Title
Unsettling Understandings: Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy and the Implementation of a Racial Diversity Initiative

Author
ALCARAZ, JORGE HUMBERTO

Publication Date
2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Unsettling Understandings: Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy and the Implementation of a Racial Diversity Initiative

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Jorge Humberto Alcaraz

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Unsettling Understandings: Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy and the Implementation of a Racial Diversity Initiative

by

Jorge Humberto Alcaraz

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Jessica C. Harris, Chair

Scholarship on racial diversity initiatives outline the positive outcomes associated with initiatives, describes the types of initiatives, and the various ways faculty, staff, and university leadership can and do work together for effective outcomes. However, there is a need to understand how racial diversity initiatives are implemented, what influences their creation, and how systems of power like settler colonialism and white supremacy manifest during the implementation of racial diversity initiatives. Utilizing an embedded qualitative case study approach, this study explored the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project, by way of the Welcoming Campus Initiative, at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI). Guiding questions focused on identifying the organizational and societal elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP, while illuminating the ways white supremacy manifested in the implementation of the WRLP.

This study was guided by two theories, Implementation Theory and Settler Colonial Dimensions of Power (SCDP). Implementation Theory framed the process of implementation, accounting for the context of an initiative and the agency utilized by personnel to influence the implementation of an initiative. SCDP accounted for and illuminated the influence of settler colonialism and white supremacy in both the context of and agency used to implement the WRLP. Utilizing provisional coding and pattern coding as tools for direct interpretation and categorical aggregation, I mapped findings to the theoretical frameworks, positionality, and guiding questions of this study.

Findings revealed three influencing organizational elements: that organizational factors the influenced the WCI and WRLP (a) the new Chancellor, (b) IUPUI's 50th celebration, and (c) failed organizational practices to educate white faculty, staff, and students; and two societal elements, (a) Turbulent socio-political environment and (b) a storied history of racism at IUPUI. In addition, white supremacy manifested across two themes: (a) white supremacy as pushback and (b) white supremacy as refusal. Findings illuminate the challenges faculty, staff, and university leaders faced when implementing the WRLP, illuminating the need for further exploration of implementation processes of racial diversity initiatives. Insights from this study afford higher education research and practice with ways to boldy imagine new futurities for racial diversity initiatives.

The dissertation of Jorge Humberto Alcaraz is approved.

Ananda Maria Marin

Sylvia Hurtado

Robert T. Teranishi

Jessica C. Harris, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

DEDICATION

Para Martha, lo logramos

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Gracias Martha por todo lo que hiciste como mi madre. Aunque no estés con nosotros físicamente, sé que estás conmigo cada momento. Este logro te lo dedico a ti, porque sin ti, no podría hacerlo. Desde chiquito, siempre me apoyabas a cumplir mis objetivos y sueños. Estoy orgulloso de ser tu hijo, y de aprender tanto de ti. Me enseñaste que puedo hacer cualquier cosa con el apoyo de mi familia y la voluntad de ir tras mis sueños. A través de eso, desarrollé mi confianza y aprendí la importancia de ser humilde. Siempre te daré las gracias, porque sin ti, no hubiera podido llegar a este punto de mi vida. Te quiero.

To my family, thank you for your support, even if sometimes I didn't do the best at explaining what I do or what I study. I thank my father Jorge, for teaching me the value of patience. I thank my brother Juan for paving the way for me to leave the town we grew up in to go to college and for his support in asking me when I was going to finish this dissertation, and for telling all his friends that his brother was in a PhD program, something his friends think is cool. I thank my sister Claudia for supporting me and teaching me English. I thank my nieces, Angelique, and Samantha for their interest in me graduating so that they can figure out what outfits they want to wear for pictures at my graduation and for buying me lunch every now and then. I extend gratitude to Panfilo, Ariana, Julian, and Arely for their unconditional support, and promise to support their academic or career efforts in the future, and for humbling me every time I saw them, and they asked me "¿Dónde vives?" or "¿Por qué estás aquí?"

I want to thank my academic homies. Julia, thank you for always giving me time and space to share my ideas, and being a sound board. I also thank you for your willingness to spend money we didn't have on food, and for always answering the phone when I call. Brittnee, I thank you for always providing grace, sharing your knowledge and insights on life, as well the

delicious treats you baked. I will forever want to be invited to your home for brunch. Matt, thanks for always humbling me when you had the opportunity. Your feedback was always helpful and reminded me that other peoples' opinions do not matter nor do they equate my value as a person and scholar. Sid, thank you for always being available no matter the time or day. Thank you for your friendship and creating strength in our relationship to discuss all parts of our lives. Your emotional support is one thing I will always be grateful for. Your energy is grounding, and I am happy to have you as a friend.

Arpita, thank you for always being there since undergrad. I know we both laugh knowing who I was in undergrad and where I am in life now. Neither of us would have predicted this. I thank you for your knowledge, insights, and persistence in helping me become my authentic and kind self. I am forever grateful. Olive juice.

To the Gopals, thank you for being there for me. Juhi, thanks for letting me be your friend because you are so cool. Gopal and Anita, you have always supported me and treated me as an extended part of your family, thank you for your support in and out of academics.

To Dr. Katherine Cho, I owe you the biggest thank you. Without your support in the PhD program, I don't think I would have persisted. Your support as my pseudo advisor was always appreciated. From the bottom of my heart, thank you.

To Dr. Damani White-Lewis, thank you for always abrasively sending me texts on how my dissertation was going. I appreciate your feedback and persistence in getting me to the finish line. I am grateful for your mentorship and advice.

To Sean Holiday, thank you for reaching out during our days at CrossFit Hollywood. You made living in LA that much more bearable. I am glad we are friends. I appreciate that you are always willing to engage in shenanigans, travel the world, and talk about feelings.

To Joaquin, thank you for being a friend and dad in LA. I've learned a lot from you and feel that my evolution as a person is in part to you and your take on life. Te quiero.

To Karl Christopher, thank you for your support, terrible jokes and bullying me to complete this dissertation. I am grateful for the flexibility and persistence in our friendship, I don't think words can capture how grateful I am of you and Gracie too.

Thank you to Ashleigh Butson for granting me time and space from work to meet my sporadic writing deadlines. You are incredible!

Thank you to Dr. Berenice Sanchez and Dr. Sacha Sharp welcoming me back to Indianapolis and writing with me as you finished your dissertations.

Thank you to Lauren and Gabby Koltts for their unwavering support in this process and for being incredible friends. Thank you to your families, the Butts and Kolkmeiers, for always giving me a home for the holidays. I lucked out in meeting you both during my time in Indiana. I am so happy I am a part of your lives, as well as Walker's. I am incredibly grateful to have you three in my life. I love you all!

Thank you to Dr. Lucy LePeau and Dr. Lori Patton Davis for inspiring my interest in pursuing a PhD and encouraging my achievement of obtaining a PhD. I will always be in gratitude for your support.

Thank you to Gabi for always wilding out with me and processing feelings about pursuing a PhD and the challenges that came with it. I look up to you.

Thank you to my mother's friends, Maru, Nena, and Irma for your love from a young age and for caring for me after my mother's passing.

Thank you to my chair, Dr. Jessica Harris who put a lot of effort into shaping up this dissertation. I know it was a lot of work! I also extend a thank you to my committee for their feedback and willingness to support this study.

VITA

2011	Bachelor of Arts, Psychology University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, California
2017	Master of Science in Education, Higher Education and Student Affairs Indiana University, Bloomington, Bloomington, Indiana
2017-2019	Graduate Student Researcher, Student Affairs Information and Research Office University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA
2019-2021	Graduate Assistant, Division of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Indiana
2020-2021	Adjunct Faculty, Graduate School of Education California Lutheran University, Thousand Oaks, California
2021-Present	Global Vice President, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Allison+Partners, Chicago, Illinois

SELECT PRESENTATIONS AND TALKS

Alcaraz, J. H. (2019). Gatekeeping: Maintaining the Settled Academic Land. Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Higher Education Conference, Portland, OR

McKinney, K. & Alcaraz, J.H. (2019). Developing Researcher Agency through Engagement in Co-Curricular Assessment. Presented at the Association of American Colleges and University, Creating a 21st—Century General Education Conference, San Francisco, CA.

Alcaraz, J.H., Meintzenheimer, B., & Karpicz, J.R. (2018). Dismantling the Workhorses of Whiteness: The Collective Experiences of Graduate Students of Color. Presented at the Critical Race Studies in Education Association Conference, Albuquerque, NM.

Alcaraz, J.H. (2016). Restructuring the Tenure Process at the University of California. Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Higher Education Conference, Columbus, OH

Alcaraz, J.H, (2019, March). Post-Modern/Critical Perspectives on Power. UCLA: EDUC 250B: Organizational Analysis of Higher Education, Los Angeles, CA

Alcaraz, J.H. (2018, December). Undergraduate First-Year Commuters Brief. UCLA, Student Affairs Meeting, Los Angeles, CA

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Before entering my doctoral program in Higher Education and Organizational Change at the University of California, Los Angeles in 2017, I was a master's student at Indiana University, Bloomington. While at Indiana University, I held a graduate assistantship with Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis (IUPUI) in the Multicultural Center (the MC). As a graduate assistant at IUPUI, I facilitated a space for Queer undergraduate students of color to create a sense of belonging on campus, trained and supervised a team of student diversity educators that provided peer on peer educational workshops to the IUPUI community on racial diversity, and supported the day-to-day racial diversity programming on the IUPUI campus.

In the academic year of 2016-2017, while I was a graduate assistant at IUPUI, the institutional racial climate, like many other U.S. college campuses, was increasingly racially hostile. For example, the IUPUI Black Student Union (BSU) described feeling unsafe and unseen on campus during their campus wide protest to address the racism they experienced on campus (Mack, 2016). Echoing BSU's sentiment, a collective of students participating in the *Coshecha* movement, a nationwide movement advocating for the protection of undocumented students in the U.S., staged a walk out demanding IUPUI work towards assuring a "campus, classroom, and community experience free of hostilities, aggression, and bullying regarding status, race, sexual orientation, and religious affiliation" (Hays, 2016). In both demonstrations, students shared feeling unsafe on the IUPUI campus due to their racial and ethnic identities, a sentiment shared by students of color across U.S. colleges and universities at the time.

Student demonstrations concerning racial diversity and racial campus climate were common across U.S. higher education institutions during the 2016-2017 academic year. At the University of North Dakota, students protested social media posts of their white peers in Black

face (Cerullo, 2016), at San Jose State University, students protested swastikas found in an on-campus residence hall (Green, 2016), and at Ohio State University students rallied to condemn the anti-immigrant sentiments prevalent on campus (Huson, 2016). These racist incidents, and students' responses to racist incidents, were fueled by white supremacy, and often fueled by Republican Presidential candidate, Donald Trump.

The republican campaign trail leading to the 2016 election sparked a newfound confidence in outward white supremacist ideology, dialogue, and actions (Leonhardt & Philbrick, 2018). The Trump Presidential campaign galvanized the 'alt right' movement, a white supremacist movement that espouses the white supremacist ideology that motivated the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan, to inflict terror on racially minoritized populations (Easley, 2019). As a result of the rhetoric used by Trump campaign and the 'alt-right' movement, white Americans were emboldened to act in outwardly violent manners that induced a heightened sense of fear across communities of color (Desmond-Harris, 2016). This violent white supremacist ideology made its way to the IUPUI campus. At IUPUI, white supremacist sentiments were exemplified by a campus visit from the Westboro Baptist Church, a white homophobic hate group that pickets universities that actively support LGBTQ+ populations on campus (Wang, 2016a). As well as the discovery of recruitment flyers for a white supremacist group posted outside the Multicultural Center (ADL, 2020; Wang, 2016b).

In my conversations with IUPUI students, they shared that a newfound confidence in the espousal of harmful rhetoric contributed to a hostile racial climate for undergraduate students, which was fueled by white supremacy and the logics that uphold it like anti-blackness and xenophobia. For instance, an undergraduate Muslim woman shared that due to the political climate, she had to "look over her shoulder as she walk[ed] across the campus" because she felt

"unsettled where she once felt safe" (Buckley, 2016). Students also described experiencing microaggressions (covert or unintentional forms of racism directed at people of color) and overt forms of racism at a higher rate. Overt racism includes direct actions or remarks that are intentionally targeted at people of color (Brown, 1990). Both overt and covert racism are detrimental to the wellbeing and racial development of students of color and contribute to creating a hostile campus racial climate (Mccullagh, 2016; Solorzano et al., 2002).

One student also shared that during one academic course at IUPUI, peers started chanting "build the wall," while the professor did nothing to address the chant. The chant derived from anti-immigrant rhetoric coined by Donald Trump who created the chant during the 2016 presidential campaign. As president, Trump propagandized harmful myths about immigrants of color and vowed to increase deportations in the country (McCaskill, 2016). Embedded in the anti-immigrant rhetoric were claims to disband the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, a program that grants undocumented individuals with permits to stay in the country, work, and attend colleges and universities (Anti-Defamation League, 2019). The student who sat in the classroom while their classmates chanted "build the wall" was a DACA recipient and a student of color. In 2016, it was clear to many racially minoritized students, that the IUPUI campus was an unwelcoming one, impacted by white supremacy, and that change on campus was necessary.

In 2016, the newly installed Chancellor of IUPUI, Dr. Nassar Paydar, introduced the Welcoming Campus Initiative (the WCI), a university wide effort to transform IUPUI into a more welcoming campus. The introduction of this all-encompassing diversity initiative coincided with a national trend wherein institutions implemented diversity initiatives to address the racial climate fueled by the charged political climate. For example, in 2016, the University of Missouri

introduced a multipronged racial diversity initiative that provided funding to implement diversity awareness workshops for faculty, staff, and students, new strategies for the recruitment and retention of faculty of color, and specific trainings to increase multicultural awareness (The Curators of the University of Missouri, 2020). To address campus racial climates, the University of Michigan introduced various racial diversity initiatives, such as the creation of an intercultural assessment for incoming undergraduate students to develop intercultural awareness, an online hub for diversity, equity, and inclusion education and training accessible by university constituents, and a campus wide climate survey (University of Michigan, 2016). Dartmouth College launched the Inclusive Excellence Initiative aimed at increasing faculty and staff diversity, building a more inclusive community, and confronting and learning from past mistakes (Platt, 2016; Trustees of Dartmouth College, 2020). In short, many colleges launched initiatives linked to the recruitment and retention of racially diverse populations and in an effort to raise awareness of racism that was experienced and perpetrated across university faculty, staff, students, and leadership.

The Welcoming Campus Initiative at IUPUI was a multipronged approach that involved faculty, staff, students, alumni, and the community to create a more welcoming campus. The Welcoming Campus Initiative focused on five areas: students, faculty and staff, alumni and community, physical campus, and campus climate (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). Each of the focal areas would grant opportunities for stakeholders to create and implement new programs on the campus to help IUPUI become a more welcoming campus. Addressing the focal area of campus climate, one project aimed to increase awareness of white supremacy and build the racial literacy of white faculty, staff, and students on the campus, the White Racial Literacy Project. Accordingly, reflecting the WCI, the White Racial Literacy Project is a multifaceted

initiative focused on building awareness of, and educating individuals on how to combat, white supremacy, racism, and whiteness on the IUPUI campus.

Across many U.S. higher education institutions, developing and implementing a diversity initiative is the crux of the intervention. Institutions identified a problem and implement efforts to address the problem, and move on, often labeling the issues as resolved (Newkirk, 2019). Unfortunately, while many higher education institutions create and implement racial diversity initiatives to address hostile racial campus climates, the impact of implementing initiatives often fall short (Anderson, 2019; Dobbin & Kalev, 2016; Dutt-Ballerstadt, 2020; Tienda, 2013). For instance, in the late 1960s and 1970s, institutions established cultural centers as a response to the list of demands Black students provided as part of their efforts to illuminate the racially hostile experiences they faced on campuses (Barker, 2008; Patton, 2006). Despite this institutional response, racially minoritized students, including Black students, continue to experience and protest racially hostile campus environments (Anderson, 2019; Long, 2016; Patton, 2016). For instance, in 2015, a Black student activist group, Concerned Student 1950, led a protest against the racially hostile climate at the University of Missouri. The activist group demanded an increase of Black faculty and staff by 2018 as necessary to improve the racial climate (Lu, 2015). In response, University of Missouri implemented a racial diversity initiative aimed to recruit and retain faculty of color (Lahucik et al., 2018; Lu, 2015). But since the implementation of the racial diversity initiative, the initiative has hardly increased the number of faculty of color on campus and racially minoritized individuals continue to face racially hostile experiences on campus (French et al., 2016; Spinella, 2018).

One reason racial diversity initiatives continue to fall short is that the initiatives may fail to account for the embeddedness and adaptive nature of white supremacy as an ideology and an

institutional practice across colleges in the United States (Patton et al., 2019; Newkirk, 2019). Moreover, initiatives may also fail due to the inability to imagine a future outside of grappling and understanding white supremacy. Without an understanding of the impact of white supremacy, university leaders will fail to address the hostile campus climates white supremacy produces for racially minoritized populations. Moreover, implementing racial diversity initiatives that do not address white supremacy may unintentionally perpetuate white supremacy. As an ideology, white supremacy established white individuals as superior to all other racial groups, and to enforce the mythos of superiority, white supremacy utilizes race (and racial categories) as a logic to ensure that white individuals receive benefits at the expense of communities of color and Indigenous communities(Wolfe, 2006; Smith, 2012).

On college campuses, the socialized belief of white supremacy is not only prevalent but historically and organically embedded into the college and university structures, processes, and ways of functioning. Moreover, white supremacy is not an ideology that simply exists, but instead is a product of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism is an insidious structural process fixated on the eradication of Indigenous peoples, their culture, and ways of knowing. By eradicating Indigenous people, new white settlers can make claims to already occupied lands and establish western ways of life as the default to society (Wolfe, 2006; Glenn, 2015; Brayboy, 2005). Within the U.S. context, settler colonialism is an ongoing process that continuously acts to eradicate and displace Indigenous people and communities of color, and to facilitate this process, settler colonialism uses various structures, one of which is education (Masta, 2018).

This dissertation aims to outline the process of implementation of a racial diversity to illuminate how racial diversity initiatives come to be (i.e., context) and to demonstrate the day-to-day challenges faced (i.e., agency) when implementing a racial diversity initiative. Further,

this dissertation aims to illuminate both, the organizational and societal factors to illuminate hoe both concepts intersect for the need of a racial diversity initiative. Lastly, this dissertation aims to demonstrate how organizational elements are influenced by settler colonialism and white supremacy to illuminate the embeddedness of both concepts in day-to-day university functioning and decision-making.

Background of the Problem

For roughly 30 years, scholars, practitioners, and institutions have grappled with the concept of racial diversity and, more specifically, how to address racial diversity, and racism, on U.S. college and university campuses (Gurin, 1999; Clark, 2015; Hurtado et al., 2012; LePeau et al., 2018; Musil, 2002; Muthuswamy et al., 2006; Wilson et al., 2012). Scholars have noted that due to unchecked racism on college campuses, racially minoritized students experience stress, fatigue, and imposter syndrome (Bauer-Wolf, 2017; Green, 2016). Additionally, scholars have identified the benefits of racial diversity on campuses which results in an increase in complex cognitive development, preparedness for a multicultural workforce, and a heightened ability for students to engage in a diverse democratic society (Chang, 2005; Gurin, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002; Smith & Schonfeld, 2000). However, the research that addresses the impact of racism on students falls short in providing a framework to understand how racism came to be or exists, or how it is links to insidious ideologies like white supremacy. Moreover, discussions of the benefit of racial diversity focus on the positives for white students and not necessarily racially minoritized students, this practice seems well intentioned, but the impact may perpetuate white supremacy as there is intentional effort to dismantle the systems that create inequities for racially minoritized students.

Nonetheless, scholars have developed strategies to address hostile racial campus environments which include campus climate models and assessments (Hurtado et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999; Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2004; Milem et al., 2005), instituting institutionally backed programmatic interventions aimed at academic and co-curricular aspects of a campus (Austin et al., 2019; Clark, 2015; Musil, 2002), and offering racial diversity workshops to educate the larger campus (Alimo, 2012; Wilson et al., 2012). Despite these well-intentioned efforts, the racial inequities that have plagued colleges and universities for decades, continue to plague campuses today (Abrica et al., 2020; Druery & Brooms, 2019; Hoffman et al., 2019; Patton, et al., 2019). Racially minoritized students continue to face covert and overt forms of racism across campuses, such as hostile classroom environments (Lona, 2020; Money, 2020), hyper surveillance and policing on campus (Jaschik, 2018, 2019), and racist language outside of the classroom (Bauer-Wolf, 2019; Manzanares & Thorson, 2020). These hostile experiences continue despite the increase of racially minoritized students in higher education (AAC&U, 2019). Thus, it is important to explore and illuminate the gaps in previous racial diversity work in order to better inform future practices that can better grapple with white supremacy across campuses.

Institutional leaders, when addressing racial diversity and racial campus climate, do not often account for the embeddedness of white supremacy in higher education (Gleason, 2020; Patton et al, 2019; Pope et al, 2019). However, higher education is inextricably linked to white supremacy as the founders of colleges and universities benefitted and profited off of slavery and genocide, both of which uphold white supremacy (Smith & Ellis, 2017; Stein, 2017; Wilder, 2013). These complex histories continue to influence the learning environments, decision-making processes, and policies that govern colleges and universities today (Adserias et al., 2016;

Ray, 2019). Additionally, the white supremacy embedded throughout higher education continues to influence the interventions crafted to address racial diversity issues (Patton, 2016).

In recent years, scholars have outlined the different types of racial diversity initiatives enacted and implemented across higher education institutions (Alimo, 2015; Allen-Ramdial & Campbell, 2014; Bowman et al, 2016; Clark, 2015; Druery & Brooms, 2019). For example, Alimo (2015) looked at the impact an intergroup dialogue intervention had on white students and their racial awareness. Bowman et al. (2016) investigated the impact of short term racial/cultural workshops on civic engagement post-graduation. Druery and Brooms (2019) investigated the impact a cultural leadership program had on Black undergraduate men and their perceptions of campus climate. Other scholars have looked at the impact of mentoring and pipeline initiatives for minoritized students (Allen-Ramdial & Campbell, 2014; Wilson et al., 2012), curricular interventions to address racial diversity issues in the classroom (Austin et al., 2019; Clark, 2015), and trainings and retention initiatives for faculty and staff of color (Booker et al., 2016; LePeau et al., 2018).

While scholars have investigated the different types of racial diversity initiatives and explored the impact of racial diversity interventions, they have found that the majority of racial diversity initiatives do not account for the role of white supremacy in deconstructing racism on campus (Bennett, 2002). For example, Bennett (2002) explored a racial diversity initiative created to increase the number of racially minoritized students in a teacher education program. The initiative aimed to prepare racially minoritized students to deal with racism, but the initiative failed to account for the influence white supremacy has in informing the academic structures that limit access for racially minoritized populations in teacher programs (Bennett, 2002).

Furthermore, scholars who analyze racial diversity initiatives do not include an analysis of systemic power (i.e., white supremacy, settler colonialism). For example, O'Meara et al. (2019) explored the impact of a diversity initiative created to retain racially minoritized students in STEM and the experiences of the racially minoritized students participating in the initiative. The authors found that racially minoritized students were not receiving culturally competent mentorship, but that the initiative did facilitate a supportive peer community. While the authors explored the experiences of racially minoritized individuals, they did not incorporate a critical theoretical framework or paradigm into the design of the study, which limited the analysis of the findings to account for the role racism and white supremacy had in shaping and influencing the isolation experienced by the racially minoritized students in their study (O'Meara et al., 2019). The lack of engagement with white supremacy in research and practice may account for why racial diversity initiatives do not often make a difference on campus.

Finally, scholars have explored how racial diversity intersects with organizational context and organizational power. An institution's organization and organizational leadership informs an institution's racial diversity practices and policies (Adserias et al., 2016; Bensimon, 2014; Kezar, 2007; Kezar, 2008; Kezar et al., 2008; Tosey et al., 2011; Hurtado et al., 2012). For instance, Lerma and colleagues (2020) demonstrated how race and racism influence some institutions' organizational response to the demands of racially minoritized students. The authors outlined that when racially minoritized students demand racial awareness training for the campus, an institution will appropriate and exploit unpaid student labor to lead trainings and panels for the campus community (Lerma et al., 2020). Scholars have highlighted the critical roles that university leadership, like university presidents, play in driving and implementing diversity efforts across the campus, such as establishing a strategic plan for an institution (Birnbaum,

1992; Kezar & Eckel, 2008). For example, Kezar and Eckel (2008) demonstrated the critical roles a university president's leadership style and racial identity plays in successfully driving diversity agendas on a campus. The authors found that presidents of color were limited to using transactional (e.g., resource allocation) approaches to influence racial diversity changes, whereas white presidents could utilize transformational (e.g., appealing to morals) and transactional approaches to influence change because racial diversity commitments were not perceived as personal agendas (Kezar & Eckel, 2008).

This aforementioned scholarship does not often address the new and increasing external factors that influence the organizational context and power arrangements within institutions. For instance, with the decrease in Federal and State funding, institutions are engaging in philanthropic endeavors at a higher rate than ever before (American Council on Education, 2017). Many institutions are crafting narratives and generating innovative ideas that may entice individuals, including alumni, to donate to the institution. One common narrative utilized to entice donors is diversity (Valbrun, 2018). Moreover, a contemporary factor that influences college decision making is institutional responses to racial diversity issues (Moody, 2020). Therefore, to increase incoming funds, many colleges and universities are tasked with positioning themselves as an institution with a welcoming racial climate, or at least an institution that is taking steps to have a healthy racial climate. External pressures, such as the ones just described, may have a role in influencing higher education institutions to enact and implement racial diversity initiatives. Yet, these connections are not often accounted for in research on racial diversity initiatives.

For higher education to work toward racial equity and foster welcoming campus climates for all students, it is necessary to understand why colleges and universities often fall short of

their goals to combat manifestations of white supremacy via racial diversity initiatives across campuses. Most scholars focus on identifying the types of racial diversity initiatives but do not account for the context that led to the development of a racial diversity initiative or the challenges that arise when implementing a racial diversity initiative. As I have outlined above, white supremacy is an adaptive force that is embedded in all facets of higher education institutions (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Masta, 2019; Patton, 2016). White supremacy implicates the ideologies of people who make up institutions and the practices and procedures of an institution (Boyce, 2003; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1974; Sturm, 2006; Templeton et al., 2016). If scholars and practitioners truly aim to transform campus environments, they must center the institutional context and name the systems of power that shape their campus environment (e.g., white supremacy, anti-blackness, nativism). Further, scholars must situate the role individuals in the organization (e.g., university leadership, faculty, staff) play in implementing a racial diversity initiative, which may impact the extent to which a racial diversity initiative can make an impact.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to generate findings that can inform institutional leaders and equity practitioners to implement more intentional implementations of racial diversity initiatives in higher education by illuminating the organizational and societal factors that influence the creation of an initiative, illustrating the many ways white supremacy manifests in the implementation process of an initiative, and encouraging a conversation for future scholars and practitioners to understand how settler colonialism cultivates white supremacy on college campuses. To work toward this purpose, this dissertation examines the implementation of a racial diversity initiative, the White Racial Literacy Project, at a four-year public urban institution in the Midwest. Focusing on IUPUI provides the necessary insight to understand the

experiences faculty and staff face in implementing a racial diversity initiative in more recent contexts. This dissertation is guided by the following research questions:

1. What organizational and societal elements influenced the creation of the Welcoming Campus Initiative and the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI?
2. How are understandings of white supremacy present in faculty and staff descriptions of the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project?

Conceptual Framework

This dissertation explores the influence of white supremacy and the organizational process of implementing a racial diversity initiative at one higher education institution in the Midwest. White supremacy is a rampant and adaptive force that is embedded throughout the broader history of U.S. settler society (Glenn, 2015; Steinman, 2015). White supremacy is an ideology established by early white (European) settlers that foregrounded western morality and intellectualism as superior to all others (Brayboy, 2005). Settler colonialism is a structural process and form of genocide meant to eliminate a local population and replace it with the settler population (Wolfe, 2006)

To account for the white supremacy in higher education institutions, I utilize Steinman's (2015) critical framework for centering Settler Colonial Dimensions of Power (SCDP). As a framework, SCDP illuminates six dimensions, that embed and uphold settler colonialism and white supremacy through different societal practices (i.e., adapted histories, myth building) and structures (i.e., education, government) in the U.S. The six dimensions provided by Steinman (2015) are: (a) *the denial of the existence of settler colonialism* which addresses the purposeful tactics employed by the U.S. to cover its violent past in establishing the country such as abbreviated histories; (b) *settler colonial violence and its concealments* addresses the violent acts

utilized by settlers to establish the U.S. such as genocide and assimilation; (c) *ideological justifications for indigenous dispossession and naturalizing settler authority* refers to the myths and narratives created such as manifest destiny to justify and naturalize violent actions; (d*) settler control of the population economy* refers to the tactics and logics employed by the U.S. government to hold power over populations of people such as federal criteria for tribal recognition and the creation of race as a political category; (e) *cultural appropriation* refers to the symbolic gestured employed by the U.S. to position the country as amicable or inclusionary of indigenous populations and other minoritized populations; and (f) *denial/elimination of possible alternatives* address the active effort of settler colonial structures to prevent decolonizing alternatives that disrupt white supremacy.

The six dimensions allow for a rich analysis of higher education institutions that roots out and interrogates white supremacy. For example, using SCDP, Masta (2019) has explored the experience of Indigenous graduate students to demonstrate how academic systems are entrenched with settler colonial ideologies that work to marginalize Indigenous populations. SCDP focuses on the mechanisms that uphold white supremacy over time and facilitates a more nuanced analysis of the persistence of hostile racial climates to explain why racial diversity initiatives may fail. SCDP provides a new starting point to interrogate the societal and organizational elements that led to the creation of a racial diversity initiative and implementation of a racial diversity initiative. SCDP as a springboard to illuminate and imagine new de/colonizing possibilities to institutionalize and sustain better racial diversity initiatives across institutions. However, to build a theoretical bridge between white supremacy and organizational framing of implementation, I use Implementation Theory (May, 2013) alongside SCDP.

For a more precise analysis of one higher education institution's implementation of a racial diversity initiative, I use May's (2013) Implementation Theory to outline the organizational aspects of an institution that influence the successes of a racial diversity initiative and to frame organizational framing of an implementation process. To understand the process of implementation, it is necessary to understand that each organization facilitates organizational power. Organizational power is created and maintained through relationships established by organizational structures, such as university organizational charts that identify the power attributed to various roles (e.g., chancellor, vice-chancellor, dean, etc.) (Pfeffer, 1981; Singh, 2009). Implementation Theory (May, 2013) is composed of four constructs: *capability*, *capacity*, *potential*, and *contribution.* Capability refers to the ability of individuals within an organization (institution) to operationalize a complex intervention (racial diversity initiative) based on the ease of use and ability to integrate into practice. Capacity refers to the ability individuals to coordinate cognitive and material resources, and utilize organizational roles, and accompanying power, to transform social norms. Potential refers to personal and shared motivation and commitment to enact a complex intervention (racial diversity initiative) within an organization. Contribution refers to active participation of members of an organization to make sense of the complex intervention, embed it into their work, and reflect on the change to work towards continuous implementation.

Scholars have often used Implementation Theory to understand the context and agency that accompanies implementing new clinical practices in the health sciences (e.g., hospitals, nursing) (Fulop et al., 2015; Gopinathan et al., 2014; Thomann et al., 2018) . However, Implementation Theory offers a practical and compelling toolset to analyze higher education interventions. In this project, I expand the use of Implementation Theory to focus on the

implementation of a racial diversity initiative to frame the individual and collective agency some faculty and staff have in influencing the creation and implementation of a racial diversity initiative (May, 2013). Moreover, as a framework to understand implementation, Implementation Theory may help to demonstrate how or what barriers may prevent the implementation of transformative and sustainable change through a racial diversity initiative at an institution.

Together, SCDP and Implementation Theory create a powerful framework through which to explore the implementation of one racial diversity initiative in higher education. Implementation Theory accounts for how people working within an institution (i.e., university leadership, faculty, and staff) and the institutional context (i.e., institutional history, leadership norms) influence the implementation of a racial diversity initiative. SCDP illuminates the role systemic power has in influencing institutional contexts, the individuals that make up the institutions, and their values, behaviors, and motivations. SCDP allows for a macro and systemic analysis, while Implementation Theory captures a more micro-understanding of the everyday practices within one institution. Taken together, both theories provide an opportunity to explore how institutional practices are linked to systemic ideologies that manifest in the implementation of racial diversity initiatives. By illuminating the ways organizational implementation efforts and white supremacy interact with one another when implementing a racial diversity initiative, scholars and practitioners can reimagine future efforts from a new starting point the foreground white supremacy.

Methodology

This study design includes a qualitative intrinsic case study with embedded units (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). The purpose of qualitative case study is to frame the complexity and peculiarity of a single case, exploring the interaction of the case and its environment (Stake,

1995). Here, the WCI is the case, with an embedded unit of the WRLP, and IUPUI is the institutional environment in which it occurs. An intrinsic case study approach is undertaken when a researcher aims to explore and understand a unique issue or phenomenon, which in this case is the implementation of the of the WRLP (Crowe et al., 2011; Stake, 1995). An *intrinsic* approach is employed when the interest of exploring a particular case is focused on the case's peculiarity and distinctness and not on its commonality or representativeness of other cases (Crowe et al., 2011; Stake, 1995).

The WCI is a distinct approach in that it is composed of five different focal areas: students, faculty and staff, alumni and community, physical campus, and racial climate (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). The emphasis in signaling a welcoming campus climate may be linked to campus climate survey findings which demonstrated that minoritized student populations did not believe IUPUI placed much of an emphasis on diversity; and racially minoritized faculty and staff reported perceiving IUPUI as having tension around issues of diversity (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2014). Moreover, as an urban public four-year institution, IUPUI aims to create a campus environment free from discrimination so that members of the institution can reach their highest potential (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). However, it is critical to state that the WCI was an all-encompassing diversity initiative that created an opportunity for campus stakeholders to create initiatives that collectively would make up the WCI.

To explore the case in depth, I examined the White Racial Literacy Project (WRLP). The WCI created an opportunity for the WRLP to be created and implemented on the IUPUI campus, which fell under the racial climate focal area of the WCI. The WRLP aims to create an educational environment for white students, staff, and faculty to unpack misconceptions and

misinformation about systemic racism and white supremacy. The project targets a range of individuals, from people who aspire to make a change but are unsure how to do so, to individuals who lack an understanding of structural inequities in society. To work towards shifting the climate to a more equitable one, the project brings in white scholars, dialogue facilitators, and public intellectuals who are experts in the areas of whiteness and white supremacy to engage the IUPUI campus (White Racial Literacy Project, 2020). This case provides an insightful opportunity to investigate the implementation of a racial diversity initiative with a conceptual lens that accounts for white supremacy and an organizational framework of implementation. To reach an in-depth analysis, I utilized interviews and document analysis.

Interviews facilitated the gathering of interpretations and descriptions of participants that helped to understand the case of interest (Stake, 1995; Bhattacharya, 2017). I interviewed individuals involved with the development of WCI and WRLP and the individuals who participated in the implementation of the WRLP. Across participants, the interviews explored the context that led to the creation of the WCI and WRLP, which accounted for both organizational and societal elements, Furthermore, the interviews focused on the various ways agency was used to influence the implementation of the WRLP. Additionally, I collected and mined documents that added further depth to the context of IUPUI, the WCI and the WRLP, these documents entailed, news articles, websites, program proposals, and social media (e.g., twitter, reddit) (Bhattacharya, 2017). Both data points work towards crystallization, a complex interpretation of a particular phenomenon, of the implementation of the WCI at IUPUI (Ellingson, 2008).

After data collection, I conducted two rounds of coding. In the first round I used provisional coding. Provisional coding begins with a preset of codes that are informed by a literature review or conceptual framework (Saldana, 2016), in this case, the preset codes were

guided by the conceptual framework of this study (SCDP and Implementation Theory). In the second round I used pattern coding. Pattern coding is used to build a bridge between the first cycle codes (Saldana, 2016) by identifying, collapsing and merging smaller units into a larger category that forward assertions (Saldana, 2016). After coding, I engaged in an iterative process of building out a thematic outline to write out findings, link codes to larger themes, and facilitate linkages between my positionality, conceptual frameworks, and the interest of this study (Saldana, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017).

Significance

The findings of this dissertation will benefit researchers, faculty, staff, and students across three areas. First, the findings of this research illuminate the importance of grounding an understanding of white supremacy in the development of racial diversity initiatives moving forward. The research shows the importance of centering critical theoretical frameworks, like settler colonialism, that situate the influence of white supremacy in the context and agency of an institution to produce more profound findings that highlight specific areas to address on the campus.

Second, the findings of this dissertation illuminate the importance of using implementation frameworks to map out how the context and agency of people within the agency can and will influence the implementation of a diversity initiative. This practice of framing a racial diversity initiative against an implementation framework can work to ensure that the interventions become embedded successfully across the organization. By focusing on white supremacy and utilizing an implementation framework, faculty, staff, students, and researchers can identify how normalized practices or well intentions practices may unintentionally uphold white supremacy, which goes against the intended efforts of a racial diversity initiative.

Together, these first two points serve to challenge scholars and practitioners to identify organizational and societal factors that impact the development and implementation of a racial diversity initiative.

Third, findings from this dissertation identify prompts for faculty, staff, students, and researchers to think through when implementing a racial diversity initiative to ensure that the racial diversity can make the impact its originators seek to make. To do so, this dissertation isolated certain examples and challenges the faculty, staff, and university leadership faced and facilitated that negatively impacted the implementation of the WRLP. For instance, the challenges with the name of the initiative, the response to legal action, and societal factors that limited reach of the initiative. By isolating incidents, this dissertation provides suggestions and prompts for faculty, staff, students, and researchers to think through as though experiment practices. The results of this implication can lead to a more welcoming campus climate for racially minoritized students, that can lead to better emotional and mental well-being of racially minoritized populations (Chan, 2019; Frantell et al., 2019; Garcia & Johnston-Guerrero, 2015). Improving emotional and mental well-being might increase recruitment and access of racially minoritized populations, persistence to engage in a campus climate and pursue educational endeavors, and retention of racially minoritized populations on campus that work to increase the graduation rates and the compositional diversity of faculty (Anderson, 2019; Booker et al., 2016; Druery & Brooms, 2018; French et al., 2016; Hurtado et al., 2012). Increasing and retaining racially minoritized faculty can transform the curriculum to account and center the voices and realities of racially minoritized students across courses, inform teaching pedagogies that are racially and culturally competent, and affirm the different knowledges racially minoritized

students bring to the classroom (Dozono, 2020; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013).

This research also explores the organizational dynamics that influence the success of racial diversity initiatives. It is imperative to explore organizational impact because current research identifies the influence specific role (e.g., university presidents) have in influencing transformative change (Kezar, 2009; Kezar & Eckel, 2008; LePeau et al., 2019). If scholars, practitioners, and institution aim to create long term change on their respective campuses, they must identify how and to what extent the agency of institutional actors can influence the impact of a racial diversity initiative and understand how the agency of individuals and the context of the institution influence long term impacts of short-term racial diversity initiatives.

Finally, this study is significant because it is framed by a critical framework that names settler colonialism, white supremacy, and racism, and their influence on institutions of higher education and racial diversity initiatives. Using a critical framework provides an understanding of the complex nature of settler colonialism that is embedded throughout U.S. higher education institutions and allows for de/colonizing thoughts and actions within higher education broadly and racial diversity initiatives more specifically. Furthermore, by connecting systemic and organizational power, I aim to create a new path of engagement for the field that invites scholars to incorporate critical paradigms/theories into power neutral analysis of institutions and racial diversity initiatives. Additionally, this framework challenges university leaders and institutional actors that implement or engage with racial diversity initiatives to identify the role white supremacy and racism may have in influencing their individual understandings of racial equity; and how their actions may (un)intentionally work against addressing, creating and sustaining welcoming racial campus climates. Moreover, this framework challenges institutions, and the

individuals who run them, to recognize and understand how racial campus climates are fueled by larger genealogies of settler colonialism that are embedded into every aspect of U.S. society. Shifting personal and collective understanding to account for the vestiges and adaptability of white supremacy on college and university campuses can influence institutional approaches to address racially hostile campus climates with more precise campus interventions that are adaptable and on-going over time.

Definitions

Diversity Initiatives/Diversity Efforts

I define diversity initiatives/diversity efforts synonymously to refer to the interventions actualized by institutions to engage an aspect or aspects of diversity (e.g., race, gender, sexuality) on the campus through actionable efforts in areas of student support, administrative and leadership, curriculum/academic, or institutional policies (Patton et al., 2019).

Implementation

I define implementation as a social process that is an ongoing interaction and continuous accomplishment. The purpose of implementation is to embed new institutionally sanctioned practices and programs performed by members of the institution (May, 2013).

Indigenous

In higher education, there is a variety of terms used to identify Indigenous people, such as *American Indians* and *Native Americans.* For this dissertation I have elected to use Indigenous because it positions Indigenous people within a larger understanding that they are the original care takers of the land the United States currently occupies. Moreover, I use Indigenous to situate the political status Indigenous people have with the United States as sovereign nations and to

nuance the complex relationship of labeling Indigenous as racial category (Byrd, 1999; Masta, 2013).

Minoritized

I used the term minoritized to reference to the active process that structures of white supremacy engage in oppressing individuals with categories deemed as not in that majority (e.g., non-white). Minoritized emphasizes the structural force in oppressing non-white population, shifting the focus from individual responsibility. (Stewart, 2013).

Organizational Power

I define organizational power as a structural phenomenon that is context specific. In the context of higher education institutions, organizational power is dictated by the hierarchical relationships outlined by an institution's organizational chart or social networks that grants individuals with seniority or change agent designations to influence decision making. Thus, organizational power can be understood as the ability of an actor to bring about the outcomes or goals they desire within an institution (Pfeffer, 1981; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977; Singh, 2009).

Race

I define race as a logic that upholds white supremacy. Race in is an arbitrary category and a political tactic that is often linked to biology (Masta, 2013; Roberts, 2012). Race is settler colonial construction that I engage with, but do not legitimize in engaging with it.

Racism

I define racism is a logic that upholds white supremacy in U.S. society. As a vessel of oppression, racism oppresses individuals through socially constructed categories demarked my phenotypical appearances. As a system, racism exerts the force of white supremacy through

socio-political systems and structures to assert the dominance of white supremacy (Smith, 2012; Waheliye, 2016); actively work to disenfranchise non-white populations (Lorenz, 2017).

Settler Colonialism

Settler colonialism is a specific type of colonization that is an ongoing process and structure, where settlers invade territories with the purpose of seizing physical territory and mining and exploiting the territory for its resources (Wolfe, 2006; Smith, 2012). To obtain the land and establish dominance, settlers actively engage in the erasure of indigenous people through violent actions to make claims of lands, naturalize white supremacy, and establish a new society that serves the purposes of white supremacy (Steinman, 2015). In the U.S. context, settler colonialism is the foundation of American society which displaces indigenous populations and actively oppress non-white populations to through structures that serve the interest of white supremacy such as systems of education (Brayboy, 2005; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013).

White Supremacy

White supremacy is an ideology, and the product settler colonialism aims to maintain. White supremacy is an ideology that foreground white western morality, intellectualism and way of life as superior to all other forms (Brayboy, 2005). As an ideology, white supremacy is upheld by three logics: slaveablity/anti-black racism, genocide, and warfare (Smith, 2012) which collectively work to naturalize and legitimize white supremacy as a hegemonic force (Brayboy, 2005). As a hegemonic force, white supremacy is woven into every aspect of U.S. society and the structures that uphold U.S. society, including higher education institutions (Patton, 2016; Brayboy, 2006).

United States (U.S)

I define the U.S. as an active settler colonial society that occupies Indigenous lands and actively inflicts violence upon Indigenous and minoritized populations. As I use the phrases, I use them to facilitate understanding, but critique the entire of the structure (Steinman, 2015).

Conclusion

The remaining chapters of this dissertation outline the conceptual framing of this study, methodology, findings, and implications of this study. In this first chapter, I introduced my motivation for this study, highlighted the background of racial diversity initiatives in U.S. higher education, and provided the purpose and significance of this study. In chapter 2, I provide an overview of the two theories used as the conceptual framework of this study: SCDP and Implementation Theory. I then conclude the chapter with an overview of the scholarship on racial diversity initiatives in U.S. higher education to situate my study in the larger racial diversity initiative literature. In chapter 3, I introduce my onto-epistemology as a researcher, outline my methodological approach of an embedded qualitative case study, and justify my case selection. I then provide an overview of the racial initiatives selected as embedded units for this this research and describe the two sources of data gathered for this study: interviews and documents. I conclude the chapter with an explanation of my approach to analysis of the data, the limitations of the study, and my approach to maintain confidentiality. In chapter 4, I outline the societal and organizational elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP, as well as the various ways white supremacy manifested in the implementation of the WRLP. I conclude this dissertation with Chapter 5, where I put the findings of this study in dialogue with SCDP and Implementation framework to answer the research questions of this dissertation. I conclude by outlining the implications of this study to the field of higher education.

CHAPTER 2: FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to position this study within the existing literature on racial diversity initiatives in U.S. higher education. While scholars of U.S. higher education have illuminated the needs and benefits of racial diversity initiatives and addressed the importance of organizational actors in influencing racial diversity initiatives (Aguirre & Martinez, 2003; Barnes et al., 2015; Bennet, 2002; Chang, 2005; Garces, 2013; Gurin, 1999; Hurtado, 2007; Muthuswamy et al., 2006), there is limited knowledge about the implementation process of racial diversity initiatives and the societal and organizational elements that influence the creation and implementation process. I begin this chapter with an in-depth explanation of my conceptual framework, Settler Colonial Dimensions of Power (SCDP) and Implementation Theory, which grounds this dissertation study and guide an analysis of the current literature. I then provide a synthesis of existing literature that intersects the concept of racial diversity initiatives in higher education across four sections: racial diversity and co-curricular efforts, curricular initiatives for racial diversity, racial diversity and administration and leadership, and policies for racial diversity. I conclude with a summary of the chapter.

Conceptual Framework

This dissertation is focused on analyzing how societal and organizational power influence the implementation a racial diversity initiative on one university campus. I employ two frameworks, Settler Colonial Dimensions of Power (SCDP) and Implementation Theory (Steinman, 2015; May, 2013) to explore the organizational and societal elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP. I also use these frameworks to help analyze how white supremacy manifests in the implementation process of the WRLP. SCDP addresses white supremacy, illustrating the various dimensions of colonial power that assert dominance over

colonized populations; while illustrating the de/colonizing actions taken to combat each of the dimensions (Steinman, 2015). SCDP prompts researchers to interrogate the manifestations of settler colonialism and structures that maintain it, such as higher education institutions (Steinman, 2015). The use of SCDP equips researchers with an analytical lens that produces a more complex and nuanced analysis of white supremacy from a structural standpoint, which best fits the focus of this dissertation in interrogating the implementation of a racial diversity initiative on a university campus (Steinman, 2015).

As a macro lens, SCDP works best when coupled with a micro-lens framework that illustrates the processes enacted by structures that maintain white supremacy, in this case, institutions of higher education. Implementation Theory illustrates various moving parts of implementing a new initiative within an organization, capturing the complex interaction of context (prior practices, current challenges) and agency (people, relationships, organizational hierarchies) (May, 2013). When used together, SCDP and Implementation Theory create a powerful analytical lens to explore the implementation of a racial diversity initiative at one higher education institution in the U.S. Implementation Theory provides a template for analyzing how an implementation process occurs, highlighting the importance of context and agency within an organization (May, 2013). Despite providing an effective framework to analyze implementation, Implementation Theory does not account for the influence of larger systems of societal power (i.e., white supremacy) embedded in the context and agency of an organization. Therefore, I use SCDP to expose and account for the embeddedness of white supremacy within an organization (Steinman, 2015; May, 2013). Conversely, SCDP falls short in addressing micro level interactions that facilitate white supremacy within an organization (i.e., decision making), hence, I use Implementation Theory in combination with SCDP to build the bridge for a nuanced

analysis that illuminates the embeddedness of white supremacy in the context of the institution and in the agency utilized to implement the racial diversity initiative. Below, I expand on SCDP and outline the framework of Implementation Theory, ending with a reiteration of the need for using both frameworks for this dissertation.

Settler Colonial Dimensions of Power

SCDP is a product of Indigenous voices and efforts that confront(ed), address(ed), and resist(ed) colonialism in the United States (Steinman, 2015). SCDP addresses the white supremacy and oppressive force of settler colonialism and illustrates dimensions that uphold white supremacy in the United States at a macro level, such as the displacement of Indigenous peoples through violence, and the assimilation of Indigenous peoples into white settler normativity via education (Glenn, 2015; Steinman, 2015). As an adaptive force of colonization, settler colonialism curates the oppression of minoritized populations. Settler colonialism laid the foundation for the introduction of chattel slavery, the practice of lynching Black, Latinx and Indigenous populations, and what would become federally mandated discrimination towards Asian-Americans (Blakemore, 2017; Parker, 2018). A thoughtful analysis of settler colonialism within the United States context centers Indigenous and Black populations as well as other minoritized groups (Glenn, 2015; Steinman, 2015).

Through this study, I remain committed to exposing the embedded nature of white supremacy in higher education. As a framework, SCDP unearths histories of violence enacted by white settlers to establish the United States, deconstructing the justifications for the violence, and exposing the organizational structures that preserve white supremacy through and within higher education institutions (Steinman, 2015; Masta, 2019). SCDP facilitates a more nuanced analysis

of a racial diversity initiative that may unintentionally facilitate structures of white supremacy and settler colonialism (Hoffman et al., 2019; Iverson, 2012; Steinman, 2015).

Settler colonialism is a white supremacist systemic force embedded in every dimension of the U.S. that curates the lives of Indigenous, Black and other minoritized populations. While SCDP addresses the dimensions that uphold settler colonialism, SCDP also urges scholars to incorporate the agency of Indigenous, Black and minoritized populations into analysis to illustrate the de/colonizing actions taken place past and present (e.g., protests to Columbus Day celebrations, creation of non-western epistemological teaching practices). Furthermore, SCDP invites minoritized individuals to undertake and imagine innovative de/colonizing tactics that serve to combat settler colonialism. I follow Steinman's (2015) lead and use SCDP to illuminate the agency of de/colonization that individuals take to combat the oppressive power of settler colonialism and white supremacy in higher education. In the following section, I describe settler colonialism and each of the dimensions of SCDP.

Settler colonialism

Foundational to the understanding of settler colonialism is the concept—*erase to replace* (Wolfe, 2006). In settler colonialism, the goal is to conquer new land to establish a new society, a new home (Brayboy, 2005). Settlers engage in tactics that eliminate and destroy Indigenous lives and non-western ways of life in physical and social landscapes to establish a new home (Brayboy, 2005; Steinman, 2015). In the context of the United States, scholars understand settlers are understood as white settlers from European countries (Steinman, 2015). White settlers came to the U.S. to establish permanence; thus, for their purposes, it was vital to remove Indigenous presence in order to acquire Indigenous land and build their own homes (Steinman, 2015; Glenn, 2015; Brayboy, 2005). Physical elimination is pertinent, as the presence of

Indigenous peoples threatens the maintenance of a new settler society (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Stein, 2017).

Prominent examples of forced removal and physical elimination include the actions of John Smith and his Englishmen who burned down Powhatan homes to remove the Powhatan's from their land. Another example is the Indian Removal Act of 1830 which removed tribal nations from their land and redistributed it to U.S. citizens (Perdue & Green, 2005; "Colonial Settlement", n.d.). Extinguishing Indigenous presence across time and space is necessary because in order to establish a new society, there is a need for *tabula rasa* (clean slate). If settlers eradicate Indigenous peoples, there is no proof that prior life existed; thus, a new society is able to be established without any resistance, and without much effort (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Wolfe, 2006).

When Indigenous peoples resisted forced removal, white settlers turned to social elimination through assimilation (Steinman, 2015; Glenn, 2015). One structure that facilitated assimilation was education (Masta, 2019). In 1902 the U.S. opened 154 boarding schools modeled after Colonel Richard Henry Pratt's Carlisle Indian Industrial School. It kept Indigenous children at the boarding schools for three years to assimilate them to U.S. culture (Jacobs, 2006). To maintain a new society, settlers create infrastructures that assert cultural superiority (devaluing non-western practices) and lead to the creation of a new settler normativity. Such infrastructures include tangible and intangible items such as the construction of race through racism which upholds white supremacy and deem white individuals as superior; the U.S. education that centers white knowledge (objectivity, single Truths); and the government institutions that govern people inequitably (policing systems, judiciary systems) (Glenn, 2015; Masta, 2019; Steinman, 2015).

As part of the new settler infrastructure, settlers institutionalize discursive and material privileges to settlers to assert cultural superiority. Examples include the relocation of Indigenous peoples and labeling lands with settler names instead of their native names (Turtle Island vs. North America). As well as deeming any associations with Indigenous culture and knowing as primitive and inferior (Steinman, 2015; Brayboy, 2005). Settlers create, enforce, and maintain a binary that upholds settlers as superior and Indigenous people as inferior, creating a system of power and oppression. The creation of a new society centers white settlers and their forms of knowing and living, providing them opportunities to live without the apprehension that others will take their land and ability to live freely. Despite this, non-Indigenous minoritized populations can be settlers and participate complicity in the maintenance of settler colonialism. As Jafri (n.d.) states "complicity is a messy, complicated and entangled concept to think about; it is not as easy to grasp and, because of this, it requires a much deeper investment on our part"; and thus, it implicates minoritized populations that do not engage with settler colonial understandings in the U.S. (Jafri, n.d., p. 3). While minoritized populations feel the impact of settler colonialism and the insidiousness of white supremacy, they can contribute to Indigenous peoples' erasure and participate in the occupation of Indigenous lands (Glenn, 2015; Thomas, 2019).

Settler colonialism is an ongoing and adaptive structural process (Glenn, 2015). As such, scholars have applied settler colonialism to U.S. higher education (Grosfuguel, 2011; Leonardo & Singh, 2017; Stein & Andreotti, 2016; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Much of the literature involves requests and approaches to decolonize the curriculum which includes incorporating different research methods outside of the western canon (Bhattacharya, 2007; Datta, 2017; Fortier, 2017), decolonizing service learning (Santiago-Ortiz, 2019). As well as, including different types of

knowledge that exist outside of the institution (e.g., street knowledge) (Bhattacharya, 2015), decolonizing pedagogies (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013), and recognizing institutions as occupying Indigenous lands (La Paperson, 2017; Stein, 2017). In terms of visible institutional practices, higher education institutions have engaged in land acknowledgements (Keefe, 2019; Stewart, 2019). Land acknowledgements are efforts to combat the erasure of indigenous people and an institutional act to recognize the original care takers of the land institutions occupy, express respect for indigenous populations, and raise awareness of the interconnected histories institutions have in occupying indigenous lands (Keefe, 2019).

To engage with contemporary forms of dominance through settler colonialism lens, it is important to understand how, today, power is constructed and maintained through institutional and cultural practices. The six dimensions of Steinman's (2015) SCDP frames the pattern of settler dominance embedded in the United States, which may inform the infrastructure of higher education institutions and, in particular, IUPUI. The six dimensions are: (a) denial and naturalization of settler colonialism, (b) settler violence and its diminishment, (c) ideological justifications for Indigenous dispossession and settler authority, (d) control of population economy, (e) cultural appropriation, and (f) denial of alternatives (Steinman, 2015). Below, I explore these six dimensions in more detail and link them to higher education.

Table 1: Settler Colonial Dimension of Power (Steinman, 2015)

SCDP	**Manifestations**	**Higher Education Manifestations**
Denial and Naturalization of Settler Colonialism	Addresses the purposeful tactics employed by settler to cover their violent past in establishing the United States	The omittance of universities benefitting from labor of enslaved African peoples slave labor (Patton, 2016; Smith & Ellis, 2017).
Settler Violence and its Diminishment	Addresses the violent acts utilizes by settler to establish the U.S. (e.g., genocide, assimilation)	The emphasis of western knowledge and practices (e.g., objectivity, universality) as

		superior to all other forms of knowledge and knowing (Bhattacharya, 2015; Masta, 2019)
Ideological Justifications	Refers to the myths and narratives created by settlers such as manifest destiny to justify and naturalize violent actions	U.S. Federal justification of occupying Indigenous lands for the purpose of creating universities to educate U.S. citizens (La Paperson, 2017; Stein, 2017)
Control of Population Economy	Refers to the tactics and logics employed by the U.S. government to hold power over populations of people (e.g., racial categories)	Admissions policies and procedures that emphasize the use of standardized tests (e.g., ACT, GRE) (Clayton, 2016; Johnson, 2003)
Cultural Appropriation	Refers to the symbolic gestured employed by the U.S. to position the country as amicable or inclusionary of indigenous populations and other minoritized populations	The use of Indigenous peoples as university mascots (Rosen, 2015; Castagno & Lee, 2007).
Denial of Alternatives	Addresses the active effort of settler colonial structures to prevent decolonizing alternatives that disrupt white supremacy	The refusal to remove the emphasis on western approaches to research (Masta, 2019)

Denial and naturalization of settler colonialism

First, the *denial and naturalization of settler colonialism* dimension illuminates the settler colonial practices enacted in creating the nation-state of the United States, while also centering the resistance Indigenous, Black and minoritized people have engaged in to resist settler colonialism (Steinman, 2015). When settlers established a new society through the use of violence and government structures, they used education as a structure that crafted narratives and educational resources that wrote out/left out the existence of Indigenous people. As a response,

scholars have critiqued distorted genealogies to re-insert Indigenous presence and invigorate the curated histories to account for oppressive power and violence enacted by white settlers (Steinman, 2015).

This first dimension grounds an analysis of settler colonialism in the understanding that the United States is built off the genocide of Indigenous people, built on the backs of expendable labor facilitated through chattel slavery, and maintained through contemporary systems of control such as race and racism (Leonardo & Singh, 2017; Steinman, 2015 Smith, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012). This dimension disrupts the streamlined genealogies and histories that deem the United States as acting within reason and with justifying violence. In the case of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the U.S. government justified the removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands because the Indigenous were not making use of their lands (Glenn, 2015; Hixson, 2013; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). Further, this dimension challenges narratives that mute the violence and force used against Indigenous people and minoritized communities that support the foundation and maintenance of settler colonialism (Glenn, 2015; Hixson, 2013; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013).

In disrupting the denial of and naturalization of settler colonialism, silenced voices can show the resistance over time and space in combatting white settlers and white supremacy, positioning Indigenous and minoritized communities with the agency. Examples include the efforts to disrupt the celebration of national holidays, such as Thanksgiving and Columbus Day. On October 8, 2016, the Transform Columbus Day Alliance of Denver and Black Lives Matter faction of Denver disrupted a Columbus Day celebration by enacting their own parade that brought awareness of Indigenous people and ended with a rally at the State's Capitol urging the need to acknowledge Indigenous Peoples Day (Phillips, 2016). The agentic de/colonizing effort

resulted in the passing of Indigenous People's Day in Denver, removing Columbus Day as a recognized celebratory holiday. Disruption can include combatting narratives of passive conquest by including archival information of tribal nations, oral histories, and publishing works that center tribal nations as always resisting settlers over time (Steinman, 2015)

When linked to U.S. higher education institutions, this dimension urges scholars to expose the positioning of higher education institutions as absolved from participating and maintaining settler colonialism. Various institutions are built on Indigenous lands and fail to acknowledge it (Smith & Ellis, 2017). Some institutions were built through slave labor; and enrollment histories show the disenfranchisement of Black, Indigenous, and queer folks (Patton, 2016; Smith & Ellis, 2017). Some institutions that occupy Indigenous lands are UCLA which occupies Tongva lands; the University of Nebraska which occupies Otoe and Missouria peoples' lands; and IUPUI which stands on the ancestral lands of the Miami people (The University of California, n.d.; Trustees of Indiana University, 2019; Nash, 2019).

This first dimension is integral in deconstructing higher education institutions and their efforts in implementing racial diversity initiatives that aim to address hostile climates for minoritized populations on campus. Prominent campus climate models state that analyzing an institution's history of exclusion is necessary to create a better climate for minoritized students in the present (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, Allen, 1999; Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005). This understanding has manifested into projects such as *The Lemon Project* at the College of William and Mary, which investigate and reconcile the institution's use of exploitable slave labor (William & Mary, 2020). Historically, the College of William and Mary served as a site to educate Indigenous populations into European life; and used Indigenous conversion education as a fundraising matter to ensure the institution's economic prosperity (Wright, 1988). Settler

normativity curates' cultural norms over time; thus, in order to address the present, institutions must grapple with their pasts.

However, merely acknowledging an institution's history does not suffice in making amends to the racial violence committed by an institution, institutions must also grapple with how histories influence contemporary racial issues on campus (Fortier, 2017; Leonardo & Singh, 2017; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Ray, 2019). This first dimension provides space also to question the historical practices institutions continue to perpetuate on their campus. In the case of Columbia University, the institution does not acknowledge Columbus Day, but fails to establish Indigenous Peoples' Day as an institutional holiday; despite efforts of student ran Native American Council in actively educating and rallying to re-center Indigenous resilience, excellence and survivance at the institution (Tolin, 2019). Failing to engage and question curated institutional histories and practices may produce inefficient racial diversity initiatives that only serve to place the institution as 'good-doing' (the façade that universities act in the interest and benefit of all in U.S. society). Which in turn utilizes racial diversity initiatives as a marketing tool that prevents the disruption of white supremacy (Masta, 2019; Schick, 2011; Thomas, 2018).

Colleges and universities have substantially funded racial diversity initiatives (e.g., climate surveys and interventions, anti-bias trainings), yet, most initiatives fail to make an impact because they all lack a historical understanding of the role white supremacy plays in oppressing minoritized populations and how that history links to the present (Newkirk, 2019). The first dimension of SCDP is powerful because it presses institutions to grapple with their way their organizations facilitate white supremacy and thus confronts 'drive-by' diversity efforts, which in turn provides space for de/colonizing efforts such as practices of land-acknowledgement and

acknowledging the use of exploitable labor to substantiate a better racial diversity initiative. Therefore, with the understanding that de/colonizing approaches can still exist, this dimension may serve to insert disruptions to historical genealogies and foster a better attempt to address white supremacy and settler colonialism at U.S. institutions of higher education by linking the historical presence of white supremacy on the campus to contemporary manifestations.

Settler violence and its diminishments

Second, *settler violence and its diminishment* focuses on the violent actions of U.S. settler-society to eliminate Indigenous presence. This dimension disrupts the practices and narratives, such as alleged harmonious interaction amongst settlers and Indigenous peoples at Plymouth Rock, that omit or mute the violent past of the settler nation from larger settler-U.S. narratives that position the settler nation as distant from violence (Steinman, 2015). Settler colonialism craves violence and utilizes violence to assert dominance. Historical practices of violence include rape, murder, land burning, and forced removal (Wolfe, 2013; Smith 2003). It also includes the importation of Black slaves and the use of Black bodies as exploitable labor, as well as the violent practices enacted by white settlers that confined Black livelihood through the use of torture, subhuman treatment, and separation of families (Veracini, 2010, Steinman, 2015, Weheliye, 2014).

Violence is a heavy word that fosters various manifestations and tenor, it includes physical and mental manifestations (Bhattacharya, 2009; Garcia & Johnston-Guerrero, 2015; Glenn, 2015; Grosfoguel, 2011; Hikido & Murray, 2016). Examples include the practice of assimilation and indoctrination into settler normativity and the stripping of the ability to partake in the world that is yours (Stein, 2017; Veracini, 2010; Wright, 1991). The purpose of this dimension is to illuminate the destruction and violence ensued by settler colonialism and position

the U.S. settler society as harmful (Steinman, 2015). In illuminating the violence, scholars are able to expose the force of white supremacy and illuminate resistant actions taken by Indigenous and minoritized people that ensured their survival (Bhattacharya, 2009; Smith, 2012; Stein, 2017; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Tuck & Yang, 2012). This practice thus becomes de/colonizing because it distorts the clean image of the U.S. 'good-doing'. While simultaneously placing equal emphasis in demonstrating that Indigenous and minoritized people were not passive to the violence; thus, creating the opportunity for healing on behalf of Indigenous and minoritized peoples (Bhattacharya, 2015; Datta, 2017; Lorenz, 2017; Masta, 2019.

There are various manifestations of settler-colonial violence on U.S. higher education campuses. The first is the emphasis on western epistemologies on campuses, which assert that objectivity and universality claims are superior forms of knowledge (Masta, 2019; Bhattacharya, 2015). This manifests into training students to think and produce work using methodologies that do not account for issues of white supremacy and discounting other forms of knowledge that include street knowledge or non-traditional sources of understanding (oral histories, storytelling, writing outside of academic parameters) (Masta, 2019; Bhattacharya, 2015). The emphasis on objectivity creates a binary-mode of thinking (i.e., right/wrong; human/non-human) and influences how research is produced from an angle of the oppressor researching the oppressed and inflicts violence upon Indigenous and minoritized people. For example, professors and researchers socializes minoritized students into western epistemologies, neglect students' own forms of knowledge, and sanctioning minoritized students when they do not perform within the confines of universality and objectivity (Masta, 2019).

Often students are urged to separate their academic identity from their cultural identities—one exists in the classroom and the other exists outside of the classroom (Masta,

2019; Bhattacharya, 2015). Whiteness is the benchmark of success; therefore, Indigenous and minoritized students are urged to strip their identities when in classes if they seek to succeed. This is further encouraged through academic curriculums that omit Indigenous and minoritized voices, which serves the purposes of deeming non-white voices as incapable of holding knowledge (Brayboy, 2015; Masta, 2019). The detachment of cultural identity and 'academic' identity is a violent tension point for Indigenous and minoritized people because classroom environments devalue their ways of life and knowledges (Brayboy, 2005; Masta, 2019). In doing so, the possibility of an alternative form of knowing outside of the parameters of settler colonial ideology are suppressed to uphold settler knowledge as superior (Brayboy, 2005; Masta, 2019).

Scholars have argued that the standard of academic performance is anchored by the performance of white students, which may normalize certain standards of performance that embed whiteness (Adserias et al., 2016; Hoffman et al., 2019; Iverson, 2008) As such, this standard emphasizes western ways of knowing that may have become normalized over time, therefore, when some faculty, staff, and university leaders seek to create and implement a racial diversity initiative, they may seek information and construct initiatives that center the normalized standards of performance within the academy (Hoffman et al., 2019; Iverson, 2012). Unknowingly, institutions may be creating racial diversity initiatives that may overlook the standards of performance and unintentionally re-produce systems of oppression while seeking to address issues of diversity.

Scholars argue the emphasis on western epistemologies is an act of violence as it fundamentally writes/leaves out the realities minoritized populations face in and outside of an institution (Bhattacharya, 2015; Tuck & Yang, 2012). In addition, this practice only asserts the dominance of western research practices, as they pertain to the academy. By hinging on western

epistemologies and information collection processes, institutions may fall short in serving Indigenous and minoritized populations because these epistemological stances can make it difficult to recognize the barriers they face, which is a product of settler colonial ideology. Western positivist methodological strategies used to gather information on Indigenous and minoritized student populations often fall short. And when they fall short of fitting the necessary representation in a quantitative model, they are marked with an asterisk. The asterisk is a small note that states that the population of a certain group was too small to account. Inherently, certain populations will be too small because higher education is inaccessible—yet, that research may go unquestioned. As a result, information pertinent to create better racial diversity initiatives may lack accurate depiction of the challenges Indigenous and minoritized students face (Shatton et al., 2013). Therefore, it is important to interrogate the methods and practices utilized to make the claim for the need of racial diversity and identify if and how said practices may fall short in accounting for the normalized practices and knowledges; and how those they may perpetuate settler colonial ideologies (Lam, 2018).

Ideological justifications for Indigenous dispossession and setter authority

Third, the dimension of *ideological justifications for Indigenous dispossession and settler authority* highlights narratives used to justify settler violence and assert dominance and genocidal actions enacted by white settlers (Steinman, 2015). Justifications are the crafted stories and myths professed to provide grounds for violence that deem actions as necessary for improvement or for the evolution of society (Wolfe, 2006). Justifications that uphold the United States are tainted in violence and white supremacy (Glenn, 2015, Leonardo & Singh, 2017; Smith, 2012). A well-known and often taught justification of westward expansion is Manifest Destiny. The narrative of manifest destiny argued that white settlers received a celestial calling

that urged white settlers to expand westwards and share their elevated ways of life with populations that have had no contact with settlers (Brayboy, 2005). The celestial calling deemed white settlers as elite in the human hierarchy, which evolved into the ideology that white settlers were dominant (Brayboy, 2005). Thus, as superior in the human hierarchy, white settlers could engage in violent actions that would invade, occupy, and eradicate Indigenous presence because they had a celestial calling—a justified motive (Brayboy, 2005). In settler colonialism, violence is the only way to ensure settler dominance and futurity. To combat the justifications, Indigenous people and minoritized populations have promoted the engagement of critiquing western epistemologies, asserting Indigenous rights and Indigenous modernity (Steinman, 2015).

Higher education institutions engage in myth building and asserting ideological justifications for the actions taken to establish and maintain institutions. Since its inception, western education has been "complicit with multiple forms of oppression of women, sometimes men, children, minorities and Indigenous people" (Battiste, 2013, p. 159). Boarding schools were government issued institutions that kidnapped Indigenous children and sought to strip them of Indigenous identities. Indigenous children were beaten when speaking their native language, used as exploitable labor, and prohibited from communicating with their families (Adams, 1995; Masta, 2019). The United States government argued that sending Indigenous children to boarding schools was a rescue mission that saved them from their backwards and barbaric ways of life (Jacobs, 2006). However, such efforts served to build nation-hood allegiance and U.S. nationalism.

As the white settlers expanded westward, institutions of higher education later populated on the settled land and disregarded the treaties established between the U.S. and tribal nations (La Paperson, 2017; APLU, n.d.; Stein, 2017). The taking of land was justified due to the

argument that establishing institutions of higher education would provide U.S. citizens with access to education and practical skills. The justification transformed into federal policy knows as the Morrill Act (1890) (Stein, 2017; La Paperson, 2017). However, historical archives show the placement of institutions served to maintain the westward expansion, break apart Indigenous lands, and serve as assimilation sites (La Paperson, 2017; Stein, 2017).

Control of the population economy

The fourth dimension of SCDP, *control of population economy,* addresses the "variety of formal, conceptual, and material types of techniques to transfer(out), or diminish and eliminate, Indigenous nations and people" (Steinman, 2015, p. 228). Direct manifestations of control include policies, categories, and definitions that define tribal nation hood, Native membership and racial classifications (Steinman, 2015). Indirect control tactics include education to assimilate non-western populations into western ways of knowing that place an emphasis on individuality and the breaking up of tribal lands (Steinman, 2015). The control of the population (e.g., Indigenous and minoritized people) manifest in the creation of race and ethnicity, and the restrictive direction that only permits distancing from Indigenous identity (Steinman, 2015). The control of population ensures the survival of white settler dominance and collapses all forms of Indigenous understandings which serve to complicate the relationship amongst Indigenous peoples and minoritized groups. All three forms have been challenged throughout time and have provided calls for giving tribal nations the ability to define their own membership (direct control), creating Indigenous centered-education (informal), and persistent rejection of racial/ethnic categorizing of Indigenous people (conceptually).

Direct, informal, and conceptual forms of control exist and thrive in the U.S. higher education system. Admission policies and procedures for undergraduate students place an

emphasis on standardized tests such as the SAT or ACT, or for graduate students (Clayton, 2016). Standardized tests center western education and are biased towards western knowledge. Moreover, they have been proven to inadequately gauge the performance and abilities of students of color (Moffat, 1993; Johnson, 2003). However, various colleges insist on using standardized test as part of admissions policies. The use of standardized tests as a requirement of admissions policies disproportionately impacts Indigenous and minoritized representation on college and university campuses (Steinman, 2015; Clayton 2016; Brayboy 2005).

Indirect forms of control can take place at the departmental level, where departments may state the importance of diversity but do little or no effort to include minoritized voices of color in the curriculum or syllabi (De La Torre, 2018). Instead, departments that do not engage with course content that includes focuses on minoritized people, encourage students to take courses out of the department, which permits departments to protect the white voices they deem as canon. Conceptually, the use of the term 'diverse' or 'diversity' serves as signifier that the institution may care about minoritized students. However, such practice is often a façade used to create an image that the institution cares but enables the institution to continue its oppressive practices in and out of the classroom. Further, when signifying terms such as 'diverse' are used, rarely are they accompanied with a definition, yet alone a nuanced understanding of race and racism (Iverson, 2007).

Cultural appropriation

Fifth, *the cultural appropriation* dimension in the context of this framework depicts the utilization of Indigenous practices and identities to "make claims on the land and to symbolically displace actual Indigenous people" (Steinman, 2015, p. 229). This dimension frames how the United States asserts inclusion of Indigenous people as a symbolic gesture. Symbolic gestures

include the practice of Thanksgiving, propelling a myth of a friendly exchange amongst settlers and Indigenous peoples, and the contemporary illusion that the United States is friendly towards tribal nations (Steinman, 2015). Moreover, other manifestations include the use of Indigenous peoples as sport teams' mascots. The myth omits the violence and destruction brought about by white settlers and the resistance of Indigenous people in the last five centuries (Freedman, 2007). Efforts to challenge cultural appropriation include campaigns to remove Indigenous faces as mascots and challenging commercialized depictions of indigeneity (Steinman, 2015). The state of Maine became the first state to ban the use of Indigenous peoples and cultures as mascots in educational and athletic institutions, as a result of the efforts by the Penobscot Nation and Democrat legislators (Hauser, 2019).

On college and university campuses, institutions exemplify cultural appropriation by using Indigenous individuals as a mascot. Institutions that have Indigenous peoples as mascots include San Diego State University (Aztec Warriors), Florida State University (Seminoles), and University of Utah (Utes). Students have rallied across campuses urging institutions to stop the use of Indigenous imagery for the use of mascots (Gomez, 2018; Culpepper, 2014; Richards, 2016). Many groups have created teach-ins to educate populations and have created university resolutions in opposition (Rosen, 2015; Castagno & Lee, 2007). When institutions have Indigenous imagery as mascots it creates an oppressive reality for Indigenous peoples on the campus, because the institution signals that Indigenous people are mascots, further fueling campus cultures that permit the use of Indigenous culture to be a costume and appropriated because it is deemed as being school spirited (Castagno & Lee, 2007). If institutions argue that they care about diversity, they must confront their problematic practices and behaviors concerning cultural appropriation. Institutions, such as the University of Utah and Florida State

University, work in partnership with local tribal nations that allows tribal nations to make decisions about university events, traditions, and branding (Arnett, 2015; Rosen, 2015).

Institutions of higher education practice cultural appropriation in other mediums, as well. In the aspect of recruiting, brochures are a culturally appropriative tactic that depict predominantly white institutions as having diversity on their campus, creating the illusion that minoritized people will not feel out of place at the institution (Yosso, Smith, Ceja, Solorzano, 2009). Such tactics serve to bring in minoritized students to the campus, to increase the representative percentages of minoritized populations, which benefits the institution.

Institutions that boast to be inclusive often fail to acknowledge their troubled pasts in displacing Indigenous and minoritized people (Brayboy, 2005; Masta 2018). Land acknowledgements can begin a discussion of the horrific past Indigenous people face(d) but are not an end-all-be-all for institutions (Small, 2020; Stewart, 2019). Efforts to grapple with such tension needs to go beyond performance and instead grapple with the reality that institutions do not do enough to support the minoritized students they recruit (Turner, 1994; Bowie et al., 2017). Scholars have pointed to issues of lack of monies to support programs and centers that focus on the retention and inclusion of minoritized issues, the lack of awareness of the varied minoritized populations on campus, and the insufficient support of staff, faculty, and university leadership (Davis, 2002; Karkouti, 2016). By default, efforts towards inclusion do not often go beyond symbolic actions.

Denial of alternatives

The sixth and final dimension of the SCDP is *the denial of alternatives*. This dimension denotes settler's insistence that a settler colonial world is the only way for society to function and no other alternatives can exist outside of the already established parameters (Steinman, 2015).

Denying any logics outside of settler colonialism, such as de/colonizing actions, serve to maintain white supremacy and ensure settler futurity. In essence, unless an action benefits white supremacy, any actions presented to de/colonize or improve the lives of minoritized populations are deemed impossible (Steinman, 2015); and only efforts suggested by those in power are deemed as plausible and "best" at addressing situations.

For instance, Tribal-nations have provided possibilities to better the relationship between the U.S. and Indigenous peoples. Possibilities include recognizing tribal-nation governments as equal to the U.S. government, permitting tribal nations to govern themselves freely, or including tribal nations as new additions to the U.S. as States (Steinman, 2015). However, these outlined new possible alternatives to the current relationship between Indigenous people and the U.S., are denied because such efforts would create alternative realities that work against the dominance of settler colonialism; these new possible alternatives would utilize de/colonizing approaches to remove the power-dominance U.S. settler society has over Indigenous people (Steinman, 2015; Masta, 2019). For instance, if Tribal nations were designated as equal governing bodies to the U.S., the racial/ethnic categorization of "Native American" would dissolve the oppressive power the U.S. has over Indigenous peoples because Tribal nations would no longer be a part of the U.S. (Steinman, 2012). The settler colonial relationship of the U.S. would dissolve (Steinman, 2012). Alternatives to settler colonialism have always existed, however, the purpose of settler colonialism is to maintain its power. Therefore, settler societies will only engage in efforts that position settler society as benevolent and do not dissolve the settler colonial relationship with Indigenous populations (Masta, 2019; Steinman, 2015; Steinman, 2012; Brayboy, 2005). To act upon decolonizing alternatives afforded by Indigenous and minoritized peoples would weaken

the oppressive power of U.S. settler colonial society and the force of white supremacy (Masta, 2019; Steinman, 2015; Steinman, 2012; Brayboy, 2005).

To disrupt the normative power of settler colonialism and create alternative possibilities, Steinman (2015) provides two forms of de/colonizing strategic actions: educating non-Indigenous people about settler colonialism and its impacts on Indigenous lives; and identifying examples settler-indigenous relationships based in peace and friendship. Across all efforts to combat white supremacy, there is a need for critical mass and mobilization to reach the support of people in movement, it takes educational efforts that share insights on the oppression individuals face—in this case Indigenous peoples (Bird, 1999; Fortier, 2017; Smith, 2012) . Practices such as storytelling are necessary, stories "are the guardians of cumulative knowledges that hold a place in the psyches of the group members, memories of tradition, and reflections of power" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 440).

In higher education, there is an emphasis on western knowledge which centers the importance of research practices that assert universal truths and objectivity (Bhattacharya, 2015; Masta, 2019). This emphasis centers western ways of knowing as the sole and superior form of knowing (Datta, 2017). For instance, quantitative methods and objective research approaches are valued by higher education institutions and this value is demonstrated by socialization of students into objective research approaches (Datta, 2017; Patel, 2016). As such, any attempts to demonstrate alternative forms of understanding outside of the western canon is refuted or discredited—this denial eliminates the possible alternative that there is more than one way of knowledge that is equal to western approaches to knowledge (Datta, 2017; Patel, 2016).

An example of educating potential allies in higher education is exemplified by the Dakota activist who created and taught a 10-week course at the Twin Cities Experimental College on

solidarity for allies in 2009 to aid in their efforts to combat settler colonialism (Steinman, 2015; Unsettling Dakota, 2009). The course was geared towards white individuals and people color, of which can participate complicity in the maintenance of settler colonialism. This course aimed to de/colonized participants understandings of systemic and challenge participants to identify ways in which they can support de/colonization. Embedded in this course were examples of past settler-Indigenous relationship that were grounded in peace and friendship, such as the Two Row Wampum Treaty which was created by the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch in 1634 (Onondaga Nation, 2019). The treaty agreed upon three principles: friendship, peace, and the principle that the treaty and its principals would be forever lasting (Onondaga Nation, 2018). Identifying past settler-Indigenous relationships based in peace and friendship is noted as a secondary de/colonizing strategy by Steinman (2015). When applied to racial diversity initiatives, this dimension challenges researchers to interrogate what possible alternatives may exist to common diversity imitative approaches; and identify if and how an intuition's racial diversity initiative encompasses pockets of alternative approaches that may facilitate decolonizing approaches that embark structural transformation for Indigenous and minoritized populations on a campus.

Steinman's (2015) SCDP addresses and illuminates the white supremacy of settler colonialism and the force it has in influencing every aspect of U.S. life, including higher education institutions and racial diversity initiatives within them. Although settler colonialism illustrates the white supremacy that may influence higher education institutions at the macro level, it falls short in capturing the organizational processes that facilitate organizational power and decision making. In this dissertation, Implementation Theory frames the process of implementation in an organization, in this case IUPUI. The inclusion of Implementation Theory

with SCDP is necessary in building a theoretical lens that allows for a robust analysis of systemic and organizational power as it pertains to the Welcoming Campus Initiative at IUPUI.

Implementation Theory

Implementation Theory is an organizational theory that provides researchers with a framework to better identify, describe, and explain various elements of implementation processes and outcomes of an organization (May, 2013). Implementation is a social process, an ongoing, interactive, and continuous accomplishment. Implementation is an "initiated process, in which agents intend to bring into operation new or modified practices that are institutionally sanctioned and are performed by themselves and other agents" (May, 2013, p. 4). In this dissertation, the institutionally sanctioned and initiated process is the Welcoming Campus Initiative (WCI) and the White Racial Literacy Project (WRLP) at IUPUI. The initiative aims to modify the practices at the institution to become more welcoming and inclusive and is performed by various levels of the organizational structure, including university leadership, faculty and staff. The organizational structure of an institution establishes hierarchies of power that depict the power certain roles have within the institution (Acker, 1990). Continuing with the example of higher education, mechanisms include the bureaucracy of decision making which stems from the bottom of the hierarchy and has to clear upper levels to be approved or disapproved. It also includes governing bodies such as academic senates which hold the organizational power to introduce new majors to the university, grant longevity at the institution through tenure, and implement diversity course requirements (Altbach, Gumport, & Berdahl, 2011).

Generally, across all campuses the chancellor or president is the highest-ranking individual. The chancellor/president holds the most organizational power at an institution which permits the chancellor/president to make decisions for the entire campus (Pfeffer, 1981;

Birnbaum, 1998). When it comes to creating racial diversity initiative, the initiatives often stem from the chancellor/presidents (LePeau et al., 2019). Institutionally sanctioned racial diversity initiatives hold power because they are sanctioned by university chancellor/president and therefore, all members of the institutions must adapt to the goals of a racial diversity initiative (Kezar & Eckel, 2018; LePeau et al., 2019).

Central to Implementation Theory is the understanding that "social and cognitive processes of all kinds involve social 'mechanisms' that are contextualized within social systems and from which spring expressions of agency" (May, 2013). Whenever a new way of thinking, organizing, or acting is introduced to any social system, "it is formed as a complex bundle—or better, an 'ensemble'—of material and cognitive practices" (May, 2013). Organizations do not make decisions, it is the people within the organization that make the decisions and make up the organizations (Pfeffer, 1972). Implementation Theory illustrates the interaction of any given social system, the people within the social system, and the context of the situation.

SCDP explains the role that settler colonialism has as an oppressive force in the social system of the United States (Steinman, 2015). Oppressive force is maintained through structures, such as higher education institutions, and the practices within them. People within organizations hold attitudes and perform practices that maintain and perpetuate settler colonialism (Steinman, 2015). Therefore, it is important to link Implementation Theory to SCDP because organizations, and their leaders, are not power neutral. institutions of higher education and institutional leaders are fueled by settler colonial ideology and normativity (Steinman, 2015).

Implementation is understood as the interaction amongst agents, processes, and contexts which are all implicated by settler colonialism (May, 2013). As a social process, implementation seeks to implement a *complex intervention*, which encompasses any new way of thinking or

practice. At IUPUI, a complex intervention encompasses efforts to engage white individuals to discuss race, racism and their role in maintaining both; facilitating workshops to create better syllabi that include scholars of color and non-western epistemologies; and programs that illuminate the power and oppression in life outside of the institution (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). Implementation is then understood as the actions of disseminating information, bridging knew forms of understanding as they pertain to white supremacy, and the gathering of necessary data. Implementation Theory forwards a template to better understand the various elements of an organization that dictate the effectiveness of an implementation process. Here, Implementation Theory helps to structure a better analysis of the WCI and the WRLP by accounting for the social system of IUPUI (i.e., norms, history). the mechanisms at play within the organizational structure (i.e., decision making), and the people who make up the organization; and addressing the role of white supremacy has in influencing all of these aspects.

Implementation is built upon the fundamental understanding that social systems consist of organized, contingent, and dynamic relationships amongst individuals (May, 2013). In U.S. society, there are social systems in place that guide our lives, such as governments that dictate and inform the engagement amongst people who interact with one another. Interactions are informed by established structures such as laws and policies that determine permitted and sanctioned behaviors. White supremacy influences the social systems that inform relationships amongst individuals, influencing the normative practice of white supremacy.

Implementation Theory, as applied to institutions of higher education, can be understood through two overarching concepts: context and agency. All institutions have a context for implementing a racial diversity initiative. Context refers to the *capacity* of a social system to accommodate an implementation process and the *potential* of the individual and collective

attitudes of agents in the organization to facilitate change and the malleability of the organizational culture (May, 2013). Linking context to SCDP, colleges and universities have institutional contexts that may be particular to each institution. However, these institutional contexts live within larger societal constructs that are informed by systems of oppression (i.e., white supremacy, racism). The inclusion of SCDP with implementation theory facilitates a more accurate interrogation of an institutional contexts to better inform how larger systems of oppression may have influence the institutional context over time (Brayboy, 2006; Steinman, 2015).

Agents (individuals or groups of people) responses to different circumstances are strategic and a reflection of their values and makeup the mechanisms within a social system. Agents in higher education institutions include university leadership, faculty, and staff. All individuals hold personal values and attitudes that are influenced by white supremacy and are performed within the organizational context. For example, when diversity course requirements are introduced, faculty are permitted to vote against the measure and delay the addition to the university. It is here that their personal beliefs influence the functions of an institution. Agent's actions influence malleability of a social system, influencing the implementation of a new 'thing'. Functioning with the fundamental understandings that social systems are real, engage through mechanisms, and are acted upon by individuals.

Agency, Context, and Implementation Theory

With Implementation Theory, agency refers to the *capability* of the complex intervention to become embedded into the organization and the *contribution* of agents to continuously carry forward the intervention. At institutions of higher education, the capability to carry out a racial diversity initiative is often met with financial support, but it is the people in the organization that

must have the capacity to engage with white supremacy to create a diverse and inclusive campus. To do so, racial diversity initiatives require individuals to contribute programmatic efforts for people to engage. For example, regarding the WCI, the programmatic efforts include the White Racial Literacy Project which aims to engage white constituents to discuss the oppressive force of racism and white supremacy.

As mentioned, Implementation Theory addresses the context and agency of an implementation process. To operationalize learning, Implementation Theory is composed of four constructs: *capacity*, *potential*, *capability* and *contribution*. Capacity and potential pertain to the context of an organization and capability and contribution pertain to the agency of members within an organization. To facilitate the understanding of readers, I present the four constructs individually below.

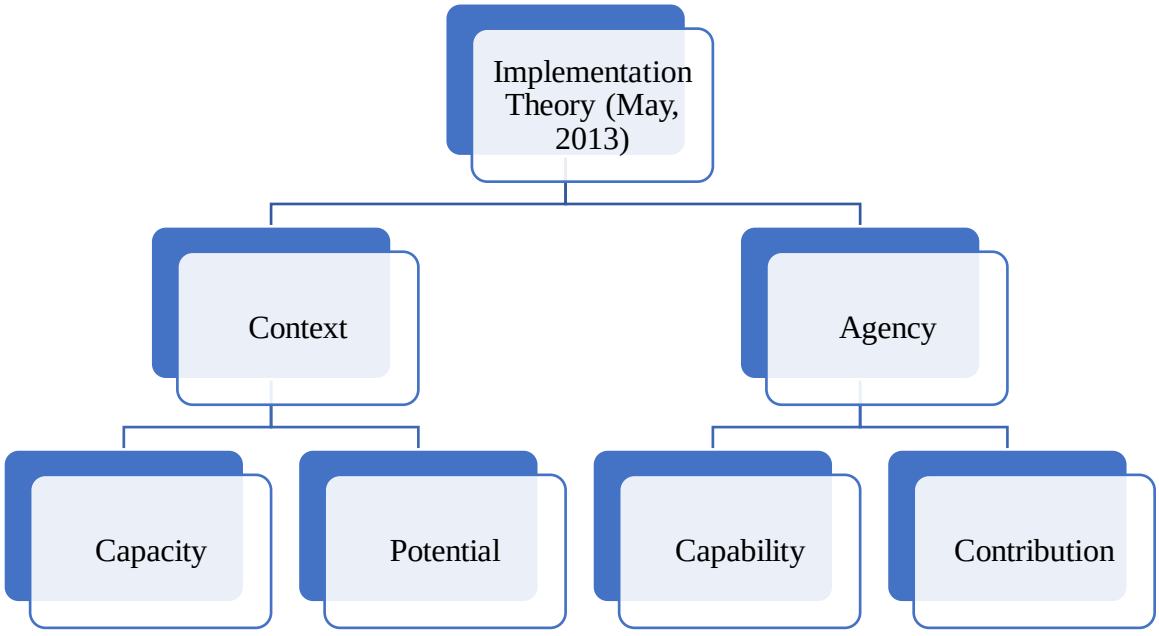


Figure 1: Implementation Theory

Capacity

Capacity refers to the ability of individuals within an organization to coordinate cognitive and material resources, utilize organizational roles, and accompanying power, to transform social norms (May, 2013). Individuals working in higher education institutions are part of a bounded and highly structured organization that creates and gives meaning to roles that individuals assume (May, 2013). In this context individuals belong to an organizational role such as faculty, staff and/or university leadership. These roles are context specific to an institution. In these highly structured organizations, organizational charts dictate the roles of all three groups, faculty, staff, and students, provide meaning of each of the roles, and establish the shared governance structures in which they engage in (Birnbaun, 1988; Altbach et al., 2011).

In an organization, agents vary across context-dependent affiliations, institutional roles, and social norms, which regulate conduct through consensual and coercive means (May, 2013). For example, at IUPUI, the agents involved with the WCI include University Leadership (Chancellor and his cabinet) who lead the institution towards the vision of the Chancellor. Faculty teach, research, and provide service to the institution through committee work and involvement in shared governance processes. Staff lead the institution in both academic and student affairs efforts the provide support for students on campus (Altbach et al., 2011). As such, the capacity for a social network system to accommodate an implementation process depends on the resources available to faculty, staff and university leaders. Said resources include *social norms, social roles, material resources,* and *cognitive resources*.

Social norms are the institutionally sanctioned rules that provide structure and give meaning to the social system; and govern membership, behavior, rewards, and participation in the complex intervention (May, 2013). Social norms at many institutions include tenure and promotion processes for tenure track faculty that dictate longevity with the institution, shared

government processes like academic senate, and raises for performance at the staff level. Social roles are identities held within an organization that frame interactions and behavior and define "expectations of participants in a complex intervention" (May, 2013, p. 6). In the context of the WCI and the WRLP, social roles link to the expected participation of faculty, staff, and university leaders held by the Chancellor of the institution in participating with the implementation of the racial diversity initiative. Material resources encompass currencies (symbolic and actual), organizational environments, and physical system that are organizationally sanctioned to agents; and frame access to resources needed to actualize the complex intervention (May, 2013). In this context material resources refers to the million-dollar allocation by the Chancellor to fund programmatic efforts that transform IUPUI into becoming a more welcoming campus. Cognitive resources refer to the knowledge, evidence, and objects that are in a social system and are institutionally dispersed to agents in the organization. Cognitive resources frame agents' access to information needed to actualize the complex intervention (May, 2013). Cognitive resource are the findings gathered by task forces of the WCI regarding the five topical areas that include: campus climate, physical accessibility, faculty and staff, students, and community and alumni (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2019).

In sum, the success of implementing a racial diversity initiative will be impacted by the ability of individuals (agents) within the organization to coordinate and cooperate their actions (May, 2013). While this construct engages with the four resources that impact the capacity of an institution to implement a racial diversity initiative, (*social norms*, *social roles*, *material resources*, and *cognitive resources)*, the construct falls short in incorporating the influence of white supremacy has on influencing each of the four resources. Settlers determine normativity in the United States, hence, social norms within institutions are often laced with white supremacy

which impacts Indigenous and minoritized individuals across social roles in the institution differently. Due to the lack of awareness of white supremacy by white settlers, colonized individuals must add to their roles the need to educate and answer various questions regarding diversity and the discourses and practices linked to it (Brayboy et al., 2015). Such knowledge would be deemed as cognitive resources by this construct which includes the personal experiences colonized individuals face in the U.S. and at institutions of higher education. When cognitive resources influence programmatic efforts of racial diversity initiative, material resources may be accompanied to actualize the efforts. The effect of the programmatic efforts is the interest of this dissertation, which asserts the need for the inclusion of Implementation Theory. In essence this construct argues that the ability to embed racial diversity initiatives at an institution of higher education depends on the capacity of the university and its members.

Potential

The construct of *potential* is related to an organization's readiness to implement a complex intervention (May, 2013). Readiness is the ability of the members within an organization to commit to the new change, individually and collectively. At many institutions, the potential of a racial diversity initiative is dependent on the readiness of the faculty, staff, and administrators to commit to transforming the institution into a more welcoming campus.

The potential of any given organization is dependent on the personnel that make up the organization. Implementation processes require both individual and collective action, as implementation is a collaborative process (May, 2013). To better gauge the potential of an organization to implement a new initiative, like a racial diversity initiative—*individuals' intentions* and *shared commitments* must be evaluated. Individual intentions are agents' readiness to shift their personally held beliefs and attitude into behaviors that are "congruent, or not

congruent, with system norms and roles" (May, 2013, p. 7). Here, *individuals' intentions* address the beliefs and attitudes that faculty, staff and administrators have, of which are all influenced by settler colonialism. The identities of individuals in conjunction with their personal alignment with settler identity may shape how they perceive the need for the inclusion of a racial diversity initiative and their personal commitment to assisting in its success or opting for its demise. Individual intentions translate to an individual's willingness and motivation to participate in the complex intervention.

Shared commitments capture agents' readiness to "translate shared beliefs and attitudes into behaviors that are congruent, or not congruent, with system norms and roles" (May, 2013, p. 7). Congruent behaviors to the implementation of a racial diversity initiative could include the efforts of the Institution's President, his cabinet, and supporting staff, faculty, and administration to form task forces to gather pertinent information to create a more welcoming campus. Incongruent behaviors may include lack of participation or full understanding of the goals of an initiative. It this particular framing of agency that fuels my curiosity in exploring this project of analyzing the WCI and the WRLP with a lens that accounts for the influence of organizational and societal elements. The ability to refuse participation may be linked to white supremacy and the beliefs perpetuated by settler normativity. The construct of potential proposes that *"the translation of capacity into collective action depend on agents' potential to enact the complex intervention"* (May, 2013, p. 8). The implementation of the WCI and WRLP at IUPUI will depend on the people who make up the organization, and their commitment to operationalizing the efforts into practice; and normalizing the new practices into the institutional culture.

Capability

Capability refers to the ability of individuals within an organization (institution) to operationalize a complex intervention (racial diversity initiative) based on the ease of use and ability to integrate into practice. A complex intervention is "a cognitive and behavioral ensemble that involves different material and cognitive practices, relations and interactions" (May, 2013, p. 4). Complex interventions are often more difficult to implement and embed into practice than predicted (May, 2013). Examples include diversity efforts to increase faculty diversity through new recruitment practices or enacting a campus wide initiative seeking to gauge awareness of white supremacy (Bowman et al., 2016; Fraser & Hunt, 2011).

Across the U.S., racial diversity initiatives have become a popular institutional response to student protest and demands for an increase in minoritized representation amongst faculty lines that can account for their lived experiences, some institutions committed large sums of monies to increase faculty diversity (Hoffman et al., 2019; Newkirk, 2019; Williams & Clowney, 2007). Yale committed fifty-million dollars, Johns Hopkins committed twenty-five million dollars, and Brown committed one hundred and sixty million dollars to engage in new strategies such as active recruitment strategies for minoritized faculty, enhancing the pipeline of minoritized graduate students, and bringing senior faculty of color to campuses for temporary appointments (Newkirk, 2019; Yale University, 2018; Trustees of Dartmouth, n.d.; Brown University, 2017). Based on the construct of *capability*, the extent of the success of these implemented strategies by Yale, Dartmouth, Johns Hopkins, and Brown would be dependent on the ability of the faculty, staff, and university leaders to understand the role racial bias may play in hiring and retaining faculty of color; and how amending and adapting current practices and policies may influence an increase in hiring and retaining faculty of color on their campuses (May, 2013). Adding SCDP to this understanding reaches a new depth that links racial bias to

white supremacy, expanding the understanding of racial bias as a historic and contemporary phenomenon that would require continuous and longitudinal efforts to address on the campus (Steinman, 2015; Brayboy, 2006; Masta, 2019; Hoffman et al., 2019; Adserias et al., 2016).

The construct of capability proposes that "*the capability of agents to operationalize a complex intervention depends on its workability and integration within a social system"* (May, 2013, p. 5). To effectively change an organization and implement a complex intervention, the qualities of the complex intervention must be *workable in* and *integrated into* practice (May, 2013). Workability refers to the practices agents in an organization perform when operationalizing a complex intervention within a social system (May, 2013, p. 5). For example, in the context of racial diversity initiatives, this may include a workshop that teaches faculty how to transform their syllabi to become more inclusive (e.g., including more voices of color and topics left out of the canon of any given department) (Fradella, 2018). Integration refers to the linkages agents make amongst practices of the complex intervention and the elements of the social system of their organization—the context of the use (May, 2013). Integration then links the need to transform common practices that normalize western knowledge and settler performance in the academy (Fradella, 2018; May, 2013). Put together, the workability teaches faculty what they can do, and integration makes the connection for the practice to the ideological stances that call for the change (May, 2013).

Contribution

Contribution refers to active participation of members of an organization to make sense of the complex intervention, embed it into their work, and reflect on the change to work towards continuous implementation (May, 2013). Faculty, staff, and administrators make up institutions, therefore, the success of a racial diversity initiative can often be dependent on their active

participation (Altbach et al., 2011; May, 2013). Because implementation is a moving process and not an outcome, Implementation Theory outlines four dimensions that characterize the construct of contribution: *sense-making, cognitive participation, collective action,* and *reflexive mentoring* (May, 2013, p. 8). Sense-making are the attributions made by agents to make meaning of the complex intervention and its possibilities (May, 2013). At an institution, those involved in the racial diversity initiative may believe that the efforts made by them can create a new normal at the institution that is infused with practices that account for systemic oppression. This dimension frames participants' views, their role in the intervention, and how they come to understand it. Cognitive participation refers to how agents legitimize and enroll themselves and others into the complex intervention; framing how agents become members of a community (May, 2013). At an institution, this can manifest in the intentional action of inviting fellow colleagues to participate in an event or facilitate a workshop (Hode et al., 2017). It is through the actions of engaging with others that collective action can support a racial diversity initiative. Collective action refers to the mobilization of skills and resources to enact the intervention—framing how agents realize the intervention into practice (May, 2013). This includes the efforts of faculty to create programmatic efforts that pull from personal skills and knowledges, as well as others from outside of the university to share their best practices with the institution (Zuniga et al., 2015). Reflexive mentoring captures the process of agents appraising the effects of the intervention and using the information to reconfigure social relations and action within the organization. For example, assessing the impact of a racial diversity initiative after each year can provide insights on the extent in which an initiative is meeting its established goals and inform the need for adapting efforts (Deas et al., 2012)

This dimension frames the collection of results and its utilization to gauge effect. Many aspects of a racial diversity initiative include aspects of assessment that aim to measure the effects of the workshops, speakers, and events on the increased awareness of skills and practices that can transform institutions into more welcoming campuses. This construct then proposes that "*the implementation of a complex intervention depends on agents' continuous contributions that carry forward in time and space"* (May, 2013, p. 9). Racial diversity initiatives are a process that need to transcend time and space to create a welcoming campus. Settler colonialism is a rampant force that adapts and changes which influences institutions of higher education to change adapt as well to protect settler futurity.

Review of Conceptual Frameworks

The use of SCDP and Implementation Theory is necessary to frame the questions that guide this study. The first question aims to understand the societal and organizational elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and the WRLP. At a fundamental level, this dissertation uses SCDP to ground an understanding of the white supremacy and force settler colonialism has in shaping the lives of people in the United States, and the structure they interact with, such as institutions of higher education. While SCDP captures white supremacy at the macro level, it is coupled with an organizational theory to frame the understanding of organizational processes surrounding implementation. I use Implementation Theory to illustrate the component of implementation processes and link it to the WCI. When used together, the two frames grant an opportunity to illuminate the context of the institution as it functions according to the framework of Implementation Theory, and SCDP works to illuminate how white supremacy has and exists within the IUPUI context. The second question seeks to illuminate how white supremacy manifested in the implementation of the WRKP at IUPUI. Implementation Theory frames the

concept of agency (i.e., individual and collective actions) that facilitated or inhibited the implementation of the WRLP, while SCDP adds an additional lens to highlight how white supremacy and settler society shape personal beliefs, identities, and understanding of individuals influencing the implementation of the WRLP. Together, the two frames provide the opportunity to outline the process of implementation that accounts for context and agency, while exposing how settler colonialism and white supremacy influence the context and agency within IUPUI.

Review of the Literature on Racial Diversity Trends in U.S. Higher Education

Since the legal cases against the University of Michigan, institutions have implemented a variety of racial diversity initiatives across colleges and universities in the United States (Patton et al., 2019). Generally, racial diversity initiatives fall into four main categories: co-curricular initiatives and programs aimed to develop racial awareness, curricular initiatives aimed at infusing diversity into classroom environments, administration and leadership initiatives aimed infusing diversity into organizational learning and structures, and institutional policy initiatives that center diversity efforts (Patton et al., 2019).

Co-curricular interventions include efforts to raise racial awareness through intergroup dialogue (Alimo, 2012), diversity mentoring programs for racially minoritized students (Wilson et al., 2012), and creating pipeline programs for minoritized students in STEM (Allen-Ramdial & Campbell, 2014). Curricular initiatives include the introduction of a diversity course requirement to introduce students to concepts of discrimination (Musil, 2002), providing dialogue based pedagogical efforts to enhance classroom discussions for students and faculty (Clark, 2015), and programs that teach faculty how to evaluate their own culturally relevant teaching practices (Austin et al., 2019). Administration and leadership efforts include collaborative partnerships between academic and student affairs department when engaging diversity (LePeau et al., 2018),

programs to increase the retention of faculty of color (Piercy et al., 2005), and diversity training instituted for staff and faculty (Booker et al., 2016). Policy efforts include the examination of the discourse used in university action plans (Iverson, 2007, 2010) and the role of President's council in setting institutional priorities and agendas (LePeau et al., 2018). Below, I explain each of these trends, and describe the scholarship that analyzes and centers each trend, in more depth.

Racial Diversity and Co-Curricular Efforts

First, institutions often implement co-curricular efforts aimed to develop awareness of racial diversity issues and provide institutional support for racially minoritized students on campus. One of the earliest documented and assessed racial diversity initiatives of this category took place at Northern Illinois University (NIU; Henley, 1990). As a response to improve the hostile campus environment for Black students, NIU implemented a weeklong diversity intervention, *Diversity Week,* to raise "awareness and appreciation for racial and cultural diversity and to address racism" (Henley, 1990, p. 315). *Diversity Week* included various programmatic elements: a keynote, an essay contest about the importance of diversity, a forum on white racism, unlearning racism workshop, faculty seminar, and interracial communication workshops (Henley, 1990).

This vast approach to combat the racially hostile campus environment inspired various types of racial diversity initiatives that aim to support minoritized students. These racial diversity initiatives often include racially/culturally competent leadership programs that develop leadership (Eagan, 2019; Druery & Brooms, 2019). For instance, Druery & Brooms (2019) illustrated a leadership development program that provides Black undergraduate men with authentic peer interactions, culturally responsive mentoring, and race-cognizant professional development opportunities. This type of racial diversity initiative can include on campus

residential learning communities (Smith, 2018; Wolaver & Finley, 2020; Zuniga et al., 2015). Zuniga et al (2015) demonstrated the positive impacts a residential learning community aimed at developing students' multicultural consciousness that account for systems of oppression (i.e., racism) had on preparing undergraduate students to become citizens that fight for democracy in society. While various initiatives exist within the student support category, I focus on two practices: *intergroup dialogue programs and the establishment of cultural centers*. I highlight these two approaches because they are two initiatives that have become common across institutions and continue to capture scholars' focus within higher education research (Jayakumar et al., 2018; Hurtado, 2007). Moreover, these two practices aim to facilitate difficult conversations that engage the concept of race and racism across faculty, staff, and students.

Intergroup dialogue programs and workshops often invite students from diverse racial identities to engage in cross-racial discussions on various topics such as racism (Alimo, 2015; Nagda et al., 2009). Often, these initiatives are ongoing across campus and facilitated by peer educators. Generally, research has focused on the outcomes of intergroup dialogue interventions and shown that IGD interventions have positive impacts on increasing racial awareness, change in racial attitudes, and prepare students to act (Alimo, 2012; Frantell et al., 2019; Zuniga et al., 2012; Nagda et al., 2009). The focus on outcomes of IGD has left room for researchers to explore what occurs *in* the dialogues. In their qualitative exploration of undergraduate participants in a single intergroup dialogue program session, Buckley & Quaye (2014) found that while the program was rooted in broad ideas of social justice, there was not a strong connection in the dialogues that addressed or linked micro-interactions of oppression to macro systems of oppression (e.g., white supremacy, racism). Therefore, while intergroup dialogue programs and workshops provide an opportunity to engage individuals in conversations, their impact may fall

short in making connections to larger systems of oppressions that are necessary to influence long term change (Buckley & Quaye, 2014; Callier, 2018).

An additional effort to provide minoritized students with support has occurred through the establishment of cultural centers (Hefner, 2002; Patton, 2006; Patton & Hannon, 2008; Shuford & Palmer, 2004). Cultural centers provide opportunities for students to learn and experience the value of racial diversity on campus (Patton & Hannon, 2008; Young, 1991). Patton (2006) examined the perceptions of Black students regarding a Black cultural center and found that the center facilitated student transitions to the university campus, provided a sense of home on the campus, and that the individuals who ran the center played an influential role in students' perceptions of the center (Patton, 2006). Campus cultural centers are pivotal in the retention of racially minoritized populations as cultural centers often serve as oasis for racially minoritized students on majority white campuses (Hefner, 2002). Cultural centers are often perceived as the hub for diversity because they are grounded in an understanding of systemic oppression and its impact on the lives of minoritized populations on a college campus (Shuford & Palmer, 2004). Cultural centers work to facilitate connections between minoritized students that support racial identity development and provide a space to share, account, and affirm their experiences on white campuses (Patton, 2006). However, a challenge with this type of intervention is that it positions cultural centers as solely responsible for all work that engages and addresses diversity issues on a campus (Patton, 2006). In placing responsibility to a single center, the institution liberates itself from having to embed racial diversity across all other facets of the institution, which permits white supremacy to go unchecked.

Scholars have assessed the various outcomes of student support racial diversity initiatives and have demonstrated positive outcomes. For instance, Teranzini et al. (1996) assessed the

attitudes of white students post participating in racial/cultural awareness workshops across 17 colleges in 10 different states and found that white students demonstrated favorable attitudes towards diversity on campuses (Teranzini et al., 1996). Bowman and colleagues (2016) employed a quantitative longitudinal approach to examine the long-term impacts of undergraduate participation in a racial/awareness workshops on civic engagement, six years post-graduation. The civic engagement outcomes included community leadership, agency for affecting social change, socializing across race, and engaging in discussions on racial issues. The authors found that there were significant positive impacts across the majority of outcomes, across racial/ethnic and gender variables (Bowman et al., 2016).

However, one challenge with research on the benefits of these courses is that they are mainly quantitative (Bowman et al., 2016; Zuniga et al., 2015). The landscape of literature on student support for racial diversity generally outlines and describes the different types of initiatives employed and the benefits these initiatives have on students (Bowman et al., 2016; Arce-Trigatti & Anderson, 2020; Zuniga et al., 2015). To illustrate the positive outcomes of these initiatives, the literature mainly employs quantitative research designs that use variables such as students "comfort communicating across difference" and "capacity for empathy across differences" to make assertions on the positive impacts of initiatives such as intergroup dialogue (Bowman et al., 2016; Teranzini et al., 1996; Zuniga et al., 2015). These variable hinge on concepts of pluralisms and multiculturalism which fall short in facilitating transformative change on campuses because these concepts do not engage or account for the structural and systemic nature of white supremacy (Arce-Trigatti & Anderson, 2020).

The focus on quantitative methods exposes a need for qualitative research designs and a need for the incorporation of critical theories to build a better analysis of the impact of these

initiatives. A qualitative approach provides an opportunity to explore the experiences of individuals, the contexts and ideologies that influence their participation in the implementation of a racial diversity initiative and interrogate the influences of systems of power and oppression have on individuals and the processes they participate in (Bhattacharya, 2017). Some current research, however, does incorporate a critical lens that accounts for the role of racism and white supremacy and utilizes the frameworks to demonstrate the importance of cultural on campuses and the impact they have on racially minoritized students (Hefner, 2002; Patton, 2006; Shuford & Palmer, 2004). Infusing a lens that can account for the influence macro forces, like white supremacy, on influencing campus racial climates can provide a nuanced analysis of student support initiatives and their impact in combatting racially hostile environments. Conversely, the literature does little to illustrate how co-curricular initiatives were implemented with a framework that accounts for the institutional context and the agency employed by faculty and staff to effectively implement the initiative from a micro-lens (i.e., day-to-day decision making). Research that accounts for both organization framing of implementation processes and critical theories that engage with white supremacy to provide better analysis of racial diversity initiatives is needed. As a result, this qualitative dissertation uses a conceptual framework that accounts for both an organizational framing of implementation and a lens to account for the influence of white supremacy on the implementation of a racial diversity initiative.

Curricular Initiatives for Racial Diversity

Second, institutions often implement curricular initiatives aimed at infusing racial diversity into the academic components of institutions, including classroom environments, teaching practices, and general cultural competency across faculty (Austin et al., 2019; Bennet-Alexander, 2018; Clark, 2015; Cook-Sather et al., 2018; Hode et al., 2017; Patton et al., 2019).

For instance, Cook-Sather et al., (2018) explored a campus initiative that paired undergraduate students with faculty to create and teach a diversity course on campus and found that the collaborate approach made students feel affirmed, heard, and included in the course content and classroom environment. Hode et al. (2017) outlined and illuminated the positive impacts an online mandatory training module on racial diversity had on faculty and staff.

Early curricular initiatives can be traced back to the 1970s. The purpose of many curricular initiatives is to recruit and retain minoritized students (Bennett, 2002; Health, 1970; Robinson et al., 2003; Trent et al., 2003). Two common curricular initiatives employed across institutions that have garnered substantial attention from researchers are pipeline programs and diversity course requirements (Baber, 2015; Bennett, 2002; Bowman, 2010; Case, 2007; O'Meara et al., 2019; Robinson et al., 2003; Stacy Ann et al., 2014; Trent et al., 2003; Wilson et al., 2011). Below, I explore pipeline programs and diversity course requirements in more depth.

First, pipeline programs are institutional initiatives that target minoritized populations through outreach and provide a supportive academic environment to provide access, retain and graduate populations of interest (Robinson et al., 2003). For instance, Dickinson et al. (2020) outlined the outreach initiative employed by the political science department at Jackson State University to increase the amount of racially diverse students in their doctoral programs. In their approach, the department exposed undergraduate to their program early on, provided mentorship and paid research opportunities (Dickinson et al., 2020). Moreover, there are national racial diversity pipeline programs that institutions adopt such as the Short-Term Education Program for Underrepresented Persons (STEP-UP) (Halpren-Felsher & McLaughlin, 2018). The STEP-UP program aims to increase the number of racially minoritized students in STEM through early

high school outreach programs that are in partnership with various colleges and universities across the country (Halpren-Felsher & McLaughlin, 2018).

While aimed at supporting minoritized students, some pipeline programs have proved problematic. Health (1970) explored the experiences of Black students at Illinois State University who were a part of the *Illinois States University's High Potential Program*; a program that recruited, provided scholarships, and tutoring for "talented" Black students. The author found that the program was coined as the "noble savage" program by participants. Participants criticized the program for assuming that Black students were inferior to the rest of the campus and that they lacked the necessary academic abilities to succeed at the institution (Health, 1970). Moreover, participants shared that the program was a stunt to publicly benefit the institution; the program was in the best interest of the institution and not for the students (Health, 1970).

Recognizing the growing numbers of racially minoritized students in the country and the limited number of teachers of color in P-12 systems, institutions created initiatives to address these concerns (Bennett, 2002; Robinson, 2003; Trent et al., 2003). For instance, Project TEAM was initiated in 1996 at Indiana University, Bloomington to increase the amount of minoritized teachers in Indiana (Bennett, 2002). The purpose of Project TEAM was to identify and recruit talented minoritized students at the institution and educate and retain students through coursework and learning community that centered social justice and racial/ethnic development (Bennett, 2002). These types of curricular initiatives aimed to create a sense of community for racially minoritized students on predominantly white campuses, equip students with course content that would prepare them to be culturally competent educators, and provide professional development that would aid in their success (Bennett, 2002; Robinson, 2003; Trent et al., 2003). Embedded in these initiatives was the understanding that racially minoritized students faced

challenges acclimating to college and university campus which were due to the perceived deficiencies students held in academic arenas. This type of sentiment would carry forward to contemporary pipeline initiatives.

Since the early pipeline initiatives outlined above, colleges and universities have continued to implement pipeline initiatives, particularly in the areas of STEM (Baber, 2015; O'Meara et al., 2019; Stacy Ann et al., 2014; Wilson et al., 2011). In their ethnographic explanation of under-represented minority (URM) graduate students involved with a National Science Foundation retention program, a program that provides URM students with professional development, mentoring, and community-building celebrations, the authors found that the program provides an opportunity for URM to build community amongst each other. Moreover, students felt that while they were provided with mentoring and professional development, the standards of performance they were being taught and socialized into were linked to white students' academic performance (O'Meara et al., 2019).

Pipeline initiatives have potential to facilitate a welcoming campus environment for minoritized students (Baber, 2015; Dickinson et al., 2020). For instance, centering course content and establishing learning environments that account for students' racial/ethnic identities and the systems of oppression that impact them can be powerful and instrumental in increasing students' sense of belonging on a historically/predominantly white campus (Bennett, 2002; Strayhorn, 2012).

Pipeline programs create spaces for minoritized students to establish a sense of community with their peers within academic departments that assist with their retention (O'Meara et al., 2019; Robinson, 2003; Strayhorn, 2012). However, there are some fundamental flaws with these programs and the research of these programs. First, these initiatives aim to

increase the presence of minoritized students across programs and retain students through supplemental aid via professional development and mentoring. Yet, students experience microaggressions and ill-suited advice and mentoring from faculty in their programs (Baber, 2015). Second, these programs perpetuate white standards of success and socialize students into meritocratic standards of performance (O'Meara et al., 2019). These standards of white performance and meritocracy are laced with white supremacy as such ideals perpetuate the idea the through hard work alone, minoritized students can succeed (Patton, 2016). However, in U.S. settler society, white supremacy actively asserts western knowledge and performance as superior (Masta, 2019) and fuels systems of oppression, like racism, that permeate society and create structures and barriers that impact the learning and success of minoritized students (Brayboy, 2015). Preparing and developing minoritized students through meritocratic standards of performance fails to combat the structures that create hostile environments for students and perpetuates the myth that minoritized students must perform whiteness in order to succeed (Aguirre & Martinez, 2002; Patton, 2016). Foundationally, these curricular initiatives hold the premise that racially minoritized students have a difficult time acculturating to college, lack high expectations which negatively impacts retention, and need reinforcements (Robinson et al., 2003; Stacy Ann et al., 2014). If institutions begin with the understanding that the students are the problem, institutions will fail to recognize that the academic infrastructure actively creates barriers for racially minoritized students.

Scholarship on curricular initiatives for racial diversity often focuses on increasing the number of racially minoritized students across campuses (Dickinson et al., 2020; Halpren-Felsher & McLaughlin, 2018; Trent et al., 2003). Yet, missing from this research is a critical understanding of why the number of racially minoritized students is low, what barriers in the

academy impact their persistence on campus (e.g., hostile racial climates), and/or how white supremacy shapes students' experiences in pipeline programs (e.g. O'Meara et al., 2019; Halpren-Felsher & McLaughlin, 2018). The absence of a critical theory or paradigm that names and grapples with racism and white supremacy prevents researchers from more holistically understanding the experiences of racially minoritized students with pipeline programs, which is necessary in order to transform institutional practices (Baber, 2015).

Additionally, a majority of this literature focuses on describing the different approaches to curricular initiatives taken by institutions, but researchers do little to interrogate or analyze how these initiatives disrupt or change institutional practices to become more equitable (Bennett, 2002; Robinson et al., 2003; Halpren-Felsher & McLaughlin, 2018; Health, 1970). For example, Robinson and colleagues (2003) outline important elements of a pipeline programs like committed personnel, scholarships and mentorship, but do not address how these three elements combat the academic structures that require the need of pipeline programs. Moreover, the authors do not address *how* a pipeline program combats the systems of impression that intersect racially minoritized students (Robinson et al., 2003). Both an organizational and critical lens must be used in future research to better assess how pipeline initiatives combat the structures and environments that negatively impact racially minoritized, while framing how the institutional context and agency of faculty and staff is employed to inhibit the potential impact of the initiative. Doing so can result in better understanding how systems of power and oppression are shaping the experiences of racially minoritized students across campuses that places collective accountability on the individuals who implement, and lead said initiatives (Baber, 2015).

Second, many institutions have added a diversity requirement to general education as an additional racial diversity initiative practice (Deruy, 2016). The aim of diversity courses is to

prepare students to engage with and understand people across diverse backgrounds (Bowman, 2010). Yet, what a diversity course entails ranges from campus to campus (Case, 2007). While a common institutional practice, there is conflicting information on the impact diversity courses have on students (Bowman, 2009; Hogan & Mallett, 2005). Hogan & Mallett (2005) found that the effects of a diversity courses only had temporary impacts on non-Black students regarding negative feelings attributed to programs that increase the political gain for Black Americans (e.g., affirmative action). Unsurprisingly, Bowman (2009) found that diversity courses only produced significant cognitive gains (i.e., complex thinking) for white students. This may be because diversity courses are often positioned to introduce the concept of diversity to college students who come from homogenous and dominant identity backgrounds (i.e., white). Concepts that engage the topic of diversity in these courses may not engage with systemic structures of oppression like racism and instead rely on the importance of celebrating differences (Novais et al., 2018; Montgomery, 2013; Wrinkler, 2018). Failing to account for systems of oppression and the structures that uphold them often falls short in facilitating long lasting change on campus and in students' lives.

Across studies, there is little to no significant impact of diversity courses on the development of racially minoritized students (Hogan & Mallett, 2005; Nelson Laird et al., 2005). One of the reasons there is a strong focus on white students is due to the resistance white students demonstrate in diversity courses (Vianden, 2018). Vianden (2018) explored the perceptions white college men held about diversity courses. The author found that white college men: (a) perceive diversity courses as a waste of time, which was due to the vague definitions or commitments espoused by an institution; (b) felt that if an institution implemented a commitment to diversity across majors and academic departments, instead of solely requiring a diversity

course as part of general education, there would be a clearer understanding as to why diversity is important to each major; and (c) were resistant to issues and discussions of power, privilege, and oppression because they felt shamed for holding dominant identities.

These findings may point to an issue of institutions engaging in symbolic gestures by requiring a diversity course that fail to address white supremacy or improve the climate for racially minoritized students. Arnold (2004) found that creating a diversity course requirement is a symbolic gesture by the institutions and that there is no real change in the curriculum—instead, course titles are shifted to include diversity. Research has also demonstrated that requiring a single diversity course as part of the larger curriculum, which is often laden with white supremacy, fails to implement long term impacts (Bowman, 2010). Moreover, Gordon and colleagues (2019), found that there is dissonance between institutional diversity goals and the diversity goals established in classes by faculty; faculty were failing at achieving the outcomes established for diversity course such as *the ability of students to critically analyze the histories of minoritized group*s and the *connection between diversity and students' discipline*. If institutions aim to implement racial diversity initiatives that bring about institutional change to the racial climates on campus, institutions must interrogate whether their institutional requirement is a symbolic gesture while ensuring that addressing white supremacy is the focus (Flowers, 2003).

Most studies on diversity courses and their impacts are quantitative studies that do not include a critical paradigm or theory that names racism or foregrounds its endemic nature (e.g., Nelson et al., 2005; Novais & Spencer, 2019; Bowman 2009; 2010), which illuminates a lack of qualitative approaches in the literature. Qualitative approaches provide an opportunity to interview individuals and mine documents to explore the institutional context and better understand how white supremacy may manifest in diversity courses and classroom

environments, while also providing an opportunity to explore how individuals understand racism and white supremacy, which is not possible with a quantitative approach (Bhattacharya, 2017). Moreover, researchers tend to focus on white students and their participation in diversity courses (Hogan & Mallett, 2005; Nelson Laird et al., 2005; Vianden, 2018), exposing a need for research that focuses on racial diversity initiatives that center the benefits of racially minoritized students on campuses and does so with a critical lens that accounts for their racialized experiences. Additionally, of all the literature on diversity courses, only one study hints at the process of implementing a diversity course requirement into the general curriculum (Arnold, 2004), exposing a need for more research that includes a lens or analysis of implementation processes of racial diversity initiatives. It is important to explore implementation because there is limited knowledge in understanding *how* university leaders understand the need for a racial diversity initiative (i.e., context), *how* they decide to implement a particular racial diversity initiative, and what are the various moving parts (i.e., agency) necessary to implement a racial diversity initiative.

Racial Diversity and Administration and Leadership

Third, institutions focus on administration and leadership initiatives aimed at infusing diversity into organizational learning and structures (Fraser & Hunt, 2011; LePeau et al., 2018; Piercy et al., 2015). Administration and leadership efforts can include collaborative partnerships between academic and student affairs departments when engaging diversity (LePeau et al., 2018), recruitment and retention initiatives for faculty of color (Piercy et al., 2015; Lin et al., 2015), racial diversity and cultural competency for faculty, staff and university leadership (Booker et al., 2016; Fraser & Hunt, 2011), and the emergence of the Chief Diversity Office (CDO) position across higher education (Bradley et al., 2018; Wilson, 2013).

Regarding the connection between academic and student affairs units to increase diversity, institutions have engaged racial diversity initiatives via collaborative student affairs and academic affairs partnerships (LePeau, 2015; LePeau, 2018; LePeau et al., 2018). LePeau (2015) offered a model that highlighted three different types of collaborative efforts that researchers and practitioners within academic affairs and student affairs use to work together to implement racial diversity initiatives across institutions. The three different types of effort include collaborative (each unit supported diversity efforts in their own separate ways), coordinated (researchers and practitioners worked collaboratively across units to share different viewpoints), and pervasive (working across units to learn from one another and transform inequitable institutional practices) (LePeau, 2015). The majority of higher education institutions are implementing racial diversity commitments via complimentary partnerships, which may prevent an institution from collaboratively implementing racial diversity initiatives and transforming inequitable practices and policies (LePeau et al., 2018). Nonetheless, LePeau (2018) asserted that despite the type of partnerships, there are individuals across units that traverse these partnerships to drive transformational change that is grounded in an understanding of structural inequity.

Scholarship has also centered the recruitment and retention of faculty of color and racial diversity and cultural competency for faculty, staff and university leadership (Booker et al., 2016; Fraser & Hunt, 2011; Piercy et al., 2015; Lin et al., 2015). Booker and colleagues (2016) explored the impact of a summer diversity training initiative had on faculty and found a self-reported increase in diversity awareness that transformed faculty pedagogical approaches to be more sensitive to inclusion. Similarly, Fraser and Hunt (2011) outlined the process and impact of a diversity training instituted to change the patterns in faculty hiring and found that the training

has shifted the culture amongst a few but did not shift the culture of the entire campus. In line with efforts to address the hostile racial climates that require the need for diversity training for faculty, institutions have implemented racial diversity faculty recruitment and retention initiatives. For instance, Piercy and colleagues (2015) outlined an initiative created to provide racially minoritized faculty with professional development sessions to increase their success with tenure processes, a workshop regarding how to retain faculty of color for university administrators, and a summit on racial climate. Lin and colleagues (2015) outlined a similar initiative at Johns Hopkins University that aimed to increasing faculty of color in STEM by partnering recruited faculty with mentors to assist in their professional development, provided workshops on how to overcome barriers, and created a diversity committee to provide recruited faculty with resources. A challenge with these approaches is that they do little to transform the institutional barriers. Instead, these trainings and recruitment and retention initiatives equip faculty of color with ways to overcome the barriers, which permits the barriers to exist and for racially hostiles environments to persist.

The literature on collaborative partnerships between academic and student affairs departments (LePeau, 2015; LePeau, 2018; LePeau et al., 2018), the recruitment and retention initiatives for faculty of color (Piercy et al., 2015; Lin et al., 2015), and racial diversity and cultural competency for faculty, staff and university leadership (Booker et al., 2016; Fraser & Hunt, 2011) outline the different types of collaborative partnership and initiatives implemented across institutions. But what is missing from the explanations are *how* institutions are implementing these collaborative approaches and racial diversity initiatives. Additionally, this literature explores how racial diversity initiatives might combat racial inequities and racism on campus. Yet, the research does not often include a critical analysis of the actual impact these

initiatives have in transforming institutional practices that maintain racial inequities on a campus (e.g., transforming pedagogies of faculty) (LePeau, 2015; Piercy et al., 2015; Fraser & Hunt, 2011). These two observations reveal a need to design research on racial diversity initiatives that accounts for racism/white supremacy and accounts for *how* institutions implement racial diversity initiatives.

An additional emerging trend across colleges and universities is the creation of the CDO position (Bradley et al., 2018; Wilson, 2013). Often, the establishment of a CDO role is a reactionary response to contentious racial incidents on campus and the unfavorable perceptions racially minoritized student, staff, and faculty have of the campus environment (Parker, 2019). CDOs are established as a symbolic activity to signal an institutions commitment to racial diversity on campus. Generally, the CDO role is positioned as a senior administrative rank in an institution's organizational chart (Williams & Clowney, 2007). CDOs are tasked with overseeing, coordinating, and leading sustainable diversity efforts for an entire campus (Parker, 2019; Wilson, 2013; Williams & Clowney, 2007). Although the task of a CDO is common across campuses, what the CDO position entails differs from campus to campus because there is no precedence for CDO roles (Wilson, 2013). Nonetheless, the common themes of the work CDOs engage with include campus climate, recruitment and retention of minoritized populations, and infusing diversity into education and research (Wilson, 2013; Smith, 2009).

The difference from campus to campus has revealed certain challenges with the CDO role. For instance, in an exploration of the influence a CDO had on changing institutional hiring patterns, Bradley et al. (2018) found no significant change. Reasons for such outcome were linked to the lack of organizational power the CDO role has in influencing departmental hiring processes (Bradley et al., 2018). Echoing this assertion, Stanley et al (2019) found that the

placement of a CDO on the organizational chart can limit the impact of the role. The position on the organizational chart signals the importance of a role, the number of resources allocated to the role, as well as the amount of supportive personnel provided (Stanley et al., 2019). Aside from organizational aspects, Griffin et al. (2019) found that racially minoritized individuals that were CDOs acknowledged that their role had the opportunity to guide institutional change but did not have the sole power to change their institutions. Participants attributed this understanding to the recognition that as minoritized individuals, they "were aware of how individual and structural racism impacted their work, not in in terms of the racism students were exposed to, but also how institutional leaders perceived them and expected to act" (Griffin et al., 2019, p. 689). In sum, CDOs are tasked with engaging diversity across various facets of the institution that include strategic planning for diversity, recruitment and retention of minoritized students, curriculum development, campus climate, faculty and staff equity, and faculty hiring and retention (Stanley, 2014). While important, it calls to questions what it may mean when an institution tasks a single individual or office to drive and sustain transformative change on a campus (Bradley et al., 2018; Stanley et al., 2019; Griffin et al., 2019).

The literature on chief diversity officers mainly addresses the experiences of individuals in the role, a description of the role, and the organizational structuring and power of the position (Bradley et al., 2018; Griffin et al., 2019; Stanley et al., 2019; Parker, 2019). Out of the outlined research, only one article utilizes a critical theory to foreground an analysis of racism in the experiences of individuals in chief diversity officer roles (Griffin et al., 2019). Despite engaging with racial diversity and racial campus climates, the literature analyzing and describing the role on CDOs exposes a gap in centering critical theories to foreground the design and analysis of research studies. Centering a critical theory would facilitate a better understanding of how white

supremacy influences the position of the CDO in the organizational structure and better explain how position in the organizational structure may work to limit the position in implementing transformative change (Bradley et al., 2018). The theoretical underpinnings of most of the literature perpetuate the race-neutral analysis of organizational power (e.g., Bradley et al., 2019; Parker, 2019; Stanley et al., 2019). Therefore, this dissertation foregrounds a conceptual framework of an organizational lens (i.e., Implementation Theory) and a critical lens (i.e., SCDP) to account for the manifestation of white supremacy in the implementation of a racial diversity initiative to fill the theoretical gap that persists in organizational analysis of racial diversity initiatives.

Policies for Racial Diversity

Finally, institutions often use institutional policy to center and foster racial diversity (Patton et al., 2019). Policy efforts begin with the assemblage of coordinating bodies (e.g., Diversity Councils) composed of university administrators from academic affairs (e.g., Academic Deans, Provost) and students affairs (e.g., Vice-chancellor of student affairs, Dean of students), that identify, explore, and address campus diversity issues (Iverson, 2012; Smith & Wolf-Wendell, 2005). Diversity councils primarily deal with setting an institution's diversity agenda, overseeing diversity policies and procedures (e.g., campus climate assessments, writing anti-discrimination polices), and implementing diversity trainings for the campus (LePeau et al., 2019). Collectively, these diversity councils produce official university documents that influence an institution's racial campus climate (Iverson, 2012; LePeau et al., 2018; LePeau et al., 2019). In this context, policies include university diversity agendas, strategic plans for addressing diversity on a campus, and official university stances on diversity topics/issues (Iverson, 2012; LePeau et al., 2019). These policies are a primary method to actualize an

institution's commitments to diversity and inclusions on campus (Iverson, 2012). In higher education, there are two prominent areas that address university diversity policies: admissions policies (Garces et al., 2015; Lipson, 2007; Hoffman et al., 2019; Rendon et al., 2015) and diversity action plans and agendas (Pierzalowski et al., 2018; Patton, 2014; Williams & Clowney, 2007),

First, admissions policies may be used as a mechanism to address institutional diversity. Although the literature on college and university policies that engage race is slim, researchers have demonstrated different approaches and insights to diversity policies that pertain to admissions. For instance, Deas et al. (2012) outlined the ten-year diversity plan (diversity policy) developed by the diversity council at the Medical University of South Carolina as a response to reconcile the incongruence between state population of minoritized individuals and the amount of under-represented minority (URM) students at the university. The primary goal was to increase the critical mass of URM students to enrich the learning environment for all (Deas et al., 2012). To reach this goal, the university created new admissions policies that gave a value add to cultural difference and adversities (i.e., racism), established institutional commitment to promote cultural competencies and understandings (e.g., trainings), and recruitment and retention programs (e.g., pipeline programs) backed by financial resources (Deas et al., 2012).

Still, other U.S. higher education institutions have also sought to increase their critical mass and have created admissions policies that account for race. For example, the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Wisconsin—Madison have implemented admissions policies that account for race to ensure that racially minoritized students obtain access to their institutions; and to increase the critical mass of students at their institutions (Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, 2020; Watkins, 2015). Further, "On campuses where race-based

affirmative action has been legally banned, university officials have created innovative, race-neutral diversity policies (such as percentage plans and individual assessments) that seek to restore racial diversity without using race-based affirmative action" (Lipson, 2007, p. 986). Yet, race-neutral approaches often fall short in admitting the number of students' that race-conscious policies aim to admit (Garces et al., 2015; Rendon et al., 2015). The literature on admissions policies is descriptive of the different approaches but lacks an exploration and explanation of the organizational processes that produced the policies (Lipson, 2007; Deas et al., 2012). Moreover, literature that critiques race-neutral approaches does not always account or explain the role of racism and white supremacy in impacting admissions processes for students of color (Garces et al., 2015; Rendon et al., 2015).

Second, institutions have also focused on implementing institutional diversity policies. Diversity policies are university racial diversity actions plans that "serve as a primary means by which postsecondary institutions formally advance and influence" the creation of a racially diverse and inclusive campus environment (Iverson, 2007; p. 587). Thomas (2018) explored the diversity strategic plan of a flagship institution in the U.S. South and found that it consisted "of a set of meanings and practices that work[ed] to institutionalize a benign commitment to diversity" (p. 145). The strategic plan sought to address racial issues but utilized "diversity" as a catch all approach that failed to address the tenuous racial campus climate (Thomas, 2018). Arguably, the strategic plan was a staged gesture that positioned the institution as addressing the racial climate, without having to implement any structural changes (Thomas, 2018). Unsurprisingly, institutional actions of implementing diversity policies have been coined as symbolic and hollow gestures (Iverson, 2012; Thomas, 2018; Williams & Clowney, 2007).

To demonstrate the often symbolic performance of institutional diversity policies, Iverson (2005) analyzed the university diversity policies of 20 land-grant institutions utilizing critical race theory, a critical theory that grounds racism as endemic and illuminates the ways in which racism is embedded across structures, and found that "diversity action plans typically describe people of color as outsiders to the university, disadvantaged and at risk before and after entering higher education" (p. 588). Moreover, Iverson (2008; 2012) found that diversity action plans frame the importance of diversity in two ways: marketability and democracy. Marketability refers to the ways in which institution position diversity and minoritized people as a commodity that provides an economic value and competitive edge for white students at the institution (Iverson, 2007; 2012). This particular framing extends to the long lineages of racism that has subdued humans into property that only served the larger capitalistic gains of their owners (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Waheliye, 2014). Furthermore, institutions frame democratic values of civil intergroup discussion, tolerance, and equality as espoused by the university, and in "having" racial diversity, the institution will prepare white students to be change agents in U.S. society (Iverson, 2008; 2012). However, such approach fails to account for larger systems of power implemented with the establishment of U.S. society (e.g., settler colonialism, white supremacy) (Brayboy, 2005; Iverson, 2008; 2012; Smith, 2012) and fail to account for the historical and contemporary systems of oppression minoritized individuals face on and off campus (i.e., context) (Iverson, 2008; 2012; Glenn, 2015; Patton, 2016).

Racial diversity policy efforts often work to "institutionalize the idea that the university is committed to diversity, but not a commitment to enacting any significant changes in the university's organizational logic or structure (Thomas, 2018, p. 145). Significant changes may not be achieved through diversity policies because institution fall short in incorporating

theoretical frameworks that account for the influences settler colonialism, white supremacy and racism may have in shaping the experiences of racially minoritized students on campus (LePeau et al., 2018; Iverson, 2012). The way that racial diversity is understood by institution's is that racial diversity is a means to an end (Arce-Trigatti & Anderson, 2020). Racial diversity is a vessel that benefits economic progress and can solve the social woes of U.S. society (Arce-Trigatti & Anderson, 2020). Additionally, policy initiatives are crafted in ways that target sameness, which is signaled by the emphasis of equality (Iverson, 2007, 2012; LePeau et al., 2018). There may be an emphasis on providing opportunities to populations of color to facilitate their ability to perform and succeed to the default standard of academic performance (Abrica et al., 2020; Hoffman et al., 2019; Iverson, 2007; 2012). This comparative approach linked to equality demonstrates a gap that can be developed to account for larger systems of power that facilitate transformative change on campuses to improve racial campus climates.

The literature on diversity policy initiatives is sometimes accompanied by research that uses critical theory to account for a more nuanced and holistic understanding of the role racism plays in the creation of racial diversity initiatives and diversity policies (Iverson, 2012; LePeau et al., 2018). However, these critical approaches do not account for organizational processes that operationalize *how* racism and white supremacy become embedded into diversity policies (Iverson, 2007; 2012; Thomas, 2018). Fusing and understanding of white supremacy and organizational processes offers more robust recommendations for policies and practices that can combat the embeddedness of white supremacy. Moreover, current research leans on documents and discourse for analysis, which illuminates the need for other qualitative work to expand this analysis to interviews that might differently, if not, better capture how institutions and the

individuals within these institutions implement diversity policies (Iverson, 2007; 2012; LePeau et al., 2018).

Why Study the Implementation of a Racial Diversity Initiative?

In this chapter I outlined the two theories that coalesce to guide this dissertation study. I outlined and explained the six dimensions of SCDP and mapped how settler colonialism (a macro force) influences higher education institutions in maintaining white supremacy. Additionally, I outlined the four constructs of Implementation Theory to demonstrate how the context of an institution and the agency of individuals within them can shape the implementation of a racial diversity initiative. Together, these theories inform one another to create a powerful optic that accounts for the influence of white supremacy in the context and agency of an organization and the implementation of a racial diversity initiative. Using this conceptual grounding, I outlined the genealogy of four higher education trends that intersect racial diversity trends as they pertain to the racial diversity initiative of interest of this dissertation. By illuminating the four trends: racial diversity and co-curricular efforts, curricular initiatives for racial diversity, racial diversity for administration and leadership, and racial diversity policies, I've situated where this study fits the racial diversity initiative landscape.

In my observation of reviewing the racial diversity initiative literature, I have identified a few common challenges with the literature. First, the majority of the literature does not include a critical theory that exposes or engages with the role white supremacy may have in influencing racial diversity initiatives. Second, of the literature that engages with racism and white supremacy, researchers do not incorporate an organizational framework that accounts for *how* racial diversity initiatives implemented through organizational processes that are embedded with white supremacy. Third, there is a lack of literature available on the implementation of racial

diversity initiatives which exposes a need for scholars to better understand how university constituents influence the implementation of a racial diversity initiative and how individuals inhibit potential impact of initiatives. Fourth, there is limited literature on racial diversity initiatives that employ a qualitative research design that describe the personal challenges faced in implementing a racial diversity initiative. Collectively, these four reasons substantiate the need to qualitatively explore the implementation of a racial diversity initiative, while also including theories that account for the role white supremacy, organizational context and agency, and the interaction between both, influence the implementation of a racial diversity initiative.

Given these observations, this dissertation is constructed to fill the theoretical and organizational gaps of the literature on racial diversity initiatives, while adding to the limited scholarship that employs a qualitative research design. First, this dissertation explores the societal and organization elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP. Illuminating the organizational and societal factors will contextualize the need for a racial diversity initiative, which is in line with Implementation Theory. Second, this study illuminates the manifestation of white supremacy in the implementation of the WRLP at IUPUI, which accounts for the agency utilized to inhibit the WRLP. This dissertation achieved its aims utilizing a qualitative case study approach that produces a nuanced interrogation of societal and organizational elements that impacted the WCI and WRLP. As a result, this dissertation produced a theoretical bridge between critical theory and organizational analysis of a racial diversity initiative, that is missing and needed in the scholarship intersecting racial diversity initiatives in U.S. higher education.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I detail the methodological approach employed in this dissertation study. I ground my study in a post-oppositional onto-epistemology orientation to build a bridge between theory, practice, and individuals with different epistemological/theoretical stances. A post-oppositional onto-epistemology orientation accounts for and connects the differences in epistemologies that participants and the researcher may hold about the Welcoming Campus Initiative (WCI) and the White Racial Literacy Project (WRLP). This orientation facilitates the production of insightful findings to impact higher education. I begin this chapter by re-introducing the research questions of this study. Then I explore my positionality and epistemological grounding as a researcher to this project. Finally, I continue with an explanation of the methods, including data collection and analysis used for this study.

Research Questions

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the organizational and societal elements that influenced the creation and implementation of the WCI and WRLP at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI). In this chapter I illuminate the approach employed to answer the following research questions for this dissertation:

1. What organizational and societal elements influenced the creation of the Welcoming Campus Initiative and the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI?
2. How are understandings of white supremacy present in faculty and staff descriptions of the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project?

Positionality

Onto-epistemology

I ground myself and work in a post-oppositional onto-epistemology. A post-oppositional onto-epistemology orientation builds bridges between theory and practice, and amongst individuals who may have opposing epistemologies or theoretical orientations (e.g., constructivist scholars and critical scholars). A post-oppositional onto-epistemology works toward social justice but does not seek to dismiss the scholarship and thinking of individuals who have come before us (Bhattacharya, 2016). Grounding myself and my work in a post-oppositional onto-epistemology assists in finding "space in which we can either find shared ground or observe and seek to understand why oppositional stances are manifested within us, without resistance" (Bhattacharya, 2016, p. 200). In essence, this orientation fuels the understanding that solidarity may be forged with scholars whom which I disagree.

Moreover, a grounding in post-oppositional onto-epistemology challenges me to grapple with my personal orientation and work across multiplicities. I can shift in and out of theoretical framings with ease, without allegiance—as a *nepantlera* (Anzaldua, 1999; Bhattacharya, 2016, p. 202). A *nepantlera* is "a type of threshold person or world traveler: someone who enters into and interacts with multiple, often conflicting, political/cultural/ideological/ethnic/etc. worlds and yet refuses to entirely adopt, belong to, or identify with any single belief, group, or location" (Keating, 2013, p. 12; Bhattacharya, 2016, p. 204).

I engage this study with the understanding that "we live our lives in such complexities and ambiguities that language is not sufficient to capture them all" and therefore, it is necessary to understand that this study is messy because I present a truth (not just the single Truth) (Bhattacharya, 2016, p. 202). Additionally, I recognize that my conceptual framework, methodologies, and findings may be in tension with one another. For instance, the dynamic realities occurring at IUPUI may present findings that cannot be explained with the language

used by the conceptual frameworks, but that doesn't negate the realities shared, the realities are simply indescribable by the approach. This tension creates space to "imagine social justice initiatives and actions" anchored in truth-telling that does not foreground simplicity, but instead complexity in understanding, in lived experiences, and contexts and practices (Bhattacharya, 2016, p. 206).

Lastly, the dissertation writing process is a negotiation amongst, the researcher, participants, dissertation committee and the degree standards of UCLA. I am embedded in a powered situation where academic colonizing constraints are placed on how a dissertation shall be written (i.e., presentation, format, structure) and though epistemologically as scholars and researchers. As such, I reassert my grounding of my post-oppositional onto-epistemological stance to put forth research that seeks to de/colonize racial diversity initiatives and the approaches taken to implement them.

Position

I enter this work as an individual whose identities are in tension with colonization. In being Latinx, I have faced the impact of race and racism which continue to fuel my efforts in engaging in de/colonization, and navigating a world dictated by white supremacy. White supremacy and logics that uphold it, confront and clash with my queer identity. I've been silenced and othered; and know that what it feels to overcome the oppression and the personal feelings that come with it. As a queer Latinx person performing within academia, I engage with settler colonialism and its oppressive violent force that dictates how one should speak, write, and think through western concepts. However, I too navigate society and higher education as a settler who plays a role in the maintenance of settler futurity. In my work, I have the privilege of centering my identity at the cost of displacing dialogues of Indigenous and Black individuals. I

engage as someone who must actively think about Indigeneity, as it is an absent topic in my life, and in not engaging, I propel settler futurity. This oscillating positioning is complex but creates an opportunity to work towards de/colonization because I can work in kinship to dismantle settler society. It is through this tension that I can engage in post-oppositional work because I seek to create a better space and place on college and university campuses for racially minoritized populations.

In relation to the site of this study, I enter the work with familiarity. As a graduate student, I as a student affairs practitioner at IUPUI. I hold a general understanding of the organizational structure and benefit from existing working relationships with faculty and staff on the campus. During the development and data collection of this dissertation, I worked for the WRLP, and as a result, entered spaces that are not often given to researchers who are new to a case study site. Because of my relationship with IUPUI, I reached a depth of access to the study site that facilitated a rich understanding of the context and the implementation of the WRLP.

Lastly, I wrote across various locations and want to acknowledge the original care takers of each of the regions I reflected, reimagined, and engaged with my dissertation. I'd like to acknowledge, thank, and honor the original care takers of what is currently known as Indianapolis, the Potawatomi, Shawnee people, and Miami people, for their hospitality while I worked and collected data on the IUPUI campus. I'd like to acknowledge, thank, and honor the original care takers of what is currently known as Chicago, the Winnebago/Ho'Chunk, Otoe, Missouria, Iowas, Menominee, Meskwaki, Sauk, Miami, Wea, Piankashaw, Ojibwe, Odawa, Potawatomi, Illini Confederacy, and Kickapoo peoples, for their hospitality in working and living on their lands. I'd like to acknowledge, thank, and honor the original care takers of what is currently known as Los Angeles, the Garbielino/Tongva peoples, for their hospitality during my

course work and dissertation development. I also acknowledge, thank, and honor the original care takers of what is currently known as Madera, the Yokuts and Chukchansi peoples, for their hospitality growing up and developing in the individual that I am today.

Study Design and Methods

Embedded Qualitative Case Study

Qualitative case study is used when a researcher identifies a single case of special interest (Stake, 1995) because the approach frames the complexity and peculiarity of a single case by accounting the interaction of the case and its environment within a boundary of time (Stake, 1995). In education, a case can be an individual (e.g., professor), a collective of people (e.g., a department) or a program (e.g., training). When employing a qualitative case study, researchers enter the scene of a case with an earnest interest in understanding the ordinary activities and milieus (Stake, 1995). Although we may share special interest in various issues, a case must have boundedness—it must be "a specific, a complex functioning thing" in an integrative system (Stake, 1995, p. 2). I am interested in understanding the organizational and societal elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP, and the interaction of white supremacy had during the implementation of the WRLP within the bounded system of IUPUI.

Stake's (1995) approach to case study is grounded in qualitative understanding that as researchers, we are the interpreters of all that we observe and hear in the field. Stake's (1995) approach argues that it is our duty as researchers to facilitate the understanding of complex relationships that exist amongst people in transparent ways (Stake, 1995). Therefore, the use of observations, interviews, and documents, and providing thick descriptions and vignettes are vital (Stake, 1995). Our interpretation is one that simultaneously happens while we engage with our participants and their environments; and substantiate meaning (Stake, 1995).

The purpose of a qualitative case study is to thoroughly understand the case. While research questions can be clear at the start of the study, scholars must adapt research questions and proposed methodologies as they learn more about the case because new issues and insights can arise and inform the approach (Stake, 1995). The flexibility of Stake's (1995) approach was critical to this study as the established approach was impacted by the collective response to COVID-19. The original questions were shifted to what they are now due to the limitations caused by the pandemic, as the proposed critical components of original information like observations, were no longer possible to collect.

Intrinsic approach

There are at least two types of qualitative case studies: instrumental and intrinsic. An *intrinsic* approach is best when researchers are interested in a particular case and are aiming to understand its distinctness (Stake, 1995). The case does not have to be representative of a phenomenon or topic of interest. For example, exploring a racial diversity initiative at a single institution based on the distinctness of the structure of a racial diversity initiative would suffice an intrinsic approach. An *instrumental* approach utilizes cases to understand a larger topic or a general problem (Stake, 1995). For example, exploring racial diversity initiative practices across institutions to build an understanding of what constitutes an effective racial diversity initiative. In this approach, the case serves as a vessel to study the topic of interest.

This current dissertation research is an *intrinsic* case study for two reasons. First, I selected the case for its distinct approach in implementing the WCI and WRLP. The WCI was implemented by a newly established Chancellor and his leadership team, which then created an opportunity for the WRLP to be implemented, which is considered distinct to the common trends across the country (Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). Second, I had familiarity with the

IUPUI campus, which granted a distinct opportunity to produce an in-depth and contextually driven analysis.

Research questions must engage the case of interest as research questions "force attention to complexity and contextuality" and provide focus (Stake, 1995, p. 16). Providing focus is critical to case topics of interest, as our interests are not clean cut and cases are affected by historical, socio-political, and personal contexts (Stake, 1995). The research questions for this dissertation focused on identifying the influencing societal and organizational elements of the WCI and WRLP, while also accounting for the manifestation of white supremacy in the implementation of the WRLP at IUPUI. The conceptual framework that informs the interpretation of this dissertation bridges the historical underpinnings of settler colonialism to the contemporary organizational practices at IUPUI, with produced a nuanced understanding of the institutions history and contemporary barriers impacting the WRLP. My onto-epistemological stance accounts for the distinct understandings of participants and their organizational contexts and aims to bridge understandings to create pathways for imagining new possibilities and understandings for the campus.

Embedded units

The WCI is a multifaceted diversity initiative that created funding opportunities for programmatic efforts to take place such as WRLP, a racial diversity initiative. Together, the programmatic efforts make up the WCI. Therefore, I borrow from Yin's (2003) qualitative case study approach which utilizes embedded units as a framing to reach a more in-depth analysis of the programmatic efforts of the WCI (i.e., the WRLP). Embedded units provide the opportunity to add depth to the larger case by exploring *units* that are a part of the case—or *smaller cases* within the larger case of interest (Stake, 1995). Because the WCI is a grand case with several

moving parts, or embedded units, it is difficult to analyze and explore the implementation of the initiative without looking into the *smaller cases* that make up the WCI. Including a *smaller case* granted an opportunity to create focus on the WRLP and understand the daily functions of implementing the WRLP under the WCI landscape. Adding this *smaller case* resulted in a more focused and nuanced understanding of societal and organization elements that influenced the WCI and WRLP and the interaction of white supremacy and the implementation of the WRLP.

Characteristics of the Case

In addition to identifying the type of qualitative case study, researchers are invited to define the characteristic of their case. There are four outlined case characteristic types: holistic, empirical, interpretive, and empathetic (Stake, 1995). *Holistic* is case oriented and engages a phenomenon within a particular context. For example, understanding the interaction of white supremacy and organizational power pertaining to a racial diversity initiative (phenomenon) at a single institution (context). *Empirical* is field oriented, naturalistic and weighs observations heavily. For example, utilizing observations from classrooms and professor office hours to inform their understanding of the interaction between classroom participation and racial identity on campus. *Interpretive* relies on the researcher's interpretation of what is occurring. For example, interviewing faculty and staff regarding their perception of diversity on campus and interpreting, based on the amalgamation of interviews and researcher positionality, what informs their perceptions like their own racial identity and interaction with diversity efforts. *Empathic* is responsive to emerging emic issues and tends to the participants in the study intentionally (Yazan, 2015). For example, engaging the concept of sense of belonging with undergraduates at an institution and asserting finding based on the snippets of information provided.

This research aligned with both holistic and interpretive characteristics of an embedded intrinsic case study. One goal of this study is to understand the interaction of white supremacy and the implementation of a racial diversity initiative (phenomenon) at IUPUI (context), which is in line with a holistic characteristic (Stake, 1995). The context of the institution is integral to this case study because its history is influenced by settler colonialism, and its current institutional culture is influenced by both white supremacy and organizational power (Brouk, 2019; Mullins & White, 2010; Stake, 1995; Glenn, 2015; Brayboy, 2005). This case study is also interpretive because I am engaging with the institution as an insider and as an outsider. My insider status is due to my involvement with the WRLP, and my outsider status is due to my own understanding of white supremacy and my own racial identity formation. My personal understanding and practitioner role informed how I interpreted the information gathered.

Characterizing my intrinsic-embedded qualitative case study as holistic and interpretive is important for several reasons. First, the case was selected due to its peculiar context, which links to the holistic approach. Second, interpretation is pertinent to this case study because I engage in a reality where white supremacy is not observed by all individuals; and white supremacy manifests differently, providing privileges to those who facilitate it. Lastly, this dissertation engages context from a historical (white supremacy) and institutional (organizational power) standpoint. As such, the inclusion of holistic and interpretive characteristics is necessary because this dissertation seeks to build a bridge between understanding how a racial diversity initiative functions at an institution, while interpreting how white supremacy influences the implementation of the WRLP.

Site Selection Rationale and Description

Selecting a case is an important component to an *intrinsic* case study approach (Stake, 1995). An *intrinsic* case must be hospitable to our research interests, easily accessible, and maximize our learning (Stake, 1995). I selected IUPUI because it provided the opportunity to learn about a racial diversity initiative at an institution I was familiar with. I had an existing relationship with the faculty and staff on the campus because of my graduate studies that granted me an opportunity to make professional connections with faculty and staff on the campus that I leveraged for this dissertation. Moreover, actively working on the campus during data collection made the case accessible and hospitable to my dissertation. In sum, this case maximized the opportunity to learn about the implementation of a racial diversity initiative, and with my connections at the institution, I optimized the extent of learning possible.

IUPUI Welcoming Campus Initiative (WCI)

The case of interest is the WCI and the embedded unit of the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI. I was interested in the distinctness of the WCI and wanted to account for the societal and organizational elements that influence the creation of it and the WRLP. In line with Stake (1995), I created a bounded system to narrowly engage with the case of interest (Stake, 1995). I bounded my case to IUPUI as an institution to set a boundary for the context and to narrow my data collection I created a time boundary between 2016 and 2022.

The WCI originated from the Chancellor and was guided by the following question, how can we make IUPUI a more welcoming campus (Trustees of Indiana University, 2020)? The WCI was introduced to the IUPUI campus in 2016 when the Chancellor established an organizational structure (see Figure 1 and Appendix A) to investigate what it meant to shape IUPUI into a more welcoming campus based on the five different objectives that guided the purpose and construction of the initiative. The first objective sought to obtain input from campus

constituents on their understanding of creating a welcoming campus. The second objective sought to identify peer and aspirant colleges and universities that already foster welcoming campuses and adapt their efforts to the institution. The third objective sought to identify barriers and strengths of the institution in creating a welcoming campus. The fourth objective sought to provide recommendations and progress indicators of practices that can transform the institution. And the final objective sought to use the recommendations to shift the culture of the institution (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). The WCI was an initiative championed by the Chancellor and is connected to the university's strategic plan to support student success, faculty and staff development, and community engagement (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2019).

Structure of the WCI

To answer the guiding questions above, the university leadership team created a three-tier committee system composed of an executive committee, steering committee and the five task forces, with an additional unit that funds the implementation of recommendations (see Appendix A), the *Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund* (see Figure 1). The executive committee was composed of four members of the Chancellor's cabinet tasked with ensuring the coordination, communication, progress, and preparation of updates for the stakeholder of the WCI and overseeing the steering committee. The steering committee was composed of members from the Chancellor's cabinet, university leaders, and the task force co-chairs. The steering committee offers direction, leadership, and coordination of the WCI; and facilitates communication amongst the executive committee and task forces. Each task force is led by co-chairs, one from the Chancellor's cabinet and the other is an expert in the areas of subject for the task force. Each committee consists of one dean and a mix of students, staff, faculty, alumni and community members when appropriate; and are tasked in exploring five topical areas: students, faculty and

staff, alumni and community, cultural climate, and physical campus.

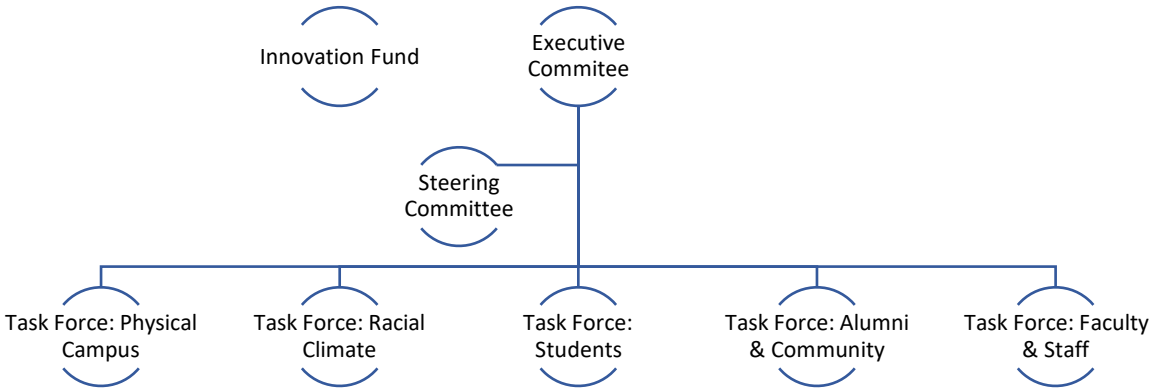


Figure 2: The Welcoming Campus Initiative Organizational Structure

The purpose of the committees and task forces was to gather information and get a "pulse" of the campus regarding the five task force areas; and provide recommendations for areas in which actionable items can be implemented across the campus. The recommendations would guide the decision-making process of the *Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund* (see table 2) committee. The individuals who were on the *Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund* committee decided which proposed programs received funds from the one million dollars budget allocated by the Chancellor. Constituents of the campus (i.e., faculty, staff) were encouraged to submit program proposals and could receive an internal grant of up to twenty-five thousand dollars. However, funds would work on a departmental matching basis. If a program/project applied for a 25-thousand-dollar grant, the project/program needed to secure a matching amount through other department(s) or external sources, such as a foundation. For instance, one of the programs selected for funding was *IUPUI the Next 50 Years*, which aimed to equip faculty with the tools

necessary to become culturally competent in their teaching via a series of trainings. The leaders of the program stemmed from the Division of Undergraduate Education and the Office of Academic Affairs. The funding allocation was matched by the Division of Undergraduate Education and the Office of Academic Affairs. Another example includes the IUPUI High School League of Legends Invitational which linked to the *students' task force,* whose aim was to bring high school students to campus and show a sense of belonging. The funding was matched by the university's *E-Sports* student organization.

Understanding the Decision-Making Process

This dissertation focuses on identifying the organizational and societal factors that influenced the creation of the WCI and the White Racial Literacy Project. In addition, this dissertation seeks to explore the manifestation of white supremacy during the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project. To effectively understand the implementation process, it was critical to understand the context on how decisions were made by university leaders that led the WCI. The WCI was guided by the executive committee, steering committee, and the five task forces (See Table 1). The five task forces actively gathered information for their respective task force area and provided recommendations for action. The recommendations offered by each of the task forces would inform the areas/projects funded by the Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund. The Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund decided which programs would be allocated funds to be implemented on the IUPUI campus. To facilitate the understanding of the various parts, I present a figure (see Figure 2) of the process and describe in more detail the different parts of the process.

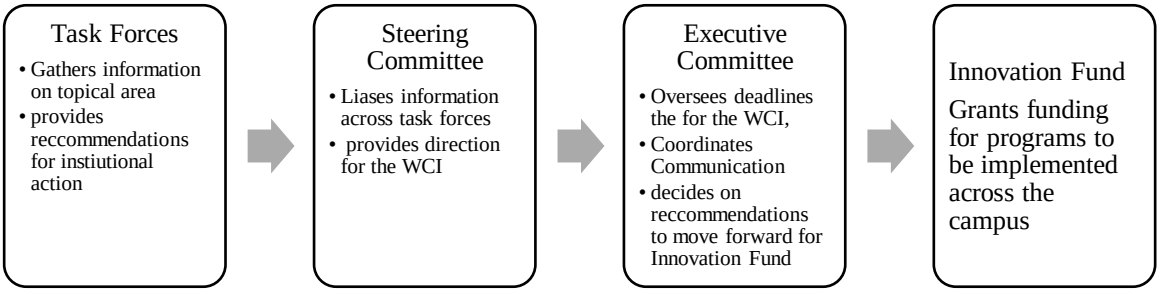


Figure 3: Process of Information Gathering and Sharing for Welcoming Campus Initiative

Chancellor Nassar Paydar was appointed to lead IUPUI in 2015 (Trustees of Indiana University, 2015). Chancellor Paydar succeeded Charles Bantz who decided, after overseeing his strategic plan through and serving in the role of Chancellor for 12 years, that he would step down and leave IUPUI (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2014). When appointed, Chancellor Paydar shared in an interview with the Indianapolis Recorder his intention to hit the ground running in creating a welcoming campus for everyone at IUPUI (Key, 2015).

One way the chancellor's goal of crafting a welcoming campus manifested was through the WCI. It is unclear at this point of the dissertation as to why the Chancellor decided to introduce the WCI to the IUPUI campus. However, throughout the study, I learned more about the organizational and societal elements that led to the development of the WCI. To achieve his goal, the Chancellor utilized his cabinet members and involved them in each of the various levels of the structure. The executive committee was composed of cabinet members that oversaw the entire initiative. The executive committee oversaw the steering committee, which was composed

of cabinet members and leaders of each of the five task forces. The task forces were co-led, one leader stemmed from the Chancellor's cabinet, while the other was an expert/leader on the campus. Thus, the Chancellor's cabinet played an involved role in oversight of the WCI. In terms of reporting, the task forces provided insights, findings, and recommendations based on their topical areas. That information was then shared with the steering committee so that all co-leads were aware of the information provided by other task forces. The information was then streamlined to the executive committee, which decided which recommendations to highlight and include as areas of funding as part of the Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund (See Figure 2).

The Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund accounted for granting opportunities for various programs to be implemented on the IUPUI campus, including the White Racial Literacy Project. The selected projects/programs linked to the five task force areas recommendations/subject topics which were: *communicating who we are; creating a vibrant and inclusive student experience; designing an accessible, inspiring campus; engaging and integrating with the community; and investing in faculty and staff* (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). All programs were assessed on a criterion that required the following: a collaborative effort, a clear vision, and a plan for ongoing funding beyond the year that the program is funded.

The Embedded Unit of This Case

An embedded qualitative case study requires the inclusion of units that help further understand the case. I selected the White Racial Literacy Project as the embedded unit of focus. The White Racial Literacy Project was funded during the 2018 Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund funding cycle and implemented on the campus during 2019. I purposively selected the White Racial Literacy Project for three reasons. One, the program aimed to address white

supremacy and increase the racial literacy of white individuals on the campus to work towards illuminating the influence of white supremacy on practices and norms on the campus. Two, the White Racial Literacy Project implemented a multipronged approach that simultaneously focused on faculty, staff, and students. Three, I had access to the case study site and familiarity with the embedded unit of focus.

White Racial Literacy Project (WRLP)

The WRLP aims to create an educational environment for white students, staff, and faculty to unpack misconceptions and misinformation about systemic racism and white supremacy. The project targets a range of individuals, from people who aspire to make a change but are unsure how to do so, to individuals who lack an understanding of structural inequities in society. To work towards shifting the racial climate to a more equitable one, the project brings in white scholars, dialogue facilitators, and public intellectuals who are experts in the areas of whiteness and white supremacy to the campus. The goal is to have white individuals in the IUPUI community teaching and conversing with other white individuals in the IUPUI community. This approach creates a space for white folks to ask questions and share thoughts that can be harmful to people of color, and work towards developing a better understanding of structural racism and white supremacy.

The WRLP was one of forty-six projects funded through the Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund during the 2018 funding cycle (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2018). When proposed, the WRLP aimed to offer to IUPUI community workshops by renowned white scholars that study whiteness, race, and racism; faculty specific pedagogy workshops; a social media campaign, #jagsexplorewhiteness; and assessment protocols to measure learning and effectiveness of the program (The Trusteed of Indiana University, 2018).

The program publicly launched on September 28, 2018, with a social media post announcing the first speaker of the series, Dr. Robin DiAngelo, and using #jagsexplorewhiteness to create buzz on campus (See Appendix B for flier). The speaker series, or speaker engagements, included a private workshop with university leadership, including Chancellor Paydar, his cabinet, and deans from across different departments/schools, in attendance. These small workshops with university leadership were used to discuss whiteness and structural racism with leaders on the IUPUI campus. The public campus events included three caucus style sessions: one for white faculty and staff, one for white students, and one that was specifically for faculty staff and students of color. In each of the sessions the speaker was charged with presenting concepts concerning diversity, facilitating a discussion on the concepts, and engaging the audience in tangible actionable items to combat systemic inequities.

Under the leadership of Dr. Lori Patton Davis, the WRLP held six different events with six different speakers that paralleled the same event structure throughout the 2018-2019 academic school year. In May 2019, Dr. Lori Patton Davis announced her departure from the institution, transitioning the leadership role to Dr. Ronda Henry Anthony. Dr. Henry Anthony is an associate professor in English, director of the African Studies minor, and founder of the Olaniyan Scholars program, a program that mentors and prepares undergraduate students for research (Denney, 2018).

With changes in leadership occurring over the summer, the WRLP shifted in structure for the 2019-2020 academic school year. When the WRLP launched, all sessions were geared towards white student, staff, and faculty. However, there was always one caucus allocated for faculty, staff, and students of color on campus. In its second year of implementation, the WRLP

continued to invite scholars to campus and in the Fall semester of the 2019-2020 academic school year, two events were held. However, there were a few changes to the structure.

In its second iteration, invited scholars no longer met with the administration. It is currently unclear why this change in structure occurred. During campus visits, invited scholars facilitated two sessions for faculty and staff, and one session for students. Two sessions for faculty and staff were included to increase opportunities for participation across two different times in the day (one in the morning and one in the evening). However, in the Fall semester, the WRLP was met with low attendance by faculty, staff, and students. In January, it was decided that the WRLP would forgo campus wide workshops/events and instead implement a teaching symposium to take place at the end of the Spring semester. The WRLP teaching symposium would be a three-day experience for faculty to fully immerse themselves in workshops that would prepare white faculty to create equitable classroom environments (White Racial Literacy Project, 2020). During the months of January through March, a scholar was identified and scheduled to lead the three-day teaching symposium. However, due to the rise of COVID-19, the teaching symposium, as well as the broader WRLP project itself, was put on a temporary hiatus that only lasted one semester. The White Racial Literacy Project resumed during the Fall of 2020.

Data Gathering

According to Stake (1995) qualitative data collection has no finite beginning in because data collection is informally collected prior to any case study (Stake, 1995). Qualitative case study researchers must provide a data-gathering plan, a data management system, and analysis and reporting plan (Stake, 1995). I engaged with each of the three requirements in this section. I became interested in this project as a graduate assistant at IUPUI during my master's program

and post departure, I stayed connected to the initiative's development. Therefore, my collection of data informally began years ago. Stake (1995) argues that the *best* data sources are "those that best help us understand the case" (p. 56); and challenges researchers to consider accessibility and hospitality. Accessibility refers to the ability for a researcher to collect sufficient data within the time constraints allotted and hospitality refers to the site and people within that institution that are willing to assist and welcome one's study. To best understand the case at hand, I used interviews and document analysis as my main sources of information given the constraints of COVID-19 during the time of data collection.

Participant Recruitment

For this dissertation, there were two groups of participants that I interviewed. The first group consisted of individuals who were involved with the design and oversight of the WCI, which encompassed university leadership that served on the executive and steering committees, and the five task forces. This first group of interest granted an opportunity to understand the societal and organizational elements the influenced the development of the WCI (The Trustees of Indiana University, 2020). The second group consisted of individuals responsible for the development and implementation of the WRLP, some of which also were cross listed as university leadership. This group included faculty and staff that facilitated a learning session, assisted in the development of topics for discussion, event planning, and general operations of the White Racial Literacy Project. In total, I interviewed 12 individuals.

Table 2: Participants

Pseudonym	University Leader/Staff/Faculty	Initiative Affiliation	Racial/Ethnic Designation
Sean	University Leadership	WCI	White
Carol	University Leadership	WCI	White
William	Staff	WRLP	White
Marie	Staff	WRLP	BIPOC

Gladis	Faculty	WRLP	BIPOC
Berry	University Leadership	WCI/WRLP	BIPOC
Sharon	Faculty	WRLP	BIPOC
Malcolm	Faculty	WRLP	BIPOC
Annalise	Faculty	WCI	White
Michelle	Staff	WRLP	White
Linda	University Leadership	WCI	White
Jason	Staff	WRLP	White

Due to the difference in constituents, I recruited participants via word of mouth and personal campus networks. For instance, when I spoke to my supervisor about my dissertation project, she highlighted various folks that I should connect with to participate in my study. Further, across organic conversations about my dissertation, my mentor at the institution provided a list of folks as well. From there, my mentor and supervisor made introduction of me and my dissertation proposal. After organic introductions, all participants received recruitment emails that pertain to their role in the WCI and the WRLP inviting them to participate in my study (see Appendix H, I, J for examples of each email).

Rapport

Access to sites, individuals, and information is not simple, especially when engaging with folks who facilitate diversity work on their campuses. Prior and during the data collection process, I leveraged my existing network across IUPUI to make connections with faculty and staff. As I met with folks, I built rapport with each participant to share my connection to the campus. I told folks about my previous work on the IUPUI campus, listed the names of my supervisor and shared that I was an alumnus of the Higher Education and Student Affairs program at Indiana University. People I met were able to ask questions of my previous work and connect with my familiarity to the campus. Moreover, I shared my interest in exploring the research questions of my study, and the impact I sought to make with my study. Participants

resonated with the work I was doing and connected with my involvement in implementing the WRLP on the IUPUI campus. Because of my past and present insider status, participants organically connected with me and granted me access to their time and thoughts.

Interviews

Interviews provide opportunities to obtain the interpretations and descriptions of participants to better understand the case and serve as an additional data point (Stake, 1995). A case study approach aims to understand what is happening in real time. Interviews granted an opportunity to gather interpretations and descriptions of the WCI and the WRLP. Interviews were critical to this study and linked to my post-oppositional onto-epistemology of understanding that people do hold different views but can still work towards creating better environments and contexts for racially minoritized students (Stake, 1995; Bhattacharya, 2017).

For the interviews in this dissertation, I used a semi-structured interview approach, a style of interviewing where the researcher enters an interview with a prepared set of research questions but provides space for unexpected conversations and issues to come up in the interview (Bhattacharya, 2017). The case study approach urges qualitative researchers to be adaptive and cautions researchers in making too many commitments (Stake, 1995). Conversations with participants led me to unplanned and unforeseen insights because of the semi-structured interview approach because I could adapt to the experiences and identities of participants. For example, as a person of color I engaged conversations of white supremacy, power, and racism differently with white folks as opposed to people of color. That is not to say that all people of color comprehend white supremacy, power, and racism in the same ways I do, but their connection to those three concepts bridged our understanding. Whereas as the relation of white individuals to racism is systemically different.

When using a semi-structured approach, there are three orientations that can take place: in-depth open-ended (set of semi-structured questions prepared), informal open-ended (set of key areas that drive the interview), and natural conversations (an equal exchange of information between researcher and participant) (Bhattacharya, 2017). I mention all three orientations because we live in a powered environment influenced by white supremacy. When I interviewed participants, I switched across all three orientations. Bhattacharya (2017) asserts that as qualitative researchers, we can include our experiences, feelings, and memoirs to engage our qualitative work. As I have outlined, my onto-epistemology recognizes that individuals may not hold the same understandings or orientations to white supremacy and organizational power. Thus, I understood and experienced how certain responses impacted me in ways that changed my orientation from comfortably exchanging bidirectional information to shifting to serving as a depository of information (Bhattacharya, 2017; Stake, 1995).

While there are different styles of engaging in an interview, the purpose of my study is to understand the societal and organizational elements that influenced the development of the WCI and WRLP, and to understand how white supremacy manifested during the implementation of the WRLP. I prioritized structural questions "designed to understand the structure of the environment within which the participants are making meaning of their experience" (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 133; please see Appendix C and D for interview protocols). All interview protocols consisted of several grand tour questions that opened the conversation but were supported by several probes to reach depth. The aim of the interview was to understand the influencing societal and organizational factors of WCI and the WRLP, and the role white supremacy has on the implementation of the WRLP.

All interviews lasted between 60 to 90-minutes. Due to the impact of COVID-19, all interviews occurred online and were audio and video recorded with the permission of participants using a secure video/audio platform. I transcribed each interview and provided a transcript to each of the participants as part of my member checking process. Member checking is the process of requesting participants to review rough drafts of study findings or conceptualization and review the materials for accuracy (Stake, 1995; Bhattacharya, 2017). This practice ensures that participants perceptions and experiences were illustrated in the ways in which they intended to communicate them. The feedback provided from participants strengthen my interpretations of the data and provide an opportunity for amendments to be made that preserved the confidentiality.

Documents

I collected and analyzed documents to build a deeper contextually nuanced understanding of the case. The documents collected ranged from strategic plans, internal and external news articles, websites, program proposals submitted to the WCI Innovation Fund, WCI specific information, and social media platforms (i.e., twitter, reddit) (Bhattacharya, 2017). When embarking on a search and deciding which documents to include, qualitative researchers are tasked with providing a reason for the inclusion of each document, which is a reflexive practice (Bhattacharya, 2017). Document analysis is a snowballing process, and my collection process grew as I learned more about the case. I mined documents that communicated the purposes and goals of the WCI and WRLP; fliers affiliated with the description of workshops, locations, and dates; social media pages that facilitate information between the project and the leaders; newspaper articles (institutional and regional) pertaining to the project; and exchanges via email and other physical and virtual forms. I used the documents to create a fuller portrait of

understanding of the organizational and societal elements that influenced the development of the WCI and WRLP, as well as understand the influence of white supremacy on the implementation of the WRLP.

Case Data Storage

Data storage is an important part in qualitative case study (Stake, 1995). It is important for qualitative case study researchers to appropriately manage the data gathered to make sense of what is occurring in the present case and link it their personal understanding. For this dissertation, I held two forms of management: physical and electronic systems. The physical data management entailed a personal journal where I process insights that develop and reflections throughout the project. Additionally, I built an offline project archive where I stored interviews, transcripts, documents, and memos on an external hard drive. Within the archive, each participant was allocated a folder with their transcript, memo, and audio/video recording.

Data Analysis

In qualitative case study, "analysis is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well as to final compilations" (Stake, 1995, p. 71). Analysis gives meaning to pieces that are important to us. There are two strategic ways qualitative case study researchers can arrive to new meanings: direct interpretation and categorical aggregation (Stake, 1995). Direct interpretation pertains to how the researcher is making sense of the case, which is influenced by their positionality, conceptual framework, research questions, and experience with the case (Stake, 1995). For instance, the findings of this study were a direct interpretation of how I processed and synthesized the collected data and linked it to my understanding of the interaction of white supremacy and organizational power. Categorical aggregation refers to the common patterns that occur in the case that can be addressed as a category or a class; although, there is an

understanding that important features of a case only occur once and should be weighed just as much as aggregated categories (Stake, 1995). For instance, in synthesizing, I encountered a pattern of common themes in support of the WCI, one of which was the Chancellor.

Both approaches are necessary for qualitative case study, however the balance of the two depends on the type of the case study approach. Employing an intrinsic qualitative case study requires that more weight is given to direct interpretation because the interest lies within the distinct case (Stake, 1995). Centering direct interpretation made sense for the analysis of this study for a few reasons. The influencing organizational and influencing factors of the WCI and WRLP are at the center of this study. I sought to make meaning of the interaction of the societal and organizational elements that led to the development of the WCI and WRLP. Further, I sought to illuminate the manifestation of white supremacy during the implementation of the WRLP. Grounded in my post-oppositional onto epistemology, I recognized that my analysis is to share what I came to understand of the case based on my interpretation of the gathered data. But there was a balance in accounting for the categorical aggregations that validated the different takes from participants.

During this process, I struck a balance by weighing my interpretation against the categorical aggregation of instances that arose in the data. Categorical aggregation is linked to inductive analysis, which is the process of reviewing raw data, chunking them into smaller units of analysis to make the data much more manageable and reach further analysis (Bhattacharya, 2017). Chunking assists the collapsing of data into codes (small categories) and patterns which aid in illuminating salient themes present in the study (Bhattacharya, 2017). Accompanied in this process was the reflexive journaling practice, where I noted the “subjectivities, emotions, hunches, questions that arise, and ways in which s/he is making sense of the data in association

with theoretical, methodological, analytic framework, and research purpose and questions" (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 151).

Coding

Reaching a point of understanding is not a linear research process, it is iterative (Bhattacharya, 2017). In my analysis process, I (re)familiarize myself with the data by listening to the audio of each interview, reading through transcripts, and writing reflective memos several times (Bhattacharya, 2017). This process required that my thoughts were written down and collected to use throughout the analytical process. Next, I used provisional coding as my first cycle coding approach. Provisional coding begins with a preset of codes that can be informed by a literature review or conceptual framework. There is no agreement on the number of preset codes sufficient to engage in coding data, but it is agreed that provisional coding is not an end-all-be-all, and instead a starting point to further synthesize using other coding mechanisms (Saldana, 2016). This dissertation is guided by SCDP and Implementation Theory, as such the list of preset codes were informed by the various elements of the conceptual framework such as *cultural appropriation* and *violence* to account for white supremacy/settler colonialism; and *capacity* and *capability* to account for organizational power. Throughout the first cycle I broke apart the data and wrote about my experience, noting tension points and ambiguity in how I coded the data to better assist during the second round of coding (Bhattacharya, 2017). Further, I reflected on the documents and contextual references I knew previously, as a reflexive exercise.

An intrinsic case study places emphasis on direct interpretation but requires the inclusion of categorical aggregation. I used pattern coding in the second cycle to build a bridge between the first cycle that emphasized direct interpretation. The purpose of pattern coding is to identity small instances and merge smaller units into a larger category that forwards assertions (Saldana,

2016). For instance, there was a pattern across participants citing palatability of naming the WRLP, I linked that pattern to *cultural appropriation*, a dimension of SCDP that account for the influence of white supremacy in impeding critical work from being successful. Once I completed my second cycle of coding, I crystalized my observations of the data by mapping the categories to my conceptual framework to ensure that I am clearly in line with my research questions, positionality, and conceptual framework. Moreover, I reflected on my document analysis notes, memos, and the random sticky notes I wrote to myself that I couldn't make sense of during the first cycle of coding. As a result, I made connections to the interviews and documents that I had not made connections to immediately and used this process as a contextual soundboard.

Crystallization

Crystallization is a methodological approach that incorporates multiple forms of data points and analysis to build a complex and deepened understanding of a particular phenomenon that is attuned to manifestations of power (Ellingson, 2008). Stemming from a critical and feminist qualitative orientation, crystallization aligns with the qualitative case study approach of this dissertation because it centers that many realities exist at once and that all realities are influenced by power (Ellingson, 2008). Using crystallization, a researcher can problematize the phenomenon of interest, and help one reflect on their interpretation and positionality to make claims of socially constructed meanings of the phenomenon (Ellingson, 2008). Crystallization is particularly useful to this dissertation because it is attuned to manifestations of power and permits me to center and grapple with my positionality, the lived realities of participants, and conceptual framework to offer "deep, thickly described" interpretations of the phenomenon of the WCI and WRLP at IUPUI (Ellingson, 2008, p. 10).

I employed several mechanisms to work toward crystallization. First, I included different data sources gathered through interviews and document analysis to provide insights regarding societal and organizational power that influenced and impacted the WCI and WRLP. Second, I utilized two different coding approaches to facilitate my understanding of the phenomenon of the case and works towards building out assertions/findings based on my interpretation. Lastly, I incorporated the opinions of faculty on my dissertation committee to share my interpretation of findings based on my positionality, conceptual framework and experiences shared by participants; and to engage in discussions that permit me to strengthen my defense for my interpretations of the case.

Limitations

Although the scope of the qualitative case study proposed is to reach a deep and rich understanding, there were certain limitations that impact the original aims of this dissertation. The first, departures of individuals affected this study. Due to the shift of the roles, people involved were difficult to get to participate in the data collection of this study, which impacted the amount of vantage points that would add more depth to this study. The second limitation was the impact of COVID-19 and the events of Summer of 2020 (i.e., the mass murder of Black individuals due to police violence) which impacted the availability of participants and the ongoing implementation of the WRLP. It was a challenge to get individuals to participate because individuals were stretched thin due to labor constraints, increase in emotional support of students, and university requirements to facilitate racial healing initiatives. The third limitation is the number of participants. While depth was reached, the results of these findings are limited to the perceptions of the 12 participants and may not be holistic or inclusive of all perspectives. The fourth limitation of this study is the nature of discussing racism and white supremacy as active

members of the IUPUI community. While I was successful in establishing rapport with individual, it is necessary to note that participants may not have felt comfortable sharing their full thoughts because of institutional ties and potential impact of this dissertation on them. Lastly, because I used personal networks to connect with individuals, the network may be biased or skewed towards individual who share similar thinking to the university leaders, staff, and faculty linked to the WCI and the WRLP.

Confidentiality

I elected to include the identifiable information of the institutions and the racial diversity initiative of interest. Due to the distinctness of the WCI, de-identifying the institution and the racial diversity initiative would impact this dissertation. Removing identifiable information would limit my ability to share the complexity of the case and its context. Moreover, all the information provided is publicly and easily accessible to the masses. However, for participants, I co-created pseudonyms and generalized their titles on the campus to university leader, faculty, or staff to grant space for individuals to speak freely.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I illuminate the societal and organizational elements that influenced the development of the WCI and WRLP. Additionally, I illuminate the influence of white supremacy during the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project. To facilitate my aims, I utilized an intrinsic qualitative case study with an embedded unit to better understand and interrogate the development of the WCI and WRLP, and the implementation of the WRLP, which included the institutional context of IUPUI. I collected interviews and documents as the main sources of data for this study. To make sense of the gathered information, I used direct interpretation and categorical aggregation approaches that are grounded in my conceptual

framework of settler colonialism and organizational power. In the next chapter, I use the collected data to illuminate how white supremacy, organizational power, and the intersection of the two influenced the development of the WCI and WRLP and shaped the implementation of the WRLP at IUPUI.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

In this chapter, I share the experiences of university leadership, faculty, and staff involved with the WCI and the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI. As a reminder, the two research questions that guided this study are: What organizational ad societal elements influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP at IUPUI? And, how are understandings of white supremacy present in faculty and staff descriptions of the implementation of the WRLP? I answer these two research questions throughout two findings sections. In the first section I highlight the organizational and societal factors that influenced the creation of the WCI and the White Racial Literacy Project. In the second section, I illuminate how white supremacy manifested in the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project.

Finding One: The WCI Organizational and Societal Factors

One purpose of this research project is to understand the organizational and societal factors that influenced the creation of the WCI. To answer this aim of the research project, I outline the three organizational and societal factors that influenced the creation of the WCI: (a) the new chancellor, (b) the turbulent socio-political environment, and (c) IUPUI's 50th celebration.

The New Chancellor

The implementation of the WCI at IUPUI was a purposeful act to transform the campus into a more welcoming campus for all. The WCI was the first of its kind on the IUPUI campus and an effort that differed from the campus' history of neglecting to address issues of inequity on the campus (Trustees of Indiana University, 2021b). How such an initiative came to be is tied to an integral catalyst at IUPUI: Chancellor Nassar Paydar. Several participants highlighted the catalyzing impact Dr. Paydar had on the campus and how his vision to create a more welcoming

campus is a part of his tenor on the IUPUI campus. For example, Berry, a Black woman, and university leader recalled that Chancellor Paydar, "[was] a relatively new Chancellor, who wanted to create some signature programs." How Dr. Paydar was able to implement the WCI with impact and speed is pinnacle to understanding the context of IUPUI and needed to understand the importance of the initiative and the findings of this research study.

The purpose of the Chancellor at IUPUI is to develop and drive a vision for the campus that is all encompassing of faculty, staff, alumni, students, and the local community across three main areas: student success, research, and engagement. Further, the Chancellor is tasked with serving as the face for the university, making appearances across university and campus environments. Lastly, the Chancellor oversees overseeing the operations of the university which include funding and budgets, ensuring the recruitment and retention of scholars and research funds, and making strategy decisions to ensure IUPUI is a destination campus for future faculty, staff, and students (Trustees of Indiana University, 2022)

Chancellor Paydar was installed as IUPUI's 5th Chancellor in 2015. During Dr. Paydar's installation address, he shared his equity driven mission of building a centralized campus identity and cultivating a more welcoming campus for all. Many participants agreed that chancellor Paydar's equity driven vision coupled with this his familiarity to the IUPUI campus, and rolodex of leadership experience, positioned him implement the WCI swiftly and with support from the campus. In the following section, I provide further context of his ability to transform his individual intention into a collective commitment for the campus and utilize his tenured experience within the Indiana University system to leverage existing campus relationships.

Setting Himself Apart: Sharing his Individual Intentions

Dr. Paydar's strength as chancellor was transforming his individual intentions into collective commitments and actions across the campus. For instance, Carol, a member of university leadership, shared a glimpse of what Chancellor Paydar stated in his address, "[Paydar] announced and pledged as Chancellor to help IUPUI become a more welcoming campus, and [to become] more of a destination where people could come and develop to the best of their abilities, and that there would be no barriers to that." Carol's recollection highlights the Chancellor's understanding that larger systems of power (i.e., white supremacy, racism) exist, and that there are organizational barriers within the institution that create barriers for certain populations (i.e., minoritized groups). Further, Carol's statement illuminated the clear commitment of the Dr. Paydar in mobilizing collective action to address existing barriers on the campus (e.g., retention, sense of belonging).

The significance of chancellor Paydar's commitment to transform the institution into a more WCI are in stark contrast to past chancellors. Linda, a university leader, explained the chancellor's intentions and compared Dr. Paydar's intentions against previous leadership patterns, "…we wanted to be able to have a common campus identity and kind of come around together or come together around a core set of shared values. And I think prior to Chancellor Paydar that had not been a priority." Linda mentioned "coming together" to illuminate how the campus, prior to chancellor Paydar, functioned as a decentralized organization where each school aligned with their disciplines or fields, instead of the larger campus. This decentralization was influenced by a lack of a clear campus identity and shared set of values at IUPUI. As a result of a lack of shared values and campus identity, issues, and experiences of inequities on the IUPUI were neglected according to participants. Prior to chancellor Paydar, no previous chancellor prioritized or accounted for the racial inequities that existed on the campus or the impact racial

inequities create for minoritized populations on campus. Dr. Paydar's clear commitment to creating a central campus identity committed to cultivating a more welcoming campus was a catalyzing moment for the campus; prior to him there was no direction, nor one that accounted for the inequities that exist on the campus.

Stating an individual intention for the campus is only part of the narrative, shifting his individual intentions into a collective commitment is a notable part of Dr. Paydar's impact on the campus. For instance, Berry, a university leader, situated the commitment the chancellor had to transform his individual intention into a collective commitment. Berry stated,

> …And so, [Dr. Paydar] commissioned, I'm not sure how many, maybe five…they weren't called, I don't think they were called task forces, but committees, to look at how to make the university better for students, how to make the university better for, I don't know, community engagement, etc.…

The committees would focus on five focal areas: students, faculty and staff, campus accessibility, cultural climate, and community engagement. Each committee was tasked with exploring the experience of each of its focal areas, illuminating any challenges areas, and researching and developing recommendations to address challenges and inequitable experiences on the campus. The recommendations of the findings would influence the programmatic criteria for the implementation of the WCI at IUPUI.

Entering the role of Chancellor with a clear vision grounded in equity set Dr. Paydar apart from previous chancellors who failed to build a cohesive campus identity and acknowledge that inequities existed on campus. What further set chancellor Paydar a part was his ability to swiftly transform his individual intentions into a shared commitment and action. In the next section I situate how chancellor Paydar's tenure within the Indiana University system enabled

him to actualize his vision so quickly, and how his previous roles and strategic efforts positioned him to move with such agility.

Tenure with the Indiana University System

Dr. Paydar was appointed Chancellor at IUPUI in 2015, but his tenure with IUPUI and the larger Indiana University system spans across decades. Understanding Paydar's history with the Indiana University is critical to understanding his ability to catalyze change on the IUPUI campus. To situate why the Chancellor was able to move so quickly in his newly appointed role, Sean, a university leader, shared some insights on Chancellor Paydar's past.

> I think that it's important to recognize that the WCI was launched during year one of the Chancellor Paydar's administration. Which—he was known to the campus because he's been, he's been at IU since 1985.

Since 1985, Chancellor Paydar served in various roles including chairman of the Department of Mechanical Engineering, Executive Associate Dean of Graduate Programs, Vice Chancellor and Dean of Indiana University-Purdue University Columbus, Chancellor of Indiana University East, and Executive Vice Chancellor and Chief Academic officer at IUPUI (Trustees of Indiana University, 2021). Through his experience, Paydar learned to lead faculty and understand the issues that impact academic departments and worked with faculty and staff to develop change on campuses. As Chancellor of IU East, Dr. Paydar implemented DEI initiatives that resulted in positive outcomes for the institution. As a result of his tenure within the Indiana University system, Chancellor Paydar entered his new appointment with three things in hand: an in-depth understanding of institutional context, established relationships with various constituents across the campuses in which he has worked (i.e., IUPUI), and an evidenced

background of developing equity driven strategy on the IUPUI campus. These three things aided his ability to swiftly act on the IUPUI campus with the WCI.

At the start of his tenure, Chancellor Paydar shared his individual intentions and translated it into a collective commitment for IUPUI. Within his first year as Chancellor, Dr. Paydar implemented the WCI at IUPUI, something that is rare with newly appointed leaders (Eckel & Kezar, 2011; Kezar, 2008). Unlike a new chancellor without institutional context, Paydar entered the role with an understanding of the social roles (e.g., university leaders, faculty, staff) at the IUPUI campus and the social norms (i.e., how decisions are made, how relationships work) that accompanied such roles. Furthermore, Paydar benefitted from already established relationships because of being a familiar face on the IUPUI campus, and a credible background of being an impactful leader within the Indiana University system. Sean shared that Dr. Paydar, "had the context, the relationships, the strategic framework in place" to enact change on the campus. Because of the existing knowledge, Sean stated that the university leaders "got moving quickly" to transform the campus when Dr. Paydar was appointed. Dr. Paydar's ability to move quickly is rare because the challenges new university presidents or chancellors face were not always a part of his narrative at IUPUI. For instance, Dr. Paydar didn't have to spend time developing and learning the context and building relationships on the IUPUI campus, instead he leveraged existing relationships (Eckel & Kezar, 2011; Kezar, 2008).

Development and Implementation of the IUPUI Strategic Plan

Developing explorative committees and structures to collect information that involve faculty, staff, students, and university leaders is a part of chancellor Paydar's rolodex. Carol, a university leader, provided some context, "I do know that [implementing the WCI] was very much part and parcel of the leadership vision of chancellor Paydar, and I believe that he had

something similar underway at IU East when he was overseeing the Richmond campus." As Chancellor of Indiana University East, Chancellor Paydar developed a structure to collect information to build a more equitable experience and report back with actionable items, which resulted in IU East receiving national attention for increasing access for students in its region at an accelerated rate (Trustees of Indiana University, 2011). As chancellor of IU East, Paydar learned to use the cognitive resources (i.e., the expertise of faculty and staff on campus) to identify areas of inequity and strategically design interventions to facilitate a more equitable experience for students on the campus and in the region. Paydar's ability to utilize the cognitive resources available on the campus would play a critical role to the development and implementation of the WCI.

Dr. Paydar's previous role as chancellor for the IU East campus produced an opportunity to serve as the Executive Vice Chancellor at the IUPUI campus, and in this role, Dr. Paydar cemented himself as strategist aiming to cultivate a welcoming campus for all. For instance, when Paydar returned to IUPUI to serve as the Executive Vice Chancellor, he was tasked with overseeing and developing the strategic plan for the institution, and the approach to the role would be critical for the development of the WCI. The process of developing the strategic plan for the institution requires a lot of effort. Linda, a university leader, provided some insight.

> …when he was in the EVP role, we launched a very intensive strategic planning process that aligned with IU's Bicentennial Plan and it involves some crazy number of people and a huge number of task forces, and it felt like it had just been a lot…

With an understanding of the institutional context and established relationships, Paydar leveraged his institutional knowledge and relationships to develop a strategic plan for the campus that would center equity in its vision. The IUPUI strategic plan outlines three main priorities, one

of which is *Contribution to the Well-being of the Citizens of Indianapolis, the State of Indiana, and Beyond.* Under this priority is the goal to "promote an inclusive campus climate. Seek, value, and cultivate diversity in all its forms and create an environment where all campus community members feel welcomed, supported, included, and valued" (IUPUI Strategic Plan, 2014).

The strategic planning process would be crucial for the development and implementation of the WCI. Carol, a university leader who worked closely with Dr. Paydar during the development of the strategic plan and the implementation of the WCI stated:

> …the strategic plan began first. And [university leadership, staff, and faculty] came up with a set of recommendations that really helped us target and prioritize activities and resources and channel our vision as a campus, [to become a more] welcoming campus… when Chancellor Paydar became Chancellor, [the WCI became another] rallying notion. And so, to immediately shift to another process like that felt to me like it would be a very heavy lift. However, I would say within, I don't know, six months I saw the genius of his idea, because really, the WCI, I think became a means by which to implement the strategic plan in a way that ensured that we were very mindful about the climate for our students as well as for our faculty and staff.

The strategic plan at IUPUI was a motivating force on the IUPUI campus because it outlined specific areas of focus which took a holistic approach to the campus experience; embedded in the strategic plan was the commitment of making IUPUI a more welcoming campus. The same energy that resulted from the strategic plan was also present for the WCI. The WCI was a way for university leadership to actualize the priority areas outlined in the strategic plan.

In addition, the "huge number of task forces" used for the strategic planning process mirrored the amount used for the development of the WCI. For the WCI, the task forces included an executive committee, a steering committee, and five task forces focuses on five different areas of interest, those areas included students, local community and alumni, faculty and staff, campus identity, and campus climate (Trustees of Indiana University, 2020b). According to the original internal plans shared with me, each of the task forces were required with researching their target areas to better understand the challenges that currently exist and provide insightful recommendations for future action. These recommendations were next shared with the steering and executive committees to build out the target areas for funding of new projects, programs, and initiatives that would facilitate a more welcoming campus (i.e., White Racial Literacy Project).

Embedded in the strategic plan was a commitment to accounting for and addressing issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion present on the IUPUI campus. For instance, one was to "promote an inclusive campus climate. Seek, value, and cultivate diversity in all of its forms and create an environment where all campus community members feel welcomed, supported, included, and valued"). Furthermore, the strategic plan stated, "our commitment will not sit on a shelf. It is a dynamic plan that will respond to changing needs within and outside IUPUI." The strategic plan was a foundational document to the WCI because the WCI cut across various strategic priorities. Sean, a university leader, shared the following:

> … [the WCI] helped reinforce, and focus the campus around issues of diversity, equity and inclusion, which is not only in an important value of the campus, it's also a very important strategic priority. And it's also frankly the right thing to do.

The WCI demonstrated a clear commitment to cultivating a more welcoming campus which signaled to the campus that issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion were important to the

Chancellor, his team, and the campus identity. Moreover, the link between the strategic plan and the WCI highlights the accumulating organizational effort led by Dr. Paydar to transform the IUPUI campus, while cementing a clear response to the turbulent socio-political context that surrounded the campus at the time.

There existed two factors that coincided with the appointment of Dr. Paydar as IUPUI's 5th Chancellor and influenced the Initiative: the turbulent socio-political environment surrounding the IUPUI campus and country at large and IUPUI's 50th celebration. In the next section, I contextualize how Dr. Paydar worked to account for the socio-political environment that surrounded his first years as Chancellor and how Dr. Paydar utilized the momentum of the upcoming university anniversary to his advantage to implement the WCI.

The Turbulent Socio-Political Environment

Surrounding Dr. Paydar's first year as Chancellor was a turbulent socio-political environment. There was an increase and validation of white supremacist ideology across campuses, which became evident on the IUPUI campus. For instance, a white supremacist group posted racist flyers and member recruitment flyers outside of the Multicultural Center (ADL, 2020; Wang, 2016b). There was a general sense of uneasiness for individuals with racially minoritized identities on the IUPUI campus (ADL, 2020; Wang, 2016b). Sean, a university leader added another vantage point to better understand the amalgamation of factors that influenced the speed of action for Dr. Paydar and the WCI:

> I think the fact that it was an initiative that happened in year one that was connected right back to the strategic plan, that he was involved in, and his installation address, which had themes of, you know, engagement, involvement, you know, bringing the campus together, working with the community, you know, those kind of things were kind of

> threaded throughout some of his own remarks. Coupled with all this external stuff that was happening in the broader society. This gave people a very critical way of saying "OK, here's what our campuses doing, 'cause you acknowledge lots of places [where] we're doing stuff."

Sean reinforced the concept that the strategic plan was directly linked to the WCI, while also reinforced the idea that the leadership of Chancellor Paydar created a distinct scenario for the WCI to take place. In his remarks, Sean referenced the "external stuff that was happening in the broader society." Sean was referencing the turmoil the BIPOC communities felt and experienced across the United States during the Presidential Election of 2016. As well as the racist incidents racially minoritized students were facing across campus, like finding nooses on campus and experiencing racist language (Bernstein, 2015; Hartcollis & Bidgood, 2015). These experiences led to a call to action across colleges and universities in the United States where students were highlighting the racism they experienced while demanding their institutions to act to address the racism on campus. The push for institutional action is what Sean referenced and went on to highlight that IUPUI was ahead of other institutions in outlining action items to cultivate a more welcoming campus.

During the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, the U.S. Republican presidential nominee, Donald Trump, ran on a white supremacist platform that ignited a new confidence in his supporters (i.e., majority white individuals) and resulted in an increase of racialized hate crimes across the country and on college campuses (Bauman, 2018; Magill, 2016). IUPUI leaders observed an increase in xenophobic and white supremacist rhetoric (i.e., racism) on campus. For instance, on the IUPUI campus there were racist fliers posted across the campus (Wang, 2016) as well as posters that stated, "Why White Women Shouldn't Date Black Men" (Larimer, 2016).

Anecdotally, William shared, students on campus "were doing some pretty awful [chants like] 'build the wall'" in classrooms. When the Republican candidate was elected to office, IUPUI's leadership wanted to demonstrate that there was an intentional and genuine care for BIPOC communities. In conversation with Linda, a university leader, she shared the purpose of the WCI as it pertained to the socio-political context at the time :

> [When the WCI] was unfolding at the beginning of the Trump administration, we were beginning to see what that would mean for our international students, groups from Mexico, [and] from other nations around us...We were worried about our Dreamers and [because of this] it really forced us to think about all those different pockets of people that we cared about and think through their experience with our campus, through that lens of being welcoming and authentically inclusive. So that was a big one.

Dr. Paydar's vision of cultivating a more welcoming campus was surrounded by the immediate need to demonstrate that the leadership of IUPUI had a genuine care for its marginalized students to which the leaders of the university were committed to supporting. The insistence of demonstrating care was linked to the direct fear Dreamers on the campus felt because of the newly elected President's belief on ending the DACA process and anti-immigrant and xenophobic stance on immigrants of color (Alper & Rosenberg, 2020; Totenberg, 2020).

As an added layer to the genuine investment university leaders had for marginalized communities on the IUPUI campus, Sean, a university leader, clarified IUPUI's leadership efforts in comparison to other university campuses in the country:

> …you will recall that in the end 2015, 2016 there was a lot of sort of appropriate, I hate even [to] call it campus unrest. That's not the right way of framing campus conversations that were profound in a lot of institutions. One of them, which was in Missouri, you

> know, I think, tends to be the one that goes [noticed]. It wasn't like we opened up the Chronicle [of Higher Education] and [said] “Oh my stars, look at what they're doing there, let's do this welcoming campus thing” [at IUPUI] but I think that what was happening across the country…

In 2015, the University of Missouri caught the attention of most colleges and universities when Black students protested the institution’s leadership for a lack of response to the racism experiences by Black students on campus (Lu, 2015). As a response to the carefully crafted student demands, the university launched a racial diversity initiative. The student protests at the University of Missouri sparked national students protests across colleges and universities across the United States. As a result, other colleges and universities followed suit, and diversity initiatives popped up on many campuses such as Dartmouth College and University of Michigan (Platt, 2016; Trustees of Dartmouth College, 2020; University of Michigan, 2016) . However, the implementation of racial diversity initiatives often felt disingenuous and became more of an isomorphic practice that lacked intention and impact (Patton et al., 2019; Newkirk, 2019). However, at IUPUI, the momentum for the WCI existed prior to the response at the University of Missouri because of the vision of Dr. Paydar, his rolodex of practice, and ability to mobilize faculty staff, and leadership to work towards becoming a more welcoming campus.

University leaders recognized that the socio-political context required a need to create an intervention on campus to create a more WCI. The recognition to genuinely intervene on the campus was a societal element that influenced the implementation of the WCI. Therefore, the socio-political context influenced the development of the WCI because it served as a crystalized moment that provided further support and affirmation for the work university leaders at IUPUI aimed to create (i.e., a centralized campus identity and welcoming campus).

Despite their intentions, skepticism of the actions taken by IUPUI's leadership team existed amongst some community members. William, a staff member of the IUPUI campus, shared his thoughts on the implementation of the WCI:

> I think for my sense [the WCI] was an opportunity for—I think it made a lot of solid political sense for the campus in order to get people to do some investment in projects and passion projects, but also in terms of how it was structured that you had to work with multiple units on campus. And you know, IUPUI, for a range of reasons, it's a massive institution. It also has a budgetary model that lends itself to, an unhealthy level of competition, and certainly I think can lead to poor communication at times.

William believed that the creation of the WCI made the university look good because there was a clear institutional response to the socio-political context, that was also in line with what other campuses were doing. Moreover, William highlighted that a potential flaw to the implementation of the WCI was poor communication that could have better illuminated the genuine interest in cultivating a more welcoming campus at IUPUI. To an extent, William was correct. The WCI was an original creation that was a production of intentional work led by Dr. Paydar. However, the socio-political context surrounding the timing of the initiative served as boost in momentum that university leaders capitalized upon to push their work forward, while utilizing the moment to highlight IUPUI's efforts to transform the campus distinctly in comparison to other institutions. Simultaneously, the Institutional Research and Decision Support team gathered data regarding the Campus Climate Survey, and the research team found an increase in students reporting that "there is a lot of tension around diversity issues." Compared to previous years (2018 Campus Climate Survey). Therefore, the WCI worked as a way for university leaders to demonstrate they were doing something, despite the WCI and data gathering occurred simultaneously.

IUPUI's 50th Celebration

Intertwined with the appointment of Dr. Paydar and his clear vision to cultivate a more welcoming campus and the turbulent socio-political environment was the upcoming 50th celebration for the IUPUI campus. The 50th celebration took place during the 2018—2019 academic school year. However, it is critical to highlight that the planning process for the 50th celebration coincided with Dr. Paydar's first year as Chancellor, the same year the WCI was introduced to the campus. During the academic year, IUPUI hosted various events to celebrate.

During the 50th celebration, IUPUI held various events on the campus. The official celebration kickstarted with a *state of the campus* speech from Chancellor Paydar. Celebrations included a website where faculty, staff, and students could learn about the positive and uncomfortable moments of the institution's past, a culminating celebration for the IUPUI community to celebrate with cake and games, and the yearly traditional celebration of the canoe race in the local Indianapolis canal. Additional celebration included panels, keynotes, and art installations that referenced the celebration of IUPUI (Trustees of Indiana University, 2020e).

Across conversations it became evident that the 50th celebration added momentum to what Dr. Paydar aimed to actualize at IUPUI. Carol, a university leader, described:

> [the University leadership] knew all along that in January of 2019, this campus would be 50 years old. We knew that the anniversary was coming, and the Chancellor wanted it to be more than a party. [The Chancellor] really wanted it to be a chance for us to leverage all the energy and the conversations and the planning and reaffirm who we are, what we've come from, who we are and where we're going. And so, we saw the anniversary year as an opportunity to provide some events and opportunities and a framework through the whole year to celebrate, promote, explore, what it is to be IUPUI.

The 50th celebration created an opportunity for university leadership to leverage the existing momentum that backed the installation of Dr. Paydar and his vision to cultivate a more welcoming campus. Moreover, Carol referenced the 50th celebration created an opportunity to acknowledge the racist past of the institution. For example, the active displacement of a thriving Black community in Indianapolis that took place to make room for IUPUI to be built (Mullins, 2006; Paschall, 2020). Grappling with the institutions past and connecting it to the present is one thing that had not been done before by any chancellor at IUPUI, and further highlights the impact of Dr. Paydar on the IUPUI campus and his vision to transform the institution.

To understand the impact the 50th celebration had in sustaining Dr. Paydar's vision for the campus, Sean, a university leader who works with Dr. Paydar illuminated the importance of the celebration:

> I think the fact that we had this other thing, this 50th anniversary, that gave us a great platform because it was going to go on for a whole yearlong celebration. It gave us a natural platform, opportunistically, to keep this going and to it to really attach these things [the WCI and the 50th anniversary] together so that we could. Because a lot of the things we're going to talk about in terms of our campus history, all that stuff I gave you at the outside of this. A lot of that stuff we're going to be talking anyway. Well, a lot of that was flavored in a lot of the welcoming campus stuff, so it made sense to bring it together.

Sean pointed out that the aims of the 50th celebration were in line with aspects of the WCI. The three aims of the 50th celebration was to explore the positive and difficult parts of its history, celebrate the accomplishments of its stakeholders, and inspire and engage internal and external stakeholders (Trustees of Indiana University, 2021).

Annelise, a tenured faculty member on the campus, shared further insight into how the goals of the WCI and the 50th anniversary of the institution overlapped:

> The 50th anniversary for IUPUI was another initiative that was a festive one, which is a good one, and I think that most certainly drew attention to an initiative that allowed the upper administration to review, revise, and come up with new ways that would be more inclusive of the campus community, and somewhat suspiciously/sarcastically, whatever you want to name it...So, three things I, I think came together and a greater awareness in general of who we are, whose land are we—whose land that we take, you know, it took quite some while to actually have a marker on campus to say this used to be a vibrant African American community that was successfully pushed out for the for the campus. So, I think a greater awareness in general also contributed to that.

The aims of IUPUI's 50th celebration focused on recognizing and illuminating its history, both good and bad. As aforementioned, a thriving Black community was displaced to create space for the development of IUPUI. Prior to IUPUI being built, the neighborhoods of Ransom Place and Indiana Avenue were home to thriving Black business and the epicenter of Black life in Indianapolis. Both Ransom Place and Indiana Avenue were known for their jazz clubs and the location of Madam C. J. Walker's manufacturing company (Mullins & White, 2010). The displacement of the thriving Black community began as early as the 1920s when Indiana University started to acquire Black homes which would only increase exponentially when a new medical school was announced and later, through eminent domain in the mid-1960s, Indiana University purchased the remaining homes to pave way for the creation of IUPUI (Paschall, 2020). These actions resulted in the decimation of 100 year thriving Black community in Indianapolis and the displacement of at least 12,000 Black individuals (Paschall, 2020).

The reason why the university leadership illuminated the difficult past was to demonstrate a shift in recognizing that inequities exist and that the institution itself perpetuated the oppression of Black and other racially minoritized groups. Moreover, the intentional focus was also due to perpetual avoidance by the university to acknowledge the violence enacted on the thriving Black community that once existed. While, Annelise referenced a land acknowledgement, there was no response from other participants about acknowledging the displacement of the original caretakers of the land that IUPUI occupies. Therefore, the extent to which the 50th celebration acknowledged its institutional impact only extended to the displacement of a thriving Black community, which limits the holistic understanding of the impact the institution has on Black and Indigenous populations in the present.

In sum, the development of the WCI was influenced by three main elements. The first being the appointment of a familiar face into the Chancellor role and the Chancellor's rolodex of leadership and strategic planning and using the target areas of the strategic plan to frame the aims of the WCI created the perfect opportunity to implement the initiative. Second, the socio-political environment further influenced the process of implementing the WCI because it signaled that the university was moving in the right direction. Third, the 50th celebration created an organic flow of events that allowed university leaders to leverage the campus energy and excitement into developing projects that would help establish a campus identity grounded in facilitating a welcoming campus for all. While there were three clear elements that influenced the creation of the WCI, there were only two elements that influenced the creation of the White Racial Literacy Project.

The White Racial Literacy Project: Influencing Factors

One of the purposes of this research is to explore and analyze faculty and staff descriptions of the implementation of the WCI. A main component of the WCI is the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project. The WCI created an organizational opportunity for campus stakeholders, internal and external, to collaborate and launch projects that would meet one of the five focal areas of the initiative, including communicating campus identity, creating an inclusive student experience, designing an accessible campus, engaging, and integrating with the local community, and investing in faculty and staff (Trustees of Indiana University, 2020c). Targeting the focal area of creating an inclusive student experience, the White Racial Literacy Project was developed and introduced to the campus in 2016.

In this next section I focus on the organizational and societal factors that influenced the White Racial Literacy Project. I illuminate how white supremacy manifests in the implementation of the initiative via two themes: (a) a storied history of racism at IUPUI, and (b) failed organizational practices to educate white faculty, staff, and students. I first highlight the storied presence of racism on the IUPUI campus to further contextualize the societal influence white supremacy has on the campus and the need for the White Racial Literacy Project. Then, I draw attention to the failed organizational practices to address and educate white faculty, staff, and students on topics of white supremacy and racism through the Project.

A Storied History of Racism at IUPUI

Several participants shared that racism and white supremacy have plagued the IUPUI campus both past and present. For example, Gladis, a faculty member who assumed the leadership role of the White Racial Literacy Project after Sharon left the institution, shared that the creation of the WCI created an opportunity for the White Racial Literacy Project to take place and “people of color [had] been pushing for attention to these issues on our campus for

forever." "These issues" that Gladis referred to were issues of racism on the campus that went unresolved or unacknowledged by university leadership.

The people of color Gladis referenced included students and particularly student groups that sought to address racism on the campus. To provide historical context, Annelise, a professor on campus shared her historical knowledge of the campus.

> "…some years ago, and I think it goes close to 20 [years], we had Black Student Initiative [demonstration] that brought to life that it was the campus was quite uncomfortable and unwelcoming to minority students and underrepresented students."

William, a staff member on the campus, also highlighted the Black Student Initiative and shared his insights.

> …it's probably important to name the Black Student Initiative that happened over 10 years ago that was led by it was really a multiracial coalition of students that were making demands because students voices were not being heard. Their needs were not being met and folks protested, and they rallied. And in fact, one of the outcomes of that was that was the Multicultural Center."

William illuminated the Black Student Initiative and highlighted those students did not have their needs met from university leaders in response to action against the racism the students faced on campus. The demands of the Black Student Initiative, the *Through our eyes: The state of the Black student at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis*, state:

> IUPUI says it aims to provide for you as a Black student, but in all actuality, it provides 'nothing.' There is no mission, no goals, and no vision for Black students here at IUPUI. Our voices [Black students] must be heard. Ultimately, Black students and their

> organizations on the campus lack communication, equity, equality, support, and respect here at IUPUI.

The document highlights the lack of respect in tone and word selection used towards Black students, the lack of course content that focuses on Black communities, and the lack of institutional action to support Black students on the campus. While the Black Student Initiative referenced above occurred in 2006, another Black Student Initiative occurred twenty years later, in 2016, with similar demands. The Black Student Union highlighted the lack of focus on Black students and their needs on the campus to feel supported (Mack, 2016). The president of the Black Student Union highlighted that Black students have asked for a Black cultural center since 1978, according to internal documents of the group (Mack, 2016). The similarities in requests included an increase in Black faculty on the campus, cultural competence training for faculty and staff, and increase funding for Black student organizations. The similarity of demands highlights the permeance of racism and white supremacy on the campus. The argument of similar demands illuminates the lack of focus and organizational interventions by university leader to cultivate more inclusive campuses, while demonstrating the insidiousness of white supremacy on the campus that grants university leaders the ability to neglect taking actions for decades on the campus.

Several participants shared how the context of the institutions racial demographics and location shapes the hostile campus environment for BIPOC. Sharon, one of the three founders of the White Racial Literacy Project, shared how the campus make-up is an influencing factor for the need of the Project on the campus.

> I think the context is just that we're at a predominantly white institution, in an urban setting, and for the last several years there have been issues related to race. There had

> been some student protests, I think in everyday conversation you would hear people talk about experiencing racism on campus or you know, working with white people who don't get it. And so, I think that, in connection to the larger social context, around you know race and racism and all of that may the campus a ripe space to do it.

Colleges and university are microcosm of larger society. At predominantly white campuses, whiteness is the default operating standard of performance and engagement amongst individuals (Gusa, 2010; Masta, 2018) because whiteness is the default in U.S. settler society (Steinman, 2015). Therefore, the racist ideologies the maintain white supremacy in the U.S., maintain white supremacy at IUPUI which results in a racially hostile environment for students of color. Within white settler society, racism is a logic that upholds the benefits granted to white people, and one privilege is being considered part of the default racial group. As the default racial group, white people are taught to believe that white people are raceless (Gusa, 2010) and because of this, white people cannot see the world for what it is, racist. To white individuals, racism is a myth employed by people of color to take away power from white individuals and any attempt to address racial inequities is met with opposition from white individuals (Steinman, 2015). In sum, white people at IUPUI are incapable of seeing race issues because they stem from white communities that have socialized them to believe that whiteness is the standard and race and racism doesn't exist.

Michelle, a staff member on campus discussed the campus composition and shared Sharon's sentiment.

> …white people just aren't racially aware. We live in a racialized society, and we teach all these students, we teach in a very red state on a predominantly white campus, and there are a lot of students of color on campus, and people will say will be like we need to make

> sure that you know that they feel welcome here that they feel included, and all those other things…on the other side of that, you have a lot of white students here from rural areas who have likely never been outside of probably haven't been outside of their communities very much, who live in rural areas or other predominantly white areas. So, their perception of people of color is what is in the media, which is oftentimes not good, not necessarily perceived in the best or even an accurate light. So, from the student and like that's why, and we have like a lot of data on the IRDS website like about you know, like campus climate data, and you know and surprisingly like students of color on that will are like don't agree as much to the responses around like do you feel like there's enough emphasis on diversity equity inclusion, do you feel a sense of belonging IUPUI and all those other things.

Michelle highlights the juxtaposition of telling students of color that IUPUI is becoming a more welcoming campus, while also having a majority white campus who are socialized in white supremacist societies that perpetuate racist ideologies that go unchecked by the university. As a result, the IUPUI campus is unwelcoming to BIPOC; this may be why many BIPOC students indicate on institutional surveys that the university does not emphasize diversity, equity, and inclusion on the campus.

Even when BIPOC on the campus try to address racism and white supremacy on campus through organizational procedures, issues remain unresolved. William shared a few examples of these continued issues:

> …there have been many incidents and instances [where] faculty don't see why we need to do this work [address racism on the campus]. Students not being treated with any kind of decency and respect, in multiple places, multiple phases, microaggressions going un-

> checked. Faculty and staff that have raised issues of harassment, discrimination, only to have it swept under the rug.

The inability for faculty on the campus to see the importance of addressing racism is an example of white privilege granted by white supremacy (Gusa, 2010). For instance, white individuals are granted the benefit of seeing the world from a color blind and raceless perspective because of their socialization as white individuals. Because of this skewed perspective, white individuals have trouble in acknowledging issues of inequity (Gusa, 2010; Steinman, 2015) which results in sweeping reports under the rug and the need for an organizational intervention.

Failed Organizational Practices to Educate White Faculty, Staff, and Students

Dr. Paydar shared a commitment to transform IUPUI into a more welcoming campus. However, becoming a welcoming campus meant that the IUPUI campus was unwelcoming to certain populations (i.e., BIPOC). As aforementioned, prior to Dr. Paydar, there was neglect by previous university leaders to address inequities that existed on campus. Because of this, there was an opportunity to create an organizational intervention.

The White Racial Literacy Project was founded by Sharon, a BIPOC woman and university leader and faculty member, alongside Berry, a BIPOC woman and university leader, and a third individual, a dean on the campus at the time of the Project's development who also identified as BIPOC. I asked both Sharon and Berry to share the context and their reasoning for developing the Project. Berry illuminated a clear reason for the need for the White Racial Literacy Project.

> [Sharon] and I, and the previous former dean, Dean [redacted] talked about our dissatisfaction with the current ways of improving race relations that required people of color to participate in multiple conversations and really having to do all of the heavy

> lifting. And that white people needed some of the tools necessary to engage in these conversations. And that unfortunately whiteness and white privilege had almost exempted most white people from even having to think about their role in race or racism or their role as a race. And we thought wouldn't it be great if we could provide some of those skills and share that information so that the conversations could be more meaningful and perhaps more long lasting. And that's where the white racial literacy project came from.

Berry outlined a few critical elements for the need of the white racial literacy project. First, current practices of improving race relations required that BIPOC communities, the individuals who experience the impact of white supremacy, to do the "heavy lifting" in engaging with and developing skillsets to discuss race and racism for white people. Second, the white individuals they were interacting with were ignorant to the concepts of race and racism due to white privilege and whiteness which granted them the ability to ignore issues of race and racism because they didn't experience. Third, due to their experiences in facilitated and leading trainings on race and racism, Berry and colleagues identified a need to provide and equip white people with the tools necessary that didn't require BIPOC people to lead said efforts

Sharon felt similarly to Berry. Sharon believed there was a need to relieve BIPOC from the burden of teaching white individuals of the oppressive systems that white individuals benefit from. Sharon stated,

> …[Berry, the Dean, and Sharon] looked at the pieces and I said, you know, we do need to have something 'cause, the three of us have all done like workshops and things where we're talking about racial justice, but we're talking about it to the same people who look like us, right? People who experience injustices…but not the people who are complicit,

> right? And so then, when I started crafting the proposal and the pieces or aspects of it, it was like, what are the things we can do that bring white people into this conversation around racial justice? That one, move them beyond notions of guilt and blame, but help when I'm saying this is an educational piece for all of the white people we come into contact with, so they say they want to be engaged in these conversations, don't know what to say, don't know what to do. Here is the opportunity to do it where, look, we're not trying make you feel bad about being white, like hey, be white, you know? But if you say you want to be a part of the solution, here's the space that's gonna help you work through some things, so that you can be part of the solution."

Sharon added to Berry's perspective by including that in their experience, the people attending previous trainings and workshops on racism were people who experienced the injustices, and not the people complicit in inflicting harm. The gap of speaking to people who understand, or experience racism is a failed organizational practice that maintains white supremacy, because those who have the privilege (i.e., white individuals) and ability to erode racism and white supremacy are not in the room, which results in the maintenance of white supremacy and racism (DiAngelo, 2018). Therefore, through the White Racial Literacy Project, some campus leaders hoped to invite white faculty, staff, and students to learn how to facilitate conversations on racism and work through their guilt or negative feelings they may have in being a white person. The aims of the initiative were to facilitate conversation on whiteness and other concepts that intersect with racism and white supremacy.

Finding Two: The Implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI

The first part of this chapter focused on identifying the organizational and societal factors that influenced the WCI and the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI. This second section of

the chapter will focus on the experiences of participants in implementing the White Racial Literacy Project, drawing attention to the ways white supremacy manifested at various points of the implementation process. In this second section, I focus on two themes, White Supremacy as Pushback and White Supremacy as Refusal. The first theme illuminates the pushback that the Project received in regards to its name, the White Racial Literacy Project, and in regards to the campus survey that would help to launch the initiative. The second theme explores the community participation, and lack thereof, with the White Racial Literacy Project.

White Supremacy as Pushback

The first theme of focus is white supremacy as pushback. The individuals who participated in this study illuminated the ways that the White Racial Literacy Project faced pushback from faculty, staff, students, and the larger regional community. This theme encompasses three subthemes: (a) pushback against the name of the initiative, (b) pushback against the use of caucuses, and (c) pushback against a benign survey.

Pushback Against the Naming of the Initiative

During the development of the White Racial Literacy Project, Sharon, Berry, and their colleague identified possible names for the initiative. Because IUPUI consistently failed to organizationally address the racism experienced by faculty, staff, and students on the campus, Berry and Sharon wanted to ensure that the issues that perpetuate racism and white supremacy on the campus were at the forefront of the project. Originally, the White Racial Literacy Project was named, *Unlearning Whiteness.* However, the original name faced pushback. Linda, a university leader shared:

> The first name suggested for the project was “unlearning whiteness”. And we did shift away from that because we thought people would just not understand what that meant.

> And frankly, as a cognitive psychologist I had trouble with the notion of unlearning because in terms of neuroscience, you really don't unlearn anything, everything's usually still in there somewhere. So, we did change the name to White Racial Literacy Project, because we thought that that would be a more accurate rendering of what we were doing, and perhaps less apt to spark huge amounts of resistance.

The academic logic used to defend the name change highlights one way white supremacy manifested in the development of the project. For instance, scholars have highlighted that academic institution value western science (i.e., hard sciences) and ontologies (i.e., white supremacist logics) to qualify what is valid and what is invalid. In this case, the name "unlearning whiteness" was problematic because according to neuroscience, one cannot unlearn anything. However, this logic disregards the understanding of sociological constructs that support the term of unlearning socialized practices such as racism (Masta, 2018, Bhattacharya, 2018). In addition, Linda shared that naming the project the White Racial Literacy Project was "less apt to spark huge amounts of pushback." Within this response, it is assumed that due to the nature of the project in naming white supremacy, racism, and whiteness, that pushback was to be expected which highlights the permeance of white supremacy on the IUPUI campus. To avoid the pushback, the university leaders decided to cater to white faculty, staff, and students instead of supporting the leaders of the WRLP.

Conversely, Michelle, a staff member, added her thoughts on changing the name:

> I know, there was some pushback against the original title, which was "Unlearning whiteness." So, then, it had to be changed to something that was more palatable for everybody. Again, really, highlighting the need for the program, like that in and of itself, right? Like we developed this program to address the lack of awareness of race issues on

> our campus and to address the lack of inclusion on our campus, and then there's pushback against the name. Like it's really just ironic.

Michelle believed the tittle was changed to be more palatable to white individuals on the campus. The practice of changing the titles or names of racial diversity initiatives to become more palatable run counter to the purpose of the initiatives, which aim to disrupt the status quo (DiAngelo, 2018; Nishi, 2020). The practice of changing the name to be more palatable is not only "ironic" but it is also an example of how white supremacy protects itself(Nishi, 2020). By making the name of initiative more palatable to white faculty, staff, and students, the initiative itself has already been watered down (Newkirk, 2019; Nishi, 2020).

Despite changing the name to the White Racial Literacy Project, Sharon and Berry continued to face pushback on the new, more palatable name of the initiative. At the start of the initiative, Berry and Sharon met with different councils, departments, and groups across the campus to raise awareness of the new initiative prior to its official launch. In an interview with Sharon, she shared:

> So, there was a lot of me going around to these different groups to help them to understand what the project was, so that when it showed up in their emails it wasn't you know [imitates a shock expression], that they knew what it was about and those conversations went fine. But I did get questions like you know, "Why is it called white racial literacy?" Like, "Why not just call it racial literacy," and you know my response was always because we're talking about white people's racial literacy. We're not talking about everybody's racial literacy; we're talking about the people who sometimes don't even realize they have a race. We're talking about their literacy."

White supremacy is often normalized, and white identity and whiteness are seen as normal (Wolfe, 2006; Glenn, 2015; Brayboy, 2005). Therefore, seeing "white" on an initiative aiming to engage in discussions of whiteness, white supremacy, and racism is shocking to white individuals because naming "white" disrupts the normalcy of white supremacy. White supremacist society has taught us that when it comes to race, the non-white racial and ethnic categories can be named without a problem because white supremacy has normalized pointing out and focusing on the "othered" (i.e., non-dominant identity groups) instead of naming the group in power (Brayboy, 2015; Embrick et al., 2020). For instance, we are comfortable with talking about Black people and Latinx people, but we are uncomfortable saying or discussing white people because in settler society we have been trained not to because whiteness and white identity is the default, therefore it does not need to be pointed out because it is expected that it is socially understood.

The questioning Sharon experienced was also experienced by William, a staff member on the campus and aid to the White Racial Literacy Project. William shared that there was no meeting where the name of the initiative didn't go without questioning. William shared a memorable experience:

> I will say that I remember in particular, [Sharon] and I presented to staff council, right. And I say this recognizing some of the class and rank dynamics that play out with faculty and staff. So not the faculty in their own spaces are going to be resistant to these issues, but there was a lot of I would say, hostility when we presented about the project in staff council. The familiar questions you know, such as, why don't, why are you calling it the White Racial Literacy Project? Isn't that divisive? Can't you just call this the diversity project? Why did it have to be about race? And these were coming, you know, I think

> there was one or two people of color that were even saying it. And so, there was a lot of internalized whiteness happening, and you know that serves the function for the white people in the room to say, yeah, yeah, now it's not true by and large that that was happening.

William highlighted that when they presented to the Staff Council, the environment was hostile as people pressed about the name of the project, specifically arguing that "white" didn't have to be singled out. In his description, William recalled that people of color were in the room who shared similar discomforts with the name of the initiative. One reason that people of color were hesitant about the name of the WRLP may be because they could feel the hostility white people had with the name. People of color may have wanted to minimize any potential backlash from white individuals that might impact their existence on the campus. Another reason could be that whiteness can be perpetuated by people of color (Adserias et al., 2016; Hoffman et al., 2019). By perpetuating whiteness, people of color have been able to survive in white settler society (Steinman, 2015). However, whiteness will never truly benefit people of color because whiteness is at default, a logic created solely for the maintenance of white supremacy (Brayboy, 2015).

Pushback Against the Use of Caucuses

Central to programmatic structure of the White Racial Literacy Project was the use of caucuses. Caucuses are strategically used to facilitate dialogue amongst common identity groups, in this case, white people (Obear & Martinez, 2013; Varghes, Daniels, & Park, 2019). The White Racial Literacy Project website states the purpose of using caucuses for white people to only speak with other white people is because "white caucuses are an important mechanism for people who identify as white and/or have white skin privilege to do our own work" and "it provides us an environment and intention to authentically and critically engage in whiteness,

white privilege, and hold each other accountable for change" (White Racial Literacy Project, n.d.). Therefore, the use of caucuses was purposeful and necessary to meet the intended outcomes of the White Racial Literacy Project. However, just like the name of the initiative, the use of caucuses faced persistent pushback from various constituent groups.

For context, the use of a white caucus and a separate caucus for people of color was to avoid previous organizational trends of putting "the work" (i.e., teaching, processing feelings, guiding discussions) on people of color. Instead, the caucuses aimed to create a space for white people on the campus to teach one another. While discussing the caucuses, Marie, a staff member for the White Racial Literacy Project explained,

> So, our whole goal of the caucus model was to prevent [white] people from shutting down and not being authentic and feeling like they can open up and say what they need to say…We want to create a space where if you were gonna be violent in your response. We didn't want to stop that, because if you hide it then we don't get the truth on how you're feeling. So that's why persons of color never attended any of the white faculty and staff or student meetings…We don't want anybody to feel attacked. We wanted people to be open with your language and we also want people to recognize, you know, here's a space with your peers. Some y'all may agree, some of y'all may say, "oh my God, Becky, I didn't know you felt that way" and truly honestly did not know. But that's something for y'all to deal with. Nobody should feel uncomfortable in that space.

The use of caucus would cultivate a space for white individuals to work through their racist beliefs with one another and unlearn the white supremacist socialization that they have developed across time. Because racial ideologies are often "violent," people of color were preserved from experience a potential hostile environment (Eddo-Lodge, 2017; Varghese,

Daniels & Park, 2019). This practice of centering white individuals to discuss white supremacy was an intentional effort to push white individuals to think, process, and potentially act to dismantle their racist ideologies and actions. One note Marie shared above is that the caucus approach would encourage white individuals to be their authentic selves. White supremacy sometimes hides itself through facades amongst white faculty, staff, and students who may hold white supremacist ideologies and beliefs yet navigate the campus in ways that avoid discussing topics such as racism to avoid sharing their true beliefs, further stalling the potential to unlearn the violent ideologies they hold (Melaku & Beeman, 2020).

Despite the explanation for the use of caucuses, various constituents on the campus continued to pushback against this aspect of the White Racial Literacy Project. Many of the common questions asked regarding the name of the initiative were also common regarding the programmatic decision to use caucuses. Linda, a university leader, shared a personal example of pushback she faced within her own academic department:

> I had some people in my own department that work on issues of, having to do with bias and prejudice, and who consider themselves diversity warriors. They were fighting me on this and saying this, this caucus thing sounds crazy and of course I want to be in the room with my colleagues from minoritized groups so that they know that I'm supportive of them. And I tried to use the argument of saving people from the emotional labor of having to hear their white colleagues, get all upset and fragile, but it didn't work.

Linda referred to her white colleagues that do academic work on bias and prejudice as “diversity warriors” and went on to share that the “diversity warriors” in her department were against the use of caucuses. The logic of asking to be in the same room as people of color to prove that someone is not racist or like other white individuals is a manifestation of white supremacy. In

this example, the “diversity warriors” centered themselves, as white supremacy has taught them to do, in the logic as to why they could not support the White Racial Literacy Project (DiAngelo, 2011; Melaku & Beeman, 2020). Their white fragility prevented them from understanding the potential damage and emotional labor people of color would have to endure by being in the same space.

Conversely, Jason, a staff member, shared a summation of the concerns and questions he experienced regarding the use of caucuses by the White Racial Literacy Project.

> I've heard from folks [this question] of why just white folks? Race involves more than just white, you know they are the interactions of race and I think that that's been a challenge you know…I don't know that that message still has been communicated. And maybe it's not about communicating, it hasn't been received all that well.

“Why just white folks?” was a common question Jason heard across the campus and the question itself illuminated the need for the white racial literacy project and illuminates how white supremacy manifested in this example. To start, the question argues that white people are the only ones being singled out, when it should be all races involved. This logic fails to comprehend that white supremacy grants special privileges to white individuals at the expense of people of color (Patton& Bondi, 2015). The focus on white people is critical as they are the only ones that can dismantle the system of which they benefit from (Haynes, 2017; Heleta, 2016). Despite being provided an answer as to why caucuses are used, the white people on the campus are unable to listen and understand the clear messaging for the need of the White Racial Literacy Project. The inability to listen and fixating on the question of why white people prevents the movement of addressing white supremacy because it is stalled by questions that detract from the root of the problem (i.e., white supremacy).

Due to the inability of white people on campus to listen and understand the purpose of white supremacy, an FAQ sheet was created on the White Racial Literacy Project website. Sharon shared that there was misinterpretation and lack of understanding across the campus that the WRLP team decided to create an FAQ. Sharon shared some examples of the misinterpretations on the campus:

> …we ended up having to put an FAQ on the website because people were like "what's a caucus? is that are you calling white people Caucasian?" Like just, you know, and these are real faculty making complaints about, you know, "why are we using causes?". So, we had to put language up there, this is standard language in diversity [practice] where we caucus, right. We had to do an FAQ and this if you go to the website, the FAQ is still up there, not trying to hurt white people.

The example above highlights how faculty, smart people who are experts in their academic arenas, misinterpreted the use of caucuses and believed that the initiative would hurt white people. Because of the consistent pushback, the leaders of the WRLP like Sharon, William. And Berry had to take on unexpected emotional labor to not only teach about the WRLP, but also help the people asking questions process their thoughts and feelings. Offsetting the emotional labor from people of color was an original factor for the need of the WRLP, yet people of color were still taking on emotional labor to launch the WRLP. The FAQ on the website provided a 15-page document that explained the purpose and use of caucuses to illustrate the supporting research for the practice. Despite the abundance of information made available to the larger IUPUI campus, there remained persistent questioning.

Berry recalled an example of discussing the idea of the White Racial Literacy Project with Vice-Chancellors and Deans across the IUPUI campus. During a training, a presenter asked the collective a question: Why is that white people don't want to talk about race? Berry recalled,

> I remember one of the Deans said, white man, he said, because "whatever I say, I'm always wrong." And if you feel that way, and you're asked to have this conversation around people of color, you probably need to be having this conversation with white people so that you can flesh it out, so that you can hear the, you know, this notion of whiteness and white race as a race right, so that you can have that conversation with other white people and not worry about am I saying it the right way.

Berry recalled that during a training with university leaders, the presenter asked the group of white university leaders why white people don't talk about race, and one white dean said that white people don't like discussing it because no matter what they say, they are wrong. The sentiment of this statement implies that white people want to be comforted in their responses to discussions of race and racism, without facing accountability for their lack of awareness on topics of race and racism. In this case, the white individuals are the leaders of the University. In the example above, the white dean centered himself in the experience and in doing so, demonstrated the inability of white individuals to move beyond their personal feelings to acknowledge the importance of discussing race in to improve racially hostile environments. Moreover, I highlight his example to demonstrate, the fixation white individuals have with being correct, even in arenas in which they are ill prepared to discuss and engage. This example also demonstrates the need to protect people of color from being in a space where white individuals are processing feelings that can negatively impact people of color. Berry's insight further

demonstrates the intentional and strategic effort to use caucuses to make movements towards addressing white supremacy on the campus.

Pushback Against a General Survey

Participants in the study also spoke at length about the reaction to the survey that launched the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI. Across interviews participants noted the campus response to the survey involved grievances, external responses via social media platforms, and general community uproar. The launch of the survey noted a pinnacle moment for the White Racial Literacy Project as it was an effort to gauge the impact of the initiative longitudinally. Sharon discussed the purpose of the survey and provided a general overview of the questions asked:

> [The survey asked] "How often have you had these conversations [about race and racism]?" "Are you interested in these conversations [about race and racism?" Blah blah blah blah and it was supposed to be pre and posttest…[The survey] came from a Qualtrics [link], and it went to everybody who was white [on the IUPUI campus]...And that's where things went awry. So, there was one camp that thought it was spam because the Qualtrics survey, the link looks weird, right? So, people thought it was some sort of joke. Then there were others who were offended and thought the survey was calling white people racist.

The survey that aimed to gauge a foundational understanding of the comfort and interest levels of conversations of white supremacy, racism, and whiteness received immediate backlash. Despite the intended aims of measuring the longitudinal impact of the White Racial Literacy Project, some individuals on campus deemed the survey offensive. Some deemed it racist. What

ensued from the distribution of the survey were a series of grievances and persistent efforts to stop the overall initiative.

Online Pushback

One way faculty, staff, and students pushed back against the White Racial Literacy Project was by sending emails, filing internal grievances, and leaving voicemails that voiced their discontent with the distribution of the survey and the initiative at large. In conversation with Sharon, she explained her experience with the immediate response to the survey,

> There was people who were calling the Chancellor's office. Someone called the whistleblower hotline, like it was white hysteria. And I'm like, what? I don't understand, right? For as careful as we were trying to be, it was a problem anyway, so I had a doctoral student who had created a website. And that website, because the survey, if you completed it, took you to the website so you could learn about the project, you could read about speakers and all of that, and some people who completed the survey—there was a contact page and so we had to take my email off so that things weren't coming directly to me. They went to the website and one it took a toll on the graduate student because she was like, "I can't believe that writing this, like they are going in, like I don't think this is safe," right? I got voicemails. And when it finally made it to the Chancellor's office, that's when the survey got shut down.

Sharon referenced, "white hysteria," or the immediate uncontrollable and volatile emotions in white individuals that are triggered by conversation on white identity, racism, and white supremacy (Cineas, 2021). For instance, when Brown *v.* Board resulted in a decision for desegregation, the white hysteria that ensued encompassed white flight in cities, the protests of schools, and burning of homes (Garland, 2012; Brown, 2016). In this case, white hysteria

included the immediate anger and response to the launch of the survey which resulted in aggressive questioning and dissent.

Despite the efforts to tread carefully, some white faculty, staff, and students found the survey as racist. Therefore, the heightened fear triggered by using terms such as “white” and “racism” transformed into assertive action via grievances, voicemails, and complaints, a common tactic exhibited by white individuals in white supremacist society, to ensure that the survey was shut down. Marie, a staff member for the White Racial Literacy Project, explained:

> So, the initial survey was to like see what the climate is, how people you know, did they notice racism? Did they see their biases? Did they understand any of that? And there was a lot of negative comments that came back in my email, which for me because I do work around racism, I've been interested in this stuff, I didn't think I was going to be triggered. But I was very triggering 'cause I could see names, I can see email addresses, you know, some people even made fake accounts. It was like, “this is reverse racism,” “you're being racist,” and the fact that you know, so Sharon, she a big dog. She was like, “yeah you can put my picture up there 'cause this is my project.” For me, she was like, “don't put your name up there” and I was like, “I'm not afraid” but it was just that fear of what if I see a professors name on there saying something like magma or you know I said, MAGA, whatever that was called, seeing that again, that was what was the anxiety inducing thing to see. So that was the first survey, pretty much to gauge the climate of racism and how IUPUI white people just say, do you think is happening on campus? And a lot of people, there was pushback, a lot of people did do it—we had 108 respondents before the news got attention, before the Chancellor got attention.

Marie highlighted something critical, as a woman of color supporting the initiative, the responses she read were triggering and fear inducing because the white faculty, staff, and students that were sending the responses were not afraid to use their official university emails with their names on them. The fear she felt was also linked to broader socio-political climate and the ever-changing white supremacist environments that was embolden by the 45th President of the United States. Marie also explained that the emails received by the WRLP team came from email aliases that were not linked to the university. In her thoughts, Marie believed internal stakeholders were created fake email addresses to share their thoughts, but also, external people were sharing their dissent, of which Marie believed were not linked to the University.

In the weeks after the launch of the survey, Linda shared that "there were some hateful email communications" that were "very distressing protests from some members of our own faculty and staff," which resulted in "lots of complaints and grievances." According to Linda, in addition to the grievances filed with the Chancellor and the whistle blower hotline, "the Office of Equal Opportunity got involved. And of course, lawyers got involved and basically were quite upset that this was happening. But and lots of complaints and grievances were filed. But we got through it and it's a distant memory now." Due to the number of responses, and the involvement of lawyers and the Office of Equal Opportunity, the survey was deemed as too much of risk, and therefore it was shut down. Subsequently, longitudinal survey data that would inform the campus of the impact of the White Racial Literacy Project was lost.

As a result of forwarding the survey email and social media posts, the White Racial Literacy garnered external attention that was symmetrical to the pushback received by internal stakeholders. Sharon shared she became aware of the pushback from social media platforms.

> So, there was a whole, and you can Google this, there's a whole Reddit page where people were saying, don't fill out this [the survey] because they'll keep your information, and you'll get fired. And we were like what? The misinformation was crazy. Campus Reform got hold [of the White Racial Literacy Project] so they wrote about it. Like it was just all of these things. It had gotten so bad my husband was like look, I don't want people coming to our house. I don't want drama, I don't know if this is the project you need to be doing. And I'm like, you know it's gonna be okay.

Because the White Racial Literacy Project had gained so much traction amongst internal and external white communities, Sharon's husband believed that there was a possibility that angered/upset white people would show up at their homes. This care for safety demonstrates the acknowledgement that white supremacy is violent and will be protected by white people (Christian, Seamster, & Ray, 2019; Gillborn, 2006). It is also critical to reiterate that these events were unfolding during a political time where white supremacist groups and ideologies were emboldened by the 45th President of the United States.

The social media platforms, such as reddit, exemplified how white individuals misinterpreted the purpose of the White Racial Literacy Project and further demonstrated ignorance across white communities around concepts of race and racism. As referenced above, *Campus Reform,* a conservative news outlet wrote a piece on the White Racial Literacy Project and the titled the article, *Indiana Univ. segregates blacks from whites at 'Racial Literacy' event* (Campus Reform, n.d.). The title demonstrates the lack of understanding of the strategic use of caucuses that were clearly communicated on the White Racial Literacy Project website. The article focused on the program structure and used quotes from the White Racial Literacy Project website. The following comment was left at the bottom of the Campus Reform article:

> A generation that have become the embodiment of ignorance breeds contempt and useful idiots. Oh the dopamine fix for privileged HUWHITE middle class Guardianista feminist students and their faculty enablers so-so desperate to be seen to not be racist that they dig up the ghosts of the past and use racial epithets with no grounds whatsoever, what can be asserted without evidence can be dismissed without evidence.

Although the comment is partially incoherent, the writing demonstrates the target white audience for the magazine does not see racism as real. This is an outcome of living in a white supremacist society that masks issues of race and racism as a biological science that can only be proven with "real" scientific evidence (Masta, 2018). However, white supremacy is an insidious ideology that masks itself in intangible ways that ensures it continuance. There also exists a Reddit thread titled: "IRB Approved project to 'Disrupt Whiteness and White Racism' at a Taxpayer Payer Funded University…out of control" (Mswith68w, 2018). The post that began the original thread was a screen shot of the email sent on behalf of the White Racial Literacy Project (see Appendix H)

In-person Pushback

While much of the pushback occurred through online formats (i.e., email, social media) and formal grievance procedures (i.e., whistle blower hotline), there were instances of white students meeting with campus leadership to voice their concerns and dissent over the introduction to the White Racial Literacy Project. After the launch of the survey and the formal acknowledgement from IUPUI leadership that the White Racial Literacy was in fact a credible initiative on the campus and that university was in support of the programs, white students on the campus transferred their online pushback into personal interactions with university leadership and staff.

Berry shared a personal interaction she had with university leadership regarding a protesting student. Berry explained a scenario where a white student contacted the Chancellor and Sharon to voice their concern about the word "privilege." Berry noted that discomfort around "privilege" happens when "white people hear white privilege, they [respond], 'I'm poor how can I have privilege?'" As a result of this complaint, Berry was asked by university leadership to address the student's concern. Berry replied:

> …I remember it at a meeting saying, "I've got this real short page and a half article about what to say to folks who say I'm poor, how can I have privilege it's really and it's simple it's just lays it out." And I was told, "oh, she doesn't want to read anything" and I remember saying, "this is a university, we read". And so, you know, and I was, I think they were trying to persuade me I should sit down with her and explain, and I said, "you just told me that this student doesn't want to read, I have nothing to say to her." No, why, you know why are you scheduling meetings with someone who's not willing to do the basic, the least things? Could a student of color say to you, "I don't want to do this, I don't like it, and I'm not going to read anything you tell me", would you do that for them? I don't think so.

Berry's experience illustrated a few ways white supremacy manifested in the implementation of the White Racial Literacy. University leadership asked Berry to meet with a student that refused to read is an example of catering to white supremacy because as Berry points out, this action would not occur if it were a racially minoritized students, university leadership would not go out of their way like they were in this instance. This highlights the discrepancy in value and treatment between white students and racially minoritized students. Further, Berry's example illuminates how university leadership sees white students as valuable or as a customer whose

needs must be addressed to keep the customer satisfied, this practice maintains white supremacist logic that only white individuals deserve certain benefits and privileges that come at the expense of others. In this case, the teaching must come at the expense of a woman of color and initiative that aims to increase racial awareness to combat instances such as this one.

Conversely, William, a staff member on the campus had an experience where a white student asked to meet to discuss the White Racial Literacy Project. As a staff member on the campus who educated students, staff, and faculty on issues of diversity and inclusion, William agreed to meet with the student to dispel any myths and answer any questions. William explained that the interaction was bubbled up to university leadership,

> There was a student that went on this campaign. I mean, [they] came into my office with a dictionary in hand, wanted to know the difference like, "I'm all about Martin Luther King and all about racial justice, but when you say whiteness" and so I put down my work and spent a good hour with them [and] this particular student had had started to say some ignorant things, and I say ignorant in terms of facts and [also] in terms of the harm that they began to cause…this [meeting] was in the [cultural center], where there are mostly other folks of color around, and so it did get to the point where [student] was saying some things about immigrants, and about Maxine Waters that were quite problematic that I asked [student] to leave…And [the student] didn't like the fact that I didn't validate [them] and so [student] went to a number of sources and I spoke with a number of higher-ups to clarify things, including HR [and] Title IX Office.

One example of white supremacy in William's experience above was the student comfort and belief that they had access and the right to discourse by simply walking into William's office and demanding an explanation of the term whiteness and requiring that William put in the labor

required to explain the concept. In addition, the comfort to state xenophobic and anti-Black rhetoric in a space occupied by BIPOC staff and students is an example of normalized white supremacist belief that is a result of the white student's socialization in a white settler society. Secondly, the student's response to report William for being asked to leave due to the violent rhetoric stated, is an example of white supremacy that parallels the responses outlines in the section above, because it sought to cause harm to William and prevent forward movement with the White Racial Literacy Project. Using legal and organizational punitive processes maintains white supremacy because the same legal and organizational processes are based in white supremacist logic, therefore function to protect white supremacy by punishing individuals who aim to challenge white supremacy (Ahmed, 2021; Glenn, 2015; Steinman, 2015).

White Supremacy as Refusal

The previous theme highlighted the various ways white faculty, staff, students, and community members responded to the initial implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project. Despite the pushback, the White Racial Literacy Project was implemented on the campus. Most of the project events consisted of lectures and trainings from white guest speakers who were experts in studying or working with white audiences on topics of racism and white supremacy. Two sub-themes of white supremacy as participation emerged across interviews: (a) No RSVP but showing up anyway and (b) "I'm not like that."

No RSVP but Showing Up Anyway

The WRLP had longitudinal survey component that was dropped after university leadership caved to complaints. As a result of the survey shut down, the staff implementing the White Racial Literacy Project lost a significant piece of data that would assess the impact of the initiative. Despite the setback, the White Racial Literacy Project staff sought to collect data

through event RSVPs to gauge who was showing up to the planned events. Unfortunately, the same resistance experienced at the launch of the initiative manifested through RSVPs.

An unforeseen challenge was the unwillingness of white individuals on the campus to RSVP to an event held by the White Racial Literacy Project. Sharon described her experience in promoting the first official event:

> …no matter how much promotion we did…[white faculty, staff, and students] wouldn't RSVP, but they [would] show up. They [would] show up, but they didn't want to sign the form. So it was hard to send people like, 'what'd you get out of this session?' or you know, 'what did you learn?' It was hard to follow up and say, 'hey come back, invite another person.'

Without an RSVP, and without data from the recently shut down survey, the White Racial Literacy Project team could not gauge the impact of the event or follow up with attendees to provide information about future events. The refusal to RSVP upholds anonymity—an action that maintains the invisibility of white supremacy by preventing potential retaliation and accountability for individual who show up to the event and may negatively impact the session on behalf of university leadership (Thomas, 2020; Tichavakunda, 2022). Because white supremacist society uses punishment to silence dissent (Ahmed, 2021; Appel, 2003), white individuals believe that their dissent will be punished in the same ways white supremacy punishes people of color who speak their dissent against racism. Therefore, the white individuals who choose not to RSVP do so because they believe there are repercussions if they were to sign up and express their dissent (Ahmed, 2021).

The lack of RSVP created additional problems for future events. For instance, without accurate RSVP numbers, the White Racial Literacy Project team could not accurately gauge the

size of the venues needed for future events, which would impact the budget of the initiative. Marie explained that the original format was not working or at least worth the money spent,

> [the monthly events] just didn't bring out the volume we needed. We bring out a $3000 speaker and two people show up. Now, all day [the speakers are] sitting on campus, and it's also a little embarrassing because we tell [the speakers] about this great project and what we need to get done, and nobody showing up. So now they [think] 'this was a waste of my time.'

Because of the lack of RSVPs, the team decided to change the program structure from monthly speaker events to broader events. In efforts to efficiently use funds and encourage participation, a culminating end of the year event took place that brought people of color and white people on the campus together—there was no use of caucuses for the culminating event. The number of participants was dismal. The lack of participants reaffirmed that the issue was not the caucus approach, and instead simply the content because the changes conducted by the leaders of the WRLP that regardless of the program structure and participation design changes did not produce an increase in participation.

"I'm Not Like That."

Much of the focus from study participants centered on the challenges of refusal for the campus community to participate in the WRLP. However, a few participants highlighted the individuals who *did* participate were not the target audience of the initiative. Of the participants that did attend the events, many of them attended to demonstrate how much they knew about the topics, while others attended events to demonstrate how they were not like their other white counterparts, i.e., the ones pushing back on the Project. Marie shared an observation she had of the people attending the monthly events,

> Some people came in there no matter what the question was it was always reverted with, "well, I'm not like that, I'm not like that" and it's like, okay, we know you're not like this, so what? Why are you here? If you're just trying to sit here and prove in this room that you're not the one who's racist. And it's like that's fine, we get that.

Attending a session to prove that one is "not like that," which references not being racist like other white individuals is problematic because the white individual is centered in the conversation instead of larger systems of oppression (i.e., racism). The act of centering one's own white identity to seek validation does nothing to upend racism or disrupt it, it stalls any momentum, therefore it maintains white supremacy.

The White Racial Literacy Project aims to increase the racial awareness of individuals who don't want to be in the room. However, the people that attend the events were not this intended audience. Malcolm, a staff member, and a guest speaker for the White Racial Literacy Project explained:

> I think [the White Racial Literacy Project] attracts those people who have an interest in…they think they get it to some degree, or [they] got called out for something they said [and decided], "oh let me come and let me learn more." And I think you also have the people who get it, think they get it, and they come into those spaces to get validated. And then you have the people who come in those spaces who have a couple of vocabulary words that they've learned from somebody, and they want to come and show that off.

In Malcolm's experience there is a dismal number of white individuals who attend events with a genuine commitment to learn and develop their understanding of white supremacy and racism (Resnick, 2017). Of the group that does attend WRLP event, a majority attend to prove and perform understanding of white supremacy and racism. As a result, the initiative unintentionally

creates a space for white individuals to get validation for the information they already know without challenging participants to expand their understanding or transform their practice. Unfortunately, this practice perpetuates centering and validating white individuals without effectively addressing the systems and barriers that facilitate a hostile environment for racially minoritized groups on campus (Kluttz, Walker, & Walter, 2019; Spanierman, 2022).

Conclusion

At the start of 2020, IUPUI felt the impact of COVID-19 and later in the Summer, the residual impact that resulted from witnessing the murder of George Floyd, Ahmad Arbery, and Breonna Taylor. The murders of innocent Black individuals resulted in protests against police brutality and a push for racial justice. Across the country, people of color observed an increase in eagerness and momentum to learn more about racism from white individuals (Payne, 2021). During this time, white individuals were rushing to purchase books on racism and white fragility (Morgan, 2020), support racial equity organizations (Thomas & Horowitz, 2020), and asking for a response from the organizations where they worked (Jan, McGregor, & Hoyer, 2021).

The newfound interest in racial justice made its way onto the IUPUI campus. However, the newfound interest was short lived and came with a few caveats. During the Fall of 2020, the WRLP team observed an influx of interest in the Project from white constituents. However, the WRLP team noticed that white individuals wanted quick action items like how to make their syllabi more inclusive, without putting the effort to understand the concept of white supremacy and how it shaped the lives of people of color systemically. Additionally, the leaders of the WRLP noticed a decrease in participation as the 2020-2021 academic year went on.

I concluded data collection in February 2021 and at that point, various articles were written about white people and the aftermath of the Summer of 2020 that explained what was

happening on the IUPUI campus. In the U.S. 16 months after the murder of George Floyd, polls demonstrated that white people were no longer invested or interested in fighting for racial justice (Payne, 2021) and white individuals were no longer interested in books about racial justice (Cineas, 2021). The short-lived interest was a performance of white guilt and sympathy that ultimately did nothing to address white supremacy across the U.S. other than demonstrate the need for conceptual understandings that ground white supremacy as systemic issues instead of easily fixed issues.

In this chapter I highlighted the societal and organizational factors the influenced the creation of the WCI such as a catalyzing new Chancellor, the culminating 50th celebration, and the turbulent socio-political context at the time of the launch of the WCI. I also highlighted the societal and organizational factors that influenced the creation of the WRLP which included the storied history of racism at IUPUI, and the failed organizational practices aimed to address the racially hostile climate on the campus. Additionally, I highlighted the two ways white supremacy manifested in the implementation of the WRLP: *White Supremacy as Pushback* and *White Supremacy as Refusal.* I closed this chapter with observations that occurred as I concluded in the data collection for this dissertation to situate the final observations with national trends. In the next chapter, I analyze the themes of this chapter using Settler Colonial Dimensions of Power and Implementation Theory and provide insights to improve this work in the future.

CHAPTER 5—ANALYSIS AND FUTURITIES

In this chapter, I first summarize the findings of this study as they pertain to the guiding research questions and situate the findings with the existing literature on racial diversity initiatives. I then map the findings of this study to Implementation Theory and SCDP. In the latter half of the chapter, I outline the contributions and implications of this study for theory, research, and practice for the field of higher education.

Summary of Findings

RQ1: What organizational and societal elements influenced the creation of the WCI and the WRLP at IUPUI?

The Welcoming Campus Initiative

The creation and implementation of the WCI was a purposeful act to transform the IUPUI campus into a more welcoming campus. There were two organizational elements that influenced the creation of the WCI, *a newly appointed chancellor* and the *University's 50th celebration*, and one societal element, *the turbulent socio-political environment* surrounding the campus. The appointment of the new chancellor was a catalyzing moment for the IUPUI campus because it was the Chancellor's individual intentions and vision that led to the implementation of the WCI at IUPUI. This finding is line with previous literature that identifies university chancellors and presidents, and university leadership, as major factors in driving diversity efforts on college campuses (Adserias et al., 2016; Bensimon, 2014; Kezar, 2007; Kezar, 2008; Kezar et al., 2008; Tosey et al., 2011; Hurtado et al., 2012).

Moreover, the vision the Chancellor had in creating a collaborative effort across faculty, staff, and students to implement the WCI is in line with previous research that demonstrates how collaborative partnerships can hinder or drive diversity efforts (LePeau, 2015; LePeau, 2018;

LePeau et al., 2018). While the impact of a university chancellor and president is noted in previous literature, this dissertation presents a new contribution by demonstrating how the familiarity the new chancellor had with the IUPUI campus and the rolodex of practice he acquired overtime in the Indiana University System created a distinct opportunity to implement a diversity initiative within his first year in the role. The distinctive factors of this case study demonstrate a need to further explore a chancellor's influence by addressing their individual intention, past practice, and familiarity with a university campus or institutional type.

The surrounding turbulent socio-political environment is not necessarily a distinctive influencing element because higher education scholars have linked hostile campus environments to societal socio-political environments (McCullagh, 2016; Solórzano et al., 2002). However, limited research accounts for the socio-political environment that directly links to racial diversity initiatives. This study adds to the limited number of studies focused on the interaction between socio-political environments and racial diversity initiatives. This study highlighted the importance of a campus celebration in adding momentum to the implementation of the WCI. At the time of this study there was no research to my knowledge that focused on how organizational celebrations can hinder or add momentum to the implementation of a racial diversity initiative. This dissertation adds knowledge to the larger literature and expands the potential organizational insights that impact the implementation of racial diversity initiatives.

The White Racial Literacy Project

The creation of the WRLP was influenced by one organizational element, the failed organizational practices to educate white faculty, staff, and students, and one societal element, a storied history of racism at IUPUI. The organizational need to educate people on the campus is consistent with existing literature on racial diversity initiatives that highlight the various ways

colleges and universities raise awareness via residential learning communities (Smith, 2018; Wolaver & Finley, 2020; Zuniga et al., 2015), curricular interventions for faculty (Austin et al., 2019; Bennet-Alexander, 2018; Clark, 2015; Cook-Sather et al., 2018; Hode et al., 2017; Patton et al., 2019), and leadership development efforts (Eagan, 2019; Druery & Brooms, 2019). The findings of this dissertation echo the findings of Buckeley and Quaye (2014) who found that in IGD programs, practitioners often fall short in naming systems of white supremacy and racism when discussing oppression on campuses. This dissertation pivots from existing literature and names white supremacy and settler colonialism in its analysis, to center the influence of said systems of power.

In addition, this study highlighted the racism of IUPUI as an actor in displacing a thriving Black community and as an organization that perpetuates a hostile experience for racially minorized populations on campus. While there is existing literature on how colleges and universities are racially hostile and uphold settler colonialism and white supremacy (Bird, 1999; Fortier, 2017; Masta, 2018; Smith, 2012), this dissertation extends the conversation by demonstrating how racist institutional histories influence organizations in the present, as well as the implementation of racial diversity initiative.

RQ2: How are understandings of white supremacy present in faculty and staff descriptions of the implementation of the WRLP?

Understandings of white supremacy manifested in faculty and staff descriptions of the implementation of the WRLP across two main themes, *white supremacy as pushback* and *white supremacy as refusal*. *White supremacy as pushback* consisted of the pushback against the original name of the WRLP, the use of caucuses for programmatic efforts, and the use of a baseline survey to assess existing understandings of white supremacy and racism on the IUPUI

campus across white faculty, staff, and students. Whereas *white supremacy as refusal* consisted of white faculty, staff and students attending events they refused to RSVP to and white faculty, staff, and students attending to prove they weren't like their white counterparts.

Of the existing literature on racial diversity literature, there is a gap in exploring and illuminating the process of *how* racial diversity initiatives are implemented, what challenges exist if at all, and what researchers, university leadership, and practitioner can learn from them when using organizational and critical frameworks. The two manifestations of white supremacy outlined in this study demonstrate the process as to *how* faculty and staff implement a racial diversity initiative (i.e., the decision made), while illuminating the challenges they face in implementation (i.e., pushback to the approach), and *why* those challenges exist (i.e., the influence of ideologies like white supremacy and settler colonialism). Moreover, this study is a direct response to Patton and colleagues (2019) who outlined the need for study of the implementation of racial diversity initiatives and a critical analysis of the implementation process that names how systems of power, such as settler colonialism and white supremacy, are at play in the implementation of these initiatives. This study is one of the first to outline the process of implementation of a racial diversity initiative, while utilizing both an organizational theory and critical framework to make sense of the findings.

Mapping Findings to Frameworks

Implementation Theory and Settler Colonial Dimensions of Power (SCDP) guided the construction, framing, and analysis of the findings of this dissertation. Implementation Theory framed the process of implementing a complex intervention (i.e., a racial diversity initiative), within an organization. The theory also accounts for the context leading to the creation of the complex intervention and agency leveraged to implement the complex intervention (May, 2013).

SCDP is an analytical lens that produces a more complex and nuanced analysis of white supremacy from a structural standpoint (Steinman, 2015). Together, both frameworks allow for a nuanced analysis that illuminates the embeddedness of white supremacy in the context of the institution and in the agency utilized to implement the racial diversity initiative.

Implementation Theory is composed of two overarching concepts: context and agency, each of which is composed of two additional constructs. Context is composed of *capacity* and *potential*. Agency is composed of *capability* and *contribution*. In this section, I begin by mapping the constructs of context, as outlined by Implementation Theory, to the first research question, which focuses on the organizational and social elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and the WRLP. I then map the construct of agency to the second research question, as it engages the agency utilized to implement the WRLP. Throughout the exploration of findings via Implementation Theory, I weave dimensions of SCDP: (a) denial and naturalization of settler colonialism, (b) settler violence and its diminishment, (c) ideological justifications for Indigenous dispossession and settler authority, (d) control of population economy, (e) cultural appropriation, and (f) denial of alternatives (Steinman, 2015).

Context: RQ1 and Implementation Theory

In this section, I focus on the first research question, what organizational and societal elements influenced the creation of the WCI and the WRLP at IUPUI? The purpose of this question is twofold. The first purpose of this question was to frame and illuminate the *context* (Implementation Theory) that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP. The second purpose was to illuminate the impact of settler colonialism on organizational and societal elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP. In the following section, I map the findings of the first research question to Implementation Theory to frame *context*. I then

illuminate where the theory fits, where it falls short and how SCDP extends the analysis of implementation.

Capacity

Implementation Theory frames capacity as the ability of individuals within an organization to coordinate cognitive and material resources, utilize organizational roles, and accompanying power, to transform social norms (May, 2013). There are four categories that make up *capacity*: social norms, social roles, material resources, and cognitive resources. May (2013) argues that the success of implementing a racial diversity initiative will be impacted by the ability of individual agents within the organization to coordinate and cooperate their actions. I map the organizational and societal elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP to the four categories that make up the construct of *capacity*.

Social Norms and Roles. Social norms are the institutionally sanctioned rules that provide structure and give meaning to the social system and govern membership, behavior, rewards, and participation in the complex intervention (May, 2013). To maintain the social norms, there are social roles that exist within an organization. Social roles are identities held within an organization that frame interactions and behavior and define "expectations of participants in a complex intervention" like a Chancellor (May, 2013, p. 6). Prior to Chancellor Paydar, IUPUI operated as a race neutral campus, which cultivated a racially hostile environment for people of color on the campus (Buckley, 2016; Mack, 2016). Despite Black student demands and efforts to illuminate the racial hostility of the campus, there was no coordinated effort to address existing racial inequities on the campus (Mack, 2016). Neglecting to address the reality of racism on the campus and the impact on people of color on the campus was an existing social norm.

As the newly appointed Chancellor, Dr. Paydar catalyzed the campus and sparked a transformation of social norms for the campus. For example, Carol highlighted how Dr. Paydar announced and pledged to make IUPUI a more welcoming campus where there were no barriers for anyone on the campus to be successful. Soon after his address to the campus, Dr. Paydar mobilized his team to create five task forces that would highlight the focal areas of the WCI. In doing so, Dr. Paydar pivoted the Chancellor role to an active role that not only acknowledged the reality of racial inequities on the campus, but also sought to actively address racial realities while using their existing social roles. Aligning with Implementation Theory, to set the stage for the implementation of a racial diversity initiative, existing roles and social norms must be modified for new possibilities and outcomes to occur (i.e., becoming a more welcoming campus; May, 2013). Without the change or modification of social norms and roles the intended outcomes of a racial diversity initiative will most likely fail.

Dr. Paydar and his team created task forces that involved faculty, staff, and students to collect and synthesize data and provide solutions and recommendations for the campus to move forward. Chancellor Paydar transitioned the roles of faculty, staff, and students from passive bystanders to active agents. As a result, Dr. Paydar effectively pivoted away from previous social norms and roles, therefore modifying the operations of addressing existing inequities, which is necessary prior to successfully implementing a racial diversity initiative. Here, Implementation Theory demonstrates that with a change in social norms and roles, an organization can better cooperate to implement change effectively (May, 2013)

Cognitive and Material Resources. Cognitive and material resources are the two resources outlined in the construct of *capacity*. Cognitive resources refer to the knowledge, evidence, and objects that are in a social system and are institutionally dispersed to agents in the

organization (May, 2013). Material resources encompass currencies (symbolic and actual), organizational environments, and physical system that are organizationally sanctioned to agents; and frame access to resources needed to actualize the complex intervention (May, 2013). Because of Dr. Paydar's familiarity with the IUPUI campus and experience across various roles within the Indiana University system, Dr. Paydar leveraged his own cognitive resources of his past roles and personal commitment to address racial inequities on the campus, as well as the cognitive resources of the university leaders, faculty, and staff. For example, Dr. Paydar used his prior experience as Chancellor of IU East to create an initiative that would increase the retention of racially minoritized populations. He also combined his experience as Executive Vice-Chancellor to create task forces that supported the efforts implemented to create the strategic plan for IUPUI.

As Chancellor of IU East, Dr. Paydar utilized faculty and staff's insights on existing barriers and solutions for the campus to implement transformative change that garnered positive national attention (Trustees of Indiana University, 2011). At IUPUI, Dr. Paydar followed his experience and utilized faculty and staff's research capabilities to build task forces that would produce a focus and recommendations for the WCI that would actively transform the campus. Moreover, Dr. Paydar then utilized the material resources accessible to him, one million dollars that were allocated towards the Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund, which would co-sponsor projects submitted and approved as part of the WCI. Implementation Theory outlines that once social norms and roles are changed, an organization is set to cooperate to implement change, but will only be as successful as the agents' (i.e., faculty, staff) ability to access and coordinate material and cognitive resources necessary to implement a racial diversity initiative (May, 2013). At IUPUI, Dr. Paydar successfully leveraged the cognitive resources of his team, and of the

faculty and staff on the campus, and ensured that the collective campus could operationalize their projects, like the WRLP, with aid of allocated funds (i.e., material resources).

Implementation Theory forwards that to build capacity for change within an organization, social norms and roles must position agents' (i.e., faculty, staff) as active stakeholders to encourage cooperation to implement change. Moreover, with the change in social norms and roles, there is a need to leverage cognitive and material resource for faculty and staff to coordinate their cooperation to implement the desired change. Therefore, Implementation Theory illustrates that in the case of IUPUI, Dr. Paydar was able to catalyze the existing social norms of passive efforts to address inequities on campus, and position faculty, staff, and students as active stakeholders who can coordinate their knowledge and expertise to implement projects on the campus using the financial support from the Chancellor. Here, Implementation Theory illustrates that theoretically, IUPUI did effectively build capacity which prepared the campus to implement the WCI, and later the WRLP.

Potential

Implementation theory frames potential as the construct that captures an organization's readiness, the ability for members within an organization to commit to change and to implement a racial diversity initiative (May, 2013). There are two components that make up the construct of potential, individual intentions and shared commitments. According to May (2013), the success in translating an idea to an action hinge on agents' potential to initiate the implementation of the WCI and WRLP.

Individual intentions and shared commitments. Individual intention refers to faculty, staff, and students' individual readiness to shift their personal beliefs and attitudes into behaviors that are congruent with new or existing norms (i.e., becoming a more welcoming campus) and

roles (i.e., active agents in addressing existing inequities on the campus). As outlined in the previous chapter, existing norms encompassed a lack of concerted effort to address inequities on the IUPUI campus; and placed the change agent roles upon communities that experienced inequities on the campus, like Black faculty and staff. Chancellor Paydar entered his role with the individual intention of transforming IUPUI into a more welcoming campus. Dr. Paydar shared his individual intention in his first address to the campus and made it clear that his intentions would transform into a shared commitment across the campus. Shared commitments refer to faculty, staff, and students' readiness to implement shared beliefs and attitudes across the IUPUI campus. Prior to Dr. Paydar, there was no clear shared belief or attitude to transform the campus. For example, Linda shared that prior to Chancellor Paydar, there was no common identity for the campus and that Dr. Paydar was the first to provide a vision that encouraged faculty, staff, and students to come together to make change. Sean stated the Dr. Paydar was the first to provide tangible operations to implement the shared commitment which was demonstrated through his creation of task forces that influenced the WCI.

According to Implementation Theory, if potential within an organization cannot be sustained, then the racial diversity initiative will fall short in becoming embedded into organizational operations (May, 2013). At IUPUI, Dr. Paydar successfully set the foundation for potential to be sustained over time for the WCI. For instance, Linda shared how Dr. Paydar communicated his individual intent via a speech but then connected how his individual intention had already become part of the shared commitment via the strategic plan that he led as Executive Vice-Chancellor. During strategic plan development process, Dr. Paydar involved faculty, staff, and student in the process, and used that structure to lead the development of the WCI (Trustees of Indiana University, 2021d). As a result of Dr. Paydar's ability to link his individual intentions

to develop a shared commitment, Dr. Paydar pivoted the social roles of faculty, staff, and students on campus from passive bystanders in addressing inequities on the campus, to active actors in transforming IUPUI into a more welcoming campus. Because of the clarity between cultivating a more welcoming campus and the strategic plan, faculty, staff, and university leadership could effectively understand the shared commitment and translate the commitment into future collective action, which is critical for a successful implementation of a racial diversity initiative (May, 2013).

Context and SCDP: Denial and Naturalization of Settler Colonialism

While Implementation Theory was helpful to frame the context for the WCI and the WRLP, the framework fell short in accounting for larger ideologies that cultivated the context for the WCI, such as settler colonialism and white supremacy. In the following section, I utilize one dimension of SCDP to expand the analysis, denial and naturalization of settler colonialism.

The *denial and naturalization of settler colonialism* dimension illuminates the settler colonial practices enacted in creating the nation-state of the United States that actively neglects the settler colonial foundations of a settler society (Steinman, 2015).

Prior to Chancellor Paydar, Linda, Berry, and Sharon shared in their responses that the racism on the IUPUI campus went ineffectively addressed for years. The current study findings demonstrate how Black students made demands of university leadership in 2006 that were eerily similar to the demands Black students made in 2016 (Mack, 2016). Across the demands were themes of inequities that highlighted the racism Black students faced on the campus in academic and co-curricular arenas, like being treated with a lack of respect in staff interactions and being the only Black student in their classes (Mack, 2016). In Implementation Theory, the construct of *context* only illustrates individual intentions and social norms as they exist within an

organization. The construct of *context* does not account or grapple with the interaction between society and organization. For instance, as written, the theory assumes people are race neutral or at least similar in perceptions of the world as it exists. For instance, Dr. Paydar entered his role with the individual intention of creating a more welcoming campus because he personally acknowledged that inequities existed. Why he held a personal commitment is unclear, but it can be argued that his individual commitment is influenced by his identity as an immigrant from Iran, who may have experienced inequities within his experience in the United Sates and the academic institutions he's worked in. If Dr. Paydar's individual intentions are influenced by external ideologies, other individuals within the organizations can also be influenced by larger ideologies, such as white supremacy. As illustrated in the previous chapter, individuals are influenced by white supremacy that manifested in their refusal to participate in the WRLP, their dissent across emails to the University leadership, and through their refusal to understand the need for the use of caucuses.

Settler colonialism was present across participants' narratives. Participants illuminated the displacement of a thriving Black community which was needed for the construction of the existing IUPUI campus. Many participants linked the displacement of the Black community to racism, arguing that the racism in the past was the same racism present on the campus at the time of the data collection. The construct of *context* denies the existence of settler colonialism in its framing of Implementation Theory. For instance, the construct does not provide any form of acknowledging that systems of power, privilege, and oppression exist within an organization like IUPUI. However, as illustrated in the previous chapter power, privilege, and oppression were influential throughout the WCI. For example, Gladis stated that people of color on campus had pushed for attention to the racism they experienced "for forever." William highlighted how

faculty and staff of color have raised issues of harassment and discrimination without any formal action from the university. In both examples, racism was present, yet the construct of *context* doesn't provide space to recognize that racism exists. It also does not provide space to account for how settler colonialism facilitates racism in U.S. society and the IUPUI campus.

By using SCDP, I position IUPUI as an active settler site that perpetuates the violent oppression of racially minoritized populations. For instance, findings demonstrated that historically, IUPUI displaced a thriving Black community to build its campus, and since its inception, IUPUI has failed to acknowledge and address the racism Black students faced on its campus in 1978, 2006, and 2016 (Mack, 2016). Participants, like Sharon, shared how they observed students protesting racism on the campus and experienced listening to people of color share their experiences of racism on the IUPUI campus in present day. Moreover, William and Sharon highlighted how university leaders neglected to address the violent racism on the campus, that negatively impacted Black, Indigenous, and other people of color on the campus.

Foundationally, the individuals who lead and engage with the IUPUI campus exist within U.S. settler society. In U.S. settler society, individuals (i.e., faculty, staff, and students) are socialized to deny the foundational violent nature of settler colonialism and to deny the existence of white supremacy (Brayboy, 2005; Stein, 2017; Steinman 2015). Therefore, the SCDP adds in an aspect of systemic context that expands the analysis to better understand how organizationally IUPUI was preset to effectively implement a racial diversity initiative, according to Implementation Theory. Because I highlighted the systemic influence of settler colonialism and white supremacy, I expand our understanding of what other factors influence an individual's social norms, roles, and shared commitments. This nuance expands and provides insight as why co-curricular diversity initiatives have fallen short of their intended goals (Druery & Brooms,

2019; Smith, 2018; Wolaver & Finley, 2020; Zuniga et al., 2015). Despite the intentional effort to increase awareness and make an impact, there is a fundamentally missed opportunity to center settler colonialism and white supremacy in program conceptualization, and there is a glaring missed understanding that despite racial awareness interventions, individuals who participate in them are influenced by external systems (i.e., white supremacy) that prevent them from fully understanding the realities of the racial inequities that exist.

Agency: RQ2 and Implementation Theory

The second guiding research question for this study was, how are understandings of white supremacy present in faculty and staff descriptions of the implementation of the WRLP? The first purpose of this question was to frame and illuminate the agency used to affect the implementation of the WRLP by faculty, staff, and students. The second purpose of this question was to illuminate the influence white supremacy had on faculty, staff, and students' impact on the implementation of the WRLP.

Implementation theory is composed of two main parts, context and agency. Above, I explored the findings through Implementation Theory's understanding of context. Agency refers to the *capability* of the complex intervention to become embedded into the organization and the *contribution* of agents (i.e., faculty, staff) to continuously carry forward the intervention (May, 2013). In the next section, I map the findings of the second research question of this study to Implementation Theory to frame *agency*. I then illuminate where the theory fits and where it falls short, and how SCDP extends the analysis of implementation of a racial diversity initiative.

Capability

Capability refers to the ability of individuals within an organization (i.e., institution) to operationalize a complex intervention (i.e., racial diversity initiative) based on the ease of use

and ability to integrate into practice (May, 2013). For a racial diversity initiative to be successful, agents (i.e., faculty, staff, and students) must apply what they learn into practice. For example, faculty and staff who participated in the WRLP should have been able to take their knowledge and understanding of white supremacy and apply it to tangible actions, such as changing their syllabi to include more authors of color. To do so, the intended outcomes of any racial diversity initiative must be *workable* in and *integrated* into practice within an organization (May, 2013). For the WRLP to be successful, faculty and staff needed to implement more inclusive pedagogies, assignments, and classroom management as ways to cultivate a more welcoming campus.

Workability and integration. Workability refers to the practices agents perform when operationalizing a complex intervention within a social system (May, 2013, p. 5). Workability frames *what* faculty, staff, and students can do to transform their practice. The staff of the WRLP implemented various programmatic efforts to increase the awareness of white supremacy, equip faculty and staff with accurate language to describe racial inequities, and implement tangible action to transform practice. For instance, the WRLP brought Robin DiAngelo to facilitate discussions on how to combat one's own fragility when discussing racism and white supremacy within the academic setting. Other events included a cohort style effort to equip faculty with various ways to transform their existing syllabi into more inclusive ones (e.g., adding authors of color).

Integration refers to the linkages agents make between practices of the complex intervention and the elements of the social system of their organization (May, 2013). Integration frames the reason *why* we should continuously apply the learned practices and actions taught to them. For example, during the initial stages of launching the WRLP, Sharon and Berry

highlighted the need for the program by demonstrating the inability of white university leaders to facilitate effective conversations on racism that are critical to cultivating a more welcoming campus. Sharon and William spent time stating that not only are white faculty, staff, and students ill equipped to facilitate effective conversations on racism, there is a need for white individuals to practice with one another, which is why the caucus approach was used. Furthermore, Berry and Sharon spent time with university leadership to illuminate that existing training and interventions were only frequented by individuals who experienced the inequities, further illuminating the need for the WRLP to be integrated into the larger picture of creating a more welcoming campus. At the time, there was an existing gap on the campus where white faculty, staff, and students are not involved in addressing or acknowledging the existing white supremacy and racism on the campus. The WRLP sought to provide workable actions to integrate the Chancellor's vision of becoming a more welcoming campus.

Contribution

Contribution refers to active participation of members of an organization to make sense of the complex intervention, embed it into their work, and reflect on the change to work towards continuous implementation (May, 2013). For a racial diversity initiative to be successful, the efforts of the initiative must be continual contributions to an organization. Implementation Theory outlines four dimensions that characterize the construct of contribution: *sense-making, cognitive participation, collective action,* and *reflexive mentoring* (May, 2013, p. 8).

Sense-making. Sense-making are the attributions made by agents to make meaning of the complex intervention and its possibilities (May, 2013). The purpose of the WRLP was to learn and unpack misconceptions of structural racism and learn that racial equity efforts require the participation of white faculty, staff, and students. A purpose that parallels existing literature

on racial diversity initiatives that aims to increase awareness for the greater good of all (Arnold, 2004; Bowman, 2010; Novais et al., 2018; Vianden, 2018). However, when the staff introduced the project, the majority of white faculty, staff and students could not make sense as to why the WRLP had to name "white" and why it could not be named something different instead. There was an inability to comprehend the purpose of the WRLP and why it needed to focus directly on white individuals. Because of this, white faculty, staff, and students engaged in their own sense-making and decided the WRLP was problematic. As a result, white faculty, staff, and students filed formal grievances, posted on social media outlets, and refuse to attend WRLP events. An occurrence that is not captured in existing literature on diversity initiatives.

Sense-making as a component of Implementation Theory illuminated the reality that faculty, staff, and students can make various meanings from the same complex intervention (i.e., racial diversity initiative). For instance, the WRLP was a demonstration of a step towards becoming a more welcoming campus to the faculty and staff who worked on the project, like Sharon, Berry, and William, as well as university leaders like Carol and Sean. However, to some white faculty, staff, and students, the WRLP was a step in the wrong direction. *Sense-making* as a component expands our understanding of how different groups on a campus can make meaning in different ways regarding a racial diversity initiative, which can serve as a reflexive tool for literature focusing on the positive outcomes of racial diversity initiatives (Teranzini et al., 1996; Bowman et al., 2016). While there is no literature on racial diversity initiatives that focus on the how people within an organization make meaning of racial diversity initiative, *sense-making* as a component of Implementation Theory expands the potential for future researchers to identify myriad of if meanings attributed to racial diversity initiative to better understand how people perceive and participate or not in a racial diversity initiative.

Cognitive participation. Cognitive participation refers to how agents legitimize and enroll themselves and others into the complex intervention and frames how agents become members of a community (May, 2013). In the case of the WRLP, white faculty, staff, and students could not make sense for the purpose of the WRLP and the focus on white individuals on the campus. Some white faculty, staff, and students refused to participate in any WRLP events because of the name of the initiative, while others didn't participate due to the use of caucuses to "segregate" white individuals from people of color when learning about white supremacy. However, for white faculty, staff, and students that did attend event, most attendees didn't cognitively participate in the sessions and instead attended to prove they were not racist like other white people on the campus, or to obtain praise for knowing about the topics of discussion.

Existing literature on cognitive participation and outcomes for white individuals is mixed, some researchers found positive outcomes, while others argue positive outcomes for white individuals are only temporary (Bowman, 2009; Hogan & Mallett, 2005; Novais et al., 2018; Wrinkler, 2018). While the component of *cognitive participation* doesn't serve as a tool to assess learning outcomes, it does extend existing literature by outlining that the cognitive participation assessed may be skewed because people attending a session do so for affirmations or to prove they are not like other white people on the campus, like they did in this study. Simultaneously, this component did aid in identifying the refusal of cognitive participation by individuals who could not make sense of the purpose of the WRLP, which is in line with Vianden's (2018) findings that white individuals view racial diversity awareness negatively and were resistant to the intervention because of the focus of systems of inequity.

Collective action. Collective action refers to the mobilization of skills and resources to enact the intervention and frames how agents move the intervention into practice (May, 2013). The creators of the WRLP and later the WRLP staff, mobilized various faculty, staff, and university leaders to create events (i.e., monthly speaker series), facilitate learning workshops (i.e., trainings by internal and external faculty), and manage the day-to-day communications (i.e., university leadership and WRLP staff) to ensure that the WRLP was implemented on the campus over time. The collaborative action utilized to implement the WRLP supports existing literature that faculty and staff partnerships are effective collaborative efforts to implement racial diversity initiatives (LePeau, 2015; LePeau, 2018; LePeau et al., 2018). An additional example of collective action from the findings is illustrated by the collective actions of Sharon, Berry, and William who met with various campus stakeholders at the early stages of preparing to launch the WRLP. Across meetings, Sharon, Berry, and William utilized their collective knowledge and skillsets to effectively present the idea of the WRLP, inform stakeholders of the caucus model and its intentional use as part of the project, and answer questions regarding the outcomes of the project. While there is no existing literature on the process of collective action as it pertains to addressing the purpose and program design of a racial diversity initiative, the component of *collective action* adds and extends the finding of collaborative partnerships as a useful tool when implementing a racial diversity initiative.

Reflexive mentoring. Reflexive mentoring refers to the process of agents appraising the effects of the intervention and using the information to reconfigure social relations and action within the organization. The WRLP underwent various changes that were a result of reflexive mentoring. For instance, before becoming the WRLP, the project was originally titled, *unlearning whiteness*. However, the WRLP staff decided to change the name to a more palatable

one which was a result of the pushback they faced when sharing the original name and trying to explain the concept of unlearning to cognitive psychology faculty, who are trained to believe that nothing can be "unlearned." Moreover, the programmatic design of the WRLP also changed due to reflexive monitoring. For instance, Marie and Gladis, shared that white faculty, staff, and students were not attending the monthly speakers at the start of the project, and Gladis and Marie believed it was due to the caucus model of holding separate learning session. As a result, the WRLP scrapped the monthly speaker series for an end of the year culminating event, and even then, participation was dismal. There is no existing literature that accounts for or addresses how faculty and staff who implement racial diversity initiative engage in reflexive mentoring, but authors have called for the need for such research (Patton et al., 2019). The component of reflexive mentoring adds to larger literature by creating an opportunity to capture and explain how racial diversity initiatives change, which can help assess whether the program design or changes produce different outcomes. Further, *reflexive mentoring* is a helpful component to analyze findings because it can illuminate that the programmatic efforts are not the problem and can instead lead researchers to seek the root of the problem, like it did in this study.

Agency: RQ2 and SCDP

While Implementation Theory effectively framed the *agency* used during the implementation of the WRLP, the framework fell short in accounting of the refusal and pushback the WRLP team faced that was influenced by white supremacy. In the following section, I utilize four dimensions of SCDP to expand my discussion of the findings. The four dimensions include: settler violence and its diminishment, ideological justifications, control of population economy, and cultural appropriation. These four dimensions directly link to the agency component of implementation.

Settler Violence and its Diminishment

SCDP provides a lens to situate the personal experiences of the individuals who facilitate the day-to-day implementation of the WRLP. The settler violence and its diminishment dimension focus on the violent actions of U.S. settler-society (Steinman, 2015). The foundations of settler colonialism required violent action to displace and erase indigenous people and over time and continues to violently act against indigenous peoples and people of color (Freedman, 2007; Glenn, 2015, Leonardo & Singh, 2017; Smith, 2012; Wolfe, 2006). Violence, as a tactic to diminish and remove people of color, was present on the IUPUI campus and manifested during the implementation of the WRLP.

The WRLP staff faced various violent acts when implementing the initiative. For instance, at the launch of the WRLP, the WRLP team received hateful email communication to their personal and university email addresses. In certain instances, the WRLP staff received hateful voicemails. As a dimension, *settler violence and its diminishment*, acknowledges that the implementation of the WRLP was the catalyzing event that led to the violent response from white faculty, staff, and students, but the root of the response is due to settler colonialism and white supremacy (Steinman, 2015). The purpose of the violence enacted on the WRLP staff was intended to disrupt the implementation of the WRLP on the campus, which was one exemplary reason that demonstrated the need for the WRLP on the campus. Of the existing literature on racial diversity initiative, there is no framing of racism as violence using settler colonialism and there is not existing literature on racial diversity initiatives that capture the experience of faculty and staff who experience violence when implementing a racial diversity initiative (Patton et al., 2019).

Nonetheless, *settler violence and its diminishments,* expands our understanding of not only recognizing that campus environments are racially hostile, but also recognizing actors within an organization as actively inflicting violence on faculty and staff who implement racial diversity initiatives, in an effort to maintain a system that is currently beneficial to them (Iverson, 2008; 2012; Patton, 2016; Thomas, 2018). In one instance, one of the original creators of the initiative, Sharon, had to have a discussion with their partner because they believed there was a possibility of people showing up to their home to demonstrate their dissent of the initiative. Another instance of violence manifested in fear for Marie. Marie worried when reading thorough dissenting emails that one of her professors' names would appear on one of the dissenting emails. Other examples of violence included Berry, who defended her reasoning for not meeting with a student who refused to read about race and class prior to meeting with her. Sharon had to facilitate a dialogue on race with university leaders to answer questions and defend the need for the WRLP and its intended impact to improve the racially hostile environment at IUPUI. *Settler violence and its diminishment* is critical to the racial diversity initiative literature because it places a focus on the violence experience by faculty and staff who implemented the WRLP, and by doing so, counteracts the diminishment of the violence that goes unrecorded or accounted for across existing literature on racial diversity initiatives.

Ideological Justifications for Indigenous Dispossession and Settler Authority

The dimension of ideological justifications for Indigenous dispossession and settler authority highlights narratives used to justify settler violence and assert dominance and genocidal actions enacted by white settlers (Steinman, 2015). The WRLP faced many challenges when the team presented the original name for the WRLP, *unlearning whiteness.* The WRLP team changed the name because it made white faculty and staff uncomfortable. University leadership

pushed the team to change the name to something more accessible, resulting in "the White Racial Literacy Project." The justifications of making the name more accessible perpetuates settler logic because the original name was too disruptive for white faculty, staff, and students. The cognitive psychology faculty argued that western science showed them that nothing can ever be unlearned, therefore the name did not make sense. However, western science is founded within settler logics and is grounded within white supremacy (Masta, 2018; Melaki & Beeman, 2020). In this example, the dimension of *ideological justifications* frames how white faculty utilized their western science to assert dominance over the WRLP team regarding the concept of learning, which resulted in the ultimate change of the name to something less disruptive.

Even with the existing name, the WRLP, white faculty, staff, and students believed that their violent responses to the initiative were justified because the WRLP was targeted towards white individuals. White faculty, staff, and students filed complaints, and stated that they would not participate in programmatic efforts of the WRLP because it focused on white people. This justification is informed by white supremacy and supported by settler colonialism (Steinman, 2015). White faculty, staff, and students in settler society are encouraged to state their dissent without consequences—the ability to express dissent without accountability, is a privilege gifted to them (Gusa, 2010). At IUPUI, the white faculty, staff, and students believed their perceptions of the WRLP as oppressive towards white individuals was the singular truth. Because white faculty, staff, and students believed their own skewed perceptions as truth, their belief justified their actions of sending violent emails, leaving violent voicemails, and submitting formal grievances. These acts were forms of asserting dominance over the WRLP team and general supporters of the WRLP, and the dimension of *settler justifications* highlights how white faculty, staff, and students were sufficient grounds to exert violence upon the WRLP team. This is one

finding that has not been captured by the existing literature on racial diversity. Moreover, the use of this dimension expands the understanding of existing literature because it outlines how people justify their violent acts and illuminates how justifications facilitate the assertion of dominance (Steinman, 2015).

Control of the Population Economy

Control of population economy addresses the "variety of formal, conceptual, and material types of techniques to transfer(out), or diminish and eliminate, Indigenous nations and people" (Steinman, 2015, p. 228). When the WRLP launched, white faculty, staff, and students utilized formal grievance systems to report the WRLP, a technique to ensure white supremacy is maintained on the IUPUI campus. The *control of the population economy* dimension is a helpful tool to illuminate and frame the actions of white faculty, staff, and students as formal action to eliminate or diminish the implementation and impact of the WRLP. People utilized whistle blower hotlines, called, and emailed the Chancellor, posted on social media, and even filed police reports. Here, the dimension reframes the actions of white faculty, staff, and students as an intentional effort to maintain control of the campus majority and create barriers to ensure that the WRLP would not achieve its intended impact (Steinman, 2015). Currently, there is no existing literature that captures how white faculty, staff, and students utilize formal processes to assert control, however, this dimension expands existing literature beyond collaborative efforts to implement racial diversity initiative to include how individuals work to control and diminish the impact of racial diversity initiatives (Booker et al., 2016; Fraser & Hunt, 2011; LePeau, 2015; LePeau, 2018; LePeau et al., 2018).

While the collective action failed to stop the launch of the WRLP, it did create barriers. For instance, the response led to the shutdown of a survey meant to assess the impact of the

WRLP over time, diminishing the opportunity to assess the long-term impact of the WRLP on the campus. Moreover, the collective action of white faculty, staff, and students to refuse to attend WRLP limited the intended impact of the initiative, because without participation, the racial awareness of white constituents was not transformed. Because of this, the success of the WRLP was limited. The dimension of *control of the population economy* assists in explaining how collective action is utilized by white individuals to minimize the potential impact of the WRLP, while illuminating that the intentional acts are effective forms of maintaining asserting and maintain control of the majority. Again, this dimension adds to the literature by proving a lens to understand why collective action is used to negatively impact the implementation of a racial diversity initiative, which is a necessary area of future exploration (Patton et. Al, 2019).

Cultural Appropriation

The cultural appropriation dimension depicts the utilization of Indigenous practices and identities to "make claims on the land and to symbolically displace actual Indigenous people" (Steinman, 2015, p. 229). The original intent of the WRLP was to make an impact on the IUPUI campus to push towards a more welcoming campus for racially minoritized populations by increasing the racial literacy of white individuals. However, the WRLP faced a lot of challenges that modified the original name and programmatic structure of the initiative. For instance, because of the pushback against the programmatic use of caucuses, combined with the refusal to attend events, the WRLP did not achieve the impact the project originally intended. Because of the lack of impact, the WRLP became an act of cultural appropriation for the IUPUI campus.

The WRLP was used by the university as a symbolic gesture to position the university as actively working to address the racially hostile environment on its campus. For instance, cultural appropriation manifested here via white individuals talking about the usefulness of the initiative

while simultaneously not participating. For external stakeholders, the initiative is impressive and distinct, but there is no measurable impact. For example, there is no longitudinal data that demonstrates the impact on awareness of participants because the intended survey was shut down by university leadership. Further, there is no participation data to demonstrate the participation of white faculty, staff, and students because individuals either refused to participate or people simply attended without an RSVP. Even if people participated in events, the majority showed up, did so to demonstrate how they are not like their white counterparts and use events to be affirmed for their efforts in not being blatantly racist (Klutz et al., 2019; Spanierman, 2022).

The dimension of *cultural appropriations* is a useful component because it helps to reframe racial diversity initiatives as an act of cultural appropriation by colleges and universitates. While university leadership touted a vision of creating a more welcoming campus, university leaders used the WRLP as an example of how they were achieving their vision. However, the talking point is moot because there is no measurable impact, therefore, this dimension would frame the WRLP as a symbolic gesture that frames IUPUI as an organization that is actively making progress to make its campus more welcoming, without making any progress (Castagno & Lee, 2007; Steinman, 2015). This is in line with existing literature on racial diversity initiatives demonstrates that various racial diversity initiatives can be considered an act of cultural appropriation (Castagno & Lee, 2007; Rosen, 2015). However, in this case, this analysis extends the literature to focus on how racial diversity initiatives *become* an act of cultural appropriation, a nuanced distinction that needs further exploration. Additionally, existing literature on university leaders and racial diversity initiatives highlight the need for collaborative efforts (LePeau, 2015; LePeau, 2018; LePeau et al., 2018), but this analysis demonstrates how using the dimension of *cultural appropriation* can illuminate how collaboration is insufficient or

cannot be observed as successful, if the racial diversity initiative becomes a symbol of action, instead of impactful change. Tangentially, current literature on diversity plans and agendas highlights how university leaders use these documents as a symbolic gesture and work as a marketing tool for an organization (Iverson, 2012; Thomas, 2018; Williams & Clowney, 2007). The analysis produced by this dimension is in line with existing literature, however, it also extends to demonstrate that diversity plans and agendas, as well as racial diversity initiatives may not start as a symbolic gesture, and instead may *become* a symbolic gesture, a finding that is not present in existing literature.

In this discussion section, I demonstrated how Implementation Theory (May, 2013) and SCDP (Steinman, 2015) as a collective, effectively framed the process of implementing the WCI and WRLP, and illuminated the manifestations of white supremacy and the embeddedness of settler colonialism across the context and agency of the implementation process. I identified where Implementation Theory fell short, and how SCDP helped to make-up for the shortfalls of Implementation Theory. Moreover, I demonstrated how both frameworks facilitated an extension on the existing literature of racial diversity initiatives and where the analysis trailblazed new areas of insights. In the next section, outline various ways higher education stakeholders can act upon the insights afforded in this dissertation.

Implications and Recommendations

Colleges and universities are settler colonial sites and white supremacy is central to these campus environments (Bird, 2020; Masta, 2019). Together, settler colonialism and white supremacy often curate the experiences of racially minoritized population on U.S. colleges and universities (Dancy, Edwards, & Davis, 2018; Masta, 2019; Steinman, 2020). Nonetheless, higher education researchers and practitioners must continuously work toward liberatory

futurities and continue to disrupt and decolonize higher education institutions. The final dimension of SCDP is the denial of alternatives. This dimension acknowledges that individuals within U.S. settler society, we are trained to believe that there are no realities outside of settler colonialism. This dimension challenges faculty, staff, and university leaders us to boldly imagine futurities outside of settler colonialism. One way to begin to create alternative futurities is to educate non-Indigenous people about settler colonialism and its impacts. I use the dimension of denial of alternatives to inform my recommendations for the field of higher education.

Futurities for Research

To combat the settler colonial sites that are U.S. colleges and universities, faculty, staff, and university leaders must use frameworks that name and analyze the settler colonialism. In this dissertation, I illustrated the presence of white supremacy in faculty and staff descriptions of implementing the White Racial Literacy Project at IUPUI. To do so, I utilized Steinman's (2015) Settler Colonial Dimension of Power to link the manifestations of white supremacy to settler colonialism, to demonstrate how white supremacy is a tool utilized to uphold settler colonialism. The findings of this dissertation illuminated some of the violence experienced in implementing a racial diversity initiative. Utilizing a settler colonial framework can result in a more in-depth analysis and understanding of the influence settler colonialism has in the U.S. and can demonstrate the embeddedness of white supremacy on a college campus (Fanshel, 2021; Masta, 2019; Stein, 2020; Steinman 2020). Settler colonial frameworks are critical tools that push us to name, illuminate, and understand the manifestations of settler colonialism on college and university campuses, and encourage us to imagine decolonized futures, like SCDP (Steinman, 2015) and "Settler Colonialism as Structure" framework (Glenn, 2015), and we must use them.

Future research must explore why diversity initiatives fail on college and university campuses. However, there is often a disconnect between critical scholars and organizational theorists who explore diversity initiatives (Patton et al., 2019). There is a need to frame this research with organizational frameworks from a critical lens. I focus on three areas: violence of implementing racial diversity initiatives, university leadership and decision making, and more relational research design.

In this study, SCDP captured the violence that staff faced when implementing the WRLP. Currently, there are no studies that focus on the experience of implementing a racial diversity initiative on a day-to-day basis, nor is there existing studies that focus on the violence experienced by faculty, staff, and university leaders that carryout the work. Future studies should utilize settler colonial frameworks that account for the violence experienced by faculty, staff, and university leaders when implementing a racial diversity initiative. Moreover, in this study, there were white individuals and BIPOC that carried out this work. Therefore, there is a need for a study to assess the violence experienced by racially and ethnically minoritized populations, and different groups experience violence and to what extent. Further, research studies should focus on violence and the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender. In this study, the founders of the WRLP were women of color. It is critical to explore how gender influences violence is experienced across the gender spectrum (i.e., women, non-binary, gender non-confirming).

Participants highlighted how white faculty, staff, and students' pushback against the WRLP which led university leaders to shut down the baseline survey of the WRLP and the change of name of the project. Future studies should examine how university leaders make decisions that pertain to the implementation of a racial diversity initiative. For instance, when university leadership decided to shut down the baseline survey of the WRLP, what led them to

ultimately shut it down? There is a need to assess how organizational power influences decision making that intersect racial diversity initiatives. Future research should assess how university leaders weigh official grievances, institutional revenue, and other organizational factors. Lastly, future research should explore how university leaders weigh potential impacts as it pertains to race and majority group identities. For instance, IUPUI is a majority white campus, did university leaders weigh the pushback from white constituents more than constituents of color who experience a hostile campus?

One benefit of the research design for this study was my personal connection to the IUPUI campus and working as part of the WRLP. I cultivated strong relationships with colleagues that granted an opportunity to ask frank questions and receive in depth answers. Therefore, future research designs should think through and identify tangible ways to build a relationship with the racial diversity initiative of interest. One way can be by working as part of the initiative itself. Building a relationship can also aid in utilizing settler colonial frameworks to make sense of what is occurring real time as someone implementing a racial diversity initiative, while also granting an opportunity to process in kinship with colleagues in real time. In addition, future qualitative research on the implementation of racial diversity initiatives should incorporate more ethnographic approaches that extend the amount of time of the research study, that invite the opportunity of a dual ethnography to be written, and that hinge on observations to invest in the dialogues, tone of communication, and feeling of being in a space where racial diversity initiatives are dissented upon. Doing so will facilitate stronger understandings of the realities faculty, staff, and university leaders face when implementing racial diversity initiatives.

Futurities for Policy

Racial diversity initiatives cannot fully achieve their intended efforts without the support of policy. At the Federal and State level, SCDP pushes one to ask governments to acknowledge the existence of Indigenous peoples as the original caretakers of the land that the United States occupies. However, the purpose of U.S. government at the Federal and State level is to protect settler society and propel white supremacy. Therefore, the recommendation for policy at the Federal and State level is to question what can the future look like if we begin to build a relationship with Indigenous past, present, and future? To achieve a successful Federal and State policy that supports racial diversity initiatives, there is a need to navigate future policy creation with an understanding that colleges and universities occupy Indigenous lands, therefore future work must always be done in kindship and in relation with Indigenous communities.

One way Federal and State government influence racial diversity initiatives is through policies surrounding funding. Therefore, there is a need for stakeholders who create funding policies for racial diversity initiatives to recognize that to effectively cultivate equitable campuses, stakeholders must assess existing policies and identify the various ways current policies protect and propel white supremacy. It is critical to assess the existing barriers in order to imagine better futurities. Moreover, as funding policies are created for racial diversity initiatives, it is critical that any funding opportunities require the use of frameworks that name and center settler colonialism and white supremacy, otherwise higher education stakeholders may (un)intentionally maintain hostile campus environments for racially minoritized populations and fail to actualize change.

The focus of the WRLP was to raise awareness and to provide white individualz with the tools necessary to navigate dialogues on race, racism, and white supremacy, while working on challenging existing normative practices (i.e., teaching). However, there is a need for

institutional leaders to create policies regarding funding around the implementation of diversity initiatives on any given college or university. The findings of this study help illuminate that future racial diversity initiatives must have extended access to financial resources that can bridge efforts that raise awareness to efforts that implement tangible action for continuous change. With finite funding sources, racial diversity initiatives will never achieve their intended efforts because the funding only allows for the racial diversity initiative to go so far.

Furthermore, as future funding policies are created on college and university campuses, there is a need to build in accountability metrics that recognize that racial diversity initiatives will face various challenges (i.e., resistance). For instance, in this study, the longitudinal survey was shut down, cancelling an opportunity to demonstrate impact. Moreover, white participants failed to RSVP to events, therefore numbers could not be used as a metric to demonstrate impact. As such, there is a need for campus stakeholders, faculty, and staff to come together to reimagine what metrics can look like that demonstrate impact or that signal where further support (e.g., finances, programs, consultants) is needed.

Futurities for Practice

For institutions like IUPUI (i.e., four-year, public institutions) there are various practical lessons to be learned from the experiences faced in implementing the White Racial Literacy Project. Throughout Chapter 4, I highlighted how the institution had established a foundation that led to the creation of the Welcoming Campus Initiative that gave way to the creation of the White Racial Literacy Project. I outlined the various challenges faculty and staff faced due to the program, and how the challenges they faced were fueled by white supremacy.

The original intention of the WRLP was to increase the racial literacy of white faculty staff, and student on the campus, in hopes of cultivating a less hostile environment for racially

minoritized populations. However, while the WRLP understood that university leaders did not understand the purpose and the reasoning for the approach for the racial diversity initiative. Therefore, before the launch of any racial diversity initiative, it is critical that the collective of people who will implement the initiative assess which leaders within the university can impact the decisions and programmatic efforts. In the case of the WRLP, university leaders, like the Chancellor and his cabinet were highly influential in the implementation of the WRLP. Therefore, it is necessary to assess, who will impact the implementation of the racial diversity initiative at one's institution. Once the intersecting influencers are identified, it is critical to meet as a collective and review and answer the following guiding questions: (a) why do you want to create and implement a racial diversity initiative; (b) who is your target audience; and (c) are you willing to take the risk? By answering these three questions, all involved stakeholders can start off on the same page. Explanations and reasoning for the specific racial diversity initiative and its implementation can aid in navigating unpredictable responses by faculty, staff, and student who may dissent on the racial diversity initiative.

Institutional Conditions

In this study, the Chancellor and his rolodex of practice and tenure with the Indiana University system, in combination with the University's 50th celebration, created organizational synergy that resulted in the creation of the WCI, and later the WRLP. Therefore, it is necessary to think through the various institutional conditions that can add momentum or barriers to the implementation of a racial diversity initiative, such as institutional celebrations, institutional leaders with a clear vision, individuals who hold various backgrounds across roles, and individuals who can continuously work together across projects.

As illustrated in this study, the vision and drive of IUPUI's Chancellor was a critical element to the creation of the WCI and the WRLP. As such, I forward practitioners to begin with assessing the university leader first. Assess the university president or chancellor's rolodex of practice and their vision or commitment to cultivating a more equitable campus, doing so can inform what support is needed to prepare a university president or chancellor to act. If there are areas of practice missing, there is a need to include certain individuals who have the missing perspectives to the team that will develop and implement the racial diversity initiative. If the university chancellor or president lacks vision, build a team to raise awareness and outline the importance of cultivating a more equitable campus, otherwise there will be challenges with ongoing support for the racial diversity initiative.

In addition, there is a need to assess access to existing funds and developing a plan to either secure new funds or set aside long-term funds prior to implementing a racial diversity initiative. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the WRLP adapted to existing challenges. As a result, the programmatic efforts of the initiative changed from year to year. Therefore, it was critical to have the necessary funds to continue to implement the ever-changing initiative without financial constraints that could slow the initiative down, or at worst, end the initiative. Practitioners should center dialogues on financial support at the start of the initiative and ensure that funding will be ongoing.

Anticipate Formal Grievances

When the White Racial Literacy Project launched, several grievances were filed by white individuals on the campus. A result of the grievances was the loss of a critical component, the longitudinal survey, for the WRLP. University leaders experienced several turbulent weeks. However, for institutions like IUPUI, who seek to implement a racial diversity initiative on their

campus, they must prepare themselves to receive and combat grievances. One way university leaders can prepare for grievances is by meeting with their general counsel to discuss potential lawsuits that can arise. The general counsel can help predict what type of grievances can be filed, and the team who implements the racial diversity initiative can use the information provided to create clear and concise information for the purpose of the racial diversity initiative. Moreover, the general counsel can help produce a public relations campaign that can minimize potential grievances and position university leaders as the drivers of the racial diversity initiative. Crafting a narrative, story, and talking points is critical in anticipating formal grievance. Leverage the communications teams of the organization to build out a campaign that targets students, faculty, staff, and community members. The campaigns should focus on questions and perceptions each sperate group may have and produce talking points to ease people's fears.

Racial Diversity Initiatives Must Have Accountability

One lesson to be learned from the White Racial Literacy Project is that if university leaders allow for a racial diversity initiative to be optional, the initiative will not be successful—people will continuously opt out if they are committed to white supremacy. The faculty and staff that implemented the White Racial Literacy Project shared that one of the biggest challenges they faced was getting people to show up to events or to sign in when they did show up to events. One way university leaders, staff and faculty can work to increase participation is to link staff compensation and promotion to DEI efforts. For instance, in the corporate sector, performance reviews are given yearly and embedded within the performance review are various criteria, one of which is DEI. In corporate, individuals must demonstrate how they either attended events, gave back to their community or embedded DEI into the work they produce to achieve a promotion or higher compensation. By borrowing a page from the corporate sector,

university leaders can the build an incentive to participate in the events of any given racial diversity initiative. One caveat is that this effort would entice individual to participate, but not necessarily cognitively participate, but it can be a first step to get people to participate. Moreover, teams who implement racial diversity initiatives can lean on university leaders to think through how university operations can be paused from department to department to bring the programmatic events to them. One way to maximize participation is to use departmental meetings as an opportunity to bring programmatic efforts to staff and faculty. Lastly, to engage student participation, university leaders and academic heads can work to position participation in racial diversity initiatives as an experiential learning or co-curricular course that will meet the University's diversity course requirement for general education.

Be Bold with the Design of Future Racial Diversity Initiatives

The original plan for the WRLP was bold because there were no other initiatives at IUPUI taking a similar approach. However, due to the centering of backlash by university leaders, the WRLP became an act of cultural appropriation. Following the genealogy of settler colonialism, thinking outside of settler society should not be prescriptive (Steinman, 2015; Wolfe, 2007). Therefore, I engage with the concept of thinking boldy by providing components to think through for future racial diversity initiatives, not direct detailed actions because we must take action that are contextually driven and nuanced.

To be bold, settler colonialism must be foundational to the inception of any future racial diversity initiative. We must imagine what a decolonized campus environment can look like and then we must build a pathway to get there. Often, we compare our work, but by being bold we can craft possibilities that currently do not exist. While this may be aspirational, part of this work is to be aspirational. As we boldy reimagine racial diversity initiatives, we must think about what

accountability looks like for us to our kin and communities, for our ancestors, and for future individuals. How can we make racially minoritized populations the center of this work instead of those who need to increase awareness that racial inequities exist? Two components to think though are centering violence in implementation and centering the experience of racially minoritized populations.

One theme that was highlighted in this study was the violence experienced and endured by the WRLP team. While racially minoritized populations experience violence in their day-to-day experience, experiencing violence within an organization should result in support from the organization. Therefore, one question university leaders should think through is, what resources are available to help the healing process for the individuals who implement a racial diversity initiative? There are three ways university leaders can support. University leaders can allocate budget for counselling that faculty and staff who implement racial diversity initiatives can access to fully cover their expenses. Further, university leaders can reduce the amount of time staff have to work during the week, to allow time to decompress and process the violence they experience day-to-day, while maintaining their existing pay. Lastly, university leaders can continuously check in to ask what resources and support faculty and staff who implement racial diversity initiatives need access to.

Thinking boldly requires that we center the individuals impacted by white supremacy and settler colonialism. Asking ourselves, what possibilities come to mind if we don't center white individuals or white supremacy? The WRLP names white supremacy and sought to increase awareness by inviting white individuals to ask any questions and discuss concepts they aren't familiar with or may disagree with. However, what if racial diversity initiative assumed people knew that settler colonialism, white supremacy, and racism are real? By thinking through these

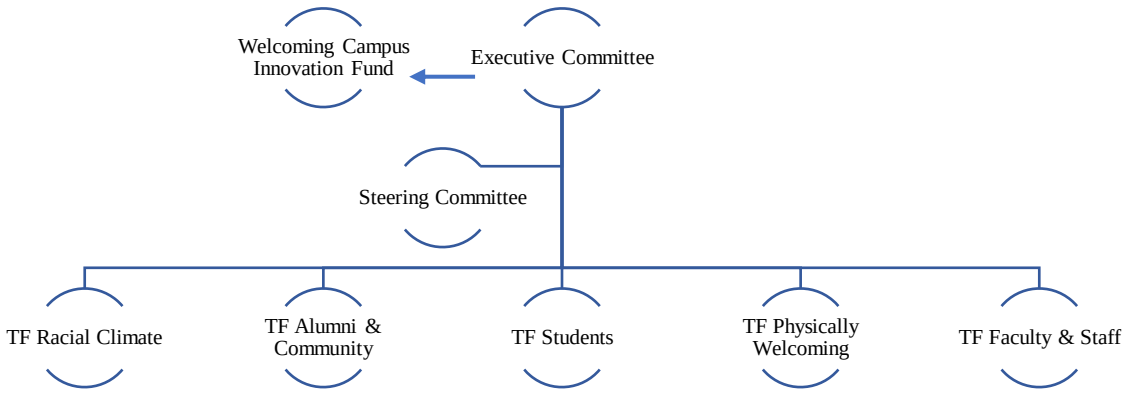
questions, practitioners can center concepts of kinship, community, and healing that aim to humanize the experience racially minoritized populations experience.

Futurities

The purpose of this dissertation was to generate findings that can inform institutional leaders and practitioners' implementation of more effective racial diversity initiatives in higher education. Through this study, I illuminated the organizational and societal elements that influenced the creation of the WCI and WRLP. I also illustrated the many ways white supremacy manifested in the implementation process of the WRLP. This dissertation is a response to Patton et al., (2019) who stated that there is a need for literature that frames how racial diversity initiatives are implemented and also use critical frameworks to name systems of power and oppression (i.e., settler colonialism). This study contributes to the existing gap on literature on racial diversity initiatives by being one the first studies to focus on the implementation of racial diversity initiatives as they exist in the present. It also contributes to the gap in literature utilizing both organizational theories and critical frameworks to situate analysis of racial inequities on college and university campuses. I share this work as an act to prompt alternative futurities and to educate my non-Indigenous peers about settler colonialism and its impact in higher education. I also share this work to encourage conversations between scholars and practitioners that push them to think through how settler colonialism fuels white supremacy on college campus and ideate on ways to combat settler colonialism.

APPENDIX A

IUPUI Welcoming Campus Initiative Structure



Executive Committee

Members

Executive Vice Chancellor and Chief Academic Officer;
Chief of Staff, Office of the Chancellor;
Special Advisor to the Chancellor for Strategic Initiatives;
Assistant to the Chancellor for Communications

Steering Committee

Members

Executive Vice Chancellor and Chief Academic Officer;
President of Faculty Council;
Interim Executive Associate Dean, School of Education;
President of Staff Council;
Dean, School of Nursing;
Chancellor's Professor of History; Under/Graduate Student Government Representatives

Task Force Co-Chairs

Vice Chancellor for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (Chancellor's Cabinet representative);
Associate Professor, Higher Education and Student Affairs;
Vice Chancellor for Research (Chancellor's Cabinet representative);
Director of Senior Human Resources and Financial Services;

	Interim Vice Chancellor for Finance and Administration (Chancellor's Cabinet representative); Director of Housing and Residential Life; Vice Chancellor for Community Engagement (Chancellor's Cabinet representative); IU School of Education at IUPUI, Midwest Community Schools Initiative; Interim Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs (Chancellor's Cabinet Member); Associate Dean for Student Affairs, University College/Executive Director for Student Success Initiatives, Division of Undergraduate Education
TF Racial Climate	**Co-Chairs** Vice Chancellor for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (Chancellor's Cabinet representative); Associate Professor, Higher Education and Student Affairs **Members** Executive Director for International Affairs, IUPUI, and Assistant Vice President for International Services, Indiana University; Director, Office for Veterans and Military Personnel; Director, Faith-Based Partnerships and Economic Development, Family, School, and Neighborhood Engagement, Office of Community Engagement; Faculty/Student Liaison, Adaptive Educational Services; Director, American Indian Programs and Director, Native American & Indigenous Studies, Native American Faculty and Staff Council Representative; Professor and Chair, Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering Asian Pacific American Faculty and Staff Council Representative; Associate Vice Chancellor for IUPUI Family, School, and Neighborhood Engagement, Office of Community Engagement; Black Student Union Representative; Dean, School of Science (Dean Representative); Associate Professor, Communication Studies, Black Faculty and Staff Council Representative; Director, Multicultural Center; Latino Student Association Representative
TF Students	**Co-Chairs** Interim Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs (Chancellor's Cabinet Member); Associate Dean for Student Affairs, University College/Executive Director for Student Success Initiatives, Division of Undergraduate Education

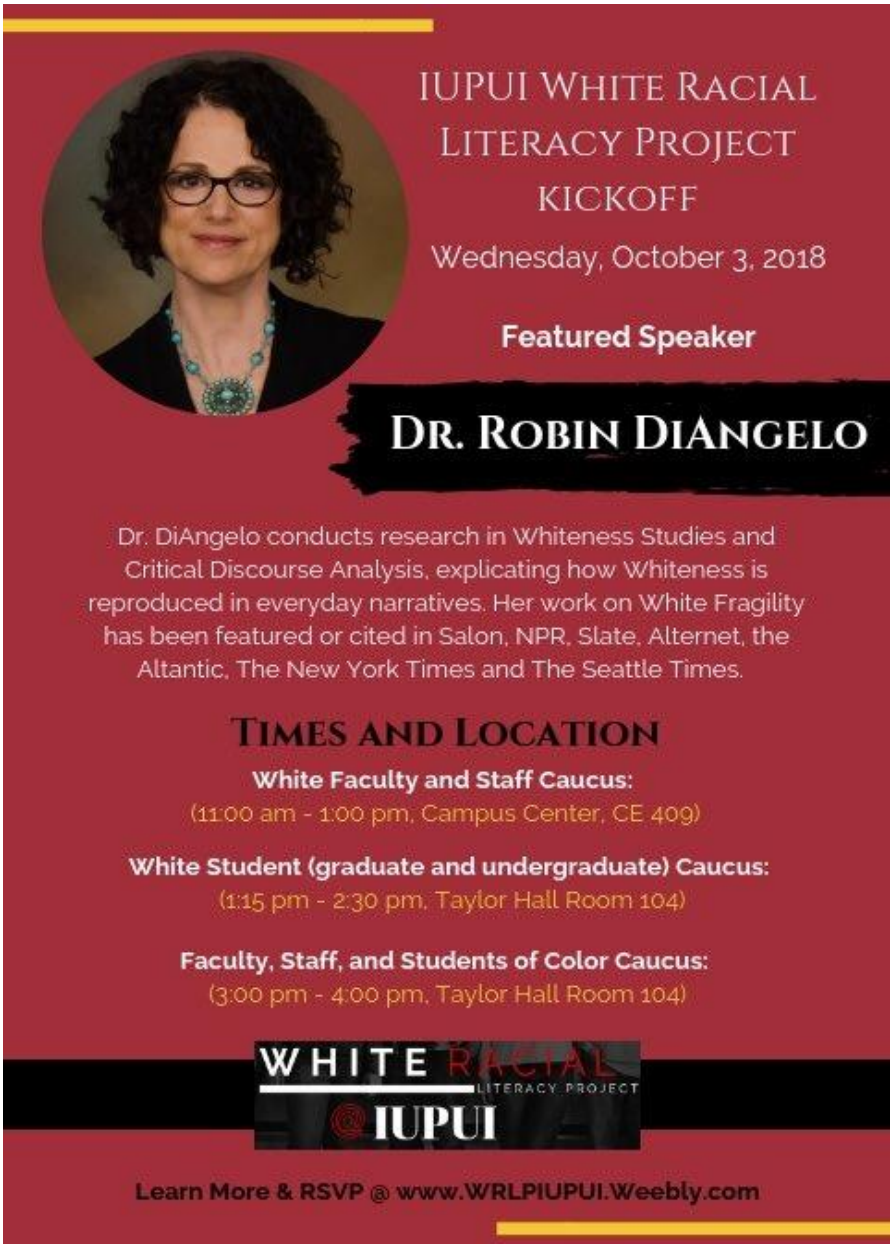
	Members Student and Alumni Services Coordinator, Department of Biology; Director, IUPUI Degree Completion Office; Associate Vice Chancellor for Graduate Education and Associate; Dean of the Graduate School; Director of Curriculum Internationalization, Office of International Affairs; Executive Director, Institutional Research and Decision Support; Black Student Union Representative; Assistant Dean, Medical Student Affairs, School of Medicine; Director of Multicultural Academic Relations, Office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion; Director, Counseling and Psychological Services; Informatics and Journalism Librarian, University Library; Director of Undergraduate Admissions; Dean, School of Engineering and Technology (Dean representative); Dean of Students; Director of RISE; The M.L. Bittinger Chair of Mathematics Education, Professor & Associate Dean for Student Affairs and Outreach, School of Science
TF Alumni & Community	**Co-Chairs** Vice Chancellor for Community Engagement (Chancellor's Cabinet representative); IU School of Education at IUPUI, Midwest Community Schools Initiative
	Members IU Fairbanks School of Public Health at IUPUI; Assistant Vice Chancellor for Community Engagement and Executive Director for Professional Development and Corporate Education; Director, Spirit and Place Festival; Graduate Coordinator and Career Advisor, Basile Center, Herron School of Art; Program Manager, Indiana Clinical and Translational Sciences Institute (CTSI) Community Health Engagement Program; Vice President of Marketing and Communications, Visit Indy; Assistant Vice President for Economic Development, IU Office of Engagement; Associate Professor and Director of the Bachelor of Social Work Program, School of Social Work; IUPUI Board of Advisors, E&T BS, McKinney Law '94; Executive Director, IU Natatorium; Director of Executive Education and Clinical Assistant Professor, School of Public and Environmental Affairs; Director, Indiana Arts and Humanities Institute;

	Assistant Dean of Student Support and Diversity, School of Education; Interim Executive Director, IUPUI Office of Alumni Relations; Assistant Dean for External Affairs and Alumni Relations, IU McKinney School of Law; Executive Director, Indianapolis Jewish Relations Council; Manager of International Information and Communications, Office of International Affairs; Visiting Industry Research Specialist, Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research; Assistant Dean for Administration, University Library; Senior Associate Athletic Director, IUPUI Athletics; Director, IUPUI Career and Advising Services; Associate Professor, Strategy and Entrepreneurship and Hatfield Venture Faculty Fellow, IU Kelley School of Business-Indianapolis; Vice President of Marketing and Communications, Downtown Indy; Director, IUPUI Alumni Programs; Executive Director, IU Continuing Medical Education; Community Outreach Coordinator, Immigrant Welcome Center; Director, The Fund Raising School; Assistant Vice President, Capital Planning and Facilities; Black Lives Matter Coordinator; Executive Director, Center for Interfaith Cooperation; Dean, IU School of Dentistry; Director of Partner Relations, Visit Indy, Urban League Board of Directors; Director, IUPUI Event and Conference Services; Director, Confucius Institute
TF Physically Welcoming	**Co-Chairs** Interim Vice Chancellor for Finance and Administration (Chancellor's Cabinet representative); Director of Housing and Residential Life **Members** Office of Academic Affairs, Student Portfolio Coordinator; Second Vice President, IUPUI Staff Council; Associate Professor, Tourism, Convention, and Event Management; Director, IUPUI Office of Sustainability; Director, IUPUI Campus Center (also on the Cultural Climate committee); Associate Professor and Director of Visual Communication Design Graduate Program; Senior Advisor to the Chancellor, Professor of Pediatric Dentistry, and Professor of Orthodontics; Director, Adaptive Education Services; Dean, Herron School of Art design (Dean representative);

	Interior Design Technology; Registrar; Assistant Dean for Administration, University Library; Associate Director, Center for Teaching and Learning; Chief of Police, IUPUI; Indiana University Landscape Architect; Associate Vice Chancellor for Facilities Management
TF Faculty & Staff	**Co-Chairs** Vice Chancellor for Research (Chancellor's Cabinet representative); Director of Senior Human Resources and Financial Services; **Members** Associate Dean for Diversity Affairs, IU School of Medicine; Vice President of IUPUI Faculty, Indianapolis Faculty Council; Director of Organizational Development and Training, Human Resources Administration; Director of Student Financial Services, IU School of Medicine; Senior Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs; Associate Vice Chancellor for Undergraduate Education and Dean of University College; Director, IUPUI Office for Women; Senior Accounts Administration, UITS; First Vice President, IUPUI Staff Council; Director, Office of Equal Opportunity; Associate Vice Chancellor for International Affairs, IUPUI, and Associate Vice President of International Affairs, Indiana University; Director of Survey Research and Evaluation, Institutional Research and Decision Support; Director of Programs & Evaluation for Diversity Affairs, IU School of Medicine; IUPUI Staff Council School of Medicine Representative and Staff Council Members-at-Large Representative; Director of Faculty Enhancement, Office of Academic Affairs
Innovation Fund	*not publicly disclosed/accessible

APPENDIX B

WRLP Flyer



Note. An image of a flier used by the White Racial Literacy Project to promote a speaker to the campus, with information of the sessions for faculty, staff, and students.

APPENDIX C

Interview Protocol—WCI

This protocol outlines several grand tour questions that will be followed up by probes.

Opening/Introduction

Thank participant for their participation and time
Share the purpose of the study and the role of their interview
Review the IRB information sheet
Obtain consent and permission to record

Interview

1. What is your name and role at IUPUI?
2. Please tell me more about your role at the institution and how it relates to the Welcoming Campus Initiative? What was your role in developing and implementing the WCI?
3. From your perspective, can you tell me how and why the Welcoming Campus Initiative came to be at IUPUI? [what was the institutional context/climate? Were there any events, incidents, or examples that you can provide?]
4. Given this context, what is the purpose of the WCI?
5. What influenced the development and approach of the Welcoming Campus Initiative from a University leadership perspective? [here I mean, direction or importance of doing this a specific way, or making sure to forefront this initiative from the top]
6. And what concepts, understandings or theories influence the implementation of the WCI? (e.g. theories/concepts/experience of diversity, inclusion, oppression, difference, etc.)
7. Please walk me through the structure of the Welcoming Campus Initiative and share why this approach was taken? (i.e. the hierarchical layers, task force areas)
8. How were these specific areas selected? (and how does this link to the institutional context described above?)
9. How were the leaders of each of the committees/task forces selected? [if not provided, ask what the purpose of each layer was]
10. After the task forces were created, each committee provided recommendations that influenced the areas of funding provided by the Welcoming Campus Innovation Fund—How did the Innovation Fund committee decide which recommendations to fund? What influenced the decision-making of committee members?
11. What was the campus response to the WCI?
12. What have been some challenges with implementing the WCI on the IUPUI campus?
13. Has the Welcoming Campus Initiative reached or moved closer reaching its intended purpose?
14. One program I am focusing on is the White Racial Literacy Project. How, if at all, do you see these programs fitting in with the intended purpose of the Welcoming Campus Initiative?

a. [given what you shared, in regards to concepts that influenced the development, how do you see those concepts relating to or differing from those that influenced the construction of the WCI?]

15. The White Racial Literacy Project name white supremacy and racism in their purpose statements—how do you see white supremacy and racism fitting into the larger purpose of the Welcoming Campus Initiative, if at all?
    a. [how do you come to understand those two concepts?]
16. In your observation, what was the campus response to the WRLP?
    a. How, if at all, were the responses to the WCI versus the WRLP different? And why do you think that is?
17. In your observation, what, if at all, have been some challenges in the White Racial Literacy Project faced on the campus? And why do you think these challenges exist?
18. Lastly, is there anything that I didn't ask that you would like to talk about? Or anything you would like to clarify?

Closing

Thank them for their time and participation
Remind them of the confidentiality measures
Ask if they would like to provide a pseudonym or have one given to them
Share the timeline for when to expect the transcription of their interview
Share that you may follow up for member checking the findings of the study
Provide them with your contact information in case they have any further questions

APPENDIX D

Interview Protocol—WRLP

This protocol outlines several grand tour questions that will be followed up by probes.

Opening/Introduction

Thank participant for their participation and time
Share the purpose of the study and the role of their interview
Review the IRB information sheet
Obtain consent and permission to record

Interview

1. What is your name and role at IUPUI?
2. Can you tell me your role with the WRLP and how that came to be? And how long you have been with the WRLP?
3. From your perspective, can you tell me how and why the Welcoming Campus Initiative came to be at IUPUI? [what was the institutional context/climate? Were there any events, incidents, or examples that you can provide?]
4. In your perspective, what is the purpose of the WCI? And what concepts, understandings or theories influence the implementation of the WCI?
5. What was the response to the WCI?
6. Shifting gears to think about WRLP specifically, what was the institutional context that called for the development and need of the WRLP?
7. What was the institutional context that called for the need of the White Racial Literacy Project?
8. Please share events, situations, or experiences that exemplify the need for the White Racial Literacy Project/Racial Healing Project.
9. What is the purpose of the WRLP? [reference the purpose of the WCI and compare it to the purpose of the WRLP]
10. What concepts/theories/understandings underlie the foundation of the WRLP? (e.g. concepts of oppression, inclusion, etc).
11. Please walk me through the programmatic structure of the White Racial Literacy Project? (make notes of the changes that have happened over time)
12. How were these programmatic efforts decided upon from a practitioner perspective?
13. Why was the WRLP decided to take a campus wide approach that included, students, staff, faculty, and university leadership?
14. From a program development and design standpoint—why is it important for these programs to name white supremacy and racism?
15. How do the White Racial Literacy Project help to address/dismantle white supremacy and racism?
16. What was the campus response to the introduction of the White Racial Literacy Project/Racial Healing Project? And what about currently?
17. What have been some challenges that have arisen in implementing the White Racial Literacy Project
    a. And, why do these challenges exist?

18. How have the challenges mentioned influenced any changes with the design of the White Racial Literacy Project? Or with the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project?
19. Please provide an example of a change and what influenced that change?
20. In your opinion, has the WRLP reached or moved closer to achieving its purpose on the IUPUI campus? Explain

Lastly, is there anything that I didn't ask that you would like to talk about? Or anything you would like to clarify?

Closing
Thank them for their time and participation
Remind them of the confidentiality measures
Ask if they would like to provide a pseudonym or have one given to them
Share the timeline for when to expect the transcription of their interview
Share that you may follow up for member checking the findings of the study
Provide them with your contact information in case they have any further questions

APPENDIX E

Potential Participants

There are two populations of interest for my dissertation. The first group are the individuals who are involved with the Welcoming Campus Initiative, which encompasses individuals who participated in the development of the initiative and/or serves as a member for the executive committee, steering committee, or one of the five task forces. The second group consists of the individuals responsible for the implementation of the White Racial Literacy Project.

Area	**Potential Individuals**	**Reason**
WCI	Executive Vice Chancellor and Chief Academic Officer; Chief of Staff, Office of the Chancellor; Special Advisor to the Chancellor for Strategic Initiatives; Assistant to the Chancellor for Communications President of Faculty Council; Interim Executive Associate Dean, School of Education; President of Staff Council; Dean, School of Nursing; Chancellor's Professor of History; Under/Graduate Student Government Representatives Vice Chancellor for Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (Chancellor's Cabinet representative); Associate Professor, Higher Education and Student Affairs;	Individuals are involved with creation of the WCI or had a role in the executive committee, steering committee, or lead the racial climate task force.
Implementation White Racial Literacy Project	WRLP Faculty Leader Graduate Assistant of the WRLP/RHP	Individuals are responsible for the implementation efforts of both programs.

APPENDIX F

Participant Recruitment Email for WCI Participants

Dear [name],

I am a doctoral candidate in the Higher Education and Organizational Change program at the UCLA Graduate School of Education. I also work part time with the Division of Diversity, Equity and Inclusion at IUPUI, specifically assisting with the White Racial Literacy Project and the Racial Healing Project. I am collecting data for my dissertation, which focuses on the implementation of the Welcoming Campus Initiative at IUPUI, and based on your involvement with the initiative, I would like to invite you to participate in my study.

Participation in this study involves one 90-minute individual interview that will take place via phone, Zoom, or other telecommunication software of your preference. To ensure your privacy, I will utilize a pseudonym and only include general descriptors for your role at IUPUI (e.g. "faculty member" or "staff member"). Additionally, the transcriptions of the interview will be shared with you to ensure accuracy and provide space for amendments to be made on the transcripts if need be.

For further information, I have included the information sheet for this study. If you would like to discuss your participation or have further questions or concerns, you may contact me at:jhalcaraz@ucla.edu or (559)645-2883

Thank you for taking the time to read this email and for considering participation in my study.

Sincerely,
Jorge H. Alcaraz
PhD Candidate, UCLA

APPENDIX G

Participant Recruitment Email for WRLP Implementation Participants

Dear [name],

I am a doctoral candidate in the Higher Education and Organizational Change program at the UCLA Graduate School of Education. I also work part time with the Division of Diversity, Equity and Inclusion at IUPUI, specifically assisting with the White Racial Literacy Project and the Racial Healing Project. I am collecting data for my dissertation, which focuses on the implementation of the Welcoming Campus Initiative at IUPUI, and based on your involvement with the White Racial Literacy Project, I would like to invite you to participate in my study.

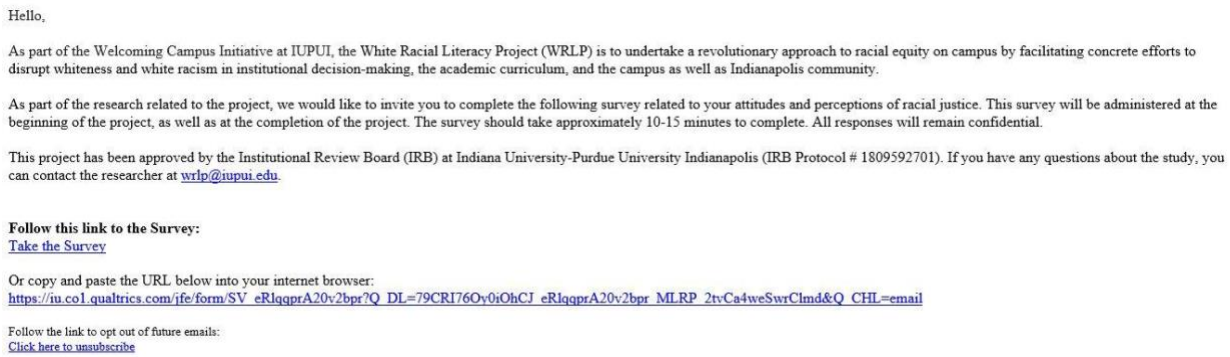
Participation in this study involves one 90-minute individual interview that will take place via phone, Zoom, or other telecommunication software of your preference. To ensure your privacy, I will utilize a pseudonym and only include general descriptors for your role at IUPUI (e.g. "faculty member" or "staff member"). Additionally, the transcriptions of the interview will be shared with you to ensure accuracy and provide space for amendments to be made on the transcripts if need be.

For further information, I have included the information sheet for this study. If you would like to discuss your participation or have further questions or concerns, you may contact me at: jhalcaraz@ucla.edu or (559)645-2883

Thank you for taking the time to read this email and for considering participation in my study.
Sincerely,
Jorge H. Alcaraz
PhD Candidate, UCLA

APPENDIX H

WRLP Survey Email Invitation



Hello,

As part of the Welcoming Campus Initiative at IUPUI, the White Racial Literacy Project (WRLP) is to undertake a revolutionary approach to racial equity on campus by facilitating concrete efforts to disrupt whiteness and white racism in institutional decision-making, the academic curriculum, and the campus as well as Indianapolis community.

As part of the research related to the project, we would like to invite you to complete the following survey related to your attitudes and perceptions of racial justice. This survey will be administered at the beginning of the project, as well as at the completion of the project. The survey should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. All responses will remain confidential.

This project has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IRB Protocol # 1809592701). If you have any questions about the study, you can contact the researcher at wrlp@iupui.edu.

Follow this link to the Survey:
Take the Survey

Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser:
https://iu.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_eRIqqprA20v2bpr?Q_DL=79CRI76Ov0iOhCJ_eRIqqprA20v2bpr_MLRP_2tvCa4weSwrClmd&Q_CHL=email

Follow the link to opt out of future emails:
Click here to unsubscribe

Note. An image of an email inviting white faculty, staff, and students to participate in the WRLP survey.

Reference

AAC&U (2029). College students are more diverse than ever. Faculty and administrators are not. *AAC&U News*. https://www.aacu.org/aacu-news/newsletter/2019/march/facts-figures

Abrica, E. J., García-Louis, C., & Gallaway, C. D. J. (2020). Antiblackness in the Hispanic-serving community college (HSCC) context: black male collegiate experiences through the lens of settler colonial logics. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 23*(1), 55-73.

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & society*, *4*(2), 139-158.

Adams, D. W. (1995). Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school Experience, 1875–1928. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Adserias, R. P., Charleston, L. J., & Jackson, J. F. (2017). What style of leadership is best suited to direct organizational change to fuel institutional diversity in higher education?. *Race ethnicity and education*, *20*(3), 315-331.

Aguirre, A., & Martinez, R. (2003). The diversity rationale in higher education: An overview of the contemporary legal context. *Social Justice*, *30*(1 (91), 138-152.

Ahmed, S. (2021). *Complaint!* Duke University Press.

Alimo, C. J. (2012). From dialogue to action: The impact of cross-race intergroup dialogue on the development of white college students as racial allies. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *45*(1), 36-59.

Allen-Ramdial, S. A. A., & Campbell, A. G. (2014). Reimagining the pipeline: Advancing STEM diversity, persistence, and success. *BioScience, 64*(7), 612-618.

Alper, A. & Rosenberg, M. (2020). Trump signals new effort to end ‘Dreamers’ immigration

program after court defeat. *Reuters.* https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-usa-court-immigration-trump-idUKKBN23Q2CN

Altbach, P. G., Gumport, P. J., & Berdahl, R. O. (Eds.). (2011). *American higher education in the twenty-first century: Social, political, and economic challenges*. JHU Press.

Anderson, J. (2019, October, 30). *Harvard edcast: Colleges as courageous spaces.* https://www.gse.harvard.edu/news/19/10/harvard-edcast-colleges-courageous-spaces

Anti Defamation League (ADL). (2020). *Westboro Baptist Church*. ADL. https://www.adl.org/resources/profiles/westboro-baptist-church

Anti-Defamation League (ADL). (2019). *What is DACA and who are the DREAMers?* ADL. https://www.adl.org/education/resources/tools-and-strategies/table-talk/what-is-daca-and-who-are-the-dreamers

Anzaldúa, G. (1999). *Borderlands la frontera: The new mestiza* (Second ed.). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Appel, L. (2003). White supremacy in the movement against the prison-industrial complex. *Social Justice, 30*(2).

Arce-Trigatti, A., & Anderson, A. (2020). Defining diversity: a critical discourse analysis of public educational texts. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education, 41*(1), 3-20.

Arnett, A. A. (2015). The future of Native American imagery in sports. *The Atlantic.* https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/11/native-imagery-in-college-sports/417036/

Arnold, G. B. (2004). Symbolic politics and institutional boundaries in curriculum reform: The case of National Sectarian University. *The Journal of Higher Education, 75*(5), 572-593.

Association of Public & Land-Grant Universities (n.d.). History of APLU. Retrieved from https://www.aplu.org/about-us/history-of-aplu/what-is-a-land-grant-university/

Austin, D. W., Atencio, M., Yeung, F., Stein, J., Mathur, D., Ivester, S., & Woods, D. R. (2019). Diversity and Inclusion Curriculum: Addressing Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and the Achievement Gap at a Racially Diverse University. *Currents in Teaching & Learning*, *11*(1).

Baber, L. D. (2015). Considering the interest-convergence dilemma in STEM education. *The Review of Higher Education*, *38*(2), 251-270.

Banks, J. A. (2014). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Journal of Education*, *194*(3), 1-12.

Barnes, M. L., Chemerinsky, E., & Onwuachi-Willig, A. (2015). Judging opportunity lost: Assessing the viability of race-based affirmative action after Fisher v. University of Texas. *UCLA L. Rev.*, *62*, 271.

Barnhardt, R., & Oscar Kawagley, A. (2005). Indigenous knowledge systems and Alaska Native ways of knowing. *Anthropology & education quarterly*, *36*(1), 8-23.

Barthell, J. F., Castillo, D., Mendoza, L. R., Macey, J. D., & Simmons, C. K. (2019). Alignment through Community: The Case of a Metropolitan University and the Greater Oklahoma City Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. *Metropolitan Universities*, *30*(2), 40-59.

Battiste, M. (2013). Decolonizing education: Nourishing the learning spirit. Saskatoon, Canada: Purich Publishing Limited.

Bauer-Wolf, J/ (2017). Felling like imposters. *InsideHigherEd.* https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/04/06/study-shows-impostor-syndromes-effect-minority-students-mental-health

Bauman, D. (2018). After 2016 election, campus hate crimes seemed to jump. Here's what the data tell us. *Chronicle. https://www.chronicle.com/article/after-2016-election-campus-hate-crimes-seemed-to-jump-heres-what-the-data-tell-us.*

Bennett-Alexander, D. D. (2019). From Roseanne to ABC TV Network to Starbuck's: The Case for Including Diversity & Inclusion Issues in Business Law Courses: It Has Become a Necessity and We Are Well Situated to Do It. *Journal of Higher Education Theory & Practice*, *18*(7).

Bennett, C. I. (2002). Enhancing ethnic diversity at a big ten university through project TEAM: A case study in teacher education. *Educational Researcher*, *31*(2), 21-29.

Bensimon, E. M. (2004). The diversity scorecard: A learning approach to institutional change. Change: The magazine of higher learning, 36(1), 44–52.

Berstein, D. (2015) 'Equity and inclusion' at Connecticut College. *The Washington Post.* https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2015/04/12/diversity-and-inclusion-at-connecticut-college/

Bhattacharya, K. (2009). Othering research, researching the other: De/colonizing approaches to qualitative inquiry. In *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 105-150). Springer, Dordrecht.

Bhattacharya, K. (2016). Dropping My Anchor Here: A Post-Oppositional Approach to Social Justice Work in Education. *Critical Questions in Education*, *7*(3), 197-214.

Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of qualitative research: A practical guide*. Taylor & Francis.

Bhattacharya, M. (2015). The vulnerable academic: Personal narratives and strategic de/colonizing of academic structures. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *22*, 309-321.

Bird, M. Y. (1999). What we want to be called: Indigenous peoples' perspectives on racial and ethnic identity labels. *American Indian Quarterly*, *23*(2), 1-21.

Birnbaum, R. (1992). How academic leadership works. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Birnbaum, R., & Edelson, P. J. (1989). How colleges work: The cybernetics of academic organization and leadership.

Blakemore, E. (2017). The brutal history of anti-Latino discrimination in America. *History.* https://www.history.com/news/the-brutal-history-of-anti-latino-discrimination-in-america

Bonds, A., & Inwood, J. (2016). Beyond white privilege: Geographies of white supremacy and settler colonialism. *Progress in Human Geography*, *40*(6), 715-733.

Booker, K. C., Merriweather, L., & Campbell-Whatley, G. (2016). The Effects of Diversity Training on Faculty and Students' Classroom Experiences. *International Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, *10*(1), n1.

Bowen, H. 1977. Investment in learning: The individual and social value of higher education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bowie, S. L., Nashwan, A. J., Thomas, V., Davis-Buckley, R. J., & Johnson, R. L. (2017). An assessment of social work education efforts to recruit and retain MSW students of color. *Journal of Social Work Education*, *54*(2), 270-286.

Bowman, N. A. (2009). College diversity courses and cognitive development among students from privileged and marginalized groups. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *2*(3), 182.

Bowman, N. A. (2010). College diversity experiences and cognitive development: A meta-analysis. *Review of Educational Research*, *80*(1), 4-33.

Bowman, N. A. (2010). Disequilibrium and resolution: The nonlinear effects of diversity courses

on well-being and orientations toward diversity. *The Review of Higher Education*, *33*(4), 543-568.

Bowman, N. A., Denson, N., & Park, J. J. (2016). Racial/cultural awareness workshops and post-college civic engagement: A propensity score matching approach. *American Educational Research Journal*, *53*(6), 1556-1587.

Boyce, M. E. (2003). Organizational learning is essential to achieving and sustaining change in higher education. *Innovative Higher Education*, *28*(2), 119-136.

Bradley, S. W., Garven, J. R., Law, W. W., & West, J. E. (2018). *The impact of chief diversity officers on diverse faculty hiring* (No. w24969). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Brayboy, B. M. J. (2005). Toward a tribal critical race theory in education. *The urban Review*, *37*, 425-443.

Brayboy, B. M. J., Solyom, J. A., & Castagno, A. E. (2015). Indigenous peoples in higher education. *Journal of American Indian Education*, *53*(1), 154-186.

Brouk, T. (2019). Openening eyes: Students learn about neighborhoods that predated IUPUI. *News at IUPUI.*

Brown, E. (2016). On the anniversary of Brown V. Board, new evidence that U.S. schools are resegregating. *The Washington Post.* Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/education/wp/2016/05/17/on-the-anniversary-of-brown-v-board-new-evidence-that-u-s-schools-are-resegregating.

Brown University (2017). New programs seek to diversity faculty at Brown and beyond. *Brown University.* https://www.brown.edu/news/2017-05-19/facultydiversity

Brown University (2020). History. *Brown University.* https://www.brown.edu/initiatives/

Brown, L. I. (2004). Diversity: The challenge for higher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *7*(1), 21-34.

Buckley, J. B., & Quaye, S. J. (2016). A vision of social justice in intergroup dialogue. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *19*(5), 1117-1139.

Buckley, M. (2016, April, 8). *IUPUI student: 'I'm being called a terrorist.'* IndyStar. https://indy.st/1MZPYKY

Byrd, W. C. (2015). College diversity is (but doesn't have to be) for whites. *Contexts*, *14*(3), 74-75.

Cabrera, N. L. (2014). Exposing Whiteness in higher education: White male college students minimizing racism, claiming victimization, and recreating White supremacy. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *17*(1), 30-55.

Callier, D. M. (2018). " Every 28 Hours" in Oxford, Ohio: Preaching to the Choir—Recognizing the Communal Need to Engage in Difficult Dialogues about Race. *Theatre Topics*, *28*(2), 167-169.

Case, K. A. (2007). Raising white privilege awareness and reducing racial prejudice: Assessing diversity course effectiveness. *Teaching of Psychology*, *34*(4), 231-235.

Castagno, A. E., & Lee, S. J. (2007). Native mascots and ethnic fraud in higher education: Using tribal critical race theory and the interest convergence principle as an analytic tool. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *40*(1), 3-13.

Cerullo, M. (2016, September, 25). *University of North Dakota students wear Blackface, share photo captions 'Black lives matter.'* New York Daily News. https://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/university-north-dakota-students-wear-blackface-photo-article-1.2805718

Chan, J. (2017). " Being Asian American Is a Lot Different Here": Influences of Geography on Racial Identity. *Journal of College Student Development, 58*(7), 1001-1017.

Chang, M. J. (2005). Reconsidering the Diversity Rationale. *Liberal education*, *91*(1), 6-13.

Christian, M., Seamster, L. & Ray, V. (2019). Critical race theory and empirical sociology. *American Behavioral Scientist, 65* (8), 1019-1026. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219859646

Cineas, F. (2021). What the hysteria over critical race theory is really about. *Vox.*

Clark, C. (2011). Diversity Initiatives in Higher Education: Just How Important. *Multicultural Education*, *19*(3), 57-59.

Clayton, V. (2016). The problem with the GRE. *The Atlantic.* https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/03/the-problem-with-the-gre/471633/

Cole, W. M. (2011). Minority politics and group-differentiated curricula at minority-serving colleges. *The Review of Higher Education*, *34*(3), 381-422.

Cook-Sather, A., Des-Ogugua, C., & Bahti, M. (2018). Articulating identities and analyzing belonging: A multistep intervention that affirms and informs a diversity of students. *Teaching in Higher Education*, *23*(3), 374-389.

Cox, T., Jr. (1993). Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research, and practice. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A., Huby, G., Avery, A., & Sheikh, A. (2011). The case study approach. *BMC medical research methodology*, *11*(1), 100.

Culpepper, C. (2014). Florida State's unusual bond with Seminole Tribe puts mascot debate in a different light. *The Washington Post.*

Datta, R. (2018). Decolonizing both researcher and research and its effectiveness in Indigenous research. *Research Ethics*, *14*(2), 1-24.

Davis, L. R. (2002). Racial diversity in higher education: Ingredients for success and failure. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *38*(2), 137-155.

Deas, D., Pisano, E. D., Mainous III, A. G., Johnson, N. G., Singleton, M. H., Gordon, L., ... & Reves, J. G. (2012). Improving diversity through strategic planning: a 10-year (2002–2012) experience at the Medical University of South Carolina. *Academic Medicine*, *87*(11), 1548-1555.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (Vol. 20). NYU Press.

Denney, A. (2018). IUPUI takes different approach to racial equity through a welcoming campus innovation project. *NEWS at IUPUI.*

Desmond-Harris, J. (2016, December, 2016). *Everything you were afraid to ask about white nationalism's new place in american politics.* Vox. https://www.vox.com/identities/2016/12/7/13802640/white-nationalists-alt-right-racism-bannon-spencer-trump

DiAngelo, R. (2011). White fragility. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, *3*(3) 54-70.

DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism*. Beacon Press.

Dickinson, K., Jackson, J., & Williams, P. (2020). Jackson State University: Challenging minds and cultivating political science pipeline. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *53*(1), 148-150. doi:10.1017/S1049096519001148

Dillon, W. T., Skelton, J. B., & Reitenauer, V. L. (2019). "Diversity," Anti-Racism, and

Decolonizing Service Learning in the Capstone Experience. *The Journal of General Education*, *67*(3-4), 194-208.

Dobbin, F. & Kalev, A. (2016). *Why diversity programs fail.* Harvard Business Review. https://hbr.org/2016/07/why-diversity-programs-fail

Dozono, T. (2020). The passive voice of White supremacy: Tracing epistemic and discursive violence in world history curriculum. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, *42*(1), 1-26.

Druery, J. E., & Brooms, D. R. (2018). "It lit up the campus": Engaging Black males in culturally enriching environments. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*.

Dutt-Ballerstadt, R. (2020, March, 6). *Underrepresented faculty members share the real reasons they have left various academic institutions*. InsideHigherEd. https://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2020/03/06/underrepresented-faculty-members-share-real-reasons-they-have-left-various

Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017). Why I'm no longer talking to white people about race. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/30/why-im-no-longer-talking-to-white-people-about-race

Egan, J. D. (2019). Intentional Leadership for More Just Experiences: Supporting Black Males on College Campuses. *Georgia Journal of College Student Affairs*, *35*(1), 84-98.

Ellingson, L. L. (2008). *Engaging crystallization in qualitative research: An introduction*. Sage.

Embrick, D. G., Carter, J. S., Lippard, C., & Thakore, B. K. (2020). Capitalism Racim, and Trumpism: Whitelash and the politics of oppression. *Fast Capitalism*, *17*(1), 204-224.

Engberg, M. E. (2004). Improving intergroup relations in higher education: A critical

examination of the influence of educational interventions on racial bias. *Review of educational research*, *74*(4), 473-524.

Evans, N. J., Forney, D. S., Guido, F. M., Patton, L. D., & Renn, K. A. (2010). *Student development in college: Theory, research, and practice*. John Wiley & Sons.

Fanshel, R. Z. (2021). The land in land-grant: Unearthing indigenous dispossession in the found of the University of California. *UC Berkeley: Center for Research on Native American Issues.* Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7kx7k25f

Flowers, L. A. (2003). National study of diversity requirements in student affairs graduate programs. *NASPA journal*, *40*(4), 72-82.

Fortier, C. (2017). Unsettling methodologies/decolonizing movements. *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, *6*(1).

Fradella, H. F. (2018). Supporting strategies for equity, diversity, and inclusion in higher education faculty hiring. In *Diversity and Inclusion in Higher Education and Societal Contexts* (pp. 119-151). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Frantell, K. A., Miles, J. R., & Ruwe, A. M. (2019). Intergroup Dialogue: A Review of Recent Empirical Research and Its Implications for Research and Practice. *Small Group Research*, *50*(5), 654-695.

Fraser, G. J., & Hunt, D. E. (2011). Faculty diversity and search committee training: Learning from a critical incident. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *4*(3), 185.

Freedman, R. (2007). Who was first? New York: Clarion Books.

French, B. H., Zakiya, A. R., & Cokley, K. (2016). *As people of color formerly employed by Mizzou, we demand change*. Huffpost. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/people-of-color-employed-mizzou-demand-change_b_8584756

Fulop, N. J., Ramsay, A. I., Perry, C., Boaden, R. J., McKevitt, C., Rudd, A. G., ... & Morris, S. (2015). Explaining outcomes in major system change: a qualitative study of implementing centralised acute stroke services in two large metropolitan regions in England. *Implementation Science*, *11*(1), 80.

Garces, L. M. (2013). Understanding the impact of affirmative action bans in different graduate fields of study. *American Educational Research Journal*, *50*(2), 251-284.

Garces, L. M., & Cogburn, C. D. (2015). Beyond declines in student body diversity: How campus-level administrators understand a prohibition on race-conscious postsecondary admissions policies. *American Educational Research Journal*, *52*(5), 828-860.

Garcia, G. A., & Johnston-Guerrero, M. P. (2015). Challenging the utility of a racial microaggressions framework through a systematic review of racially biased incidents on campus. *Journal of Critical Scholarship on Higher Education and Student Affairs*, *2*(1), 4.

Garland, S. (2012). Was 'Bworn v. Board' a failure? *The Atlantic.* Retrieved from https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/12/was-brown-v-board-a-failure/265939/

Gilborn, D. (2006). Rethinking white supremacy. *Ethnicities, 6*(3), 318-340.

Gleason, N. W. (2020). Conclusion: Strategic Leadership for Diversity and Inclusion in Higher Education. In *Diversity and Inclusion in Global Higher Education* (pp. 285-304). Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore.

Glenn, E. N. (2015). Settler colonialism as structure: A framework for comparative studies of U.S. race and gender formation. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 1*, 52-72.

Gomez, L. (2018). A brief history of decades of debate at SDSU about the Aztec name and Azter

warrior mascot, er, spirit leader. *The San Diego Tribune.* https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/the-conversation/sd-san-diego-state-mascot-warrior-brief-history-of-debate-20180517-htmlstory.html

Gopinathan, U., Lewin, S., & Glenton, C. (2014). Implementing large-scale programmes to optimise the health workforce in low-and middle-income settings: a multicountry case study synthesis. *Tropical Medicine & International Health*, *19*(12), 1437-1456.

Gordon, S. R., Yough, M., Finney, E. A., Haken, A., & Mathew, S. (2019). Learning about Diversity Issues: Examining the Relationship between University Initiatives and Faculty Practices in Preparing Global-Ready Students. *Educational Considerations*, *45*(1), 6.

Grant, A. (2019). *Participant-created documents as an elicitation tool: Things we might not have otherwise been told* (pp. 143-164). Routledge.

Green, A. (2016, January 21). *The cost of balancing academia and racism.* The Atlantic. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/01/balancing-academia-racism/424887/

Griffin, K. A., Hart, J. L., Worthington, R. L., Belay, K., & Yeung, J. G. (2019). Race-Related Activism: How Do Higher Education Diversity Professionals Respond?. *The Review of Higher Education*, *43*(2), 667-696.

Grosfoguel, R. (2011). Decolonizing post-colonial studies and paradigms of political-economy: Transmodernity, decolonial thinking, and global coloniality. *Transmodernity: journal of peripheral cultural production of the luso-hispanic world*, *1*(1).

Gurin, P. (1999). Selections from the compelling need for diversity in higher education, expert reports in defense of the University of Michigan. *Equity & Excellence*, *32*(2), 36-62.

Gurin, P., Dey, E., Hurtado, S., & Gurin, G. (2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and

impact on educational outcomes. *Harvard educational review*, *72*(3), 330-367.

Gusa, D. L. (2010). White institutional presence: The impact of Whiteness on campus climate. *Harvard Educational Review 80*(4), 464-489. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.80.4.p5j483825u110002

Gutmann, A. (2004). Unity and diversity in democratic multicultural education: Creative and destructive tensions. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives (pp. 71–96). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hartocollis, A. & Bidgood, J. (2015). Racial discrimination protests ignite at colleges across the U.S. *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/12/us/racial-discrimination-protests-ignite-at-colleges-across-the-us.html

Hauser, C. (2019). Maine just banned Native American mascots. *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/22/us/native-american-sports-logos.html

Haynes, C. (2017). Dismantling the white supremacy embedded in our classrooms: White faculty in pursuit of more equitable educational outcomes for racially minoritized students. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, *29*(1), 87-107.

Hays, H. V. (2016, November, 16). *IUPUI walkout: What is the sanctuary campus movement?* IndyStar. https://indy.st/2fyt3Ko

Heath, G. L. (1970). An inquiry into a university's 'noble savage' program. *Integrated Education: Race and Schools*, *8*(4), 4-9.

Hechinger, J. & Lorin, J. (2020). Coronavirus forces $600 billion higher education industry online. *Bloomberg.* https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-19/colleges-are-going-online-because-of-the-coronavirus

Hefner, D. (2002, February 14). Black cultural centers: Standing on shaky ground? Black Issues

in Higher Education, 18, 22-29.

Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonization of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentricism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education, 1*(1), 1-8.

Henley, B. (1990). Unity through diversity week: Promoting diversity and addressing racism. *NASPA Journal, 27*(4), 313-318.

Hikido, A., & Murray, S. B. (2016). Whitened rainbows: How white college students protect whiteness through diversity discourses. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 19*(2), 389-411.

Hixson, Walter L. 2013. American Settler Colonalism: A History. New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Hode, M., Behm-Morawitz, E., & Hays, A. (2018). Testing the effectiveness of an online diversity course for faculty and staff. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 11*(3), 347.

Hoffman, G. D., Rodriguez, F., Yang, M., & Ropers-Huilman, R. (2019). Assimilation and subversion on campus: A critical discourse analysis of students' experiences of race and institutional resources. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 12*(3), 230.

Hogan, D. E., & Mallott, M. (2005). Changing racial prejudice through diversity education. *Journal of College Student Development, 46*(2), 115-125.

Hogan, T., Hinrichs, U., & Hornecker, E. (2015). The elicitation interview technique: capturing people's experiences of data representations. *IEEE transactions on visualization and computer graphics, 22*(12), 2579-2593.

Huffman, T. E. (1991). The experiences, perceptions, and consequences of campus racism among Northern Plains Indians. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 25-34.

Hurtado, S. (2007). Linking diversity with the educational and civic missions of higher

education. *The Review of Higher Education*, *30*(2), 185-196.

Hurtado, S. (2009). Assessing higher education's advancement toward a new vision of society. *Diversity & Democracy*, *12*(1), 1-3.

Hurtado, S., Alvarez, C. L., Guillermo-Wann, C., Cuellar, M., & Arellano, L. (2012). A model for diverse learning environments. In *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 41-122). Springer, Dordrecht.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pedersen, A., & Allen, W. (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. Review of Higher Education, 21(3), 279–302.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pedersen, A., & Allen, W. (1999). Enacting diverse learning environments: Improving the climate for racial/ethnic diversity in higher education institutions. Washington: ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report Series: George Washington University Graduate School of Education.

Huson, M. (2016, April, 15). *Ohio state students chalk over pro-trump message on the oval.* The Lantern. https://www.thelantern.com/2016/04/ohio-state-students-chalk-over-trump-message-on-the-oval/

IUPUI Strategic Plane (2014). Retrieved from https://strategicplan.iupui.edu.

Iverson, S. V. (2008). Capitalizing on change: The discursive framing of diversity in US land-grant universities. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *41*(2), 182-199.

Iverson, S. V. (2012). Constructing outsiders: The discursive framing of access in university diversity policies. *The Review of Higher Education*, *35*(2), 149-177.

Larimer, S. (2016). 'Why white women shouldn't date black men' fliers discovered at Southern

Methodist University. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2016/11/16/why-white-women-shouldnt-date-black-men-fliers-discovered-at-southern-methodist-university/

Jacobs, M. D. (2006). Indian boarding schools in comparative perspective: The removal of Indigenous children in the United States and Australia, 1880-1940.

Jafri, B. (2012). Privilege vs. complicity: People of colour and settler colonialism. *Equity Matters*, *21*.

Jaschik, S. (2018). The admissions tour that went horribly wrong. *InsideHigherEd.* https://www.insidehighered.com/admissions/article/2018/05/07/colorado-state-investigates-why-native-american-students-admissions

Jaschik, S. (2019). Entering Campus Building While Black. *Inside Higher Ed*. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2019/04/15/barnard-suspends-police-officers-after-incident-black-student

Jayakumar, U. (2008). Can higher education meet the needs of an increasingly diverse and global society? Campus diversity and cross-cultural workforce competencies. *Harvard Educational Review*, *78*(4), 615-651.

Jayakumar, U. M., Garces, L. M., & Park, J. J. (2018). Reclaiming diversity: Advancing the next generation of diversity research toward racial equity. In *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 11-79). Springer, Cham.

Johnson, K. (2003). Racially Bias SAT I/ACT Blocks College Access: Is It Constitutional for College Officials to Condition Admission on a Racially Bias Assessment. *U. Balt. LF*, *33*, 2.

Karkouti, M. I. (2016). Professional leadership practices and diversity issues in the US higher

education system: A research synthesis. *Education*, *136*(4), 405-412.

Keating, A. (2013). *Transformation now! Toward a post-oppositional politics of change*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Keefe, T. E. (2019). Land Acknowledgement: A Trend in Higher Education and Nonprofit Organizations.

Key, J. (2015). New IUPUI chancellor brings ideas, talent, energy to campus. *Indianapolis Recorder*. http://www.indianapolisrecorder.com/article_9320e527-9d07-5a61-9aca-a836100b8f23.html

Kezar, A. (2008). Understanding leadership strategies for addressing the politics of diversity. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *79*(4), 406-441.

Kezar, A. (2009). Change in higher education: Not enough, or too much?. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, *41*(6), 18-23.

Kezar, A. J. (2007). Tools for a time and place: Phased leadership strategies to institutionalize a diversity agenda. *The Review of Higher Education*, *30*(4), 413-439.

Kezar, A., & Eckel, P. (2008). Advancing diversity agendas on campus: Examining transactional and transformational presidential leadership styles. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *11*(4), 379-405.

Kezar, A., Glenn, W. J., Lester, J., & Nakamoto, J. (2008). Examining organizational contextual features that affect implementation of equity initiatives. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *79*(2), 125-159.

King, P. M., & Shuford, B. C. (1996). A multicultural view is a more cognitively complex view: Cognitive development and multicultural education. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *40*(2), 153-164.

Kluttz, J., Walker, J., & Walter, P. (2020). Unsettling allyship, unlearning and learning towards decolonizing solidarity. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 52*(1), 49-66. DOI: 10.1080/02660830.2019.1654591

Krishnamurthi, M. (2003). Assessing multicultural initiatives in higher education Institutions. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, *28*(3), 263-277.

Kudesia, R. S. (2017). Organizational sensemaking. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology*.

la paperson. (2017). *A third university is possible*. University of Minnesota Press.

Lahucik, K., Coleman, N., & Liming, P. (2018, November, 9). MU made sweeping changes at the tops after the fall 2015 protests. But it falls short on hiring minority faculty. Columbia Missourian. https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/higher_education/mu-made-sweeping-changes-at-the-top-after-thefall-2015-protests-but-it-falls/article_7f547ef8-e3af-11e8-99a9-2b8ba6c3d6b4.html

Lam, M. N. (2018). Diversity fatigue is real. *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* https://www.chronicle.com/article/Diversity-Fatigue-Is-Real/244564

Leonardo, Z., & Singh, M. (2017). Fanon, education and the fact of coloniality. In *Policy and inequality in education* (pp. 91-110). Springer, Singapore.

Leonhardt, D. & Philbrick, I. P. (2018, January, 15). *Donald trump's racism: The definitive list, updated.* The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/01/15/opinion/leonhardt-trump-racist.html

LePeau, L. (2015). A grounded theory of academic affairs and student affairs partnerships for diversity and inclusion aims. *The Review of Higher Education, 39*(1), 97-122.

LePeau, L. A. (2018). Examining the experiences and characteristics of academic affairs and

student affairs leaders identifying as social gadflies. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *11*(4), 402.

LePeau, L. A., Hurtado, S. S., & Williams, L. (2019). Institutionalizing Diversity Agendas: Presidents' Councils for Diversity as Mechanisms for Strategic Change. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *56*(2), 123-137.

LePeau, L.A., Hurtado, S.S. & Davis, R.J. (2018). What Institutional Websites Reveal About Diversity-Related Partnerships Between Academic and Student Affairs. *Innov High Educ 43***,** 125–142. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10755-017-9412-0

Lerma, V., Hamilton, L. T., & Nielsen, K. (2020). Racialized Equity Labor, University Appropriation and Student Resistance. *Social Problems*, *67*(2), 286-303.

Lin, S. Y., Francis, H. W., Minor, L. B., & Eisele, D. W. (2016). Faculty diversity and inclusion program outcomes at an academic otolaryngology department. *The Laryngoscope*, *126*(2), 352-356.

Lipson, D. N. (2007). Embracing diversity: The institutionalization of affirmative action as diversity management at UC-Berkeley, UT-Austin, and UW-Madison. *Law & Social Inquiry*, *32*(4), 985-1026.

Locks, A. M., Hurtado, S., Bowman, N. A., & Oseguera, L. (2008). Extending notions of campus climate and diversity to students' transition to college. *The Review of Higher Education*, *31*(3), 257-285.

Lona, L. (2020). Law dean denounces professor quoting Supreme Court decision that includes n-word. *The College Fox.* https://www.thecollegefix.com/law-dean-denounces-professor-for-quoting-supreme-court-decision-that-includes-n-word/

Long, K. (2016, April, 9). *What it's like to be black on campus: isolated, exhausted, calling for*

change. The Seattle Times. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/education/what-its-like-to-be-black-on-campus-isolating-exhausting-calling-for-change/

Lorenz, D. (2017). Reversing Racism in the Time of Reconciliation? Settler Colonialism, Race, and Alberta Teachers. *Canadian Journal for New Scholars in Education/Revue canadienne des jeunes chercheures et chercheurs en éducation*, *8*(1).

Lu, A. (2015, November, 9). *What is concerned student 1950? The university of Missouri peaceful protests were led by a standout organization.* Bustle. https://www.bustle.com/articles/122575-what-is-concerned-student-1950-the-university-of-missouri-peaceful-protests-were-led-by-a-standout.

Mack, J. L. (2016, January 12). *Black IUPUI students wan concerns to be heard.* IndyStar. https://indy.st/1P97MOh

Magill, K. (2016). Swastika drawing found in ward circle building. *The Eagle.* https://www.theeagleonline.com/article/2016/11/swastika-drawing-found-in-ward-building-with-words-go-trump.

Manzanares, K. & Thorson, A. (2020). University of Richmond investigating after racist slurs found on dorm doors. *ABC8News.* https://www.wric.com/news/local-news/richmond/university-of-richmond-investigating-after-racial-slurs-found-on-dorm-room-doors/

Maruyama, G., Moreno, J. F., Gudeman, R. H., & Marin, P. (2000). Does diversity make a difference? Three research studies on diversity in college classrooms.

Masta, S. (2019). Challenging the relationship between settler colonial ideology and higher education spaces. *Berkeley Review of Education, 8*(2), 179-194.

Masta, S. Z. (2013). *'There's nothing not complicated about being Indian': American Indian*

student experiences in a mainstream middle school. [Doctoral Dissertation, Iowa State University]. *Graduate Theses and Dissertations.*

May, C. (2013) Towards a general theory of implementation. *Implementation Science, 8*(18).

Mccullagh, J. (2016). *Racial Microaggressions, College Self-Efficacy, And The Persistence Of Students Of Color In Predominantly White, 4 Year Institutions Of Higher Education*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of North Dakota] (2016). Theses and Dissertations.

McLaughlin, M. F. A. (2018). Need for Advancing Underrepresented Minorities in the Health Sciences and Medicine. *Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice, 12*(4), 2.

Melaku, T. M. & Beeman, A. (2020). Academia isn't a safe haven for conversations about race and racism. *Harvard Business Review*, Retrieved from https://hbr.org/2020/06/academia-isnt-a-safe-haven-for-conversations-about-race-and-racism.

Melville, K., Dedrick, J., & Gish, E. (2013). Preparing students for democratic life: The rediscovery of education's civic purpose. *The Journal of General Education*, *62*(4), 258-276.

Milem, J. F., Chang, M. J., & antonio, a. l. (2005). Making diversity work on campus: A research based perspective. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities.

Money, L. (2020). Chapman student arrested after racist, homophobic rant is caught on video. *Los Angeles Times.* https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-02-06/chapman-student-arrested-after-racist-homophobic-rant-is-caught-on-video

Moody, J. (2020). Diversity in college and why it matters. *US News & World Report.* https://www.usnews.com/education/best-colleges/articles/diversity-in-college-and-why-it-matters

Mullins, P. R., & White, G. S. (2010). The Price of Progress: IUPUI, the Color Line, and Urban

Displacement. *Indianapolis, IN: Office of External Affairs, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis*.

Muthuswamy, N., Levine, T. R., & Gazel, J. (2006). Interaction-based diversity initiative outcomes: An evaluation of an initiative aimed at bridging the racial divide on a college campus. *Communication Education*, *55*(1), 105-121.

Mwangi, C. A. G., Thelamour, B., Ezeofor, I., & Carpenter, A. (2018). " Black elephant in the room": Black students contextualizing campus racial climate within US racial climate. *Journal of College Student Development*, *59*(4), 456-474.

Nagda, B. A., Gurin, P., Sorensen, N., & Zúñiga, X. (2009). Evaluating intergroup dialogue: Engaging diversity for personal and social responsibility. *Diversity & democracy*, *12*(1), 4-6.

Nash, M. A. (2019). Entangled Pasts: Land-Grant Colleges and American Indian Dispossession. *History of Education Quarterly*, *59*(4), 437-467.

Newkirk, P. (2019, November, 6). *Why diversity initiatives fail.* The Chronicle of Higher Education. https://www.chronicle.com/interactives/20191106-Newkirk

Nishi, N. W. (2020). Imperialistic reclamation of higher education diversity initiatives through semantic co-option and concession. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *25*(2), 249-267. DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2020.1718079

Novais, J., & Spencer, G. (2019). Learning Race to Unlearn Racism: The Effects of Ethnic Studies Course-Taking. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *90*(6), 860-883.

O'bear, K. & martinez, b. (2013). Race caucuses: An intensive, high-impact strategy to create social change. *New Directions for Student Services, 144* ,79-86.

O'Meara, K., Griffin, K. A., Nyunt, G., & Lounder, A. (2019). Disrupting ruling relations: The

role of the PROMISE program as a third space. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *12*(3), 205.

Onondaga Nation (2019). Two Row Wampum. *Onondaga Nation.* https://www.onondaganation.org/culture/wampum/two-row-wampum-belt-guswenta/

Osili, U. (2019). Key Issues Facing Higher Education Philanthropy. *TIAA.*

paperson, l. (2017). *A third University is Possible*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Parker, E. T. (2019). Structuring Diversity: Chief Diversity Offices as Structural Responses to a Cultural Issue.

Parker, R. (2018). American internment camps. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/20/opinion/american-internment-camps.html

Paschall, W. (2020). Indiana avenue: The ethnic cleansing of Black Indianapolis. *New America Indianpolis*. https://www.newamerica.org/indianapolis/blog/indiana-avenue-ethnic-cleansing-black-indianapolis/

Patel, L. (2016). Decolonizing educational research: From ownership to answerability. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315658551

Patton, L. D. (2006). The voice of reason: A qualitative examination of Black student perceptions of Black culture centers. *Journal of College Student Development*, *47*(6), 628-646.

Patton, L. D. (2015). Disrupting postsecondary prose: Toward a critical race theory in higher education. *Urban Education*, *51*(3), 315-342.

Patton, L. D. (2015a, November, 16). *Why have the demands of black students changed so little since the 1960s?* The Conversation. https://theconversation.com/why-have-the-demands-of-black-students-changed-so-little-since-the-1960s-50695

Patton, L. D. (2016). Disrupting postsecondary prose: Toward a critical race theory of higher education. *Urban Education, 51*(3), 315-342.

Patton, L. D. & Hannon, M. D. (2008). Collaboration for cultural programming: Engaging culture centers, multicultural affairs, and student activities offices as partners. In S. Harper (Ed.), *Creating inclusive campus environments for cultural learning and student engagement, (139-154).* Washington, DC: NASPA.

Patton, L. D., Sánchez, B., Mac, J., & Stewart, D. L. (2019). An inconvenient truth about" progress": An analysis of the promises and perils of research on campus diversity initiatives. *The Review of Higher Education*, *42*(5), 173-198.

Payne, D. (2021). White America: Awakened? *Politico.* Retrieved from https://www.politico.com/news/2021/05/25/white-people-racial-justice-activism-george-floyd-490545

Perdue, T., & Green, M. D. (2005). *The Cherokee removal: A brief history with documents*. Macmillan.

Perrin, A. J., & Gillis, A. (2019). How College Makes Citizens: Higher Education Experiences and Political Engagement. *Socius*, *5*, 2378023119859708.

Pfeffer, J. (1981). Power in organizations. Marshfield, MA: Pittman Publishing.

Pfeffer, J. (1981). *Power in organizations*. Marshfield, MA: Pittman Publishing.

Pfeffer, J. and Salancik, G.R. (2003) *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective*. Stanford Business Books, Stanford.

Phillips, N. (2016). Columbus day parade and counter parade opposing Columbus occupy downtown Denver. *Denver Post.*

Piercy, F., Giddings, V., Allen, K., Dixon, B., Meszaros, P., & Joest, K. (2005). Improving

campus climate to support faculty diversity and retention: A pilot program for new faculty. *Innovative Higher Education*, *30*(1), 53-66.

Pike, G. R., & Kuh, G. D. (2006). Relationships among structural diversity, informal peer interactions and perceptions of the campus environment. *The Review of Higher Education*, *29*(4), 425-450.

Platt, B. (2016). *Dartmouth launches initiative for inclusive excellence.* *https://news.dartmouth.edu/news/2016/02/dartmouth-launches-initiative-inclusive-excellence*

Racial Healing Project (2020). The Racial Healing Project. *Racial Healing Project.* https://racialhealingproject.weebly.com/

Ray, P. G., & Simmons Jr, A. (1990). Racism on campus: An exploratory analysis of black-white perceptions in the south. *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, *13*(1), 9-15.

Ray, V. (2019). A theory of racialized organizations. *American Sociological Review*, *84*(1), 26-53.

Rendon, L. I., Novack, V., & Dowell, D. (2005). Testing race-neutral admissions models: Lessons from California State University-Long Beach. *The Review of Higher Education*, *28*(2), 221-243.

Resnick, B. (2017). White fear of demographic change is a powerful psychological force. *Vox.* Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2017/1/26/14340542/white-fear-trump-psychology-minority-majority

Richards, C. (2016). Debate: Should Utah ditch the ‘Ute’ nickname?. *The Daily Utah Chronicle.*

Robinson, J. J., Paccione, A., & Rodrigue, F. (2003). A place where people care: A case study of recruitment and retention of minority-group teachers special issue: Partnering for

equity. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *36*(3), 202-212.

Salancik, G. R., & Pfeffer, J. (1974). The bases and use of power in organizational decision making: The case of a university. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 453-473.

Salancik, G. R., & Pfeffer, J. (1977). Who gets power—and how they hold on to it: A strategic-contingency model of power. *Organizational dynamics*, *5*(3), 3-21.

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.

Santiago-Ortiz, J. D. (2018). From Critical to Decolonizing Service-Learning: Limits and Possibilities to Social Justice-based Approaches to Community Service Learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, *25*(1).

Schick, C. (2011). Policy as performance: Tracing the rituals of racism. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, *33*(5), 465-483.

Setlzer, R. (2020). Coronavirus closures force colleges to move students online. *InsideHigherEd.* https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/03/16/coronavirus-closures-force-colleges-move-students-online-ed-tech-experts-see

Shotton, H. J., Lowe, S. C., & Waterman, S. J. (2013). Beyond the asterisk: Understanding Native students in higher education. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.

Shuford, B. C., & Palmer, C. J. (2004). Multicultural affairs. In F. J. D. MacKinnon (Ed.), Rentz's student affairs practice in higher education (3rd ed., pp. 218–238). Spring!eld, IL: Charles C. Thomas

Singh, A. (2009). Organizational power in perspective. *Leadership and Management in Engineering*, *9*(4), 165-176.

Skrentny, J. D. (1998). The effect of the Cold War on African-American civil rights: America and the world audience, 1945-1968. *Theory and Society*, *27*(2), 237-285.

Small, A. (2020). Land acknowledgements accomplish little. *InsideHigherEd.* https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2020/01/09/why-land-acknowledgments-arent-worth-much-opinion

Smith, A. (2003). Not an Indian tradition: The sexual colonization of native peoples. *Hypatia*, *18*(2), 70-85.

Smith, A. (2012). Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy. *Global Dialogue*, *12*(2). 10.1525/california/9780520273436.003.0005.

Smith, D. G., & Schonfeld, N. B. (2000). The Benefits of Diversity what the Research Tells Us. *About campus*, *5*(5), 16-23.

Smith, D. G., & Wolf-Wendel, L. E. (2005). The Challenge of Diversity: Involvement or Alienation in the Academy? ASHE Higher Education Report, Volume 31, Number 1. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, *31*(1), 1-100.

Smith, R. A. (2018). Connective segregation: Residential learning communities as networks of engagement. *The Review of Higher Education*, *42*(1), 1-27.

Smith, S. & Ellis, K. (2017). Shackled legacy: History shows slavery helped build many U.S. colleges and universities. *APMReports*. Retrieved from https://www.apmreports.org/story/2017/09/04/shackled-legacy

Solóranzo, D., Allen, W. R, & Carroll, G. (2002). Keeping Race in Place: Racial Microaggressions and Campus Racial Climate at the University of California, Berkeley. Chicana/o Latina/o Law Review, 23(1). Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5b52m9r3

Solórzano, D., Allen, W. R., & Carroll, G. (2002). Keeping race in place: Racial microaggressions and campus racial climate at the University of California, Berkeley. *Chicano-Latino L. Rev., 23*, 15.

Spinella, S. (2018, December, 5). *Fact check: Has MU 'bent over backwards' to increase faculty diversity?* Columbia Missourian. https://www.columbiamissourian.com/news/politifact_missouri/fact-check-has-mu-bent-over-backwards-toincrease-faculty-diversity/article_fc0c796e-f836-11e8-95df-cb6559d81125.html

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. sage.

Stanley, C. A., Watson, K. L., Reyes, J. M., & Varela, K. S. (2019). Organizational change and the chief diversity officer: A case study of institutionalizing a diversity plan. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *12*(3), 255.

Stein, S. (2017): A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest, *Critical Studies in Education*.

Stein, S., & Andreotti, V. D. O. (2016). Decolonization and higher education. *Encyclopedia of educational philosophy and theory. Singapore: Springer Science+ Business Media. doi*, *10*, 978-981.

Steinman, E. (2012). Settler colonial power and the American Indian sovereignty movement: Forms of domination, strategies of transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, *117*(4), 1073-1130.

Steinman, E. W. (2015). Decolonization not inclusion: Indigenous resistance to American settler colonialism. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *2*, 219-236.

Stewart, D. L. (2013). Racially minoritized students at US four-year institutions. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *82*(2), 184-197.

Stewart, M. (2019). Acknowledging Native land is a step against Indigenous Erasure. *InsightIntoDiversity*. https://www.insightintodiversity.com/acknowledging-native-land-is-a-step-against-indigenous-erasure/

Stirgus, E. (2019). UGA looks to explore its history of slavery. *AJC.* https://www.ajc.com/news/local-education/uga-looks-explore-its-history-slavery/BMBiKVjEj8aQnqUZ0LHyzO/

Strayhorn, T. L., & Scott, J. A. (2012). Coming out of the dark: Black gay men's experiences at historically Black colleges and universities. In R. T. Palmer and J. L. Wood (Eds.), *Black men in college: Implications for HBCU's and beyond* (pp. 26-40). New York: Routledge.

Sturm, S. (2006). The architecture of inclusion: Advancing workplace equity in higher education. *Harv. JL & Gender*, *29*, 247.

Telles, A. B., & Mitchell, T. D. (2018). Much Discussion, Not Much Change: Perceptions of Campus Climate Continue to Differ Along Racial Lines. In *Evaluating Campus Climate at US Research Universities* (pp. 395-408). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Templeton, E., Love, B., Davis, B. H., & Davis Jr, M. (2016). Illusions of inclusion: University policies that perpetuate exclusion of students of color. *JCSCORE*, *2*(1), 87-115.

Terenzini, P. T., Springer, L., Yaeger, P. M., Pascarella, E. T., & Nora, A. (1996). First-generation college students: Characteristics, experiences, and cognitive development. *Research in Higher education*, *37*(1), 1-22.

The Curators of the University of Missouri (2020). *Strategic Initiatives: Diversity, equity, and inclusion. https://www.umsystem.edu/president/dei*

The Rectors of the University of Virginia (2020). UVA and the history of race. *UVA Today.* https://news.virginia.edu/news-category/uva-and-history-race

The Trustees of Indiana University (2019). 2018 Innovators. *Innovation Fund.* https://chancellor.iupui.edu/initiatives-celebrations/welcoming-campus/innovation/2018/index.html

The Trustees of Indiana University (2020). *What is a welcoming campus?* https://chancellor.iupui.edu/initiatives-celebrations/welcoming-campus/index.html

The Trustees of Indiana University (2020). What is a welcoming campus initiative. *Welcoming Campus.* https://chancellor.iupui.edu/initiatives-celebrations/welcoming-campus/index.html

The White Racial Literacy Project. (2020). White Racial Literacy Project. *WRLPIUPUI.* https://wrlpiupui.weebly.com/

Thomann, E., van Engen, N., & Tummers, L. (2018). The necessity of discretion: A behavioral evaluation of bottom-up implementation theory. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *28*(4), 583-601.

Thomas, A. (2019). Who is a settler, according to Indigenous and Black scholars. *Vice.* https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/gyajj4/who-is-a-settler-according-to-indigenous-and-black-scholars

Thomas, J. M. (2018). Diversity regimes and racial inequality: A case study of diversity university. *Social Currents*, *5*(2), 140-156.

Tichavakunda, A. A. (2022). University memorials and symbols of white supremacy: Black students' counternarratives. *The Journal of Higher Education*. DOI: 10.1080/00221546.2022.2031707

Tienda, M. (2013). Diversity ≠ Inclusion: Promoting Integration in Higher Education. *Educational Researcher*, *42*(9), 467-475. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X13516164

Tolin, K. (2019) Native American council gathers statements calling on the university to recognize Indigenous Peoples' Day. *Columbia Spectator*. https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2019/10/15/native-american-council-gathers-statements-calling-on-the-university-to-recognize-indigenous-peoples-day/

Totenberg, N. (2020). Supreme court rules for DREAMers against trump. *NPR.* https://www.npr.org/2020/06/18/829858289/supreme-court-upholds-daca-in-blow-to-trump-administration

Torres, V., Arminio, J., & Pope, R. L. (Eds.). (2012). *Why aren't we there yet?: Taking personal responsibility for creating an inclusive campus*. Stylus Publishing, LLC..

Trent, A., Rios, F., Antell, J., Berube, W., Bialostok, S., Cardona, D., ... & Rush, T. (2003). Problems and Possibilities in the Pursuit of Diversity: An Institutional Analysis Special I ssue: Partnering for Equity. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *36*(3), 213-224.

Trustees of Dartmouth College (2016). *Increase faculty diversity.* *https://inclusive.dartmouth.edu/initiatives/increase-faculty-diversity*

Trustees of Dartmouth College (n.d.). Increase faculty diversity. *Inclusive Excellence.* https://inclusive.dartmouth.edu/initiatives/increase-faculty-diversity

Trustees of Indiana University. (2014). Charles Bantz to step down as IUPUI chancellor in August 2015. *IUPUI News Room.* https://archive.news.iupui.edu/releases/2014/11/iupui-chancellor-charles-bantz-stepping-down.shtml

Tuck, E. & Gaztambide-Fernandez, R. A. (2013). Curriculum, replacement, and settler futurity.

Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 29(1), 72-89.

Tuck, E., & Gaztambide-Fernández, R. A. (2013). Curriculum, replacement, and settler futurity. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 29*(1).

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1*(1), 1-40.

Turner, C. S. V. (1994). Guests in someone else's house: Students of color. *The Review of Higher Education*, *17*(4), 355-370.

University of Michigan (2016). *Diversity, equity, and inclusion: Strategic Plan*. diversity.umich.edu.

Unsettling Minnesota (2009). Unsettling ourselves: Reflections and resources for deconstructing colonial mentality. *Unsettling Minnesota*.

Valbrun, M (2018). Diverse fund-raises for tomorrow's donors. *InsideHigherEd.* https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2018/09/20/growing-needs-and-changing-demographics-strain-college-fund-raising

Varghese, M., Daniels, J. R., & Parl, C. C. (2019). Structuring disruptions within university-based teacher education programs: Possibilities and challenges of race-based caucuses. *Teachers College Record, 121,* 1-34.

Vendley, G. (1998). Effect of a multi-ethnic, multicultural program on student participants. *NASPA Journal*, *35*(3), 234-244.

Veracini, L. (2010). Settler colonialism. *Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan*, *10*, 9780230299191.

Vianden, J. (2018). " In All Honesty, You Don't Learn Much": White College Men's Perceptions

of Diversity Courses and Instructors. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, *30*(3), 465-476.

Villalpando, O. (2002). The impact of diversity and multiculturalism on all students: Findings from a national study. *NASPA Journal*, *40*(1), 124-144.

Wang, S. (2016a, October, 4). *IUPUI turns backs to Westboro Baptist Church protest.* IndyStar. https://indy.st/2dHhgWe

Wang, S. (2016b, November, 15) *Racist fliers taken down at IUPUI.* IndyStar. https://indy.st/2fW3kKz

Weheliye, A. G. (2014). *Habeas viscus: Racializing assemblages, biopolitics, and black feminist theories of the human*. Duke University Press.

Wilder, C. S. (2013). Ebony and ivy: Race, slavery, and the troubled history of America's universities. New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

William & Mary (2020). The Lemon Project. *William and Mary.* https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/

Williams, D. A., & Clowney, C. (2007). Strategic planning for diversity and organizational change: A primer for higher-education leadership. *Effective Practices for Academic Leaders*, *2*(3), 1-16.

Williams, D. A., & Wade-Golden, K. (2007). The chief diversity officer. *College and University Professional Association for Human Resources (CUPA-HR) Journal*, *58*(1), 38-48.

Wilson, J. L. (2013). Emerging trend: The chief diversity officer phenomenon within higher education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *82*(4), 433-445.

Wilson, Z. S., Holmes, L., Degravelles, K., Sylvain, M. R., Batiste, L., Johnson, M., ... &

Warner, I. M. (2012). Hierarchical mentoring: A transformative strategy for improving diversity and retention in undergraduate STEM disciplines. *Journal of Science Education and Technology*, *21*(1), 148-156.

Winkler, E. N. (2018). Racism as a threshold concept: examining learning in a 'diversity requirement course. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *21*(6), 808-826.

Wolaver, A. M., & Finley, K. (2020). Priming the Pump: Residential Learning Community Effects on Engagement with Diversity and Participation in High-Impact Practices. *Learning C ommunities Research and Practice*, *8*(1), 4.

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the Native. *Journal of Genocide Research, 8,* 387-409.

Wong, J. (2020). How will the pandemic change higher education? *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* https://www.chronicle.com/article/How-Will-the-Pandemic-Change/248474

Wright, B. (1991). American Indian and Alaska Native Higher Education: Toward a New Century of Academic Achievement and Cultural Integrity.

Yale University (2018). Update on $50 million faculty excellence and diversity initiative. *Yale News.* https://news.yale.edu/2018/10/03/update-50-million-faculty-excellence-and-diversity-initiative

Yazan, B. (2015). Three approaches to case study methods in education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake. *The qualitative report*, *20*(2), 134-152.

Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research: design and methods (ed.). *Thousand Oaks*.

Yoon, K., Martin, D. R., & Murphy, A. (2019). The undergraduate community service experience: Changing perceptions of diversity. *Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship*, *4*(2), 4.

Yosso, T. J., Smith, W. A., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. G. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(4), 659–690.

Young, L. W. (1991). The minority cultural center on a predominantly white campus. In H. E. Cheatham (Ed.), Cultural pluralism on campus. Alexandria, VA: American College Personnel Association

Zúñiga, X., Nelson Laird, T. F., & Mitchell, T. D. (2015). Preparing students for democratic citizenship in a multicultural society: Engaging diversity through Project MosaiK. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *52*(3), 237-249.

Zuniga, X., Williams, E. A., & Berger, J. B. (2005). Action-oriented democratic outcomes: The impact of student involvement with campus diversity. *Journal of College Student Development*, *46*(6), 660-678.