etc.]?
3. What are some experiences that have made your race visible to you?

Dialoguing about Race: Experiences with and Learnings from the Program
4. As an (race and/or gender identity response), can you tell me what being in the (WRID or R/E) dialogue was like for you? PROBE: How did you feel about being a _____ in this dialogue? Tell me more…
5. What primary lessons did you take away from this experience? If possible, please provide concrete examples. PROBE: For example, lessons related to working with your own group or other groups, how you engage with conflict, how you might ally with others…
6. Now let's turn to communication and interaction with others in the dialogue group. How easy or difficult was it for you to talk about your reactions or feelings in the group?
   a. What was it about your dialogue group that helped you be able to share?
   b. What was it about your dialogue group that made it difficult for you to share?
7. During this dialogue you had a chance to hear other people share personal experiences, stories, and testimonials. Please give me an example of a time when someone from your own social identity group shared an experience that had an impact on you. What was their story about?
   a. What kinds of feelings came up for you when you heard the story or experience?
   b. (For R/E only) Please give me an example of a time when someone from another social identity group shared an experience that had an impact on you. What was their story?
      i. What kinds of feelings came up for you when you heard the story or experience?
8. Did your dialogue experience have an impact on how you now feel about people from your own identity group?
   a. Please describe a particular incident that caused you to feel this way. What happened? What was going on?
   b. Did your dialogue experience have an impact on how you now feel about people from another racial identity group?
      i. Please describe a particular incident that caused you to feel this way. What happened? What was going on?
9. In learning about race/ethnicity, do you think there are any special advantages to being in a (white only or interracial) dialogue?
   a. Are there any disadvantages to being in a (white only or interracial) dialogue?
10. (For students in R/E only) Some people argue that interracial dialogues, ones with White students and students of color, often take the form of students of color educating or telling White students about their experiences or lives. To what extent did that happen in your dialogue?
    a. Do you feel that was a good use of dialogue time and energy?

Wrap Up: Reflections and Recommendations
11. Did you find the Dialogue course beneficial? Why or why not?
    a. How did your own participation in this course (e.g., interactive exercises, discussions, and Collaboration Project) affect group dynamics?
    b. If you were to participate in the Dialogue again, would your participation be different? Please explain.
12. Do you feel comfortable talking outside the dialogue program with people of another identity group? Why or why not?
    a. Did your participation in the dialogue help you be more comfortable or less so?
       i. How? What happened? What didn't happen?

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview!

Participant	Sex	SES	Ethnicity	Religion
RE1S04	Female	UMC	Irish	None
RE1S05	Female	MC	German, Irish	Catholic
RE1S06	Female	UMC	Jewish	Christian
RE1S08	Female	WC	Mexican, Jewish	Jewish
RE1S11	Female	UMC	Dutch	Catholic
RE4S04	Male	WC	German, Polish	--
RE4S05	Male	MC	German, Scottish	Catholic
RE4S07	Female	MC		Catholic
RE4S08	Female	UMC	Scottish, German	Christian
RES411	Female	UMC	Russian, Polish	Jewish
WRIDS01	Female	UMC	--	Jewish
WRIDS02	Female	MC		Christian
WRIDS03	Male	UMC		Jewish
WRIDS04	Female	UMC	Romanian, Russian	Jewish
WRIDS05	Male	UMC		Jewish
WRIDS06	Male	UMC		Jewish
WRIDS07	Male	UMC	Polish	Catholic
WRIDS08	Female	LMC	Irish, German	Catholic
WRIDS09	Female	MC		Christian
WRIDS10	Female	UMC	Hungarian, Irish	Atheist
WRIDS11	Female	MC		None
N=21	M-8: F-16	W-3:M-6:UM-14	--	J-7:M-2;Ch-5:Ca-6:N-3

Subject Variable	Number	%
Male	8/24	33.33%
Female	16/24	66.67%
Upper Middle Class	14/24	58.33%
Middle Class	6/24	25%
Working/Lower-Middle Class	3/24	12.5%
Jewish	7/24	29.17%
Christian	5/24	20.83%
Catholic	6/24	25%
Muslim	2/24	8.3%
None	3/24	12.5%

DATA POINTS PER PARTICIPANT

RE1	Pre-paper	Final Paper	Interview	Total
RE1S04	X	X	X	3
RE1S05	X	X	--	2
RE1S06	X	X	X	3
RE1S08	X	X	X	3
RE1S11	X	X	X	
N=5	5	5	4	14

RE4	Pre-paper	Final Paper	Interview	Total
RE4S04	--	X	X	2
RE4S05	X	X	X	3
RE4S07	X	X	--	2
RE4S08	--	X	X	2
RES411	X	X	X	3
N=5	3	5	4	12

WRID	Pre-paper	Final Paper	Interview	Total
WRIDS01	--	X	--	1
WRIDS02	X	X	X	3
WRIDS03	--	X	X	2
WRIDS04	X	X	X	3
WRIDS05	X	X	X	3
WRIDS06	X	--	X	2
WRIDS07	X	X	X	3
WRIDS08	--	X	X	2
WRIDS09	X	X	X	3
WRIDS10	X	X	X	3
WRIDS11	X	X	X	3
N=11	8	10	10	28

	Number	%
Total Data Points	54 (out of possible 63)	85.7 %

N=21	Number	%
All 3 data points	14/21	66.67%
2 data points	6/21	25%
1 data point	1/21	4.17%
	21/21	100%

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