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Understanding Whiteness and Anti-Racist Attitudes in White Student Leaders

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Abstract

At predominately white institutions, Black, Indigenous, and other Students of Color are often burdened with the role of the educator for their white peers. This research explores how white student leaders at the University of San Diego engage in conversations around their white racial identity. How do white student leaders understand and discuss issues of race, racism, whiteness, and white supremacy, what is the impact of their student leader training, and how might they begin striving for the incorporation of anti-racist practices and claim the responsibility for their racial education? Using the Kolb Learning Cycle, I engaged in one pre-cycle and four cycles of data collection, including a culminating experience of a restorative justice dialogue circle. Ultimately, by providing opportunities for reflection, process, and dialogue, white student leaders gained a better understanding of their white racial identity and the role they play in upholding anti-racist values and dismantling systems of oppression.

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Introduction

Student leadership opportunities provide undergraduate students with a unique opportunity not only to practice taking up leadership but also to receive extensive training. Each year, student leaders engage in training to better prepare them for their roles to support their campus community, including topics to better understand their own identities and how those identities impact their leadership. In reflection upon my own undergraduate experience at the University of San Diego, I realized how much I grew in my own white racial identity development, specifically within my identity as a student leader. My years as an undergraduate student leader were the first time I remember having extensive conversations about my white racial identity, privilege, and racism. As I reflect on my identity development, I think back to the instances where my lack of understanding of my own racial identity caused hurt and lacked the nuance to be truly able to help the students I was supposed to be serving. Now as a staff member who works with our student leaders, I see the need for this racial identity development training especially amongst our white student leaders. Additionally, as a white staff member on campus I have continued to reflect upon my own responsibility to understand my white racial identity development in order to better serve our student population. I see this action research project as a continuation of my commitment to learning about my white racial identity, recognizing and dismantling the ways I contribute to racism and white supremacy, and commitment to striving for anti-racism.

Please note, white and whiteness are intentionally lower case throughout this paper with the exception of at the beginning of a sentence or a direct quote where the original author capitalized. This grammatical choice is done intentionally to disrupt and challenge traditional power structures that often benefit white people and white culture. It is not to imply that white people have any less of a culture than other Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color (BIPOC)

communities, and is not intended to absolve white people from having to reckon with their racial identity and culture as this would be antithetical to my research. Please see Appendix A for a full list of terminology and definitions that I will use throughout this paper.

Research Ouestion

For the purpose of this study, I focus my action research on the student leadership roles that engaged in the August Student Leader Conference which included the Associated Student Government Executive Board (ASG), Commuter Assistants (CA), Resident Assistants (RA), OLÉ! Team, Scholastic Assistants (SA), and Transfer Scholastic Assistants (TSA).

My research questions are: How do white student leaders understand and discuss issues of race, racism, whiteness, and white supremacy, what is the impact of their student leader training in their understanding of these topics, and how might they begin striving for the incorporation of anti-racist practices and claim the responsibility for their racial education? Through this process, I encouraged student leaders to challenge and understand their own beliefs and socialization. Ultimately, this research is a reflection of my journey to be an agent for social change on our campus and to uphold anti-racist values and dismantling systems of oppression.

Literature Review

My research blends critical whiteness studies, critical race theory, leadership development, and white racial identity development in order to understand how white student leaders come to understand their white racial identity as well as begin to take up anti-racist practices. Summarized by Foste (2020) "Critical Whiteness Studies challenge us to consider how all white people, regardless of intentions, contribute to the maintenance and production of Whiteness and white supremacy" (p. 33). For the framework of my research, I am defining whiteness as a racial ideology

which justifies racial domination whether this be intentional or not, and white people as the socially constructed identity of race based on skin color (Foste, 2020; Bonilla-Silva, 2013).

It is important to first consider how whiteness shows up in higher education both as an institution as well as in white college students. Throughout Cabrera et al.'s (2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2016) research, there is the call for critical whiteness studies needing to be included in higher education literature on inclusion and diversity. Higher education will not be able to progress its efforts towards inclusion and diversity until it begins to unpack and understand its own white normative messages and white supremacist values that it upholds (Gusa, 2010). Another central theme of Cabrera et al.'s (2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2016) research is the minimization, specifically by white college age men, of the impact of racism on People of Color. Cabrera also explores the theme of white college age men claiming "reverse racism" against themselves and other white people. Putnam (2017) also found the social practice of discourse on "reverse racism" to be a central theme within their research on white ideologies in college students. Putnam also notes that when these behaviors and ideologies go unchallenged they further become accepted as the norm and white centering is perpetuated further (p. 32).

Within the context of higher education, Cabrera and Corces-Zimmerman (2017) examined the beliefs and views of white male undergraduate students at a predominately white institution around the topic of white privilege. They studied how the college experience affects and reinforces beliefs of white privilege which includes white racial ignorance. Cabrera and Corces-Zimmerman (2017) call for the need for white male college students' beliefs to be challenged in order to develop a more nuanced racial understanding. This theme of racial ignorance is further explored by Foste (2020) with what he calls the "enlightenment narrative" which is when a white student leader is concerned and preoccupied with presenting themself as progressive or racially conscious (p. 33).

In this narrative, white student leaders want to be seen as racially good and innocent instead of being concerned with being able to have discourse and challenge racism and white supremacy. Foste (2020) also found that white student leaders who are preoccupied with this enlightenment narrative tend to see themselves outside of the problem of white supremacy, instead of seeing how they are upholding racism and white supremacy and also seeing the responsibility to educate their other white peers.

I believe these themes of concern with racial innocence as well as the minimization of racism in the lives of BIPOC play into white supremacy, specifically the concepts of white fragility and white exceptionalism. Coined by Robin DiAngelo (2011), "White Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation" (p. 54). Additionally, white exceptionalism is the belief that one is "exempt from the effects, benefits, and conditioning of white supremacy, and therefore the work of antiracism does not really apply to you" (Saad, 2020, p. 67). These themes of how white supremacy is being held and showing up in our student leaders will be important to recognize when working with our student leaders as these beliefs will be important to work through as they can be detrimental to anti-racism work.

It is important to consider how these components of critical whiteness studies might coincide with leadership development, especially the ways in which we might be able to better understand the development towards anti-racist attitudes and practices. As Haber and Komives (2009) noted, "The leadership development of college students has increasingly become a strong focus of student affairs work" (p. 134). It has been shown that involvement in co-curricular learning, holding formal student leadership positions, and participating in leadership training are

opportunities for student leaders to develop skills in positive social change (Astin & Astin 2000; Haber & Komives, 2009). Discussions and trainings that focus on social issues have also shown to be strong predictors of a college student's participation in social change behaviors (Johnson, 2014).

When considering how to tie leadership development to critical whiteness studies, it is also important to understand where our white students are developmentally. When trying to understand a white student's development, Helms' White Racial Identity Development model (1990, 1995; Helms & Carter, 1990) is commonly used in higher education. When using Helms' model and working with student leaders, Cook and McCoy (2017) found that "Participating in diversity and social justice training was a difficult and uncomfortable process for the white RAs... there is no way to raise white people's racial consciousness without discomfort and resistance. Given this, examining race and racism is often an uncomfortable and difficult process for white people. White RAs must admit their racism to learn to be non-racists" (p. 77). It is important to consider where our white student leaders may be developmentally in their understanding of their white racial identity in order to create a training grounded in leadership development theory and challenges them to progress further in this identity towards anti-racist attitudes and practices.

Additionally, when considering what strategies are best to facilitate conversations of difficult topics with people of a variety of backgrounds and value sets, restorative justice practices have shown to be very effective in difficult conversations, including conversations about race. Restorative justice provides a space for individuals to address difficult situations in order to repair harm, promote healing and learning, and to build community (Pedreal & Lizeth, 2015). Restorative conversations have also been used as a tool to "examine whiteness and unlearn racism" and have shown to be particularly effective because they reduce the likelihood of negative reactions

Including denial and defensiveness which can prevent growth (Dashman et al., 2019). Critical Race Theory can also be used as a guide when implementing restorative justice conversations about race as it helps examine power such as asking questions of "Who is benefiting? Who is bearing the burden?" (Evans et al., 2020).

Context

This study takes place at the University of San Diego (USD) which is a mid-sized, private, Catholic, liberal arts institution located in San Diego, California. As of the Fall of 2020, there were 5,529 undergraduate students enrolled, 2,706 (48.9%) of which are identified as white (USD, 2020a). As of the Fall of 2020, 292 of 486 (60.1%) of faculty identify as white, and more broadly 1,444 out of the 2,365 (61.1%) of all employees at the university identify as white (USD, 2020b, 2020c).

My current role at the University of San Diego is our Living Learning Communities Coordinator. In this role, I oversee the programmatic aspects of our Living Learning Communities program which is a co-collaboration between the College of Arts and Sciences and Student Affairs. I also advise, oversee, and manage one of the largest student leader groups on campus, the Scholastic Assistants (SA), which assist in the academic and social transition of new incoming first-year students to campus. In this role, I plan and oversee the training of this student leader group including their participation in the annual August Student Leader Conference.

In the summer of 2019, the University of San Diego instituted its inaugural August Student Leader Conference in which five student leader groups located within Student Affairs participated. These student leader groups consisted of Associated Student Government Executive Board (ASG), Commuter Assistants (CA), OLÉ! Team, Resident Assistants (RA), and Scholastic Assistants (SA). In the summer of 2020, in addition to the previously named student leader groups, the

Transfer Scholastic Assistant (TSA) student leader group also was added and participated in the second annual conference which was adapted to a virtual format due to the COVID-19 pandemic. With data from organizational rosters, in the 2020-2021 academic year approximately 44.1% (n = 76) of the student leaders within these groups were white. The August Student Leader Conference explores the five different Co-Curricular Learning Outcomes (CCLOs) including Authentic Engagement, Courageous Living, Identities and Communities, Purpose, and Well-Being. During the exploration of the Identities and Communities day, student leaders engaged in training and dialogue around race, racism, and anti-racism. In 2019, this content consisted of interactive experiences, lectures, and a form of racial caucusing called "race circles" which were discussions in race alike groups for students to further explore their understanding of their racial identity. In 2020, this content was delivered in both in an asynchronous format which included presentations, exercises, and reflections, as well as racially diverse small group dialogues.

The August Student Leader Conference, including the anti-racism content, has become one of the major initiatives of Student Affairs at the University of San Diego. In my current role, I serve on the Student Leader Preparation & Development committee (SLP&D) which is charged with developing the content for the August Student Leader Conference. Throughout my research, I worked alongside other staff members in Student Affairs to imagine, dream, create, and deliver the content for the August Student Leader Conference. My positionality as an employee of the university gave me a level of authority that influenced my work. Additionally, I have a unique positionality in my role as I have both gone through our programs as an undergraduate student, as a student leader, and now as a professional staff member. This multilayered perspective on our programs at the University of San Diego has driven my interest in whiteness in our student leaders.

As a predominately white institution, it is important that we unpack whiteness and privilege with our students in order to lean into and fully embrace University of San Diego's mission and values which include diversity, inclusion, and social justice. As a white administrator and person who also went through similar student leader training previously, it will be important for me in this process to also continually explore and unpack these themes. Unpacking whiteness and unlearning white supremacy is a lifelong journey and it can be a harmful trap to think that this is something we need to teach our students but not also lean into ourselves.

Additionally, in 2020 the world, the United States, higher education, and USD was grappling with a racial reckoning. National events around the murders of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and countless others, as well as the subsequent international Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests heighten the conversation around racial justice and the role white people play in dismantling or upholding systems of oppression. Additionally, in the summer of 2020, the Black@USD Instagram account was created in order to allow Black identified students to submit their experiences of racism and discrimination anonymously, which furthered the call for students at USD to learn about systemic racism and the way USD and its community may be participating in these racist systems. 2020 also brought a contested presidential election, which ultimately resulted in an insurrection of the United States Capitol and the country was witness to white rage and white dominance on full display. This year of racial reckoning, social unrest, and blatant displays of racism and white supremacy speak to the importance of examining whiteness and striving towards anti-racist attitudes, policies, and structures at every level of our culture.

Methodology I

The methodological approach I decided to base my action research in was The Kolb Learning Cycle (1974, 1984). I decided to base my action research in this approach because of the

four stage cycle of the learning process: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation. The first stage of concrete experience is when a person has a new experience. This stage then leads to reflective observation which is a review or reflection of that new experience. The third stage in this cycle is then abstract conceptualization, which is the process of making new conclusions from the reflection of experience. Finally, the last stage of active experimentation is when the learner applies their new learned information potentially starting the cycle all over again. I made slight adjustments to this model by starting in the third stage of abstract conceptualization to allow myself to observe and diagnose the issue at hand first. I then used the active experimentation stage to reflect before using the concrete experience stage to implement my cycle. Finally, I used the reflective observation stage to find themes and report out my results.

Using this adapted version of the Kolb Learning Cycle for my action research project provided the opportunity for learning to take place for both the participants and myself as the researcher. Kolb states, "Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience." (Kolb, 1984, p. 38). Epistemologically I believe this statement to be true, and I believe that the process of making meaning of experiences is essential in the learning process. Having experiences and reflecting upon those experiences are essential points in learning and I believe they are also critical in white racial identity development. I also decided to use this action research method as it reminded me of my own experience in learning on my own white racial identity development. In my own white racial identity development, it took lots of concrete experiences and reflection upon those experiences to then learn and further my understanding of my white racial identity.

In addition to Kolb's four stage Learning Cycle, this learning process is also often presented with two continuums - the processing continuum and the perception continuum (Kolb & Fry, 1974, pp. 37-41). The processing continuum accounts for the learning step to do and watch, while the perception continuum accounts for the learning that comes from thinking and feeling, both of which I believe are essential to learning and to action research, both for the students that I engaged with as well as for myself. This crossroads between action and reflection is a key part of Kolb's Learning Cycle and the tenants of action research which I believe gives it power and strength.

Additionally, Kolb's Learning Cycle informed the cycles of my action research project in order to provide a variety of experiences for participants to learn and further develop in their white racial identity. The participants in my study were perceived to be in a variety of stages of Helms' White Racial Identity Development (Helms, 1990, 1995). Helms' White Racial Identity Development can be broken down into two parts. The first three stages of the developmental process (contact, disintegration, and reintegration) can be understood as the abandonment of racism, and the last three developmental stages (pseudo-independence, immersion-emersion, and autonomy) can be summarized as the development of an anti-racist identity (Helms, 1990, 1995). Because of the variety of stages that white students were in, their responses to these concrete experiences were varied. However, every cycle provided different opportunities for learning based on Kolb's learning cycle including opportunities to feel, watch, think, and do. Regardless of where students were in their white racial identity development, it was my desire to allow for different opportunities for learning and also for learning to come from listening and engaging with their peers. Although there were varied responses from each participant in each cycle and each participant had a variety of developmental levels and needs, I was able to identify common themes

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across all participants to create and adapt the concrete experience for the next cycle, while also

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still leaving space for learning within the breadth of developmental stages exhibited of white

college students participating.

Methodology II

The focus of the cycles was to observe where student leaders are in their white racial

identity development, including their understanding of the topics of race, racism, whiteness, white

supremacy, and anti-racism. Eight undergraduate student leaders from the 2020-2021 academic

year participated in all four main cycles of research. Seven participants identified as women and

served as Scholastic Assistants (SA) student leaders for the academic year. One participant

identified as a man and served as a Resident Assistant (RA) for the academic year. Additionally,

five participants also participated in the August Student Leader Conference content during the

summer and fall of 2020 while three participants started their student leadership roles in the spring

of 2021 and completed a condensed version of the August Student Leader Conference content in

January 2021. The pre-cycle took place between July 2020-March 2020 and the main four cycles

were conducted from March 2021-April 2021

Pre-Cycle: Needs Assessment

Abstract Conceptualization

When I began my transition from student leader to staff member at USD, I quickly became

aware of how predominately white our student leader populations are. I work as part of the

Learning Communities Office, and oversee one of the largest student leader groups on campus,

the Scholastic Assistants (SA). With data from internal rosters for this current academic year of

2020-2021, while the complete roster of student leaders who attended the August Student Leader

Conference was 44.1% (n = 74) white, approximately 50.7% (n = 34) of our SAs were white,

which is an overrepresentation of 48.9% of the total undergraduate population. It should be noted that the racial category of "white" in USD's data can also be deceptive as it includes Middle Eastern students who may not themselves identify as white and instead are considered to be a separate racial group and could be considered People of Color. However, this data does begin to paint a picture of the racial demographics of the student leaders that I advise and that go through the August Student Leader Conference.

To secure permission for this research, I spoke to the Assistant Vice President for Strategic Initiatives and Programs. This Assistant Vice President was my direct supervisor at the time and oversaw my department as well as co-directed the larger student leader training initiative within Student Affairs. Additionally, I spoke with the members of the Student Leader Preparation and Development Committee which I serve on. The Student Leader Preparation and Development Committee is responsible for the August Student Leader Conference, which is a joint training effort for six different student leader groups on campus including the Associated Student Government (ASG) Executive Board, Commuter Assistants (CA), OLÉ! Team, Resident Assistants (RA), Scholastic Assistants (SA), and Transfer Scholastic Assistant (TSA). The August Student Leader Conference is grounded in helping student leaders live out their roles through the University of San Diego's Co-Curricular Learning Outcomes (CCLOs).

Active Experimentation

The inaugural August Student Leader Conference took place in 2019. This conference took place in person and was the first time that race circles took place as part of student leader training. These race circles were an exploration of the Identities and Communities CCLO. In the 2020-2021 academic year, the exploration of the Identities and Communities CCLO during the August Student Leader Conference provided racially diverse dialogue spaces where groups of 8-

10 student leaders discussed the topics of race, racism, and anti-racism. The work of Ibram X. Kendi, and his 2019 book, *How to be an Anti-Racist*, were the foundation of the session's curriculum. Due to COVID-19, the 2020 August Student Leader conference took place via Zoom. As I conceptualized my action research, I wanted to include 2020-2021 white student leaders from all six of the previously named student leader groups as they all participated in a shared training on race, racism, and anti-racism but in racially diverse groups not race-like spaces.

Concrete Experience

In order to inform my data collection cycles of action research, I thought it would be important to look at and analyze the data from the 2019 and 2020 August Student Leader conferences in order to see what training strategies are working well with students, and where there are areas for improvement.

For the 2019-2020 academic year, a survey assessment was distributed to the participants of the August Student Leader Conference. When looking at the data from the Identities and Communities component of training, there were mixed reactions from white student leaders about the race circles including feelings of guilt and anger (USD, 2019). These reactions are likely due to the stage of their identity development. During the assessment in the open response portion about the race circles, one white student wrote, "Well first off, I'm not white, I'm European American and have worked so hard to not feel guilty about the supposed privilege associated with my skin color," and a second student leader wrote:

I did not like [the race circle] session. I liked the intent of the session, but the way it was executed was awkward in my opinion. I was a part of a White circle, and I thought it was going to be an open discussion about what we can do to help make a progressive change, but instead it felt a bit isolating and uncomfortable (USD, 2019).

However, although these examples show feelings of guilt and anger, other white students expressed the desire to delve deeper into the work of allyship, as they felt they already has an understanding of microaggressions and were ready to step into the next more nuanced topic of racism, signaling being further along in their identity development (USD, 2019).

For the 2020-2021 academic year, at the end of the August Student Leader Conference students completed a survey assessment which asked questions about the Identities and Communities CCLO, in particular the dimension of social empathy as well as understanding antiracism. Students were also asked about their understanding of anti-racist frameworks as presented by Kendi (2019), and completed the Anti-Racist Behavior Inquiry Scale (ARBI; Pieterse, et al., 2015).

From the data on social empathy and understanding anti-racism, overall student leaders reported that they strongly agreed or agreed with every survey statement (USD, 2020d). Although this data can be a positive response from students to the training, it also might point to student leaders answering 'how they should' respond to questions around race and racism. This again may be particularly true for white students who might be early on in their white racial identity development and motivated by guilt and/or shame to appear "enlightened", while internally struggling with racist attitudes and beliefs (USD, 2020d; Foste, 2020). Overall, students also reported less agreement in response to the statements that they have "actively advocated for positive social action" or they could "bring about change on USD's campus" (USD, 2020d). There was no significant difference found between white and non-white student flags for this data set, but it demonstrates that student leaders are more likely in a stage of identity development focused on internal reflection rather than outward action at this point (USD, 2020d).

The Anti-Racist Behavior Inventory (ARBI) is 21-item inventory designed to assess antiracism awareness and behavior and was distributed as part of the assessment (Pieterse et al., 2015).

The ARBI has questions on the following areas: individual advocacy, institutional advocacy, and
awareness of racism. In the assessment report tests of difference were run between white and nonwhite flags, and yielded three significant results in the awareness of racism question set (USD,
2020d). The three sets that yielded significant results between white and non-white flags which
are as follows: "It bothers me that my country is yet to acknowledge the impact of slavery"; "the
US should offer some type of payment to the descendants of slaves"; and "because of racism in
the US, Blacks do not have the same educational opportunities as compared to whites". For each
set, white students were less likely to agree, significant at the 10% level (USD, 2020d).

Reflective Observation (Results)

In reflection of the assessment data, the white student responses of guilt, shame, and anger to the race circles in 2019 goes to show the need for the continued assessment and exploration of the impact of these race circles on a student's white racial identity development and movement towards incorporating anti-racist practices (USD, 2019). For 2020, the data indicates that student leaders have begun to intellectually grasp the concepts of anti-racism such as understanding it at the definition level as well as recognize the presence of systems of oppression (USD, 2020d). However, because some of the "awareness of racism" mean scores from the ARBI drop on average by 10%, it shows that white students in particular might not be fully aware or ready to accept issues of racism which would need to be unpacked before being able to fully adopt and implement anti-racist practices.

To help me further deepen my research, I utilized one of my main critical friends, Allie Ross, who is the Assistant Director of New Student Onboarding and is one of the co-leads for the Student Leader Preparation and Development Committee. Ross is also in the MA of Higher Education Leadership studies and at the time was also in the process of conducting a similar action research project but instead of looking at student leaders she was looking at white staff and administrators. It was important for the both of us to be in contact with one another throughout this process as the actions that both of us took could aid in each other's research.

Additionally, during my research, I knew that I also needed to ground myself in spaces to hold myself accountable to my own learning as well. As such, I had the opportunity to participate in a weekly Circle Work with other white professionals at USD to process Layla Saad's (2020). book *Me and White Supremacy*, as a way to unpack our own whiteness and the ways in which we uphold racism and white supremacy in our lives. This was important work that I need to continue throughout this action research process as being held accountable to my own learning about my whiteness was just as important.

Cycle 1: Survey of Students Leaders

Abstract Conceptualization and Active Experimentation

My abstract conceptualization began during the summer and fall of 2020 when I participated in the creation and implementation of our August Student Leader Conference. During these training sessions I witnessed how student leaders discussed different topics under the umbrella of diversity, equity, and inclusion within the Identities and Communities CCLO.

Following the summer and fall student leader training, I began reflecting on how training this year focused on the constructs of race, racism, or anti-racism. However, it did not necessarily allow for the individual processing based on specific identities. After reflecting on the assessment data from the August Student Leader Conference and training that took place in mind, I began creating the survey for my first cycle of action research.

Concrete Experience

The purpose of this survey cycle was to set a baseline for where student leaders are in their understanding of the topics of race, racism, whiteness, white supremacy, and anti-racism. I wanted to explore their levels of comfort and confidence with the topics of race, racism, whiteness, white supremacy, and anti-racism, as well as the frequency in which they engage with these topics. Additionally, I wanted to see how they felt about the student leader trainings up to this point and the level to which the training had prepared them to discuss issues of identity, race, and racism.

I conducted the recruitment for my entire study in March 2021. Over 60 white student leaders from all student leader groups that participated in the 2020 August Student Leader Conference were sent personalized emails inviting them to join the study (see Appendix B). Again, while 60 student leaders were identified as white on the email report, this data might be deceptive as some student leaders who USD identifies as white, actually identify as Middle Eastern and consider that to be a separate racial group. Ultimately, eight participants committed to the study. This response rate was lower than I originally would have hoped for and could have been attributed to a variety of factors including but not limited to timing of the semester around midterms, Zoom fatigue, as well as time commitment. Because the study was conducted at the participants' educational institution, only general information about each participant will be provided to protect their identities (see Appendix D)

After giving their consent (see Appendix C), participants completed a survey which consisted of ten multiple choice and Likert scale questions (see Appendix E). The Likert scales varied between questions and included matrices to a total of 79 data points. The first part of the survey consisted of questions that I created, while the second part of the survey was the White

Racial Affect Scale (WRAS; Grzanka, Frantell, & Fassinger, 2020). All eight participants completed the survey.

Reflective Observation (Results)

From the data (see Appendix F), there are a few data points in particular that stood out to me. First, it is clear that while some participants had experiences talking about race as early as elementary school, most conversations did not begin to take place until high school, and all participants indicated that they had conversations in college at USD. For conversations that have taken place at USD, all participants indicated that conversations are taking place most often in the classrooms or opportunities within their student leader role. When asked to rate their level of comfort in discussing the topics of race, racism, anti-racism, and whiteness, participants rated talking to faculty, staff, or administrators at USD as who they were most comfortable discussing these topics with across all topics. In contrast, peers who identify as BIPOC or family members were rated the lowest in all categories.

Students were asked to identify how often they have engaged in certain behaviors addressing racism and race. Almost all behaviors had participants indicate that they had engaged in the behavior either in the past week, in the past month, or in the past six months. However, there were two exceptions to this. First, the behavior of "Challenged racist comments or behaviors in people who identify as BIPOC" has all but one participant either stating that they have never had the opportunity or would not participate in this behavior. Second, for the behavior of "Discussed racism with faculty, staff, or administrators who identify as BIPOC" half of participants indicated that they had either never had the opportunity or if they did it has been longer than in the past six months.

When asked about their student leader training, seven out of the eight participants agreed or strongly agreed that they are able to advocate to anti-racist change on campus because of their student leader training. Additionally, all participants agreed or strongly agreed that understanding their racial identity will help them be a better student leader. These two data points in particular help shed light on the values of the student leaders who chose to participate in this study; all to some extent saw the benefit and impact of their training and believe that understanding their racial identity will help them in their leadership. Because of this, I believe students with these attitudes are more likely to want to participate in research and dialogue opportunities like the one in my action research.

Participants were then asked to rate their level of confidence in certain tasks. I created and grouped the questions into three main subsets which included questions about personal self-reflection, relationships and interactions, and identifying racism and advocacy. Broadly, students were the most confident in the tasks around examining and reflecting on their own beliefs, identities, roles, and privileges.

On average, students reported higher levels of comfort and confidence when asked about the topic of anti-racism as well as identifying racism on campus and creating environments. However, participants indicated less confidence in overcoming resistance when addressing racism and developing strategies to dismantle systems of oppression. Students' lowest score of confidence in the matrix was in response to the statement "Challenge racist comments or behaviors in other people who identify as BIPOC" with an average score of 2.50 on a five point Likert scale (n=8). These scores demonstrate this pattern of being more confident having these discussions with white folks than compared to BIPOC folks as well as higher confidence in conversations about anti-

racism in theory but not implementing strategies, which again can be an example of potential virtual signaling or preoccupation with an "enlightenment narrative" (Foste, 2020).

As for the WRAS survey results, on average participants had lower negation and white shame scores where in contrast they had high scores of white guilt. These scores demonstrate that participants were unlikely to deny or negate the experience or existence of racism as well as were unlikely to exhibit signs of shame such as wishing they were not white. However, they did show higher levels of white guilt, but by the definition of the creators of the scale this is not necessarily a bad thing. For the researchers who developed the WRAS, white guilt is positively correlated with empathy and anti-racist inclinations as it shows the recognition one has of needing to take responsibility and action to combat racism.

Cycle 2: Primary 1:1 Interview

Abstract Conceptualization and Active Experimentation

My survey and primary 1:1 interview cycles occurred simultaneously so I did not conduct a full reflection and analysis before the 1:1 interviews began. However, individual participants had to complete their survey before attending the 1:1 interviews and I did review this individual data from the survey, in particular the WRAS scores so that I could go over the outcomes of those scores with the individuals. The surveys gave a baseline measure of where student leaders were in their identity development as well as issues of race, racism, anti-racism, and whiteness. However, I intentionally did not include any open ended survey questions as I wanted to be able to allow for the storytelling in the 1:1 interviews.

Concrete Experience

The purpose of this primary 1:1 interview cycle was to allow participants to engage in reflection and storytelling around race, racism, whiteness, white supremacy, and anti-racism. The

primary 1:1 interviews consisted of ten open-ended questions and concluded with having the participant choosing their pseudonym for the restorative justice dialogue circle (see Appendix G). Interviews were scheduled to be 60 minutes in length but varied between approximately 30-60 minutes for each participant depending on their depth of answers. All eight participants took part in the 1:1 primary interviews.

Reflective Observation (Results)

Findings from the primary 1:1 interviews show the diversity of life experiences and fluidity of white racial identity development within white students (Helms, 1990). All of the participants gave reflective answers with reasons for why they wanted to participate in the research project, stories about race in their upbringing, and the experiences at USD including in their student leader role and training. All participants were able to articulate how their understanding of their racial identity has become more nuanced but affirmed that they still have a lot of self-work to complete on this journey. I used an inductive approach to finding themes within the data and I will share and summarize these themes below.

Racial Socialization

The first significant theme that emerged was the theme of racial socialization, which is the developmental process in which people acquire behaviors, patterns, and understandings towards their own and different racial groups. Within racial socialization, two main sub-themes emerged: racial colorblindness and the perception of whiteness as negative stereotypes.

Racial Colorblindness

Racial colorblindness typically occurs when a person, and most often a white person, says they "do not see color" as a way of implying that they cannot be racist or treat anyone of a different race differently. Being taught to be racially colorblind or hearing someone say "I don't see color"

when they were growing up was a theme that most of my participants named in their primary interview. For most, this was brought up in the context of growing up in a predominantly white neighborhood so they were taught that colorblindness was the best approach in order to make the BIPOC families not feel othered or different, and almost all said this teaching came from a parent.

In reflecting on her upbringing, one participant Jessica mentioned how her parents said, "You shouldn't see race, you should just love everyone," and very similarly another participant Brooke named a similar teaching of, "You must not pay attention to race and you should treat everyone equally." Often colorblind teachings are a wolf in sheep's clothing as they sound like they have good intentions by wanting to treat everyone equally, but it really just ends up ignoring systemic racism and discrimination that exists for BIPOC. All participants who named these colorblind teachings though could also articulate how they have been taught otherwise since then and now recognize the harmful nature of such teachings because of how colorblindness ignores discrimination and perpetuates racism.

Perception and Stereotypes of whiteness

Although colorblindness was taught by parents in childhood, participants named how their perception of whiteness as negative stereotypes was socialized by their peers in middle school, high school, and college. Participants named how there are negative stereotypes ascribed to them as white people, and was further confounded for the female participants. Paige shared the following reflection:

I think people perceive me as a white spoiled girl. You know the 'everything has been given to her' vibe. I have a couple of friends at SDSU, and whenever I hang out with their friends and when I tell them I go to USD I automatically get questions about 'How much does that cost?' and 'Do you have any ethnicities?' And this makes me feel bad. But I know that these negative feelings for me are so minor to how others feel.

Just like Paige, Maddy shared similar experiences in her remarks:

I'm a blonde, blue eyed, white woman, so I honestly think people perceive me as someone who has a lot of privilege which is not wrong. But also at the same time, people also think I'm usually pretty ditzy and that don't really think or care about race or racial identity. And I mean I get it because for most white people they don't care because they and I are in this privileged category and some white people are just kind of out of touch and fit this assumption.

Additionally, continuing on the narrative of experiences of these negative stereotypes ascribed to white college females, participant Hannah said:

I really hate it, but people perceive me as a spoiled white girl at a private school. It's not the full story for who I am, but it's how a lot of white females at USD are perceived, 'You came from money and didn't have to work hard.' And yes, I absolutely have privileges that I have been afforded because of my race but I still have worked very hard.

While most participants shared about these stereotypes in college, one participant Brooke reflected on a time back in middle school and she shared the following story and reflection:

There was a trend on social media trend of how to be a 'typical white girl' where you posed with an iPhone, Ugg Boots, Starbucks, etc. And people would say to me 'Oh [Brooke] you are such a typical white girl.' And obviously I am not oppressed by these comments but now reflecting on this it was an identity marker for whiteness... again I want to clarify that I am not trying to compare this to the racism others experience, like I have the privilege of not fearing for my life when I am pulled over by the police.

This trend was not just seen in the female participants as Grant also shared, "I think people just see a cisgender white male, and are like 'he holds a lot of good cards' but they are not wrong."

In these stories, you can hear from these participants the tension that they are holding between recognizing and not feeling great about the stereotypes that are being ascribed to them, but also naming how these negative feelings are nothing compared to the racism that their BIPOC peers have to endure. They also are recognizing and affirming the privileges they hold and recognize that these privileges are the root of a lot of these stereotypes.

Awareness of white Racial Identity & Privilege

In addition to racial socialization, the theme of awareness of their white racial identity and awareness of privilege also emerged as a theme. Students named two areas in particular for how this awareness came to be: cross racial interactions and classroom teachings and discussions.

Cross Racial Interactions

Cross racial interactions were a common theme from participants in coming to understand their own racial identity as white people. For many, the intersection of socioeconomic status and race also played into this understanding. One participant Emma had named how she grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood in northern San Diego, but because of San Diego being such a large city the opportunity to go into different neighborhoods and see different cultures was salient in understanding her own racial identity in comparison to others. Claire also shared a similar reflection and story:

My middle school had a very large Hispanic population. I would take the bus to school, and I'd realized as we drove through the different neighborhoods that where I had lived in a gated community where in comparison the types of housing my Hispanic friends lived in were large apartment complexes and things like that. I talked with a lot of those friends about their experiences growing up versus my experience with my dad in the military.

And just the way that my parents have had to work versus the way that some other people's parents have had to work came up and I started to realize how privileged I have.

For one participant in particular, cross racial interactions were not just a way of recognizing differences but an opportunity to see how to address racism as a white person.

Nothing sticks out more to me than this example shared by participant Maddy:

This is a memory that sticks out to me, but I didn't really realize it was important until I started learning more about race and racism. One time I had a friend on my swim team who was Black and we were taking a really long time in the locker room just chatting and having fun. Our parents were really good friends and when they were waiting for us to come out from the locker room they were talking about a recent incident where one swimmer called another swimmer the n-word. By the time we came out of the locker room, our parents were still chatting about the incident and racism in the culture and my mom just said 'Oh well, I am probably racist and I probably say racist things all the time and if I ever do like please like just tell me.' and they all started laughing and agreeing. And after I got in the car with my mom and I said, 'Mom, you're not racist. Why would you ever say that you're racist?' and I was so confused about why my mom and the parents were laughing because I thought she would be offended or that they wouldn't like her if she was racist. And my mom explained to me then how we live in a racist society and that everyone is racist and probably the most racist people are the ones who say that they've never been racist.

These examples of cross racial interactions were essential in students not only learning about their race and privilege as white people, but also how to begin to address racism and own up to the racist actions or thoughts that they have without being defensive.

Classroom Teachings and Discussions

In addition to cross racial interactions, classroom teaching and discussions were another crucial opportunity where students gained awareness of their white racial identity and privilege. Claire, Jessica, Hannah, and Grant all named either an Introduction to Ethnic Studies or Introduction to Sociology class and were incredibly influential in the understanding of race and also unlearning of myths about race. They also mentioned how they took these classes as part of the core curriculum and not their major and how they would not have taken these classes if it were not for the core. Some even went as far as to say these classes should be mandatory for all new students and not just an option for completing the core. Jessica's reflection in particular comes to mind to show the impact of classroom dialogues:

Before coming to college and because of my upbringing, I thought racism was a thing of the past and that we were in a completely post racialized society, which I now know is not true, but I tried to grapple with some of these misconceptions during my first semester in college. But it wasn't really until I actually took an Intro to Sociology class my second semester where we really dove into race. We started talking about current events and how different marginalized identities can go and create like double and triple oppression and how that's why an intersectional lens can be super important. So that's kind of when my eyes were opened to how things really are, and once I learned that I started to do research on my own, and also started having discussions with my peers and some people I worked with.

Jessica's example demonstrates how classroom teachings have a ripple effect on our community as students then take these new learnings and start conversations with peers.

Growing on this, Grant also shared how the impact of his Introduction to Sociology class helped

him learn how to "use my voice as a white person to advocate for others" but also learning not to "take other peoples' stories" demonstrating that these classroom experiences not only shed light on the truth of racism and injustices, but also begin give students tools and strategies for how to effectively navigate them. Grant's example speaks to this idea of leveraging privilege, and Emma quite simply said privilege at USD to her equaled "comfort" and that no matter where she looked on campus or in the classroom that was almost always going to be someone who looked like her which she now recognizes as a privilege.

These examples of classroom teachings and discussions show the true impact of teaching about race in the classroom and how important it is for progressing students in their white racial identity development. It should also be noted that the students who mentioned classes at USD and the names of the professors, were all BIPOC faculty, highlighting how most often this burden of educating our white students falls on our BIPOC faculty and staff. This important work that BIPOC faculty in particular are doing in the classroom should be celebrated, compensated, and recognized.

Curious & Competitive Nature within whiteness

The final theme that emerged was this idea of a curious and competitive nature within whiteness. This theme is less about stories that were told but instead patterns of behavior.

When asked about goals for participating in this research project, Paige mentioned, "I want to figure out where I stand in comparison to other student leaders in the survey results and conservation... I hope this can be an indication for how to push myself and where my growth edges are." Paige stopped herself when giving this answer and said she wanted to clarify that she was not looking for who was the best white student leader or who had the most work to do, but wanted to see where she still needed to grow. Additionally, when sharing the WRAS scores with

participants many of them were curious to know where their scores fell in comparison to the other participants. Brooke even went as far to say, "I noticed when I was completing the assessment I was thinking about how angry I would be if people would have actually answered it a certain way."

It is natural to be curious about where we stand in comparison to others but this I believe is one of the biggest opportunities for growth in our student leader's white racial identity development. Whiteness is individualistic and competitive within nature, and it takes time to unlearn this pattern. Jessica shared a reflection of this when she said, "When talking about race, I there can be a competitive nature including wanting to correct people of be right. I hope the circle is a way to shift away from competitiveness and instead a way that we can all help each other and on our own journey." This should be the goal we help try to cultivate in our white student leaders, focusing on their own internal growth and not being as concerned with comparing themselves to their peers as this will help combat white exceptionalism narratives of racism.

Cycle 3: Restorative Justice Dialogue Circle

Abstract Conceptualization and Active Experimentation

Following the conclusion of the final primary 1:1 interview, I felt I had a better understanding of where my participants were in their racial identity development and began to see themes emerge within the group. For the most part, no participants exhibited racial naïveté, colorblindness, or attitudes of negation. All could articulate racist or problematic understandings or teachings about race in their upbringing, understood and affirmed having white privilege, and wanted to strive for continuing to push themselves to learn about their racial identity and to be more anti-racist. Because everyone in the group was at a perceived similar stage in their identity

development and no one was at the stage of denying white privilege or the existence of racism, I felt I was able to cultivate a set of questions for the restorative justice dialogue circle that could encourage a deeper level of reflection from these participants that I may originally anticipated.

I began developing the script by going back and looking at the white race circle script from the 2019 August Student Leader Conference to see what I might be able to use to further grow upon. The 2019 script consisted of three main dialogue sessions including "Seeing Whiteness", "White Behavioral Patterns", and "Resisting White Supremacy / Becoming Anti-Racist". I ultimately ended up also using the section titles of "White Behavioral Patterns" and "Resisting White Supremacy / Becoming Anti-Racist" but because of where participants were in their identity development "Seeing Whiteness" did not feel appropriate and I ultimate edited that section to instead be titled "Exploring whiteness and Its Meaning." I also kept the part of the introduction from the original 2019 script on the "pitfalls of racial caucusing" as I felt it was important to address how racial caucusing is not a form of segregation as well as understand why it is important for white folks and BIPOC folks to have separate spaces for processing but there can be limitations and hazards to look out for in these discussions.

In preparation for the restorative justice dialogue circle, I also identified and met with my co-facilitator for the circle, Allie Ross, who as mentioned before was one of my critical friends for this project. I asked Ross to be my co-facilitator for a variety of reasons including that she helped put on the August Student Leader Conference that these student leaders participated in, she was also conducting a similar action research project at the time but with white staff and administrators, and Ross is also an alumna of USD and was a student leader during her tenure. Ross and I have had many conversations about the impact that our student leader trainings had on our white racial identity development and because of this I felt that Ross would be able to truly empathize and

relate to the student leaders that were participating. In preparation for the circle, Ross and I met to solidify the script and get clarity about our roles in the facilitation process. I gave Ross a brief summary of what themes emerged from the survey and 1:1 primary interviews so she would have a better understanding of where student leaders were in their identity development, and as such Ross provided me with feedback about the questions in the script that might be better suited for their stage of identity development.

Concrete Experience

The restorative justice dialogue circle was 90 minutes in length and due to COVID-19 took place on Zoom. The circle had an opening, three discussion sections, and a closing. The three discussion sections included "Exploring whiteness and Its Meaning", "White Behavioral Patterns", and "Resisting white supremacy / Becoming Anti-Racist" (see Appendix H). The script consisted of nine questions which were either answered verbally or in the written chat on Zoom. Some questions were edited or omitted during the circle due to time constraints and depth of participant answers. There was one circle which all eight participants partook in and the circle was cofacilitated by myself and Allie Ross.

Reflective Observation (Results)

Just as the primary 1:1 interview, the restorative justice dialogue circle showed the diversity of life experiences of white students. For the restorative justice dialogue circle, rather than transcribe the full circle, my co-facilitator and I took notes of themes, patterns, and quotes that stood out to us in the circle. Below are the themes that emerged both in the stories and examples that were shared in the circle, but also patterns of behaviors made by participants.

Levels of Confidence with Terminology

The restorative justice dialogue circle consisted of three main content sections including "Exploring Whiteness and Its Meaning," "White Behavioral Patterns," and "Resisting White

Supremacy / Becoming Anti-Racist." During the first two sections, it became clear that students used the term whiteness interchangeably with white privilege. While white privilege is part of whiteness it excludes the components of white racial identity and racial bias that also falls under the umbrella of whiteness. This unfamiliarity with the concept or term points to an opportunity during student leader training to add clarity about this term so that the conversation can be moved beyond just discussions of white privilege but can also include some of the more pervasiveness of white culture and bias which is all around us. During the second section of the circle titled "White Behavioral Patterns," I had participants complete an adapted version of Kathe Obear's "Privileged Group Dynamics: Common Patterns of Whites" worksheet (see Appendix I). While the worksheet does include some examples of white privilege, it also includes some of the more lucrative examples of whiteness such as patterns of behavior. After this exercise, many of the participants shared how they "didn't realize that was a white thing to do" or one participant shared how they have participated in certain behaviors that they did not realize how it fit into whiteness until completing this worksheet. This worksheet in the future could be a great tool to use in future trainings to help white students understand whiteness beyond white privilege.

In comparison to their understanding of the topic of whiteness, in the final section of the circle, participants seemed much more confident in talking about the topic of anti-racism. Given the context of student leader training this past year and its emphasis on anti-racism, it makes sense that student leaders feel most comfortable and confident in this topic. This was also a pattern that is consistent with my findings in the survey with students reporting higher levels of confidence when talking about anti-racism in comparison to whiteness.

Defense Mechanisms

Storytelling is a powerful component of restorative justice. As such, many of the prompts

during the circle asked students to reflect on past experiences but asked them to focus on what they took away from these experiences rather than to share the stories. For example, in one of the rounds, a lot of stories about challenging conversations with parents emerged. When sharing their stories, some students named how they came from conversative backgrounds as a way to set the scene almost as a way to imply something racist or problematic was about to be shared. They would then share detailed and lengthy stories about their parent saying or doing something racist. The conclusion of the story would then have themself come in and essentially be the hero of the story and correct the behavior with their parents.

There is a lot going on in this pattern of behavior that is often unintentional but calls attention to an important milestone in these student's identity development. First, the participants placing themself as the hero of the story can be an example of white exceptionalism in which white people try to posture themselves as "good" or above racism. This also can be used as a defense mechanism for not having to reckon with their own individual instances of racist attitudes or behaviors. The length and roundaboutness of giving backstories further compounds this as a defense mechanism or avoidance. However, with all that said, what this did signal to me was that students are having these experiences attempting to address and disrupt racism without the space to process them fully. Although when I had originally crafted the questions for the circle, I had intended for students in their responses to focus on sharing tangible strategies or outcomes when addressing racism, but instead the questions served the purpose of providing students with a space to process which is necessary before they are able to reflect on what they are learning from the racist interactions. This theme helped solidify the need to hold the complexity of encouraging these behaviors from our white students of addressing racism when they see it occurring, while also still holding them accountable to their own reflections and

unpacking of their own racist tendencies and behaviors.

Navigating Advocacy

Additionally, participants in the circle also seemed to be grappling with navigating advocacy. Within this navigation, the participants named both questions and strategies around the topic of advocacy. Some examples of these strategies included when and how to leverage their privilege, how to amplify voices of their BIPOC peers rather than centering their own narratives, and how to avoid getting paralyzed from taking action. These questions clearly demonstrate these participants' commitment for wanting to dismantle racist systems and make positive social change.

Cycle 4: Closing 1:1 Interview

Abstract Conceptualization and Active Experimentation

After the restorative justice dialogue circle, I met with my co-facilitator Allie Ross to debrief what themes she saw emerge. We dialogued about what went well and what could have been improved, and I was grateful for Ross' insight and feedback. I also reflected upon how I showed up in the circle space and what impact my facilitation had on the circle. Closing 1:1 interviews started quickly after the restorative justice dialogue circle as some participants wanted to participate before going on spring break, nevertheless I was still able to engage in some level of reflection on the previous cycle with my co-facilitator. I also slightly edited the script of the closing 1:1 interview to include a check-in about any lingering questions or thoughts about the circle as we were rushed for time at the end.

Concrete Experience

The purpose of this closing 1:1 interview cycle was to allow participants to engage in reflection of their experience in the research project, to see what if anything they learned and are

taking away, and to generally close out the process. The closing 1:1 interviews consisted of 12 open ended questions (see Appendix J). Interviews were scheduled to be 40 minutes in length but varied between approximately 20-40 minutes for each participant depending on their depth of answers. All eight participants attended closing 1:1 interviews.

Reflective Observation (Results)

The closing 1:1 interviews allowed participants to reflect and give feedback on their participation in the research project, as well as to make any recommendations and ask any lingering questions. Participants had varying feedback with some having more energy around the 1:1 interviews and other preferring the group discussion. I again used an inductive approach to finding themes within the data and I will share and summarize these themes below.

Desire for Opportunities for Dialogue

One of the first major themes that arose was that students want more opportunities for dialogue. Participants asked for both more opportunities for 1:1 mentorship as well as group dialogue in race alike spaces as well as racially diverse spaces, and all for different purposes. First, some participants named how they appreciated the 1:1 interview time before and after the group discussion. Grant shared how he enjoyed the style of interview, group discussion, and interview as it, "allowed for a deeper level of introspection, understanding, and processing." Additionally, at the end of the interview, some participants had asked for my advice on topics or issues they were facing such as if they should submit an application to become a Rainbow Educator on campus or if I had resources on tokenism as they wanted to learn more about this topic. This pattern of seeking advice has made me reflect on the role I took up as a researcher and facilitator as I was being seen as an authority to some sense by these participants. However, I also hope that this was an example of an opportunity for mentorship that the students were looking for and felt comfortable enough to ask for. As seen in previous cycles, students are craving and appreciating

1:1 mentorship from staff and recommend we find more opportunities to include it in their leadership experience.

However, for most participants, the greatest impact came from the group dialogue space. Many participants shared similar sentiments about how listening to other white student leaders created empathy and also was validating to similar experiences that they had gone through. Brooke's reflection of this comes to mind when she said, "I realized how many benefits there are in having this conversation be all white people as it helped me understand my whiteness. It also allowed to create a space without fear or being defensive." Additionally, in the primary 1:1 interview, the theme of competitiveness within whiteness had emerged and it again appeared in the closing 1:1 interview, except this time it had a very different tone. Jessica shared the following reflection, "I felt that the circle was a shift away from competitiveness and instead saw how we can all help each other and learn from one another." This shift away from competition and instead finding solidarity is an outcome I was not expecting to occur so quickly. Overall participants shared sentiments about how the circle helped them realize that they were not alone in their experiences and they have peers that they can rely on for support. They also shared that hearing from their peers helped them learn and make meaning of their own experiences.

Some participants did also share curiosity about what racially diverse dialogue spaces would look like. Claire had stated, "I almost wish we could have interacted with students of color, rather than just talking about race and racism from our perspective." Similarly, Brooke had a similar question along the same line and said, "We should not rely on BIPOC to educate us, but when we do have questions about their experiences, what's the best way to approach that?" These points of curiosity and questions also point to that completely working in race alike spaces may not be fully preparing students to engage with their BIPOC peers. However, if racially diverse dialogue spaces are utilized it must be

done so intentionally to not burden our BIPOC students and staff with having to then be the sole educators for our white student leaders.

Whataboutisms

Another common theme that emerged in the closing interviews were whataboutisms. These whataboutisms are questions that were raised by participants that started to shift the focus away from race, racism, and whiteness. In a technical sense, whataboutism can be a rhetorical device to deflect attention and again can be another avoidance or defensive mechanism, even if not intentional or conscious. These questions were often started by participants asking "Did you think about including..." or "I wish we could have talked about...". The topics in these whataboutisms that emerged include gender, sexual orientation, ability, relationships, and different ethnic group identities. All of these topics that were raised are valid curiosities and do have connections to race, racism, and whiteness. It also shows that student leaders have these big intersectional questions and are ready to take that next step in these discussions. However, student leaders should also be aware of this behavioral pattern as it can be a deflection mechanism when talking about race and challenge this pattern within themself when they notice the desire to change or shift the topic.

Commitments & Self-Awareness

The final major theme that arose was participants sharing their commitments and also self-awareness. During the final interviews, participants shared how they want to continue engaging in understanding their identities and actively being more anti-racist. For example, Jessica shared how the restorative justice dialogue circle was really the first time she heard the term white fragility and she wanted to commit to learning more about that topic as well as paying closer attention to how she displays white fragility. For Hannah, she had shared that, "whiteness is often deeply and rooted in ignorance" and wanted to commit to continuing to learn and educate herself as well as hold herself accountable to reflecting when she notices herself getting defensive.

In addition to their commitments, participants had also shared what new awareness and insights they gained about themselves as a result of engaging in the research project. Paige had shared this moment of self-reflection and awareness when she said the following:

It was really helpful for me to hear from others in the group. We all have different ways of approaching these conversations and in some way shape or form we all kind of have that form of white guilt and white shame and how we portray it is drastically different from person to person, like how someone mentioned crying in the circle. And it really made me reflect on my interactions with people in the BIPOC community and just how I feel about it in general with regards to the white guilt and shame.

Maddy also shared the following new piece of self-awareness:

I think it's good to kind of take a step back and verbalize your opinions and thoughts on whiteness like with other people because I feel it helps you kind of notice your own bias. For example, at the beginning of the circle you mentioned how talking only about People of Color in these conversations or talking about other people's examples of racism can be a defense mechanism, and now I noticed it's a common thing I do myself. I even realized that I did it twice during that conversation. So I think it's definitely good to actually talk about these things, because then you can notice things in yourself that you don't notice at other times.

These instances of new self-awareness and commitments are tangible actions and reflect that participants are taking away from the circle. While every participant had unique moments of self-awareness and commitments, it speaks to our student leaders' deep commitment to growth and creating change.

Limitations

Response Rate and Participant Diversity

My research only consisted of eight participants. This small sample size of students is likely not representative of the USD white undergraduate student population as a whole. Though the diversity of the eight participants was high in the areas of grade year and majors, student leader role diversity and gender diversity were lacking in my research. With my positionality as the advisor of the Scholastic Assistants, it is no surprise that seven out of the eight participants are student leaders that I advise in the Scholastic Assistant role. While USD is majority female and this is also true for our student leader roster, only having one male participant still underrepresents this population and limits the extent to which this research is representative of the USD white undergraduate student leader population as a whole.

Additionally, as mentioned before, all participants seemed to be at similar stages of their white racial identity development. Because all participants shared similar understandings of race, racism, anti-racism, and whiteness and are at similar perceived stages of their identity development, this limits the effectiveness of these strategies and questions with students who may be in lower or higher stages of their identity development.

COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic brought many unforeseen challenges personally and for this project. The stress of the uncertainty of the pandemic and extra hours of work caused my project to often be deprioritized on my schedule. Additionally, when conducting this project, all interviews and the restorative justice dialogue circle had to take place on Zoom which was not my original intended medium. Zoom fatigue was also a constant battle for professionals and

students alike, especially this far into the academic year, and it was rare to find folks who would volunteer to spend even more time on Zoom.

Timing of the Semester

I originally had the goal of starting my action research project during the Fall 2020 semester shortly after the August Student Leader Conference took place. Because I often deprioritized this project, I ended up not beginning the recruitment for this project until early March 2021. At this time of the year, students are overwhelmed with midterms and often are starting to get burnt out of their student leader roles compared to early on in the fall semester when they are just starting and are more motivated. Starting the recruitment process in the middle of the spring semester could have potentially limited the number of participants.

Conclusion

Major Findings

Although there are many themes that emerged during my four cycles of data collection, overall, the major findings can be summarized into the two main areas. The first is that white student leaders are having these experiences with race and racism both with people in their life and also recognizing it within themselves and they are looking for spaces to process and make meaning of these interactions. Second, white student leaders are looking for guidance and mentorship from faculty, staff, and administrators to ask questions and have role models. These interactions with faculty, staff, and administrators as well as conversations with their peers are some of the most influential in understanding their white racial identity and shift towards antiracist attitudes. These two main areas are what guide and influence the recommendations that I make below.

Recommendations

As a result of my pre-cycle and four cycles of data collection, I have created three categories of recommendations that can be implemented to continue strengthening our investment and commitment to our white student leaders' racial identity development and supporting our institutional values of diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Student Leader Training

From my participants, it is evident that students want to be having conversations that have to do with race, racism, and anti-racism. From the 1:1 interviews and restorative justice dialogue circle, students were reflective and from the length of answers you could tell were needing the opportunity to make meaning of experiences around race and racism. These conversations are also crucial for accountability and growth and it is clear that students want to have more of these conversations. First and foremost, discussions of race, racism, and anti-racism should continue to be a central point of learning of the August Student Leader Conference. With this, we should also lead with the purpose and the "why" behind we are focusing on race during student leader training in order to proactively combat the "whataboutisms" that often come up as an unintentional defensive mechanism to deflect talking about race. Other social identities are important and student leaders should also receive training on other marginalized identities, but because we as a university have decided to intentionally focus on race and anti-racism in student leader training, we must back this up with the why behind this decision.

During student leader training, I would also recommend providing opportunities for both race alike dialogue as well as racially diverse spaces. Race alike spaces for white people, like the one in my research, provides the opportunity for intentional conversation and critical analysis of

white privilege, white culture, and whiteness without placing the burden of this education onto BIPOC. Race alike spaces for BIPOC are also extremely beneficial as they provide the space to address the impact of racism and can even strive for the goal of racial healing or work to strive for liberation. Although this work in racial groups is important and essential, and an intentional plan for groups to rejoin is imperative in order to promote intergroup dialogue and to help students gain confidence in dialogues about race and racism across racial groups that is productive and not harmful.

I would also recommend that the Student Leader Preparation and Development Committee, the group that is responsible for the August Student Leader Conference, also help provide opportunities for additional processing spaces and professional development opportunities around race, racism, anti-racism, and whiteness for white student leaders who are interested. The group of student leaders who participated in my study clearly did so because they were invested and looking for additional opportunities to have these dialogues which speaks to the call to provide additional opportunities. One such opportunity could be helping facilitate the creation of a group of student leaders to read and work through Layla Saad's (2020) Me and White Supremacy. While staff could help bring the group together, the book is designed for student leaders to be able to work through it on their own or staff could also participate as well. Although white student leaders were the focus of my research and why I have focused on recommendations specifically for white student leaders, it is important that the group that develops these opportunities also provide equitable opportunities for student leaders who identify as BIPOC so that they can also benefit from additional professional development and learning opportunities.

Promoting Self-Advocacy & Culture Change

From interacting with my participants, it is evident that students know what they want and we as an institution need to empower them to voice and advocate their needs. One strategy for how to do this would be to incorporate returning student leaders into the process of the August Student Leader Conference training creation or creating an advisory board of returning student leaders to provide feedback on the schedule. Incorporating returning student leaders into the training creation process, and especially the Identities and Communities CCLO content in which we bring in the trainings on race and anti-racism, allows for student leaders to advocate for the training they want to see, and also gives the staff group responsible for creating training insight into what training is appropriate for student's developmental levels as well. This takes away the guessing game of questions we often ask ourselves such as "Is this what students want? Will this land well with them? Is it meeting them at their developmental levels?" and allows student leaders to tell us directly. Incorporating returning student leaders into training creation should be done early enough so that there is still time to incorporate their feedback and ideas in an intentional manner. Beyond student leader training, we should also be supporting student led initiatives with time and funding. If we want white student leaders to claim the responsibility for their racial education, we need to support them when they are making the effort to do so. White students need the opportunity to make mistakes in their journey to unlearn racist behaviors, thoughts and actions in the hopes of becoming allies, accomplices, and anti-racists, but they need institutional support in order to do so.

Role Modeling & Coaching From Staff, Administrators, & Faculty

In continuation of the way of supporting students, one of the most prominent findings from my research was how much white students are yearning for white staff, administrators and faculty to be having these conversations with. White students want to be talking about race,

racism, anti-racism, and whiteness and they are looking for white mentors to start the conversation. We as white staff, administrators, and faculty need to be initiating conversations with white students and creating opportunities to discuss race, racism, anti-racism, and whiteness with them. Often this burden of educating our white students falls on our BIPOC staff, administrators, and faculty, but this is an opportunity for white staff, administrators, and faculty to step up and take off some of the educational burden and be allies to our BIPOC colleagues.

Students are looking up to us as white employees on campus; they see what we are doing which can either further reinforce or challenge their current understanding of whiteness. If white staff, administrators, and faculty are also not actively challenging their racist behaviors or patterns and are not combating institutional racism, then that is what we will be teaching to our students and further the cycle of oppression. There also needs to be an investment in employee professional development around race, racism, anti-racism, and whiteness in order for employees to be able to be role models and mentors who can adequately support our students.

Personal Reflection

Between the time I had decided on a research topic and actually starting my project, I struggled with the question of "Is doing a research project on white student leaders white centering and therefore antithetical to the anti-racist work I strive to achieve?" Although I do not have a definitive answer to this question, I realized that this was the critical question I needed to be asking but it was also a way that I was letting my own whiteness and racial bias show up. I noticed myself getting stuck in this question, rather than just start the work and feel secure in the fact that I will continue to make mistakes in my own white racial identity development and anti-racist journey.

In reflection of my time at USD, just like the student participants in my project, as an

undergraduate student I craved and searched for opportunities to talk about race and racism. I feel as though I have a responsibility and am committed to paying forward the time, energy, and emotional labor that staff, administrators, and faculty gifted to me during my time as a student leader. I want to do justice to the faculty who raised my awareness, the administrators who facilitated trainings, and the staff who pushed me further along in my identity development by being that same person for this next generation of student leaders.

Because of my role on campus as an administrator, I am grateful to know that I have some level of control and influence to implement some of the recommendations in this paper. This past spring and summer I have worked on the subcommittee that developed the Identities and Communities CCLO training for the upcoming August Student Leader Conference. Partially influenced by my research, we have developed new race alike dialogue spaces for student leader training that incorporate restorative practices as well as some racially diverse training spaces, both of which will be implemented for this academic year. During these upcoming race alike dialogue spaces we will be sharing this quote from Ijeoma Oluo, "The beauty of anti-racism is that you don't have to pretend to be free of racism to be an anti-racist. Anti-racism is the commitment to fight racism wherever you find it, including in yourself. And it's the only way forward," and this is the commitment I am making not only for my time at USD but will to continue to be on this journey the rest of my life.

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Appendix A

Terminology and Definitions

Theoretical Terminology and Definitions:

Anti-Racism - the work of actively opposing racism by advocating for changes in political, economic, institutional, personal, and social life.

BIPOC - Black, Indigenous, or People of Color

Race - a social and political construct, not a scientific one. Even though this is true, race is a powerful political, social, and economic force constructed for the purpose of creating categorical inequality.

Racism - a system of oppression based on race. It is not individual acts of intolerance, but systemic disadvantage at the personal, institutional, and cultural levels.

Whiteness - the racial identity, racial bias, and racial privilege that is ascribed to white people.

University of San Diego (USD) Terminology and Definitions:

Associated Student Government Executive Board (ASG) - a group of student leaders who are the executive board members of the undergraduate student government.

Commuter Assistants (CA) - a group of student leaders who focus on the transition of new first-year and transfer commuter students.

OLÉ Team - a group of student leaders who support the logistics of USD's new student orientation.

Identities & Communities Co-Curricular Learning Outcome (I&C CCLO) - one of USD's five co-curricular learning outcomes. The I&C CCLO focuses on the dimensions of cultural self-awareness, engagement with our diverse communities, and social empathy. Because of these dimensions the I&C CCLO becomes the diversity, equity, and inclusion anchor for student leader training.

Resident Assistants (RA) - a group of student leaders support students living in the residence halls.

Scholastic Assistants (SA) - a group of student leaders who focus on supporting the academic and social transition of new first-year students.

Student Leader Preparation & Development (SLP&D) - the initiative and committee charged with creating the collective student leader training known as the August Student Leader Conference.

Transfer Scholastic Assistants (TSA) - a group of student leaders who focus on supporting the academic and social transition of new transfer students.

Appendix B

Recruitment Email

SUBJECT: Invitation to Participate - Critical Whiteness Action Research Project

Dear [Insert Student's Name],

I hope you are doing well. My name is Gabriella Rangrej, I currently serve as our Learning Communities Coordinator and Advisor to the Scholastic Assistant student leader group at USD. I also am currently enrolled in USD's Masters of Higher Education Leadership Program and am engaging in a process of action research. During my time at USD, I have found that my most influential moments were around my student leader role and understanding my white racial identity. For this reason, I have chosen to study how white student leaders understand their white racial identity development and how we, as white people, might work to disrupt racism in our lives and on our campus through anti-racist action. Recent national events around the murders of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and countless others, heighten the conversation around racial justice and the role white people play in dismantling or upholding systems of oppression. In particular, I want to focus on how white student leaders understand, participate, and begin to dismantle these systems.

You are receiving this email because you have self-identified as a white person during your admissions and are currently on our roster of 2020-2021 student leaders (either serving as an Executive Board member of Associated Student Government (ASG), Commuter Assistant (CA), OLE Team member, Resident Assistant (RA), Scholastic Assistant (SA), or Transfer Scholastic Assistant (TSA)).

I am writing to you as a fellow white person to invite you to engage in my project, which is titled, "Understanding Whiteness and Anti-Racist Attitudes in Student Leaders". No identifying content will be gathered, and your name will be kept private in the writing of the study and any presentations given about the research.

Participation includes the following approximate time commitments:

- 1. Engaging in a brief survey (20 minutes).
- 2. One 1:1 private interview in March of 2021 (60 minutes, approx.). This interview will be conducted at a mutually agreeable time.
- 3. One small group discussion in a restorative justice circle format with other white student leaders in March/April of 2021. The timing of this discussion will be mutually decided upon by all participants so it is easily accessible in everyone's schedules. You will be asked to use a pseudonym in the circle so that your anonymity can be kept.* (90 minutes)
- 4. One 1:1 private closing interview in March/April of 2021 (40 minutes, approx.) This interview will be conducted at a mutually agreeable time.

All interviews and the small group discussion will be via Zoom and will be audio-recorded for the purpose of research note taking.

*Allison Ross is also a student in the Masters of Arts, Higher Education Leadership Program at the University of San Diego and currently also serves as the Assistant Director for Student Onboarding. In addition to myself, Allison Ross will help facilitate the small group discussion in a restorative justice circle format.

The grand total time is approximately 3.5 hours over 4-6 week timeframe (pending everyone's schedules). The study is voluntary and you will be asked to give your consent before beginning the study if you chose to participate.

If you have any questions regarding this research please do not hesitate to email me at gsardina@sandiego.edu. You may also email my research advisor, David Karp, at dkarp@sandiego.edu for any additional questions. If you are interested in participating in this study, I ask that you email me back no later than this Friday, March 19, 2021. This will indicate that you are open to participating, and at that point you will be sent the survey link where you will be asked to give your consent to participating in the study. I would value the opportunity to be together in community to engage in this important work, and I hope you are willing to join.

Kind regards, Gabriella Rangrej Master of Arts Higher Education Leadership School of Leadership and Education Sciences

Appendix C

Consent Form

University of San Diego Institutional Review Board Research Participant Consent Form

For the research study entitled: Understanding Whiteness and Anti-Racist Attitudes in Student Leaders

I. Purpose of the research study

Gabriella Rangrej is a student in the Masters of Arts, Higher Education Leadership Program at the University of San Diego. You are invited to participate in a research study she is conducting. The purpose of this research study is to explore how white student leaders come to understand their white racial identity and begin to take up anti-racist practices.

II. What you will be asked to do

If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to:

- 1. Engage in a brief survey (20 minutes).
- 2. Participate in one 1:1 private interview in March of 2021. This interview will be conducted at a mutually agreeable time. (60 minutes, approximately)
- 3. Participate in small group discussion in a restorative justice circle format with other white student leaders in March/April of 2021. The timing of this discussion will be mutually decided upon by all participants so it is easily accessible in everyone's schedules. You will be asked to use a pseudonym in the circle so that your anonymity can be kept.* (90 minutes)
- 4. Participate in one 1:1 private closing interview in March/April of 2021. This interview will be conducted at a mutually agreeable time. (40 minutes, approximately)

*Allison Ross is also a student in the Masters of Arts, Higher Education Leadership Program at the University of San Diego. In addition to Gabriella Rangrej, Allison Ross will help facilitate the small group discussion in a Restorative Justice Circle format.

All interviews and the small group discussion will be via Zoom and will be audio-recorded for the purpose of research note taking.

Your participation in this study will take a total of 3 hours and 30 minutes.

III. Foreseeable risks or discomforts

Sometimes when people are asked to think about their feelings, they feel sad or anxious. If you would like to talk to someone about your feelings at any time, you can call toll-free, 24 hours a day: San Diego Mental Health Hotline at 1-800-479-3339 IV. Benefits

While there may be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study, the indirect benefit of participating will be knowing that you helped researchers better understand how white student leaders understand their white racial identity and begin to take up anti-racist practices.

V. Confidentiality

Any information provided and/or identifying records will remain confidential and kept in a locked file and/or password-protected computer file in the researcher's office for a minimum of five years. All data collected from you will be coded with a number or pseudonym (fake name). Your real name will not be used. The results of this research project may be made public and information quoted in professional journals and meetings, but information from this study will only be reported as a group, and not individually.

The information or materials you provide will be cleansed of all identifiers (like your name) and may not be used in future research.

VI. Compensation

You will receive no compensation for your participation in the study.

VII. Voluntary Nature of this Research

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You do not have to do this, and you can refuse to answer any question or quit at any time. Deciding not to participate or not answering any of the questions will have no effect on any benefits you're entitled to, like your health care, or your employment or grades. You can withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

VIII. Contact Information

If you have any questions about this research, you may contact either:

1) Gabriella Rangrej

Email: gsardina@sandiego.edu

2) David Karp

Email: dkarp@sandiego.edu

If you have read and understand this form, and if you consent to the research it describes to you, you may indicate your consent by selecting the "yes" box at the beginning of the survey.

Appendix D

Student Leader Participants Pseudonyms and Demographics

Brooke*

- 3rd Year
- Female
- Scholastic Assistant

Claire

- 2nd Year
- Female
- Scholastic Assistant

Emma*

- 4th Year
- Female
- Scholastic Assistant

Grant

- 3rd Year
- Male
- Resident Assistant

Hannah

- 3rd Year
- Female
- Scholastic Assistant

Jessica

- 2nd Year
- Female
- Scholastic Assistant

Maddy

- 2nd Year
- Female
- Scholastic Assistant

Paige*

- 2nd Year
- Female
- Scholastic Assistant

^{*}Please note, Brooke, Emma, and Paige started their student leader roles in the spring of 2021 and attended an adapted version of the Student Leader Conference content in January 2021.

Appendix E

Student Leader Survey Questions

| | For the | purposes | of this surve | y the following | definitions and | l acronyms will be used: |
|--|---------|----------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
|--|---------|----------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|

| USD - University of San Diego BIPOC - Black, Indigenous, or People of Color Race - a social and political construct, not a scientific one. Even though this is true, race is a powerful political, social, and economic force constructed for the purpose of creating categorical inequality. Racism - a system of oppression based on race. It is not individual acts of intolerance, but systemic disadvantage at the personal, institutional, and cultural levels. Whiteness - the racial identity, racial bias, and racial privilege that is ascribed to white people. Anti-Racism - the work of actively opposing racism by advocating for changes in political, economic, institutional, personal, and social life. I remember having discussions on the topic of race during the following points of my life. (Please select all that | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| I remember having discussion apply.) | ons on the to | pic of race dur | ing the followin | g points of | my life. (Pleas | e select all that | | | | |
| In preschool or earlier | | | | | | | | | | |
| ☐ In elementary school (Kinder | garten - 5th Gr | ade) | | | | | | | | |
| ☐ In middle school (6th - 8th G | rade) | | | | | | | | | |
| In high school (9th-12th Grad | de) | | | | | | | | | |
| In college at a different institu | ution that was n | ot USD | | | | | | | | |
| ☐ In college at USD | | | | | | | | | | |
| I have not discussed the topi | I have not discussed the topic of race at any point in my life | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | |
| Calci | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com | fort in discus | sing the topic o | f RACE within t | he context | of the following | groups: | | | | |
| | fort in discus | sing the topic o Very Uncomfortable | f RACE within t | he context Neutral | of the following Comfortable | groups: Very Comfortable | | | | |
| | fort in discus | Very | | | | Very | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com | fort in discus | Very | | | | Very | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com | | Very | | | | Very | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com Peers who identify as white Peers who identify as BIPOC | | Very | | | | Very | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com Peers who identify as white Peers who identify as BIPOC Faculty, staff, or administrators at U | nfort in discus | Very Uncomfortable | Uncomfortable | Neutral | Comfortable | Very Comfortable | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com Peers who identify as white Peers who identify as BIPOC Faculty, staff, or administrators at U Family members | ISD | Very Uncomfortable | Uncomfortable | Neutral | Comfortable | Very Comfortable | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com Peers who identify as white Peers who identify as BIPOC Faculty, staff, or administrators at U Family members | nfort in discus | Very Uncomfortable | Uncomfortable | Neutral | Comfortable | Very Comfortable | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com Peers who identify as white Peers who identify as BIPOC Faculty, staff, or administrators at U Family members Please rank your level of com | nfort in discus | Very Uncomfortable | Uncomfortable | Neutral | Comfortable | Very Comfortable | | | | |
| Please rank your level of com Peers who identify as white Peers who identify as BIPOC Faculty, staff, or administrators at U Family members Please rank your level of com Peers who identify as white | nfort in discus | Very Uncomfortable | Uncomfortable | Neutral | Comfortable | Very Comfortable Output Outp | | | | |

| Please rank your level of cor groups: | mfort in discussing | the topic of ANTI | -RACISM withi | n the context of t | the following |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | Very Uncomfortable | Uncomfortable | Neutral | Comfortable | Very Comfortable |
| Peers who identify as white | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Peers who identify as BIPOC | | \circ | | | \circ |
| Faculty, staff, or administrators at USD | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Family members | | | | \circ | |
| Please rank your level of con groups: | Very | | | | |
| | Very Uncomfortable | Uncomfortable | Neutral | Comfortable | Very Comfortable |
| Peers who identify as white | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Peers who identify as BIPOC | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Faculty, staff, or administrators at USD | 0 | \circ | 0 | 0 | \circ |
| Family members | | | \circ | | |
| | 1 | | | | |
| At USD, I have had the opp | portunity to discus | ss race with the fo | llowing setting | gs. (Please chec | ck all that apply.) |
| ☐ In the classroom | | | | | |
| In extracurricular activities | | | | | |
| In the residence hall | | | | | |
| In my student leader role | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

How often have you engaged in the following behaviors?

At least once..

| | in the past week | in the past month | in the past 6 months | longer than in the past 6 months | Never. I have not had the opportunity. | Never. I would not participate in this behavior. |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|--|
| Discussed racism with peers who identify as white. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Discussed racism with peers who identify as BIPOC. | 0 | \circ | | | | |
| Discussed racism with faculty, staff, or administrators who identify as white. | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Discussed racism with faculty, staff, or administrators who identify as BIPOC. | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Challenged racist comments or behaviors in other white people. | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Challenged racist comments or behaviors in people who identify as BIPOC. | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Engage in reflection about my own racial biases. | 0 | \circ | | | | \circ |
| Challenge my internalized racist beliefs. | 0 | \circ | \circ | | \circ | \circ |
| Researched to learn more about my own racial identity. | 0 | | | | | |
| As a result of my student leader training, I feel as campus community. Strongly Disagree Disagree | s though I | am able | to advocat | te for anti- | racist change | e in my |
| Neither agree nor disagree | | | | | | |
| Agree | | | | | | |
| Strongly agree | | | | | | |
| Understanding my racial identity will help me be a Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither agree nor disagree Agree | a better s | tudent le | ader. | | | |
| Strongly agree | | | | | | |

Using the scale provided, please rank your **current level of confidence** in doing the following tasks within the context of your responsibilities as a student leader at USD.

As a student leader, I can:

| | Not At All Confident | Slightly Confident | Moderately Confident | Very Confident | Extremely Confident |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Examine my privilege because of the identities I hold | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Engage in reflection about my own racial biases | 0 | | \circ | | \circ |
| Understand how my racial identity informs my views | | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Identify my internalized racist beliefs | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Reflect on my own role in perpetuating racism | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Challenge my internalized racists beliefs | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Manage the many emotions that may arise when reflection on my own racial biases | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Manage the many emotions that may arise when reflecting on my participation in systems that reinforce racism | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Set aside time to learn about issues of racism | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Change my core beliefs that may reinforce racist systems | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Reflect on my own racial identity to enhance my role as a student leader | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |

Using the scale provided, please rank your **current level of confidence** in doing the following tasks within the context of your responsibilities as a student leader at USD.

As a student leader, I can:

| | Not At All Confident | Slightly Confident | Moderately Confident | Very Confident | Extremely Confident |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Gain trust and respect of an individual of a different race | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Build relationships with individuals from a race different than my own | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Build relationships with individuals to for the purpose of addressing structural racism | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Listen non-defensively when someone perceives my actions as racist | 0 | \circ | \circ | | \circ |
| Effectively manage race-based conflict in interpersonal interactions | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Raise issues of racism in within the setting of my student leader role | 0 | \circ | \circ | | \circ |
| Challenge racist comments or behaviors in other white people | 0 | | \circ | | \circ |
| Challenge racist comments or behaviors in other people who identify as BIPOC | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Discuss racism with people who are white | 0 | \circ | | \circ | \circ |
| Discuss racism with people who identify as BIPOC | 0 | | \circ | | \circ |
| Engage in dialogue about race in multi-racial group environments in a ways that preserves interpersonal relationships | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Engage in dialogue with an individual who identifies as BIPOC in a ways that preserves the relationship | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |

Using the scale provided, please rank your **current level of confidence** in doing the following tasks within the context of your responsibilities as a student leader at USD.

| As a | student | leader | , I can |
|------|---------|--------|---------|
|------|---------|--------|---------|

| | Not At All Confident | Slightly Confident | Moderately Confident | Very Confident | Extremely Confident |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Identify when programs or services at USD are reinforcing patterns of racism | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Identify a policy or practice that negatively impacts BIPOC students at USD | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Identify how whiteness shows up at USD | 0 | | \circ | | \circ |
| Participate in efforts to eliminate racism the USD community | 0 | | \circ | \circ | |
| Advocate for anti-racist change at USD | 0 | | \circ | | |
| Create an environment that foster inclusion for all students | 0 | | | | |
| Challenge USD policies that are racist | 0 | | \circ | | \circ |
| Overcome organizational resistance when challenging structural racism at USD | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| Develop strategies to dismantle systems of racism in the USD community | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |

The White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS)

Below are situations that people are likely to encounter in day-to-day life, followed by several common reactions to those situations. As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate how likely you would be to react in each of the ways described. We ask you to rate all responses because people may feel or react more than one way to the same situation, or they may react different ways at different times.

Please do not skip any items - rate all responses.

In a class, you are corrected for your usage of the term, "Blacks."

| | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
|---|----------------|---------|---------|---|-----------------|
| You would think: "Labels don't really matter." | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| You would apologize and ask you instructor for the correct/appropriate usage of the term. | 0 | \circ | \circ | 0 | \circ |
| You would think: "It's not my fault - I can't keep up with all this political correctness." | 0 | \circ | 0 | 0 | 0 |

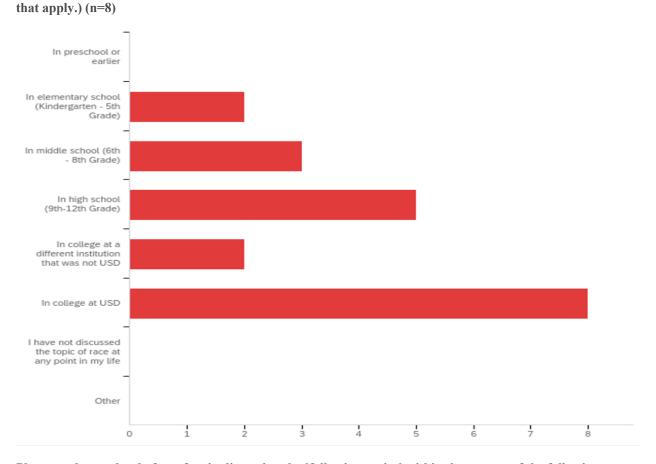
You read a news story about white students at a large private university dressing in "Blackface" for a theme party.

| | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
|---|----------------|---------|---------|---|-----------------|
| You would think: "That's so awful. I hope they have to face consequences for their behavior." | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| You would wish you weren't White. | | | | | |
| You would think: "I'm sure the students didn't mean any harm." | 0 | \circ | \circ | | 0 |

| | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
|---|--------------------|---------|---|--------------|-----------------|
| You would feel small and think about it for days. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| You would think: "If Black people can use the N-word, why can't White people?" | 0 | \circ | 0 | \circ | \circ |
| You would stop laughing and tell the friend that you don't think racist language is OK, even when joking. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| You read a news article about a rece the poorer Black majority was left b | | | y white peopl | e were able | to evacuate and |
| | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
| You would think: "That's not a race issue. That's a social class issue." | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| You would feel sad and send whatever money you could to the relief effort. | 0 | \circ | \circ | \circ | \circ |
| You would hate yourself for being White. | | 0 | | 0 | |
| • | | | re writte. | | |
| | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | re white. 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
| You would feel bad for not noticing sooner | 1 (Not Likely) | | | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
| and never watch the show again. | 1 (Not Likely) | | | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
| and never watch the show again. You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if there were lots of minorities on the show." | 1 (Not Likely) | | | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
| and never watch the show again. You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if | 1 (Not Likely) | | | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) |
| and never watch the show again. You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if there were lots of minorities on the show." You would think: "I don't care what the characters look like as long as the show is | 0 0 | 2 | 3 •••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••• | 0 | 0 |
| and never watch the show again." You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if there were lots of minorities on the show." You would think: "I don't care what the characters look like as long as the show is entertaining." You read a Civil War novel about Ai | 0 0 | 2 | 3 •••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••• | 0 | 0 |
| and never watch the show again." You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if there were lots of minorities on the show." You would think: "I don't care what the characters look like as long as the show is entertaining." You read a Civil War novel about Ai | merican slavery th | 2 | 3 O O S violent abus | e of Black s | claves by white |
| and never watch the show again. You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if there were lots of minorities on the show." You would think: "I don't care what the characters look like as long as the show is entertaining." You read a Civil War novel about Ar slave-owners. You would feel depressed and sad about | merican slavery th | 2 | 3 O O S violent abus | e of Black s | claves by white |

Appendix F
Student Leader Survey Results

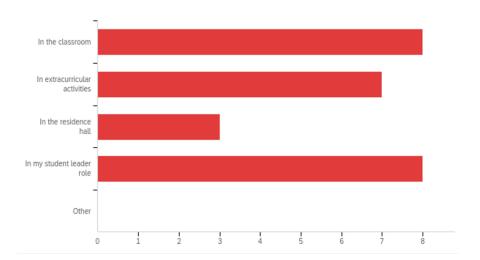
I remember having discussions on the topic of race during the following points of my life. (Please select all



Please rank your level of comfort in discussing the [following topics] within the context of the following groups (n=8).

| | RACE | | RACISM | | ANTI-RACISM | | WHITENESS | |
|--|------|------|--------|------|-------------|------|-----------|------|
| | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Peers who identify as white | 3.88 | 0.93 | 4.00 | 1.00 | 4.38 | 0.48 | 4.00 | 0.71 |
| Peers who identify as BIPOC | 3.75 | 1.09 | 3.63 | 1.11 | 4.13 | 0.93 | 3.75 | 1.39 |
| Faculty, staff, or administrators at USD | 4.25 | 0.97 | 4.25 | 0.97 | 4.50 | 0.50 | 4.25 | 0.43 |
| Family members | 3.50 | 1.22 | 3.63 | 1.32 | 3.75 | 1.09 | 3.88 | 0.93 |

At USD, I have had the opportunity to discuss race with the following settings. (Please check all that apply.)

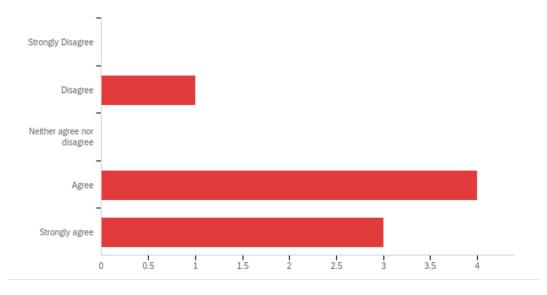


How often have you engaged in the following behaviors? (n=8)

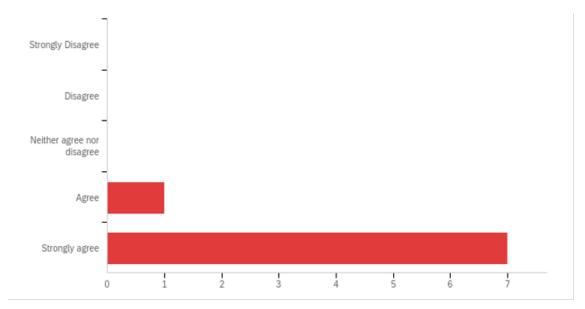
| | At least once | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---|---|--|------|------|
| Question | in the past week | in the past month | in the past 6 months | longer than in the past 6 months | Never. I have not had the opportuni ty. | Never. I would not participate in this behavior. | M | SD |
| Discussed racism with peers who identify as white. | 62.50% | 25.00% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.50 | 0.71 |
| Discussed racism with peers who identify as BIPOC. | 37.50% | 25.00% | 37.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.00 | 0.87 |
| Discussed racism with faculty, staff, or administrators who identify as white. | 50.00% | 25.00% | 12.50% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.88 | 1.05 |
| Discussed racism with faculty, staff, or administrators who identify as BIPOC. | 25.00% | 12.50% | 12.50% | 12.50% | 37.50% | 0.00% | 3.25 | 1.64 |
| Challenged racist comments or behaviors in other white people. | 37.50% | 62.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.63 | 0.48 |
| Challenged racist comments or behaviors in people who identify as BIPOC. | 0.00% | 0.00% | 25.00% | 0.00% | 62.50% | 12.50% | 4.63 | 0.99 |
| Engage in reflection about my own racial biases. | 75.00% | 25.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.25 | 0.43 |
| Challenge my internalized racist beliefs. | 75.00% | 25.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.25 | 0.43 |

| Researched to learn more about my own | 37.50% | 25.00% | 37.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.00 | 0.87 |
|---------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|
| racial identity. | | | | | | | | |

As a result of my student leader training, I feel as though I am able to advocate for anti-racist change in my campus community. (M = 4.13, SD = 0.93, n=8)



Understanding my racial identity will help me be a better student leader. (M = 4.88, SD= 0.33, n=8)



Using the scale provided, please rank your current level of confidence in doing the following tasks within the context of your responsibilities as a student leader at USD. As a student leader, I can: (n=8*)

The following subset of questions examined personal self-reflection.

| SD | M | Question |
|------|------|--|
| 0.70 | 4.38 | Examine my privilege because of the identities I hold |
| 0.70 | 4.38 | Engage in reflection about my own racial biases |
| 0.70 | 4.38 | Understand how my racial identity informs my views |
| 0.97 | 4.25 | Identify my internalized racist beliefs |
| 0.66 | 4.25 | Reflect on my own role in perpetuating racism |
| 0.66 | 4.25 | Challenge my internalized racists beliefs |
| 0.71 | 4.00 | Manage the many emotions that may arise when reflection on my own racial biases |
| 1.09 | 3.75 | Manage the many emotions that may arise when reflecting on my participation in systems that reinforce racism |
| 0.83 | 4.25 | Set aside time to learn about issues of racism |
| 0.48 | 4.38 | Change my core beliefs that may reinforce racist systems |
| 0.50 | 4.50 | Reflect on my own racial identity to enhance my role as a student leader |

The following subset of questions examined relationships and interactions.

| Question | M | SD |
|---|------|------|
| Gain trust and respect of an individual of a different race | 3.88 | 0.78 |
| Build relationships with individuals from a race different than my own | 4.25 | 0.43 |
| Build relationships with individuals to for the purpose of addressing structural racism | 3.88 | 0.93 |
| Listen non-defensively when someone perceives my actions as racist *(n=7) | 4.14 | 0.64 |
| Effectively manage race-based conflict in interpersonal interactions | 3.75 | 0.43 |
| Raise issues of racism in within the setting of my student leader role | 3.63 | 0.48 |
| Challenge racist comments or behaviors in other white people | 4.13 | 0.60 |
| Challenge racist comments or behaviors in other people who identify as BIPOC | 2.50 | 1.50 |
| Discuss racism with people who are white | 4.13 | 0.60 |
| Discuss racism with people who identify as BIPOC | 4.00 | 1.00 |
| Engage in dialogue about race in multi-racial group environments in a ways that preserves interpersonal relationships | 3.88 | 0.78 |
| Engage in dialogue with an individual who identifies as BIPOC in a ways that preserves the relationship | 3.88 | 1.05 |
| The following subset of questions examined identifying racism and advocacy. | | |
| Question | М | SD |
| Identify when programs or services at USD are reinforcing patterns of racism | 4.00 | 0.71 |
| Identify a policy or practice that negatively impacts BIPOC students at USD | 3.63 | 0.86 |
| Identify how whiteness shows up at USD | 4.50 | 0.50 |
| Participate in efforts to eliminate racism the USD community | 4.63 | 0.48 |

| Advocate for anti-racist change at USD | 4.50 | 0.50 |
|--|------|------|
| Create an environment that foster inclusion for all students | 4.50 | 0.50 |
| Challenge USD policies that are racist | 3.75 | 0.66 |
| Overcome organizational resistance when challenging structural racism at USD | 3.50 | 0.87 |
| Develop strategies to dismantle systems of racism in the USD community | 3.50 | 0.87 |

The White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS)

Negation (n=8)

| Question | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) | M | SD |
|---|-------------------|--------|-------|--------|--------------------|------|------|
| You would think: "Labels don't really matter." | 87.50% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.13 | 0.33 |
| You would think: "It's not my fault - I can't keep up with all this political correctness." | 100.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| You would think: "I'm sure the students didn't mean any harm." | 87.50% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.13 | 0.33 |
| You would think: "If Black people can use the N-word, why can't white people?" | 100.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| You would think: "That's not a race issue. That's a social class issue." | 75.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 12.50% | 12.50% | 1.88 | 1.54 |
| You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if there were lots of minorities on the show." | 87.50% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.13 | 0.33 |
| You would think: "Slavery was awful, but people need to get over it and move on." | 100.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.00 | 0.00 |

White Shame (n=8)

| Question | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) | M | SD |
|---|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------------------|------|------|
| You would wish you weren't white. | 50.00% | 37.50% | 0.00% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 1.75 | 0.97 |
| You would hate yourself for being white | 75.00% | 12.50% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.38 | 0.70 |
| You would feel bad for not noticing sooner and never watch the show again. | 12.50% | 50.00% | 12.50% | 25.00% | 0.00% | 2.50 | 1.00 |
| You would think: "I don't care what the characters look like as long as the show is entertaining." *Must be reverse scored. | 50.00% | 37.50% | 12.50% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.63 | 0.70 |

White Shame (n=8)

| Question | 1 (Not Likely) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 (Very Likely) | М | SD |
|---|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------------------|------|------|
| You would apologize and ask your instructor for the correct/appropriate usage of the term. | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 12.50% | 87.50 | 4.88 | 0.33 |
| You would think: "That's so awful. I hope they have to face consequences for their behavior." | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 5.00 | 0.00 |
| You would feel small and think about it for days. | 0.00% | 0.00% | 37.50% | 0.00% | 62.50% | 4.25 | 0.97 |
| You would stop laughing and tell the friend that you don't think racist language is OK, even when joking. | 0.00% | 0.00% | 12.50% | 25.00% | 62.50% | 4.50 | 0.71 |
| You would feel sad and send whatever money you could to the relief effort. | 12.50% | 0.00% | 25.00% | 25.00% | 37.50% | 3.75 | 1.30 |
| You would feel depressed and sad about the history of racism in the United States | 0.00% | 0.00% | 25.00% | 12.50% | 62.50% | 4.38 | 0.86 |
| You would think: "I wish there was something I could do to make up for all the harm slavery caused Black people." | 0.00% | 12.50% | 12.50% | 12.50% | 62.50% | 4.25 | 1.09 |

Overall WRAS Results

| Question | Average Overall Score | Lowest Possible Score | Highest Possible Score |
|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| White Guilt | 26.76 | 7 | 35 |
| White Shame | 10.01 | 4 | 20 |
| Negation | 8.27 | 7 | 35 |

Appendix G

Primary 1:1 Interview Questions

- 1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself?
 - a. Year in School
 - b. Major
 - c. Student Leader Role
 - d. Ethnic Identity or Family Background
- 2. Why did you want to participate in this research project? Is there anything in particular that motivated you?
- 3. Can you tell me about one of your first memories about race growing up?
- 4. When did you learn you were white or that you had white privilege? Could you describe that experience?
- 5. How would you describe your journey to understanding your racial identity and moving towards anti-racism?
- 6. What is your perception of how people perceive your racial identity?
- 7. What has your experience been like at USD within the context of your racial identity?
- 8. How has your experience been with student leader training around race, racism, and antiracism up to this point?
- 9. Reviewing WRAS Scoring:
 - a. Pull up scoring and share screen with participant. Briefly explain the three scoring categories of white guilt, white shame, and negation.
 - b. Is there anything you want to further unpack together?
 - c. Any other questions you have for me about the scale?
- 10. What is one goal you want to set for your participation in this research study? We will come back to this at your closing interview.
- 11. Choosing a pseudonym for group dialogue session.
 - a. Have the participant choose a pseudonym to use during the dialogue session. It should be something that will be easy for them to remember and feels like accurately portrays themself.
 - b. Explain that I will choose a different pseudonym for my writing to keep their anonymity further so no other participants know who I am writing about.

Appendix H

Restorative Justice Dialogue Circle Script

Understanding Whiteness and Anti-Racist Attitudes in Student Leaders Restorative Justice Dialogue Circle

Spring 2021

Circle Overview:

- Opening
- Exploring whiteness and Its Meaning
- White Behavioral Patterns
- Resisting white supremacy / Becoming Anti-Racist
- Closing

OPENING: INTRODUCTIONS & SETTING THE SPACE

FACILITATOR 1 - Gabriella Rangrej will read the opening statements below.

FACILITATOR 2 - Allison Ross will post all boxed items in chat, and create a speaking order.

F1 Welcome As students are joining your Zoom call, greet them and encourage them to turn their camera on if they are able and to utilize "Gallery View". Introduce yourself as the facilitator(s) and reminder about audio recording.

F1 Land Acknowledgement: "We want to begin our time together with a Land Acknowledgement. Land Acknowledgements are a transformative act meant to confront our place on Native Lands and to build mindfulness of our present participation in colonial legacies. Today we want to affirm our responsibility to amplify Indigenous voices, we stand in solidarity with local Indigenous communities, and we respect local Indigenous protocol. We practice this Land Acknowledgement before the session today in order to teach and promote greater public consciousness of Native sovereignty and cultural rights. Restorative Justice Circles are also grounded in Indigenous practices so as we participate in this practice today we want to acknowledge and pay respect to these sacred practices.

We want to acknowledge that the land on which USD is built is the traditional and unceded territory of the Kumeyaay Nation. We want to pay respect to the citizens of the Kumeyaay Nation, both past and present, and their continuing relationship to their ancestral lands.

If you would like to find out which land you are currently occupying, I encourage you to visit the website that I will put in the chat (https://native-land.ca) and you can also acknowledge the land on which you are occupying in the chat if you would like."

Land Acknowledgement: "We want to acknowledge that the land on which USD is built is the traditional and unceded territory of the Kumeyaay Nation. We want to pay respect to the citizens of the Kumeyaay Nation, both past and present, and their continuing relationship to their ancestral lands."

Website: https://native-land.ca

F1 Opening Quote: "As we open our time together, I would like to center us around a quote by self-described black, mother, warrior, poet, Audre Lorde. She says, 'When people of colour are expected to educate white people as to their humanity, when women are expected to educate men, lesbians and gay men are expected to educate heterosexual world, the opporessors maintain their position and evade their responsibility for their own actions."

Opening Quote: "When people of colour are expected to educate white people as to their humanity, when women are expected to educate men, lesbians and gay men are expected to educate heterosexual world, the oppressors maintain their position and evade their responsibility for their own actions." - Audre Lorde

F1 Circle Expectations: "This 90 minute circle will be focused on our lived experiences as white people. Recent national events including the racial reckoning this summer following the murders of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and countless others, as well as the rise of anti-Asian hate crimes and the most recent murders in the Atlanta spa shootings of Soon Chung Park, Hyun Jung Grant, Suncha (Sooncha) Kim, Yong (Young Ae) Yue, Xiaojie Tan, and Daoyou (Dao yo Fung) Feng has heighten the conversation around racial justice and the role white people play in dismantling or upholding systems of oppression - this is what our time together today will explore.

You will notice that the circle today is composed only of white people. This is intentional and is a form of white racial caucusing. We are working within the premise that white people need to talk to other white folx about whiteness and the way it contributes to racism. When we don't do this, people who hold marginalized identities are expected to take up the burden of educating us. Conversations across racial groups are still very important, but for the purpose of today we are striving to relieve the emotional burden off of our BIPOC peers to educate us. We all are learning together here in this conversation today. Additionally, as student leaders on campus, we hope that what you take away from this conversation will also prepare you to continue to engage and support our USD student community."

F2 Ground Rules: "In addition to sharing why we are in space together, it is important in any group to know what we can expect from each other. Here are some basic ground rules for engagement."

- Speak from the heart
 - Speak authentically, share from your perspective, and use centered and wise words when possible
- Listen from the heart
 - Listen for understanding, seek to hear others' perspectives, and be compassionate when listening
- Speak spontaneously and authentically.
 - Speak what you are feeling in the moment, without worrying about finding the perfect words or the "correct answer."
- Without feeling rushed, say just enough
 - Give yourself the time you need to say what you need to say, while allowing time for others to speak as well.
- Welcome and expect different and contradictory points of view
 - Circles welcome multiple perspectives and experiences. We encourage those in the circle to engage with the multitude of perspectives offered in order to seek shared understanding rather than to engage in debate.

F1 Ground Rules: post the speaking order in the chat.

Ground Rules:

Speak from the heart

Listen from the heart

Speak spontaneously

Without feeling rushed, say just enough

Welcome and expect different and contradictory points of view

F2 Circle Processing: Introduce the concept of a talking piece, explaining that it is a way to focus on listening.

- Explain that instead of a talking piece, we will have a speaking order. Reinforce that anyone may pass at any time. You can pass if you need more time and we can come back to you at the end, or you can hold onto your power and choose not to share at all.
- (Facilitator always goes first to model the answer/depth we are desiring.)
- The circle will start from the facilitator that asks the questions (i.e. When Gabriella asks the question, Gabriella will start by answering and then move on to the person after her.

[&]quot;Are there any additional ground rules that should be considered for our time together? If you are good with what we have, please give me a thumbs up."

- When Allie asks the question, Allie will start by answering and then move on to the person after her in the circle.)
- Gabriella will post the speaking order in the chat box and will also re-order participant's videos from left to right to match the speaking order and share their screen order to mimic a true circle.
- During the circle, depending on how the flow is going and if participants are open to it, we can also switch to open dialogue. We will ask before we make this switch but we will begin by using the speaking order.

F1 Speaking Order: post the speaking order in the chat.

Speaking Order:

- 1. Gabriella
- 2. Paige
- 3. Jessica
- 4. Emma
- 5. Claire
- 6. Allie
- 7. Grant
- 8. Hannah
- 9. Brooke
- 10. Maddy

F2 Circle Reminder of Self Care:

- Circle practice is about sharing power which is grounded in equity.
- Additionally, please remember to prioritize your needs first, we want this to be a transformative experience, not a harmful one.
- Acknowledge that participants are having a range of experiences and we want to invite everyone to take care of themselves.
- If at any point you want to hold onto your power or not share, you can always choose to pass. This includes if your self-care needs to be mentally taking yourself out of the circle for your own wellbeing in order to ground yourself to return to be present.

F1 Pitfalls of White Caucusing

- One pitfall of white caucusing can be only talking about others rather than your own self-reflection and journey. Centering the experience of BIPOC is important but it can be a way of deflection in these conversations. Notice when you want to bring others into the conversation (white or BIPOC) and why this is happening for you.
- Having only intellectual discussions and never uncovering the emotional and spiritual aspects of anti-racist identity.
- Becoming an elite group of white anti-racists who stand above those others who "just don't get it."

 Being aware of these pitfalls can help us be more aware as we start our time together today.

F1 Opening Round 1: "First I want to check-in with everyone. We want to check-in on how you are coming into this conversation. In the chat, can you please share a word or phrase for how you are feeling coming into this conversation."

Facilitators will also share, utilize chat for this round.

CHAT RESPONSE: A word or phrase for how you are feeling coming into this conversation.

F1 Opening Round 2: "Thank you all for putting that in the chat. To begin our dialogue, we want to know who we are in community with today. So to begin, please introduce yourself, and share what comes up for you when you think about race?"

Facilitators will also share, utilize speaking order for this round.

QUESTION: Introduce yourself, and share what comes up for you when you think about race?

F2 Transition to next section: "Thank you all for sharing, keep these thoughts in mind as we go deeper into our conversation."

EXPLORING WHITENESS AND ITS MEANING

FACILITATOR 1 will post all boxed items in chat, and provide commentary as needed.

FACILITATOR 2 will read the script and questions out loud, and guide the conversation.

F2 Exploring Whiteness Round 1: "As a student leader, you have participated in many training sessions about race, racism, and anti-racism. We are going to continue that journey today with our own self work of exploring our relationships to whiteness, white privilege, white supremacy, and racism. To begin our exploration, what is one way you see whiteness playing out in your everyday life?"

Facilitators will also share, utilize speaking order for this round.

QUESTION: What is one way you see whiteness playing out in your everyday life?

F2 Exploring Whiteness Round 2: "White fragility is defined as 'the defensive reactions so many white people have when our racial worldviews, positions, or advantages are questioned or challenged.' Some examples of these behaviors include the following from from author of *Me and White Supremacy*, Layla Saad:

- 'White fragility shows up as white people getting angry, defensive, afraid, arguing, claiming they're being shamed, crying or simply falling silent and choosing to check out of the conversation.
- Calling the authorities (the manager, the police, the social media censors) on BIPOC when you are uncomfortable with what they are sharing about race. (I have had my social media posts reported and censored more than a dozen times because of white fragility).
- On social media platforms it also includes deleting what you wrote (another form of running away and pretending it never happened) when you can't handle where the conversation is going.
- Crying during racial interactions.
- In essence, white fragility looks like a white person taking the position of victim, when it is in fact that white person who has committed or participated in acts of racial harm.'

There has been criticism of this term from many BIPOC activists, asserting that fragility coddles white feelings rather than directly naming the impact of this fragility - harm and violence. With all that in mind, how has or does your white fragility show up? How have you weaponized your fragility against Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC)?"

Facilitators will also share, utilize speaking order.

DEFINITION: "White fragility is the defensive reactions so many white people have when our racial worldviews, positions, or advantages are questioned or challenged."

QUESTION: How has or does your white fragility show up? How have you weaponized your fragility against Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC)?

F1 Transition to next section: "Thank you all for sharing your experiences around whiteness, I'd like to transition us to go deeper into the conversation and discuss White Behavioral Patterns."

WHITE BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS

FACILITATOR 1 will read the script and questions out loud, and guide the conversation.

FACILITATOR 2 will post all boxed items in chat, and provide commentary as needed.

F2 White Behavioral Patterns Round 1: "There are a variety of behaviors that white folx tend to do, some conscious and some unconscious, and they reveal the internalized dominance, and sometimes superiority, we still hold. Identifying these behaviors helps us in recognizing the unlearning we still have to do. In the chat I am going to link a worksheet (https://docs.google.com/document/d/1cV-

<u>SxXvYqbfnM01j6fAMf_gwaERhT3PJM4yy3px9udY/edit?usp=sharing</u>) titled 'Privileged Group Dynamics: Common Patterns of Whites' For 10 minutes, turn off your camera to read

through and reflect upon the statements listed. Check the boxes in the left column for those that apply to you. The columns include thinking "in my lifetime" and "during my time at USD". You will not be asked to show your worksheet to others, but we will come back to unpack the activity."

Welcome participants back after 10 minutes.

"So to bring us back into the conversation, what was it like completing this checklist? Which behaviors stood out the most for you?"

Facilitators will also share, utilize chat.

AS YOU RETURN IN THE CHAT ANSWER: What was it like completing this checklist? Which behaviors stood out the most for you?

Due to time constraints the following "White Behavioral Patterns Round 2" question was not asked and was skipped over.

F1 White Behavioral Patterns Round 2: "At the beginning of 2021, we saw the insurrection of the US Capitol. We were witness to white rage and white dominance on full display. For many people this was shocking but not surprising. White supremacy is much more complicated than the KKK or right wing militias, it is ingrained in our culture. Within this theme, how do these behaviors outlined on the worksheet perpetuate white supremacy culture?"

Facilitators will also share, utilize speaking order.

QUESTION: How do the behaviors outlined on the worksheet perpetuate white supremacy culture?

F2 Transition to next section: "Thank you all for sharing your personal experiences. It isn't always easy to share or express your experiences."

RESISTING WHITE SUPREMACY / BECOMING ANTI-RACIST

FACILITATOR 1 will post all boxed items in chat, and provide commentary as needed.

FACILITATOR 2 will read the script and questions out loud, and guide the conversation.

F2 Resisting White Supremacy Round 1: "We have begun to unpack whiteness and white supremacy, but where do we go from here? We are now going to move into the topics of resisting white supremacy and becoming anti-racist. First we are going to look at past actions. Have you ever heard someone or have you addressed a racist behavior? How did they or you do it? Was it effective? Why or why not?"

Facilitators will also share, utilize speaking order for this round.

QUESTION: Have you ever heard someone or have you addressed a racist behavior? How did they or you do it? Was it effective? Why or why not?

Due to time constraints the following "Resisting White Supremacy Round 2" question was used as the closing question instead.

F1 Resisting White Supremacy Round 2: "From those stories that you all just shared we heard different strategies of addressing racism, some effective, some less. It takes time and practice to do this and this journey never ends. "As we close our time together, in a sentence or two what is something you're going to commit to to grow your work as a white person pursuing antiracism?"

Facilitators will also share, utilize speaking order.

QUESTION: In a sentence or two, what is something you're going to commit to to grow your work as a white person pursuing anti-racism?

F1 Transition to next section: "Thank you all for those commitments. And as said before this journey never ends, but unfortunately our time together today is."

CLOSING

FACILITATOR 2 will post all boxed items in chat, and provide commentary as needed. **FACILITATOR 1** will read the script and questions out loud, and guide the conversation.

Due to time constraints the following "Closing Round" question was skipped and the above "Resisting White Supremacy Round 2" question was used as the closing question instead.

F1 Closing Round: "As we close our time together, take a moment to reflect on any new insights you've gained and share one hope or new insight you have as you leave the circle today."

Facilitators will also share, utilize speaking order. OR use chat function if out of time.

Question: In a short phrase of breath, what is one hope or new insight you have as you are leaving the circle today?

F1 Closing Quote: "To close our time together, I will leave you with this quote by American abolitionist Harriet Tubman. She says, "Every great dream begins with a dreamer. Always remember, you have within you the strength, the patience, and the passion to reach for the stars to change the world."

Quote: "Every great dream begins with a dreamer. Always remember, you have within you the strength, the patience, and the passion to reach for the stars to change the world." -- Harriet Tubman

F1 Closing Notes: Thank you all for your engagement in the circle, we value the time spent here.

- Please remember to schedule your final closing interview with me. Post link in chat.
- We encourage you to find a white accountability partner to process the things you begin to notice. I will ask for your consent in your closing interview if you would like to be connected to someone from the group to strengthen this relationship with.
- Thank you for your good work today and for participating in this research study.
- I will stay on if there are linger items you want to process or if you have any questions.

Appendix I

Privileged Group Dynamics: Common Patterns of Whites

Privileged Group Dynamics: Common Patterns of Whites

Adapted from the tool by: Kathy Obear, (413) 537- 8012, kathy@drkathyobear.com www.drkathyobear.com

Directions:

- Read through and reflect upon the statements listed.
- Check the boxes (X) in the left column for those that apply to you.
- The columns include thinking "in my lifetime" and "during my time at USD".
- You will not be asked to show your worksheet to others.

| In my lifetime | During my time at USD | Some/Many Whites Tend to (consciously and unconsciously): |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | | 1. believe they have "earned" what they have, rather than acknowledge the extensive white privilege and unearned advantages they receive; believe that if people of color just worked harder |
| | | 2. not notice the daily indignities that people of color experience; deny them and rationalize them away with PLEs (perfectly logical explanations) |
| | | 3. work to maintain the status quo and protect the advantages and privileges they receive |
| | | 4. believe that white cultural norms, practices and values are superior and better |
| | | 5. internalize the negative stereotypes about people of color and believe that whites are smarter and superior to people of color |
| | | 6. want people of color to conform and assimilate to white cultural norms and practices |
| | | 7. accept and feel safer around people of color who have assimilated and are "closer to white" |
| | | 8. blame people of color for the barriers and challenges they experience; believe that if they "worked harder" they could "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" |
| | | 9. believe that people of color are not competent and are only hired/promoted to fill quotas |
| | | 10. interrupt and talk over people of color |
| | | 11, resent taking direction from a person of color |

| 12. dismiss and minimize frustrations of people of color and categorize the person raising issues a militant, angry, having an "attitude," working their agenda, not a team player |
|--|
| 13. focus on their "good intent" as whites, rather than on the negative impact of their behavior |
| 14. focus on how much progress we have made, rather than on how much more needs to change |
| 15. want people of color to "get over it" and move on quickly |
| 16. get defensive when people of color express their frustrations with current organizational and societal dynamics |
| 17. "walk on eggshells" and act more distant and formal with people of color |
| 18. segregate themselves from people of color and rarely develop authentic relationships across race |
| 19. exaggerate the level of intimacy they have with individual people of color |
| 20. fear that they will be seen and "found out" as a racist, having racial prejudice |
| 21. focus on themselves as an individual (I'm not racist; I'm a good white), and refuse to acknowledge the cultural and institutional racism people of color experience daily |
| 22. pressure and punish whites who actively work to dismantle racism to conform and collude wit white racism; criticize, gossip about, and find fault with white change agents |
| 23. expect people of color to be the "diversity expert" and take the lead in raising and addressing racism as their "second (unpaid) job" |
| 24. minimize, under-value, ignore, overlook and discount the talents, competencies and contributions of people of color |
| 25. rephrase and reword the comments of people of color |
| 26. ask people of color to repeat what they have just said |
| 27. assume the white teacher/coach/facilitator/employee, etc., is in charge/the leader; assume people of color are in service roles |
| 28. rationalize away racist treatment of people of color as individual incidents or the result of something the person of color did/failed to do |
| 29. dismiss the racist experiences of people of color with comments such as: That happens to me |

| 30. judge a person of color as over-reacting and too emotional when they are responding to the cumulative impact of multiple recent racist incidents |
|--|
| 31. accuse people of color of "playing the race card" whenever they challenge racist policies and practices; instead of exploring the probability of negative differential impact based on race, or that racist attitudes and beliefs are operating |
| 32. if confronted by a person of color, shut down and focus on what to avoid saying or doing in the future, rather than engaging and learning from the interaction |
| 33. look to people of color for direction, education, coaching on how to act & what not to do |
| 34. compete with other whites to be "the good white:" the best ally, the one people of color let into their circle, etc. |
| 35. if a white person makes a racist comment or action, aggressively confront them and pile on the feedback to distance from them and prove who is a better ally |
| 36. seek approval, validation, and recognition from people of color |
| 37. if confronted by a person of color, view it as an "attack" and focus on and critique HOW they engaged me, not my original comments or behaviors |
| 38. disengage if feel any anxiety or discomfort |
| 39. avoid confronting other whites on their racist attitudes and behaviors |
| 40. when trying to help people of color, feel angry if they don't enthusiastically appreciate the help |
| 41. believe there is one "right" way, meaning "my way" or the "white way" |
| 42. track patterns of differential treatment of people of color and intervene to stop inappropriate actions and educate others |
| 43. continually learn more about the experiences of people of color and racism |
| 44. recognize when people of color might be reacting out of cumulative impact, and offer space to talk about issues and their experiences |
| 45. analyze policies and practices to assess any differential impact on people of color and intervene to create change |
| 46. constantly track daily organizational activities to ensure fairness, respect, and inclusion for all people with respect to group dynamics, communication, task assignments, professional development opportunities, decision-making conflict management, mentoring, networking, etc. |

Appendix J

Closing 1:1 Interview Questions

- 1. Is there anything you want to further discuss or unpack following the Restorative Justice Dialogue Circle?
- 2. How was your experience engaging in this research project?
- 3. What was your favorite part of this project?
- 4. What was your least favorite part of this project?
- 5. Did you learn anything new about yourself as a result of participating in this project? If so, what did you learn? If not, what prevented you from learning?
- 6. Do you feel as though your participation has deepened your understanding of any of the following topics: race, racism, whiteness, or anti-racism? If so, how?
- 7. Do you think your participation in this project will impact your leadership as a student leader? If so, how?
- 8. During your first interview you set the goal of "*Insert goal stated by participant*." Do you feel like you met that goal? Why or why not?
- 9. Has your participation sparked any new interests or questions about your racial identity, racism, whiteness, or anti-racism?
- 10. Is there something you wish I would have asked or that you have wanted the opportunity to explore in this research?
- 11. Would like a white accountability partner to process the things you begin to notice? I can connect you with another student leader who also participated in this research project and consents for their information to be shared.
- 12. Are there any final questions you have for me?