

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: RACE, POLITICS, AND STRUCTURAL DIVERSITY:
HOW HATE CRIMES, DISCRIMINATION,
WHITE SUPREMACY, AND ART SHAPE SOCIAL
IDENTITIES DURING COLLEGE

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This dissertation offers a longitudinal in-depth view into how students respond to a structurally diverse campus, a series of hate crimes and incidents of racial discrimination and bias, and a distinct set of creative engagement diversity activities. With a focus on racial and political identity differences, I employ social identity theory and symbolic interactionism to look at how these three aspects shape their social identities, their opinions of diverse others, and their opinions of diversity in general during their undergraduate career. To explore this, I engage members of the 2015 incoming freshman class and then analyze results from three data sources administered to them: a four-year online survey (n=170), a paper questionnaire (n=537), and two sets of in-depth interviews (n=62). My findings run counter to those of Pettigrew with and Tropp and others (2015, 2011, 2000, 2006): for this cohort

intergroup contact does not reduce prejudice. Students in this study are on the leading end of Generation Z, which looks to be the most accepting of diverse others generation to date. Although this cohort and this campus satisfy Allport's (1954) conditions for prejudice reduction, this does not occur based on my data. Further, a series of distinct creative engagement diversity training activities has no long-term positive effect on their opinions of diversity and diverse others. Diversity and inclusion endeavors without multifaceted, dedicated efforts do not necessarily lead to positive changes in students' attitudes, identities, behaviors, and experiences. This research holds potential to contribute to the canon of social psychology and diversity training practices.

RACE, POLITICS, AND STRUCTURAL DIVERSITY:
HOW HATE CRIMES, DISCRIMINATION, WHITE SUPREMACY, AND ART
SHAPE SOCIAL IDENTITIES DURING COLLEGE

by

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The idea for Sticks + Stones began during a casual conversation about how the different cultures—dialects, regional history, dominant religions, social norms—of lived locations shape the messages visual communication designers create and disseminate. At the time I was teaching graphic design at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Fellow design educator Pamela Beverly and I were comparing notes about the similarities and differences between my students from Birmingham and hers from Weber State University in Ogden, Utah. We quickly realized the shared aspects including strong religious emphases of our campus communities and the contrasting racial demographics of our regions. If our students were given the same assignment, how much would geography and the social norms and cultures that come with it differentiate the students' results? What might the students learn about their identity and the ideas they hold of others' identities by comparing their works? To explore this we began piecing together the curriculum that would become the first Sticks + Stones iteration, which took place in 2005. Mark Biddle, Dr. Robert Corley, Sandra Kelch, and Ann McDonald would join the project for its next iteration the following year. The 2006 iteration invited students from the “four corners” of the United States—Boston and San Francisco as well as Ogden and Birmingham—to engage in these activities. Our idea here was that by increasing the number of geographical homes, we would capture a broader mix of the United States' racial, ethnic, religious, and political identities.

In 2010 we expanded the project to include students from different countries—China, Germany, Turkey, and the United States—and placed emphasis on

issues of migration and culture. Mark Biddle and Ann McDonald would continue to serve as co-primary investigators with me, and Charlotte Driessen, Hou Liping, Ulrich Schwarz, Wang Xiaofeng, Zhang Xiaojuan, and Shi Zengquan would also help in planning what would be this international version. All of these voices plus critiques from participating students and feedback from colleagues have helped shape the iteration described here. I am indebted to them for their commitment and contributions.

Missing from these previous iterations were strong theoretical frameworks and assessment mechanisms. I sought to amend this through sociology and its social psychology canon. The result is this dissertation. When I approached different Department of Sociology faculty members about my plans to pursue this work, I was (understandably) met with skepticism, hesitation and a smattering of subtle discouragement. One person who did not respond this way was Dr. Rashawn Ray. From day one he has been supportive in a multitude of ways, serving as part colleague, part collaborator, part mentor and part Sticks + Stones champion. For all of this and more I am thoroughly grateful.

I also want to acknowledge the support of Dr. Jonathan Cox, who conducted 2016 interviews as well as helped coordinate the collection, distribution and return of hundreds of self-portraits, art supplies and other Fall 2015 components. He was incredibly diligent while completing all of these tasks, and the project is stronger because of it. Thanks are also due to Dr. Melissa Brown, who conducted 2016 interviews, and Dr. SunAh Laybourn for transcribing the paper questionnaires.

I also owe words of gratitude to the instructors who taught classes as part of this iteration. They willingly joined an unusual, complicated endeavor because they believed in its possibility for creating more cross-cultural understanding. It is heartening to know there are others who seek the same social justice.

Lastly, I am most grateful to my husband, Andrew, and my son, William, for all of their love and support throughout this journey.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

College students are in the midst of a tremendous time of transition, gaining independence in what academic areas they study, where they live, and how they sustain themselves (e.g. Erikson 1959, 1963, 1968; Marcia 1966, 1980; Sanford 1967, McEwen 2003; Pascarella, Terenzini and Feldman 2005). They are making academic choices that will shape their future occupation possibilities, which could also influence the geographical areas where they might reside and their potential socioeconomic status. Their identities are also shifting from dependent youth to independent adult. Students' college experiences shape their learning and their personal development (Pascarella et al. 1996, Springer et al. 1996). But not every campus experience is the same, and the institutions students choose to attend can influence these transitions (Astin 1993, Pascarella and Terenzini 2005). This is the case for this study's cohort. These students are coming of age during record rises in incidents of hate crimes and White supremacy and an increase in political divisiveness (Chen 2017, Feinberg, Branton and Martinez-Ebers 2019, Schwartz 2019). Further, their campus will make headlines for a number of incidents including one of police brutality, a noose placed in a fraternity house, the death of a Black football player due to alleged neglect from the coaching staff, and a brutal murder of a visiting Black student perpetrated by one of their fellow students with ties to White supremacy. How will these events, in addition to their campus' structural diversity,

influence their identity development and their opinions of diverse others? Further, how might a distinct set of creative engagement activities shape these developments?

This research seeks to find out

- **How, if at all, do students' opinions about diverse others and diversity in general change while attending a structurally diverse college?**

- **How, if at all, do racialized events that happen during their undergraduate career—on-campus, local, and national incidents of hate crimes, racial discrimination, and rise of White supremacy—influence their identity development and opinions of diverse others?**

- **How, if at all, might a distinct set of diversity training activities using creative engagement influence those changes?**

To answer these questions I also implemented an experimental research design using creative engagement during these students' first semester on campus to see what difference, if any, these activities might foster in terms of opinions of diverse others and diversity in general. I use results from an online survey conducted in fall of their freshman year and spring of senior year, in-depth interviews also conducted in their freshman and senior years, and a paper survey conducted at the end of their first semester. I leverage social identity theory (Stets and Burke 2000, Tajfel and Turner 1979, Turner 1985), Allport's (1954) theory of prejudice reduction and Pettigrew and Tropp's (2000, 2006, 2011) meta analysis supporting it, and symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969; House 1977; Stryker 1977) to examine how, if at all, the students' identities and senses of self, opinions about diversity, and opinions of diverse others

change during college, change due to racialized events, and change due to diversity training activities.

Researchers investigating issues of diversity in higher education generally employ one or more of three different diversity concepts: *structural diversity*, the percentage of different racial and ethnic groups within a student population (Hurtado et al. 1999); *diversity initiatives*, curricular and co-curricular programs, courses, and activities that aim to foster cultural awareness; and *diverse interactions*, peer-to-peer as well as knowledge and idea exchanges about diversity usually with heterogeneous populations (Milem and Umbach 2003). These three concepts are generally used cooperatively rather than exclusively. Previous research has explored how individuals change during college via personalities (Astin 1993, Pascarella and Terenzini 2005), how structural diversity influences student outcomes (Chang 1999, Gurin 1999, Milem 2003, Park 2018), and how diversity training can foster more intergroup interactions (e.g. Naff and Kellough 2003, Pendry, Driscoll and Field 2007, Sorensen et al. 2009).

This research can inform our sociological understandings of how, if at all, three different aspects shape college students' sense of self and opinions of diverse others: diversity training using creative engagement, attending a structurally diverse university, and incidents of local, national and international hate crimes and discrimination and political divisiveness. This research holds potential to contribute to the canon of social psychology and diversity training practices.

This project engages what I argue to be a distinct cohort within a distinct generation: the 2015 freshmen class at University of Maryland, College Park (UMD).

In the United States, this generation has many names: *Homelanders*, recognizing the Department of Homeland Security and other post-9/11 increased security measures that have been established in their youth, often with the effect of making this generation feel less safe about where they live (Howe 2014); *iGen*, denoting the proliferation of technology including smart phones that occur during their childhood (Twenge 2017); and *post-Millennial* or *Generation Z*, indicating their birth sequence behind the previous generation, called Millennials or Generation Y (Fry and Parker 2018). Although Generation Z¹ has witnessed the Great Recession and the resulting significant decline in unemployment, their household incomes are still generally above those of their Millennial counterparts (Fry and Parker 2018). Generation Z, whose members were born in 1997 or after² (Dimock 2019), is also on track to unseat Millennials as the most educated and most diverse generation (Fry and Parker 2018). Generation Z lacks the non-Hispanic White majority of previous U.S. generations (Fry and Parker 2018). Diverse members of this cohort are helping to herald in the non-White majority the overall U.S. population is projected to have by 2045 (Frey 2018). Further, many Generation Zers hailing from Republican households have become disenchanted with the political climate and are now liberal-leaning with intentions to vote Democratic once they are of age (Badger and Miller 2019). Most are also breaking with older generations in terms of acceptance of emerging social norms such as using gender-neutral pronouns (Parker, Graf and Igielnik 2019). Overall Generation Z tracks slightly more liberal than Millennials and much more liberal than older generations including Boomer (born 1946–1963) and Silent (born

¹ Homelander and iGen are names generated and used by specific authors that refer to particular aspects of this generation. Generation Z is a more general name and is used more by other

² There is currently no chronological endpoint for Generation Z.

1928–1945) (Parker, Graf and Igielnik 2019). However, racial identity remains more salient to the opinions we hold than the era into which we were born, even with younger, more liberal-leaning generations. “In no case are White Millennials as racially liberal as nonwhites” (Schildkraut and Marotta 2018: 158). That said, Generation Z’s liberal-leaning attitudes track here, too. Approximately 62 percent say diversity is beneficial to society (Parker, Graf and Igielnik 2019). In sum, Generation Z is shaping up to become the most diverse, most politically liberal, most educated, most accommodating of fluid social identities, and most affluent generation to date.

This 2015 UMD freshman cohort is on the leading end of Generation Zers to begin their undergraduate careers. Most of these students are full of excitement and optimism about the site of their education and the people who are joining them in this endeavor. They are excited to call themselves a “Terp,” the nickname for the school’s mascot. The campus’ diverse population is a source of pride for administrators and a reason many students say they choose to attend this university instead of others that are less diverse. Many White students hail from highly homogeneous neighborhoods and high schools and have little experience with such diversity. They want to change that. Many minorities will choose UMD because they expect there will be plenty of others on campus sharing their racial, ethnic, and religious identities. As with cohorts before them, these students look forward to attending plenty of parties and gaining a sense of camaraderie with their fellow students as they pursue their academic degrees. During their first semester on campus, the Board of Regents will vote to change the name of the football stadium, removing the moniker of a man who supported segregation and signaling the administration’s intolerance for racism (Shapiro 2015).

They anticipate that this multifaceted campus will be a type of diversity utopia, as it is portrayed in promotional materials and touted by student tour guides.

Reaffirming this is notion that the nation is well into what many call a post-racial era (e.g. Goldman and Hopkins 2012, Goldman 2012, Ikuenobe 2013).³ Barack Obama, the first Black U.S. President, is ending his second term and Hillary Clinton, a candidate with another new identity for the position—female—is predicted to succeed him. These students are attending to a school with a front-row view of the political action, which is especially advantageous for the government and politics majors and other politically minded members in this cohort. It will be easier to intern in federal government offices, witness legislation being created, and be politically active. In their sophomore year this cohort will have their first opportunity to participate officially in the country's political process via the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. The school's proximity to the nation's capital makes voting in this election meaningful.

By the time this cohort completes their undergraduate degrees, an about-face has happened. They all soon discover the reality of being a part of a diverse community: the friction of competing ideologies, the reality of being a minority—racial, religious, political or otherwise—in a sea of others, and the unease of having otherwise-assumed beliefs and opinions questioned.

The ages of undergraduate education, roughly 18 through 22, are critical years for cognitive, social, and identity development (Astin 1993, Pascarella and Terenzini 2005). These students' cognitive maturation process will be engrained with on-

³ Many scholars disagree with this assessment including (Dawson and Bobo 2009; Hutchings 2009; Shaw and Brown 2013)

campus, local, national, and international incidents of hate crimes and racial discrimination. At the end of their freshman year, campus police will use unnecessary force and pepper spray to break up a graduation party attended mostly by Black students (Thomas 2016). Although an investigation would reveal some of the use of pepper spray was justified, many UMD students will see it an indicator of systemic problem in terms of racial and police discrimination on campus (Svrluga 2016).

During their sophomore year a noose will be found hanging in the kitchen of an on-campus fraternity house, White nationalist flyers will be posted on campus (Brown 2017, Campisi and Richman 2017), and a Black visiting student, Lt. Richard Collins III, will be stabbed to death on their campus by one of their own, a UMD student with White supremacist ties (Massimo 2017). The summer before their senior year, a 17-year-old Muslim girl is raped and murdered after leaving her mosque in Alexandria, Va. (Jouvenal 2018), and Jordan McNair, a Black UMD student on the football team, will die due to alleged negligence by the coaching staff (Jenkins 2018, Rittenberg and VanHaaren 2018). The university-level repercussion of McNair's death will continue to make headlines throughout the fall semester. During the middle of their senior year, UMD's racist legacy is reaffirmed when a current student finds old yearbooks photos of Terps wearing blackface (Atelsek 2019).

From the time this cohort arrives on campus to their senior year, the overall Black student enrollment will drop to less than 11 percent, a five-year low (Richman 2018). This is the smallest proportional Black population out of all the 11 University System of Maryland institutes (Richman 2018). In a state where 36 percent of high school graduates are Black (Richman 2018), only 7.3 percent of the 2018 UMD

incoming freshman population is (Dvorak 2019). The drop is largely attributed to the murder of Collins and the other racialized incidents (Richman 2018). Black students say that they don't feel respected or valued on campus, with some even saying they regret their decision to come to UMD and that they advise others to attend elsewhere (Kim 2019). A 2018 UMD campus climate survey will reveal that minority populations including faculty, staff, and students of color and gender non-binary, feel less welcome and unsafe on campus, and that Latinx and Black students feel a reduced sense of belonging to campus than Asian and White students (Brennan 2018). Students complain the university has done a "horrible" job at managing the racial crises, especially in regard to Collins' death and at addressing the racially "toxic" campus environment (Atelsek 2018).

The hate, bias, and discrimination extend well beyond their campus. As they are making decisions about which school to attend, Freddie Gray will die as a result of treatment by police (Ruiz 2017). In the summer before their freshman year, Diamond Reynolds will live stream Philando Castile's death at the hands of police (Park 2017). During their junior year, #LivingWhileBlack starts trending on social media (Wootson 2018b), highlighting the discrimination Blacks experience including being shoved off stage during graduation (Wootson 2018c) and having the police called on them for innocuous actions such as waiting in Starbucks (Siegel 2018b), mowing a neighbor's yard (Wootson 2018a), and playing golf too slowly (Siegel 2018a).

In addition, Donald Trump will make immigrants an enemy of sorts in his campaign and during his time as President (Lillis 2019). His rhetoric about

immigrants, Muslims, and other minority groups has similarities to the German Nazis during World War II (Stanley-Becker 2019). One of his key campaign promises is to “build a wall” to prevent Latin American immigrants from coming into the country (Lillis 2019) because, among other reasons, Mexican immigrants are criminals, “rapists,” and “people that have lots of problems” (Lee 2015). One of his first executive orders will be to ban immigrants from Muslim-majority countries (Liptak and Shear 2018). Trump is elected *because* he is White and male (Coates 2017).

Since the 2016 election, immigrants will experience increased discrimination in the workplace, where they live, and in day-to-day interactions (Neel 2017, Wulfhorst 2016). Much of this is credited to Whites’ fear of no longer being the majority race in the United States (Sattler 2019). The hopes for non-White males holding the Presidential office and increased respect for diverse identities are dashed. Many students will recount the shock of this election outcome and its seemingly emphatic “no” on gender and other minorities. For some, it becomes *the* rude-awakening moment of their undergraduate career.

These students’ undergraduate career is also marked by record-setting number of events tied to White Supremacy (Schwartz 2019). During their senior year alone, an anti-Semite kills 11 at a Pittsburgh (Robertson, Mele and Tavernise 2018), a gunman in New Zealand kills at least 50 at two Mosques (Harris and Sonmez 2019), and an Alabama newspaper editor proclaims is it time for the Ku Klux Klan to “ride again” (Brown 2019, Farzan 2019). A 2019 national survey will reveal that 65 percent of Americans say that more people are expressing racist views and 45 percent will say this is more acceptable (Horowitz, Brown and Cox 2019). Trump is credited

with emboldening and supporting White Supremacists (Harris and Sonmez 2019, Rascoe 2018) such as by calling some of the White supremacists “very fine people” (Jamison 2019). These events embody the deep divisions, anger, discrimination, and violence that can occur as a result of different social identity constructions. (See Tables 1A-1C Four Years Of Hate, Bias, Discrimination, and Division for a select list of these and other events.) The utopia was never the reality. Diversity and inclusion endeavors without multifaceted, dedicated efforts do not necessarily lead to positive changes in students' attitudes, behaviors, and experiences.

RESEARCH STUDY

I began this research to find out what influence, if any, creative engagement might have on students' acclimation to a structurally diverse campus, paying specific attention to opinions and identity development. What might we learn of how these students think of and interact with one another as they study on a campus that represents a microcosm of the nation's racial, ethnic, religious and political identity spectrum and is the site of historical and contemporary racial struggle? How might creative engagement reveal and animate those ideas and opinions ideas? “Creative engagement” references different artistic making practices such as visual arts, creative writing, music, dance, performance, and bodily movement activities (Hennessey and Amabile 2010). The term includes both professional artistic practices and products and less formal artistic activities that incorporate creativity (Beghetto and Kaufman 2010). The activities employed here fall into the latter designation.

This research, part of a larger, iterative project called Sticks + Stones⁴, uses a set of distinct activities: creation of abstract self-portraits; physical performance of privilege and relative deprivation; directing student to reveal their backstage thoughts and opinions about others via labeling of these self-portraits; empirical information about how stereotypes, prejudice, and bias work in society; peer-to-peer dialogue; and a written reflection. My goal was to investigate what impact, if any, these activities might have upon college students' views of their sense of self and the identities of others. If I could propagate ways for students to understand the identities and perspectives of their diverse peers at the beginning of their college career, I expect those effects will only magnify as the students progress, and that by graduation, their capacity to understand diverse others will have increased through additional informal interactions, changes to the diversity of social networks, and shifting opinions about diverse others.

However, unforeseen events expanded this dissertation beyond its original intentions. I did not anticipate the number or severity of hate crimes and racially discriminatory acts that would occur during this cohort's undergraduate career. Nor did I predict our current U.S. President and the ways his words and actions seem to support White supremacy (Thebault 2019). These students' college choice and the timing of their undergraduate career have turned them into a distinct subcohort of Generation Z.

⁴ I am an original co-author of this iterative project, which has been executed five formal times with multiple students and co-authors and instructors. The iteration mentioned here is a collaboration with Dr. Rashawn Ray, who served as co-Primary Investigator for the Fall 2014 pilot and Fall 2015 full iteration at University of Maryland. I served as Principal Investigator on both these iterations. For other iterations I shared PI duties with collaborators on other campuses.

Their school was always physically close to the political hub and most students mentioned being aware of its structural diversity. However, these two factors magnify when the political climate becomes more divisive and a series of racially motivated hate crimes and acts of discrimination happen in their back yard. They will leverage Twitter and other social media platforms to share their experiences and find a sense of commonality about racial bias that happens on their campus (Cwieka 2017). Political movements and Twitter trends including #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo, and #LivingWhileBlack either begin or mature during their undergraduate career. The combination of heated political platforms and real-time connections via emerging technologies enables this generation to connect individual- and local-level events to national and international ones. I expect this mix plus the campus' relationship to a brutal murder, discrimination, and other hate crimes, as well as the events that transpire locally, nationally and internationally during their undergraduate career, will have a significant impact on this cohort.

SUMMARY

I focus this dissertation on how students' identities and opinions of diverse others are shaped by the structural diversity of their campus and events that happen during their undergraduate career, and how diversity training activities might influence those developments. I use a mixed methods approach to capture any changes: a two-wave online survey, two sets of semi-structured one-on-one qualitative interviews, and a short paper questionnaire administered at the end of their first semester.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter provides a detailed look at the methodology of this dissertation. Here I describe the location and population of this research, the Sticks + Stones components, and the reasons why these components are selected. I use three methods: a brief, immediate-impact questionnaire, a two-wave online survey, and two sets of in-depth interviews. Through these I seek to capture students' short-term and long-term ideas of identity and opinions about diverse others, the impact of the events that occurred during their college career, and their responses to diversity training activities in their freshman year.

Chapter 3: Structural diversity: The impact of a heterogeneous campus on opinions about diversity

This chapter offers an in-depth view of how students' opinions about diversity and diverse others change during their undergraduate career on a structurally diverse campus. I use data from the in-depth interviews and results from the freshman and senior waves of the online survey to explore this. Allport (1954) proposes that prejudice can be reduced if four conditions are met: intergroup teamwork or collaboration, shared goals, equivalency of status, and support from an authority body or figure. Four years on a college campus with structural diversity can meet these criteria. Pettigrew and Tropp's meta analyses in 2000, 2006, and 2011 build off Allport's theory and find that intergroup interaction can be effective in reducing prejudice. This campus is seemingly ideal for reducing prejudice of outgroups.

My results show that political and racial identities are salient to how students develop feelings of closeness, hold bias toward other identities, form feelings of belonging to and likeability of campus, and value diversity on campus. On average Black students feel the least amount of comfort on campus in their freshman and senior year, least like being a student on campus in their freshman and senior years, and disagree with statistical significance that UMD's campus diversity benefits them as compared to Whites. In both their freshman and senior years, politically conservative students on average also disagree with statistical significance that the campus diversity benefits them and that diversity is a good goal as compared to politically liberal students. The campus's structurally diverse environment has not reduced prejudice for students with either social identity in respect to these aspects.

Chapter 4: Post-racial upended: How increased hate crimes and racial discrimination events shape social identity development

This chapter describes a series of hate crimes and racial discrimination events that occur during this cohort's undergraduate career. I use results from senior year in-depth interviews to explore this. In this chapter I describe students' reactions to and knowledge of these events as well as others that are salient to their social identity development. Throughout I identify ways these events shape or elude students' considerations of their social identities and the identities of others. What I find is that on a campus that is promoted as an ideal place of diversity, its heterogeneity serves to isolate and disadvantage racial and political minority students. These results support quantitative findings in Chapter 3. Overall, however, my findings in Chapter 3 and

Chapter 4 do not align with Allport (1954) and Pettigrew and Tropp's (2000, 2006, 2011) theories and findings.

Chapter 5: What can be done? Creative engagement's potential to influence social identity and opinions about diverse others

This chapter offers an in-depth view into how creative engagement diversity activities might foster positive opinions about diversity. I expect this series of activities—the creation of an abstract self-portrait, labeling and stereotyping of the students represented in others' portraits, performing the Privilege Walk, an empirical presentation about stereotypes and bias, and a peer-to-peer discussion about all of these— to prompt a reduction in prejudice and more positive opinions of diversity and diverse others. This expectation is not satisfied based on analysis of the online survey results. However, results from the paper questionnaire and the in-depth interviews indicate these activities have salience in some regards. Creative engagement can be an effective way of addressing issues of diversity with students, but mitigating racism, hate crimes, and discrimination require more than just one unit of one course in one semester during a students' four-year undergraduate career, especially when the racial and political environment is increasingly divisive. Future research should include these activities in concert with other diversity and inclusion efforts and pronounced, action-based support from the campus administration.

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusion

Here I synthesize findings, analyses, and interpretations from the previous chapters. I address how students' social identities and opinions about diverse others change during their undergraduate career, how racial and political events influence students' identity development, and the influences of the creative engagement diversity training activities on students. I acknowledge gaps in existing literature, address the contributions and weaknesses of this research, and recommend areas of future research. These findings can contribute to our social psychological understanding of contact theory and social identity theory and diversity training practices.

TABLE 1A

Four years of hate, bias, and division

This list represents a selection of noteworthy events of prejudice, bias, discrimination, and hate crimes as well as politically charged events happening during this cohort's college career. Included are events mentioned by students during the 2019 qualitative interviews. Due to the campus' location, some local events can also be considered national events, such as being the primary site of the 2017 Women's March.

✖ = campus events | ● = local area events | + = national events.

COLLEGE DECISION TIME

- + **Feb. 11, 2015:** Three Muslim students are shot in the head and **killed by a White supremacist** near University of North Carolina Chapel Hill. The shooter, who had interacted with the victims prior, targeted them because of their religion (Ahmed and Shoichet 2015). The number of hate crimes against Muslims between 2015 and 2016 in the United States is higher than post-September 11, 2001 numbers (Kishi 2017).
- **April 16, 2015:** Black Baltimore resident **Freddie Gray dies in police custody**. His death is one of many attributed to police brutality against African Americans. #BlackLivesMatter, a social media movement, started in 2013 after George Zimmerman was found not guilty of killing Trayvon Martin (Day 2015). It would become a more fully realized movement fueled by the deaths of Gray, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, and other Black bodies at the hands of police. Activists around the world would protest the systemic treatment of Blacks by police (Lowery 2017).
- ✖ **April 24, 2015:** An on-campus movie **screening of American Sniper is canceled** due to protest by students who say the movie is anti-Arab and anti-Islam (New 2015).
- + **June 17, 2015:** White supremacist **Dylan Roof opens fire** on a Black prayer group at an African-American church in Charleston, South Carolina, killing nine people. The congregation was targeted because of their race (Blinder and Sack 2017).
- + **June 16, 2015:** In his speech to declare his **entrance into the U.S. Presidential race**, **Donald Trump** says that Mexico is sending drug dealers, rapists and other criminals to the United States (2015) (Washington Post 2015).

FRESHMAN YEAR

- + **Nov. 13, 2015:** A series of **attacks in Paris kill 130 people** and wounded more than 600. The Islamic State claims responsibility. The event renews anti-Muslim sentiments in the United States (Fredette 2015, Rubin and Peltier 2018).
- ✖ **Dec. 11, 2015:** UMD Board of Regents votes to **rename "Byrd Stadium" to "Maryland Stadium."** The former name athletic space had previously been named to honor Harry Clifton "Curley" Byrd, a former UMD president and segregation defender. Students view this as a signal that the campus administration will not tolerate racism (Shapiro 2015).
- + **March 18, 2016:** **Stephon Clark is shot by police more than 20 times** in his grandmother's Sacramento, California back yard. He was unarmed (Fausset 2018a).
- + **April 19, 2016:** Target suffers a 7.2% loss in sales after announcing a new **gender-neutral bathroom policy** that allows customers and employees can use the bathrooms corresponding to their gender identities (Halzack 2016).

TABLE 1B

- ✖ **May 21, 2016:** UMD campus police respond to a 911 call falsely alleging that a fight and underage drinking is occurring at a campus apartment complex. What is happening instead is a graduation party attended mostly by Black students and individuals. Police mistakenly arrested the wrong individuals and **wrongly used pepper spray to break up the party**. The officers' actions are called racists due to the use of force against a group of African Americans. All campus police officers are to undergo implicit bias training as a result of the incident (Thomas 2016).
- + **July 5, 2016:** Police officers **fire six shots into Alton Sterling**, killing him outside of a convenience store in Baton Rouge, La. Although neither officer is charged in his death one is disciplined and the other is fired (Fausset 2018a)
- + **July 6, 2016:** Black motorist Philando Castile is stopped by Minnesota police officer Jeronimo Yanez for a broken taillight. Within one minute of the exchange, **Yanez shoots Castile**, who would die from the gunshot wound. Diamond Reynolds, Castile's girlfriend, is also in the car and uses Facebook to live-streams the shooting aftermath and Castile's death. Reynolds, who is also Black, said she lived-streamed the event because **she feared for her life** (Bailey 2017, Forliti 2017).

SOPHOMORE YEAR

- + **Aug. 2016:** San Francisco football player **Colin Kaepernick starts protesting** the marginalization, discrimination and police brutality against Black people first by sitting on the bench during the national anthem and then by taking a knee. Some of his teammates and then players from other National Football League (NFL) teams and other sports teams join him to kneel in subsequent sporting events (Branch 2017).
- + **Nov. 8, 2016:** Donald J. **Trump wins the U.S. Presidential election**. This is the first presidential election in which this cohort was eligible to vote. For the next month the country will see a 25% spike in hate crimes (Misra 2018). Hate crimes in 2017 will surpass those in 2016 by 17 percent (Berry and Wiggins 2018).
- **Dec. 2016:** Next-door Montgomery County sees a **surge in hate graffiti** including swastikas and racial insults appearing in schools, on private homes and in other public spaces (St. George 2016). More than three dozen hate crimes will occur in or be connected to Montgomery County schools during the 2016-2017 school year (Hedgpeth 2019). The county's students make up 38 percent of UMD in-state undergraduate population (Maryland 2019).
- + **Jan. 20, 2017:** Donald J. **Trump is sworn in as the 45th President** of the United States. His presidency will have a direct effect on the country's level of political activism. In a 2018 poll, one in five people will say they have attended a protest or rally since Trump took office. Only 19 percent of those had ever attended such an event prior to this election (Jordan and Clement 2018).
- **Jan. 21, 2017:** An estimated 500,000 protesters marched in Washington, D.C. and another 4.5 million marched at more than 600 "sister sites" around the country and the world as part of the **Women's March**, considered as the largest one-day protest event in U.S. history (Wallace and Parlapiano 2017). The Women's March will become an annual event, although subsequent marches have not reached the attendance level of the 2017 event. Approximately 2-million attended the 2018 march and approximately 700,000 attended the 2019 event (Chenoweth and Pressman 2019).

TABLE 1C

- ✖ **March 13, 2017:** White nationalist flyers are found posted around campus. At minimum of **three different such incidents of White nationalist information** will occur during this cohort's college career (Brown 2017, Campisi and Richman 2017).
- **March 19, 2017:** Many high-profile social media accounts are abuzz with the news that **14 Black and Latino children have gone missing** in Washington, D.C. and Maryland in a span of six days. Although Black individuals who go missing rarely get the news coverage that White missing individuals do, this wave of disappearances is too high for the news outlets to avoid (Rhodan 2017).
- ✖ **April 18, 2017:** Pro-Trump supporters **chalk pro-deportation messages around campus**. The messages include "Build the wall," "MAGA" (Make America Great Again), and "Deport Dreamers" (Berkowitz 2017).
- **April 22, 2017:** Thousands gather in Washington, D.C. to participate in the **March for Science**, a protest event aimed at voicing disapproval for President Trump's undermining of national science research institutes including the Environmental Protection Agency and National Institute of Health (St. Fleur 2017).
- ✖ **April 27, 2017:** UMD fraternity members called the police when they discovered a **noose hanging in the kitchen of their Greek fraternity house**. Earlier in the week on nearby American University campus, **three different sets of bananas hanging from nooses** were found on that campus the same day as Taylor Dumpson assumed her post at the student body president. She is a member of a Black sorority and was the university's first Black student president (Kean and Collins 2017, Silverman 2017b).
- **April 29, 2017:** The **Peoples Climate March** drew tens of thousands of protesters to Washington, D.C. to voice their opposition to President Trump's rollback of President Obama's "most ambitious environmental measures" (Fandos 2017).
- ✖ **May 20, 2017:** During a visit to UMD campus, Bowie State University student **Lt. Richard Collins III is stabbed to death by UMD student** Sean Urbanski, who interacted with White supremacist groups via Facebook. The event is called a hate crime (Massimo 2017). By the time these students are graduating, Urbanski has still not gone to trial and the federal hate crime charge has been rescinded (Bui 2019).
- ✚ **July 26, 2017:** President Trump Tweets his **plan to ban transgender new recruits from serving in the military**, one year after President Obama said they could serve openly (DeBonis 2019). The U.S. Defense Department would later contradict Trump's basis for the ban (Blake 2019).
- ✚ **Aug. 11, 2017:** A group of about **250 White supremacist men march on University of Virginia campus** to protest the removal of a Robert E. Lee statue and other Confederate monuments. During the march they shout "Blood and soil!" "You will not replace us!" and "Jews will not replace us!" (Heim 2017). A survey conducted this year revealed that nine percent of the population, about 22-million people, said it was "fine to hold Neo-Nazi or White supremacist views" (Beirich and Buchanan 2018).
- ✚ **Aug. 12, 2017:** James Alex Fields Jr., drives his car into a crowd of "Unite the Right" counterprotesters in Charlottesville, Virginia, killing one and injuring 19 (Heim 2017, Romo 2018). President **Trump blames "both sides" for the violence** (Weiland 2018).

TABLE 1D

JUNIOR YEAR

- ✖ **Aug. 27, 2017:** After the Charlottesville events, UMD marching band **ceases playing the staple pre-game “Maryland, My Maryland.”** The pro-Confederate state song’s lyrics call Abraham Lincoln a “despot” and the North “scum” (Condon 2017).
- ✖ **Aug. 31, 2017: UMD Professor Mark Graber sends a racist email** to his class saying Latinos are “mediocre” and “pretty bad” in regard to a mock trial class. One of the students who receives it is the president of the Latinx Student Union. Graber’s daughter, a lawyer who is serving as an assistant coach for the trial team, is on the email chain. Both are asked to resign (Silverman 2017a).
- ✖ **Oct. 1, 2017:** UMD **Freshman Maria Fisher is hit by a car and killed** while trying to cross a busy nearby road before dawn (Weil 2017). She had gone to a bar with a friend the night before but did not return to her dorm. She called friends in distress when she awoke the morning she was killed, saying she did not remember what had happened nor know where she was. A toxicology report will reveal she had a high level of a date rape drug in her system (Condon 2018).
- ✖ **Nov. 28, 2017:** UMD announces they will **hire a full-time hate-bias coordinator** to handle campus hate crimes and racial incidents, which have increased dramatically since President Trump started his election campaign (Brown 2017).
- ✚ **Jan. 11, 2018:** President **Trump uses the term “shithole” to refer to African and Haitian nations** (Dawsey 2018). This comment is part of a discussion he is having about immigrants who come those countries and how he prefers ones from European countries and Asia. This conversation clarifies his racial preferences: “Whites over Asians, and both over Latinos and Blacks from ‘shithole’ countries” (Kendi 2019).
- ✖ **Jan. 12, 2018:** A UMD employee is charged with **writing racist sentiments on campus bathroom walls** in the North Campus Dining Hall. There are at least four different incidents of offensive language, one of which includes a swastika, found at this location during the previous semester (Campisi 2018). By the end of this cohort’s junior year, the campus administration will have verified 15 of the **27 reported on-campus hate bias incidents** that occurred since Fall 2017 (Brennan 2018).
- **March 2018:** The **March for Our Lives** draws approximately 1.5- to 2-million people to more than 700 protests across the country. It is the third largest one-day demonstration since President Trump has taken office. The high school students marshaled social media to organize the protest and a larger campaign to address gun violence in the United States (Bond, Chenoweth and Pressman 2018).
- ✚ **April 12, 2018:** Two **Black men are arrested in a Philadelphia Starbucks** on charges of creating a disturbance and trespassing (Siegel 2018a). It is one of many incidents spotlighting racial discrimination against Blacks. During this year alone, police will be called on to investigate Blacks for **eating at a Waffle House** (Horton and Siegel 2018), a 12-year-old **mowing a neighbor’s yard** (Wootson Jr. 2018), a man **reading C.S. Lewis in a car** (Wootson 2018b), a group of women for **playing golf too slowly** (Siegel 2018b), a boy for “sexual assault” when his **backpack accidentally brushes up against a White woman** in a store (Phillips 2018a), and an elected state representative for looking “suspicious” when she was **canvassing her constituents’ neighborhood** (Phillips 2018b). These incidents garner more attention when witnesses and victims live stream and post footage of the events on social media.

TABLE 1 E

- + April 30, 2018:** Campus police are called to investigate **two Native American teenagers** who are touring Colorado State University. They looked like **“they don’t belong”** according to another parent in their tour group (Levin 2018).
- + May 7, 2018:** Black University of Florida graduates are **rushed and shoved off stage by a ceremony marshal** during graduation ceremony. Only Black graduates receive this treatment. The incident is recorded and posted to social media (Wootson 2018a).
- + May 11, 2018:** **White Yale student Sarah Braasch called the police** on fellow Black student Lolade Siyonbola for sleeping in the common room. Siyonbola records and posts the incident to social media (Wootson 2018c).
- + May 24, 2018:** **NFL team owners unanimously approve a new policy banning any forms of protest** during the national anthem. Players and other staff can be fined if they kneel, sit out, or perform other means of protest during the song (Seifert and Graziano 2018).
- ✗ May 29, 2018:** UMD football player **Jordan McNair, 19, is hospitalized** for signs of heat stroke and exhaustion that occur during a team practice. **He will die** due to the heat stroke on June 16 (Rittenberg and VanHaaren 2018).
- June 2018:** 17-year-old Muslim **Nabra Hassanen is raped and murdered** on her way home from her mosque during Ramadan in Sterling, Virginia (Jouvenal 2018).

SENIOR YEAR

- Aug. 12, 2018:** About **20 White supremacist protesters** are outnumbered by counterprotesters at this year’s “Unite the Right” rally in Washington, D.C. Some of the protesters wear Make American Great Again (MAGA) hats (Fausset 2018b).
- + Aug. 5, 2018:** The **police are called to investigate Oumou Kanoute**, a Black student at Smith College. She had fallen asleep in the common room. “All I did was be Black,” she said (Wootson 2018b).
- ✗ Aug. 10, 2018:** An ESPN.com investigation reveals a **“toxic coaching culture” in the UMD football program**. The coaching approach continued even after Jordan McNair’s death (Rittenberg and VanHaaren 2018).
- ✗ Aug. 30, 2018:** The director and three staff **members of UMD’s Office of Civil Rights and Sexual Misconduct**, also referred to as Title IX, resign. Their resignations add to the disruption caused by Roger Worthington’s resignation as Chief Diversity officer earlier that summer (Brennan 2019, Condon and Brennan 2018).
- ✗ Sept. 4, 2018:** During the first weekend of the new academic year, campus police respond to calls about a **swastika and anti-LGBTQ writings found in two different residence halls** (Rowley 2018).
- ✗ Sept. 13, 2018:** UMD counseling center offers to create **White Awake, a “safe space”** for Whites to talk about race. The proposal is criticized because students of color do not have similar accommodations, and it suggests that Whites are being victimized by people of color (Atelsek 2018).
- + Sept. 17, 2018:** An unknown caller **summons police to a Black University of Massachusetts Amherst employee, Reg Andrade**, who is walking across campus with a gym bag. It is the third time police have been called upon Andrade due to racial profiling (Christensen 2018).

TABLE 1 F

- ✚ **Oct. 21, 2018:** A man **grabs the breast of a woman unknown to him on a flight** from Houston to Albuquerque. He said that it was not a problem for him to do this because President Trump had said it was okay, referencing the 2005 “Access Hollywood” tape that came to light during the 2016 presidential campaign (Chiu 2018). In this tape, **Trump boasts that his fame permits him to grab women whenever and wherever without repercussion** (Jacobs, Siddiqui and Bixby 2016).
- ✚ **Oct. 24, 2018:** Gregory Alan Bush, a White man, banged on the door of a historically Black church in Kentucky but was unable enter as church members had started locking the doors after the 2015 Charleston, South Carolina shooting. **Bush then drove to a nearby grocery store where he shot and killed two Black individuals and shot at, but did not kill, another Black couple.** He did not fire his weapon at any of the dozens of White people also in the store at the time (Brown 2018).
- ✚ **Oct. 27, 2018:** Eleven people are **killed at a Pittsburgh synagogue** by a gunman who shouts anti-Semitic slurs as he opens fire (Robertson, Mele and Tavernise 2018).
- ✖ **Oct. 31, 2018:** After a five-month-long investigation, UMD football head **coach DJ Durkin is reinstated** by the UMD Board of Regents. He had been on the field when McNair fell ill during practice. UMD President Wallace **Loh announces his retirement** (Rittenberg and VanHaaren 2018).
- ✖ **Oct. 31, 2018:** UMD announces that **overall enrollment of new African American students, freshmen and transfers, dropped** to 10 percent, down from 12 percent last year. The current freshman enrollment is at 7.3 percent. The percentage of blacks who graduate from a Maryland high school is 36 (Richman 2018).
- ✖ **Nov. 1, 2018:** UMD President Wallace **Loh fires Coach DJ Durkin** (Rittenberg and VanHaaren 2018).
- ✖ **Nov. 1, 2018:** UMD freshman Olivia Paregol, who was living on campus, **dies from the adenovirus** she contracted on campus (Weil 2018).
- ✚ **Nov. 2018:** White Michigan resident **Jeffrey Zeigler fired a shotgun at 14-year-old Brennan Walker.** After missing his school bus, Walker, who is Black, had started walking to school but got lost. He had knocked on Zeigler’s door for directions, which prompted Zeigler to open fire (Zeigler 2018).
- ✖ **Jan. 2019:** A **swastika was spray-painted in bright orange** on a wall outside Richard Montgomery High School in Rockville, Maryland (Hedgpeth 2019).
- ✖ **Feb. 7, 2019:** Terp Camille Alexander uses Twitter tell about images she found of students wearing **blackface in UMD yearbook photos** from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. UMD President Wallace Loh simply Tweets a response (Atelsek 2019).
- **Feb. 7, 2019:** When students at nearby George Washington University discover **blackface photos in their old school yearbooks**, the school responds by holding a “teach-in” about blackface and racism (Smith 2019).
- ✚ **Feb. 19, 2019:** An Alabama newspaper editor publishes an editorial saying it is **time for the Ku Klux Klan return and start lynching again.** He says Washington, D.C. Democrats who are going to raise taxes in Alabama and Democrats in the Republican party should be lynched (Brown 2019, Farzan 2019).

TABLE 1G

- + **March 15, 2019:** An alleged **White supremacist gunman in New Zealand killed at least 50 people during an attack on two different Mosques.** His 74-page manifesto, which he released just prior to the shooting, praised President Trump for being “a symbol of renewed White identity and common purpose” (Harris and Sonmez 2019). The shooter live streams his attacks on Facebook (Cave 2019).
- + **March 29, 2019:** An arsonist set ablaze the Highlander Research and Education Center in Tennessee, destroying part of the building and a trove of historical documents that had yet to be digitized. A **White supremacist symbol was found at the scene,** clarifying that the destruction of this civil rights institute was not by accident nor random but a racist act (Kelley and Themba 2019).
- + **April 4, 2019:** **Three predominantly black churches burn down** in a Louisiana parish in a span of 10 days. The fires are reminiscent of Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Movement eras, when black churches were frequently bombed and set afire (Epstein 2019).
- + **April 11, 2019:** Black Columbia University student **Alexander McNab was detained by Barnard College police officers.** A street separates the two campuses and Columbia students are permitted to use Barnard campus spaces including the library where McNab was detained. The Barnard police did not believe McNab’s student ID was authentic and at least five officers pinned him down until they were able to verify his student status (Mettler 2019).
- + **May 15, 2019:** The Trump Administration refuses to sign an international pledge—prompted by the New Zealand shooting—calling countries to action to end online extremism (Romm and Harwell 2019).

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL FOUNDATIONS

This research builds upon the work of Allport (1954), Mead (1934), Cooley (1968), Tajfel (1972), Tajfel and Turner (1979), and Goffman (1959, 1961), employing their concepts of how we present ourselves, create identities about our selves, and make assumptions and determinations about the identities of others. Our identities are assigned by personal choice, by societal norms and expectations, and by group memberships (Stets and Burke 2000). When individuals assume membership and assign value—social, emotional, or other—to being in the group, then that identity will become salient (Tajfel 1972). These group memberships then determine other behaviors and beliefs (Hogg 2016). Much of what determines that identity is social

performance played out in visual and verbal cues—clothing, language, and dialect. These can also create stereotypes and other barriers to social interactions and tension in terms of viewing others as either individuals or members of stereotyped groups (Simmel 1910). The ideas we conjure of others and the resulting prejudices are not innate personality characteristics, but rather the results of socializations of particular cultures (Pettigrew 1958), which are often inaccurate (Allport 1954).

Social behavior helps shape an individual's sense of self and identity as well as the identity of those around them. Individuals can have multiple identities—parent, co-worker, class member, spouse—that are fluid and context-specific. The ways we view ourselves, regard others, and interpret how others view us is a swirl of inner feelings, interpretations, and social actions. Our senses of identity—our selves—are formed and reformed through understanding of historical context and cultural norms, internal and external subjectivity, and social exchange (Cooley 1968; Mead 1934; Stryker 1968, 1977). Symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969; House 1977; Stryker 1977) focuses on how individuals interact with and influence each other, create and receive meaning from those encounters.

The last three decades of sociological and psychological research have eroded the notion that stereotypes are static. Through different methods, researchers have found support for the malleability of prejudice and bias as it pertains to race (e.g., Lopez 1994; Morris 2007). In addition, other research has shown that individuals perform their beliefs and opinions about racialized others (Tajfel and Turner 1979).⁵

⁵ There are many cross-cultural distinctions in addition to race, such as ethnicity and nationality. Race is defined as generally distinguished by skin color, hair type and other physical features (Jones, 1991, in Betancourt & López, 1993). Ethnicity is generally established through language, group affiliation and other forms of culture. (Betancourt and López 1993). However much of the

These performances are not necessarily consistent, often changing depending upon the location, the perceived similarity of the people present at that interaction, and the history and social norms of the given context (Goffman 1959). Through creative engagement, I seek to propagate more connections to diverse others and then capture what changes, if any, transpire during undergraduate students' four years in college.

Social construction of self and personal identity

Society is comprised of different symbols and social products. However our interpretations of these symbols are fluid and dependent on contexts (House 1977). Our identities encompass multiple simultaneous components that are mutable over time and space, and thus these symbols we use to express our identities can shift, oscillate, and evolve based in interactions between individuals, the activated social objects, and social context (Stryker and Serpe 1994). Stryker (1977) posits that expected behavior is based upon labels and terminologies of our classified world. What happens when those labels are made overt, animated, and juxtaposed against other signs and symbols? This is one of the questions that motivates this research.

Symbolic Interactionism (SI) examines how meaning is constructed based on social objects, gestures, and behaviors (Mead 1934; Blumer 1969). It focuses on the meanings that arise from individuals' behaviors and social interactions, the way individuals use those subjective meanings to determine their behaviors, and the interpretive processes individuals use to arrive at those meanings. Our sense of identity is constructed based on a set of SI concepts—the looking glass self (Cooley

popular culture and research surveys confuse and combine the two terms. Although my research focuses specifically on racial differences, I will also make note of differences in ethnic and other cross-cultural categories in the resulting data.

1902), the process of role taking (Mead 1934), reflected appraisals (Kinch 1963), and social comparisons (Festinger 1954) — as well as individual traits and characteristics such as self-esteem and agency (Cast, Stets and Burke 1999). We interact according to our perception of individuals, their symbols, and the circumstances within those symbols have meaning (Blumer 1969; Simmel 1910; Stryker 1977). We construct personal identities based on what we perceive others to think of and treat us as well as by our achievements and by our own internal processing (Fine 1990; Rosenberg 1986; Yeung and Martin 2003). This in turn shapes individual characteristics such as self-esteem (Milkie, Warner and Ray 2014). These processes are reciprocal and constantly influencing our sense of self (Felson 1980; Cast, Stets and Burke 1999; Callero 2014). This social construction process of identity of self and others is an ongoing and proactive. We as individuals generally do not simply accept others' views of them. We work to present ourselves in ways that produce the ideal identity we want others to have of us (Goffman 1959; McCall and Simmons 1978; Swann 1987). But our selves are complicated and multidimensional. We perform different dimensions of our selves depending upon our audience and context, and different contexts can lead to one identity being viewed positively in one interaction but negatively in another (Goffman 1959). The activities of any given performance serve to influence other participants. We constantly seek to manipulate others, how the interaction defines us, and how we are represented by the interaction.

A time of critical identity development

The years 18 through 21 are a time of significant psychosocial development (e.g.,

Pascarella, Terenzini and Feldman 2005). Building off the work of previous theorists, Chickering (1969) developed and refined (Chickering and Reisser 1993) a set of categories or pathways, which are “major highways for journeying toward individualism—the discovery and refinement of one’s unique way of being—and also toward communion with other individuals and groups, including the larger national and global society” (Chickering 1969: 35). These seven vectors are:

1. Developing cognitive and intellectual skills such as understanding culture, aesthetics, and knowledge.
2. Developing a richer understanding of emotions and emotion management, particularly ones that are negative or interrupt their education process, such as anger, shame, guilt and fear.
3. Developing independence and autonomy with an increased ability for individuals to order their lives, feel less need to seek approval from others, and gain independence in solving their own problems.
4. Developing mature interpersonal relationships that incorporate openness to the differences between self and others as well as the development of intimacy and relationship commitment.
5. Developing identity of the self, as Chickering and Reisser (1993) describe: “A solid sense of self emerges, and it becomes more apparent that there is an *I* who coordinates the facets of personality, who ‘owns’ the house of self and is comfortable in all of its rooms” (p. 49).
6. Developing a sense of purpose and plan for their life, which shapes decision-making.
7. Developing personal values and beliefs that are their own and not necessarily reflective of those of parents and other influencers from younger years.

Other theorists also propose that this age is one of pivotal individual development (e.g. Erikson 1959, 1963, 1968; Marcia 1966, 1980; Sanford 1967, McEwen 2003).

Although they differ on exactly how this development happens, they are in agreement about the changes that happen during this time shape these individuals’ identities, selves, and futures and how they come to understand others. In part of their summation Erikson’s (1959, 1963, 1968) theory on this development, Pascarella et al. (2005: 20) write,

Development occurs through a series of *crises*, when biological and psychological changes interact with sociocultural demands to present a distinctive challenge or threat characteristic of a given stage. (italics in original)

The “threat” is not necessarily dangerous or bad, but an event or circumstance that provokes a reconsideration of something otherwise assumed. That these students are at this development stage is critical to this work. How will their choice of attending a university with significant structural diversity shape their identities? How will the swirl of racial hate crimes and political divisiveness impact this? How might creative engagement shape this identity development? I chose this development window to maximize the potential impact of the Sticks + Stones activities.

Social construction of others’ identities

The human tendency is to categorize others based on appearance and behavior. Our associations of different groups are drawn from experience, histories, myths, and media. Humans categorize quickly, which is not to say correctly. We prioritize speed rather than accuracy when making these associations, especially in today’s complex and sensory overloaded society. The ideas we conjure of others and the resulting prejudices are not innate personality characteristics but are rather inaccurate (Allport 1954) results of socializations of particular cultures (Pettigrew 1958).

We are socialized to be biased toward our own group and prejudiced against others. Tendencies for ingroup interactions and reluctance for outgroup interactions reinforce these categorizations. Ingroup members share similar salient identity characteristics that outgroup members do not. These aspects are fluid and flexible,

depending upon which groups individuals are interacting with at a particular moment in time (Cast, Stets and Burke 1999). For example, age and race might be the strongest commonalities for one interaction and gender and nationality for another. This plays out in society's micro, meso, and macro levels.

Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979) advocates that individuals create concepts of their identities from personal intuition and societal cues, which influence their social behavior. This behavior is often dependent upon the current context, the makeup of identities present, and historical precedents. Humans tend to favor ingroup commonalities over outgroup ones (Gurin *et al.* 1999). For example, ingroup members distribute rewards to each other more than outgroup members (Tajfel *et al.* 1971), deem ingroup work performance better than outgroup members' (Ferguson and Kelly 1964), and are more forgiving of ingroup members indiscretions than outgroup members' (Howard and Rothbart 1980). Salience of ingroup membership magnifies and distorts presumed differences of outgroup characteristics (e.g. Abrams 1985; Brewer 1979, 1999; Deschamps and Doise 1978; Skinner and Stephenson 1981; Turner 1981, 1985). Further, ingroup characteristics will be seen in more positive ways, and outgroup ones will be viewed more negatively (Hewstone 1990; Pettigrew 1981). People are associated with different groups not because actual differences but due to appearance, behavior, and association with other similar group members (Hughes 1984). Group members are socialized to behave and look similarly, thus reinforcing group memberships (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Social categorizations influence our opinions and behaviors (Hogg 2016). The categories or labels we assign to ourselves and others influence with whom we

interact and our behaviors within those interactions (Callero 2014). Through the Sticks + Stones activities, I manipulate these identity categorizations in the form of labeling to make overt what is often covert. Making these identities more concrete in definition and application creates an opportunity to reduce the stratifying and diminishing powers of these labels (Bettie 2014; Milkie, Warner and Ray 2014). Further, identifying and deconstructing the destructive aspects of these categorizations offers an opportunity to reduce the power of those terms.

The social construction of stereotypes, bias, and prejudice

The ideas we hold of others are learned through media exposure, social norms, and implicit undertones in institutions and conversations. These categorizations and group identity differences can lead to stereotypes, which can lead to prejudice (Allport 1954). Both are forms of bias (Engberg 2004). Bias can be both explicit—a conscious understanding of how one views others—and implicit—subconscious understandings that order and influence interactions, agency, and social structure.

These categorizations become significant determining factors not only in the ways different groups look and interact but also in their ability to acquire wealth and resources (Milkie, Warner and Ray 2014). Individuals refuse to associate with individuals whom they perceived to belong to another (inferior) group, groups refuse other groups, and society stratifies and discriminates based on these scripts (Gaertner *et al.* 1999, 175). Systems of bias perpetuate long-term repression of some and progress of others.⁶⁷ Although laws prohibit the discrimination of others based on

⁶ Although stereotypes, bias, and prejudice can apply to a range of different identities such as gender, sexual orientation, and age, this research will focus on racialized “otherness.”

race, the opinions and beliefs attached to them persist and suppress. The negative effects of racial stereotyping are numerous including restricted residential opportunities (e.g., Charles 2003), detrimental educational attainment (e.g., Lee 2002), and lower socioeconomic status, which can lead to more decreased quality of health (e.g. Williams 1999).

We can look at prejudice through cognitive (opinions, beliefs and attitudes about diverse others), affective (feelings and emotions about racialized others), and a conative (behavior towards diverse others) components (Engberg 2004). Previous research shows that individuals will tend to categorize others based on personal experiences, media messages, institutional messages, and ingroup influences. Ingroup preferences dominate human patterns of interaction (Gaertner *et al.* 1999). People will interact with others similar to their most salient identity categories, such as race, gender, and nationality. People gather in ingroups for a variety of reasons including to a desire to cultivate positive self-image (Heider 1958), group self-esteem (Crocker and Luhtanen 1990), and comfort (De Grada et al. 1999; Pettigrew 1994). We can also assume that without some form of interruption, these patterns will persist (Allport 1954). The social construction of racial identities (e.g., Lopez 1994; Morris 2007)⁸ offers an opportunity for reforming and reshaping these pervasive generalizations away from their negative associations (review by Blair 2002) and toward more positive ones. These considerations also motivate this research.

⁷ To date, much research has addressed different aspects of racial stereotyping and prejudice including the connection to stigma and alternate identities, racial priming or the subconscious responses to certain coded racial stimuli, attitude measurement, and implicit and explicit biases. In addition, one distinction has been made between “explicit” or conscious and purposeful stereotypical attitudes and “implicit” or automatic and subconscious ones (e.g., review in Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006).

⁸ The literature is not in agreement on this point, however enough critical mass is in agreement to move forward on this assumption.

Importance of student interactions with diverse others

College is a time of great transition. Students are adjusting to new social and cultural contexts and a new academic environment (Locks et al. 2008). Students' college experiences shape their learning and their personal development (Pascarella, Whitt, and Nora 1996), and peers are strong influencers in this process (Astin 1993).

Although almost any form of peer interaction can shape this development, students' interactions with different racial and ethnic groups provide a distinct set of cognitive, cultural, and social benefits (Hurtado 2001; Hurtado et al. 2002). For example, Huratdo's (2005) study yielded key insights about the role of diverse interactions during college. She found that frequency of interactions with diverse peers is important to fostering a pluralistic orientation toward cultural norms and an increase in civic engagement. Second, positive cross-racial interactions foster opinions that racism is a problem that needs to be addressed as well as social inequality as well as increased complex critical thinking skills. Negative interactions with diverse peers resulted in less cognitive development. Finally, interactions with diverse peers were positively associated with increased problem-solving skills.

Not all students are equally swayed to interact with diverse others (Pascarella et al. 1996). A range of variables influence students' openness to diversity including precollege characteristics such as students' previous exposure to diverse others, the institution attended, students' academic experience, and students' non-academic involvement (Astin 1993; Tam and Bassett 2004). For example, team-based sports activities and Greek sororities and fraternities generally have a negative effect on students' development of social action and democratic outcomes (Hurtado et al. 2002;

Pascarella et al. 1996). On the other hand, students who entered college with previous interactions with diverse peers are more likely to do well academically than those from non-diverse high schools, especially those with lower grade point averages (Tam and Bassett 2004). Further, engaging with diverse peers increases an individual's ability to take others' perspectives on a given issue and enhances their understanding of a democratic society (Hurtado et al. 2002). Although being in proximity of others interacting across diversity lines is beneficial to students self-reported development (Chang et al. 2006), students' own interactions are the most beneficial to them individually (Hurtado 2005).

Further, cross-racial interactions can reduce prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005), increase comfort with people from other races (Engberg 2007; Engberg and Hurtado 2011; Hurtado 2005), foster more racial and cultural understanding and engagement (Astin 1993; Chang et al. 2006; Denson and Chang 2009; Denson and Zhang 2010; Pike et al. 2007), increase college satisfaction and sense of belonging on campus, increase retention (Astin 1993; Bowman 2013; Bowman and Denson 2012; Chang 1999; Locks et al. 2008), and shape their overall success in college (Pascarella et al. 1996). Lastly, cross-racial interactions are an essential part of a campus' healthy racial climate (Harper and Hurtado 2007; Hurtado et al. 2008).

Although this and other research demonstrates the benefits of college students interacting with diverse peers, the human tendency is to prefer ingroup interactions rather than outgroup ones (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Left to chance, students will tend to maintain their ingroup interactions rather than outgroup ones (Gaertner *et al.* 1999).

The potential for visual sociology of art

The incorporation of visual research methods is relatively new to sociology. Much of the past two decades of visual research literature advocates for photography's ethnographic and anthropological possibilities to capture daily practices and social exchanges (e.g., Wagner 2007; Dant 2004) and changes over time (e.g., Page 2001; Reiger 1996;). Art plays an important role, acting as a mirror to society's strengths and weaknesses, as a provocateur of what might be, and as a cultural mediator. Yet most social scientists negate art in their research (Prosser and Loxley 2008). How might we consider the role of artists and artistic objects in society? How can we advance a sociological connection to art? Visual art and design works are coded with cultural, linguistic, and social references. These visuals do not operate in isolation but are referential of the maker and the culture and era within which they are situated (Pauwels 2010; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). It is this reflective and referential quality that creates rich opportunities for sociology. The following addresses the roles of visual artists and their art objects to elucidate why this omission is significant.

First, artists and their objects can act as mirrors to society, reflecting society's culturally understood norms, signs, and symbols. Art communicates culture, religion, beliefs, behaviors, societal expectations, and humans' relationships to each other, nature, and objects through commonly understood visible language. Artists engage these cultural codes to amplify their messages. From images of Chairman Mao to *The Mona Lisa* to *Whistler's Mother*, portraits can depict powerful leaders or ordinary citizens framed within their emotional, social, and cultural capital. These artifacts,

their presentations, and the collections within which they sit offer windows into specific times, cultures, and societal values.

All art forms change the field of vision by which we originally and naturally react to reality. On the one hand, art brings us closer to reality, bringing us into a more immediate relationship with its proper and innermost meaning by revealing to us behind the cold strangeness of the world the animated quality of being (Sein) through which it becomes familiar and intelligible for us. On the other hand, every artistic medium introduces abstractions from the immediacy of material things. It weakens concrete stimuli and introduces a veil between them and us, analogous to the blue hue, which surrounds distant mountains.

(Simmel 1968: 77)

Artists and their objects can prompt dialectics between historical knowledge, societal norms, and relationships within society. Art can produce new meanings by representing unexpected symbols, colors, and juxtapositions and can offer ethnographical and anthropological data about society. There is sociological value in studying art's messages and an audience's response to those messages (Clammer 2014: 4).

Second, artistic objects act as agents in society. More often than not, art is not merely a reflection; it is a stimulant and a provocation about its subject matter. For example, the self-portraits of Mexican artist Frida Kahlo are more than mere visual representations of herself. They depict her emotional state, her mental and physical wellbeing and lack thereof, influential people in her life, and the societal expectations and norms surrounding her. Her portraits reflect her current mindset and point to aspects she wishes to change. Her paintings, like other artistic works, address micro, meso and macro levels of societal interactions. They address the social, the social psychological, relationships and group formations, societal agents, and social

structures. The messages of her portraits are relatable to audiences, which transfers their meaning to greater level of societal influence and cultural standing.

In addition, her paintings often jar the viewer with their blunt and deviant depictions to punctuate her message. She manipulates social norms to make her point. As with any artist object, the viewer's expectations of what art should be are juxtaposed against what is presented. These presentations may be aesthetically pleasing or disconcerting, depending upon the intent of the artist and the "visual stomach" of the viewer. Either way, visual objects push the viewer to reconsider the taken-for-granted. "While aesthetic pleasure may not change the world, it does change oneself and one's relationship to the world" (Stremmel 2004: 92). Art is a provocative force within society that can alter individuals' opinions, behaviors, and values. One artist's view can create a sea change in others and in society. "The influence of aesthetic forces upon social facts is most vivid in modern conflicts between socialistic and individualist tendencies" (Simmel 1968: 74). These changes can magnify and grow to influence group and larger structures, all of which are substance for sociological studies.

Third, artistic works play a significant role in reflecting and shaping the larger system of culture, which in turn influences politics, societal systems and institutions. Culture is an ever-evolving force that represents life, and visual art can play a significant role in this reflection and reimagining (Simmel 1968: 12). Simmel advocates how human depictions communicate because we can easily make concrete and understandable connections when presented even with abstract visuals of human form. Although a specific example of the kinds of visuals artists depict, it speaks to

the ease at which art can communicate and create shared understandings active within its respective culture. As articulated by Clammer, “The image does work. It is not something floating above society, but the very means through which society perceives, represents and thus constitutes itself” (2014: 9). Enmeshed in this are ideas of aesthetics and taste, provocation, and historical context. Sociologists study this content elsewhere but rarely address artistic examples (Clammer 2014).

Fourth, art connects to, represents and challenges our sociological social psychological understandings. On a basic level, art first represents emotions and mental processes of the maker and the artist’s efforts to depict their identity (Simmel 1968). Self-identity often does not align with a more general societal view. Artists’ depictions blend specific and personal, simultaneously prompting association and disassociation among their viewers. The result is a dialectic between the artist, the content represented, and the viewer’s “bodily and mental structures” (Simmel 1968: 85). A work of art connects to the emotions of audience and emotional structures in society. Affect and other social psychological connections are at play in artistic works. Art has the potential to reach viewers on an individual level, the level of the self. It is through this provocation that art can undermine the emotional structures in society (Clammer 2014: 13). The artist brings society into the artistic work, creating a response and interpretation of social relationships.

Finally, art and artistic practices function within economic structures. Theorists often focus on the marketplace as a determinant shaping society, and art has a role in this marketplace. Artists make works that are consumed by others. “Art is a form of social capital for those who produce it, teach it, understand it, collect it and

display it. As such, it is a significant part of the total economy, symbolic as well as ‘real’, of any given society” (Clammer 2014: 105). Coffee-table books, admission to exhibits, posters and reprints as well as the sale of original works engage the economy. Art as a commodity is embedded in the marketplace. This commodification can create a risk of diluting effectiveness, as then art becomes targeted toward a monetary and consumption goals rather than expressive ones. Money convolutes the exchange by introducing a potentially artificial relationship between the viewer, artist, and the artistic object. That said, however complicated and potential compromised it might be, art is an active player in the marketplace.

In addition, our society is becoming increasingly visually oriented. We represent ourselves through social media profiles, websites, and image collection sites such as Pinterest and Instagram. Inclusion of visual communication and visual representation offers opportunities written language cannot. Many scholars

are overlooking the vast expressive potential of visual representation that opens up the way to scholarly argumentation and new avenues of expressing the unspeakable and unquantifiable. Visual representations not only give way to the depicted subject or object but also tend to rebound often very revealing aspects about the producer and culture of production (Pauwels 2010: 572).

Whether constructing imagery or reflecting upon it, research regarding participants’ engagement with visual references offers an area of expansion in sociology. The need for more longitudinal research and more experimentation of visual research methods as well as the ongoing detrimental affects of racial stereotyping motivate this research.

Artistic objects play a significant role in society. “Its aesthetic value comes from the transformation of tactile impressions by optical impressions” (Simmel 1968:

88). Those transformations act as a reflection of norms and behaviors, offer a reconsideration of those norms and provocation for new possibilities, are influential in shaping culture, connect social psychological aspects of the self, and are representative in the marketplace. In addition, art transcends geographical boundaries and cultural differences. Dance, religious illustrations, architecture, music and its lyrics, as well as visual art works have been present cultures across the globe. Art functions at a global level, representing politics and beliefs, cultural inconsistencies and ideas of the self. The far-reaching societal application and consumption of art warrants its place in a sociological study. Taken together these considerations can frame the ways sociologists might consider art's role in society.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This research has been conducted at University of Maryland, College Park (UMD) a large, public, urban university on the east coast of the United States. UMD has an Asian American President and one of the most diverse student bodies for a flagship in the country (Loh 2018).⁹ Its location also provides context to students' identities. Prince George's, the county in which UMD resides, is a study in contrast. On one hand, it contains some of the most affluent Black communities in the country (Brown 2015). The county that once had the most enslaved Blacks in the state is now a destination for them (Henry 2019, Wiggins, Morello and Keating 2011). On the other, Prince George's had one of the highest levels of home foreclosures during the late 2008 housing bust, and its high crime rate and high rate of vacant homes have dampen the area's economic recovery (Shin 2013). UMD's population widens the socioeconomic gap as the campus attracts students from affluent families and prepares many for high-paying jobs and increased economic security (Kim 2019). The school's segregation legacy includes denying admission to Thurgood Marshall, who would become the first Black Supreme Court justice and the lawyer who successfully argued that separate but equal was unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* (Cassie 2017). In a state where 36 percent of high school graduates are

⁹ During the time of this study, University has dropped in its diversity rankings (Richman 2018).

Black (Richman 2018), only 7.3 percent of the 2018 UMD incoming freshman population is (Dvorak 2019).

With a population of 40,000 students (Anderson 2019), this campus represents a microcosm of the country's different racial, ethnic, political, and religious identities. More than one-third of UMD's student population is comprised of racial minorities (Richman 2018). This campus is embedded in a state that has a reputation for being politically liberal, however most of its voters are moderate (36%), and only a slightly larger percentage describe themselves as liberal (29%) rather than conservative (26%) based on a recent survey (Pew_Research_Center 2014).¹⁰ The greater the diversity the greater the potential for diversity initiatives and interactions to have an impact (Chang 2002). For the 2018 U.S. News & World Report, UMD ranked number 68 for most ethnically diverse universities in the United States (Brice-Saddler 2018). This campus can be considered structurally diverse given its population's proportional representation of different racial and ethnic groups in its student population (Hurtado et al. 1999).

For true and lasting changes of stereotypical associations to happen on college campuses, three dimensions are needed: structural diversity, diversity-related initiatives, and diverse interactions (Milem 2003). Both this university and its location have a high degree of structural racial diversity. When this freshman population began its studies, non-Hispanic Whites made up 52% of the student population, with Asians (16%), Blacks (13%), and Hispanics (9%) as the three largest minority racial student populations. The city has similar racial makeup: 52% Non-Hispanic White, 15% Asian, 18% Black, 12% Hispanic, and 4% of two or more races

¹⁰ N=644

(www.census.gov). My online survey sample as detailed in Figure 2 Online survey descriptives generally reflects these numbers. The university also actively promotes its diverse makeup and supports diverse activities on its website and through messages from its President. This location is suitable for this inquiry, and this freshman population is a key demographic to employ for examining the potential effects of the Sticks + Stones activities.

This project began in Fall 2015 with approximately 1,020 freshmen enrolled in one of 51 offerings¹¹ of an introduction-to-college course, UNIV100. This course is offered across campus in different schools and academic programs. Some are offered as a one-credit course with basic information for undeclared majors and others are offered in schools such as the Robert H. Smith School of Business and colleges such as Computer, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences. Students enroll in the difference course sections based on a declared major, through admittance into a content-specific living-learning community such as social justice or art, or into general course sections for freshmen who are undecided about their majors. Courses offered out of these areas incorporate information about their programs, such as strategies for applying to the business school, and students can earn 1-3 credits depending on how much additional content is being communicated and contact hours. Most course offerings meet once a week for 90 minutes. All of these offerings include a unit on diversity, which these research activities satisfy.¹² Various members of the University

¹¹ These 51 sections made up about one-quarter of the overall campus offering of this course.

¹² Other learning modules for this course include career and major exploration, time management, campus resources, and the difference between high school and college. The curriculum is largely standardized across the course sections, however the instructors have flexibility in choosing what assignments to give for components such as the diversity requirement.

community including tenured and tenure-track professors, part-time instructors, graduate students, and staff members teach these courses.¹³

The study population was both controlled and random. The sampling frame was randomly determined by how the students' self-selected into their course sections, through university-level admissions into different course-related programs, and through my choices regarding which courses would participate or not in the research activities.¹⁴ I strove for as much academic diversity as possible across the participating disciplines, but some choices were based upon logistical criteria such as scheduling and instructor compliance. (See Table 2 Project Sample.)

TABLE 2		
Project Sample		
COURSE SECTIONS	COURSES	STUDENTS
Participation in all research activities	26	50% (511)
Completed self-portrait and labeling but not Privilege Walk	4	15% (158)
Completed Privilege Walk but not self-portrait and labeling	3	4% (45)
Completed different diversity activities (control)	18	31% (318)
Total	51	1016*
DECLARED MAJORS		
Computer Science, Mathematics and Natural Sciences		19%
Social and Behavioral Sciences		6%
Architecture		2%
Public Health		7%
Unknown/undecided		66%
Note: *16 students were enrolled in more than one course section. This reduced the overall number of participants from 1032.		

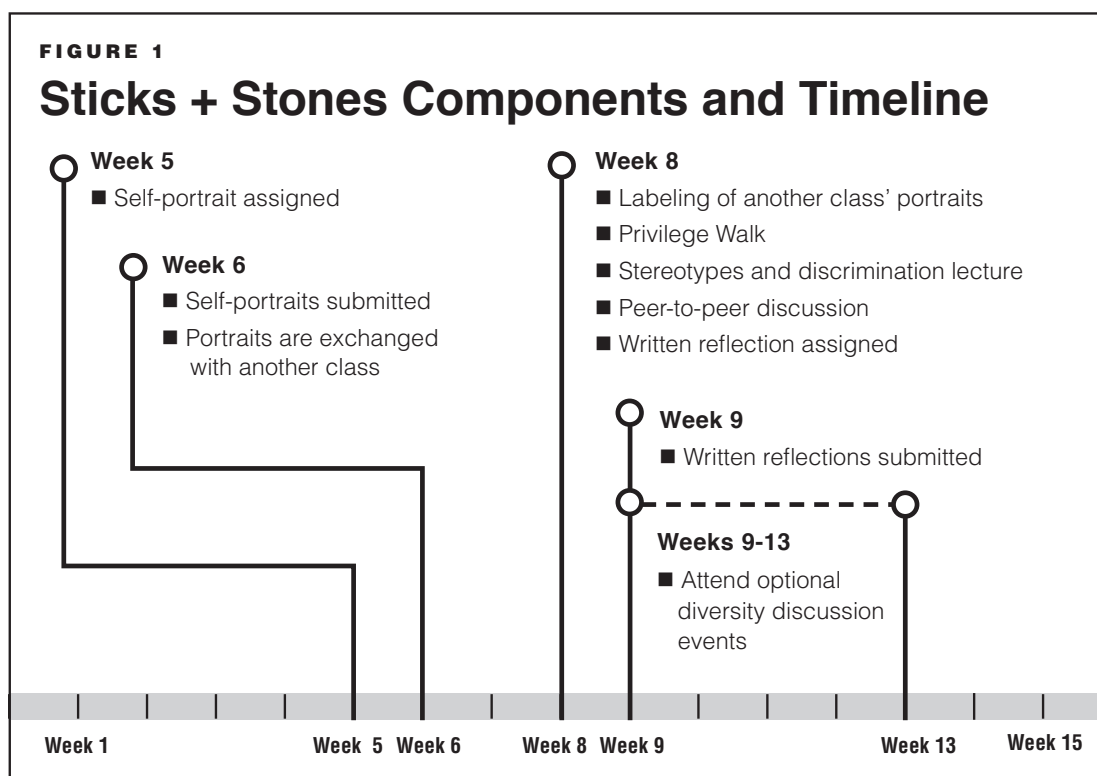
¹³ These instructors had different backgrounds and subject matter expertise, and thus not all were well versed in leading creative engagement activities nor potentially thorny dialogues about racial differences. Just as field research often relies upon research assistants to gather data for primary investigators, this method, too, relies upon a multitude of people to facilitate or help facilitate this research. However, the lack of direct oversight on all of these courses creates an opportunity for slippage and inconsistencies in the research.

¹⁴ The students had no knowledge of this research prior to enrollment.

PROCEDURES

This project builds upon the theories described in Chapter 1 to create a distinctive set of activities aimed at manipulating racial opinions in college students. Diversity training efforts generally take the form of contact with diverse others, addressing about issues and concerns about diverse others often through discussion, or both (Denson 2009). These activities incorporate both as research has proven the combination to be more effective (Dovidio et al. 2004).

I employed six components: a self-portrait assignment, the Privilege Walk, labeling and stereotyping of the self-portraits, a short lecture that provides empirical data about stereotypes, peer-to-peer dialogue about diversity issues, and a written reflection assignment. A seventh component, optional attendance to diversity-related discussions hosted by an on-campus office, received minimal participation. A colleague and I trained the instructors on how to execute these project components before the start of the Fall 2015 semester. I also provided instructors with presentation files to introduce the self-portrait assignment, directions for the self-portrait and written reflection assignments, additional notes and references for the lecture on stereotypes, directions and prompts for the Privilege Walk, and a list of questions suggesting ways to address these different components during the class discussion. These materials can be found in the appendix.



These activities began during Week 5 of a 16-week semester. (See Figure 1 Sticks + Stones Components and Timeline). This gave these freshmen time to adjust to college life without having too much time pass before they participated in the activities. This timeframe also aligned with when the control course sections were conducting their diversity components, keeping the timing as consistent as possible across the different course offerings. Students were assigned the self-portrait during the Week 5 course meeting and submitted their completed assignment the following week. A graduate assistant coordinated the collection and re-distribution of the self-portraits to the different courses during Weeks 6 and 7. The bulk of the project activities take place during Week 8. I also coordinated with leaders from an on-campus student diversity office to arrange for additional diversity discussion events.

We intended these as opportunities for students to continue their discussions and mental processing of the activities content. Instructors encouraged but did not require students to participate in these events, and the organizing campus office reported that they were sparsely attended.

Self-portrait

The self-portrait assignment,¹⁵ the project's creative engagement component, asked participants to design a self-portrait that visualized the most salient aspects of their identity. Unlike classical fine art portraiture, which typically shows a life-like image of a person's face, clothing, or body, these portraits were to be visual abstractions, symbolic and referential, rather than concrete imagery. The self-portraits could include both indexical and iconic meaning, representative of larger cultural norms and sentiments. Students could include information such as music preferences, hobbies, personal interests, maps of geographically relevant locations, and religious, national, and cultural identities. To simulate consistency across the different sections, I provided instructors with an assignment handout, a PowerPoint to introduce the assignment, and art-making materials including paper and markers to share with students.

The self-portrait assignment called upon each student to reflect upon their past, present, and future selves during this time of transition: their freshman year. Students could choose which of their identity aspects to represent including previous experiences, current interests, and possible selves (Markus and Nurius 1986).

¹⁵ See Appendix E for the assignment description.

Students were instructed to exclude personally identifying elements such as their names and images of their face. This helped to create anonymity for the second component: labeling and stereotyping these self-portraits.

The self-portrait assignment is a visual exercise in the reflected appraisal process (Rosenberg 1986). Students create imagery that represents both how they see themselves and how they want others to see them, though their most salient identity features. The self-portrait is a familiar communication medium for the college students. These digital natives grew up with the proliferation of avatars, “selfies,” social media profile photos, and other self-reflexive and interpretative imagery. They are accustomed to visually curating their lives and seeing the “highlight reels” of their friends via social media. The participants’ reconstruction of their selves through visual means is indicative of the ways they conceive of, prioritize, and curate their identities.

The current generation of college students is arguably the most digitally and self-image orientated to date and these images communicate conscious and unconscious ideas about the self. The self-portrait is regarded as a necessity in generating cultural capital (Schwarz 2010). Not only does the self-portrait capture the participants’ essences of their identities, but it is also a culturally recognizable visual art form. Participants can reference personal and collective cultural imagery to compose their self-image. Further, engaging students in personal creative engagement heightens students’ cognitive processes (Catterall 2002) and reduces the tendency for rote responses to (course-mandated) diversity units.

The students are able to choose from a range of media to create their portrait including pre-printed media material such as magazines, digital content such as images found on the World Wide Web, and markers and pencils. The importance of artistic skill in final self-portraits is diminished. The content of these visual compositions and the conscious selection of that imagery are the focus of the ensuing class discussions rather than the level of artistic expertise. Prosser and Loxley (2008) comment about how for example, even an elementary school's graphic aligns with the anticipated aesthetic outcomes of the self-portraits: "Simple should not be equated with simplistic and whilst the end result may look unimpressive, the process and empowerment, engagement and trustworthiness of the data, which is at the heart of this method, is" (Prosser and Loxley 2008: 28). By creating a highly individualized perspective the self, I expected students then reflected back upon how their self images aligns and misaligns with others and cultural norms.

Labeling and stereotyping of self-portraits

The second component prompted students to engage in an exercise of anonymous stereotyping and labeling. Each classroom of students received a set of self-portraits from another course section. To my knowledge, none of the students knew the subjects of the self-portraits they received. Students were provided blank label stickers and same-color pens. Each portrait, created on 11-by-17-inch sheets of paper, was passed from student-to-student with another 11-by-17 sheet of paper to attach the labels. Students studied each self-portrait, wrote two or three words or phrases that describe the person depicted within the portrait on the label stickers, adhered those labels to the

non-portrait sheet of paper, and then passed both the portrait and its corresponding label sheet of paper to the next student. The list of terms attributed to a corresponding portrait grew as each student reviewed a portrait, assigned terms, and then passed that to the next student to do the same.

Instructors encouraged students to say what comes to mind rather than restrict their responses to be politically correct. Students' labeling required them to decoded the messages and meanings in each self-portrait based on personal lived experiences, media portrayals, and institutional expectations. As much as possible, each student assigned labels to all of the provided portraits. The end result was an 11-by-17 inch sheet of paper with a series of sticker labels that served as a composite for how the class described the person depicted in the self-portrait. This labeling process made overt the invisible and subconscious process of categorizing and stereotyping. These sheets of label stickers were then displayed with their corresponding self-portraits for class discussion after the students had completed the Privilege Walk and instructors had given the presentation about the ways stereotypes and bias function in society.

I view the labeling of the self-portraits as an informal means of in-group and out-group interactions as well as an overt reflective appraisal process. These activities deliberately invoked a "ritual contamination of the performer" (Goffman 1959: 67) by collapsing front and back stages (Picca and Feagin 2007). The self-portraits and the labeling process represent both stages of this process. The self-portraits represent front stage with the students' presenting their ideal selves to others, and backstage with the labeling process and its potential to negate that image as well as create other aspects of that individual's identity, whether socially desirable or not. This collapse is

intended to reveal the more authentic backstage performances regarding their beliefs and opinions about racial and ethnic others. Further, cognitive development for individuals at this age is spurred by cognitive disequilibria (Chickering and Reisser 1993) such as conflicts and contradictions that produce manageable levels of uncertainty, instability, and possibly anxiety (Ruble, Eisenberg and Higgins 1994). Stereotypes are imbued to us in everyday life, and without conscious efforts, they will persist (Devine 1989). This front and back stage collapsing process can create cognitive conflict and contradictions as it goes against the social norm expectations.

Privilege Walk

For the next component, I employed the Privilege Walk, a common diversity training exercise. The Privilege Walk is a physical, performance activity that reveals how privileged individuals' lives have been relative to others also completing the exercise. For this activity, participants begin standing shoulder-to-shoulder in a line and then take steps forward for advantages and steps backwards for disadvantages. The exercise helps identify the beneficial and deleterious aspects of their lives. Participants take steps forward to situations such as having access to more than 50 books in a home growing up, studying the culture of their ancestors in school, and being encouraged to attend college. They take steps backward for situations such as if they had a parent who had to work nights or weekends to support their family, if they felt embarrassed about their clothes or housing while growing up, or if they felt like their racial, sexual orientation, gender, or ability group was not well represented in the media. By the end, the more privileged stand toward the front and the

disadvantaged in the back. It is embodied relative deprivation (Pettigrew 2016, Vanneman and Pettigrew 1972). The course instructor facilitated a brief discussion addressing where the students' ended up standing in relation to the group and then asked additional questions later in the overall larger peer-to-peer discussion.

The Privilege Walk can be an impressionable activity because, once complete, participants understand an identity that many hadn't considered before: the extent of their privilege. That they come to understand this in juxtaposition to their peers can make the identity more salient (Tajfel & Turner 1979). Given that group members will behave in ways that widen the gap between them and out-group members (Tajfel & Turner 1979), I directed instructors to emphasize the cross-categorization (Crisp & Hewstone 2007 from Hogg 2016, Hogg 2015 from Hogg 2016) identities of the class: UMD student. This is done to minimize the negative effects of seeing differences and maximize the positive effects of seeing similarities. Incorporating activities such as the Privilege Walk into non-sociology curricula can mitigate the resistance to learning about privilege and inequality and create more racial consciousness (Burke and Banks 2012).

Presentation about stereotypes and discrimination

Instructors then presented students with empirical sociological information about how stereotypes operate in our daily lives and how they can be detrimental to the life chances of minority groups. The powerpoint, developed by a sociology faculty member with expertise leading such discussions, included talking points, references, and additional notes for the ensuing peer-to-peer discussion. The faculty member

presented the powerpoint to instructors during their pre-course training session and provided the file and information to instructors in advance of the presentation date.

Peer-to-peer dialogue

Students then engaged in the fifth part of the project: peer-to-peer diversity dialogue.

Students addressed the positive and negative stereotypes in the labels, how these categories applied or not to themselves and their peers, why they exist, why they stereotype, and what they could do to reduce their propensity to stereotype. I provided instructors with discussion prompts related to all four previous components as well as general questions about students' lives and diversity issues. These included: *How did you choose the most salient parts of your identities to represent in your self-portrait? What aspects of other students' identities seem to be most important? How, if at all, did racial and ethnic identity play into these self-portraits? Did you find any of the label descriptions surprising? Were there any comments that you decided not to include on other portraits? Is the diversity you've experienced on this campus different from your high school or neighborhood? If so, how?*¹⁶

Previous research has found that peer-to-peer interaction is potentially the most effective way of prompting change during college (Astin 1993, Feldman and Newcomb 1969, Pascarella, Terenzini and Feldman 2005). During pre-course training, I emphasized to the instructors about how to emphasize the erroneous knowledge that stereotypes create and the positive aspects of different races. I directed instructors to focus discussions on race-affirming content rather than color-blind motivations as

¹⁶ See Appendix H for a complete list of the discussion prompts that I provided to instructors. I encouraged them to follow the flow of their students' conversations and ask questions that seemed most salient to their students' interests about stereotypes and bias.

those interventions have shown to make stereotypes and prejudice more susceptible to rebound (Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi 2001, Schofield 1986, Wegner 1994).

Finally, students completed a written reflection about their thoughts and experiences about this project and possible identity changes based on these two activities.¹⁷ The writing process required participants to synthesize, assess, and express their thoughts and opinions about identity, the role of stereotypes, and racial schemas in society and on campus. This written component, assigned at the end of this series of activities, allowed students an opportunity to express their concluding thoughts and ideas. This provided an opportunity for students to reiterate comments from the class discussion, share ideas that they might not have felt comfortable expressing aloud during class or articulate ideas they had formed after the class discussion concluded.¹⁸ Students were also encouraged to attend additional diversity discussion events hosted by the on-campus student diversity organization office, but participation was negligible.

SAMPLE

I chose incoming freshmen as participants because they are at the commencement of being socialized into university life at this potential turning point of psychosocial development (Chickering 1969; Chickering and Reisser 1993; Pascarella, Terenzini and Feldman 2005). Students are traversing multiple shifting terrains: social circles, career possibilities, the emergence of adult responsibilities, and life away from a

¹⁷ See Appendix F for the complete assignment description.

¹⁸ Although I do not include any data from the written reflections in this dissertation, the component is important to mention as it might have increased students' memory of and considerations about these activities that they then talk about in the in-depth interviews.

parental unit. For students on racially diverse campuses, this can also include navigating unfamiliar interactions with racialized others found in classmates, faculty, and the general campus population. These students are forming and reforming opinions that can solidify to determine lifelong social, economic, and political choices (Gurin et al. 1999). Their cognitive and psychological capacities can be developed to include positive associations of racial others (Gurin et al. 1999).

This project began at the start of this cohort's first semester of their freshman year, the best time to begin capturing changes over their college-life trajectory.¹⁹ Further, these students entered their higher education studies at an unprecedented era of racial, ethnic, and cultural fusion and division. Given the unmatched rates on global immigration, technological communications, and transoceanic travel possibilities, encounters with diverse populations are practically a foregone conclusion. The UMD Campus Assessment Working Group surveyed this freshman class including members of this research cohort. Their results indicate that at the beginning of their freshman year, two-thirds (67%) of respondents said the campus' racial and ethnic population was more diverse than the neighborhood where they grew up and more than half (58%) said it was more diverse than their high school.

The benefits students reap from intergroup interactions within the college context include less tendency to drop out of college, more satisfaction with their college experiences, more positive impressions of their intellectual selves, and more

¹⁹ These research activities took place during an impressionable time in these young adult lives. Consequently, any changes that transpire can have a tremendous impact on their post-college, adult selves. Although the surveys and other data collection methods are taking place only during the college years, we expect the ramifications of this research treatment to persist into post-college years. An extended study that tracks these graduates through their adult lives, marking successes and achievements between the control and participant groups is also needed but beyond the scope of this research.

positive impressions of their social selves (Chang 2001). In addition, students who interact with a diverse peer group have higher complex thinking skills, greater ability to process complex problems, and a stronger likelihood of wanting to continue with post-graduate degree studies (Gurin 1999). Finally, positive associations with minority groups can benefit the overall campus climate (Milem 2003). “Colleges and universities are in an auspicious position to resolve racial animosity and improve racial circumstances, both within their institutions and beyond the campus” (Chang 2000; 154). This requires skills and experience interacting with multidimensional populations. Erroneous and negative racial impressions can create barriers to otherwise successful careers, whereas a more inviting, tolerant environment makes for fewer barriers to and increases student learning (Hurtado 1999; Milem 2003).

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

I use three different methods in this dissertation: two waves of an online survey; a one-time paper questionnaire administered in the participating classes; and two sets of in-depth interviews, one conducted in the cohort’s freshman year and another conducted in their senior year. The use of multiple data sources allows for triangulation of findings. This mixed method approach affords analysis of students’ short-term and long-term reactions to the UNIV100 diversity components as well as captures any changes about opinions of and behavior towards diverse others. It also creates qualitative data about the immediate impact of the Sticks + Stones components and in-depth understanding of the ways students are responding to the activities, their diverse peers, and the campus environment.

Online survey (Appendix A)

This survey collected information about the participants' relevant personal history, as well as opinions and behavior during their college career. The survey consists of a series of forced answer, unipolar and bipolar questions with 0-2, 0-5, and 0-9 ranges. Questions with seven or more categories seemed to yield more reliable answers (Alwin 1992; Alwin and Krosnick 1991; Schaeffer and Presser 2003), however given that I was using questions from another campus survey (described below) I was unable to adhere to the 0-9 scale for many of the questions.

All of the participating students were invited to take the online survey in the fall 2015 semester, their first on campus. Those who responded to this survey were invited to take it again²⁰ in the 2019 spring semester, their fourth year on campus. Of the 1,016 students invited to take the survey, 416 (41%) responded. Of those 416 students, 170 (41%) also completed the spring 2019 survey. I used responses from these 170 students in my analysis. Although these percentages could be higher, they are within the range of average number of responses for an online survey (Hill, Dean and Murphy 2013, Pedersen and Nielsen 2016, Poynton, DeFouw and Morizio 2019). This decrease in participation fits within the trend of college students' participation in such surveys (Park et al. 2019).

The online survey captures demographic data including race, ethnicity, religion, political leanings, and gender as well as responses about the campus, feelings toward different racial and political groups and opinions about diversity. The

²⁰ Participants who unenrolled from UMD were unable to complete subsequent surveys.

Campus Assessment Working Group (CAWG) administers an annual survey of UMD students. I repeat their relevant questions as these have been thoroughly vetted and their data would offer me additional responses if I did not receive enough in my survey.²¹ I repeated the following questions that asked how much respondents agree or disagree with the following statements using a five-point scale:

- UMD is a racially/ethnically diverse campus.
- Being on a culturally diverse campus is one of the benefits of my UMD experience.
- Having racial/ethnic diversity at UMD is a good goal.
- In general, I feel as though I belong at UMD.
- In general, I feel comfortable at UMD.
- In general, I like being a student here.

I also repeated a CAWG question that asked about levels of confidence in terms of students' abilities to interact effectively with those who are different in regards to country of origin, disability, gender, political views, race/ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status. Students could respond "Not at all confident," "somewhat confident," and "very confident."

Research has shown that implicit associations such as prejudice are associated with the amygdala processing, and thus is connected to emotional responses, especially to threats and fear (Amodio, Harmon-Jones and Devine 2003). With this in mind, I included questions about how comfortable respondents would be if they were assigned a roommate who was Asian, Black, Latino/Latina, and White. Possible responses were very comfortable, comfortable, neither comfortable nor uncomfortable, uncomfortable, and very uncomfortable. I also asked how close respondents feel to Asians, Blacks, Latinos, and Whites using a nine-point scale.

²¹ I received enough responses, so I did not need their data for this dissertation.

Students' responses establish prejudice or lack thereof to different racial groups and can show how, if at all, these opinions change from freshman to senior year.

Online survey analytic strategy

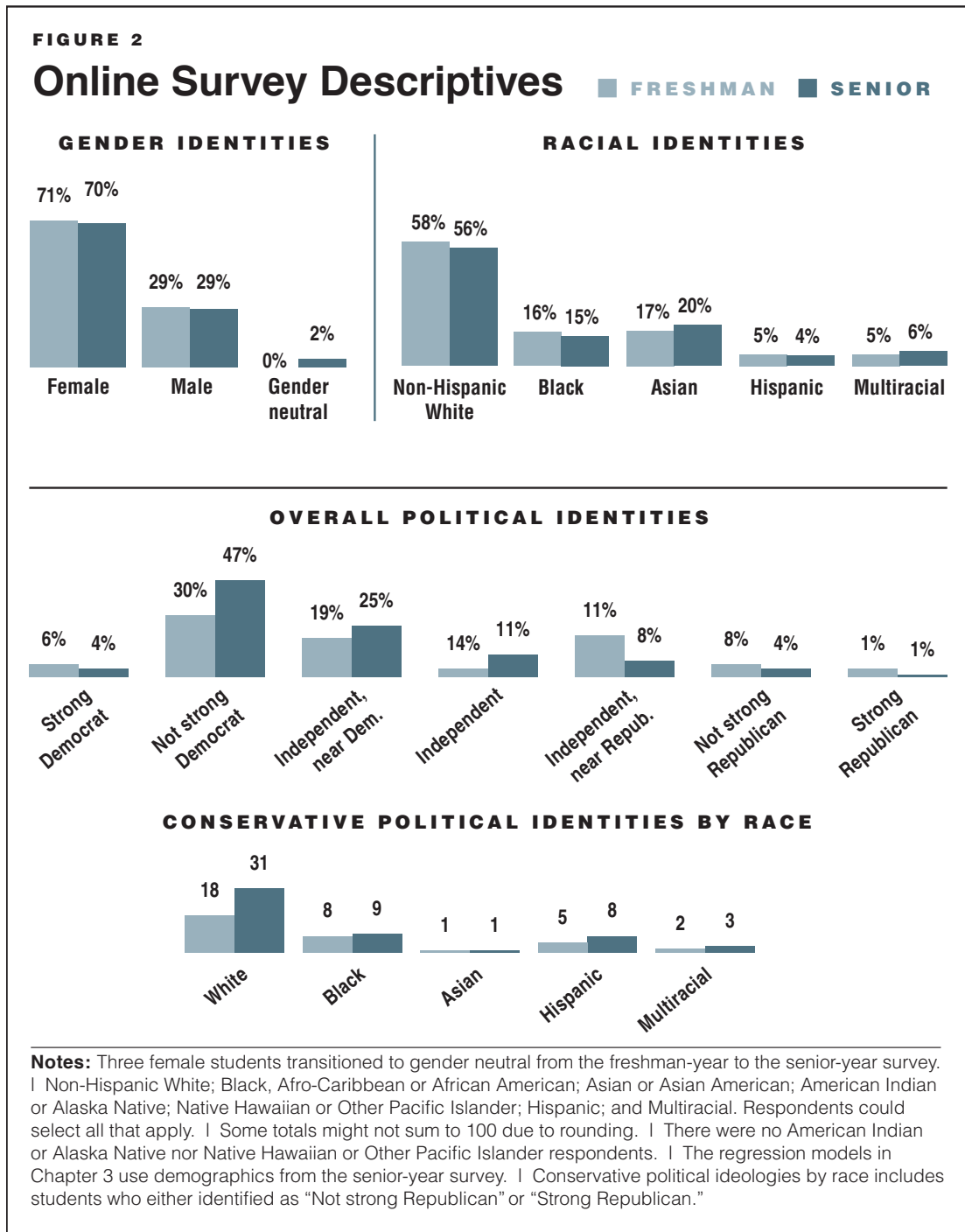
I left each survey open for responses two weeks. I sent email reminders out to students to had either started but not completed the survey or had not started the survey approximately every two to three days with a reminder occurring within 24 hours of the drawings for the survey incentives. I worked with Campus Labs, a professional, off-site survey administration company to design and implement the survey. I was able to use Campus Labs through another on-campus unit without cost to the project. I did not have access to Campus Labs for the senior-year survey, so I migrated it to Qualtrics. A support person there helped me set up the survey on this new platform.

I downloaded survey results throughout each administration and one final version once the survey had closed. I brought each final file into Excel and then removed identifying information including names and email addresses. This information was necessary to gather to verify the respondents were project participants, but it was not necessary for the analysis. I replaced each university identification number with a string of discrete but generic numbers and letters that could be connected to the respondent's previous and future survey results but not their personal identifying information. I also used Excel to clean the survey data, denoting missing values, converting string responses to numbers and to coordinate this information with the survey's respective codebook. Once the Excel file was

cleaned and prepared, I imported the data into Stata for quantitative analysis and looked at the descriptives.

I analyze the survey responses to understand what opinions students have about racial and ethnic diversity when they arrive on campus and to see if any changes take place at the conclusion of their undergraduate career. The survey results yield insights to the questions including: To what degree do students value diversity in their campus environment? Do students perceive changes in campus diversity? How close do they feel to different racial and political groups represented on campus? Independent variables include political views, racial identity, gender, and respondents' enrollment in either a treatment or control course section.

Of the 178 2015 completed surveys, 71% (n=127) were completed by female respondents and 29% (n=51) by male. No student identified as gender neutral nor transgender in 2015, however, three female students would in the 2019 survey. This brings the 2019 gender survey percentages to 70% female, 29% male, and 2% gender neutral. In the 2015 survey, 17% identified as Asian or Asian American, 16% as Black, Afro-Caribbean, or African American, 5% as Hispanic, 5% as Multiracial, and 58% as non-Hispanic White. In the 2019 survey, a small percentage more of students identified as Asian or Asian American: 20% identified as Asian or Asian American, 15% as Black, Afro-Caribbean, or African American, 4% as Hispanic, 6% as Multiracial, and 56% as non-Hispanic White. However, this change in racial identity did not seem to make a difference in how these respondents answered the questions. The political shift, however, did.



Responses to political views show a shift to the political left. For example, in 2016, approximately 30 percent of respondents identified their political views as “not strong Democrat” and 19 percent identified at “Independent near Democrat.” Both categories grew in percentage to be 47 percent and 25 percent respectively in 2019.

These categories on the conservative side decreased between these two intervals. In 2016 8 percent identified as “not strong Republican” and 11 percent as “Independent near Republican.” These percentages decreased to 4 percent and 8 percent respectively in 2019. These numbers indicate a notable shift away from more politically conservative identities to more politically liberal ones.

Paper questionnaire (Appendix B)

I distributed and asked instructors to administer this questionnaire at the end of the Fall 2015 semester, approximately four weeks after students have completed the course’s diversity components. Each course packet, contained in a large white envelope, included single-sided paper copies of the questionnaire collated with separate paper sheets of corresponding IRB forms and a set of direction that the instructor was supposed to read prior to administering this to students. Students completed the survey with their own writing utensils. I entitled the survey “Course evaluation” so as to blend in with the other course evaluations happening at this time and to avoid drawing specific attention to the Sticks + Stones activities. These questions, framed as a course evaluation, are intended to capture any reflections from the course while students were physically in the course space.

I did not ask for names to encourage more students’ forthright responses from students. For example, if a student had a negative comment about the course or the instructor, the anonymity would keep them from feelings like their grade might suffer

if the instructor read the reviews.²² The survey took about 10 minutes of class time to administer. I distributed paper questionnaires to all 51 participating course sections, and I received 552 complete questionnaires and IRB from 31 courses sections.²³

I asked students three questions: to describe what part, if any, of the course's content was "most useful" to them, what part, if any, "made the deepest impression upon" their "behavior and social choices," and what aspects of the course, if any, did they share with friends, family, or co-workers.²⁴ Their disclosure of the course diversity aspects can indicate salience to their social groups (Hogg and Reid 2006, Omarzu 2000).

Analysis of one class' set of questionnaires suggested the instructor had coached them to write specifically about the Sticks + Stones activities, so I discarded those responses from my analysis. This brings the total number of questionnaires to 537. Of these 30 courses, four had 40 or more students and one had 89 students. Most of the other sections had enrollments in the 12-20 student range. Five questionnaire sets (n=121) came from classes that did not instruct the Sticks + Stones components, 20 (n=309) came from courses that conducted all of the Sticks + Stones aspects, three (n=70) came from self-portrait and labeling but no privilege walk courses, and three (n=37) came from privilege walk but no self-portrait and labeling courses. See Table 3 Paper Questionnaire Responses. These numbers roughly correspond proportionally to the original distribution of control and the different treatment sections.

²² To my knowledge, no instructors read the completed questionnaires. I had offered to share typed, anonymized responses with instructors if they were interested in reading what their students had to say. No instructor asked for these results.

²³ Many of the non-responding courses were on a shortened schedule and had concluded their coursework prior to this assessment window. The other instructors either weren't able to work the survey into their class time or did not return the forms as directed.

²⁴ See Appendix B for the complete paper questionnaire format and wording.

TABLE 3**Paper Questionnaire Responses**

Responses from 5 control course sections	22.6%	(121)
Responses from 19 full treatment course sections	57.5%	(309)
Responses from 3 self-portrait and labeling only course sections	13.1%	(70)
Responses from 3 Privilege Walk-only course sections	7%	(37)

n = 537
Paper questionnaire analytic strategy

The questionnaires and IRB forms were returned in their original large white folders that had the course number written on the outside. Either another graduate student assistant or myself separated the IRB forms from the questionnaires if they were still collated. The graduate student then transcribed the questionnaire results into an Excel file containing a column noting the course number, a column denoting the response number for that class, and three more columns, one for responses to each question. Once transcribed, I read through the transcripts and randomly verified their accuracy by comparing them to the paper copies in the corresponding envelopes. Except for errant typos, the transcripts were true.

I sorted whole-class responses based on their assignment as a treatment or control section. This allowed me to analyze the responses based on the course's assignment either as full treatment, self-portrait but no privilege walk, privilege walk but no self-portrait or control. I then created separate tabs in Excel for each of these four groups and copied all of the corresponding courses' responses into their respective tabs. Although some instructors in the control sections did conduct the Privilege Walk, I kept those responses in the control section tab as those instructors did not receive my project instructor training. I then analyzed each tab's content for

responses about the diversity activities. I color-coded each field if the response mentioned a diversity component and noted that coding in columns designated to count these instances, using 1 (diversity reference) and 0 (no diversity reference) to quantify these responses. For the tab with the full treatment responses, I created 3 columns, noting which students referenced the self-portrait and labeling, which referenced other aspects of the activities.

I used line-by-line coding to identify key phrases to identify mentions of the project activities. I positively coded participants from any of the treatment sections who mentioned “privilege walk,” “self-portrait,” “stereotyping,” “labeling” or a combination of these words. For all sections, I also positively coded diversity-concept comments that used language including “diversity,” “inclusion,” and identity descriptions such as “race,” “religion,” and “LGBTQ” as references to the diversity components. Examples of these include:

I liked having a class where I could discuss topics like prejudice, and privilege. Being in a comfortable environment that encourages conversation, and bouncing off others' ideas.

— *From a control section course*

The social identity wheel was one of the most impactful experiences. Just realizing what now identifies me the most, in comparison to just a few months ago.

— *From a control section course*

The lesson we did on stereotypes probably had the most direct impact on my behavior and social choices. It made me more aware of how common certain stereotypes are in my daily life, so I try to avoid jumping to conclusions when meeting new people.”

— *From a full treatment course*

The one thing I remember sharing was the stereotype activity where we wrote down typical stereotypes for different ethnic groups and read them off anonymously. I just thought it was a unique and memorable activity that

illustrated how implicit biases form. I also shared some ideas from discussions such as issues pertaining to homelessness and gun control.

— *From a full treatment course*

These responses demonstrate the saliency of the diversity activities in all of these courses. See Chapter Five for more results and analysis.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (Appendix C: 2016; Appendix D: 2019)

I conducted in-depth interviews to elucidate the online survey and paper questionnaire results and to capture student responses to the racial and political events occurring during their time at UMD. Students' descriptions about their experiences on campus, the makeup of their social networks and campus involvement, and their responses to local and national events can help explain the "why" of these results. By interviewing students in two waves, one at the end of their freshman year and another at the end of their senior year, I could identify any changes in the ways they answered these questions, which could in turn, clarify why the changes in the online survey results.

Question structure

The 2016 in-depth interview guide was divided into six sections. The first section and last sections asked for descriptive information that I used to ensure I was capturing the range of ideal types and to categorize their responses based on race, gender, and political values. The students were then asked about what they imagined college and UMD would be like and the reasons they chose to attend this school over others. I also asked students to state their major and minor areas of academic study. Students'

choice of major has been attributed to a variety of factors including social background and aspirational income (Goyette and Mullen 2006). Not all majors are equally interested in learning about or advocating for diverse others. For example, in 2015 students majoring in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) ranked working for social change as a lower priority than non-STEM majors (Garibay 2015). In the same study, STEM students of color deemed working for social change higher than their STEM counterparts, and students of color in non-STEM majors also ranked this higher than their non-underrepresented non-STEM majors. Different races also tend to choose different majors, such as Blacks preferring studies orientated toward education, social sciences, and humanities more than “hard” or technical and natural sciences (Thomas 1985). Milem and Umbach (2003) found that students’ academic majors were linked to their intentions to continue or disrupt racial segregation. Using Holland’s (1997) parsing of academic majors, they found that students who were pursuing artistic and social majors had a higher degree of intent to break segregationist behavior to than those pursuing investigative and enterprising majors.

Next students were asked how they would describe UMD their perceptions about UMD and the expectations and realities of their undergraduate career. I asked students to describe how their high school selves imagined their future college selves and explored how they came to their decision to attend this university instead of others. I then probed how they would describe UMD to someone about their age and probed about positive aspects of their college career and things they wish they had done differently. With successes and challenges primed, I probed about how the

realities of their time at UMD had met or missed their expectations. Their responses revealed how their ideal college future selves (Markus and Nurius 1986) matched, misaligned, or clashed with their actual college selves.

The second set of questions asked students to describe their social networks in high school and at UMD and any campus groups or organizations of which they were a part. I probed for the descriptive makeup of those groups including racial, gender, and political identities. I also probed for the motivations for interacting with these groups such as academic, athletic, religious, or other interests. Structural diversity is not an automatic guarantee that students have cross-racial interactions beyond required situations such as group course work (Davies et al. 2011, Hall, Cabrera and Milem 2011, Milem and Umbach 2003, Pettigrew and Tropp 2000). Their responses illuminate the heterogeneousness of their social choices and they are choosing or avoiding cross-racial interactions. These responses can compliment the online survey results about opinions about the value of diversity.

The next set of questions probes student to gain an understanding of their perceptions about the level and kinds of campus diversity and then compare that to their high school experience. Here I asked them to describe a time when they interacted with someone different from themselves (Denson 2009). The responses illuminate how students perceive difference and under what circumstances those interactions have transpired, such as due to a course assignment, an on-campus living arrangement, or at a social gathering. These responses provide more understanding about how engaged students are with the campus's diverse population (Gurin et al. 2002b, Park and Kim 2013).

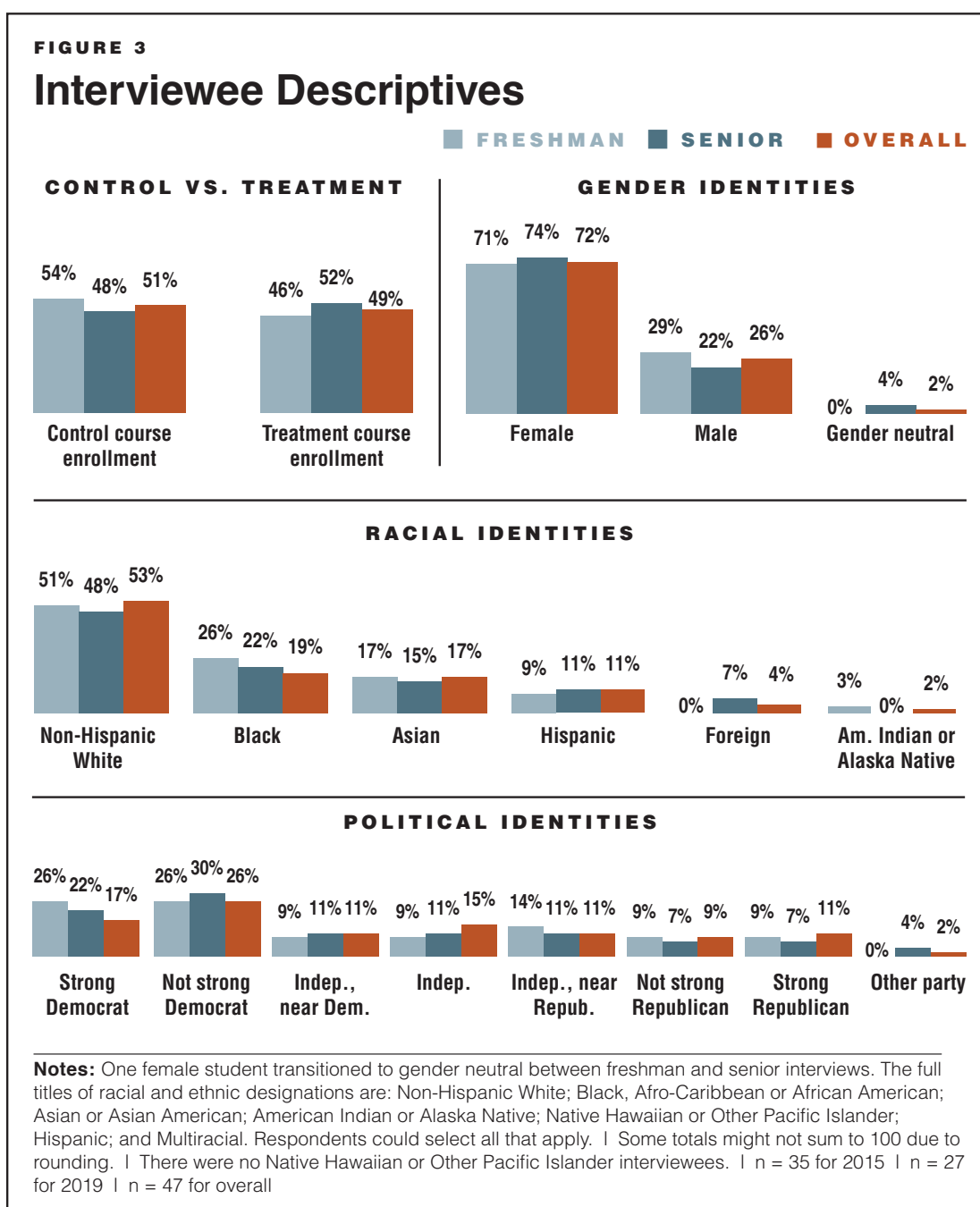
The final section of the 2016 interviews probes students' response to the diversity components of their UNIV100 course. For the students in the treatment sections, they are asked to comment on the different Sticks + Stones activities including how they and their classmates responded to these. For both groups, I probe about the ways these activities might have influenced who they interact with and any sense of action or responsibility they now have because of the diversity activities (Burke and Banks 2012, Chang 2002). Taken together, this set of questions is intended to reveal what impact, if any, the diversity components have had on these freshmen.

The 2019 interview questions repeated the question sections about the diversity on campus, descriptives, and social networks. Approximately half (44%) of the 2019 interviewees did not participate in the 2016 interviews. It was important to capture their responses to these questions as well as compare the ways the students talked about these aspects in their freshman year versus their senior year.

I also added two sections, one that probed the impact of the different racial and political events and another that probed their level of civic engagement. The first addition probed students about how different campus, local, and national events influenced how they viewed themselves and their future as well as how they reshaped how they view others. This established how students were considering their identities and how their undergraduate career had interrupted or reshaped those ideas. If the students did not bring up these instances, I asked for their knowledge of and reactions to the police pepper spray incident, the deaths of Richard Collins and Jordan McNair,

the White nationalist flyers found on campus, and the 2016 presidential election. This allowed me to compare students' reactions to these events.

The civic engagement section probed students' level of behavior and action regarding the political climate of their college career. I probed about the ways they protested and supported different issues and the ways they let others know of those beliefs and values such as through social media. I also probed how close the students felt to groups they could choose (i.e. campus organization members and friends) and those they could not (i.e. family members and classmates) and how those group members' identities fostered feelings of closeness or distance. Our identities are shaped and assigned by a variety of aspects including personal choice and group memberships (Stets and Burke 2000). These responses inform how their group associations reflect their identities and vice versa.



Interview sampling strategy

I choose the 2016 and 2019 interviewees based on their responses to the online survey and their course enrollment. I strove to interview as many ideal types across race, gender, political leanings, and control versus treatment sections. The emailed invitation included a sign-up link so that students could self-select the time and date

to minimize back-and-forth emails to setup the interviews and maximize participation. Not all students responded to the email invitation. The interviewing graduate students and I would send up to two email reminders for the non-response invitees. During the 2016 interview window, I would check in with those graduate students to see which ideal types were agreeing to be interviewed. They would then email new invitations as necessary. By the end, one had interviewed 16 students²⁵ who did all or part of the Sticks + Stones activities and the other interviewed 19 students who had enrolled in control course sections for a total of 35 students.

I conducted the 2019 interviews. I invited all 35 students to be re-interviewed in spring 2019, and 15 accepted. Ten of 2016 interviewees were no longer attending the university either due to early graduation or other choices. The other 11 were unable to make one of the available interview appointment times, scheduled at time but did not show for the interview, or did not respond to multiple interview invitation emails. As much as possible, I selected new interviewees based on their potential to represent the different campus demographics and those of the 2016 interviewees who were not re-interviewed. I interviewed 27 students.

Overall, we conducted 62 interviews of 47 students, 15 of whom were interviewed at both intervals. At the end of the interview, each student received \$20 in exchange for their time. See Figure 3 Interviewee descriptives for more specifics on these students. Conducting interviews allows a richer exploration of an

²⁵ To streamline interview scheduling, we included a web link to an online calendar platform in the invitation email. One treatment interviewee shared the link with her roommate who was not enrolled in a course associated with the study. This student signed up and sat for the interview in order to earn the \$20 payment. The interviewer did not realize this until the end of the interview, when the respondent was unable to answer questions about the Sticks + Stones components. I have not included any of this individual's interview responses in any results.

individual's thoughts (Weiss 1994) and can help elucidate the online survey results. This format also allows for emergent themes (Lofland et al. 2006).

Although I selected an equal number of male and female genders, more female students agreed to the interview in 2016 (71%) and in 2019 (74%). In 2016 none of our interview respondents identified as gender neutral or transgender, but one of the 2019 re-interviewed students did. Most of the interviewees were also non-Hispanic White in both 2016 (51%) and 2019 (48%). The racial and ethnic makeup generally reflects the overall campus population. I also tried to capture different political ideologies. Approximately 61% of the 2016 interviewees identified as a Democrat whereas only 32% identified as Republican. In 2019 62% identified as Democrat and only 25% identified as Republican. Overall, approximately half were enrolled in a treatment section course (49%).

Interview analytic strategy

These semi-structured, open-ended interviews, were digitally recorded and then transcribed. I compiled demographic questionnaire and transcription results into a spreadsheet-like format, verifying the transcriptions and color-coding salient comments as I populated the document. I paired the responses of students who were interviewed in 2016 and 2019 with each other so that I could see differences in responses to the same questions. As with the paper questionnaire, I used line-by-line coding to identify key phrases in the interview transcriptions, which I then coded, analyzed, and linked to theoretical and empirical expectations. To retain clarity while simultaneously protecting the interviewee identities, I did the following: I changed all names to pseudonyms, and I omitted identifying information such as home location,

specific course references, and the names of organizations in which the students participated. When relevant, I include the colleges within which the students' majors are located, but I do not specify the major. I identify the students by the schools in which their majors reside, and I grouped schools with lower enrollments. Not surprisingly, some students' political leanings, majors, and minors changed between the two interview intervals. When a quote is mentioned, I note the preferences at the time of the recording rather than using either freshman or senior identities throughout. I also edited the transcriptions to minimize or eliminate the verbal stutters, sentence false starts, and filler words such as "like" and "um." This allowed the quotes to be more clear and succinct.

CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURAL DIVERSITY

THE IMPACT OF A HETEROGENEOUS CAMPUS ON OPINIONS ABOUT DIVERSITY

A structurally diverse campus can foster higher levels of active thinking skills, intellectual engagement, motivation, and a variety of academic skills. Structural diversity refers to the amount or proportion of diverse populations on a college campus or similar institutional setting (Denson 2009). Significant levels of structural diversity and the resulting cross-racial interactions have positive implications for students' education, social, and cognitive development, understanding of others and their cultural differences, and levels of civic engagement (Gurin et al. 2002b). For example, this combination can lead to higher graduation rates (Bowen and Bok 1998; Chang 1999), greater college satisfaction (Astin 1993, Bowen and Bok 1998, Chang 1999, Gurin et al. 1999, Hurtado 1999), and deeper levels of learning (Astin 1993, Pascarella et al. 2001, Pascarella and Terenzini 2005). It can also foster cognitive development in terms of critical thinking and problem-solving skills (Pascarella, Palmer, Moye and Pierson 2001; Terenzini et al. 2001). It can yield social benefits in terms of fostering close interracial friendships (Antonio, 2001b), stronger interpersonal and enhanced leadership skills (Antonio, 2001a; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Toutkoushian & Smart, 2001). Students who interact with diverse others gain broader perspectives on various topics. They learn to discuss and debate different racial and

cultural issues (Chang 1999). These interactions create more cultural awareness (Antonio, 2001a; Astin; Bowen & Bok, 1998) and increased interest and engagement in civic activities and greater civic interest (Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Sáenz et al., 2007). Further, students' interaction with and even mere proximity to one group can create greater reception toward other groups (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). The logical assumption about rates of structural diversity bears out: the greater the amount, the higher the rates of cross-racial interactions among students (Park and Kim 2013). If a campus is missing a significant population of minority students, this inhibits its population from interacting with diverse others. Structural diversity makes these cross-racial interactions possible.

Structural diversity can also positively influence cross-racial friendships (Park and Kim 2013), which can then have a ripple effect. Interracial friendships can reduce stress levels for students of color (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton and Mendes 2014). For example, our social networks influence the information we receive, how we view it, and how that plays into our worldview (Park 2018). We also tend to become friends with friends' friends (Pettigrew et al. 2007, Wimmer and Lewis 2010), which can create more diverse social circles. Friendships form and interactions happen based on the structural composition of the location or environment (Stark 2015). However, the number of diverse friends is an important factor. Having just a few friends with different racial backgrounds actually increased racial prejudice. The thinking here is that the few racial friends become tokenized and their friends of another race see them as anomalies rather than representative of a larger racial group with positive traits (Park 2018).

Further, these benefits can continue once students leave campus life. For example, Luo and Jamieson-Drake (2009) surveyed alumnus who graduated in 1985, 1995, and 2000 to measure the persistent benefits of structural diversity and cross-racial interaction. Rates of structural diversity increased across of the minority racial categories (Asian, African American, Hispanic, Caucasian and other) with each subsequent cohort and the percentage of Caucasian population decreased in 1995 and again in 2000. Their study showed that these interactions can create knowledge and understanding that persists across a range of categories including “Acquire broad Knowledge in arts and Sciences;” “Place Current Problems in historical Perspective;” “Develop an awareness of Social Problems;” “Understand Myself;” “Develop Self-Esteem and Confidence;” and “Synthesize and Integrate Ideas and Information.” Also, when compared to students who had little to no cross-racial interaction, those who had considerable interaction were more likely to reconsider their opinions and beliefs about racialized others and to participate in civic activities after graduation. Although it is difficult to say conclusively that cross-racial interactions played a direct part in those skills and developments, students who said they had little or no cross-racial interaction scored lower across all of the variables. Their study identifies the different ways cross-racial interaction can continue to benefit those once-student populations.

However, to prompt a reduction of bias, proximate structural diversity is central but not sufficient (Festinger and Kelley 1951). Although notable meta-analyses found intergroup interactions to have an overall positive effect (Denson 2009, Pettigrew and Tropp 2006, Pettigrew and Tropp 2000), neither structural

diversity nor cross-racial interaction is an automatic solution to create positive outcomes. For example, Rothman, Lipset and Nevitte (Rothman, Lipset and Nevitte 2003) found that increased structural diversity led to students having higher rate of feelings of personal discrimination and that many of the positive aspects of structural diversity disappeared. Also, not all interactions reduce prejudice nor are a sign of reduced prejudice. How will the UMD students respond to their campus' structural diversity?

Our tendency is to surround ourselves with those to look like us, think like us, and believe like us e.g. (Green 2019). So what does it mean for these White students who are choosing to attend a school that is in opposition to this? Students don't anticipate the friction at these differences in political, cultural, religious, and other contrasting ideologies might generate. They expect a utopia and are disillusioned when it does not come to fruition (Brennan 2018).

Students have chosen to attend UMD, which is a key first step in creating the possibility of interactions with diverse others. They are deliberately or inadvertently in proximity to a wide range of races, religions, ethnicities, and sexual orientations. But many just think the diversity unity will happen automatically, that being in proximity will be enough. It can be challenging to adjust to a new learning space. Many freshmen are coming from disparate home and school environments. Acclimation to a campus with such a diverse student body can be difficult, especially if this is the first time students are engaging with a heterogeneous population (Milem 2003). As a predominantly White school, we can assume that most of these White

students come from more racially homogeneous backgrounds than their diverse peers (Massey et al. 2011).

Although students use the term, “PWI” (predominantly White institute) is not an official institute designation (Benitez and DeAro 2004). Official designations include the general Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs), as well as racially and ethnically specific identifiers including Alaska Native Serving Institution (ANSI), Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), Native Hawaiian Serving Institution (NHSI), Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCU). These terms signal either an aspects about the institution’s mission or student enrollment (Bourke 2016). Among the other benefits to such designations, these institutes can receive earmarked federal funding (Benitez and DeAro 2004). Some of the interviewed minority students will use the HBCU and PWI terms when they describe UMD.

During the qualitative interviews, many list UMD’s diverse population was a one of the key factors for choosing to attend this school over others (See Table 5 Reasons for Choosing UMD). Students anticipate the positive aspects of interacting with diverse others on campus. Allport (1954) theorized that intergroup contact could lead to reduced intergroup prejudice. The meta-analyses of Pettigrew and Tropp (2000, 2006, 2011) confirmed this across a range of contexts such as work, leisure, and school spaces and populations.²⁶ In general, intergroup contact is associated with reduced prejudice, and generally the more interaction the greater the reduction. Contact with one out-group can have positive effects on reduced prejudice for other

²⁶ Pettigrew and Tropp’s 2006 study alone looked at 515 studies with an overall sample of more than 250,000 individuals from 38 countries.

out-groups (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). What effect, if any, will four years of intergroup interaction have? How will this campus' structural diversity shape students' opinions of racially diverse others as well as their sense of belonging on such a diverse campus? One way we can look at this is through the ways their personal opinions of diverse others and about diversity in general change during college.

Responses to the in-depth interviews reveal that non-Hispanic White students and students of color have deliberately chosen a diverse campus but for different reasons. The students of color want to be among other people like them. They do not want to be the token or representative of their race or ethnicity in the classroom. They are looking forward to the homogenous aspects of the campus population. Non-Hispanic Whites, on the other hand, have chosen this school for its heterogeneity. Many described their high schools as overwhelmingly White, and they want to be a part of a diverse group. How will the reality of a structurally diverse campus match these different expectations? What will be the effect on their opinions about diversity in general and about specific racially diverse populations? In addition, how will their personal racial identity play into these opinions?

For this chapter, I will analyze data from the freshman and senior responses to the online survey and in-depth interviews. In the survey I ask, among other questions, if students feel UMD is a racially and ethnically diverse campus, if having a diverse campus is a good goal, and if they agree that a diverse campus is beneficial to them. Responses to these questions will help establish students' opinions about diversity as well as if they agree that UMD is a structurally diverse campus. I will also analyze responses from questions about students' feelings of comfort, belonging, and

likeability about being a student on this campus. These responses will identify how integrated and accepted student feel to the campus population. I also ask about feelings of closeness to different racial groups and how comfortable would students feel if they had a roommate of a different race. Responses to these questions will identify if there are particular racial groups toward to which students have affinities or aversions. Finally, I will also include brief analysis of political views as these identities can also be connected to feelings of belong on what students describe as a liberal-leaning campus. Much of this quantitative data will be illuminated with the qualitative results from the in-depth interviews in Chapter Four. This chapter offers a longitudinal in-depth view of how students opinions about diversity and diverse others change during their undergraduate career on a structurally diverse campus.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Learning about and having contact with individuals with different identities can reduce bias. But bias is complex, encompassing opinions such as prejudice and behavior such as discrimination, among other factors. Bias can also engage affect, as with negative emotions, and cognition, such as creating and perpetuating stereotypes (Dovidio et al. 2004). This chapter focuses on opinions about diverse others and about racial diversity in general. Allport (1954) specified that four conditions must be present for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice: intergroup teamwork or collaboration, shared goals, equivalency of status, and support from an authority body or figure (Pettigrew 1998). I assume that these students share the same goal of completing an undergraduate degree, that they are all first-year students and thus

equal in status, and that they have support from the University both in terms of being a student and being a member of the much-touted diverse student body. The first piece can be found on a meso level in terms of attendance of school spirit-generating sporting events and more micro levels via classroom group projects and discussions. UMD contains structural diversity to enable intergroup contact (Loh 2018), so will this play out? This chapter offers a look at how students' opinions of diverse others and diversity more generally change during their undergraduate career.

FINDINGS

How do students envision their college career?

Expectations of college in general

Both 2016 and 2019 interviews asked students to think back to right before they began attending UMD and then describe their expectations of what college will be like, and more specifically, what that would be like on this campus. Students described the things they were looking forward to most: that it would be easy to make friends (32%), that the campus would be a place they would belong (13%), they would have fun and go to lots of parties (32%), and be free from parental and other restrictions (49%). They also listed described anticipated challenges such as harder academics (64%) and having to take more responsibility for navigating campus and findings things on their own (9%). What follows is a range of answers to this question with the categories they identified noted in bold:

Fun/parties + More freedom + Diversity + Easy to make friends

I think for sure it will be more parties and less structure, because where I'm from is a really small town, so everyone knows each other. It's a set of rules that you follow well. ... I just thought there would be more diverse (people) than what I see, because where I'm from, I guess we grew up with the same people since Pre-K, so I felt you would meet a lot of people here.

– Lexi, Female, Black, Strong Democrat, pre-med

Academically easier + More freedom

I thought it would be easier than high school because a lot of kids from my high school who went to college said that it was easier for them. I think it might depend on the program you go into. And also, I guess I thought that we would have more freedom.

– Parker, gender neutral, Non-Hispanic White, Strong Democrat, CMNS major

Academically harder + Fun/parties

I definitely knew classes would be a lot harder, but I also thought there would be a lot of parties, social life. You know, people dress up a lot and get along like (in) the movies.

– Taylor, Female, multiracial, Not Strong Democrat, BSOS major

Big campus + Welcoming place + Easy to make friends + More freedom

My brother came here. He graduated from here, so I had the sense that Maryland was a very big campus, but a very welcoming campus. And it was easy to find your group of people. There's opportunities to find new friends but you can also keep the friends that you had from high school and kinda just build that community a little bit. So for me, it was more of like, freedom, but I always had those friendships and communities that I've had before to lean back on if I needed it.

— Renee, Female, foreign, Independent, pre-med

More freedom + Academically harder + Fun/Parties

I thought it would be, obviously a little less structure than high school. As you got into the upper level classes (those would be) a little harder but not as hard as everybody makes it out to be. As long as you're on top of your stuff, you'd be fine. And as far as going out, I mean, obviously you can go out more. Your parents aren't watching you. I mean, you can really go out seven days a week if you wanted to. It's your choice.

– Nate, male, Non-Hispanic White, Strong Republican, Business School major

These responses represent a range of gender, racial and political identities as well as major areas of study. They demonstrate the multifaceted vision students have

of college. (The average number of components each student listed was a little more than 3.) They are considering the curricular and co-curricular aspects. There is no single component that all students mention. Table 4 College Expectations shows a breakdown on the percentages of different responses²⁷. In general students are focusing on the positive aspects of college more than the negative ones.

TABLE 4

College Expectations

Academically harder	64%
More freedom and independence, less structure	49%
Fun/parties	32%
Easy to make friends	32%
Big campus	30%
Diverse environment	26%
Plenty of ways to get involved on campus	15%
Welcoming place they can belong	13%
Academically easier	11%
On their own, more responsibility	9%
Different from high school	6%
Liberal campus	4%
Time of personal growth	4%
Stressful/overwhelming	4%
Similar to high school	4%
Harder to make friends	2%
Familiar demographics	2%
Campus will be unsafe	2%
A place of respect and maturity	2%
A place of equality and less discrimination	2%
They will be happy	2%

n = 47 | Response total: 148 | Mean: 3.1

²⁷ I combined responses from students who were interviewed in 2016 and 2019 and eliminated duplications.

Why University of Maryland?

When I asked students why they chose to attend this university, their responses ranged from the practical, such as having a strong academic reputation (34%), having the academic programs they wanted (30%), being less expensive than alternatives (77%), and proximity to home (34%), to emotional, such as the feeling of camaraderie that can come from being in a crowded stadium collectively cheering for “your team” (17%) and feelings of welcome and fit on the campus (17%). UMD’s proximity to Washington, D.C. was also a draw for 23% of respondents, many of whom are pursuing majors in government and politics. Table 5 Reasons for Choosing UMD shows the range and percentages of students’ responses. Below are examples of responses to why students chose to attend UMD. The bold indicates show I coded them. I also asked what other colleges students had considered attending. Some were able to list a half a dozen or more to which they had applied. Others restricted their choices to in-state or local due to a desire for affordable education and proximity to home. Below are examples of their responses:

Diversity + Big Campus + Know others who attended/are attending

I also looked at William & Mary and stuff like that. And that’s a predominantly White institute. ... When I went there I could ... feel the difference, like I felt different. But (at UMD), when I looked around it’s like there’s so many different types of people here. William & Mary is smaller, so that’s why you feel like more unique and like different there. ...

— *Olivia, Female; Asian American; Not strong Democrat; CMNS major*

On her tour of William & Mary Olivia heard about how the school wanted to hear a more diverse student body, which led her to believe one of the primary reasons she would be accepted would be because of her race rather than merit. She didn't want

that. In addition her cousin attends UMD as do friends from high school, so she will know people on campus already. She continued by saying,

Maryland is a good choice because not only am I going to feel comfortable and be surrounded by people I know or like my family. I would fit in more, I thought.

Freedom + Making lots of friends

I imagined just the freedom of being who I am, ... finding my identity. ... I moved halfway through high school, and so there was that little, like the second half of high school, you know, I had a little bit more trouble finding friends. ... I'm from (another state), so I chose to come to Maryland to just kind of as a fresh start, find a bunch of new friends. ... I was really excited and really looking forward to it back in senior year (of high school).

— *Jon, Male; Hispanic; Strong Democrat; College of Engineering major*

For Jon, making a clean start with a fresh set of friends is a reason to attend this university. Non-Hispanic Whites make up more than three-fourths of his home state population. UMD's student population is about half non-Hispanic White (49%) when Jon is making decisions about which university to attend (CAWG 2015).

Diversity + Sports and school spirit

I came from a high school where there was probably five African-Americans in my whole class. I think we had two people who were Jewish in my whole school. Everybody else was White, Catholic. ... Everybody was the same. ... I knew coming to Maryland would just give me a different perspective.

— *Blake, Male; Non-Hispanic White; Not Strong Republican; double major in the Business and BSOS*

UMD was more diverse than the other schools he considered and is more diverse than his high school. Diversity was a selling point for him.

I'd say other schools had diversity, but I wouldn't say it was as much as Maryland. Another school I looked at was Loyola. And that was not even close to here (in terms of diversity).

He says that being in a diverse environment that contrasted his high school experience and "big sports" were two of the main draws for him to attend UMD. For

Daria, diversity as well as a sense of camaraderie with that diverse population, are benefits to attending UMD.

Campus atmosphere + Diversity + Money + Academic reputation + Sports and school spirit

That's something that I talk to my mom about a lot. I was like, 'I think we're going to be a big community. Everyone's going to be together. Like we're helping each other out to get to the end line, which is our degree.'

This all-for-one-and-one-for-all spirit as well as diversity benefits to attending UMD.

At my high school, there was some diversity, but it wasn't a lot, like three or four, maybe three to five Hispanic girls and guys. There were like a few Asian (students). There wasn't a lot of diversity. So when I used to come to UMD for their events—open houses and stuff like that—I always saw a lot of diversity, and I thought, 'Wow it's going to be different. I'm going to get to know people from all different cultures, and you know, it's going to be great.' Other than that, I don't know. I just envisioned myself, like, studying, going to classes and stuff.

Here Daria articulates her diversity utopia expectation. Not only will UMD be more diverse than her high school she also expects it to be a place where she can learn about other cultures from those who practice them and that the different groups will support one another.

I did look at other schools. I looked at UMBC, Penn State, and Cornell. I chose UMD because, well, Penn State and Cornell were way out of my budget. ... And then I actually got into my major at UMBC too, and here I was undecided. But I chose here just because between UMBC and UMD, I just felt like this campus was more lively. And like, there were a lot of things to do, you know? The basketball games, that was like a huge scene. And I just felt like it would be more fun and it's also more, slightly academically better here. So I thought it was better.

— *Daria; Female; Hispanic; Not strong Democrat; BSOS major*

Adding to the draw of UMD is the excitement of team sporting events, the bustling social scene and a strong academic reputation.

Money + Close to D.C. + Diversity + Sports and school spirit + Campus atmosphere + Academic Reputation + Academic programs options

I really wanted to go to George Washington, but it was way too much money. I got into McDaniel and the Honors College and stuff, but I didn't want to go there because it's in the middle of nowhere, and it's really small. James Madison, also in the middle of nowhere, so I wanted to be close to D.C. (UMD is) the closest public university to D.C. My dad's a huge Terp fan. So he's got season tickets to the basketball games, and he's, like, obsessed. It's ridiculous. You'd think he was an alum, but he's not. When I toured this last spring again, my family all just kind of like, wandered around campus. It was like, 'It's so pretty in the spring with all the flowers and stuff.' And also just learning like, Maryland's got pretty good rankings and like, out of all the schools that I got into, Maryland was, I think just second best behind George Washington, and not by much behind GW. So like, it's a pretty good school.
 — Sarah; female; Non-Hispanic White; Independent, Near Republican;
Journalism major

Both Sarah and Daria mention how UMD's affordability, academic reputation, and sports scene as benefits. Sarah also wanted to attend a school close to a big city such as Washington D.C. She continues to say how excited she is to be in one of the programs that includes a diverse student body in a living-learning environment.

My high school was very, very like, in the middle of nowhere and the diversity was little to none. And I was really excited to go to Maryland, and, I think, learn more about other people and different people. You can't help but feel when you're not exposed to that basically your whole life, you're not completely comfortable with it. And I wanted to become comfortable with as many different types of people as possible. And so, I really looked forward to that.

UMD's heterogeneity is markedly more than both Sarah and Daria's high schools.

Like Daria, Sarah describes how she is choosing UMD, among other reasons, because it offers ways to engage with diverse others. Sarah articulates how she values this ability to interact with diverse others and gain that cultural competence.

Campus atmosphere + Money + Proximity to home

I definitely thought I would fit in to the Maryland community pretty easily because I am from this area. That's a big thing that I thought. I'm from PG County. I lived here my whole life, so Maryland has always been right here.

I've always driven past the school. And that's what made me apply, I was like, 'Why not?' So I felt like I would just fit in, right?, with the school.
 – *Raven, Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Female; Not Strong Democrat; pre-med major*

Raven, who is Black, anticipates how she will be accepted at UMD and feel at home. Part of the reason is because of UMD's closeness to where she lives. Why would she not feel comfortable here? Raven and other Black students' hopes and expectations of fitting in and being accepted on this campus will not pan out in many ways.

I considered George Mason University. I applied to some out of state schools, but I had to be practical when it comes to finances. So, I visited George Mason, I looked at Morgan State, things in that area. Towson, I applied to Towson as well. But those were just too far for me.

Raven considered other schools, but the practicality of UMD's affordability and proximity are also motivations for choosing UMD over other schools.

As with their expectations of college, the students list a range of reasons why they chose to attend this school. Students give an average of about 4 reasons for why they attended UMD. Approximately one-third (34%) mentions UMD's diverse population. The structural diversity is a draw for both those in the majority who are seeking out minority populations and the minorities who want to be more with more members of their identity group. In general these students want to be amongst a smaller population of White students but for opposite reasons. These students are highly optimistic of what UMD will offer that other schools will not. For some, those expectations will not come true.

TABLE 5**Reasons for Choosing UMD**

Money	77%
Size of campus	36%
Make lots of friends	36%
Campus atmosphere	36%
Diversity	34%
Academic reputation	34%
Proximity to home	34%
Knows others who attended/are attending	34%
Academic options	30%
Close to Washington, D.C.	23%
Sports and school spirit	17%
Different experience	9%
Family wanted them to attend	4%

n = 47 | Response total = 176 | Mean = 3.74

Do anticipated benefits of structural diversity play out for students?

I asked student what they expected college would be like, what expectations they held of college in general, and what they anticipated about being a student on this campus specifically (Table 4 College expectations) and why they choose to attend this school over others (Table 5 Reasons for Choosing UMD). Of the 47 interviewees, 34% said UMD's structural diversity was a factor in their college choice. An additional 23% said a diverse campus was one of the things they expected as part of their college experience. When combined, almost half (47%) of the interviewees mentioned diversity.²⁸ These numbers indicate that UMD's structural diversity is a significant factor in how the students envision their college career and choose what they want it to look like. Almost all describe the diversity in positive terms.

²⁸ I eliminated second responses from interviewees who mentioned diversity in both questions.

Students responded more negatively about diversity in their senior year than in their freshman year. Of the 36 2016 interviewees, 7 (19%) gave a negative response and 6 (17%) gave a positive one. Of the 27 2019 interviewees, 10 (37%) gave a negative response whereas 13 (48%) gave a positive one. Although the negative amounts were higher in 2019 than 2016, there were more positive responses about diversity than negative. The seniors have had more time to experience the friction and negative repercussions that can come with structural diversity.

When I combined the non-White students to compare to the White students, there was little difference between these groupings. For 2016, 23% of non-Whites and 23% of Whites were happy with diversity and 23% of non-Whites and 31% of Whites were not. In 2019, 30% of non-Whites and 26% of Whites were happy with diversity and 26% of non-Whites and 17% of Whites were not. The proportions were almost identical for the overall percentages: 28% of non-Whites and 25% of Whites said diversity had met their expectations overall and 25% of non-Whites and 22% of Whites said that their diversity expectations had not been met.

Here some of the responses regarding their expectations about diversity:

Not what I thought it would be. I'd say it surpassed my expectations. I had friends in high school, but I never really realized how many people that I would meet and branch out with and become friends with, and not just like my normal, typical group. All the different people you meet being in freshmen dorms is a huge cluster of all different backgrounds.

— *Martin (2016); Male; Non-Hispanic white; Independent, near Republican; BSOS major; did not list diversity as a reason for attending UMD.*

It was really everything that I expected. First of all one of the big things that was a big help was College Park Scholars. I was in the arts living-learning community, and so right away I had people that I could relate to in terms of my hobbies, playing music, and then also just learning about the other

different types of art forms. So I think Maryland definitely exceeded my expectation in terms of finding friends that I can relate with. ... I feel like I can be a part of a bunch of different friend groups, which is really just the type of person I am. I'm not much of a click type person. ... (Being at UMD) allowed me to be friends with the arts community, to be friends with my Christian community, with (friends from my major), and then the friends I played sports with.

— *Jon (2019); Male; Hispanic, Multiracial; Strong Democrat; Engineering major; did not mention diversity as a reason for coming*

I wasn't expecting it to be so diverse. ... That wasn't a good or a bad surprise. It was just a surprise, you know, because I had never met people from most of the countries that I am friends with now.

— *Ruth (2019); Female; Non-Hispanic white; Strong Republican; BSOS major; did not mention diversity as a reason for coming*

I'd say it matched my expectations ... but I didn't expect to develop a lot of the friendships that I have, I did not expect that, the diversity of clubs, meeting new people on campus. You know, in high school, it's a smaller population, so there is some diversity, but not as much. But when you get to college, it's all different types of races, religions, how people have different identities and stuff, so it's really cool to see a lot of people with those different mindsets coming to one place, whether it's a club like, playing sports or pre-dental club or something like that to see how many people of different environment and communities come up to have commonalities.

— *Renee (2019); Female; Foreign; Independent; BSOS major; did not mention diversity as a reason to come*

I know like a lot of people who came here and they're like, 'Oh my gosh, it's extremely diverse.' But my high school was extremely diverse. Coming here wasn't that big of a change personally. I was very used to it. I didn't even notice it at first, but then people kind of pointed it out, people from areas that did not have diverse high schools.

— *Hannah (2016); Female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Democrat; BSOS major; did not mention diversity as a reason to come*

I really I gained long friendships with a lot of people that if I hadn't attended here I would have missed out on a lot best friends and everything. I think actually Maryland has opened up my eyes to my culture more. I know this might sound backwards, but I feel like becoming here at PWI (Primary White Institute) I've learned to appreciate a lot of things more such as my culture, politics. You know I enjoy having those debates with people that have opposite views of me, so yeah.

— *Lexi (2019); Female; Black, Non-Hispanic White; Strong Democrat; CMNS major; did not mention diversity as a reason to attend*

For most of these students, UMD's structural diversity has been a pleasant surprise. Martin and Ruth talk about making friends from different countries and cultures. Hannah, however, is not impressed by UMD's level of diversity. She notices how students who attended more homogenous backgrounds are the ones remarking on the level of diversity. She feels that her high school demographics were fairly similar. Lexi talks about the structural diversity in a positive but different way than these students. She attributes a stronger sense of her Black cultural identity to the ways she felt she had to explain herself to diverse others. The structural diversity has created more conflict in terms of contrasting her racial identity, but the silver lining is that she has learned more about herself.

Not all students have had their positive expectations of UMD's diverse environment met. Some minority students talk about the disappointment of expecting to be included but finding the opposite.

I mean, for me, I think it's just like coming from a predominantly Black city. It was just one of the big things was that University of Maryland was diversity-included, and I just didn't know how that would play out. At high school I had a diverse group of friends, and then, coming here, I thought it would be the same. My first couple interactions in classes, they weren't that great, so I ended up gravitating to the Black community more.
 — *Kiara (2016); Female; Black; Not Strong Democrat; BSOS major; did not mention diversity as a reason for coming to UMD*

So going back to diversity, I thought that really everyone was just going to be like mixed in, and it's not. I found that all groups kind of stick with each other, which makes sense like sociologically, and everything else, but it was disappointing for me because I thought it would be more open minded than that. And just like, I don't know, more open to being with other groups, but it's just, everyone sticking to themselves. So that was disappointing.
 — *Daria (2019); Female; Hispanic; Not strong Democrat; BSOS major; did not mention diversity as a reason for coming*

I expected I guess more inclusion than what I got when I first came to campus. I didn't expect to be the few black people in my classes and even so on my

floor, on my dorm room floor. I didn't expect me and my roommate to be the only two black people. So yeah, beside that, it's pretty much what I expected.
 — *Genesis (2016); female; Black; Strong Democrat; CMNS major; did mention diversity as a reason to come*

Kiara and Daria both talk about the disappointment in not being welcomed into diverse social groups as they were expecting. Genesis was expecting more structural diversity in her classrooms. She did not want to be the token Black in different campus spaces, but she feels she is. These students articulate how the proportions and cross-racial integration are lacking for a university that touts a diverse student population. In the online survey I included a series of questions that asked how students agreed with the following statements:

- UMD is a racially/ethnically diverse campus.
- In general, I feel comfortable at UMD.
- In general, I like being a student at UMD.
- Being on a culturally diverse campus is one of the benefits of my UMD experience.
- Having racial/ethnic diversity at UMD is a good goal.

Respondents could choose one of five answers: Strongly disagree = 0; Disagree = 1; Neither agree nor disagree = 2; Agree = 3; Strongly agree = 4. All freshman year responses to these questions averaged 3.0 or higher. (See Table 7 Opinions about campus diversity.) Except for “diversity is a good goal,” these averages decline slightly but still hover around the 3.0 mark in their senior year. “Diversity is a good goal” averages increased from 3.29 to 3.5, signifying that most survey respondents value diversity at UMD more at the end of their undergraduate career than at the beginning. When I sort these responses by gender, racial, and political identities, however, I see how the racial and political identities yield different averages. On average Blacks have the lowest scores for comfort on campus (2.64 in freshman year

and 2.12 in senior year) and least like being on campus (3.04 in freshman and 2.32 for senior year). Their scores are the lowest out of the racial categories and have the largest decreases from freshman to senior year. Not all response averages decrease. Hispanics on average respond more positively regarding comfort on campus and liking being a student on campus in their senior year (3.6) than their freshman year (3.1) and Asians on average respond that they are slightly more comfortable on campus their senior year (3.3) than their freshman year (3.2).

When I sort by racial and political identities for the question that asks if UMD a racially and ethnically diverse campus, the differences in average responses by identities can be seen. For example, Hispanics (2.7), Blacks (2.6), and strong Democrats (2.5) have the lowest averages in their freshman year. Blacks average responses drop further in their senior year. Most averages hover around the 3.0 mark, however strong Republican (4.0) and not strong Republican (3.71) seniors have the highest average opinions that UMD is a racially and ethnically diverse campus. The one Strong Republican response is almost two points higher than the average of the 25 Black respondents. Response numbers were the following: 91 in Freshman and 95 in Senior for Non-Hispanic Whites, 25 for both years for Blacks; 7 for both years Hispanics, 33 and 34 respectively for Asians and 9 for both years for Multiracial. Political identities were the following: 10 in freshman and 7 in Senior for Strong Democrats, 51 in freshman and 80 in senior years for not strong Democrats, 30 and 43 respectively for Independent near Democrat, 18 and 24 respectively for Independent, 13 and 14 respectively for Independent near Republican, 19 and 7 respectively for not strong Republican, and 2 and 1 respectively for strong

Republican. The senior year numbers for not strong Republican (7) and strong Republican (1) are lower than the other political identity numbers, however this average shift away from Republican to more Democratic identities can be seen throughout the cohort. These results show that on average students with more Republican-leaning identities are more likely to notice and count racial members of campus (Park 2018, Tatum 2017) more than other political and racial identities except for Multiracial. Whereas the Multiracial averages for this response decrease from freshman to senior year, the average for responses from Not Strong Republican and Strong Republican political identities remain about the same or increase. These numbers not only represent students' average changes in opinions about these diversity aspects, but they also indicate a shift in the ways different political identities observe race over the course of their college career.

TABLE 7**Opinions About Campus Diversity****AVERAGE OPINIONS ABOUT CAMPUS DIVERSITY**

	Freshman year	Senior year
A diverse campus benefits me	3.13 (1.0)	3.04 (0.88)
Diversity is a good goal	3.29 (1.05)	3.5 (0.71)
UMD is a diverse campus	3.13 (1.04)	3.06 (0.87)
I feel comfortable on campus	3.19 (0.92)	3.08 (0.88)
I like being a student at UMD	3.28 (0.94)	3.06 (0.93)

AVERAGE OPINIONS BY RACE AND POLITICAL VIEWS

	Freshman year	Senior year
Comfortable on campus		
Non-Hispanic White	3.32 (0.83)	3.22 (0.81)
Black	2.64 (0.76)	2.12 (0.97)
Hispanic	3.143 (1.46)	3.571 (0.79)
Asian or Asian American	3.21 (1.11)	3.29 (0.63)
Multiracial or foreign	3.33 (0.5)	3.0 (0.5)
Like being a student on campus		
Non-Hispanic White	3.35 (0.87)	3.2 (0.88)
Black	3.04 (0.98)	2.32 (1.14)
Hispanic	3.29 (1.5)	3.571 (0.79)
Asian or Asian American	3.24 (1.03)	3.09 (0.75)
Multiracial	3.44 (0.53)	3.11 (0.60)
UMD is a diverse campus		
Non-Hispanic White	3.3 (0.94)	3.27 (0.61)
Black	2.56 (1.08)	1.96 (1.17)
Hispanic	2.71 (1.60)	3.29 (0.76)
Asian or Asian American	3.06 (1.09)	3.21 (0.73)
Multiracial	3.56 (0.53)	3.22 (0.67)
Strong Democrat	2.5 (1.78)	2.71 (0.76)
Not Strong Democrat	3.1 (0.78)	3.03 (0.86)
Independent, Near Democrat	2.93 (1.26)	3.02 (0.89)
Independent	3.17 (1.17)	3.06 (1.0)
Independent, near Republican	3.23 (0.6)	3.21 (0.9)
Not Strong Republican	3.79 (0.42)	3.71 (0.49)
Strong Republican	3.5 (0.71)	4 (0)

Notes: Standard deviation in parentheses | Overall there were 165 respondents for the freshman year survey and 170 for the senior year. | Racial response numbers were the following: 91 in freshman year and 95 in senior year for Non-Hispanic Whites, 25 for both years for Blacks, 7 for both years Hispanics, 33 and 34 respectively for Asians and 9 for both years for Multiracial. | Political views response numbers were the following respectively: 10 in freshman year and 7 in senior year for Strong Democrats, 51 and 80 for not strong Democrat, 30 and 43 for Independent near Democrat, 18 and 24 for Independent, 13 and 14 for Independent near Republican, 19 and 7 for not strong Republican, and 2 and 1 for strong Republican.

On average students feel comfortable on campus as noted in Table 7 Opinions about Campus Diversity, but Blacks were the least comfortable in their freshman year

and became even less comfortable in their senior year. Table 8 Regression of opinions about campus diversity shows that this is statistically significant in both intervals. In addition, Blacks are on average significantly less likely to say UMD is a diverse campus, less likely to say they like being a student on campus, and less likely to say UMD's diversity benefits them. These responses indicate that Blacks feel a significant amount of distance and lack of fit on campus. And on average, these negative feelings increased over the course of their undergraduate career. Black students' responses in regard to if they like being a student on campus in their freshman year were not statistically significant on average. This indicates a notable decrease in liking campus from their freshman to their senior year. Blacks on average started out less comfortable on campus than non-Hispanic White students, and these feelings of discomfort increased in their senior year.

UMD prides itself on having a diverse campus, but do students also value this? In both the freshman and in the senior year, students' political identities on average become a significant factor in their responses. I coded this continuous variable using one to represent Strong Democratic views, four for Independent, and seven for Strong Republican views. These results show that on average the more Republican leaning the student is, the more likely they are to disagree with the statement that diversity is a good goal. These responses were statistically significant in both freshman and senior years. Political identities are also salient to how respondents viewed the racial and ethnic diversity on campus. Blacks on average strongly disagree with the statement that UMD is a diverse campus in both their freshman and senior years as compared to Whites. Students with politically

conservative views, however, on average strongly agree that UMD is a diverse campus in both their freshman and senior years. When asked if diversity is a good goal, political views again became significant. The more Republican-leaning a student's identity, the more likely on average they were to disagree with this statement. Asian students, however, were more likely to agree with this statement on average.

One area where Blacks and politically conservatives agree is if UMD's diverse campus benefits them. The more Republican-leaning the student's views, the more likely they are to disagree with that statement on average. Political views are statistically significant to $p < 0.05$ in freshman year and $p < 0.01$ senior years. Responses from Black students are not statistically significant in their freshman year, but they are in their senior year to $p < 0.0001$. Results for both of these groups indicate that on average they disagree more strongly in their senior year that UMD's diverse campus is beneficial to them.

Overall the Table 8 results of opinions about campus diversity show that not all identities contribute to particular views about diversity. For example, responses regressed by gender, Hispanic, and Multiracial identities are not statistically significant across any of these questions and responses from Asian students are only statistically significant in one ("Diversity is a good goal" in senior year). Political identities and Black racial identities, however, are salient in five and six, respectively, in results from these 10 questions. Chapter Four addresses the racial hate crimes and rise in White supremacy that can explain part of these responses.

TABLE 8

Regression of Opinions About Campus Diversity

	FRESHMAN YEAR: Coefficient†	P. Value	SENIOR YEAR: Coefficient†	P. Value
UMD IS A DIVERSE CAMPUS				
Gender	.14 (.18)	0.446	.18 (.12)	0.142
Black	-.88 (.23)	0.000***	-1.42 (.164)	0.000***
Hispanic	-.67 (.38)	0.080	.08 (.28)	0.776
Asian	-.35 (.21)	0.096	-.107 (.14)	0.459
Multirace	.38 (.34)	0.267	-.02 (.24)	0.920
Political Views	.17(.05)	0.002**	.11 (.06)	0.018
COMFORTABLE ON CAMPUS				
Gender	.037 (.17)	0.826	.07 (.14)	0.640
Black	-.59 (.22)	0.008**	-1.06 (.18)	0.000***
Hispanic	-.17 (.36)	0.646	.37 (.32)	0.239
Asian	-.153 (.2)	0.441	.07 (.16)	0.678
Multiracial	.19 (.33)	0.558	-.14 (.27)	0.606
Political views	-.003 (.05)	0.954	.003 (.05)	0.957
I LIKE BEING A STUDENT AT UMD				
Gender	.02 (.17)	0.904	.08 (.16)	0.606
Black	-.16 (.22)	0.481	-.88 (.20)	0.000***
Hispanic	-.07 (.37)	0.859	.4 (.35)	0.264
Asian	-.15 (.20)	0.448	-.13 (.18)	0.468
Multiracial	.24 (.33)	0.478	-.02 (.30)	0.953
Political views	.033 (.05)	0.513	.04 (.06)	0.476
A DIVERSE CAMPUS BENEFITS ME				
Gender	-.14 (.18)	0.436	.16 (.12)	0.193
Black	-.004 (.24)	0.985	-1.36 (.16)	0.000***
Hispanic	-.12 (.4)	0.760	-.002 (.28)	0.994
Asian	-.31 (.22)	0.159	.26 (.14)	0.075
Multiracial	.5 (.36)	0.164	.04 (.24)	0.853
Political views	-.13 (.054)	0.018*	-.14 (.05)	0.002**
DIVERSITY IS A GOOD GOAL				
Gender	-.24 (.19)	0.21	-.12 (.11)	0.281
Black	.44 (.25)	0.082	.04 (.15)	0.81
Hispanic	.005 (.41)	0.991	.29 (.26)	0.268
Asian	.02 (.23)	0.942	.31 (.13)	0.020*
Multiracial	.46 (.37)	0.221	-.02 (.22)	0.926
Political Views	-.19 (.06)	0.001**	-.21 (.04)	0.000***

Notes: † Standard Error in parentheses under coefficient | ‡ 95% Confidence Intervals | * p < 0.05 | ** p < 0.01 | *** p < 0.001 | **Freshman diverse campus:** F(6, 140)=4.93 | Prob > F=0.0001 | R-squared=0.1743 | **Senior diverse campus:** F(6, 160)=14.33 | Prob > F= 0.0000 | R-squared=0.3496 | **Freshman comfort on campus:** F(6, 140)=4.93 | Prob > F= .2330 | R-squared=0.0553 | **Senior comfort on campus:** F(6, 160)=6.57 | Prob > F=0.0000 | R-squared=0.1977 | **Freshman like being a student:** F(6,140)=0.46 | Prob > F=0.9066 | R-squared=0.0149 | **Senior like being a student:** F(6,160)=3.62 | Prob > F=0.0022 | R-squared=0.1195 | **Freshman benefits me:** F(6, 140) = 1.87 | Prob > F = 0.0905 | R-squared = 0.0741 | **Senior benefits me:** F(6,160)=15.78 | Prob > F=0.0000 | R-squared=0.3717 | **Freshman good goal:** F(6,140)=2.76 | Prob > F=0.0144 | R-squared=0.1058 | **Senior good goal:** F(6,160)=5.56 | Prob > F=0.0000 | R-squared=0.1724

TABLE 9

Regression of Comfort With Roommates by Race

	FRESHMAN YEAR: Coefficient†		P. Value	SENIOR YEAR: Coefficient†		P. Value
COMFORT WITH WHITE ROOMMATE						
Gender	.19 (.16)	0.246		.051 (.17)	0.759	
Black	-.79 (.21)	0.000***		-.86 (.22)	0.000***	
Hispanic	.19 (.35)	0.593		.004 (.38)	0.992	
Asian	-.44 (.19)	0.020*		-.59 (.19)	0.003**	
Multiracial	.08 (.31)	0.809		.15 (.32)	0.649	
Political Views	-.01 (.05)	0.811		-.07 (.06)	0.284	
COMFORT WITH BLACK ROOMMATE						
Gender	.19 (.17)	0.271		-.03 (.17)	0.874	
Black	.65 (.22)	0.004**		.34 (.23)	0.136	
Hispanic	-.034 (.37)	0.927		.14 (.39)	0.720	
Asian	-.33 (.20)	0.096		-.38 (.2)	0.057	
Multirace	.59 (.34)	0.081		.09 (.33)	0.778	
Political views	-.17 (.05)	0.001**		-.16 (.06)	0.010*	
COMFORT WITH LATINO ROOMMATE						
Gender	(.15)	0.370		.02 (.16)	0.923	
Black	.19 (.22)	0.406		-.06 (.21)	0.768	
Hispanic	.29 (.37)	0.436		.53 (.36)	0.141	
Asian	-.23 (.20)	0.264		-.33 (.18)	0.071	
Multirace	.6 (.34)	0.078		.11 (.31)	0.727	
Political Views	-.2 (.05)	0.000***		-.12 (.06)	0.048*	
COMFORT WITH ASIAN ROOMMATE						
Gender	.072 (.18)	0.685		-.18 (.18)	0.311	
Black	-.32 (.23)	0.163		-.40 (.2)	0.085	
Hispanic	.03 (.38)	0.932		.14 (.40)	0.726	
Asian	.45 (.21)	0.030*		.13 (.20)	0.522	
Multiracial	.7 (.35)	0.047*		-.02 (.34)	0.953	
Political views	-.13 (.05)	0.012*		-.06 (.06)	0.318	

Notes: † Standard Error in parentheses under coefficient | $\pm$ 95% Confidence Intervals | * $p < 0.05$ | ** $p < 0.01$ | *** $p < 0.001$ | **Freshman White roommate:** $F(6, 143) = 3.19$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0057$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.1180$ | **Senior White roommate:** $F(6, 160) = 4.28$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0012$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.1269$ | **Freshman Black roommate:** $F(6, 143) = 4.44$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0004$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.1572$ | **Senior Black roommate:** $F(6, 160) = 2.64$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0179$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0902$ | **Freshman Latino roommate:** $F(6, 143) = 3.51$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0029$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.1284$ | **Senior Hispanic roommate:** $F(6, 160) = 1.97$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0736$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0686$ | **Freshman Asian roommate:** $F(6, 143) = 3.30$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0045$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.1215$ | **Senior Asian roommate:** $F(6, 160) = 1.09$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.3722$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0392$

The online survey included questions as to how comfortable respondents would feel if they were assigned a roommate who was Asian, who was Black, who was Hispanic, and who was White. Students could select one of five options ranging from very uncomfortable (0) to neither comfortable nor uncomfortable (2) to very comfortable (4). Table 9 Regression of comfort with roommates by race shows the

results. In their freshman year, on average Blacks responded they would be less comfortable with a White roommate ($p < 0.001$) and more comfortable with a Black roommate as compared to Whites ($p < 0.01$). Both results are statistically significant. On average their discomfort with having a White roommate persists in their senior year ($p < 0.001$), however their preference for a Black roommate is no longer statistically significant. Asians are the other demographic that is statistically uncomfortable on average with having a White roommate in their freshman ($p < 0.05$) and senior years ($p < 0.01$) as compared to Whites. Responses for both years are statistically significant with the senior year responses becoming more so. The four years Black and Asian students have spent interacting with White students in classes, on campus, and in other spaces has not made a notable positive impact on how comfortable they feel about the possibility of rooming with a White student as compared to Whites.

Political identities also become salient to how students respond to these questions. Once again, we can see a difference in terms of how students' political identities shape their opinions of minority students. For example, on average the more Republican leaning a student is the less likely they will be to be comfortable with a Black roommate in both their freshman ($p < 0.01$) and senior ($p < 0.05$) years and less likely they will be comfortable with having a Latino roommate in their freshman ($p < 0.001$) and senior ($p < 0.05$) years, and less comfortable with an Asian roommate in their freshman year ($p < 0.05$). These results are statistically significant. In their senior year, on average discomfort for Black and Latino roommates becomes slightly less statistically significant and the statistical significance for Asian roommates falls away.

TABLE 10

Regression of Feelings of Closeness by Race

	FRESHMAN YEAR: Coefficient†		P. Value	SENIOR YEAR: Coefficient†		P. Value
FEELINGS OF CLOSENESS TO WHITES						
Gender	.4 (.32)	0.219		.39 (.32)	0.225	
Black	-2.9 (.42)	0.000***		-2.83 (.42)	0.000***	
Hispanic	.47 (.69)	0.496		-.46 (.72)	0.522	
Asian	-1.24 (.37)	0.001**		-1.43 (.37)	0.000***	
Multiracial	-.34 (.63)	0.582		-.42 (.61)	0.492	
Political Views	.047 (.09)	0.620		-.15 (.12)	0.184)	
FEELINGS OF CLOSENESS TO BLACKS						
Gender	.75 (.31)	0.019*		.17 (.25)	0.492	
Black	2.13 (.41)	0.000***		2.07 (.33)	0.000***	
Hispanic	.87 (.68)	0.205		-.45 (.57)	0.426	
Asian	-.12 (.37)	0.753		-.54 (.29)	0.065	
Multiracial	.65 (.62)	0.292		-.10 (.48)	0.832	
Political views	-.16 (.09)	0.096		-.48 (.09)	0.000***	
FEELINGS OF CLOSENESS TO LATINOS						
Gender	.83 (.33)	0.014*		.29 (.29)	0.321	
Black	.01 (.43)	0.984		.31 (.38)	0.411	
Hispanic	2.24 (.72)	0.002**		1.24 (.65)	0.058	
Asian	-.57 (.39)	0.145		-.58 (.33)	0.084	
Multiracial	.49 (.65)	0.454		.09 (.55)	0.872	
Political views	-.12 (.1)	0.237		-.45 (.10)	0.000***	
FEELINGS OF CLOSENESS TO ASIANS						
Gender	-.17 (.32)	0.599		.23 (.28)	0.418	
Black	-1.62 (.412)	0.000***		-.66 (.37)	0.077	
Hispanic	.19 (.69)	0.779		-.45 (.64)	0.480	
Asian	2.16 (.37)	0.000***		2(.33)	0.000***	
Multiracial	1.43 (.62)	0.022*		1.38 (.54)	0.012*	
Political views	-.19 (.09)	0.169		-.3 (.10)	0.004**	

Notes: † Standard Error in parentheses under coefficient | ± 95% Confidence Intervals | * p < 0.05 | ** p < 0.01 | *** p < 0.001 | **Freshman closeness to Whites:** F(6, 143) = 9.34 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.2816 | **Senior closeness to Whites:** F(6, 160) = 8.89 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.2501 | **Freshman closeness to Blacks:** F(6, 143) = 6.41 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.2119 | **Senior closeness to Blacks:** F(6, 160) = 13.79 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.3408 | **Freshman closeness to Latinos:** F(6, 143) = 3.51 | Prob > F = 0.0029 | R-squared = 0.1283 | **Senior closeness to Latinos:** F(6, 160) = 5.13 | Prob > F = 0.0001 | R-squared = 0.1613 | **Freshman closeness to Asians:** F(6, 143) = 12.20 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.3385 | **Senior closeness to Asians:** F(6, 160) = 10.41 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.2807

The online survey also asked respondents how close they feel to Asians, Blacks, Latinos, and Whites on a 9-point continuous scale where 1 indicates not at all close and 9 indicates very close. The regression results, seen in Table 10 Regression of Feelings of Closeness By Race, show that Black and Asian respondents feel less close to Whites in their freshman and senior years as compared to Whites. These

results are similar to those in Table 9. On average the feelings of closeness Blacks, Latinos, and Asians have to others of their own racial identity are positively statistically significant in their freshman year, and Blacks' and Asians' responses are still statistically significant in their senior year. On average male respondents feel statistically significantly closer ($p < 0.05$) to Blacks and Latinos in their freshman year as compared to female students, but this significance disappears in their senior year. This is one of the few statistically significant results based on gender identity in my findings, the significance of which will be explored elsewhere.

As with some of the other results, political identities are also salient to feelings of closeness to other races. On average, the more Republican-leaning a student's political identity, the less close they feel to Blacks ($p < 0.001$) and Latinos ($p < 0.001$) in their senior year as compared to students with strong Democrat identities. These results were not statistically significant in the freshman year results, which indicates that over the course of their undergraduate career, on average they did not feel this much distance when they arrived on campus, but they do as they are about to leave it. I will explore the possible reasons behind these feelings in Chapter 4. Further, whereas Republican-leaning students feel distance from Blacks and Latinos, they feel closer to Asians with statistical significance ($p < 0.001$) in both freshman and senior years. The social constructions politically conservatives create of Asian identities are much more positive than those they create of Black and Latino identities.

TABLE 11**Potential Identity Barriers To Interaction****OVERALL RESPONSE PERCENTAGES**

	RACE/ ETHNICITY†	POLITICAL VIEWS	RELIGIOUS BELIEFS
Strongly disagree	38%	36%	43%
Disagree	34%	35%	36%
Neither	15%	17%	14%
Agree	12%	8%	6%
Strongly agree	2%	4%	1%

REGRESSION BY SOCIAL IDENTITIES SENIOR YEAR

	Coefficient	P. Value	Coefficient	P. Value	Coefficient	P. Value
Gender	.04 (.16)	0.810	.21 (.16)	0.200	-.013 (.16)	0.936
Black	1.66 (.21)	0.000***	.33 (.21)	0.121	.072 (.21)	0.735
Hispanic	.28 (.37)	0.448	-.64 (.36)	0.080	-.56 (.36)	0.128
Asian	.50 (.19)	0.009**	-.31 (.18)	0.094	-.16 (.19)	0.393
Multiracial	.52 (.31)	0.101	-.17 (.31)	0.657	.08 (.31)	0.808
Political views	.03 (.06)	0.573	.47 (.058)	0.000***	.08 (.06)	0.183

Notes: n = 170 | † Total does not sum to 100 due to rounding. Standard Error in parentheses | 95% Confidence Intervals | * p < 0.05 | ** p < 0.01 | *** p < 0.001 | **Religious beliefs:** F(6, 160) = 0.94 | Prob > F = 0.4696 | R-squared = 0.0340 | **Political views:** F(6, 160) = 13.66 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.3387 | **Race/ethnicity:** F(6, 160) = 10.28 | Prob > F = 0.0000 | R-squared = 0.2782

If intergroup interaction can reduce prejudice, and some of these racial and political identities show a persistence of prejudice, then do they not feel comfortable to interact? Could this be the reason for why we are not seeing the results we could expect based on previous literature (e.g. Allport 1954, Pettigrew 1979, Pettigrew and Tropp 2006)? The senior-year survey included questions about potential interaction barriers.²⁹ Approximately three quarters of the respondents said they either disagreed or strongly disagreed to the questions if race or ethnicity (72%), political views (71%) or religious beliefs (79%) were barriers to interactions. However, the regression results shown in this same table indicate that on average Blacks ($p < 0.001$) and Asians ($p < 0.01$) say that race and ethnicity is more of a barrier than White respondents. In addition, on average the more Republican-leaning a student's identity the more likely

²⁹ I had not anticipated the need for this series of questions in earlier surveys, so I am unable to compare differences in freshman and senior year responses.

($p < 0.001$) they are to say that political views are a barrier to interaction. All of these results were statistically significant.

I also asked how confident students were to interact effectively across a range of social identities in their freshman and senior years: race/ethnicity, political views, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, gender, disability, and country of origin. (See Table 12 Confidence In Ability To Interact With Different Identities.) Students answered using a three-point scale where 0 indicates not at all confident and 2 indicates very confident.³⁰ Of the 96 outputs across these categories, only seven had statistical significance in the freshman year survey and two in the senior year survey. Only one comparison is statistically significant in both the freshman and senior year. In their freshman year, Latinos ($p < 0.05$) and Blacks ($p < 0.05$) on average were less confident than Whites to interact with others of different racial or ethnic identities. The statistical significance for both falls away in the senior-year survey. Blacks on average are also less confident ($p < 0.001$) than Whites to interact with others with different political views. This difference is no longer statistically significant in their senior year. Both Asians ($p < 0.01$) and Republican-leaning students ($p < 0.001$) feel less confident interacting with those of different sexual orientations on average in their freshman year. Although the difference is no longer significant in their senior year for Asians, it continues to be significant ($p < 0.001$) for conservatives. On average Black males feel statistically less confident ($p < 0.05$) than White females when they are interacting with those of

³⁰ This is a repeated CAWG question, so I set their response options for consistency. A broader range of options would have been preferred (Alwin 1992; Alwin and Krosnick 1991; Schaeffer and Presser 2003), but I chose to be consistent with the CAWG question structure to afford future cross-data comparisons.

difference gender identities in their freshman year. This difference is no longer statistically significant in their senior year. The final regression that is statistically significant ($p < 0.005$) in the freshman year is that Asians on average have less confidence to interact effectively with those with disabilities different from theirs. This is no longer statistically in their senior year. In their senior year, male respondents on average were more confident ($p < 0.01$) than female respondents in their ability to interact effectively with people who hold different political views.

From this table overall, what we can see there is no strong pattern of confidence either building or eroding in terms of feelings of confidence when interacting with others of different social identities between freshman and senior years. Once again the persistence of intergroup interactions students are having throughout their undergraduate career are not making a tremendous amount of difference in confidence to interact effectively with those different from them across these social identities. Overall these results show that racial identities, especially Black and Asian, and more Republican-leaning identities can inhibit intergroup interaction on this campus.

TABLE 12A

Confidence To Interact With Different Identities

	FRESHMAN YEAR: Coefficient†	P. Value	SENIOR YEAR: Coefficient†	P. Value
RACE/ETHNICITY				
Gender	.05 (.07)	0.516	.08 (.076)	0.283
Black	-.21 (.1)	0.032*	-.14 (.1)	0.165
Hispanic	-.32 (.16)	0.049*	.01 (.17)	0.962
Asian	.00 (.09)	0.964	-.07 (.09)	0.429
Multiracial	.19 (.14)	0.188	.11 (.15)	0.431
Political views	-.01 (.02)	0.620	-.05 (.03)	0.104
POLITICAL VIEWS				
Gender	.17 (.1)	0.089	.36 (.10)	0.001**
Black	-.67 (.13)	0.000***	-.2 (.14)	0.151
Hispanic	.06 (.21)	0.764	-.02 (.23)	0.922
Asian	-.21 (.11)	0.068	-.09 (.12)	0.430
Multiracial	.04 (.19)	0.819	-.06 (.2)	0.747
Political views	.05 (.09)	0.107	.014 (.04)	0.718
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS				
Gender	.06 (.08)	0.512	.07 (.08)	0.384
Black	-.2 (.11)	0.077	-.01 (.11)	0.929
Hispanic	.02 (.18)	0.908	.26 (.19)	0.174
Asian	-.15 (.1)	0.136	-.16 (.1)	0.107
Multiracial	.10 (.17)	0.539	-.025 (.16)	0.879
Political views	-.05 (.025)	0.044	-.04 (.03)	0.223
SEXUAL ORIENTATION				
Gender	-.16 (.09)	0.092	-.051 (.08)	0.546
Black	-.2 (.12)	0.112	-.075 (.11)	0.500
Hispanic	-.07 (.20)	0.730	.15 (.19)	0.432
Asian	-.34 (.11)	0.002**	-.15 (.1)	0.125
Multiracial	.02 (.18)	0.931	-.13 (.16)	0.421
Political views	-.14 (.03)	0.000***	-.12 (.03)	0.000***

Notes: Standard error in parentheses | 95% Confidence Intervals | * $p < 0.05$ | ** $p < 0.01$ | *** $p < 0.001$ | **Freshman race/ethnicity:** $F(6, 143) = 1.80$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.1024$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0704$ | **Senior race/ethnicity:** $F(6, 160) = 1.11$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.3561$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0401$ | **Freshman political identities:** $F(6, 143) = 5.62$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0000$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.1907$ | **Senior political identities:** $F(6, 160) = 2.39$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0308$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0822$ | **Freshman religious beliefs:** $F(6, 143) = 1.64$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.1392$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0645$ | **Senior religious beliefs:** $F(6, 160) = 1.28$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.2691$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.0458$ | **Freshman sexual orientation:** $F(6, 143) = 6.93$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0000$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.2253$ | **Senior sexual orientation:** $F(6, 160) = 3.40$ | $\text{Prob} > F = 0.0035$ | $R\text{-squared} = 0.1131$

TABLE 12B

Confidence To Interact With Different Identities

	FRESHMAN YEAR: Coefficient†	P. Value	SENIOR YEAR: Coefficient†	P. Value
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS				
Gender	-.05 (.08)	0.529	.01 (.08)	0.931
Black	-.10 (.11)	0.335	-.16 (.10)	0.115
Hispanic	-.26 (.18)	0.154	.18 (.18)	0.310
Asian	-.08 (.1)	0.391	-.15 (.09)	0.095
Multiracial	.21 (.16)	0.194	-.15 (.15)	0.328
Political views	.01 (.02)	0.547	-.02 (.03)	0.521
GENDER				
Gender	-.03 (.07)	0.711	-.06 (.06)	0.330
Black	-.25 (.1)	0.022*	-.08 (.08)	0.368
Hispanic	-.2 (.16)	0.225	.13 (.14)	0.367
Asian	-.15 (.09)	0.095	-.1 (.07)	0.177
Multiracial	.14 (.15)	0.352	-.00 (.12)	0.995
Political views	-.03 (.02)	0.131	.00 (.02)	0.997
DISABILITY				
Gender	-.02 (.11)	0.847	.05 (.11)	0.661
Black	-.19 (.14)	0.176	-.1 (.14)	0.494
Hispanic	-.10 (.23)	0.665	-.01 (.24)	0.956
Asian	-.29 (.13)	0.022*	-.16 (.12)	0.192
Multiracial	.07 (.21)	0.758	-.12 (.21)	0.567
Political views	-.06 (.03)	0.053	-.04 (.04)	0.262
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN				
Gender	-.00 (.08)	0.990	.19 (.08)	0.131
Black	-.15 (.10)	0.140	-.03 (.10)	0.758
Hispanic	.07 (.17)	0.668	.11 (.18)	0.550
Asian	-.02 (.09)	0.798	-.01 (.09)	0.934
Multiracial	.12 (.16)	0.452	-.01 (.15)	0.922
Political views	-.01 (.02)	0.730	-.03 (.03)	0.329

Notes: Standard error in parentheses | 95% Confidence Intervals | * p < 0.05 | ** p < 0.01 | *** p < 0.001
 | | **Freshman socioeconomic status:** F(6, 143) = 1.07 | Prob > F = 0.3852 | R-squared = 0.0428 | **Senior socioeconomic status:** F(6, 160) = 1.16 | Prob > F = 0.3284 | R-squared = 0.0418 | **Freshman gender:** F(6, 143) = 2.01 | Prob > F = 0.0684 | R-squared = 0.0777 | **Senior gender:** F(6, 160) = 0.83 | Prob > F = 0.5484 | R-squared = 0.0302 | **Freshman disability:** F(6, 143) = 1.74 | Prob > F = 0.1168 | R-squared = 0.0679 | **Senior disability:** F(6, 160) = 0.56 | Prob > F = 0.7589 | R-squared = 0.0207 | **Freshman country of origin:** F(6, 143) = 0.63 | Prob > F = 0.7075 | R-squared = 0.0257 | **Senior country of origin:** F(6, 160) = 0.65 | Prob > F = 0.6933 | R-squared = 0.0237

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter offers an in-depth view of how students' opinions about diversity and diverse others change during their undergraduate career on structurally diverse campus. It focuses on the opinions students hold of diverse others and diversity in general. I use data from the in-depth interviews and results from the freshman and

senior waves of the online survey to explore this. Allport (1954) proposes that prejudice can be reduced if four conditions are met: intergroup teamwork or collaboration, shared goals, equivalency of status, and support from an authority body or figure. Four years on a college campus with structural diversity can meet those conditions. Pettigrew and Tropp meta analyses (2000, 2006, 2011) build off Allport's theory and find that intergroup interaction can be effective in reducing prejudice. This campus is seemingly ideal for reducing prejudice of outgroups.

Students who interact with diverse others gain broader perspectives on topics. They learn to discuss and debate different racial and cultural issues (Chang 1999). These interactions create more cultural awareness (Antonio, 2001a; Astin; Bowen & Bok, 1998) and increased interest and engagement in civic activities greater civic interest (Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Sáenz et al., 2007). Further, students' interaction with and even mere proximity to one group can create greater reception toward other groups (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). In general, intergroup contact is associated with reduced prejudice, and generally the more interaction the greater the reduction, and contact with one out-group can have positive effects on reduced prejudice for other out-groups (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). The logical assumption about rates of structural diversity bears out: the greater the amount, the higher the rates of cross-racial interactions among students (Park and Kim 2013).

Almost half (47%) of the 47 interviewees mentioned diversity as something they were expecting if not looking forward to engaging with diverse peers part of their undergraduate career. They talk about how tour guides have talked up this

diversity. They expect good things from it. As members of Generation Z, they tend to be more liberal-leaning (Badger and Miller 2019) and more accepting of minority identities (Parker, Graf and Igielnik 2019). My expectation was that as students spent time on this campus and interacted with its diverse population, their bias would toward and the gap between outgroups would be reduced. However the results featured in this chapter show that racial identities, particularly Asian and Black, and political identities, particularly conservative, can inhibit intergroup interaction on this campus.

On average Blacks have the lowest scores for comfort on campus and least like being on campus in both their freshman and senior years. Their scores are the lowest out of the racial categories and have the largest decrease from freshman to senior year. They are also on average significantly less likely to say UMD is a diverse campus, less likely to say they like being a student on campus, and less likely to say UMD's diversity benefits them. These responses indicate that Blacks feel a significant amount of distance and lack of fit on campus. And on average, these negative feelings increased over the course of their undergraduate career. In their freshman year, on average Blacks would be less comfortable to be assigned a White roommate and more comfortable with a Black roommate as compared to Whites. The statistical significance of this discomfort for having a White roommate persists in their senior year.

Asians are the other demographic that is statistically uncomfortable on average with having a White roommate in their freshman and senior years as compared to Whites. The four years Black and Asian students have spent interacting

with White students in classes, on campus and in other spaces has not made a notable positive impact on how comfortable they feel about the possibility of rooming with a White student as compared to Whites. Black and Asian respondents also feel less close to Whites in their freshman and senior years as compared to Whites on average.

Political identities are also salient to how respondents viewed the racial and ethnic diversity on campus. On average the more Republican leaning the student is, the more likely they are to disagree with the statement that diversity is a good goal. These responses were statistically significant in both their freshman and senior years. Also, on average, the more Republican-leaning a student's political identity, the less close they feel to Blacks and Latinos in their senior year as compared to students with strong Democrat identities. Further, whereas Republican-leaning students feel distance from Blacks and Latinos, they feel closer to Asians with statistical significance in both freshman and senior years. The social constructions political conservatives create of Asian identities are much more positive than those they create of Black and Latino identities.

One area where Blacks and politically conservatives agree is if UMD's diverse campus benefits them. Blacks and Republican-leaning student were more likely to disagree with that statement on average. Results for both of these groups indicate that on average they disagree more strongly in their senior year that UMD's diverse campus is a benefit to them. When asked in their senior year, the majority of students disagreed that either race or ethnicity (72%) or political views (71%) created barriers to interaction. However, the regression results indicate that on average Blacks and Asians feel that race and ethnicity is more of a barrier than White respondents. In

addition, on average the more Republican-leaning a student's identity the more likely they are to say that political views are a barrier to interaction as compared to strong Democrats.

Not only did student not feel closer due to their identities, social constructions such as political identities pushed them away from other identities such as race. For example, the four years Black and Asian students have spent interacting with White students in classes, on campus and in other spaces has not made a notable positive impact on how comfortable they feel about the possibility of rooming with a White student. They would not feel comfortable sharing their intimate spaces with them.

Overall these results show that racial identities and political identities can inhibit intergroup interaction on this campus, which do not support Allport's contact theory and Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analysis results. Are these sociological giants wrong? Or is UMD a special environment? Or is this cohort an outlier? I expect that the two latter possibilities are most likely to be the case as I do not expect that my results are upending decades of social psychological theory and results. However, these results are the opposite of what we might expect based on this literature. In the next chapter I explore why this might be.

CHAPTER 4

POST-RACIAL UPENDED

HOW INCREASED HATE CRIMES AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION EVENTS SHAPE SOCIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The decision about which higher educational institution to attend can seem incidental to momentous to everything in between. The students' choices of this university at this time will be consequential for many. The location of this university and its proximity to D.C. is a draw for some, especially the government and politics majors who want to be near the nation's prime political arena. In addition, the campus' propinquity to major protests and political marches such as the Women's March, March for Our Lives, March for Life, and March for Racial Justice facilitates civic engagement. However it is the series of racial hate and discriminatory events that will distinguish this cohort's undergraduate career from others studying on other campuses. Further, these incidents occur in tandem with a rise in hate groups and pro-White supremacy propaganda (Beirich 2019, Beirich and Buchanan 2018). (See Table 1A-1G for a more thorough list of events.) In addition to academic and intellectual growth, the undergraduate career window is a critical time of individual and group identity development (Astin 1993, Chickering 1969, Pascarella et al. 2001, Pascarella and Terenzini 2005). What, if anything, will be the impact of these events on this cohort?

Given college campus' ability to be a "dangerous climate for minority students" (Van Dyke and Tester 2014: 13), it is important to explore how such events might influence their personal identity development. Hate crimes and racial discrimination and harassment can further minority groups' feelings of vulnerability and fear (Craig 2002, Iganski 2001, Perry 2001) on college campuses and weaken their persistence to complete their degrees (D'Augelli and Hersberger 1993, Feagin, Vera and Imani 2014, Lewis 2001). Racially motivated hate crimes tend to occur on campuses with small minority populations (Stotzer and Hossellman 2012). UMD does not fit this profile; it stands as a notable exception during this cohort's college career. How might these events impact students' individual and group identity development? Will White students, many of whom who have chosen this school to be among a diverse community, feel more solidarity toward those minority group targets? Will the collective campus identity of "Terp," the school's mascot name and moniker that is often to reference students, foster minority students' feelings of solidarity to non-Hispanic Whites?

This chapter³¹ focuses on the ways these events shape individual and group social identity development as well as ideas of solidarity across racial groups. I will describe local racial events that are most salient to this work. I will then demonstrate students' levels of knowledge about these events and their reactions to them. From there I will show how their racial and campus identities are shaped—and not—by these events. I will also address how these events influence their feelings toward racial and political others. This research can serve to inform our social psychological

³¹ This chapter's results are pulled primarily from the 2019 interviews. Since I did not anticipate these events happening during this cohort's undergraduate career, I did not include event-related questions in the other methods nor in the 2016 interviews.

understanding how hate crimes and racial discrimination animate social identity development.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social identity theory posits that individuals have multiple identities that can be engaged separately or collaboratively depending on the social norms of the space and the members present and implied (Hogg and Reid 2006, Tajfel and Turner 1979).

“Social identity theory focuses on prejudice, discrimination, and conditions that promote different types of intergroup behavior—for example, conflict, cooperation, social change, and social stasis” (Hogg and Reid 2006: 9). Individuals know of and associate membership with groups that are salient to them to some degree (Hogg 2016). The social identity of being a member of a certain group entails understanding what beliefs and behavior are necessary to retain membership (Tajfel 1972). We hold multiple social identities and enact appropriate ones based on the context of physical and social spaces and normative expectations (Hogg, Terry and White 1995).

Individuals and groups recognize and assign these designations based on our classifications of people, behavior, objects, and events (Tajfel and Forgas 1981).

Students who attend a university can be considered members of a group broadly, as part of the overall university community, to parsed groups as members of a major, student organization, or fraternity or sorority. “Social identity is expressed through normative behavior” (Hogg 2016: 11). But what happens when the “norm” shifts considerably with this racially divisive environment? How do students make sense of these changes? And how does it impact their identity development? How

does it shape the values they ascribe to other identities? Will acts of violence be an awakening? Or will the rise of White supremacy negate positive opinions of different racialized identities in context to these racially motivated events? These categorizations shape our expectations of others and the behaviors we exhibit (Deaux and Martin 2003). Social identity theory provides a framework to see how students are evolving their identities³² based on their relationship to campus as well as the events that transpire during their tenure there.

Further, how might these events shape the collective identities of these students, particularly in terms of their feelings of solidarity toward one another? Durkheim (1984) proposed that crime brings people together, that it creates closeness. Neighbors bond over talking about past and speculating on future crime-related aspects. In addition, previous research shows that dramatic events such as shootings and natural disasters can promote solidarity (e.g. Carroll et al. 2005, Collins 2004, Hawdon and Ryan 2011, Ryang 2003, Smelser 2004). For example, a recent study of neighborhoods in relative proximity and remoteness to the site of the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing found that the aftermath of this traumatic event fostered a feeling that “neighbors watch out for each other” (Brenner et al. 2015:55). If such an event can foster feelings of solidarity in those communities, could these hate crimes and events of racial discrimination create solidarity across racial groups in this campus community? Communities can feel solidarity after traumatic events such as school shootings (Hawdon, Ryan and Agnich 2010) and that solidarity can increase emotional wellbeing afterward (Hawdon et al. 2012). Many UMD students say their

³² Although students also talk about campus challenges related to political identity, this dissertation focuses on race- and ethnic-related identities. Do to space limitations, this cohort’s political social identity changes will be explored in greater detail elsewhere.

pre-college self expected a sense of camaraderie that comes with shared experiences of school sporting events, coursework, and parties. Will these events bring cross-racial groups closer?

FRESHMAN OPINIONS ABOUT CAMPUS

UMD has arguably had more high-profile racialized incidents than most other colleges across the United States during this cohort's undergraduate career. Their campus will be the site of hate crimes, alleged racially motivated police brutality, an allegedly racially motivated killing of a visiting Black student by one of their fellow White students, and the death of another fellow Black student due to alleged neglect by their football coaching staff. In both 2016 and 2019 I asked students how they would describe UMD to a random stranger about their age and what they would want that person to know. During the 2016 interviews, which concluded before the police brutality incident, the responses in 2016 were overwhelmingly positive across races. The 2019 responses were a much wider mix of positive and negative descriptions. Below are some of the ways students responded to these questions in 2016.

Both Annette and Nate are non-Hispanic White business majors and describe their political views as strong Republican. Annette is a double major with another program in another college. Both mention diversity as an aspect they would include in their description of UMD. Nate said,

It's a pretty large, public university, a very diverse place. You can study whatever you want, a good mix of good academics. You can go out. Good social life. Great campus. I really like the campus. Pretty nice people overall. (The students are) honestly, very, very diverse. I would definitely say I was not surprised coming here, but a lot more diverse than I initially thought. Everyone's very eclectic. ... A bunch of different people, yeah.

Annette also includes sports and politics as relevant information she would share:

I would say it's very diverse. One of the biggest things that strikes me about Maryland is how diverse it is. For my experience, I would say it's a liberal campus. I would say you'd have a lot of really amazing professors because we are so close to D.C. I would say our campus is definitely in the middle of a big transition right now, moving from kind of outdated to updated as far as the buildings and the community goes. I would also say that we're a really big basketball school. It just seems to be one of those important things.

Dustin, who is pursuing a hard-sciences major, said,

It's safer than the image most people get when they think of College Park. That's the one thing I'd want them to know because I know UMD has a bad safety reputation. Another thing I'd like to know is that it's not all parties like I thought it would be. Where I grew up, UMD was considered a party school. I haven't seen that many parties around here.

When asked to describe the students on campus, he said, "There's really nothing changing between where I grew up and here. There's just a little more diversity, but other than that everyone pretty much acts normal." Dustin is a non-Hispanic White who describes his political views as independent. Maryland's reputation about safety is an important misrepresentation he wants to dispel.

Monica is Hispanic and is pursuing a major in the medical field. She describes her political views as independent, near Democrat. Her description would focus on the academic aspects of campus as well as the people.

UMD is an exciting place to be. It's definitely a lot harder than I imagined it would be. That's just their really good academics. So it's definitely (been) a lot more time than I thought studying. But then with that it's such a balance, there's so many ways to be involved that I've taken advantage of that I would definitely recommend for everybody. ... I've met a wide variety of people with a lot of differences.

Sarah, a non-Hispanic White journalism major, also mentions these differences along with the number of social and professional opportunities that

available on this campus.

I think the best part about Maryland is (that) the opportunities are endless because it's such a huge school. If you wanted to do something you could find it. And then if it was something super obscure, you could still find other people that'd be interested in pursuing it with you. I love that and how you can have your fun, you can have your academics, you can pursue internships and stuff in D.C. The opportunities just are my favorite part of Maryland.

When asked to describe the students, she says,

The students? I mean, very passionate about things. You see there's protests, you know, good and bad. There are lots of opinions, but I think it's healthy to be around people with different opinions so that you can kind of solidify, figure out where you stand.

Sarah describes her political views as independent near Republican. Her comment suggests that in her freshman year she has already been challenged about her beliefs. She talks about this in a positive way in that through this process she and possibly others have refined and become more articulate about their views. Differences in opinions are viewed as positive, enriching, and bridge-building rather than divisive. For many on campus, this will not be the case by the time they are ready to graduate. Sarah also notes the level of civic engagement on campus and how students are passionate and politically active, which is both good and bad.

Like Sarah, Tom, is a non-Hispanic White with independent near Republican political views. He lives on campus and notes how opportunities like Sarah mentioned are plentiful. These opportunities have helped him feel more integrated into such a big campus.

At first, I was like taken aback by the size. Once you get into certain clubs and activities and everything it feels like smaller. Even though it's so big, I see people I know everywhere. Looking back, I kinda like that I went to a big university because it leaves options. I don't have to see one person every single day. I can kind of mix everything up.

When asked to describe the students, he said,

They're very diverse, a lot of people from different backgrounds. It's really cool. I got to meet a kid from Madagascar. My roommate is from Nigeria. It's really interesting, really cool. Especially since (where) I came from tends to be more of a Caucasian kind of community, it's been interesting meeting people from all over parts of the world.

Tom mentioned being close to home, cheaper in-state tuition, and football games as reasons he chose UMD. He did not mention diversity as an initial draw, but he describes the excitement of getting to know students from other countries. The ability to interact with different nationalities is markedly different from his hometown, which he views positively.

Terrance and Jewel are both Black, share Democratic-leaning views, and are pursuing majors in the medical field. Both also give positive descriptions of campus.

Terrance said,

I would say students on campus are typically nice. No matter how you would assume people are on their outward experience, they're typically nice. I've had a majority of good experiences with people. I've enjoyed my time here. It's a lot of fun. There are always people who have your same interests, so you'll never be alone or left out, as long as you're able to talk with people and communicate and really branch out and meet new people.

Terrance's comment hints at the hesitation he feels with people who might look different from him, however his assessment of the campus is positive overall. Jewel, too, has a positive view of the school. When asked how she would describe UMD, she talks about how she was asked to do this recently.

This has actually happened. I've had some current (high school) seniors, who are thinking of which schools they want to (attend), so I was like, "Maryland's the best. Come here." Everyone's pretty nice for the most part. There's a lot of school pride. ... I see a lot of support and whenever you're walking past Stamp and McKeldin there's always people there trying to talk to you and get you involved in stuff. So it's very inclusive and that's always nice.

Jewel remarks how she is encouraging others to attend this campus. She feels the environment is inclusive. She has recommend UMD to prospective students. By 2019, most of the Black students I interview will say they would either warn minorities about the campus' non-inclusive racist environment or will tell Black prospective students to attend elsewhere, such as a historically black college. Some will say they regret attending a predominantly White institute. However at the end of their freshman year, students of all races generally remark on the positive aspects about campus. They are optimistic about the rest of their undergraduate career and have found satisfaction in being on this campus. For some, particularly the minority students, the racial events that follow will dramatically alter their views about this campus and being a Terp.

EVENT DESCRIPTIONS

Police brutality

Just as this cohort is finishing their freshman year, campus police use pepper spray to break up a graduation party attended by mostly Black partygoers (Thomas 2016). Police were investigating the party after having received a call about a potential fight and underage drinking (Thomas 2016). They would later learn the falsely placed call was done so out of retaliation by a would-be partygoer who was denied entrance. When the police arrive, they receive conflicting statements about the presence of weapons inside the party. Despite being told by the two party hosts that there was neither a fight nor weapons inside, the police insist on entering the premises (Thomas 2016). Although they do not find either, they order the party to end, and

some partygoers refuse to leave. One police officer then deploys pepper spray to break up the party, saying he feared for his personal safety (Thomas 2016). The almost 60 partygoers migrate to the parking lot, where an ambulance is arriving to care for the victims of the pepper spray. The crowd leaving the party blocks the ambulance's path, and when they don't disperse when ordered by police, police used pepper spray a second time, spraying someone who wasn't obstructing the ambulance (Fitzgerald and Cook 2016). Many students saw the incident as racist and an abuse of power, connecting it to the other incidents of police brutality across the country (Svrluga 2016). After an investigation into the incident, police admit the second use of pepper spray was unnecessary and out of line with police procedures (Thomas 2016, Wells 2016). Within a year of the incident, UMD police would ban the use of pepper spray in nonviolent incidents and undergo diversity training to prevent future bias responses (Collins 2017). Some of the Black students I interviewed said this incident was an awakening. It signaled that UMD will be a place of racial bias and discrimination against them.

Campus-related deaths

If the pepper spray incident was a portent of negative racial treatment on campus, the murder of Lt. Richard Collins III is clear affirmation of it. Collins, a Black student, Army lieutenant, and soon-to-be-graduate of nearby HBCU Bowie State University, is on campus to visit friends (Bui 2017). As Collins waits near a bus stop, Sean Urbanski, a White UMD student, tells to Collins to step aside so that he could walk where Collins is standing (Bauer-Wolf 2017). When Collins refuses, Urbanski stabs

him to death. Urbanski had ties to a White supremacist group via Facebook (Bauer-Wolf 2017). The killing is allegedly racially motivated (Bui 2017), even deemed a lynching by some (Zirin 2017a, Zirin 2017b). Urbanski is charged with a federal and local hate crime in addition to a murder count, but the federal hate crime charge will later be dropped (Bui 2019). Urbanski still had not come to trial before this cohort is concluding their four years at UMD. That this murder happens on their campus and is perpetrated by one of their own adds resonance to the students' time at UMD. Collins' death is partially credited for UMD's ensuing decline in black enrollment, for an increase in racial tension on campus, and for Black students' increased feeling of distrust of their university and their peers, and the decreased enrollment furthers Black students' feelings of isolation (Richman 2018).

Tragedy strikes the campus again during the summer before this cohort's senior year. Jordan McNair, a 19-year-old offensive lineman for UMD's football team, is struggling to finish the 110-yard sprints. The temperature reaches the mid-80s that day (Rogers 2018) and the heat is getting to him. When he is unable to finish the drills the coaching staff makes him finish them with others helping him walk (Rittenberg and VanHaaren 2018). He collapses, is rushed to the hospital, and dies two and a half weeks later as a result of the "wholly avoidable" heatstroke he suffered during practice (Jenkins 2018). It will be two months after McNair's death before the UMD administration holds a formal university press conference about it (Zibelman 2018). The administration struggles to assign responsibility and repercussions for McNair's death. For students, the university appears to be trying to sweep McNair's death under the rug and is only unable to do so after a damning report about their

football program is released by ESPN (Zibelman 2018). This report and McNair's death will trigger a series of in-depth investigations into the culture of the Maryland football program (Maese and Stubbs 2018, Maese 2019, Svrluga 2018). Then head coach DJ Durkin is placed on administrative leave during the investigations and other coaches and staff are fired. Their treatment of players is deemed "toxic" by some and "motivational" by others (Maese and Stubbs 2018). When after the conclusion of their investigation, the Board of Regents re-instates Durkin as head coach and much of the campus and its community erupt in protest (Giambalvo and Larimer 2018, Maese and Anderson 2018). Loh defies the Board of Regents and fires Durkin the next day. In the end, the head coach as well as the strength training coach will be fired, the chairman of the Board of Regents will resign, and President Loh will also announce his retirement (Maese and Stubbs 2019). The university's accreditation will come into question and be investigated because of the mishandling of the events surrounding McNair's death (Dance, Marbella and Reed 2018, Eckert 2019). One of the consequences of UMD losing its accreditation is that students can no longer receive certain types of financial aid (Eckert 2019). The fallout from the university's mishandling of McNair's death and the football program will linger throughout this cohort's senior year and beyond (Anderson 2019). The summer after the students graduate UMD's accreditation is uncertain (Bahrapour and Heim 2019).

Two other students will also die during this cohort's time on campus.³³ In October of their junior year, freshman Maria Fisher will be hit by a car and killed just before dawn (Weil 2017). She had gone to a popular bar with friends the night before.

³³ These events are not race-related, but some students connect the impact of these deaths to those of Collins and McNair, so I have included their descriptions here.

In the pre-dawn hours the next morning, she frantically contacted many of her friends telling them she had awoken in unfamiliar surroundings and couldn't remember what happened the night before (Condon 2018). Police aren't sure what led her to run out onto busy Route 1 where she was hit by a car, but a private investigation revealed she had high levels of a disorientating date rape drug in her system at the time of her death (Condon 2018). Another UMD freshman, Olivia Paregol, will die the following fall after contracting the adenovirus (Meehan 2018). Paregol was living in a UMD residence hall that had been cited for mold exposure (Weil 2018). During this Fall 2018 semester at least 30 students will contract the virus, eight of whom will require hospitalization (Meehan 2018). It takes the administration 18 days to notify students and the rest of the campus community about the virus, which Paregol's parents say contributed to their daughter's death (Abelson 2019). Many students talk about the lack of confidence they have in the administration because of these events.

Rise of White supremacy

Another surprising development during this cohort's undergraduate career is the rise in White supremacy. Within two months of Donald Trump being sworn in as president, White nationalist flyers will be posted around campus. The leader of American Vanguard, the organization featured on the flyers, will credit two unnamed UMD students, who are also members of their organization, for posting them (Campisi and Richman 2017). A minimum of three different incidents of White nationalist information being posted on campus will occur during this cohort's college career (Brown 2017, Campisi and Richman 2017). These postings are part of

a series of events that establish the reemergence of White Supremacy this year on campus. One month later a noose is discovered hanging in the kitchen of a Greek fraternity house (Silverman 2017). Two months later Richard Collins will be murdered.

This rise is not limited to this campus nor this country. The same week the noose is found on UMD campus, three different sets of bananas hanging from nooses are found on American University campus, which is also the same day that Taylor Dumpson assumed her post as the university's first Black student president (Kean and Collins 2017, Silverman 2017). Later that summer about 250 White supremacist men will march on neighboring state's University of Virginia campus. They march to protest the removal of the Robert E. Lee statue and use the torchlight formation to evoke the mission of Nazi soldiers and other extremist nationalist organizations (Heim 2017). During the march they shout "Blood and soil!" "You will not replace us!" and "Jews will not replace us!" (Heim 2017). The next day, James Alex Fields Jr., will drive his car into a crowd of "Unite the Right" counterprotesters in Charlottesville, Virginia, killing Heather Heyer and injuring 19 (Heim 2017, Romo 2018). President Trump blames "both sides" for the violence (Weiland 2018) and says there are "very fine people on both sides" (Rascoe 2018). A survey conducted this year revealed that nine percent of the population, about 22-million people, said it was "fine to hold neo-Nazi or White supremacist views" (Beirich and Buchanan 2018).

In light of the Charlottesville events, the UMD marching band cuts the official state song, "Maryland, My Maryland," from its playlist in August 2017 (Condon

2017). The following March Maryland state senators will remove the pro-Confederate song's status as the "official" state song, the lyrics of which call Abraham Lincoln a "despot" and the Unionists as "Northern scum" (Dance and Dresser 2018).

In their final semester as seniors, an Alabama newspaper editor publishes an editorial saying it is time for the Ku Klux Klan return and start lynching again (Brown 2019, Farzan 2019) and an alleged White supremacist gunman in New Zealand kills at least 50 people during an attack on two different Mosques. In his 74-page manifesto, which he released just prior to the carnage, the shooter praises President Trump for being "a symbol of renewed White identity and common purpose" (Harris and Sonmez 2019).

The Anti-Defamation League reported that during 2018 there were at least 1,187 incidents of neo-Nazi and White supremacy propaganda being posted public spaces, a more than 180 percent increase from the 421 incidents in 2017 (Schwartz 2019). Most of these postings happen on college campuses. The Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks hate groups across the country, noted a 7 percent rise in the overall number of groups as well as the "firm foothold in the mainstream" they are making since President Trump came into office (Beirich 2019). These groups are galvanized by their hatred toward racial, ethnic, and religious minorities.

FINDINGS

Awareness and reactions to campus events

Of the 27 2019 interviewees, all of them had heard of and could describe information about the deaths of Jordan McNair and Richard Collins. Overall, more than half had

heard of and could relate details about the pepper spray incident (54%) and the posting of White nationalist flyers on campus (60%). Of the White students (n=11) 64% had could describe aspects of the pepper spray incident and 40% for the White Supremacist flyers. Of a grouping with the Asian, foreign, and Hispanic students (n=9), 36% had heard of the pepper spray incident and 40% had heard about the White nationalist flyers. All of the Black interviewees (n=7) could describe aspects about all four events. When grouped by political identities, 38% of the Republicans (n=8) could recount information about the pepper spray incident and 43% for the White nationalist flyers. The percentages were higher for Democrats (n=16). Of those 67% could relate information about these two events. One of the three politically independent students had heard of both.

Knowledge of and reactions to the pepper spray incident

I asked the students if they had heard about, what they knew about, their reactions to and if they talked about the pepper spray incident, the postings of White Supremacist flyers, and Collins' and McNair's deaths. That all of the students could describe aspects of Collins' and McNair's deaths indicates the cross-racial salience to these students. All of the Black students (n=7) had also heard about and could describe the pepper spray and flyer posting events as well. Of the White students, a little more than half (64%; n = 11) could describe the pepper spray incident. The other 36 percent could not recall the event. More than half (60%) had not heard of the White supremacist flyer postings. I grouped the remaining minority students (Hispanics, Asians, Foreign and multiracial; n = 9). Of those, most had heard of and could

describe the flyer postings (67%), but only a little more than a third (38%) could recall the pepper spray incident. These results are not surprising given that the White supremacy fliers pose a potential direct threat to these minority students whereas the pepper spray is an indirect one.

The incident of police pepper spraying the partygoers is a more significant event for Blacks and Hispanics than for Whites. Many students' memories of this event are connected to social media, where they saw the video recorded during the event or they voiced theirs and viewed others' reactions to this event. Students Tweeting use #FearTheTurtle to address this and other campus incidents of bias and discrimination. This thread notates students' experiences of racial bias, discrimination and microaggressions from other students, professors, and other campus members.

Most of the White students either can't recall hearing about the pepper spray event or talk about the event with reservation. Of the Whites who could recall hearing about the incident, half are reluctant to say it was racially motivated. Keith, who is non-Hispanic White and identifies with a third political party, is one of those students. He was homeschooled until high school and then attended a small high school with about 20 people in his graduating class. One of the reasons he chose UMD was because of its size. "What I really wanted when I came here was to be part of like a huge school. So like part of like a huge community where you get to like meet new people every day." When asked to describe himself, he said, "Nice, generous, caring, and fair." He talks about the event from the police point-of-view rather than the victims'. Keith, says,

I was kind of waiting to get all the information, and then I never really saw any information because it just kind of went to the back of my mind. But I

kind of skeptical of pretty much all things that where it looks so clear, you know? Like obviously I think the cops were very cautious although they used pepper spray but, until I've kind of heard both sides explain what was going on, I don't know what was going on. I don't know if people were pushing through the cops. I don't know if people were like, "What was going on?" So until I know all of the story, then I really didn't think too much of it. I talked about it with my friends. We talked about it because some of my friends were like very, very outraged about it and like freaking out. And I was just, just kind of waiting, you know.

He talks both about not making judgment on the event because he doesn't have enough knowledge and that he doesn't pursue ways of finding out more about the incident "because it went to the back of (his) mind" even though some of his friends were "freaking out." Keith reserves judgment about which side was at fault and if a racial injustice happened, which negates the event's significance.

Leslie, however, who is also White and identifies as a "not strong Democrat", does see how people might make the connection to this being a racially motivated event. She grew up in a poor area of another state that was surrounded by more affluent neighborhoods. In her senior year, she interns in Prince Georges county doing public policy work. She said both experiences have shaped her understanding of economic disparity and fostered a sense of allyship with African American communities. When asked about the pepper spray event, she said wanted more information about the event, but that she was also dubious of what exactly transpired. When I asked her what she recalled about the event, she said,

I don't remember much. ... I remember hearing a lot of debate over whether or not it's okay for police to (use pepper spray) because in my understanding, the party was ... Well, first of all, there's like lots of parties on campus. I haven't heard personally of another instance of using pepper spray. So I think that's why people were like, it seems racially motivated.

Leslie said she read about it in the student newspaper as well. When I asked what her

reaction was to the incident, she said, “Definitely like wanting to know more about what actually happened because sometimes these things, it’s like hard to know what really happened.” Like Keith, she is uncertain of which side of the story to believe and wants more information but does not make extra efforts to gain it.

Not all Whites respond this way. Parker, who is White, transgender and a strong Democrat, said they remembered seeing a video from the event posted on social media. They said it was “inappropriate” for the police to have used pepper spray. When I asked them describe their reaction to the incident, they said they were,

Just kind of mad. The last couple of years I’ve been realizing how the police are in a position of power and a lot of people in a position of power get tempted to abuse that position of power, whether they know it or not. A lot of what I’ve been learning through the Black Lives Matter movement, through reading a lot of queer literature is that there’s been a lot of violence perpetrated by cops in queer literature because they haven’t been quite too friendly to us either. It’s a distrust of authority figures, which I didn’t have when I was a kid because (I thought), ‘Oh, these people are all here to help you, blah blah blah.’ Because I was White and so I had nothing to fear. I’m still White but...

Parker’s transgender status changed while they were in college. Now they feel more threatened and thus able to empathize with other vulnerable populations. When they were younger and not transgender, they did not feel this way. They understand how their majority status protected them in ways they do not feel now. Their new transgender identity makes them feel less safe. It also creates a sense of solidarity with Blacks, because they, too, now distrust the police due to abuse of power. They did not feel this sense of vulnerability and affiliation with Blacks before they became transgender. Their new identity has prompted salience regarding these issues and a new sense of connectedness to about other populations who share this concern.

Of the Black students I interviewed, the event is significant to most. They’ve

heard about it on social media and most have discussed it at length with friends and family. Sam, who is Black and identifies as independent near Democrat, remembers the administration's response more than the details of the event itself. Some of Sam's passions are sports, writing, and law and policy-making. He

(President) Loh came out with the statement that was like, 'Well, it was justified, but that doesn't mean (the police) should've done it.' Which essentially means it was justified, in my beliefs, in my interpretation.

Sam's father is a probation officer. This has influenced his interest in law and policy-making and his emphasis on the administrative aspect of this event. Sam doesn't believe UMD and Loh are supporting the Black students. He also sees the disparity in the treatment of Blacks versus non-Black groups:

That just like stirred up a lot of stuff because we have White fraternities, we have like underage drinking, and all this stuff. And this was just like a harmless grad party. Yeah, it may have been a little too loud. ... Maybe they shouldn't have been like throwing a party at that time, but me, personally, I don't know why they had to pepper spray the entire group.

Sam questions why the police used the pepper spray to the extent that they did.

Kiara is a Black, first-generation college student who identifies as a "not strong Democrat." UMD wasn't her first choice. She really wanted to attend a smaller school. However when she got a "full ride" to attend UMD, the financial benefit outweighed the advantages of going elsewhere. She wasn't surprised by the way the police handled the event. As with Parker and Sam, Kiara notes the disparity between the treatment of majority and minority groups by police.

I mean for me, it was a point where, it's sad to say, but I kind of expected something like that to happen. There's been a lot of things on campus against people of color, that it's just like for the next one it's just like, it happened again.

To her this incident is not the first or the last discriminating acts against people of color. Her expectation that Blacks will be treated this way signifies a level of resignation. She seems to almost expect it to happen. However, for some Blacks and other minority students, this event is an awakening of sorts. For example, Daria, who is Hispanic and a “not strong Democrat,” connects the way Blacks are treated here to signal how she and other minorities will be treated.

I heard that the party was predominantly Black students, and that’s why they kind of brought it out to the light. This never happens when it’s a (White) frat party or something like that. But when it’s us, it’s different. So that’s what I remember. I just kind of thought that it was true because, yeah I’ve been to frat parties and when the cops have shown up they’re just like, “Everybody get out.” ... I guess that was one of the first few times that I saw how we can be treated differently, even on campus because I never saw anything like that in high school or anything.

Earlier in the interview she said she felt a sense of solidarity to other minority students, and this comes across here. She notices how police just tell White fraternity parties to end the party, “But when it’s us, it’s different.” This freshman-year event is a harbinger of how she will be treated differently during college and stands in contrast to what she experienced in high school.

Christie, who is Black and politically identifies as independent near Democrat, also notices the distinction between how Whites and students of color will be treated. When I asked for her reaction to this event, she said,

That was my freshman year, and I was just kind of like, ‘Whoa. I didn’t know that this type of thing was going on up here at this school.’ And a lot of my friends said the same thing. And we were just kind of shocked because that could’ve been any one of us had we had just been there at the time. But the fact that it happened to people we know or people I saw every day freshman year, it was just kind of alarming and really concerning.

Christie articulate show this incident made her realize how her experience at

UMD would be different from high school and her expectations of college. Like Kiara, Christie is a first-generation college student. This incident is a wake-up call for her and her parents. Also like Kiara, Christie (and her family) voice the lack of power to resigned to be discriminated against:

And I kind of had the same conversation with my parents, too, because they didn't go to college. And they didn't really do a lot of research into the campus climate or just how things work on campus, not even campus climate, just how things work on campus. So all they know is I'm in College Park and I'm getting a degree from an academically respected university. So to hear things like that, they are really shocked. But my parents, they're a lot older than me. And they have witnessed a lot of things like that before. So they were shocked for me, but they're like, 'These are, unfortunately, the things that come along with being Black.' And my father's a Metro bus driver so these are some things he could possibly run into one day or my brother or even my mom. So they just tell me it's a product of the country that we live in. ... So they weren't as shocked as my friends were just because they've had a long life of things like that. But the outrage was still there just not the shock element.

Christie thought the academic reputation of the university signaled a kind of bubble, a place that would be free of discrimination. She learns to see UMD as part of the rest of the world that discriminates rather than an exception from it. Her parents tell her to expect more treatment like this. They now realize that UMD is not the place of diversity harmony and compatibility that it was reputed to be.

Genesis, who is also Black and a strong Democrat, has a similar reaction. She, too, knows the people at the party and one of whom who was pepper sprayed.

People were trying to talk to the police outside figure out why the party was like shut down, and they were getting sprayed in the face with pepper spray. And I heard that they sprayed one girl in the face. She was really tiny. ... I knew this girl. She was really, really small. And they pepper sprayed her. ... And that was like the first time I ever heard of like brute force being used to break a party on campus, and it was of course a party of Black people.

As with the other minority students I interviewed, Genesis is shocked by this event

and now sees UMD in a different, more negative way:

I talked about it with my friends when I heard about it, because we were like, ‘What the hell is going on?’ Because I think that was like the first instance that we saw something like that on campus. And we were like, ‘What can we do?’ We all had this righteous anger, but ...

Genesis and her friends feel helpless to change the racial discrimination they see. The pepper spray incident is an awakening for Daria, Genesis, Christie and others. Raven, another Black student, remembers her reaction to hearing about the incident this way:

I was shocked, because I was just ... I didn’t know what they had done wrong to be pepper sprayed because I think there’s easier to ways to break up a party than pepper spraying somebody. I think I talked to my friends at the time, and I think we just came to the consensus that we would never throw a party on campus. Never. That whole event, it was very off-putting. They’re graduating, you know. They’re ready to live their best lives.

Raven articulates two takeaways from this incident. The first is how police have marred an otherwise happy and celebratory moment for these Black graduates. The second is how she will modify her behavior to avoid similar interactions with campus police by hosting celebrations off-campus.

Overall, most White students withhold judgment on the ways this event unfolded and why. Few clearly state whether they believe it was racially motivated bias. Even more can’t recall hearing about it, signaling it was not significant enough to remember or it was never significant to pay attention from the start. For most Blacks and some minority students, on the other hand, it as a signifier that they need to be prepared to be discriminated against on this campus and maybe even alter their behavior to maximize the ways they can control others’ discriminatory actions.

Knowledge of and reactions to the murder of Lt. Richard Collins III

When asked about their knowledge of Richard Collins' death, all of the students I interviewed could relate some details of the event that had happened almost two years ago. When asked to describe their reactions, they talk about the shock that such an act could have happened today, how poorly the UMD administration handled the event, of feeling less safe on campus, and how their view of UMD changed.

Some talked about the disbelief that this could happen how it did and when it did—in 2017. The location of Collin's murder is a popular campus spot, near where many students live and catch public transportation. It is also close to a police department. Trevon, who is Black and identifies as independent near Republican, notes this.

A lot of people like reference the area he died in relation to (the location of the) Pocomoke police department. A lot of people were just like, 'How could somebody be stabbed like less than a quarter mile from like a police department?' ... That summer I subleased a place (nearby), and I had a view of that bus stop where it occurred. I definitely noticed an increase in the amount of cops that were active at night and stuff like that. Out my window I always saw like the red and blue lights flashing and stuff. ... I overanalyze a lot of stuff now. I was thinking, 'Why is this happening? What event caused this to happen? What happened internally that led to this event?'

The combination of living near the murder scene and the visibly increased security keeps Collins' death and the motivation behind it on Trevon's mind. Trevon is a business major from a neighboring county. He had not made a White friend until he came to UMD. He also now has many Jewish friends, something that was missing from his hometown and high school demographic. He has made connections across racial and religious lines, so he cannot understand why events like these are happening.

When I asked Irene, who is White and politically conservative, to describe

what she remembers about Collins' death, she begins with her connection to the murder location.

Well I remember it was scary because I found about it the next day, and that night like I was standing right where he was like an hour before. That was crazy. ... Collins went to school with my best friend growing up. ... So a lot of people that knew him (came to UMD). I guess he was at the bus stop, he was visiting somebody, and this guy just kind of stabbed him. I don't know if it was like solicited at all or anything. I mean I don't think Lieutenant Collins provoked him in any way. And then I guess it came out later that (the student who stabbed him) was like part of like some like racist group on Facebook or something, so it may have been like a racial thing.

Irene knows people who were close friends with Collins and yet there is detachment in how she describes the event, Collins' potential role, and the motivation for the killing. Further, despite knowing people who were close to Collins, she doesn't fully understand what happened that night two years ago nor has she been motivated to find out.

Michelle, who is Asian and does not identify with a political party, is an engineering major who lives at home rather than on campus. During our interview she talks about how she expected to make more friends during college but because of the academic demands of her major and her commute, she does not have the social circle she expected to have. Of the friends she does have, she tells about hearing "both sides" of the event, one that blamed the victim and his friends and another that blamed the killer's racial bias.

I heard a lot of mixed views, where some people are like, 'You know, why didn't he defend himself? His two friends kind of just walked aside. Why didn't he walk aside with his two friends?' And then the other part, the whole racial issue, that the person, Sean or whatever his name was, that stabbed him. That had something against him racially. So, I've heard both sides.

That Michelle and her friends acknowledge "both sides" and assign blame to Collins

and his friends for what happened in the process. She does relate the racial motives of Urbanski.

When I asked Keith, who is non-Hispanic White, his reaction to the event, he said,

It was sad. It was just bad. It made our school look bad. It made us look bad. And just the whole situation, you know? You don't want anyone to die on campus.

Keith's reaction prioritizes how the event made the campus look bad—and him vicariously as a student of this university—rather than the trauma of what Collins experienced or the impact on Collins' friends and family.

When asked if he talked about the event with friends or family, he said,

Yeah, definitely. We talked about everything, the motivation behind it, what happened. A lot of my friends were kind of speculating on all of these different things and I kind of withdrew because I still (didn't) fully know what happened. I know that it came out that he was some form of like White supremacists that might have been a cause, but I'm pretty skeptical. I kind of want to know all the facts before I (form a conclusion). Obviously the guy killed him so that's a good enough fact, but like, in terms of like what happened, what was going on, the motivation behind it? I don't really know that anyone knows. And I have not heard that anyone has a full picture of really what happened, which is surprising with all the cameras that we have. But I don't know.

Like the pepper spray event and like Michelle, Keith is reluctant to believe the murder was racially motivated or even make a judgment on why the event occurred. (Michelle did not remember hearing about the pepper spray incident.) White students such as Irene and Keith and even racial minority students such as Michelle show a weak sense of connection to Collins' death and solidarity to Blacks. Their primary association is through their Terp identity, which has been tarnished by the murder. However, overall they describe Collins' murder with a sense of neutrality and

indifference. This event happened to someone else, another group. Not all White students feel that distance. For example, Parker says, “I was upset and ashamed of the student on our campus who did that, but I wasn’t necessarily surprised.” But overall White students’ standoffish reactions contrast sharply with Blacks’ and other minority students’.

When I asked Georgia, a White, out-of-state student who identifies as independent near Democrat, what she knew about or remembered about Collins’ murder, she said,

I believe this is the same incident. It was a University of Maryland student, right, that killed him. I know it was at the bus stop, and that since then they’ve shut down that area out of respect for him. I saw a lot of, I don’t know whether you would call it riots or just marches, I guess, on campus after that happened. That happened right before break I remember. So I had actually left a couple days before, so I was at home. But I had a couple of friends that were on campus during that time, and from what I heard from them, it was just a very hostile environment. People were just outraged. Yeah. I’m kind of happy I wasn’t on campus during that time.

Georgia doesn’t remember the name of who was killed, but she remembers the fallout: that the campus was hostile and that the bus stop was turned into a memorial. Georgia’s response reflects how some students view this not as their problem. She is happy she can escape the resulting hostility and conflict. Others, however, can’t avoid it. For example, Raven, who is Black, talked how this adds to what she and her friends are already discussing in terms of their treatment at UMD and beyond. She describes herself as “compassionate, independent, caring, and a bit stubborn.” She identifies with the African American community. Although she is not Muslim nor Latino, she has friends that are and thus feels solidarity toward those groups. There is no doubt to Raven that Collins’ death was racially and hate-motivated. She connects

this event to the other ways Blacks are negatively treated.

I think everybody was talking about this for a while. ... Friends, family, co-workers, we talked about the event itself, and then everybody I talked to felt as though it was racially motivated. You can't really see how somebody could do that to somebody else without there being a pure hatred. Something's really happening here, so that's really what we talked about, just that pure hate that Black people have to endure. It's really tough.

Collins' death reveals how students might behave toward Blacks and how the administration is reluctant to address the event and the issues surrounding it. Students across racial lines are unhappy with the way the administration handled this incident.

Irene said,

I know everybody was complaining that it was still a bus stop, and they were like, 'This isn't a bus stop. This is a death scene.' It took them a little while to clean the blood off the ground, and then eventually they said they temporarily (laughs) relocated the bus stop. But it's still temporarily relocated, which I feel like they should just say they permanently relocated it. I'm kind of confused as to what's going on there, but yeah.

Irene is unhappy with how the administration stumbled through responding to the bus stop where Collins was killed. Her focus is on the administration rather than the student population. Likewise, Georgia also talks about the campus-level aspects of this event rather than the people involved:

It ended up being the first of several negative events that have happened in the last year and a half. So it definitely is a bad look for campus.

When I asked her what things she was referring to when she said "first of several negative events that have happened," she said:

Well, there was the death of the football player on the team. The freshman girl that just recently passed away in one of the freshman dorms. I think it was adenovirus. These are all the things that (when I go) home and I say I go to the University of Maryland, and it's like, "Oh, that's where this so and so and so happened." So it's not the best look. And then, I guess, there's all that controversy on how President Loh handled all that with Jordan McNair.

When asked what they know about Collins' death, White students tend to talk about the campus response and the way this crime reflects poorly on them as a Terp and on the university as a whole. Black and other minority students generally focus their comments around the people who are affected by the murder and the reason behind it. The perspective from which these students talk about this event will relate to how it and other events influence their social identity development.

Knowledge of and reactions to Jordan McNair's death

The students are not satisfied with how President Loh and the administration handled Richard Collins' murder. They are even less satisfied with how Jordan McNair's death and the football team culture that provoked his death are treated. For Sam, McNair's death is a pivotal moment in how he views the University. He sees how this could be viewed as another incident of racial bias, but he also sees this as part UMD's lack of responsibility.

This is almost like a tipping point with all this. This school's a mess. ... That really could've happened to anybody. Obviously, most football players are Black. But ... that shouldn't be happening to anybody, let alone a 19-year-old kid..

Ashley, who is White and identifies as a strong Republican, is from another state and chose UMD because of its structural diversity.

My big thing was honestly diversity. That's why I wanted to come here. My town at home is really small; you know everybody from when you were born, and everybody's White; everybody's Catholic, and everybody's upper-middle class.

Her only interactions with diverse peers have been through playing competitive sports in high school. Her interest in sports connects her to friends on the football team at UMD. McNair's death and his treatment the coaches is also a tipping point. She describes her reaction this way:

I was shocked. I think it was horribly handled by the University. Personally, it's a hot-button issue for me. I think it's ridiculous that there was never a formal note sent out to anybody. I never got told (anything about this) by the university. It's mainly just because I have friends in the football team, and they were really active about it. I think it's ridiculous that an ESPN investigation is what prompted an internal investigation. I think that's honestly shameful and so disappointing, probably my biggest disappointment in this university thus far as being a student, to be really honest with you.

Students such as Ashley and Irene talk about how they heard about McNair because of the ESPN report. They feel that this is the primary reason they are hearing more about McNair's death, rather than UMD's concern for transparency. Bela, who is Asian American and identifies as a strong Democrat, shares this opinion. She is from Baltimore City and feels solidarity toward Blacks and immigrants. Her trust for UMD has been broken.

I didn't even read the email (from the campus administration regarding McNair's death) at first. Someone had sent a screenshot to my frat's group chat because I think she knew him or something or her friend was friends with him, something like that. ... She sent us a screenshot, and she was like, 'What the hell?' And I was like, 'Yeah, that's crazy.' I guess I trusted that the university had it right because I mean my brother's a football player. He wants to play for college football and be in the NFL. I couldn't not trust it because that would mean that my brother was in harm's way, too. So I was like, 'If they aren't taking care of their student, they would tell us.' So there was that.

Bela also describes her frustration with the gap in information that the university sends out about McNair's death.

And then, you know, summer goes on. ... Then I saw the ESPN thing on Twitter and I was like, well that's weird, like I don't even follow ESPN, like I

don't care about sports really so I was like, why am I seeing this? I saw it was my friends from UMD Retweeting it, and I was like, 'I wonder what this is.' So I clicked on it and went through the whole article and I was like, 'What?' I'm not claiming that I'm a doctor, I'm not certified in anything, but I know what heatstroke looks like. So I was like, 'This is a joke. You guys are joking.' And then they did the whole exposé on how football is here. ... This program is millions of dollars of our money too, so I was like this is ridiculous what happened here.

Bela's parents work in the medical field and she is a pre-med major, so she feels she has some knowledge about how to diagnose a heatstroke. That the football staff was not able to do this is preposterous. She connects their mishandling of their football players to how her younger football-playing brother might be treated. For someone who doesn't follow sports, McNair's death has a personal connection. She says she wanted President Loh fired and the Board of Regents to do something, but she is dissatisfied that Loh is not fired in the end along with the head coach.

Martin, a non-Hispanic White male who identifies as independent near Republican, says he had a similar reaction to McNair's death, however, he didn't voice the concern for justice for Collins as he does for McNair.

Like (the Richard Collins) situation (I just wanted) to know more information. I was angry because I don't think that should ever happen. But I didn't know who to be angry at: either it was the coach, the assistant coach, (or) the strength coach. I wasn't angry at (President) Loh. He's not out on the field. He's not directing them. ... Yeah, just anger and frustration. I didn't want it to be sort of a witch hunt. ... I wanted and still want the right people to be brought to justice per se. Who they are, I still don't know.

Although Martin talks about his reaction to Jordan McNair's death being similar to Richard Collins', he doesn't talk about wanting justice for Collins' as he does for McNair. He doesn't have the emotional reaction to Collins' death as he does to McNair's. A suspect has been identified in Collins' death, and Martin wants one person to be brought to justice here, too. He doesn't connect McNair's death to the

administration or other systemic aspects of the football program.

Kiara on the other hand, does make the larger connection of McNair's death to the University. When I asked her to describe her reaction to McNair's death, she said,

I was kind of like more hurt by that, just because it's like when it was Lt. Richard Collins, a student was at fault. But this is the school's fault, and there should be a level of accountability, and it seemed like nobody wanted to take accountability for it. ... My younger brother wants to play football, and I'm like, 'Please don't come to Maryland.' It's just that fear because, yes, you're an athlete, but you're like a person first.

Kiara sees McNair's treatment and the way the coaches treat the players as a means to an end rather than personal investments. As with Bela, it makes her less enthusiastic for her school and its football culture. Irene has a similar reaction. When I asked her what she knew about the event, she said,

He was friends with some of my friends. I read the whole (ESPN) article on it, and we talked about it in my ethics class. ... I guess (McNair) was (suffering from) heat exhaustion, and the coaches didn't really care. I think they were having the trainers like drag him across the field to keep (him) running or something, and, he eventually passed away. And then there was like the whole thing about how there's an investigation going on, and all the players were scared to come out and say something because the coaches were making it hard for them to do it anonymously, and they didn't want like a similar incident to happen to them.

Irene's description matches how others described the coaching staff's lack of caring and push to get the students to perform at all costs. She talked about the incident with a variety of people including her family and friends. She is taking an ethics class that fall semester and her instructor includes this content in the course. Through this course she and her classmates grapple with the different aspects of this incident. She didn't understand the magnitude of the event until the ESPN investigation was released.

Once I started finding out more about it, it definitely made me angry and concerned for all our players because I don't want to be going to a school that (treats players like that). Our football team's not even good in general, so I don't understand why we also have to have such a toxic culture in the athletic program.

Her family was much more involved with the football program when she was growing up, but "We don't do that anymore. We don't care about these coaches or anything."

Irene also talks about a difficult aspect of the larger incident:

A lot of the athletes were like, 'Everybody please come out and support us. It would mean the world to us, especially after we just lost one of our friends.' But everyone's like, 'But we don't want to support the athletic program.'

The students' struggle to find a good response to simultaneously show respect to McNair and his teammates but also reject the coaching staff and administration's roles in all of it.

When asked about what she knew about McNair's death, Georgia said,

There's people that say, 'That's how every university handles it. It could have happened anywhere. It's not just Maryland.' But at the same time, are they not paying attention to those signs if he really was exhibiting? Isn't that the trainer's job to be taking care of the players and stuff like that? So I've definitely heard both sides of the story.

Most of what she and friends talked about in regard to this was how this reflected poorly on the university and, vicariously, on them.

It was more just the extensive amount of bad press we were getting was all the stuff we talked about because I was home during that time. That was at the end of the summer, yeah. So I mean, we would just be in my kitchen, and my dad would be on his iPad and be like, 'Oh, here's another article. Another thing.' Kind of just kept like boom, boom, boom. It was everywhere. So it definitely was a bad look. And like I said, I'd go out to dinner with my parents and their friends, and they'd be like, 'Oh, did you hear about this?' And I'm

like, ‘Yes, I heard about that.’ So I guess, the fact that I do identify as a Terp, that was an appropriate thing to bring up every time someone saw me. So I never really got to escape it. ... I feel like I was getting all the heat for it.

Georgia identifies as a Terp and, as a result, has to answer to the bad press UMD is getting and gets associated with the negative repercussions of McNair’s death as a result. To her, it seems like she personally has to answer for these transgressions.

To Christie, McNair’s death and the administration’s handling had the most personal negative impact. Like Sam and Ashley, McNair’s death is a tipping point, but for her it is much more. She describes the event this way,

They were at football practice. And that, I believe, he was either overheating or he was so dehydrated or it was something going on with his body and the coaches didn’t care and he eventually died. But he had died for a while before it really got big. The university never put out a statement until it, again, reached the news. And it was a topic of debate on social media. Then the university put out a statement, which just further confirms (they want to) brush things under the rug until someone from the outside of the University of Maryland community gets ahold of it. Then they make a statement because they’re like, ‘Oh, we have to now.’ The way that was handled was totally wrong morally. And it was just a mess.

Christie sees the UMD’s delayed response and handling of these events as “wrong morally.” She does not hesitate to make a judgment as to who was at fault. Like others, she sees UMD’s actions as trying to conceal what transpired. She questions the validity of her degree:

I remember I was talking with my close friend, and I was like, ‘At this point, I don’t even know if my degree is going to hold any weight. I don’t even know if I’m going to graduate from this place.’ It’s like I just want to be done. I just want to put the University of Maryland behind me.

One of the fallouts of McNair’s death is that UMD’s accreditation is in jeopardy due to “insufficient evidence that it is in compliance with standards on governance, leadership and administration” (Bahrapour and Heim 2019). The possibility of

UMD's accreditation being pulled is one more grievance Christie has about her school.

And I just remember the football team kind of being in turmoil because they're really close. Not only did they lose one of their brothers, it was poorly handled on the behalf of the football staff, and management and coaches, the university and then also the campus. ... At first it was about Jordan. But then it just turned into some other issues that weren't really related. And it kind of took the attention off of that situation and all in all just made things worse. ... This wasn't too far after the Lieutenant Collins and it's just another one. Honestly, over my four years with the things that have happened culturally on campus, I've learned to resent the university. Between (McNair) and Lieutenant Collins, that really solidified my resentment for the school and just amplified my desire to just close this chapter.

Christie feels like importance of McNair's death got lost in the administration's struggle to assign responsibility and account for the football coaching staff's actions. A school's reputation can add credibility to a conferred degree, but Christie doesn't want this association despite the benefits it might bring to her professional life. After almost four years of classes, work, and studying, she doesn't know if she wants to finish her degree. It is the tipping point that compels her to resent her university.

Knowledge of and reactions to the rise of White supremacy

Since the 2016 election, White nationalist flyers have been found on campus at least three different times (Campisi and Richman 2017, Richman and Silverman 2016). When I ask students for their response to the flyers, there are mixed reactions about their impact. For example, Ruth is an out-of-state White student who chose UMD because of its journalism program and describes her views as strong Republican. As a journalism major, she views this event as being more about free speech than threats to

minority populations.

I just know that people were angry. I remember seeing a picture of the poster and reading through it, and it was just directing you to a website. I thought maybe that (the campus) was over reacting. Not to say that, like, I don't think any, sort of, racial supremacy is healthy. It was a big deal in the journalism school, because our dean got involved with talking about how campus should handle hate speech. I think journalists, in general, have a very high priority on free speech, even if it's politically distasteful. ... I mean I think people should be allowed to express what they're thinking, even if it's stupid.

She thought members of the campus population were making too much out of the posted flyers. Her reaction is focused around whether someone should be able to say such a thing rather than the message's intent.

Keith also downplays the impact of these flyers. He wasn't shocked to hear that they had been posted around campus.

Was that after the election? I never saw them, but I heard about them. I wasn't surprised that there are White supremacists. So it was one of those things. The fact that there are flyers up, there might be one, there might be a hundred, there might be a thousand, I don't know. Obviously it's awful. Obviously it shouldn't have been done, but I don't really understand the kind of outrage behind it because I don't think anyone is really surprised to find out that there are White supremacists, you know? I'm not even surprised to find out that there were real racist people going to Maryland because of course there are still racist people.

However Keith did have friends who were concerned.

Some of my friends were really, really freaked out about it. They thought like, 'Oh my god, we got White supremacists campus.' And it was after the whole Trump thing. The emails were going out from UMD, offering counseling and stuff, and so there was all that hectic-ness going on, but I think it settled down pretty quickly. I think people kind of freaked out once Trump won but then everything kind of like settled down. ... He's been president for what, almost three years now, and nothing horrible has happened.

Keith attributes some of the tension over the flyers to the election drama over Trump beating Hillary Clinton. Despite some of his friends being upset by the flyers and the

outright indication that there are White supremacists on campus, Keith does not find cause for alarm.

Whereas Ruth and Keith think the campus was overreacting about the flyers and don't understand why this caused so much drama, Renee knew of friends who were scared by them. Renee is from a Middle Eastern country and describes her political identity as independent. She didn't see the actual flyers, but she heard about them. She said,

A couple of my friends did see (one of the flyers). They didn't feel attacked or anything like that, but I know that there was definite large amount of people who were scared and feared something would happen based off of that. ... We all knew people, whether acquaintances or through social media of people Tweeting or saying that they were scared, that something had to be done, which of course is valid. ... I was kind of taken aback in a sense. You don't expect where you are to be affected by stuff like this. I was also kind of disappointed. You are entitled to your ideas and your views, but to express them in a way that could be seen as hateful and targeting to a certain group of people, it's not cool.

Ruth and Keith either negate or downplay the racial hate aspect of these flyers. Renee does not. She understands the need for free speech but, unlike Ruth and Keith, articulates how the flyers connect to the fear and harm they might prompt in targeted individuals and groups.

Some talk about President Trump and the political changes that seem to have emboldened White supremacy groups to come out of hiding. When asked I Kiara if she had heard of or knew about the White nationalist flyers being posted around campus, she talked about the pro-Trump postings and chalkings as well as the flyers.

I know there's like a Trump-supporting group on campus, and I know they were posting them at night around campus and things. And the next day people starting seeing them and tearing them down. They're writing 'Trump 2020' and things on the ground (in chalk). The first chalking that I saw was in front of the diner. I don't know what year I was, I think I was sophomore,

might have been a junior. That really shocked me because we're all college students, and I didn't think that Trump's ideals and things could have gotten to the campus because we do encourage healthy dialogue and conversation and just want people to understand people's differences. To see that on campus kind of made the election real.

For Kiara and others, Trump, his presidential campaign, and the people who support him are analogous to the mission of the White nationalist flyers. Despite the campus' proximity to the White House, Kiara does not feel the impact of Trump's election on campus until now.

Leena has been involved with various campus community service groups on campus and plans to enter the medical field after graduation. She is Hispanic, describes her political identity as "not strong Democrat," and has lived on three different continents. She, too, connects the flyers' message to Trump.

I heard about it on social media. I just know they were posted on some academic buildings. I read about it, I believe, in one of *The Diamondback* articles. I was shocked by it, but less so, because it happened during the current administration, where I sort of expected it.

For many, President Trump and his Make America Great Again slogan are synonymous with minority oppression and White supremacy, which makes minority populations feel even more vulnerable because of their racial and religious identities. Students don't expect to see signs of these beliefs on this campus.

The significance of the 2016 Presidential election

It is not just the events that happen on this campus that will influence how some of these students' identities develop. Before I asked about these above-mentioned events, I asked what on-campus classes, assignments, events or activities and what local and

national events had reshaped how they view themselves, their future and others who are different from them. Responses indicate salience of the campus events in relation to other unspecified events. Students mentioned events such as the Women's March, the 2019 government shutdown, the immigration debate, and the 2016 Presidential election.. Some were uncertain as to whether to consider these local or national events. Students recognized the proximity of their school to the country's political center, which often made political events more relevant.

When I asked Kiara if there was a national event that impacted how she viewed herself or her future, she said,

I would say the election of Donald Trump just because I knew racism and discrimination was a thing, but it became more overt, just in this area. I know it's overt in the southern states, but it was more covert here. So just seeing overt acts of hatred around here really made me think about my position here.

Kiara associates Trump with the rise of White nationalism and racism. The election and the rhetoric stemming from it cause her to rethink her sense of belonging to UMD's campus as a Black woman. Parker has a similar reaction due to her transgender status. The election also prompts them to reconsider their identity as well as those of others. Parker says,

I guess the election of Donald Trump caused me to reevaluate how I view other people and the country, what's wrong with our country, and who I guess the wrongdoers are. And I guess giving me a frame of reference that people in power could be after me at some point. I mean they are trying to discriminate against people who are like me, but none of it has really touched me yet, although the whole thing last semester about them trying to make it so that your gender is determined at birth or whatever? Supremely garbage and I'm very unhappy about (it).

Due to Trump's rhetoric during the election, Parker's transgender identity becomes more salient in terms of the people she feels she can trust and who might be out to

harm her. Likewise, because of the 2016 Presidential election Genesis reassesses those who she once trusted. When asked to describe herself, Genesis said, “Caring, intelligent, patient and strong willed.” As a first-generation African American and a mental and sexual health advocate, she also feels a sense of ally-ship in terms women’s rights, LGBT human rights, and the Latinx community, and “people of color in general.” She says,

Okay, so first set of events that made me rethink how I view myself of course is the 2016 election. It made me rethink how I viewed myself was because I mean, I always knew the United States, it’s not perfect. But the rhetoric used during the elections and even used by the President made me think, ‘Am I really an American?’ Both of my parents are immigrants. I’m Black, I’m a woman, I’m African, all of these identities that he’s basically trashed. Am I truly an American? Because he’s an American and he’s trashing me and all of the identities that I hold, and then his base is supporting him. I have people from my high school who are White, they went to a predominantly Black school, and they’re supporting him. These were my friends, but now they’re supporting this guy who trashes everything that I stand for. It made me rethink a lot of my relationships and just who am I as a person.

Genesis considers herself no longer friends with high school classmates because of their support of Trump. To support Trump is to disaffirm her identities.

The second event that made me rethink who I was was when the R. Kelly documentary came out. I am a survivor of sexual assault, so just like seeing how those victims were willing to tell their stories and the trauma that they suffer and how the people around R. Kelly enabled him in his behavior and how they knew what he was doing was wrong, but they didn’t stop him because they were like, yeah, that was. Well his victims were also Black women, and then on top of that he’s R. Kelly. It made me rethink how I normalize some of the behaviors that I see (such as at) parties. I was like, ‘It happens all the time.’ Or ‘Oh, it’s this person. They’re cool. They can do what they want.’ No. It also made me embrace that part of my identity because at the end of the day, I am a survivor. I can’t take it back. What happened to me happened to me. I should be willing to share my story with other people so that I can grow from it. But also so that my accuser doesn’t go scotch free. You know what I’m saying?

For Genesis, the presidential election results make her rethink her friendships.

The R. Kelly documentary encourages her to tell her story about surviving sexual assault and to acknowledge it has made her who she is today. Her identity is evolving to be proud of aspects of her identity that others including President Trump want to diminish. That the R. Kelly victims shared her Black and female identities empowers her and reaffirms those aspects of her identity in addition to sexual assault survivor. Trump's rhetoric and maligning of Genesis' identities creates friction between and prompts severance of some of her high school friendships. Rather than reshape her identity, she reshapes her social network and circle of friends. For these events in general, minority students feel the security of their identities being challenged in ways non-Hispanic White students do not.

SOCIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Do you feel like a Terp? Fostering feelings of solidarity to campus

At the beginning of the 2019 interviews³⁴, before probing about the events described above, I asked students (n=27) if they feel like Terp. This question is intended to establish how much of a student's personal identity is tied to the campus identity. When I asked student to think back to their pre-college expectations of becoming a Terp, their descriptions are filled with hope and optimism. They are mainly focused on the positive aspects of the school such as diversity, school spirit, making friends and getting a quality education. Will these opinions change over time? Do these events and the political discord negatively influence students' feelings of belonging on campus? Or do the other aspects that drew them to UMD overcome this?

³⁴ This question was not included in the 2016 interviews. I did not foresee these events happening, and thus I did not ask this question in that round of interviews.

Most students are happy to be a part of this campus and glad they are getting a degree here. Overall, approximately 67% said yes they do, 26% said it varies, and 7% said they do not. Of the 10 students who said it varies or no, only two were non-Hispanic White. One of those is Parker, the transgender student with strong Democratic political views. They attributed their transgender status to this disconnect. The other said her strong Republican views were the reason why she did not feel connected to campus. The other seven were Hispanic or Black with Democratic political views. Feelings about a lack of campus attachment are connected to racial and political identities.

Leslie, who is White and identifies as a not strong Democrat, attributes some of her feeling like a Terp to UMD's structural diversity.

I think being involved helps. I feel comfortable here because there's just so many different types of people that I don't feel like anything makes me like odd or different. I think like there being so much, so many clubs and like so many different types of people on campus, like I know a lot of people are from like, the state of Maryland, but we have like a lot of international students, too. So I feel like it's a very well-rounded campus, and I feel (like I fit here) because of that. I think it would have been different if I went to a different school where it was smaller and maybe there's like (only) a certain type of person.

Martin, said, "Absolutely." When I asked him what aspects of UMD made him feel that way, he said the campus mall, with its "openness and seeing everybody walking around," local sports bar where he watches the games, and the basketball stadium.

UMD sports are a big part of why he feels a connection to the school. Renee and Ashley also mention sports as a reason for why they feel a part of campus. Ashley put it this way,

I feel a pretty strong connection with the university at this point. Sporting events really do it for me—I'm not going to lie to you—specifically basketball

games. Football games don't because not that many people go to them, so it's a little bit different. But basketball games, especially when they lower the flag. Now that I'm a senior, I get all weepy every time. ... And then even just walking (around campus). Today, for example, it's a nice day outside, and there are a lot of tour groups out. And just seeing people that might end up coming here, I don't know. I'm really nostalgic.

Ashley feels a connection to the school as well as future students who will be starting their studies after she has graduated.

In addition to sports, Renee also feels more a part of campus due to famous alumni such as Scott Van Pelt, a sportscaster for ESPN: "To see that connection makes me feel like I'm where I'm supposed to be because I'm always going to be a Terp. For some people I know who go to different colleges, you know, just that alumni undergrad relationship is just kind of broken. It's not really there."

Georgia, despite saying she was "getting all the heat" from people back home about McNair's death, does feel like a Terp. She is a member of a Greek sorority. Her involvement with that organization as well as other people in her business major prompt her to connect her identity to UMD:

I will say Greek Life actually has been a big part of that because I have gotten to know, on a very personal level, so many more people than I guess I would have ever imagined. Especially living on the part of campus where fraternity row is, I recognize everybody. I would say I have the same kind of camaraderie at the business school. I have got to know, mostly because of my program, but I know everyone in my classes because we've kind of been through it all, so to say. I know most places on campus, definitely feeling comfortable there. But in terms of places that I feel the most comfortable, I would say it's the business school community, the Greek community. And then, being in a sports game, there's really nothing like that because no matter if you don't know the person next to you, you're both a Terp. So you're both wanting the same thing, which is a win.

Georgia feels comfortable in different spaces across campus and a part of campus at sporting events. For Martin, Ashley, Renee, Georgia, and others, sporting events and

school spirit shown there is a big part of their UMD lives. Jordan McNair's death does not deter their enthusiasm about sporting events or from feeling like a Terp.

For Sam, being a Terp also reinforces his Black identity. When I pose this question to him, his response is, "Yeah, of course I feel like a Terp You know, I got some Maryland green on" smiling and pointing to his shirt with a UMD logo. When I asked him what aspects made him feel a member of this campus, he said,

I guess as a member of the Black UMD community. It is weird sometimes, when like you walk into a class, and you're the only Black person in the class or only minority in the class. It is a little weird. I grew up in a mostly majority White schools, so I was kind of used to it. Well, I won't say that I was used to it, but I didn't notice it as much. And then, when I got to college, and then my friend group changed a lot, you start to notice that stuff. But, it's not a bad thing. It's just something that you kind of notice in the back of your head.

For Sam, his Black identity does not inhibit his feelings of being a Terp. However, for Kiara, Lexi, Raven, and Genesis, it does. They feel like a Terp but with some reservations. Kiara also mentioned how the events that happened and her minority status sometimes make her detached from campus:

It depends on who's asking, honestly. If it's just like, somebody outside of campus, I'd be like, 'Yeah, I'm a Terp, I love Maryland.' But on campus, sometimes I just don't want to associate because of all the things that's been going on, especially when it comes to minority communities, so it's just like that aspect of it. I feel safe on campus, (but) I feel uncomfortable sometimes.

Whereas Sam and Kiara's feelings of solidarity with Blacks is a reason for not feeling as part of campus as some, Lexi says her lack of solidarity with Blacks on some aspects makes her feel somewhat less of a fit with Blacks on campus and more with the campus overall.

I do (feel like a Terp.) I'm personally comfortable, even with everything going on. I can't say that there was ever a time that I'm like oh, (no). I don't say that to a lot of people because when something goes on I know that people think,

especially with this whole blackface thing, ‘Oh, every Black person should be upset about this.’ And mind you it (is) bothersome to me, but it doesn’t affect how I feel from day-to-day, if that makes sense.

Of course not all Blacks respond to the racial hatred and discrimination events the same way, as demonstrated by Lexi. She considers herself a Democrat, but not a strong one, although she says “I think that I’m very liberal when it comes to issues.” She supports African and Black issues, but she doesn’t directly participate in any related protests. When I asked her to elaborate on what she included with “everything going on,” she said,

The whole Jordan McNair situation. I didn’t know much about it when it first began, because it happened and then months later it blew up something really big. So I was kind of lost in that for a little bit. It is a sad outcome, but I don’t think I understood why people were protesting. I understood that they were protesting the coach, but then it turned into something bigger, you know. And I was just like, ‘I don’t know. I don’t really want to be a part of this. This is not organized.’ And I just felt like sometimes people just protest to protest without trying to find an end result.

Lexi’s family members wanted her to attend an HBCU, but Lexi chose UMD based mainly on something her high school counselor her: that degree from here she would have a stronger chance of being hired over someone with one from an HBCU. “I don’t think that’s true now, but as a first-generation college student I was just taking his advice.” Lexi has learned not to assume others would not necessarily discriminated against her if she had attended an HBCU, but she is also hesitant to become politically active in regards to supporting Black issues.

Lexi feels somewhat disconnected from the overall campus community because of the treatment of Blacks, but she also feels disconnected to a degree from Blacks because she doesn’t fully agree with what they are protesting. However for

Christie, who is also Black, it is the feeling of not belonging to campus that bonds her to other Blacks. When I asked her if she feels like a Terp, she said,

No. I don't. I just feel like I just take classes here. I don't really feel like a Terp. And it's definitely not what I thought it would be. ... I think when I'm with my friends or people with similar background (I feel like a Terp). But I think because we can all relate to that feeling (of not belonging) that it helps us get along better. But other than that, not really.

Genesis feels like a Terp because of her interactions with fellow majors and fellow Black students, but she doesn't feel like a Terp because of her dissatisfaction with the way the administration has handled the campus racial incidents. Her response to this question was,

I feel like it depends on the space that I'm in. I feel like I belong when I'm in my major classes, I'm actually engaged, and I feel like the professor gets my point of view, not only the mainstream point of view. And I feel like I belong when I'm with my (organizations) on campus or even when I go to a (Black student organization) meeting. I don't feel like I'm a Terp because I don't like what's associated with being a Terp. I don't like how poorly we handle racial situations. I don't like how the Title IX office handles sexual assault. I don't associate myself with the crappy things that go with being a Terp. I just feel like there's just so much scandal. I feel like we've just been embroiled in scandal all four years since I've been here. So I don't know if I feel proud to say that I am a Terp.

Genesis doesn't feel like her points of view are "mainstream." She feels like a minority in terms of her identity and the perspectives she holds that are different from her instructors. This and the fact that it seems UMD has "been embroiled in scandal all four years since I've been here" make her reluctant to say she is a Terp.

Raven has a similar response:

I don't say I feel like a Terp. I'm not really ... I wouldn't just walk up to somebody and say, you know, 'I'm a proud UMD alum,' just because of everything that has gone on here. Like, I lived in Leonardtown when the

noose was hung on frat row, so I don't have a strong sense of solidarity with the school. I would say (I feel like a Terp) 50 percent.

It isn't just Blacks who feel a mixed reaction to being a Terp because of these events.

Leena, who is Hispanic said, "I feel like I belong on campus but not as much as most people. I feel I've had a great experience here, but I've also felt very isolated at times."

When asked if there were aspects make her feel more or feel less like a Terp, she said:

I felt like a Terp very much when I knew the campus and knew how to navigate myself around it because it's a big campus. I've also very much felt like a Terp when, for instance, if I talk about (the community service organization she is involved with). People recognize it, I'm able to say, 'That's something I belong to. That's something I'm a (leader) of. That's something I'm very closely involved in.' They can relate it to not only me but to UMD as well. Something that makes me feel less proud to be a Terp is where there's turmoil, such as with the (football) coach last semester. That's something that I'm not very proud of. I've had friends, and I've personally been impacted by the #MeToo movement and things like sexual assault. And I know a friend, for instance, that went to Title IX office here and was essentially told, 'Well, it wasn't outward enough, hence, we can't help you because we won't be able to get the professor in trouble.' So I'm less proud to be a Terp when things like that arise because that's not something I want to be associated with.

Leena wants the off-campus population to connect to the good she feels she is doing with her campus organization. She wants them to identify the university with those positive qualities instead of the negative ones. She has the same wish for herself, that she is not associated with the McNair injustice or the Title IX failings.

Similarly, some of those with conservative views also have mixed feelings of belonging on campus. For example, Ruth, who identifies as a strong Republican, said flatly, "No" about whether she feels like she belongs on campus. Her strong political and religious views create a feeling of separation between her and the general campus population. However, Blake, a non-Hispanic White who identified as "not strong Republican," does feel like a Terp.

Yeah, I definitely do. There's so many different groups that you can get involved in, that even if you didn't feel comfortable, you can find somewhere that you would. And I've never been uncomfortable.

UMD has a reputation as a politically liberal and structurally diverse campus.

However, both of those qualities are reasons for students to disassociate the university from their individual identities. Some racial, ethnic, and gender minority students feel those aspects of their identity disassociate them from feeling a part of the campus. Similarly, some students with strong Republican views do not feel a part of campus. The very thing that draws students to this campus can also be the aspect that pushes some away.

Christie, who does not feel like a Terp and can't wait to close this chapter of her life, also realizes that despite all of its flaws, UMD has positive aspects. Although she must endure racial prejudice and discrimination, UMD has also been a relatively protective environment. When I asked Christie if there has been a local event that changed how she viewed her self or her future she said,

This might be a little weird, but hearing about a lot of violence that goes on on the other side of Prince George County, and Baltimore, and DC—I think that that helped me view myself differently and that I should take life and all my opportunities more seriously. A lot of times people fall victim to their environment. You're often a product of your environment. And I think that I was blessed to be able to come here to the University of Maryland and get a higher education. And I don't have to be in a certain climate. Being here has kind of protected me from that. And I think that hearing about all the violence and the murders and things that go on has helped me take school more seriously because I want to move away from that. Well, I'm also from PG County on the other side, where all that crazy stuff happens. So I want to get away from that. And if I do have children one day, I don't want them to have to grow up seeing someone they know getting murdered or things like that. And it's actually crazy. A lot of that has been happening recently. ... There are people I grew up with, people that are close to them have been getting murdered. And every single day you get online and it's just another person. And I don't know if it's getting worse or if I'm just getting older and I'm more cognizant of it now.

Despite all of UMD's failings and perceived lack of progress to thwart racial bias, hate crimes, and racial strife, it's still better than some surrounding areas. If nothing else, Christie appreciates the opportunity to get an education, which she hopes will enable her and her family-to-be to live in a safe neighborhood.

Overall, students understandably do not want to be associated with the "scandal" and "turmoil" that has happened at their university. Many are frustrated if not angry at the way the administration has handled these events, but they still want to find the good in the university and its population and claim those aspects as part of their identity. They want to feel pride in the university they were so excited to attend, but they wrestle with the cognitive dissonance of these racial events that have occurred during their undergraduate career. It prevents some from fully connecting their identity to the university. For many, feelings of belonging on campus are contingent upon who is sharing the space with them. Especially for minorities unfamiliar campus spaces can make them feel uneasy and even fearful. They aren't sure if they can trust who is in the room with them.

Lack of trust and belief in the administration

When I asked Christie if she had seen the White nationalist flyers that were posted around campus, she said,

I didn't see any. That one's a little distant in my memory. ... If I remember correctly, I'm pretty sure I told my parents and I told my friends. But at that point, we just weren't surprised. It's just part of the campus climate here. And it just makes me more eager to just graduate and just put this behind me. But it's not just UMD, it's society in general. And I think that black people often get the bottom of the barrel. And it seems like White supremacy or the new

Nazi way, things like that, they're not just specific to UMD. In fact, the things that are happening at UMD are just a product of the environment, the way that people are being raised and things like that. So at that point, hearing about those flyers, if I remember correctly, it's just like well, it's just a part of the society we live in. At this point, it happens so often nothing is just going to change it, unfortunately.

Christie is resigned to living in a world where White supremacy is present. The events that have happened at UMD have prepared her for the prejudiced world that awaits her after graduation. The students see the administration as failing to support them as well as trying to sweep the racial connections under the rug. For example, with Genesis, the administration's lack of acknowledgement of the White nationalist flyers is a prime example:

Genesis: So the White supremacist fliers were posted on campus. I think it was last year. There were random flyers all along McKeldin Mall. One of my friends actually videotaped herself taking one down and posted that on Twitter. She started getting a bunch of hate from White supremacists. People were threatening her life, threatening her safety and whatnot, just because she took one of the posters down. I could be wrong, but I don't remember getting like any kind of response from the (campus administration). They didn't, did they?

Interviewer: I don't know.

Genesis: You see! That's a problem.

Students who feel discriminated against and threatened by these events don't feel the administration has done enough to recognize nor address the racial motivations behind these events. Many talk about the distrust they feel for fellow students and the lack of support they feel from the administration. The campus, they feel, would rather avoid the scandal than face the problem clearly and openly. This generally leads to increased salience for their racial identity and decreased for their campus identity.

Decreased trust and security in campus community

For some students, these events alter some their perceptions of trust and security for their campus members. This in turn reshapes their behavior on campus. Again, it is the minority students who most feel the negative affected of these events. White students such as Ashley realize how these events play out differently for different populations. When I asked what her reaction to the Richard Collins murder was, she said,

Disappointment in my community mostly. I feel like I am privileged in that I don't really worry about (things like this). I felt badly. A lot of my friends are African American men, so they were really shaken up by it. Seeing the way that it affected them affected me, just because it makes you think about the fact that I never have to (worry about my safety except for) male predators. But I honestly never really feel that way. It was jarring to me to see that that kind of thing would happen somewhere that I consider to be safe.

She comes to realize the privilege she has as a White woman. After the event, her feelings of personal safety have not changed, whereas they have decreased for her Black male friends. Still the event does not change her perception of safety on campus but she imagines it does for others. For example, when Kiara heard the news about Collins' murder, she said,

I called my mom. My mom was like, 'Do you want to transfer?'. At that moment I didn't feel safe, just because the way the school handled it. It felt like they were kind of trying to brush it under the rug. It was just like, if that was me, how would they react? I just felt like there was a lack of caring. That lack of caring could cause it to happen again, and that made me fearful to be on campus or hang out at night over on Route One.

For Kiara, it is not just the murder of Richard Collins that makes her feel unsafe but also the administration's handling of it. She doubts the response would be any different if she were the one who was killed instead. As a Black student, she doesn't

feel the administration supports her.

Daria, who is Hispanic, talks about feeling less safe for herself and other minorities after Collins' murder because of her identity. Her mother is also more worried now.

My mom was scared. She was like, "You know I always tell you not to be out late at night." And then she found out that the guy was involved in like Facebook groups that were very White supremacist, and she was like, 'Wow, I wouldn't think of that happening in your school. Everybody seems so nice when I go there. All the students are good, educated people.' And I was just like, 'Well, yeah, you never know.'

The event seems to confirm Daria's mother's worries for her safety. UMD felt like a welcoming place with "good, educated people" but now she is not so sure. She presses her daughter to restrict her movement at night. Daria still goes out at night, but she is extra cautious about avoiding danger and confrontation.

I mean, I still stay out, but if there's ever any trouble I'm just like, move out of the way. I don't want any trouble. And it also made me look at my classmates and people around me with a little more distrust, because you never really know what's going on inside their heads. I just don't know.

Just before Sean Urbanski stabbed Collins, he told Richard Collins to step out of his way and then stabbed him because he didn't move (Bauer-Wolf 2017). Daria is already planning how she will surrender her right to be in a space for fear of what might happen if she does not. Daria said she and her friends of color are also worried, "With friends, we talked about the same thing. We were just like, 'It could be any of us.' It's crazy that this is happening." The racial rhetoric, especially the rise in White supremacy and the White nationalist flyers being posted around campus have Daria doubting her fellow Terps. When I asked her to describe her reaction to the flyers, she said,

I wasn't as angry as with the actual attack (on Collins), but I was still upset. Because again, it brought me back to like, you really do not know, like, who you're dealing with on this campus. It could be someone in one of my classes that did this and I wouldn't know. And so it's like, I don't know. Again, it made me more distrusting of people.

Daria is now more fearful of the campus and her classmates. The impact of these events extends beyond the students. Parents and other families worry about the safety of their loved ones. Christie and her parents are also concerned about her safety after Collins' death.

My parents were very, very, very upset about this one. Someone lost their life and for no good reason. My parents were upset because, we know what was behind it, because I believe the person who killed him was in an anti-race group or some sort of racially charged group. ... So it definitely adds to the fact that it makes it easier to say this was racially charged. So my parents were very upset about the fact that it's happening period, but it makes it more real that their child—that could have been me or that could've been one of my friends. A lot of students were saying the same thing.

Christie and her friends are also concerned for their safety, even second-guessing their college choice and where they navigate on campus.

We've all been in that area because this is a really popular bus stop, or it was. We've all been around that area at the same time and it just could've been any of us. And it was for no good reason. Lieutenant Collins wasn't doing anything to warrant that, other than being Black—not that being Black warrants that but it's safe to say that's what it was. I wish that it never happened, but if it was going to happen, that it would've happened before I decided to come here because I wouldn't have come here.

Had Christie known this type of violence toward someone with her racial identity, she never would have attended UMD. She chose UMD because of the cheaper in-state tuition, its academic reputation and her level of comfort on campus when she was touring as a prospective student. UMD felt more welcoming than the other three schools she was considering, but she also wasn't able to tour those schools in person.

She regrets her school choice for many reasons.

When I asked Trevon if there was a local event that prompted him to reconsider himself or his future, he said Richard Collins' murder.

When the military person who got stabbed and died. I went to high school and middle school on a military base. I had a lot of friends who I had met in middle school and high school who knew (Collins), and their perceptions of the university changed. What they would say about the university was extremely negative. So I guess something went off in my mind. I was just like, 'How do I really fit in as like an African-American at this university?' I question like a lot of things like, 'Do I feel safe? Why are people's attitudes this way?' It was definitely an event that made me think about a lot of things.

As a Black man, Trevon hears how many friends' opinions of UMD changed and questions if he fits into UMD. When I asked him to describe his reaction to the event, he said, "This university isn't safe for African-Americans. That was like the biggest thing, that was the biggest thing definitely." Trevon's most significant takeaway from Collins' murder is that he and other Blacks are not secure on this campus.

Both Raven and Genesis, who are also Black, now feel less safe on campus, too. They already felt unsafe due to their female identities, but now they feel even more vulnerable due to their racial identities. Genesis described how she modifies her actions on campus now:

I don't feel comfortable going out by myself late at night, I mean as a woman I never really did but like I definitely, but like especially on campus, I definitely would not go out by myself late at night. I don't really go around the Annapolis Hall area anymore unless it's like for class or something. Whenever I can, I just take my car. I bring my car on campus, which is bad for the environment, but ...

As we are talking Raven realizes how she has changed her movement on campus after Collins' death.

Now that you bring it up, yeah, because I remember freshman year I would walk (to different places across campus). I lived in Wicomico and I worked at

Ellicott Diner in North Campus, so sometimes I would just walk to work if I missed the bus. But after that happened, I didn't walk anywhere on campus at nighttime. ... I wouldn't do that anymore whatsoever.

I asked if she still avoided walking around campus two years later, and she said yes.

She tries not to walk on campus at night and she definitely doesn't walk by herself when it is dark.

When I asked Christie, who is Black, if Collins' death affected how she moved around campus, she said,

Yes. I definitely avoided that area for a few months. And the first time I went—actually, I absolutely had to, but I didn't want to. The first time I went around there and seen the memorial they'd established, it made it kind of gave me chills because I'm just, "I can't believe this happened." And I don't know if it was 2017, 2018, but it's happening in the 2010s on this campus that I go to that I thought this was going to be a home away from home. This really happened. So, yeah, it made it more real. I got chills when I was there. And I did feel less safe on campus after that. And I was concerned about my safety as well as the safety of my friends when we navigate through campus.

She thought UMD was going to be a "home-away-from-home" but not any more. She continues to say that she wasn't pleased with the way the administration handled the event. She echoes Kiara's sentiment in wondering if the administration would treat her murder any differently.

It also, makes me feel like, if God forbid, something was to happen to me on this campus, I don't really think it would be treated with urgency unless a news outlet were to hear of it.

Students attribute their more extensive knowledge of Collins and McNair's deaths because of outside media. If news and sports outlets had not brought the attention to these events, many students feel the administration would have tried to hide them.

When I asked Leena, who is Hispanic, about her reaction to Collins' death,

she said,

It hit me hard because I relate more to minorities than I do to (majority groups), and it made me feel unsafe to an extent. It also made me feel a little fake, if that makes sense, because I'm White-passing. I definitely appear White, and that comes with privileges because people don't necessarily know that I'm not part of their own racial and ethnic group. So it made me feel a little bit unsafe in my ability to be here, but also a little bit like I was pretending, because I could technically present myself such that people wouldn't realize that I wasn't part of their own ethnic group.

When I asked her to tell a little more about when and where she doesn't feel safe, she said,

I think I became a little bit more aware of when and at what times I would go alone on campus. I tend to feel pretty safe on campus, but I am aware that there are always issues on every campus, especially one as big as ours. So I just became a little bit more aware about it, a little bit more conscious about it. And I think I just felt a little bit more unsafe because I felt that was definitely (racially motivated), even though there's no way to know. I didn't necessarily feel like being part of a minority group was necessarily the best thing at that point in time.

When I asked if she feels an equal sense of being a target on campus as well as off, she said

Not so much on campus. I was expecting it a little bit more. I don't feel it so much on campus, but that's also because I feel like I don't really associate myself too much with the political side of things. So I don't really talk about it with that many people, and things like that, because I also feel like it could bring up some bad feelings with people that I might not even know could be supporters, or even, if they disagree, could support some of those same theories and ideals.

Leena feels less safe after both Collins' murder and the 2016 election. Her identity as a Hispanic, even though she can pass for White, makes her feel more vulnerable on and off campus.

Do racial events foster solidarity to others?

Crimes and violent events can foster feelings of solidarity in communities and on college campuses (Brannon and Walton 2013, Carroll et al. 2005, Collins 2004, Hawdon and Ryan 2011, Ryang 2003, Smelser 2004). For example after the 2007 Virginia Tech mass shooting, campus members had higher levels of solidarity, however, those levels dropped after about six months (Hawdon and Ryan 2011). Tragedies tend to bring people together, so these events have that effect on our campus population? And if so, will this solidarity persist through these students' time at UMD?

In general, racial minority students talk about feeling solidarity toward each other. The racial events that happen on campus as well as the rise in White supremacy makes them feel closer to one other. They share in each other's vulnerability. For example, Daria talked about the pepper spray incident with a sense of solidarity to the Black victims:

I heard that the party was predominantly black students, and that's why they kind of brought it out to the light. This never happens when it's a (White) frat party or something like that. But when it's us, it's different. So that's what I remember. I just kind of thought that it was true because, yeah I've been to frat parties and when the cops have shown up they're just like, "Everybody get out." ... I guess that was one of the first few times that I saw how we can be treated differently...

Although Daria is Hispanic, she feels a sense of solidarity to Blacks due to their shared higher levels of discrimination.

When I asked Leena about her reaction to the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, she said,

Not a fan. Not a fan. ... I just don't feel safe. I feel like most, or even groups

that even I'm not a part of, but I very much feel solidarity towards, were mocked and harassed and offended and just treated very badly during the election, and after the election, as well. So it goes back again to the whole White-passing, and I didn't look it, but also, I feel deeply uncomfortable by the fact that I know that, at any moment, I could be targeted, just like anyone else who's a minority, because (President Trump) doesn't really discriminate on who he targets.

Leena feels solidarity to other minorities, which in turn also makes her feel less secure.

Both Daria and Leena are Hispanic. Through the pepper spray incident and the 2016 Presidential election they are reminded that others are discriminated against and even made a target because of a social identity status. Because of this, they feel more solidarity toward those minority populations.

Of course not all students feel this solidarity. When Richard Collins is killed, Georgia, who is non-Hispanic White, has left campus for the summer and is back at home out of state. She heard about campus reactions from friends still there:

I had a couple of friends that were on campus during that time, and from what I heard from them, it was just a very hostile environment. People were just outraged. Yeah, I'm kind of happy I wasn't on campus during that time.

Georgia voices how some White students view this as not their problem. Not only does she not feel solidarity with her fellow Terps who are responding to this event, she is glad to not have to be grappling with the aftermath of Collins' death. Protesting his death or showing solidarity is not something she wants to be a part of. For Kiara, who is Black, this is not optional. When I asked her if she had attended a protest or political rally, she said,

I went to the Me Too movement and the women's rallies that they had in D.C. And then (ones for) people who lost their lives to police brutality, so the

Freddie Gray movement and a Sandra Bland one. That was in high school. Yeah. And just on-campus demonstrations. So the one about Jordan McNair and the other one about Lt. Richard Collins, and then the other one about not deporting undocumented students.

Kiara rattles off a list of protest events. She is active in showing her solidarity both on-campus and off. But participating in these comes at a price. She describes it this way:

They're exhausting honestly. Where it's just like some people on campus don't have to, well they should but they don't, directly have to be at these movements and they don't have to worry about these issues. And it's just like on top of these issues I still have to go to class, and I still have to do my homework and things, so it's just like, on one hand it's like I wish I didn't have to do these things, but on the other hand I have to do these things.

Kiara doesn't feel these protests or demonstrations of solidarity are optional event though they strain her academic load and add emotional labor (Hochschild 2012). These events can also be mentally exhausting. Many White students feel they can opt out of these shows of solidarity, whereas Blacks and other minorities do not. The events that transpire and the different campus populations that bear witness to them generally create solidarity among minority populations but not with the White students.

Changes in opinions from freshman to senior year

When asked if UMD had met her expectations in 2016, Genesis said,

Pretty much. (This) is what I expected it to be. I expected it to be hard. It's hard. I expected to make a lot of new friends and I did. The only thing that I guess is different that I didn't expect Black UMD to be as vibrant as it is. It's different. It's vibrant. It's nice and I like it.

Her answer changes dramatically when asked this question again in 2019:

I feel like everyday I sit back and I think what I feel like my life would be better, and I would feel like it would be different if I didn't come to UMD. I feel like the academic environment at UMD is kind of toxic in my opinion. I feel like for a school that's not an Ivy League or you know really that reputable. I mean, and you know they have some great parts. ... UMD has a lot of reputable programs, don't get me wrong, but I feel like for the weight of the name of the school versus how much intensive the course work is, and also how some professors aren't as accommodating as they could be, it's not matching up. ... I feel like mentally I just feel like it's not a good environment. ... It's interesting because it's not like I can't handle a high course load. My grades are pretty good, it's just that, I feel like I shouldn't be stressed out, as stressed out as I am and um when I talk to like my friends who go to like other Ivy Leagues like Brown or Penn or Cornell, they're not having the same kind of you know difficulties I'm having. So I don't know if there's a disconnect or what, so.

And then on top of, besides you know academically, I just feel like racially—the racial and social climate on this campus isn't really great for learning either. Since I've been here like three people have died, probably more, majority of them being black men, and that's not really the type of environment that I want to be in our around, especially when I feel like administration isn't doing what you know their due diligence and addressing it the way that they should be.

The positive aspects of Genesis' freshman opinion of UMD have been overcome by her academic struggle and unnecessary stress level, the hate crimes, and racial discrimination that she feels that the administration hasn't done enough to address. Her senior year take on how her expectations have not been met is one of the starkest turnarounds of the students interviewed in both intervals.

I also see changes in attitudes about the campus in the students' responses about how they would describe UMD to a random stranger about their age. Consistent with the Chapter Three results, non-Hispanic White students generally hold positive views of UMD in their freshman and senior years whereas Blacks' opinions become more negative, reshaped by the events that have transpired and the administration's response. In addition, the things Blacks and other minorities would want others to

know about their campus are markedly different from their non-Hispanic White counterparts. For example, as a freshman, Blake, a non-Hispanic White business major said, "I'd tell them it's a big campus but after being here for a little bit you really get to know it. I love it here, so just tell them that." Blake is happy to be a student on this campus. When asked to describe the students, he said,

Very diverse. It's a lot different than my high school for sure. My high school was like 90% White, so we just didn't have much diversity at all. ... For the diversity of the school, I think it's definitely like a strong point, and it's definitely something that brings people into it.

Diversity is a positive aspect in Blake's freshman year as well as his senior year. In 2019 he responded to this same question in a similarly positive way:

First I would talk about like the campus itself. It's very close to D.C., Baltimore. It doesn't really feel like you're in a city. It's kind of a community. There's so many things to do. Whatever you want to be involved in, you can find something to do, people that are similar to you or some groups that will let you outside your comfort zone. So I'd say there's a lot of options.

Blake wants others his age to know there are many different ways to get involved on campus and many different kinds of people with whom to do that. His response indicates his positive opinion of diversity has not changed. Likewise, Isabelle, a non-Hispanic White in a pre-medicine major, also mentions the social aspects of campus. She responds in her freshman year this way:

I've kind of been saying I normally tell people that there are a lot of people here and living in the dorms forces you to meet a lot of people, so that's pretty nice. ... I've had pretty great teachers so far so. That's pretty good and like there are a lot of interesting subjects to go into also. ... (The students are) friendly. I don't think I've ever met a mean person, which is good. (The freshmen are) all kind of the same like excited, nervous sort of both.

In her senior year, she would tell a random stranger this:

I met most of my friends freshman year. I think it's very different if you're like, a commuter versus living on campus. ... I'd definitely say be social those first few weeks because that's important. I've always found it easy to make friends here. I think it's good. ... If you want to do something, there will always be someone to do it with. And there will always be something going on. That's what I really like about this school. ... We have a lot of events, I think, which is good.

Both Blake and Isabelle emphasize the different ways to be an active participant on their campus. Through these activities students can meet lots of different people.

There is no shortage of students who will want to hangout and join others in whatever pastime might be called upon. Blake and Isabell have differing political views—his as not strong Republican and hers as strong Democrat—and yet their descriptions about their campus align.

Black students, however, give markedly different descriptions in their freshman versus their senior years. For example, as a freshman, Raven, a pre-med major, described UMD this way:

I would say everybody is generally welcoming at UMD. There is like a big push to make freshman feel welcome so I appreciated that. I would say the faculty is actually helpful, well, some faculty is helpful. I've had professors who really do try to see their students do really well and they will help you out and open up office hours at other times. If you stay after class they'll help you answer questions so there's that. And of course there's faculty who just don't really do any of that and they seem to just not really care. It's more caring than not caring is the best way I could put it.

Raven recognizes how welcoming the campus has been to her during her freshman year and how her instructors have made the extra effort to ensure she understands the material. UMD is a compassionate and nurturing environment. However, as a senior, Raven would want others to know this about UMD:

I think UMD today has a lot of work to do just because of all the racially motivated incidences that have gone on over the last few years. I think UMD

seriously has some work to do and with President Loh leaving, and all the things that are going on around the school right now, the construction, the purple line coming in, I think it's just so much going on on campus sometimes, it gets overwhelming. And I think if somebody were to like want to come to this school or even like apply, I think they should take all those things into consideration.

Raven would warn prospective students about how overwhelming all of the disruptions as well as racially motivated events can be. Whereas her freshman year response is full of enthusiasm for UMD, her senior year response is full of hesitation and caution.

In her freshman year, Lexi is pursuing a major in the College of Mathematics and Natural Sciences. Her courses require a considerable amount of studying and prioritizing:

I want them to know that you really have to put your work in. It's not all fun and games here, with some people I think. And you really just have to learn how to say 'no' to peers. So this is really big. Some people come here expecting to party and some come here to do work. We may have some people in the middle so, I found a friend that likes to party a lot, so you just have to like, 'No. I have to get my work done. I can't go out.'

When asked to describe the students on campus, she said,

I think the people here are friendly for the most part. Where I'm from, it's more Southern, so we have more manners. The people here are friendly, but they're not mannered. For example, if you hold the door for someone, they don't say, 'Thank you.'

When asked to describe the faculty and staff, she said, "The faculty here are very helpful. I mean, I really connect with my professors a lot and if I have a question, they get back to me right away." The biggest aspects for Lexi to convey about her school are about ways to make successful choices to succeed academically and that

the faculty and students are friendly. Her biggest complaint is that the students do not exhibit the kinds of manners she expects from her hometown.

When I pose this question to Lexi in her senior year, she briefly mentions the quality of her education but the rest of her description focuses on how the campus isn't welcoming to Blacks:

I was just talking to my coworker (about this). The academics are very high up there. If you want to come to a school that you're going to learn that you're going to be challenged this is the school for you. However, a lot of events that have happened recently. I think yesterday a girl was on Twitter. It went viral on Fox News. She found pictures of blackface in UMD yearbooks. And that's gone viral, so if you are pro-black I wouldn't advise you to come here. You will feel like you're culture will be—I don't want to say disrespected because I don't think sometimes people would intentionally disrespect minorities or a culture but—I feel like you're going to miss out on a lot, if you're in minority here, of your own culture (than) if you went to an HBCU. That's my opinion.

Lexi's boyfriend attends nearby Bowie State University, an HBCU, and when I asked if she wished she had gone to an HBCU, she said, "At times I do, yes." She said that the overall UMD campus atmosphere is not as welcoming to Blacks and other minority groups as Bowie State. However, she also realizes the positive aspects of being at a PWI. When I asked her if UMD had met her expectations, she said,

I feel like UMD really challenged me. In (high) school I didn't have to study, and here I was like, "Oh, I have to study now." I really I gained long-term friendships with a lot of people. If I hadn't attended here I would have missed out on a lot of best friends and everything. I think actually Maryland has opened up my eyes to my culture more. I know this might sound backwards, but I feel like becoming here to a PWI I've learned to appreciate a lot of things more such as my culture, politics. You know I enjoy having those debates with people that have opposite views of me, so yeah.

She feels like because she has to articulate her perspective that others don't share, she has become more articulate and knowledgeable about her culture. I also asked if she feels like she has developed camaraderie with others or if she feels like she is alone in

the struggle to speak for the Black perspective.

I don't think I'm necessarily isolated not just (because of Black people on campus). I know a lot of people on this campus that aren't Black or immigrants who might not have to experience that but they're still fighting for other races and minorities, so yeah.

Lexi feels the solidarity of others reaching out to advocate for Blacks, immigrants, and other minorities. She suspects her time at UMD has been more challenging because of her Black identity, but this has also induced her to be able to talk more about her culture and articulate its importance to others. Further, she knows there are other minorities who are also advocating for her and other Black students.

The cumulative effect

It is difficult if not impossible to isolate how the different factors—UMD's structural diversity, the rise of White supremacy, and on-campus, local, and national racialized events—have impacted students' formation of their identities and the ideas they hold of others. Sam sums this up well. When asked if there was something on campus, such as a course, an event, or an activity, that made him rethink how he viewed himself or his future, he connected many events.

I don't think that there's one thing in particular. I think it's just like a kind of the combination of all the stuff that's happened. By the end my freshman year, I had definitely become a vastly different person than when I came into college, whether it's the sociology class that I took. I took African-American studies class about mentoring, minimums in the private prison system, and the criminal justice system. And then obviously like everything that's happened, like the more racialized incidences happen on campus, and then events here and there. They've all shaped my idea of the world around me.

When asked if he thought this transformation was a natural part of a freshman year at college or more about his particular experiences, he said, "Freshman year was the

year I met a lot of my friends that I'm really close with now." He went to a predominately White high school, and these friends are different from the ones he has in high school.

It's always interesting for college freshman when they go back home for their first time. You interact with your old high school friends. Then you just start to notice, like you're little different. It's not like the people from my high school are bad people, or anything like that. We're just a little different. ... Then over time you start to realize that, as you change, too, you just have to realize that you're not the same as other people. I'm still cool with them, (but) I don't talk with them as much as I used to when I was back home or back in high school. Over time you just start to realize that you're just a different person, like, college has changed you. And I feel like I've definitely been changed a lot.

He goes on to talk about how his racial identity is part of that realization that he is different. As a Black person, he has different needs from his White high school friends. When asked if any of the racial incidences that he referenced earlier were part of that reshaping, he said:

I would just say, it just made me more aware that issues, whether it's institutional racism or just overt racism, like they're still here. The Freddie Gray incident (was the spring before he came to Maryland). I wasn't in (Baltimore) city or whatever, but like...I'm seeing places that I've been to in the city life, all that stuff's happening. So then you're like, 'Damn, this shouldn't be happening.' And then it's like, you come here and the pepper spray incident happens, and like, 'Damn, this is for real.' And then you hear about the murder on campus, you're like, 'Oh, this is like really real.' And then ... there's still aspects of the treatment of like black athletes and stuff like that, that still align with like all the past incidents. (It all just) let's you know that this stuff is for real. Growing up, I never really thought about racism, I don't think I ever thought about discrimination. ... Those weren't conversations that came up amongst me and my White friends. We didn't talk about racism growing up, but nowadays on group chats with Black people, we talk about this with regularity. People bring it up without batting an eye, and we just have like quick conversations about that. So, just I mean, it just letting me know like this stuff was like for real.

Part of Sam's college education includes learning how to talk about the racism and discrimination he and other Blacks experience. I asked him if this newfound

awareness of racism is something that was particular to Maryland or something he would have learned at another school. He said,

I can't really say like whether that would happen somewhere else, but definitely it's like a little bit of a coming-of-age thing, and being around people that are like you, where you kind of easily have those conversations.

UMD's structural diversity helps him process the racism around him as well as provides reasons for why those conversations are necessary.

In addition, his parents were born in Africa, and so they weren't socialized the same way as other Black American parents were. Part of his coming-of-age is gaining an understanding of American racism. "I guess a lot of the perceptions of race and racism are a little different (than where his parents were born)." For example, his parents never talked about how to behave if he were ever pulled over by police, whereas this is common with Black American parents, especially those with sons (Demo and Hughes 1990, Harris 1995).

In addition to the above, one aspect that Sam attributes to his identity evolution is that he spent a lot of time on his own the summer before he began college: "That was a crazy summer because of Philando Castile, Alton Sterling, (and other police killings)." The time to himself as well as these incidents of police killing Blacks caused him to reflect on how the world viewed him. He was also spending time with an aunt who lives near campus. She warned him about how Americans perceive Black bodies and how he needed to be mindful of his behavior because of it.

She was like, 'Hey, I know you're a good kid, obviously, but you know, a lot of stuff's been going on. And I just want you to be careful.' Just like, watching all this stuff unfold, it really opened my eyes to just like all the stuff that's going on in the world.

His parents weren't aware of the need to socialize their son about American racism, but his aunt was. He goes on to say that the Charlottesville march also impacted how things about others:

As well as just like being in the DMV, ... we just hear about all the stories about gentrification. So, I've got to say that just being in a new environment, I probably would've heard about this stuff regardless, just going to college, but then if you're put in that community, like you hear the story of the people, because Baltimore's simply different from Prince George's County or D.C.

It is the totality of his UMD experience including the timing of it that shapes Sam's college experience as well as his personal identity development. He had his heart set on another school, but it was too expensive. He attended Maryland due mainly because of its more affordable in-state tuition. When I asked him if he wished he had gone to that school instead given all that has happened, he said no. It's made him who he is today.

DISCUSSION + CONCLUSION

This chapter describes a series of hate crimes and racial discrimination events that occurred during this cohort's undergraduate career. It also describes students' reactions to and knowledge of these events as well as others that are salient to their social identity development. Throughout I've identified ways these events shape or elude the way students consider their identities and the identities of others.

We hold multiple social identities and enact appropriate ones based on the context of physical and social spaces and normative expectations (Hogg, Terry and White 1995). Individuals and groups recognize and assign these designations based on our classifications of people, behavior, objects, and events (Tajfel and Forgas

1981). Of the 2019 student I asked if being a Terp is a part of their identity, approximately 67% said yes, 26% said sometimes, and 7% said they do not. Of the 10 students who said it varies or no, only two were non-Hispanic White. One of those is transgender with strong Democratic political views. They attributed their transgender status to this disconnect. The other said her strong Republican views were the reason why she did not feel connected to campus. The other seven were Hispanic or Black with Democratic political views. Feelings about a lack of campus attachment are connected to their racial and political identities. A minority status, either through race, ethnicity, or political views, becomes more salient to these students' personal identities. On a campus that is promoted as a utopia of diversity, the heterogeneity serves to isolate and disadvantage minority populations.

I asked about a series of events that had transpired during their college career: an incident of police brutality on campus, the racially-motivated murder of Richard Collins III by a fellow White student, a series of White nationalist flyer postings, the results of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, and the death of Jordan McNair. Of the 27 2019 interviewees, all of them had heard of and could describe information about the deaths of Jordan McNair and Richard Collins. Overall, more than half had heard of and could relate details about the pepper spray incident (54%) and the posting of White nationalist flyers on campus (60%). Of the White students (n=11) 64% had could describe aspects of the pepper spray incident and 40% for the White Supremacist flyers. All of the Black interviewees (n=7) could describe aspects about all of these events. Overall, only one non-Hispanic White student, who is also transgender, talked about feeling closer to Blacks or other minority students due to

these events or the structural diversity of the campus. Minority students, however, did. Sam, Kiara, Raven, Genesis, and Christine, who are all Black, and Diana and Leena, who are Hispanic, feel closer to Blacks, which supports the results in Chapter Three.

Non-Hispanic Whites such as Jon, Keith, and Ashely, tend to talk about these events in terms of a less personal, more structural and administrative level. The distance in their connection to individual or the personal also reflects on how much these events then connect or not to their social identity development. Throughout their descriptions of these events, Black students consistently find symbolic racism where as non-Hispanic White students mostly do not (Lo et al. 2017). These campus events are generally not salient in terms of White students' identity development. Even White students such as Ashley, who said McNair's death was a "hot-button issue" for her, still says she gets "misty-eyed" and "nostalgic" at UMD sporting events. These events do not significantly weaken their pride for nor their incorporation of UMD into their individual identities.

The events described here have impacted Black students' identities most consistently. As described in Chapter Three, they thought UMD would be a safe haven, a place for them to belong and be a part of a family. Some realize that this won't be the case even by the end of the freshman year. This message is repeated in significant ways both by events happening on campus and through the administration handling of these situations. Their once-optimistic opinions of this campus have turned to doubt, anger, and resentment. Their fellow students as well as the administration play a role in that turnaround. Some Black students wish they had

attended an HBCU. They were dubious about the level of welcome they would feel on UMD's campus, and these incidents only confirm their suspicions. Some talk of wishing they had attended an HBCU instead of a PWI. Further, for students such as Christine, these events signal the awaiting biased and discriminatory world waiting for her after graduation, something she accepts as an immutable fact.

CHAPTER 5

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

CREATIVE ENGAGEMENT'S POTENTIAL TO INFLUENCE SOCIAL IDENTITY AND OPINIONS ABOUT DIVERSE OTHERS

Previous chapters of this dissertation have demonstrated how structural diversity alone is not enough to reduce prejudice. Chapter 3 explored how students' social identities have shaped their response to the structural diversity of the campus and their opinions and bias toward outgroups. Chapter Four explored why, despite this campus' larger-than-most proportions of diverse populations and the optimism that students have about engaging with these populations, this might be. Events of racial hate, discrimination, and outright bigotry via White supremacy demonstrations and comments from the current U.S. President can interrupt positive social identity developments of racial and political minority selves and outgroups. If structural diversity on its own is not enough to prompt a reduction of bias (Festinger and Kelley 1951), despite the right conditions being present (Allport 1954, Pettigrew 1979), what, if anything, might be done to mitigate this?

This project started as an exploration of how, if at all, creative engagement might dispel stereotypes and prejudicial barriers that inhibit intergroup interaction. For these activities, students created an abstract self-portrait, labeled and stereotyped the people depicted in a set of self-portraits from another class, performed the

Privilege Walk, saw an empirical presentation about the ways stereotypes and bias function in society, and then engaged in peer-to-peer discussions about these activities. They then completed a written reflection about their thoughts and experiences about these activities and were encouraged to attend additional diversity discussion events hosted by an on-campus office focused on student diversity events. This chapter focuses on students' reactions to a distinct set of creative engagement diversity activities. Although the findings are not quantitatively statistically significant, qualitative data point to their effectiveness. These findings show limited support for creative engagement's ability to shape opinions of ingroup and outgroup members during college.

BACKGROUND

The impact of curricular and co-curricular activities

Researchers have typically framed the impact of diversity in higher education by structural diversity, the numbers or proportions of different populations on a given campus; classroom diversity, the differences in diverse identities within individual courses and classrooms, and interaction with diverse others, usually informal versus structured or forced interactions and include extra curricular activities such as participation in groups or clubs and attending campus events (Gurin et al. 2002a, Milem 2003, Terenzini et al. 2001). We can also look at diversity training, which can be administered either within a mandated classroom structure, as with graduation diversity requirements or courses that address diversity.

We can look at how the different activities and subgroupings, such as memberships in sororities and fraternities and participation in cultural organizations, influence cross-racial interaction and students' college experiences. Overall, curricular and co-curricular activities that engage students from a variety of identities generally benefit those involved (review by Denson 2009). Denson's quantitative analysis results showed that these activities did lead to positive outcomes in terms of diversity and reducing bias, but not all groups and activities promote this. Of the ones that have positive effects are ethnic and racial groups. This component can increase minority students' sense of belonging on campus (Mendoza-Denton et al. 2002) and increase cross-racial interactions for students of color at a higher rate than Whites (Park 2018). Overall most curricular and co-curricular activities benefit those involved and foster cross-racial interactions (Bowman and Park 2014).

Some organizations and activities, however, can serve to prohibit these interactions, segregating and dividing instead. These include primarily White Greek fraternities and sororities (Park and Kim 2013, Sidanius et al. 2004) and religious groups (Park and Kim 2013). Participation in ethnic and racial groups increases cross-racial interaction overall whereas involvement in Greek fraternities and sororities decreases interracial close friends overall (Park 2018). Members of Greek fraternities and sororities tended to value interracial marriage at lower rates and have higher rates of symbolic racism (Sidanius et al. 2004). Overall, the more students participated in Greek and religious organizations the smaller their rates of cross-racial interaction; however, students who attended schools with more structural diversity had lower overall rates of participation in Greek organizations, which reduced the negative

university-wide effect on cross-racial interaction and cross-racial friendships (Park and Kim 2013).

Although notable meta-analyses found intergroup interactions to have an overall positive effect (Denson 2009, Pettigrew and Tropp 2006, Pettigrew and Tropp 2000), neither structural diversity nor cross-racial interaction is an automatic solution to create positive outcomes. For example, increased structural diversity can lead to students having higher rate of feelings of personal discrimination and that many of the positive aspects of structural diversity disappeared (Rothman, Lipset and Nevitte 2003). Also, not all interactions reduce prejudice nor are a sign of reduced prejudice. Those who hold bias against others can still mask that bias or avoid contact with out-group members (Herek and Capitanio 1996). Interactions with diverse others can truncate our automatic responses of bias, making an opportunity for reconsiderations of others to take hold, “but going off cruise control takes effort” (Park 2018: 24). Diversity training activities can be a way of recognizing and modifying these automatic responses.

As with structural diversity, there is no guarantee that the intended changes of diversity training activities will occur if not backfire (e.g. Macrae et al. 1994). For example, pressuring individuals to conform to pro-Black ideas can lead to negative rather than positive responses (Plant and Devine 2001). Also, if not conducted correctly, individuals can realize their biases but be absolved of responsibility to mitigate them (Boler 1997). In addition, White students tend to reap the benefits of diversity training more than students of color (Denson 2009, Engberg 2004, Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). But diversity training has had measureable successes. In his meta-

analysis, Denson (2009) found that addressing diversity either through curricular or extra curricular activities reduced racial bias, although with a moderate effect. The diversity training duration, number of instances, and combination are some factors that can contribute to more effective diversity training (Engberg 2004). Diversity training efforts generally take the form of contact with diverse others or discussion about issues and concerns about diverse others or both (Denson 2009). Our set of activities incorporated both.

The performance of bias and prejudice

Goffman (1959, 1961) theorizes that our presentations of selves rely on intact, uninterrupted performances. Front stage is a place of potentially false performance and presentation of an ideal and socialized self to impress others and to seem acceptable to those physically present, and in some cases online audiences, and to societal norms. We generally strive to relegate all backstage performances—what we might consider to be politically incorrect or socially unexpected—to known and intended audience members. Performers seek to avoid conflict about the definition of the performance. Our social selves need to maintain the “proper” performance to avoid disruption. Politically correct performances happen within front stages and politically incorrect or socially undesirable interactions are intended to occur in back stage only. Disguising our prejudice and bias is included in these performances.

These shifting façades can lead to competing presentations of self. Goffman poses that we have no one true self but multiple selves, each of which is engaged for the appropriate audience and situation. We present our idealized selves to diverse

audiences via our front stage and potentially contradictory selves via back stage performances. This impression management incorporates how others navigate, hide, and perform stereotypical beliefs. Goffman proposes that front stage is a performance depicting an individual's version of a whole self that he wants others to see. This performance will influence how others characterize and interact with that individual. Front stage is an individual's version of himself produced for the consumption of others. Ideas of political correctness and socially idealized behavior are central to this performance. In contrast, backstage is where individuals are more themselves and are less active in impression management. The backstage is still a performance, but for a more select and assumed homogenous audience. In the backstage, the individual's backstage presentation may be different from their front stage performance due to the makeup of the audience (Picca and Feagin 2007). The idea is that the backstage is where you are more yourself and impression management is relaxed if not negated. Like front stage, backstage performances are dictated by the makeup of an audience and the individual's perceptions of what that audience finds acceptable and desirable. Here individuals can perform in ways that might be acceptable to smaller groups but not a collective whole. The production and presentation of self enables groups and individuals to establish and communicate social hierarchy.

The potential for creative engagement

Artistic making and practice, also known as creative engagement, is a broad term that includes visual arts, creative writing, music, dance, performance, and bodily movement activities. Some have argued that art making is as primal and innate to

human nature as speech and using tools (Dissanaye 1992). Emotions and other social psychological connections are at play in artistic works (Schachtel 2001). Art can connect to, represent, and challenge our sociological social psychological understandings. I use the term “creative engagement” to reference the artistic and performative aspects that are easily undertaken by art novices and adroit practitioners. Other scholars have distinguished creative pursuits between a “big C” and a “little c.” The former is used for high-level artistic pursuits such as fine art painting, musical score composure, and theatrical productions (Miller and Dumford 2016). The “little c” is “novel and personally meaningful interpretation of experiences, actions, and events” (Beghetto and Kaufman 2010: 195). As with the “big c,” the “little c” can propagate cognitive process and deep learning (Miller and Dumford 2016). “Little c” or creative engagement can be effective in exploring and expressing ideas about the self (Arnheim 1956). Artistic objects and artistic making can prompt reconsiderations of issues, people, institutions, and even the banal (Allen 1995). The imagination and production that creates artistic works influence culture, which in turn influences society, law, and behavior, and in turn influence our cultural values.

Although this project has elements of performance through the physical movement of the Privilege Walk exercise and a writing component in the written response, neither is considered “artistic making.” However, the self-portrait assignment, a visual art component, is. Here students are directed to create an abstract, non-representative self-portrait. Instead of representing their physical identity—what they look like—they create portraits that represent salient aspects of their identity such as their lived locations, their hobbies, their future plants, and pop

culture references such as favorite musicians, books, or movies. For this component a high degree of artistic skills are not assumed. The students can create a works that have the visual articulation of anywhere from novice to fine artist.

Visual art has five qualities that make it an appropriate communication means to express identity and cultural norms. First artistic objects can communicate about a variety of subjects including culture, religion, beliefs, behaviors, societal expectations, and humans' relationships to each other, nature, and objects. Color, scale, aesthetic sensibilities, juxtaposition, clarity and obfuscation combine to form artistic objects. Its communicative abilities make it appropriate to express ideas about structural violence.

Second, art can be a means of creating meaning and identity about the self (Allen 1995: 3). Art can represent the emotions and mental process of the maker and the artist's efforts to depict personal identity (Simmel 1968: 16-17). This process is related to the third artistic strength, which is its potentially large role in mental processes, facilitating and strengthening perception and cognition (Arnheim 1969). Visual art is a form of visual thinking, connecting images to thought and vice versa. In addition, visual elements can represent the imperceptible, such as emotions and thought (Schachtel 1959). Visual art's non-verbal aspects can facilitate communication when other modes such as speech and writing are less effective (Malchiodi 2012). Art's imaginative qualities can help makers visualize their world without inequities, barriers, and other negative forces. They can create a tangible object that imagines their future selves.

Fourth, art also works beyond the individual to connect to audiences and society. Artists' depictions may blend specific and personal, simultaneously prompting association and disassociation among their viewers. Visual art allows its maker to project inner thoughts and feelings to the outside world (Kris 1952: 115). The result is a dialectic between the artist, the content represented, and the viewer's "bodily and mental structures" (Simmel 1968: 85). The artist brings society into the artistic work, creating a response and an interpretation of social relationships.

Finally, art can surprise and communicate in personal, unexpected ways. A work of art encourages viewers to interpret its meaning, which creates a sense of engagement that more direct forms of communication such as speech do not. Less confrontational means of communication such as art and storytelling, can create a level of receptiveness that more direct means, such as lectures and writing, cannot (Polletta and Lee 2006). Visual art is an effective tool to express the maker's identities and how they want to be viewed by others. Also, if students with artistic majors are more likely to say they intend to disrupt segregation (Milem and Umbach 2003), can artistic activities even if they are not a part of a major area of study, encourage other majors do to this as well?

Among other components, I employ a symbolic visual self-portrait that asks students to assemble visuals of salient aspects of their identity. Rather than depict what they look like, students are directed to create this self-portrait to visuals who they are and who they are becoming.³⁵ The self-portrait can be a visual representation of self-categorization (Turner et al. 1987) or identity (McCall and Simmons 1978). These visual manifestations of their identities represent the groups within which

³⁵ See Appendix E for the full assignment.

students believe they are a part (Hogg and Abrams 1988), the salient and socially normative identities for this campus. The resulting portraits are a physical embodiment of Cooley's looking-glass self as well as an opportunity for students to reflect on how they are viewed and what they want to be viewed. This research explores if these qualities of creative engagement can influence opinions of and interactions across diverse student populations. These activities seek to create greater understanding of racialized others and thus attenuate feelings of distance or incompatibility.

Individuals have differing levels of attachment to identities both within and between groups. Some of these levels of attachment can be anticipated. For example, members of underrepresented groups have been threatened more and thus are in better practice of defending themselves and managing conflict around their identities (Gurin *et al.* 1999, 140). This does not mean that their racial or ethnic identities are less important to them, but that they might have weaker ties to their group identities because they have had to be more flexible in fitting in with dominant groups. Evoking Du Bois' (1903) double consciousness concept, minority group members are generally accustomed to how their racial or ethnic identity is seen as "other" and often pejorative by the White majority. Research indicates that because they have had to confront the differences of their identities with others, these identities become more salient (Gaertner *et al.* 1999). However, these weaker ties are the result of managing the multiple identities formed from frequent intergroup interactions. Further, underrepresented groups are less likely to have formed strong stereotypical and prejudicial views of outgroup members (Fiske 1993, p. 140), thus reducing

barriers that might impede intergroup interaction. Underrepresented groups should respond to identity reconsiderations more positively (Clemens and Cook 1999: 453) and require fewer positive incentives to do so.

However, the opposite is true for majority groups. Based on research (Gurin et al. 1999; Prentice and Miller 1999), I expect non-Hispanic White students to be the most resistant to cultivating a more positive outlook on diverse others as they generally are the ones with the most power and privilege to lose and the least amount of experience with addressing identity conflict. Members of dominant groups are not as equipped to handle conflict compared to members of weaker groups (Gurin *et al.* 1999, 140). Majority group members generally have less experience interacting and assimilating with outgroups; these members will be less likely to respond to identity reconsideration prompts. In addition, recent political activities and rhetoric have opened the conversation for white supremacy. This might prevent whites from reconsidering their identity and those of others.

Allport (Allport 1954) held that reduced prejudice will result when four conditions occur: group members share equal status, they are pursuing a shared goal, they work cooperatively, and their actions or activities are sanctioned or supported by some form of authority or custom. These condition considerations have been a primary framing means for more than 50 years of research (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 515 studies with 38 nations represented in the 250,089 sample found that although these conditions are not required for ingroup contact to reduce prejudice, the studies that on average contained them had the higher levels prejudice reduction. The UNIV100 classrooms contain

these conditions: the students are all freshmen and new to the campus; they are all there to learn and earn a grade for the course and a degree more generally; they work together to label the self-portraits, perform the Privilege Walk, and discuss their finds; and the instructors directly (and the University indirectly) support these activities by taking the class time to conduct them. Of course other curricular and extra curricular meetings and activities contain these conditions, which can contribute to the overall reduction of prejudice of this campus population.

Pettigrew (1998) proposed additional factors that can prompt a reconsideration of prejudice. The first is to dispel myths about prejudice or learning new aspects about outgroup members, which can be achieved through the Privilege Walk, the presentation of empirical information about stereotypes, prejudice, and bias, and the classroom discussion classroom discussions. The second is to change behavior as with more interactions with outgroup members, which can happen as a result of the classroom discussions and attendance at events featuring diversity topics. The third is to propagate positive emotions with outgroup members with the goal of creating new relationships and reassessment of ingroup aspects, which can happen through the self-portrait assignment and Privilege Walk respectively.

CONTRIBUTIONS

For these activities, components of a larger project called Sticks + Stones, students are first assigned to create an abstract self-portrait. Instead of what the students look like, they are instructed to visualize the salient aspects of their identity such as music preferences, hobbies, personal interests, maps of geographically relevant locations,

and religious, racial, national, and cultural identities. By engaging a highly individualized perspective of the self, I expect each student to then reflect back upon how their self aligns and misaligns with others and cultural norms. The second component prompts students to engage in an exercise of anonymous stereotyping and labeling. Students are assigned to study the self-portraits from another course and write descriptions of the individuals depicted in each portrait. Students' labeling requires them to decoded the messages and meanings in each self-portrait based on personal lived experiences, media portrayals, and institutional expectations. The students then complete the Privilege Walk, see an empirical presentation about the ways stereotypes and bias function in society, and then discuss these activities and artifacts including the labels and their corresponding self-portraits. In this discussion, students can address the positive and negative stereotypes in the labels, how these categories apply or not to themselves and their peers, why they exist, why we stereotype, and what they can do to reduce our propensity to stereotype. Finally, students complete a written reflection about their thoughts and experiences about these activities. They are also encouraged to attend additional diversity discussion events.

I expect that through this suite of activities—the self-portrait making and labeling, the Privilege Walk, peer-to-peer discussions, and reflective writing—that students can form a counterbalance to negative racial cultural schemas and create positive understanding of racial differences. These activities engage each student in introspection of themselves as individuals, through the self-portrait and written reflection, as well as in comparison to others, through the Privilege Walk, labeling,

and discussion. This first-person engagement is expected to truncate the automatic response or mindless learning process (Milem 2003).

Another strength for this set of activities is its multimodal means of addressing diversity. The different components—visual art making, movement and performance, peer-to-peer dialogue, and written reflection—provide students with different ways to consider issues of diversity and identity. Research has shown that curriculum with a range of information delivery is preferred to meet students' diverse learning styles, which can more productive educational outcomes (e.g., Cross 1985, Demirbas and Demirkan 2007, Duman 2010).

The creative engagement can also be effective due to the first-person authorship students take to create it, heightening the students' cognitive processes (Catterall 2002) and reducing the tendency for rote responses to diversity issues. I expect that students in the Sticks + Stones sections will have more positive movement than control course sections due to the self-reflexive process of creating the portraits as well as the cognitive disequilibria of the labeling activity. These reconsiderations are then expected to have positive effects upon the participants' understanding of their racial attitudes in general, feelings of belonging on campus, and valuing diversity overall. The introspective aspect of these activities is anticipated to truncate the automatic response or mindless learning process (Milem 2003). I expect that artistic objects paired with the backstage collapse of overt labeling can help shake students out of their auto-responses to racial stereotypes, prejudice, and bias. I expect that this distinct combination of activities will prompt students to reevaluate their opinions about diversity and yield more positive opinions about diversity overall.

Further, I expect that once these positive changes occur in this cohort's career, that they will increase over the course of their undergraduate career. I expect to see differences between students who did these activities and those who did not in the online survey results.

FINDINGS

Paper Questionnaire Results

The paper questionnaire, administered during a course meeting at the end of the Fall 2015 semester, asked what part, if any, of this course's content has been most useful to students, had made the deepest impression upon their behavior and social choices, and had been shared with others including friends, co-workers, and family members. Students were prompted to describe their answers fully. I received 537 completed paper surveys from 30 different course sections³⁶, 23% came from 5 different control courses, 7% came from treatment courses that conducted the privilege walk but not the self-portrait and labeling exercise, 13% came from treatment courses that conducted the self-portrait and labeling but not the privilege walk, and 58% came from courses that completed all of the Sticks + Stones activities. (See Table 13 Paper Questionnaire Results.) These percentages roughly correspond to the original distribution of control versus treatment sections seen in Table 2 Project Sample. Number of submissions per course ranged from 3 to 56, with an average of 17 submissions. Most courses had 10-20 questionnaire submissions. Four courses had large enrollments, yielding submissions of 40 or more.

³⁶ I received 552 completed paper surveys, however, 15 surveys from one class suggested the instructor had coached them to write specifically about the Sticks + Stones activities. I have discarded them from our analysis.

TABLE 13

Paper Questionnaire Results

OVERALL RESPONSE NUMBERS

Responses from 5 control course sections*	22.6% (121)
Responses from 19 full-treatment course sections	57.5% (309)
Responses from 3 self-portrait and labeling only course sections	13.1% (70)
Responses from 3 Privilege Walk-only course sections	7% (37)

RESPONSES THAT MENTION COURSE DIVERSITY COMPONENTS

Treatment sections	Question 1	Question 2	Question 3
Privilege Walk (PW) but no self-portrait (n=70)	0%	16% (6)	5% (2)
Self-portrait (SP) but no privilege walk (n=37)	0%	0%	7% (5)
Full treatment responses mentioning PW (n=309)	5% (15)	19% (60)	14% (44)
Full treatment responses mentioning SP (n=309)	3% (9)	4% (13)	9% (28)
Full treatment responses mentioning other (n=309)	4% (13)	8% (26)	4% (11)
Full treatment responses overall (n=309)	10% (30)	31% (95)	23% (72)

Overall, 45% (139) full treatment respondents mentioned a diversity component for at least one of these questions. For all of the different treatment sections combined, 37% (153) mentioned at least one of the Sticks + Stones components on at least one of these questions.

Control sections

Control course responses except global engagement (n=65)	8% (5)	14% (9)	6% (4)
Global engagement course responses only (n = 56)	20% (11)	70% (39)	48% (27)
All control course responses (n=121)	13% (16)	40% (48)	26% (31)

Approximately 79% (44) of the global engagement respondents mentioned diversity in at least one of their responses. Overall, 47% (57) of respondents in these control sections mentioned a diversity component in one of their responses. However only 20% (13) of respondents out of the non-global engagement courses mentioned a diversity component.

Notes: Students who wrote about the diversity components on more than one question or mentioned multiple diversity components within one question have only been counted once in the overall totals. Number of responses are in parenthesis. n = 537

One of the control course sections, the global engagement course, skews the results above. Most other UNIV100 courses only have one unit of diversity for the whole term. This course, however, emphasizes diversity throughout the semester along with the other UNIV100 curriculum. This course is restricted to students who

have been accepted into an invitation-only living-learning program, the mission of which is:

We seek to provide an intellectually engaging and socially active community for students to learn about globalization and global issues, and develop skills and attitudes to empower them to take advantage of its opportunities and wrestle with its challenges.

We value diversity—cultural, intellectual, and ideological—and seek to provide a welcoming place where differences can be shared and openly discussed. Participants become part of a network of relationships beyond campus and outside the country.

Through coursework, cross-cultural/international events, relevant experiences, and a supportive community, we aim to help students develop the global perspective that will enable them to navigate an ever more interconnected and diverse world. (Haufler 2019)

This indicates that these students sought enhanced ways to learn about diversity on an international scale, making them a subgroup especially interested in living and studying in closer proximity to diverse others. To my knowledge, it is the only course associated with this study that included multiple diversity-specific assignments and discussions. The global engagement response percentages are more than double the full-treatment numbers. Because of this, I show the control group numbers in three ways: the global engagement only responses, the control section responses without the global engagement students, and the combined control section responses.

The partial treatment sections yield the fewest number of responses. The self-portrait and labeling without the Privilege Walk only yielded responses for Question 3. To me this signals that these activities have the most impact when they are done as a suite, rather than singularly. Although students mention the Privilege Walk more than the self-portraits for each of the three questions, the rate of full-treatment responses for each are higher than for partial treatment responses. Further, the combined full treatment responses are higher than the control courses with the global

engagement responses removed for each of the three questions, with double the number of responses for Question 2 and almost four times the number of responses for Question 3. I believe this is a more equivalent comparison as these courses only had one unit of diversity during the semester.

Overall, Question 1, which asked what part of the course had been most useful, received the fewest diversity mentions. This could partially reflect students' lack of appreciation for learning about diversity, however, it mostly points to the success of the curricula focus: to orientate students to college. The UNIV100 curriculum includes information about campus resources to making an academic plan, effective time management and study habits, the application requirements for limited-enrollment programs (LEP), and exercises geared to help students learn how they learn. The three examples below represent common responses for the first question:

The most useful part of this course has been learning my path as a UMD student. Going into depth about four year plans and LEP requirements have been extremely helpful for me. Also, the Focus II assignment was interesting to me to help guide my life. —*Full treatment response*

The course thoroughly explained the application process to the business school as well as requirements that must be filled by all students in general. This information was very helpful and guided me enormously during the first semester. — *Full treatment response*

The Campus Resource Project was most useful because I learned where and what resources were available to aid in my progress. For example, I learned about wiseguys. And by October I had a solid grasp on resources, tutors, and GSS so I felt more confident in classes. —*Full treatment response*

Approximately 7% of students enrolled in a treatment sections mentioned that learning about diversity was useful:

I found the privilege walk most useful to see where I stood in comparison to others and it allowed me to understand the diversity in my class. — *Full treatment response*

I found the project where the class got in a line and stepped forward and backwards was most useful to me. It let me see first hand the discrepancies between my own peers in terms of our backgrounds. It was eye opening to realize how different people can be treated simply because of their ethnic backgrounds. — *Full treatment response*

The self-portraits and the essay questions after the self-portrait were the most useful to me because it helped me understand how I view myself and how I wanted to view myself.
— *Full treatment response*

I was used to diversity and different cultures prior to the class, however, I learned that this is not the case for everyone. It has made me more open about my culture so that others can be exposed to the same diversity that I have always been able to experience. — *Full treatment response*

The students mention the Privilege Walk as well as the self-portraits and labeling as being useful information. They now have a better understanding of how the world views their identities and how those juxtapose with their peers at college and beyond.

Approximately 13% of the overall control section responses mentioned a diversity component for this question:

The discussions in simulations pertaining to cultural differences were interesting, especially when supported by direct and specific examples.
— *Global engagement section*

I learned about cultural differences and the difference between being in the in-group and out-group. We must value others with different cultures to fully integrate them into our society and we should be mindful of cultural noise.
— *Global engagement section*

Allows me to fully understand the affects my words can have and how I'm able to change how I speak to more fully include others. — *Control section*

I thought that reading what people in my class consider to be offensive was interesting, because it made me realize that different people are affected by

different things, and therefore saying certain things and certain situations can be awkward or inappropriate. Everyone's cultural and familial backgrounds are very important factors in determining what people find offensive (or not). — *Control section*

The second question asked how the course's content shaped students' behavior and social choices. This question received the most diversity mentions across all of the course groupings.

The lesson we did on stereotypes probably had the most direct impact on my behavior and social choices. It made me more aware of how common certain stereotypes are in my daily life, so I try to avoid jumping to conclusions when meeting new people. — *Full treatment response*

The Privilege Walk was by far my favorite activity. I have never done that activity before, so I left class that day with a deep impression. It was interesting to realize that even though we are on all different levels or social and financial areas, we are all together at the University of Maryland learning about diversity. — *Full treatment response*

Definitely the labeling, as stated (in Question 1 response). There were so many different pictures and yet we always associated an image with a stereotype we had. — *Full treatment response*

The privilege walk activity we conducted probably made the biggest impact on me. I never really stopped to think about how different I was from my peers at this college, and I think knowing this now has helped me to become a much more well-rounded individual. — *Full treatment response*

The time we discussed racial differences made me realize how diverse this place really is. It made me feel less alone. — *Full treatment response*

These responses show how students are applying the lessons they learned from the creative engagement activities. Through them, students are realizing how their identities are similar and different from others and are developing an understanding about the different cultures on their campus. Students remark about how their opinions and behavior have been reshaped. This last response articulates the value in

addressing diversity. Ideally, addressing diversity prompts this reaction, that students realize commonalities and celebrate differences.

Students from the control sections gave these responses:

It was helpful to get to know about other cultures and what social norms are different. It was informative to understand which to be (vocal) in certain situations and when to let go. — *Global engagement section response*

The study on my Nordie's had a deep impression on me. I learned about the "invisible backpack" of privileges and was able to put myself in the shoes someone truly less privileged. — *Global engagement section response*

Understanding different cultures and social norms. Sometimes we may unintentionally hurt somebody's feelings because of our ignorance, so learning more about different cultures can prevent that from happening. — *Global engagement section response*

It made me think more carefully in what I say, as well as making me be more inclusive and open to others thoughts/cultural backgrounds. — *Control section response*

The diversity speakers have made me more aware of the words and expressions I use and how that could be taken in offense by others. — *Control section response*

Students in both the control and treatment section courses find learning about diversity is helpful to understanding their place within the overall campus community.

Question 3 indicates how the diversity components might be influencing others. Having to tell others about a lesson indicates its salience to the student and an anticipated salience to their audience. It also requires the student to articulate the content in their own way, which is a higher order of learning and cognitive processing than simply listening to a lecture or presentation or reading an article. I received responses such as the following:

The part of the course that I shared with others was the Privilege Walk. This was a very interactive activity and displayed that no matter what privileges you have had in the past, you can still get to the same place as the next person. — *Full treatment response*

The one thing I remember sharing was the stereotype activity where we wrote down typical stereotypes for different ethnic groups and read them off anonymously. I just thought it was a unique and memorable activity that illustrated how implicit biases form. I also shared some ideas from discussions such as issues pertaining to homelessness and gun control. — *Full treatment response*

Outside of class I have had conversations regarding stereotypes with my friends and peers. Because they come up so much in conversation, they are easy to discuss and analyze with the people I interact with everyday. — *Full treatment response*

I have shared my abstract self-portrait with most of my friends and family. I like this activity because it allowed me to notice all aspects of my life and portray them in one single image. I think that the portrait I created accurately reflects most of my personality and life. — *Full treatment response*

Although most of treatment section diversity responses were positive, I did receive a small percentage (2.5%) of negative comments about these activities. This response came for Question 2:

This course has not made a 'deep' impression on my behavior and social choices. It was merely a one-credit course. I felt much of the work assigned for this class was "busy work" as it did not serve a true purpose but was rather meant to fill curriculum. For example, making a self-portrait didn't help me better understand the University of Maryland. — *Full treatment response*

Certainly not all students are entering college with an equal level of knowledge about diversity. This is one of the challenges of such an assignment: to meet the different learning needs of students they are. Some will have had more conversations about diversity and other issues due to their school's curriculum, the level and kinds of dialogue friends and family have, and personal interest in the subject. Further, I was unable to measure an important aspect of the project implementation: instructor

effectiveness. Two different instructors can teach the same material with different learning and satisfaction outcomes. Although I tried to be as thorough and clear as possible during the instructor training session, key components could have been lost in the process. Negative reactions to the Sticks + Stones components such as the one above, can have more to do with the messenger than the messages.

That said, not all negative responses are seen as detrimental to the project.

One example from full treatment Question 3 responses:

I talked about the (Privilege) Walk and identity assignment with others. In talking about the Privilege Walk we did discuss some pros and cons about the assignment, but when I was sharing about the identity assignment I was more ranting and expressing my frustration about the assignment, as I did not like how it asked people to label and put people in boxes.

This student is expressing frustration about an intended outcome of the project: heightened awareness of labeling and stereotyping. This student's "ranting" shows they have understood the material and are frustrated by the way stereotyping and labeling work in society. However, I argue that just because a student doesn't like the assignment doesn't mean that it wasn't effective. As Simmel (1955, 1968) states, conflict can be productive. It can enable individuals to see and define differences, and form groups based on similarities or concepts, such as perceptions of identity differences or lack thereof. The student's conflict about overt labeling and stereotyping might make them realize how much they do it subconsciously.

Another negative response (Question 3) reflected another aspect out of my control: the diversity makeup in each class:

I have had discussions with my friends about how a class with two kids who aren't White isn't exactly the ideal place to discuss issues on diversity. Again, for other people this class might have been a very beneficial experience that caused them to think deeply about issues. However, to me it was a little silly.

In high school, I sat in a room where a quarter of the students were white, a quarter black, a quarter Asian, and a quarter Hispanic. Because of that, this just seemed like I was backtracking.

UMD promotes its high level of structural diversity, but it is not present in all classes, including this one. This student has a negative reaction not necessarily because of the activities themselves but because of a lack of diverse voices to contribute to the conversation. Both of authors of these negative comments are articulating an awakening of campus diversity in different ways.

Overall, the paper questionnaire results indicate that the Sticks + Stones activities have had a larger influence (45%) on those respondents than the control section respondents not enrolled in the global engagement (20%). In addition, these activities garner almost the same response proportionally as the control section responses with the global engagement course responses included (47%). However, the global engagement responses had a 79% rate of mention about diversity.

The results from the paper questionnaires show that the Sticks + Stones diversity activities resonate with approximately one-third (37%) of those students in a treatment section course. Only 20% of the non-global engagement control section respondents mentioned the diversity component in response to these three questions.

These results also indicate the negative attitude some have towards the course in general. Here are some examples:

It doesn't account for any credits for my major, which is business. — *Question 1 response from control course*

There really wasn't any part of this course that I found useful. Personally, I don't feel like I was benefited at all. — *Question 1 response from control course*

I do not think this course has been very helpful at all. In fact, this course has cost me the most stress out of all my classes due to the sheer number of assignments. I did not see a purpose in the assignments, as they were rather rudimentary and simplistic. In class, I did not learn anything I did not know before. — *Question 1 response from full treatment course*

Nothing in this course has been helpful. This course is pointless and a waste of time. I am OCD and being told how to do stuff is not pleasant. It should not require any longer than I have for a class that's 50 minutes long. — *Question 1 response from treatment course*

This course has made no impression. It was a waste of time when I could have been doing much more productive things on a day when I actually have four other meaningful academically based classes. — *Question 2 response from control course*

No part of this course has made an impression on my behavior and my social choices. — *Question 2 response from control course*

These students bemoan that they were made to take this course. They do not see it as useful. During the in-depth interviews, Genesis called the class “busy work” and Dustin called it a “waste of time.” For some this course is too much work for the one-credit most are receiving. They view the content being covered as unnecessary. These comments point to the lack of seriousness and negative attitude some students might have when doing course work such as the diversity assignments.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW RESULTS

Two other graduate students conducted the 2016 interviews with the then-freshmen at the end of these students' second semester at UMD. One had helped coordinate distribution of the Sticks + Stones pieces across the treatment sections. Since he had the most knowledge of the project, he interviewed the students who had been enrolled in a treatment course. The other interviewed students who had been enrolled in a

control course section. I conducted all 2019 interviews of the now-seniors, 15 of whom were also interviewed in 2016.

2016 treatment section responses

The 2016 interviews of the treatment section students included questions about their thought processes and opinions about the Sticks + Stones activities.

Students were asked questions including:

What aspects of your identity did you want to show in your self-portrait?
Were there parts of your identity that you did not want to show on your self-portrait?
How did you make decisions about what to include and what not to include?
Had you ever done an assignment like this before?
Did you like or dislike this assignment?

Self-portrait

I expected students to have to consider the different aspects of their identities, which were salient, and of those, which they wanted to share and which they did not.

However, for some students, the assignment was not something in which they invested a great amount of time or emotion. For Tom and Quinlan, for example, the assignment was not something they put a great amount of consideration. When asked what they were thinking when they were creating their self portrait they said:

What am I gonna put on this paper? That was pretty much it.
 – Tom, Male, Non-Hispanic White, Independent, Near Republican,
 Engineering major

I think mine didn't go too deep. I probably decided just do it for the grade.
 – Quinlan, female, Non-Hispanic White, American Indian or Alaska Native,
 Not Strong Democrat, Full treatment, Public Health

Quinlan doesn't invest much time in the assignment in part because the stakes weren't high enough grade-wise. The assignment deliberately said students were not being graded on artistic expertise so as to make all students, not just those who are artistically inclined, feel that they could be successful with this assignment. The downside to that approach is that students such as Quinlan didn't feel they had to invest much time and effort into completing it. Others, however, were more thoughtful when creating their self-portrait.

So, when I was making mine I was trying to focus less on I guess things that I liked because obviously I like money but, more about things that chose me versus things that I choose. So there's my nationality. I'm Nigerian, so I put the Nigerian flag on it. I sometimes wear glasses, I'm not right now, but I put glasses on it. Things that like. Things that are a part of me.

– *Jewel, female, Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Not Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major*

I was thinking words that describe you. What I did was, since I'm a pretty positive (person) ... my words were basically more attitude not characteristics sort of. And so I did a drawing of a glass half full and instead of drawing water, I wrote words in blue. And those words were mainly like that I was Greek but they were mostly positive attitude, personality words.

– *Isabelle; female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Democrat; Full Treatment; BSOS major*

I kind of thought about my major, my interest so I included some science things that I drew a little bit of mountains and hiking and things like that. I described my personality a bit. But I also kept a Jewish star on it and I drew the Jewish youth group I was involved in in high school and things like that.

– *Julia; female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major*

Well, I drew a person with an Afro just 'cause I feel like my natural hair is what people see first. Certain people have different feelings towards it. When I was growing up I feel like that's a major part of my identity. So I wanted to show that was part of me and that's the most important to me because I feel like sometimes people just come here and they just like they judge you based on your appearance. So it's just like I wanted to show that and everything that was inside.

– *Kiara; Female; black; Strong Democrat; Full Treatment; BSOS major*

These students are being deliberate about what aspects of their identity they are curating into their self-portraits. Jewel said she included aspects that she doesn't have much say over, such as her need to wear glasses and her Nigerian nationality. Although she didn't choose either, they are a part of her identity and thus are represented in her self-portrait. Isabelle also chooses to include her nationality as well as characteristics of her sense of self such as her positive attitude. Julia includes references a range of aspects of her identity: academic pursuits in terms of her major, her religious beliefs, and her preferred pastimes. Kiara is aware that her hairstyle is one of the first aspects of her identity that others see, and she embraces this in her self-portrait. She also wants others to know that there is more to her than her hair, so she includes other descriptions of herself in her portraits. These students are curating their social identities with an awareness of having an audience.³⁷ They are making deliberate choices as to how to represent themselves to the world with front stage considerations.

When asked if there were aspects they deliberately kept out of their self-portraits, I received different responses:

No, I was pretty open, even about my insecurities and stuff. I mean I put it on there because it was abstract, so no one could really tell unless I explained it, so it was fine.

– *Stephanie; female; Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Not Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Business major*

No, I actually tried to think of things (to include). It wasn't like, 'Oh gosh, I can't show that.'

– *Hannah; female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Democrat; Full treatment; BSOS major*

³⁷ The assignment said for students to be prepared to share their finished self-portrait with others. I expect students thought this meant with their classmates. They did not know in advance that their portraits would be exchanged with other classes.

I wasn't really thinking of what not to include. I just kind of put everything that I could think of in it to fill up the space.

– *Isabelle; female; Non-Hispanic white; Strong Democrat; Full Treatment; BSOS major*

Comments from Stephanie, Hannah, and Isabelle indicate they are not considering the reflected appraisal aspects of their self-portrait. They are not considering how their audiences will react nor are they curating their self-portraits for these impressions. Leslie, Nadine, Quinlan, and Blake, however, describe how they consciously keep certain information out due to this aspect.

I mean obviously like no one wants to show like deep psychological like, 'Oh yeah, I have anxiety' or something like that. But, I mean that's one thing, like my anxiety and my depression. I guess I wouldn't like to want to like put that out there.

– *Leslie; Female; Non-Hispanic white; Not strong Democrat; Full Treatment; BSOS major*

I didn't really want to show like, the negative aspects about myself. I don't know. I'm a pretty shy person, usually pretty awkward, so I kind of left those out.

– *Nadine; Female; Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Hispanic; Multiracial; Not Strong Democrat; Self-portrait; Architecture major*

My hometown is definitely very conservative. ... I brought my roommate there, and it's (not like I'm) embarrassed, but I just want to make sure people (from home) don't like say the wrong things. They are not very politically correct. ... It's just very different there. It's very country. ... There's a lot of old red necky people there so, yes, it's very different. I wanted to pick the positive traits. I'm not sure that I really want to include (my home aspect) because a lot of my home doesn't really encompass my ideas. It's definitely a lot of people here (at UMD) who did not grow up with the same like country music. Not a lot of people like country music here kind of thing. It's just ... Yeah nothing too drastic, just small things.

– *Quinlan; Female; Non-Hispanic White; American Indian or Alaska Native; Not Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major*

Nadine and Leslie describe omitting aspects of their identity that can be seen as socially undesirable on a broader scale. For Quinlan, the political and cultural

differences between her home and UMD are striking. She wants to avoid being associated with the negative reactions she anticipates the students will have of her home location and the conservative values most hold there. Although she talks about the aspects she keeps out of her self-portrait as “nothing too drastic, just small things” she also talks at length about how different people are from her hometown versus the campus community. This suggests that these differences aren’t insignificant but are potential threats to her UMD identity. Blake also talks about omitting aspects of his identity that he perceives that are in the minority at UMD:

I didn’t put like my political views or like, my religion because I didn’t (think) that was important honestly. I thought, “Well I won’t put that in there because like everybody has a different one, and just keep that out of there for this.”
 – *Blake; Male; Non-Hispanic White; Not strong Republican; Full Treatment; Business major*

Blake anticipates that his conservative Catholic views might be different from others. He simultaneously downplays these aspects of his identity as unimportant and yet they were salient enough for him to remember omitting. He says the omission insignificant but also hints at the disharmony it might create, which suggests otherwise. Both he and Quinlan downplay omitting important but potentially divergent aspects of their identity from their self-portraits. They want to avoid the discord that might arise due to their different political and religious identities. The students create their self-portraits during their first few weeks on campus, and even within this short timespan they already have a sense of what seems to be socially acceptable and inappropriate. Some curate their portraits’ content accordingly.

Kiara, who included an Afro in her portrait, anticipates that race will be an aspect of her identity that will make others uncomfortable. She doesn't omit this from her portrait, but in her mind, she downplays this aspect of her identity.

It's just the topic of race I guess, how race played an influence in my background. Some people don't like talking about that and you can see that it makes people uncomfortable to talk about, like different inequalities in people. So it's just like trying to avoid that.

– *Kiara; Female; Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Strong Democrat; Full Treatment; BSOS major*

Kiara called her race a “major part” of her identity. She wanted to feature more aspects of being Black, but she anticipates the tension that will cause and leaves them out.

Some students mention the ways their identity matches with or diverges from what they perceive to be the majority views on campus. They create their self-portraits in ways that play up aspects that will be regarded positively by their peers and minimize the friction that their identity differences might create. They edit their self-portraits' content to show the aspects of themselves that are as consistent with majority campus values as much as possible.

When asked if the assignment was difficult to complete, three said yes, three thought parts but not all of it were, and 10 said it was not hard. Twelve said they liked the assignment, and four said they either disliked or were neutral about it. One of the aspects students liked was that it was an unexpected way to consider their identities:

I think it's a cool assignment. (It) makes you be creative and makes you think about yourself and your personality a lot.

– *Wyatt; Male; Asian or Asian American; Not Strong Democrat; Full treatment; CMNS major*

In the end I liked it because it really made me think (about my identity). ... That's not something I would just sit down and think about, so it gave me

some time to think about like what makes me and stuff like that. And it was cool seeing other peoples' things, too.

— *Blake; Male; Non-Hispanic White; Not strong Republican; Full Treatment; Business major*

Some students who said they were neutral or disliked the assignment for themselves but that they appreciated the opportunity to learn more about their classmates through the self-portraits.

I mean it was kind of like busy work, but it was interesting once everyone presented to kind of see a little bit about themselves.

— *Quinlan; Female; Non-Hispanic White; American Indian or Alaska Native; Not Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major*

Labeling and stereotyping process

We then asked about their thoughts on the self-portrait labeling process. Many students commented on how either they or their classmates did not take the self-portrait making nor the labeling activity seriously. They were pressed for time to add their labels to each self-portrait, which contributed to this. As a result, the process did not make them think that deeply about the identities of the self-portrait authors. As Hannah said, "I feel like it wasn't like, 'Oh, I'm going to lie,' but I don't think it was like, 'I'm really going to take this to heart and look at it.' "

In addition, students struggled to decipher their peers' self-portraits. Sarah described it this way:

Some of them were fun to label. I think it depended because I would literally have no idea what to say about something. 'Confusing,' that's what I would put down. Some of them just don't make any sense, but I guess it makes sense to the person that made it, and that's the point."

— *Sarah; Female; Non-Hispanic White; Independent, Near Republican; Full treatment; Journalism major*

She still respects the authorship of the self-portrait, even if it doesn't make sense to her. When they were uncertain of what to write, some students said they would take cues from their classmates who had already added their labels to the portrait list.

I thought it was interesting, reading what everyone else was writing, too because we were passing (the portraits and labels) around the classroom. So you would get it and you would see what the people in front of your wrote. Then you would kind of write on it. I think at first the first few I was like really hesitant about what I was writing and didn't really know what to make of it. And as it kept going a lot of it was just like repetitive. I (would) ... get ideas from other people and base it off of that. But I think some of them were like uncomfortable to necessarily say out explicitly (what they thought).

— Julia; female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major

When asked if these two exercises made an impact on the people they spend time with or the programs or organizations they are involved with on campus, most students said no. Of the 16 2016 treatment section interviewees, 10 said the self-portrait and labeling had no impact on their views of diversity. Kiara gave a more nuanced answer:

I don't think so. In the class I was talking to a lot of people. It kind of opened my eyes to how people may perceive me, but it didn't make me treat them differently. ... There's definitely organizations that I don't go to simply because I am Black. I don't think that's in relation to the portrait. It's understanding that people have different labels here, and I don't want them to associate me with those labels.

— Kiara; Female; Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Strong Democrat; Full Treatment; BSOS major

The labeling process made her realize the ways her campus peers might negatively perceive her due to her race. Kiara, a Black female from a full treatment course section, put it this way: "In my view I don't think it really had an impact. It was just an assignment, and that day I was, 'Oh, okay that was kind of deep,' but then after

that I don't think it had an impact." Kiara brings up a key aspect that is missing from this effort: continuity of diversity training efforts. One instance of diversity training activities is not enough to counteract the persistence of racism and stereotyping, something I will address more of in the following pages. Kiara does, however, think it has had an impact on the way she is perceived. She said, "It kind of opened my eyes to how people may perceive me, but it didn't make me treat them differently."

When I re-interviewed Kiara in 2019, I asked generally if there was a campus-related course, assignment, event or activity that prompted her to re-evaluate the way she views others. She answered,

There was a panel of people talking about diversity on campus. What they were trying to get to was how can we fix the (campus) community (to be more respectful and inclusive). I appreciated what it was supposed to do, but what was being said didn't really seem productive, and it just made me reevaluate if people really wanted that on campus.

However, Jewel and Quinlan were two of the six who said the self-portrait and labeling had a positive impact. They remarked on how the activities mainly influenced how they viewed their classmates:

I think it had a positive impact because it definitely like opened my eyes to the people sitting next to me. I didn't really know much about them. It was interesting to see where they came from or even these posters that we didn't know how they could come up with this stuff.

– *Quinlan; Female; Non-Hispanic White; American Indian or Alaska Native; Not Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major*

I think it kind of had a positive effect because at one point, when the portraits were handed back to us, we could kind of see who had what. ... At this point we had spent pretty much the whole semester getting to know the class, so seeing how their portraits either confirmed what we thought about the person versus if it was something completely different. I remember this one girl, she seemed kind of ditzy, you know. ... She was so nice, but sometimes ... some of the stuff she would say (didn't make sense). ... But then she had this really, really cool drawing. It was so cool. ... So with that I was like, 'Wow, she's

very, very talented artistically.' So it was kind of like when you jump to conclusions, sometimes it isn't what you thought about her.

–Jewel; Female; Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Not Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major

For some the self-portrait became a means of creating cultural capital and added another aspect to their identity. For most, however, these activities do not make an impact on students' views of diversity.

Privilege Walk

In 2016 the treatment-section students were next asked for their reactions to the Privilege Walk. Nine out of the 16 found it to have a positive influence on their views of diversity, three said it did not have an impact and the other four either were in sections that did not complete the activity or were absent the day it was assigned. And although only two said it had influenced who they spend time with or the groups they are involved with on campus, nine said it had some sort of influence on they interact with friends and their level of consciousness about what people say to others.

It showed me that even if people present themselves a certain way, you don't really know what's going on in their lives, and it's not fair to assume. (An examples of this is when) I had this one friend that I thought was really wealthy because she had a lot of nice things, and then it turns out that, like, she wasn't super wealthy and that she just liked to buy nice things to make herself feel better about her situation.

– Molly; Female; Non-Hispanic White; Not strong Republican; Full treatment; Business major

I guess it kind of just gives me more awareness of like, what to say and what not to say sometimes. There are certain questions that are off-limits or certain questions that I wouldn't ask certain people just because now I know they're in that situation. I'm way more privileged than they are, so I can't say this. Sometimes my friends and I might talk about our financial aids, aid package or something, like, 'Oh, man I only got this much,' or like, 'Oh, man, I have to struggle to pay for this.' But I really cannot complain compared to a lot of

people on this campus, that's what I realized. So I should stop acting like I have it so hard, because I really don't.

— *Nadine; Female; Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Hispanic; Multiracial; Not Strong Democrat; Self-portrait; Architecture major*

The privilege Walk also made Nadine realized an assumption of campus that was not necessarily true:

I'd say that it gave me a more positive view of diversity, especially here on campus. Sometimes I'm kind of cynical about this. Aren't universities accepting people of a certain socioeconomic background? I tend to think that they mostly accept people that can pay for it because they're a university and they're making money. But it kind of disproved (that to) me, the walk, a little bit.

The information she gained from this activity influenced the ways she speaks of and views her privilege as well as the way she views this university.

When asked about the overall Sticks + Stones activities, 12 of the 16 students said they had a positive reaction to these assignments. They enjoyed the creative aspect of the self-portraits and the specific comparative aspects of the privilege walk.

I enjoyed the artistic aspect of making the self-portrait. Kind of just thinking, you know? I like organizing my life, so it's kind of putting it on paper. I liked the discussions that followed the activities. That's what I liked. And I think that it helped our class become closer.

— *Sarah; Female; Non-Hispanic White; Independent, Near Republican; Full treatment; Journalism major*

I would say my favorite part of it was the (self-portrait) drawing, just because it's what I like to do. That kind of made it really fun, for me at least. But I'd say like the most insightful one was the (Privilege Walk), definitely. Just, kind of opened my eyes to all the different people.

— *Nadine; Female; Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American; Hispanic; Multiracial; Not Strong Democrat; Self-portrait; Architecture major*

Listening to like other people talk about my hometown and definitely the Privilege Walk struck to the point where I talked to my friends from home about it. I was like, 'Whoa, we did this Privilege Walk (that) we used to do at home and it actually worked this time. You actually saw the difference. (I told them) what they said about the area I'm from and things like that'. So like it

definitely like was something that was monumental in that whole semester that I brought it up to other people. I thought it was important. I liked it. I think it was one of my favorite classes at UNIV just because I actually like felt like I was like learning from my peers like that.

— *Julia; Female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Democrat; Full treatment; Public Health major*

The Privilege Walk with its specific prompts and more comparative aspects made for a more meaningful diversity activity. Julia, who had done this before with her friends at home but had not seen much disparity, now saw it when she did it in her UMD class. She calls the understanding she received from it “monumental.”

That said, not all students responded positive to it. Nate’s control section also conducted the Privilege Walk. But he didn’t like that he was being singled out for things that he perceived to be largely out of his control:

(sigh) I honestly didn’t enjoy (the Privilege Walk) that much. I mean, I don’t want to say it’s calling people out. I mean, I don’t really get embarrassed easily. But for that walk, you can’t help that either you went to a private school or you didn’t. You know what I mean? That’s not a 20-year-old’s fault. If I was teaching the class, I probably wouldn’t do that. But that’s just me. I wasn’t offended by it, but I just wouldn’t do it.

— *Nate; Male; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Republican; Control; Business major*

2016 control section responses

For the 2016 interviewees from the control course sections, we asked if they remembered talking about diversity in their UNIV100 course. Of those, a little more than one-third (37%) said they could not recall diversity content from that course.

I remember overall the class being a lovely effort by the university, but not really succeeding at all. I know that diversity and racial diversity was mentioned, but I don’t really know if we ever did like any real activities with it. I’m not sure... There was maybe a mention of it, but nothing really specific.

— *Annette; Female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Republican; Control; Business and BSOS major*

That class taught me a lot about campus life and how to get involved, so I really appreciated that. I do not remember talking about diversity in that class. I mean we mostly talked about sustainability or like stuff like that. Not really about diversity I don't think."

– Michelle; Female; Asian; Independent; Control; Engineering major

The students remember some aspects about the course, but not the diversity unit. Of the 12 who did remember the diversity content, about half (42%) said they remembered either the Privilege Walk or a variant of that exercise.³⁸ Some students, such as Olivia, had only a vague recollection of the diversity component.

I don't remember exactly what we did, but I know we did some of the diversity activities. But it was fun because you got to learn about other cultures, and I personally liked that.

– Olivia; Female; Asian or Asian American; Not Strong Democrat; Control; CMNS major

Others remembered it well. Paula only remembers participating in the Privilege Walk Circle³⁹ in her class.

Like I said, I think we only had one class on it. I think it was fine. I mean they could add a little bit more, but I think the one class, it really just showed that that's something that we should think about and have on campus.

– Paula; female; Non-Hispanic White; Not Strong Democrat; Control; CMNS and BSOS major

Paula doesn't believe more information or discussions about diversity are necessary.

The course letting her know diversity was something she should "think about" and be a part of campus, but she can't articulate the value of diversity beyond that.

³⁸ The instructors, not myself, choose the diversity unit curricula for the control sections. Two of the sections did the Privilege Walk assignment. The other three did a version where students step into the middle of a circle to symbolize a yes answer to the privilege prompts. The students step back out of the circle before the next question is asked. For this exercise, privilege disparities are compared in moments rather than in an accumulated physical distance.

³⁹ The Privilege Walk Circle is an alternative way to conduct the Privilege Walk content. Instead moving back and forth in a line after each question and then seeing the accumulation at the end, the Circle exercise has people form a large circle and then take a step into its center if they answer yes to a prompt. They step back to their place in the outer ring before the next question is called.

Belinda's class did the Privilege Walk, which she found effective.

So, I'll focus on the Privilege Walk because that's the one I recall the most. I definitely enjoyed that activity. I think it allows for openness and for people to be honest and recognize that they're not the only ones who have dealt with an obstacle in their life, that other people have gone through the same thing with them, and I think an activity like this allows for opportunity once it's over because people recognize that others have gone through the same thing with them and once the activity's over they can walk away and connect with this person and ask them questions.

– *Belinda; Female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Republican; Control; BSOS major*

Within little over one semester, the students have forgotten specifics about the assignment or activity. This indicates the lack of salience about the diversity components used in these course sections. These activities were not enough to change most of the students' views of diversity nor their place on campus. Raven, however, is one exception.

When I re-interviewed Raven in 2019, I asked if there had been a class, a course assignment, an activity or an event that had changed the ways she viewed herself or her future. She said,

In University 100 we talked about diversity. I remember we did the Privilege Walk. I will never forget that because I was at the back, all the way in the back (at the end). I will never forget that. That's something that stuck out to me. I think that was one of the first moments where I felt like, 'Huh, maybe I don't belong at UMD.' But I stuck around.

Raven alludes to other moments that also made her feel as if she didn't belong as well as the possibility she might leave UMD. She stayed rather than transferred. I probed as to what it was about this exercise that made her feel this way. She said,

I know some people didn't realize their level of privilege in relation to other people, because they've just always grown up with that, which is fine. I think for me, one thing that I had to understand is that nobody picks the family

they're born into. Nobody picks what race they are. Nobody picks any of that, so that was definitely ... There was like that whole conversation.

When I asked her how long she felt like she didn't belong on campus after the Privilege Walk, she said,

I mean, it got to me, but I'm still thinking about it, bringing it up three years later. I would say probably my entire freshman year I felt that way. And I think I took that class in fall semester. So it means, that like carried over with me to the spring semester, like that thought.

The negative impact of the Privilege Walk has been with Raven throughout almost her entire undergraduate career. When I asked Raven what her expectations of college and UMD were before she started school here, she said she expected to fit in. She didn't seriously consider attending other schools.

I definitely thought I would fit in to the Maryland community pretty easily because I am from this area, that's a big thing that I thought. I'm from PG County, I lived here my whole life. So, Maryland has always been right here. I've always driven past the school. And that's what made me apply, I was like, 'Why not?' So I felt like I would just fit in, right?, with the school.
— *Raven; Female; Black; Strong Democrat; Control; CMNS major*

But the Privilege Walk was one experience that changed that for her. When she realized she wasn't as privileged by far as her classmates, she questioned whether she belonged on campus. This doubt lingers still even in her senior year.

Raven has one of the more extreme reactions to the Privilege Walk. Two criticisms of diversity training are that they can backfire both in terms of creating more prejudice rather than reducing it for majority populations and making minority populations feel even more marginalized, as is the case here.

2019 interviews

The 2019 interviews took place during the beginning of what was for most, their final semester as an undergraduate. I asked all of the students if they remember talking about issues of diversity or having any assignments related to diversity in their classes. Seven of the 27 students could not remember learning or talking about diversity in any of their UMD courses. Of the 20 who did remember diversity content, seven could only name one course that included this content. Roughly half (52%) of the 2019 interviewees did not get this count or could not remember this content beyond one course out of a minimum of 120 credits they must earn to graduate. This means either the content was missing or the instruction was ineffective at creating lasting memories.

Of the students who did remember discussing diversity, many described semester-long courses focused on the topic such as African American studies, sociology, psychology, and women's studies. For example, Renee said:

I took an American studies class and for me, that was one of the most interesting classes I've taken on campus, compared to like, you know, the boring science classes. ... Every class (meeting) was talking about a hard topic, whether that be race, religion, intersectionality, stuff like that that people don't usually talk about as much or are scared to talk about. That was definitely talked about and discussed heavily. And it was refreshing to see that and see all the diversity of people in that class and also the diversity of ideas.
 – Renee, Female, Foreign, Independent, Control, pre-med

Others said that their major disciplines such as biology, chemistry, computer science, and business contained very little diversity content.

I think it might be because of my major, because most of my classes are science-related, but I can't think of any. I took an art history class. At one point, I think, we had one discussion where we talked about it a little bit, but I can't really remember another time when like it was really a diverse thing that we were talking about in class. We were talking about everyone's cultural diversity.
 – Keith, Male, Non-Hispanic White, Other party, full treatment

Seven of the 27 seniors, however, mentioned the diversity content in their UNIV100 course. Three were from control sections, including one student who was enrolled in global living-learning course. The other four students were all from full-treatment courses and all mentioned the Privilege Walk. Of the 14 treatment students who were interviewed, none mentioned the self-portrait or labeling process for this question without prompting.

One particular assignment I remember was in my (names class). We did a Privilege (Walk)? Something where, as a whole class, they asked us a lot of different question, like, 'Do you have your own car? Do you have a disability?' Different things like that and then the people who had the least opportunities were in the back and the people with the most were in the front, which was kind of heavy, but I really liked that a lot.

– *Leslie, Female, Non-Hispanic White, Not strong Democrat, BSOS major, full treatment*

When I asked Leslie why she liked the activity, she said: "It was more interactive. So I feel like in a lot of classes we've gotten readings on things, but not necessarily done class dialog as much. Or had to reflect on it. ...It's like, "Read this article.' " The exercise is memorable partly because it involves physical movement and incorporated a meaningful discussion afterward. She goes on to talk about how in other classes she is asked to read an article and reflect on it individually. She appreciates hearing from others and seeing how their experiences of privilege have been different.

As time permitted at the end of the 2019 interviews, I asked the treatment-section students what they could remember about these diversity activities. Of the 12 I asked, nine described their self-portrait and the classroom activities related to it in some detail. Two others vaguely remembered the self-portrait but talked more

specifically about the Privilege Walk. The one student who did not remember any of these activities was absent from class the day these components were covered.⁴⁰

I probed for what aspects of those activities they remembered, such as if they could recall what their self-portrait looked like, the reactions of their classmates and any lasting impressions of the activities overall. Ruth was enrolled in one of the sections that did the self-portrait and labeling but not the Privilege Walk. When I asked her if she remembered making her self-portrait, she said, “Yeah, I put a lot of work in that.” As we are talking she remembers she has taken a picture of it with her phone. As she scrolls through the images on her phone she says, “I don’t think I would have deleted because I used Photoshop and it took forever.” She finds it and shows it to me. Three and a half years later, she still has the picture of her self-portrait on her phone.

Her description of her self-portrait reveals how seriously she took the assignment:

It was a suit of armor on a black and white background and a castle. There was like a road that went up to the castle. I filled it with text of all the things I believed. It’s dorky, but I still like it. You would see things (that are a part of her life.) They’re very black and white. Having armor on, you need (it) to be not just a conservative here, but a journalist anywhere. I don’t know. And I’m old-fashioned, so I think a castle in my journey and the knights, though is cool.

Ruth is a double major, one of which is journalism. She identifies as a strong Republican and as an evangelical Christian. Within the first eight weeks of her time on campus she realized she needed figurative armor due to the contrast of her conservative religious and political views versus others on campus. Her portrait is

⁴⁰ He was also interviewed in freshman year. When asked about these activities during that interview wave, he said he had not attended class that day.

encoded with how she feels the campus regards her and what she feels she has to do to protect herself and her identity. When asked if she remembered any conversations related to these activities, she said,

I think they did engage in things because I heard people talking about my poster. And I thought it was cool, because they were picking up on some of the things that I had done. ... We never revealed whose was whose, so we never got to discuss it with (classmates). And I don't think I would have anyway, because I wasn't really friends with anyone (in the class). But, I just thought it was fun.

Her classmates are deciphering the messages she included in her self-portrait, which she finds this satisfying. During the interview, Ruth frequently mentioned that she feels like a pariah on this campus because of her strong politically and religious conservative identities. She regrets that she didn't make more friends at UMD, but she did not feel her peers nor the campus environment was receptive to these identities. The self-portrait, however, was a non-confrontational way of expressing these aspects about herself.

Earlier in the interview, I ask Ruth if she had taken a course that addressed diversity. She lists the UNIV100 course along with three others. "I was forced to take some classes through my (limited-enrollment program). They always tried to hammer down diversity." Ruth does not have a positive reaction to the way diversity has been addressed in this program nor that she is required to take courses related to this subject. She feels it has been forced upon her. The self-portrait, however, was a non-aggressive way to talk about diversity.

Leslie also said she enjoyed these assignments.

I really liked those assignments. I don't, obviously, remember everything, but I do think that there was a lot of like good conversation. And I think, too, with

the Privilege Walk, people took it seriously. And I think that (the self-portrait) was a good assignment, too, because it's almost like you don't need like a lot of words to talk about it, but I mean we did talk about it afterwards. I remember people saying like, 'Wow, I didn't realize like how many different layers to different privileges are' because sometimes it can be like a one-dimensional conversation, just seeing how many different things can affect how like easy it is for you to live your life. And I really liked the self-portrait thing, too, ... just like making it. And then I think we switched them around or something and looked at other people's. Yeah, I really liked those. I think, I think the majority of people in the class really took it seriously and liked it.

When I asked her how she would describe herself, Leslie said, "athlete, Christian, woman." She doesn't call herself creative or an artist, but when talking about the self-portrait, she said, "I have an artsy side, too." When describing what she thought when she received the assignment, she said,

Great. I can do this. I know some people were like, 'Wait, what is this supposed to look like?' I think also, too, it would be probably a slightly different assignment if you were just making it for yourself, because it's what parts of my identity do I want to show other people to see? So I think that was probably the most thought-provoking part of the assignment.

For Leslie, the reflected appraisal process aspect makes the assignment interesting. She also realizes the different ways her portrait and others could be interpreted. She admits to editing the content as well as deliberately choosing imagery that is obscure. She, as the creator, knows what she is referencing, but others might not. She likes this aspect of the assignment.

It's like a mental struggle. You can put a picture that represents (something) to you and then people can just interpret that. But it's also too, not knowing how other people are going to interpret what you have on your (self-portrait) because if they have all their own experiences. They are probably going to interpret things differently.

— *Leslie; Female; Non-Hispanic white; Not strong Democrat; Full Treatment; BSOS major*

Leslie is not an art major, but she understands how the interpretive process of art works. She embraces this for her self-portrait. She anticipates the ways her peers might judge her portrait and edits her content accordingly.

Isabelle said she, too, enjoyed the self-portrait project. “I liked it. I had fun making it. I definitely (included) definitions of myself. I don’t think I included anything political, they were more like, character traits and things I like to do.” When I asked if she deliberately left out political aspects to avoid controversy, she said, “No, it just like (what) wasn’t fun. A lot has happened in the past four years, and freshman year it wasn’t really as big of a deal, I think.” Isabelle identifies as a strong Democrat. She acknowledges how the potential comfort of talking about political identities is much different in her senior year and in her freshman year.

Both Isabelle and Leslie have put a fair amount of consideration into the content of their self-portraits, but others, such as Ashley, did not. She said,

The self-portrait, I think was just like a fun thing. ... I feel like it was pretty surface-y. When I was doing mine, I just kind of threw something together, honestly maybe an hour before class started. I don’t think anybody got into any real intellectual discussion about it. I feel like I remember there was a pretty significant discussion about stereotypes because there were a lot of self-portraits that all of us said the same things about.

The Privilege Walk for her is another story.

The Privilege Walk honestly was interesting because I think at the point that we did it, during the semester, there was like five of us who were the best friends in the class, and doing the Privilege Walk, I learned stuff about them that I didn’t know. Granted I’d known these people maybe two months of my life, so I don’t know why I expected that I would know that stuff. So that was interesting. Privilege Walk was interesting for sure. And people took it really seriously because of my teacher. We had a pretty good class dynamic, so everybody took it seriously.

— Ashley; Female; Non-Hispanic White; Strong Republican; Full Treatment; BSOS major

Ashley and her classmates take the labeling and Privilege Walk seriously, in part because her teacher set the right tone. They didn't take the self-portrait as seriously, but she learns things about her friends that she didn't know. She is still good friends with them in her senior year.

Blake also said he remembers his classmates taking the Privilege Walk seriously. He didn't remember what his self-portrait looked like, but he did remember the labeling. He said, "It was kind of eye opening, for sure. In general, you don't like to see stereotypes being a thing." He felt like his classmates were being honest and open. When I asked him if he was surprised about where he ended up in the Privilege Walk, he said,

I already knew I was, in general, fairly privileged, but it was tough to see where other people (ended up) because they don't really show that when you're having a regular conversation. But then to see where they were actually from, I thought it was it was cool, but it was sad, too, because not everybody's given the same situation, the same stuff to work with. ... It was, like a diverse group of people, and it just gave me a different perspective, right off the bat.
— *Blake; Male; Non-Hispanic White; Not strong Republican; Full Treatment; Business major*

Blake knew he was privileged before doing this activity, but what he didn't realize was how underprivileged others were. His classmates were diverse, which helped him gain insights into what others had to overcome prior to college and how he thinks about his place within the UMD community from his freshman year forward.

These students can recall a fair degree of detail about at least one or more of these activities three-and one-half years later, which indicates at least some degree of salience. For seven other students who remembered addressing diversity with an

assignment other than the privilege walk or a variant of it, two recalled a guest speaker coming in to talk about their experiences of being a diverse other. The other five were unable to describe the specifics of the diversity components beyond remembering conversations about the topic.

Online survey results

The online survey asked a variety of questions about diversity, feelings of belonging on campus and closeness to racial others, the results of which are described in Chapter 3. I also analyzed this data to see if there were differences in responses between students enrolled in the control sections versus those who completed these creative engagement activities. I compared results between the first survey, which was conducted at the beginning of their freshman year, and the second survey, which was conducted at the end of their first semester, the first and third survey, which was conducted at the end of their freshman year, and the first and sixth survey, which was conducted in the last semester of their senior year. None of these results was statistically significant either positively or negatively. Statistically speaking these creative engagement diversity activities did not have notable difference on students' social identity development nor opinions about diversity.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter offers an in-depth view into how creative engagement diversity activities might foster cross-racial interaction and shape opinions about diversity. I expected this series of activities—the creation of an abstract self-portrait, labeling and

stereotyping the people represented in others' portraits, performing the Privilege Walk, an empirical presentation about stereotypes and bias, and a peer-to-peer discussion about all of these—to prompt a reduction in prejudice and more positive opinions of diversity and diverse others. This expectation was not satisfied based on analysis of the online survey results. However, results from the paper questionnaire and the in-depth interviews indicate these activities have salience in some regards. In this conclusion I will outline the sociological connections and their implications as well as identity shortcomings and areas for future research.

Creative engagement components

Self-portraits

Our cultural understandings of our selves and others shape how we present ourselves and interact with others (Cooley 1902; Mead 1934; Stryker 1968, 1977). Students talk about how these understandings shaped their self-portrait construction. Jewel, Isabelle, and Kiara thoughtfully curate what information they include and exclude from their self-portrait, mindful of the socially expected norms to which they might conform or thwart. Others talk about deliberately leaving out information that might yield a negative reaction from their peers such as anxiety (Leslie), rural hometowns (Quinlan), and conservative religious or political views (Blake). These portraits are their front stage presentations of self. They anticipate their peers' reflected appraisals and construct their imagery accordingly.

Not all students, such as Tim and Quinlan, take the assignment seriously. Ashley said she “threw something together” about an hour before it was due. This not

only minimizes the impact this creative process can have on these students, but it also limits the information others students can use in the labeling and stereotyping component. However, the self-portrait can be an effective, non-confrontational way for students to express their identity and for prompting discussions. Ruth, who identifies as a strong religious and political conservative, feels that she does not fit in on campus nor feel that her views are respected. She overhears her classroom peers talking about her portrait and understanding her approach, which makes her feel heard. Further, art is a mode of expression some students enjoy. Kiara and Ashley, neither of which are majoring in art, both talk about the pleasure they have for an assignment that calls upon their artistic skills. It is a welcomed change from the more academic reading and writing assignments they receive.

Labeling and stereotyping

I expected this “collapse” of front stage into backstage thoughts and identities (Goffman 1059) to have more of an impact on students. The labeling process is meant to reveal the positive and negative ways students consider different identities. However, students such as Hannah and Sarah feel rushed and don’t take the amount of consideration I intended when they add their descriptions about these self-portraits. Also, students feel their peers do not take this process seriously. Most students say neither this nor the self-portrait making influences with whom they spend time or the campus programs or organizations in which they are involved.

Privilege Walk

The Privilege Walk is a performance of relative deprivation (Pettigrew 2016). Students see how advantages and disadvantages play out spatially. For students such as Nadine and Belinda it is an awakening. They did not realize such socioeconomic differences were present among their classmates. Julia also gained a tremendous amount of insight from it. She had participated in the Privilege Walk before but with her similarly advantaged peers. Suddenly she sees the differences, calling it “monumental.”

For Kiara, on the other hand, the activity prompts her to question if she belongs on this campus. She had assumed she would feel like a Terp before she became one, even to the point that she didn’t really consider other colleges. Her feelings of alienation linger through her senior year.

UNIV100 limitations

Some students believe UNIV100 does not impart the most important content. For example, Dustin and Genesis don’t feel it is the best use of their time. This leads to students such as Ashley not taking the self-portrait assignment seriously. In addition, I had instructed that the teachers not grade the assignment on artistic ability but on completion. I did this to remove the barriers non-artistic students might have felt to completing their self-portraits. An inadvertent consequence of this is that some students might have invested less time in the assignment because they knew they just had to turn something in. Further, there was not sufficient time to include critical making approaches or aesthetic values in the assignment, as is often the case with studio art course assignments. By removing these barriers I potentially also removed incentives or clarity on what would make a well-constructed self-portrait.

In addition, the academic content of the UNIV100 courses is cut-and-dry and fairly straightforward. Assignments and lectures are geared toward teaching students practical skills such as how to register for courses, how to use the library, and good study habits. The introspective emotional work required of learning about diversity through these activities is unexpected. The result is that students such as Kiara talk about the lack of impact they make. She wasn't expecting anything that "deep" in the course. Although the UNIV100 course was a good container for these activities in many respects, it also potentially produced limitations to their impact.

Other limitations

One consideration for why these activities were not more successful could be due to the impact of the events described in Chapter 4. Hate crimes, racially motivated murders, and lack of prompt and clear responses from campus administration can minimize or negate students' positive reactions to diversity initiatives. Although university officials such as President Loh talk about the value and commitment they have to supporting diverse populations, many students do not feel this is the case because of a lack of action and appropriate response to these events. This perceived lack of caring can filter down to students' commitment to diverse others. Further, when higher ranking officials, such as the U.S. President, stir hate rhetoric and seemingly support White supremacy, it makes deconstructing centuries-old structural racism, bias, and discrimination even more challenging.

Overall responses

The paper questionnaire results show that all of these activities resonated to some degree with students. Approximately half (45%) of the students enrolled in a full treatment course section mentioned one or more aspects of these activities in these results whereas approximately 20% of the students in a control section, not including global engagement course, mentioned their diversity components. The global engagement course yielded a much higher response rate (79%), which is to be expected given the focus of the course and the number and ways the course addresses diversity.

For the 2016 interviewees from the control course sections, a little more than one-third (37%) said they could not recall any diversity content from that course. The students remember aspects about the course, but not the diversity unit. Of the 12 who did remember the diversity content, about half (42%) said they remembered either the Privilege Walk or a variant of that exercise. Some students, such as Olivia, had only a vague recollection of the diversity component. In contrast, approximately 75% of the 2019 treatment section interviewees remembered the creative engagement activities as well as theirs and their peers' reactions to them. They could describe some or all of the components in detail more than three years later after the activities concluded. This indicates a higher degree of salience of these activities versus those used in the control section courses.

Taken together, these results show that creative engagement can be an effective way of addressing issues of diversity with students. However, structural racism, bias and discrimination requires more than just one day of class in one course in one semester during a students' four-year undergraduate career, especially when

the racial and political environment is plagued by hate crimes and events of discrimination. More than half of the students I interviewed in 2019 said they could not remember diversity being addressed in more than one of their classes. Half of those students could not remember diversity being addressed in any of their courses. For a university that places emphasis on its structural diversity, the curricular content to reinforce and amplify the importance of this is lacking for many. The Sticks + Stones activities, despite their multimodal and non-confrontational approaches to addressing diversity, were not enough to prompt lasting change with this cohort. Recommendations for future research include repeating these activities in concert with other diversity and inclusion efforts and clear, action-based support from the campus administration, faculty and staff. Learning about diversity should happen at multiple stages throughout students' undergraduate careers.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This project started as an exploration of what impact a distinct set of diversity training activities using creative engagement might have. I sought to see if these activities, the foundation of an iterative project called Sticks + Stones, could make a difference in the opinions, identities, and experiences of the students during their time on a structurally diverse campus. These activities have seven components: The first is an abstract self-portrait assignment. Students are prompted to consider the identities of their past, present, and future selves as content for this visualization. The assignment is a visual exercise in the reflected appraisal process (Rosenberg 1986). The self-portraits are then exchanged with those of another class. Students anonymously label and stereotype the people depicted, revealing backstage thoughts (Goffman 1959) about ingroup and group members' identities (Tajfel and Turner 1979). The categories or labels we assign to ourselves and others influence with whom we interact and our behaviors within those interactions (Callero 2014). This labeling and stereotyping process manipulates these identity categorizations by making make overt what is often covert. Further, identifying and deconstructing the destructive aspects of these categorizations offers an opportunity to reduce the power of those terms. Students next perform the Privilege Walk, an embodiment of relative deprivation (Pettigrew 2016, Vanneman and Pettigrew 1972). Instructors then give a presentation

of empirical sociological information about how stereotypes, bias, and prejudice operate in society and the real-world consequences of the social constructions we form of our and others' identities. Thoughts, reactions to, and materials from these four components are discussed with classroom peers and become the focus of a written reflection assignment. Students were also encouraged, but not required, to attend additional on-campus diversity discussion events.

To capture any changes in opinions and identities due to these activities, I employed mixed method approach: a two-wave web-based survey, a three-item paper questionnaire, and one-on-one semi-structured interviews with participating students at the end of their freshman and senior years. What I didn't anticipate would be that the freshman waves of the interviews and online survey would establish the "pre" aspects students opinions and identities before their campus would be associated with a police brutality incident against Blacks students; the stabbing death of a visiting Black student by a UMD student with White nationalist ties; a noose being found in a Greek fraternity; multiple incidents of White nationalist flyers being posted; images of Terps wearing blackface in old yearbook photos; or the preventable death of a Black UMD football who died from heat exhaustion.

These Generation Z students are also attending college during a time when a White man, who bragged about grabbing women by the pussy, called African nations "shithole countries," and said Mexican immigrants Mexican immigrants are criminals, "rapists" and "people that have lots of problems," will be elected to the U.S. Presidential office that had just been held by the first Black man. In addition, White supremacists will march on another university campus one state away, immigrants

from certain Muslim-majority countries will be banned from entering the country, #LivingWhileBlack will become a necessary hash tag, an Alabama newspaper editor will proclaim it is time for the Ku Klux Klan to ride again, and a White supremacist will kill at least 50 people at two different Mosques in New Zealand. The swirl of racial hate on campus and beyond turns into a series of tornados.

My findings about this cohort, captured by these methods, both support and negate related sociological theories. Social identity theorists say ingroups tend to prefer ingroups and judge outgroups more harshly. Approximately half (47%) interviewees said they were expecting or had chosen UMD *because* of its structural diversity. They chose to be proximate to outgroup, negating one of the main components of social identity theory: that individuals prefer ingroup to outgroup members (e.g. Callero 2014; Ferguson and Kelly 1964; Skinner and Stephenson 1981; Tajfel *et al.* 1971; Turner 1981, 1985). Most, but not all, of the non-Hispanic Whites say they want to have interactions and even develop friendships with outgroup members. Many talk of coming from homogeneous high schools, and they look forward to the heterogeneity of UMD's campus.

A key distinction is that Blacks and other minority students say they are attending this university not to be among outgroup members, but to among ingroup members. They seek a campus with plenty of others who share their racial and ethnic identities and the cultural practices and understanding about the experiences that come with those identities. They are not interested in only interacting with ingroups, but they also do not want to be the token representatives for their groups in classes and other campus spaces. They are disappointed when the reality of UMD's structural

diversity does not meet their expectations.

In addition, Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analysis of 713 independent samples from 515 studies found that in most instances intergroup contact reduces intergroup prejudice. Granted, not all of the studies reduced prejudice, but their findings were so strong that they expanded this intergroup prejudice reduction beyond racial and ethnic identities and proposed that Allport's contact theory is even stronger than first assumed. I expected that because about one-half of this cohort of students negates the ingroup preferences in their college choice and that they are part of the most liberal and open-minded generation to date, that they would strongly align with Pettigrew and Tropp's findings. The opposite, however, is seen in the Chapter 3 results.

Blacks prefer Blacks to be their roommates with statistical significance in both freshman and senior years, they are more prejudiced against having a White roommate, and they tend not to trust their fellow classmates. On average as compared to non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks are less likely with statistical significance to agree that they feel comfortable on campus in their freshman and senior years, that a diverse campus benefits them in their senior year, and that UMD is a diverse campus in their freshman and senior years. They perceive that there are not enough Black students when they arrive and the percentage only decreases as they progress through college. The structural diversity they were expecting is not there in their opinion and the diversity that is there doesn't benefit them. On average they dislike being a student at UMD as compared to Whites with statistical significance in their senior year.

Politically conservative students, however, do see diversity. The more

Republican-leaning their identity the more likely they are to say UMD is a diverse campus as compared Democrats on average in their freshman year. They are less likely, however to say that a diverse campus benefits them or that diversity is a good goal as compared to Democrats.

I see indications of prejudice in the responses students have about being comfortable assigned roommates of different racial identities. On average Blacks are less comfortable to have a White roommate in their freshman and senior years and they are more comfortable with a Black roommate in their freshman year but not their senior year as compared to Whites. Black students aren't the only ones with racial identities with statistical preferences for or against rooming with students of different identities. For example, on average Asians are less comfortable with a White roommate in their freshman and senior years, and more comfortable with an Asian roommate their freshman year as compared to Whites. However, on average it is students with Black identities who feel the most distance from their predominantly White peers and feel the least comfortable on campus. On average four years of intergroup interaction has not lessened this. It has done the reverse.

Students with more conservative political ideologies also feel more distance to certain racial identities. On average the more Republican-leaning their identity, the less close they feel to Latinos and Blacks in their senior year as compared to Democrats. This is statistically significant in their senior year but not their freshman year, which indicates that on average conservative students have become more prejudiced against Blacks and Latinos. I see this in their roommate preference as well. On average they are less comfortable with statistical significance to being assigned a

Black roommate in freshman and senior years, a Latino roommate in freshman or senior years, and an Asian roommate in freshman year as compared to student Democrats. In addition, on average they disagree with statistical significance that diversity is a good goal and that they benefit from a diverse campus as compared to student Democrats. These feelings become statistically stronger in their senior year as compared to their freshman year. In addition, as compared to students with liberal identities, they also feel less close to Latinos and Blacks on average in their senior year when this was not statistically significant in their freshman year. On average four years of intergroup interaction has not had a positive impact on politically conservative students' opinions of diverse others or of diversity in general. In some instances it has actually made it worse.

Why might this be? UMD seems to satisfy the four prejudice-reducing conditions proposed by Allport's contact theory (1954) and confirmed by Pettigrew and (1998): The students all started campus with equal freshman status; they all share the common goal of graduating with a degree from UMD; group assignments, sporting events, and student organizations require that they work cooperatively to complete the assignment, cheer their team to victory, and produce meaningful campus experiences; and seemingly everyone from the student tour guides to UMD President boasts of supporting this diverse population. Further, our campus satisfies Pettigrew's (1998) addition condition of friendship potential. The Sticks + Stones activities even incorporate Cook's (1985) amendment to Allport's four conditions: encouragement of stereotype-defying behavior. This aspect is met through the labeling and stereotyping of the self-portraits, the empirical presentation of these bias constructs,

and the peer-to-peer discussion. In their 2005 meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Tropp found that “greater contact is routinely associated with *less* prejudice” (Pettigrew et al. 2011: 274). Pettigrew et al. (2011) updated the contact theory to propose that Allport’s conditions aren’t necessary to reduce prejudice, however, this project seems to satisfy these conditions and more.

But something else is happening during their college career: a series of racially motivated hate crimes, a dramatic increase in demonstrations of White supremacy, and the polarization of political identities. They call into question if Allport’s conditions are even possible today. Can you have equal status when your racial identity makes you feel less safe with your classmates or could you be killed on your campus? Does it matter if you work cooperatively on course assignments when protests about the racial injustices on campus do not have equal proportions of participants across identity groups? Is it enough to have your University President say he supports racial diversity when the U.S. President seemingly supports White supremacy? How wide of a lens should we use when considering Allport’s conditions? What timeframe, proximity, historical contexts, and within group differences should be taken into account? Given our real-time connectedness to people, events, and cultures around the world, I argue that this becomes a key piece for considering the results from this project and future research.

Similarities and differences between Blacks and conservatives

Blacks and political conservatives share certain aspects due to their identities: both perceive they are a minority group on campus. Blacks can see this difference whereas

conservatives feel this difference. Campus numbers of both groups have reduced during their time at UMD. The online survey results show that students' political identities shift away from Republican and toward Democratic and the overall Black student enrollment will drop to a five-year low and have the smallest proportional Black population out of all the 11 University System of Maryland institutes. On average students from both identity groups said that campus diversity did not benefit them. Both feel a lack of support from the campus population: Conservatives don't feel their views are supported by teachers and students, and Blacks don't feel their racial identity is supported by the campus administration. Both feel threatened and outcast because of their respective identities.

However, there are significant differences to identities. Conservatives can "pass" for being in the liberal majority by refraining from making comments during class discussions and feigning agreement on issues they actually disagree. They can avoid the discrimination that comes with being a political minority. Political identities generally reveal themselves when the individual wants them to be known. The same cannot be said for racial identities. Most Blacks can never "pass" for being in the White majority. Their racial identities are known throughout all of the spaces and contexts they maneuver during their undergraduate career and beyond. They are never fully free of the fear and doubt about how their peers perceive their racial identity and what behaviors that might provoke. They do not know who might be the next Sean Urbanski. Events such as the ones described in Chapter Four make their racial identity even more salient during their time at UMD. Black students who had never really been confronted by racism got a violent lesson on it after their arrival to

campus. Although Conservatives perceive they are under attack because of their political identity, they are not threatened with a level of violence that Blacks are because of their racial identity on this campus. Conservatives are proud to call themselves Terps whereas the Black students I interviewed either accept this identity on a contingent basis or reject it completely. In the 2019 interview results, Whites such as Georgia feel they can opt out of having to address the racial discrimination and violence whereas Blacks such as Raven talk about this is an added but unavoidable burden to her college life. One space where Blacks can lessen the stigma of their racial identity is at HBCUs. Five of the seven Black students I interviewed said that at some point in their college career they wished they had attended an HBCU instead of UMD. But even then, as the extreme example of Richard Collins can give, they are no longer protected when they visit other campuses and spaces.

Finally it is important to distinguish between the differences in resources—cultural, financial, and social capital—that come with these different identities. Conservatives can “pass” for liberals without diminishing their resources. If anything, “passing” for liberal on a predominantly liberal campus increases their cultural capital. Blacks not “pass” for Whites, and thus they are unable to and gain resources and capital (e.g., Milkie, Warner and Ray 2014; Tajfel *et al.* 1971) that come with being in the (White) majority. These identity differences map to the broader society.

The effectiveness of creative engagement

The results from the paper questionnaire and the in-depth interviews show that my creative engagement activities were effective to a degree. The multimodal aspect of this set of activities—visual art making, movement and performance, peer-to-peer

dialogue, and written reflection—allow students different ways to engage about diversity and identity. I heard anecdotally from treatment section instructors that this facet made it more engaging and successful than other diversity curricula. In addition students can remember these activities years later when others cannot remember their diversity activities months later. The students talk about the impressions these creative engagement activities made on them and how they then shared this information with others. The response rates were more than double the comparable UNIV100 courses. However I did not see a notable difference in the students' responses about diversity between the students who had completed these activities and those who had not in the online survey results. Within the context of the UNIV100 course these activities were salient, but against the context of their larger university lives they were not. I argue this does not negate the effectiveness of these activities but supports an argument for more such diversity training activities. One unit of diversity in one course of one semester of an undergraduate career is not enough to counter the cumulative effect of everyday racism. Further, when events such as those described in Chapter Four occur, the need for prejudice-reducing efforts is even greater. Unfortunately, from the students' point of view, these events were minimized and the underlying motivations for them have not been adequately addressed. Diversity and inclusion efforts without consistent, visible structural changes and support doesn't necessarily lead to changes in students' attitudes, behaviors, and campus experiences.

Limitations

Three factors potentially limited the impact of this project. The first is the container I used for the diversity activities. Although the UNIV100 courses were a convenient way to implement the project at a large scale, the pre-established structure of course prevented a more robust implementation of these activities. Further, the UNIV100 course is generally not regarded with affection by students. Negative opinions of the course in general seemed to reduce the assignment commitment for some of the students I interviewed.

Another potential limitation is also in the name I used to communicate with students. I entitled this project “Diversity Research at UMD” on survey emails and other correspondences with students. I didn’t want students to Google Sticks + Stones and find out more about the self-portrait and labeling process before they were going to do this, so I used a different name. The IRB office wanted this name to connect to the content of the project, so “Diversity Research at UMD” seemed innocuous enough. However, students realize that they are on a liberal campus and intuit the “right” things to say about diversity. Students present themselves as receptive to diversity. They attend a school that is structurally diverse. However not all are as open as their front stage might lead others to believe. I suspect that some of the responses students gave that mentioned diversity were due to this. The name of this project might have primed students to include positive aspects about diversity in their responses. During a 2019 interview, one student even said, “and I think this is what you want to hear” and talked about a diversity exchange when I asked her if there had been a campus course, event, or activity that made her reconsider how she views herself or her future. Another student, when talking about if UMD had met her

expectations, said she was surprised by the level of diversity on campus followed by “And this is an interview about diversity!” Three of the 27 2019 interviewees brought up the diversity-focus aspect during the interview. I did not find any such references in the 2016 interview transcriptions, but two mentioned receiving surveys about diversity. I cannot know the degree to which this social desirability consideration skewed my results.

Finally, I cannot state with great certainty the consistency of instruction of the treatment course sections. I do know that instructors changed aspects of the assignment, but I do know to what degree. For example, during a post-project meeting with the 2016 instructors, some disclosed that they had modified the Privilege Walk prompts, using ones they preferred instead of the ones I instructed them to use. Other comments in the paper questionnaire indicate students of a course weren’t clear about what they were supposed to create for the self-portrait assignment, which indicates the instructor wasn’t clear about the assignment. This is not something that is distinct to this project. You can have different instructors teach identical curriculum with varied results due to instructor personalities, delivery style and effectiveness, time of day of the class, and differing levels of commitment from students. But it does warrant a more thorough training process that includes in-progress checkins and oversight and clarity of instruction materials. These are aspects I would modify for any future iterations.

Future work

One of the lingering questions I have about this project is the degree to which UMD fits or distorts a pattern. How much, if at all, do other campuses with structural diversity inhibit prejudice reduction? Does UMD's proximity to Washington, D.C. magnify the effect of White supremacy and political divisiveness? Does being a border state during the Civil War? What has been the impact of the rise in White supremacy, seemingly supported by President Trump, on this cohort? What will it take to replace ideas of hate and racial superiority with ones of more tolerance and acceptance? Has this eroded others' opinions about the value of diversity? How will that our understanding of the effectiveness of prejudice reduction and diversity training activities? The results here show that these creative engagement activities can influence students' identities and opinions, however one unit is not enough. One means of supporting diversity is not enough.

Recommendations for future research include repeating the Sticks + Stones activities in concert with other diversity and inclusion efforts and clear, action-based support from the campus administration, faculty and staff. Learning about diversity should happen at multiple stages throughout students' undergraduate careers.

APPENDIX A: Online survey questions

Note: All questions are asked on each of the six surveys unless noted otherwise.

1. Have you declared a major area of study at UMD?

☐ Yes. List major(s)

☐ No. What are you considering as a major?

2. What minor area(s) of study, if any, have you declared?

Please provide the following information for the high school(s) you attended. If more than one, list your most recently attended first.

(Questions 3-16 are only asked on the first survey.)

3. Please provide the following information:

School name: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Country: _____

4. Did you attend another high school?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(Conditional: If yes to #4. Question #5 repeats up to 3 more times if students attended multiple high schools.)

5. Please provide the following information:

School name: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Country: _____

6. For this question, we will define "population" as the students, teachers and staff at your high school.

Estimate the racial and ethnic make-up of your most recently attended high school's population. Enter the numeric proportion of these populations. If you are unsure give your best estimates. The total should not exceed 100.

___ Non-Hispanic White:

___ Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American:

___ Asian or Asian American:

___ American Indian or Alaska Native:

___ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander:

___ Hispanic:

___ Multiracial:

___ Unknown:

___ Other:

Constant Sum: 100

7. Please provide the zip code(s) of the neighborhoods where you have lived during high school, starting with your most recent home location:

8. Did you live in another neighborhood during high school?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(Conditional: If yes to #8. Question #9 repeats up to 3 more times if students lived in different neighborhoods.)

9. Please provide the zip code of the neighborhood:

10. How successful do you think your high school academic achievements were?

☐ Extremely successful

☐ Mostly successful

☐ Somewhat successful

☐ Slightly successful

☐ Not at all successful

11. What was your high school GPA? (out of 4.0)

12. Did you have an academic ranking for your high school graduating class?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ I don't know

(Conditional: If yes answer to #12)

13. What was your academic ranking for your high school graduating class?

Numerical rank: _____

Out of how many students? _____

14. Think about where you lived during your senior year of high school. If you lived in more than one location during this time, think about the one where you lived the longest. Estimate the racial and ethnic make-up of this neighborhood. Enter the numeric proportion of these populations. If you are unsure then give your best estimates. The total should not exceed 100.

☐ Non-Hispanic White:

☐ Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American:

☐ Asian or Asian American:

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native:

☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander:

☐ Hispanic:

☐ Multiracial:

☐ Unknown:

☐ Other:

Constant Sum: 100

How would you compare the racial/ethnic composition of UMD with the following?

15. Neighborhood where you grew up:

☐ UMD is less diverse

☐ UMD is about the same

☐ UMD is more diverse

16. High school that you graduated from:

☐ UMD is less diverse

☐ UMD is about the same

☐ UMD is more diverse

17. Generally speaking, do you usually think of your political views as a liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between?

☐ Extremely liberal

☐ Liberal

☐ Slightly liberal

☐ Moderate, middle of the road

☐ Slightly conservative

☐ Conservative

☐ Extremely conservative

☐ I haven't thought about it

How confident are you in your ability to interact effectively with people different from you with respect to:

18. Country of origin

☐ Not at all confident

☐ Somewhat confident

☐ Very confident

19. Disability

☐ Not at all confident

☐ Somewhat confident

☐ Very confident

20. Gender

☐ Not at all confident

☐ Somewhat confident

☐ Very confident

21. Political view

☐ Not at all confident

☐ Somewhat confident

☐ Very confident

22. Race/ethnicity

☐ Not at all confident☐ Somewhat confident☐ Very confident

23. Religion

☐ Not at all confident☐ Somewhat confident☐ Very confident

24. Sexual orientation

☐ Not at all confident☐ Somewhat confident☐ Very confident

25. Socioeconomic status

☐ Not at all confident☐ Somewhat confident☐ Very confident

In general:

26. How close do you feel to Asians

☐ 1 Not at all close

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

__ 6

__ 7

__ 8

__ 9 Very close

27. How close do you feel to Blacks

__ 1 Not at all close

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

__ 6

__ 7

__ 8

__ 9 Very close

28. How close do you feel to Latinos

__ 1 Not at all close

__ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very close

29. How close do you feel to Whites

___ 1 Not at all close

___ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very close

In general. . .

30. How comfortable would you feel if you were assigned a roommate who was

Asian?

___ Very comfortable

- ☐ Comfortable
- ☐ Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- ☐ Uncomfortable
- ☐ Very uncomfortable

31. How comfortable would you feel if you were assigned a roommate who was Black?

- ☐ Very comfortable
- ☐ Comfortable
- ☐ Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- ☐ Uncomfortable
- ☐ Very uncomfortable

32. How comfortable would you feel if you were assigned a roommate who was Latino/Latina?

- ☐ Very comfortable
- ☐ Comfortable
- ☐ Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- ☐ Uncomfortable
- ☐ Very uncomfortable

33. How comfortable would you feel if you were assigned a roommate who was White?

- ☐ Very comfortable
- ☐ Comfortable
- ☐ Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- ☐ Uncomfortable
- ☐ Very uncomfortable

34. Do you have any roommates?

- ☐ Yes. I have one roommate.
- ☐ Yes. I have two roommates.
- ☐ Yes. I have three roommates.
- ☐ Yes. I have four or more roommates.
- ☐ No

(Conditional: If answered yes to #34.)

35. Of these roommates, how many are the same race and ethnicity as you?

- ☐ None
- ☐ One
- ☐ Two
- ☐ Three
- ☐ Four or more

How influential have the following been on your views about racial and ethnic diversity?

36. Family members

- ___ 1 Not at all influential
- ___ 2
- ___ 3
- ___ 4
- ___ 5 Somewhat influential
- ___ 6
- ___ 7
- ___ 8
- ___ 9 Very influential

37. Friends/Peers

- ___ 1 Not at all influential
- ___ 2
- ___ 3
- ___ 4
- ___ 5 Somewhat influential
- ___ 6
- ___ 7
- ___ 8
- ___ 9 Very influential

38. Groups or organizations in which you participate

- ___ 1 Not at all influential
- ___ 2
- ___ 3
- ___ 4
- ___ 5 Somewhat influential
- ___ 6
- ___ 7
- ___ 8
- ___ 9 Very influential

39. News media

- ___ 1 Not at all influential
- ___ 2
- ___ 3
- ___ 4
- ___ 5 Somewhat influential
- ___ 6
- ___ 7
- ___ 8
- ___ 9 Very influential

40. Political leanings

- ___ 1 Not at all influential

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5 Somewhat influential

__ 6

__ 7

__ 8

__ 9 Very influential

41. Religious beliefs

__ 1 Not at all influential

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5 Somewhat influential

__ 6

__ 7

__ 8

__ 9 Very influential

42. Something that happened to you personally

__ 1 Not at all influential

__ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5 Somewhat influential

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very influential

43. Something that happened to someone close to you

___ 1 Not at all influential

___ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5 Somewhat influential

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very influential

44. UMD UNIV100 course

___ 1 Not at all influential

___ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5 Somewhat influential

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very influential

45. UMD course within my major

___ 1 Not at all influential

___ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5 Somewhat influential

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very influential

46. UMD course outside my major

___ 1 Not at all influential

___ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5 Somewhat influential

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very influential

47. Other

___ 1 Not at all influential

___ 2

___ 3

___ 4

___ 5 Somewhat influential

___ 6

___ 7

___ 8

___ 9 Very influential

(Conditional: If something except for ___ 1 Not at all influential is selected for #47)

48. Please specify "other", if applicable:

Of these, rank the five that have been most influential on your views about racial and ethnic diversity. 1 = Most influential. 5 = least influential.

49. Family members

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

50. Friends/Peers

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

51. Groups or organizations in which you participate

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

52. News media

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

53. Political leanings

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

54. Religious beliefs

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

55. Something that happened to you personally

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

56. Something that happened to someone close to you

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

57. UMD course

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

58. Other

__ 1

__ 2

__ 3

__ 4

__ 5

59. Twenty years ago, approximately 23% of UMD students were minorities or students of color. Today that number is approximately 35%. How comfortable does this change make you feel?

- ☐ Very comfortable
- ☐ Comfortable
- ☐ Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- ☐ Uncomfortable
- ☐ Very uncomfortable

60. When you think about this increase in racial and ethnic diversity in students, do you think it is a very good thing for our campus, a good thing, neither good nor bad, a bad thing, or a very bad thing?

- ☐ Very Good Thing
- ☐ Good Thing
- ☐ Neither Good Nor Bad
- ☐ Bad Thing
- ☐ Very Bad Thing
- ☐ Don't Know

61. In your opinion, do you think racial and ethnic diversity on campus should:

- ☐ Significantly increase
- ☐ Slightly increase
- ☐ Stay the same

- ☐ Slightly decline
- ☐ Significantly decline

In your opinion, what effect has UMD's racial and ethnic population had on the following?

62. Your classroom discussions

- ☐ Very positive
- ☐ Positive
- ☐ Neither positive nor negative
- ☐ Negative
- ☐ Very negative

63. Your personal academic achievement

- ☐ Very positive
- ☐ Positive
- ☐ Neither positive nor negative
- ☐ Negative
- ☐ Very negative

64. Your classmates

- ☐ Very positive
- ☐ Positive
- ☐ Neither positive nor negative

☐ Negative

☐ Very negative

65. This campus overall

☐ Very positive

☐ Positive

☐ Neither positive nor negative

☐ Negative

☐ Very negative

66. In your opinion, how similar are your classmates' views to yours?

☐ Very similar

☐ Somewhat similar

☐ A mix both similar and dissimilar

☐ Somewhat dissimilar

☐ Very dissimilar

67. Personal interaction is defined as discussions or chats. These can be in-person, texting, and/or online conversations through social media, such as Facebook, with someone else. These exchanges last for 5 minutes or more and are by choice, rather than because of work or school duties. Now consider what you were doing yesterday. When did you wake up? Did you attend any classes? Did you attend any meetings or social events? Did you eat any meals with friends? Were you up late studying with a

group or working on an assignment?

___ About how many different people did you have personal interactions with yesterday? (Please use a whole number only)

68. Of these interactions, how many, if any, were with someone you perceived to be of another race or ethnicity from you? (If you answered 0 in the question above, please skip this question)

69. Close friends are defined as people you interact with about matters personal to you. For this question, do not include relatives such as a sibling or parent. List the first names only, if any, of your closest friends. These do not need to be ranked in order.

___ Close friend 1: _____

___ Close friend 2: _____

___ Close friend 3: _____

___ Close friend 4: _____

___ Close friend 5: _____

___ Close friend 6: _____

___ I do not have any close friends at this time.

(Conditional: Skip if answered no close friends at this time.)

70. Of these close friends you listed above, which, if any, do you perceive to be of another race or ethnicity from you? Place a check mark below beside ones who you

believe are racially and/or ethnically different from you. Refer to your list above for the corresponding numbers.

___ Close friend 1: _____

___ Close friend 2: _____

___ Close friend 3: _____

___ Close friend 4: _____

___ Close friend 5: _____

___ Close friend 6: _____

71. How would you compare the race and ethnicity of the friends you have made at UMD to those you had before?

___ Friends at UMD are less diverse.

___ Friends at UMD are about the same.

___ Friends at UMD are more diverse.

Please indicate how much you disagree/agree with the following:

72. UMD is a racially/ethnically diverse campus

___ Strongly disagree

___ Disagree

___ Neither agree nor disagree

___ Agree

___ Strongly agree

73. Being on a culturally diverse campus is one of the benefits of my UMD experience.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

74. Having racial/ethnic diversity at UMD is a good goal.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

75. In general, I feel as though I belong at UMD.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

76. In general, I feel comfortable at UMD.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

77. In general, I like being a student at UMD.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

78. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Gender neutral

79. Do you consider yourself to be transgender?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

(Questions 80-86 are asked only on survey 1)

80. Where do you currently live?

- ☐ At home
- ☐ In a residence hall with roommates
- ☐ In a residence hall but without roommates
- ☐ Off campus with roommates
- ☐ Off campus without roommates
- ☐ Other

81. Where you were you born? (Provide state if in USA or country if outside USA)

82. What is your birth month and year? (mm/yy)

83. In which country was your father born?

- ☐ Please specify: _____
- ☐ Don't know

84. What is the highest level of education your father has attained?

- ☐ Less than high school education
- ☐ Some high school education
- ☐ High school diploma
- ☐ GED certificate
- ☐ Some junior or community college education
- ☐ Junior or community college degree

- ☐ Some bachelors education
- ☐ Received bachelor's degree
- ☐ Some graduate school education
- ☐ Received graduate degree
- ☐ More than graduate degree
- ☐ Don't know

85. In which country was your mother born?

- ☐ Please specify: _____
- ☐ Don't know

86. What is the highest level of education your mother has attained?

- ☐ Less than high school education
- ☐ Some high school education
- ☐ High school diploma
- ☐ GED certificate
- ☐ Some junior or community college education
- ☐ Junior or community college degree
- ☐ Some bachelors education
- ☐ Received bachelor's degree
- ☐ Some graduate school education
- ☐ Received graduate degree
- ☐ More than graduate degree

☐ Don't know

87. Which of the following best represents your racial identity? (Check all that apply)

☐ Non-Hispanic White

☐ Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American

☐ Asian or Asian American

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native

☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

☐ Hispanic

☐ Multiracial

88. Was there any part of this survey that you did not like? (Open-ended answer.)

APPENDIX B: 3-question paper survey questions

Survey title: Course evaluation

Information collected from the following questionnaire will support important research at the University of Maryland. Your participation is completely optional. If you choose to participate, your input will be very valuable to this process. All responses will be anonymous and confidential.

Please DO NOT write your name on this.

1. What part, if any, of this course's content has been most useful to you? Describe fully.
2. What part, if any, this course's content has made the deepest impression upon your behavior and social choices? Describe fully.
3. What, if any, of this course's content and discussions have you shared with others including your friends, co-workers and/or family? Describe fully.

APPENDIX C: Interview questions for Spring 2016

Greeting and introduction of interviewer.

Thank you for making the time to participate in this interview. The purpose of these questions is to further our understanding of attitudes about diversity on this campus and how different training activities might address those.

Let me know if there are any questions you prefer not to answer. If there are, we can just skip that question and go on to the next one.

Is it okay if I use a voice recorder during our interview?

I want to remind you that all of your answers will be kept confidential. We will not use your real name in any research articles or publications. We will instead refer to you by a pseudonym.

1. What fictional name would you like us to use to refer to you?
2. What is your age?
3. This is your first year at UMD, correct?

4. What is the city and state or country of your permanent address?

How long have you lived there?

If less than 1 year, where did you live before that?

EXPECTATIONS VS. REALITIES OF UMD

5. Have you attended any other colleges or universities? Maybe a community college?

If so, which ones?

6. Has anyone else in your immediate family attended college?

If so, whom?

Where or at which school did he/she study?

What did he/she study?

Did he/she graduate?

6B. Which high school or high schools did you attend?

Ask for city and state

7. Think back to your senior year in high school. What did you think college would be like? Did you think it would be similar to high school? Harder? Easier? More structure? Less? More parties? Maybe you thought it would be like something you saw in a movie or online? Describe what you thought college would be like.

8. Did you consider attending colleges or universities besides UMD?

If so, which ones?

9. Why did you choose to attend UMD? What expectations did you hold of becoming a Terp? What did you think UMD would be like?

10. Suppose a random stranger, say a person about your age, asked you to describe what UMD is like. How would you respond? What would you want him or her to know?

How would you describe the students on campus?

How would you describe the faculty and staff on campus?

11. Has your first year of college been what you thought it would be? How has it matched your expectations of college? How has it been different?

12. What do you consider to be your biggest accomplishment of this year?

13. Do you have a regret or something you wish you had done differently this year?

14. How successful do you think your first year at UMD has been?

Why do you think this?

15. Have you declared a major?

If so, what is it? Why did you choose this? What do you want to do when you graduate?

If not, what are you considering and why?

SOCIAL NETWORKS

This set of questions is about your circle of friends and social network.

16. Think back to when you were attending high school last year. How would you describe your circle of friends? Do you have many close friends, people with whom you would share personal information? Maybe one or two? Or five or six? Do you have many casual friends, people you see infrequently and maybe connect with infrequently over social media? Describe your five closest friends in high school, both close and casual friendships.

When you think about these friends, do they have interests similar to yours, such as sports or hobbies or activities?

Do they think similarly to you in terms of political views?

Are they of the same gender as you?

How similar are they to you racially and ethnically?

17. Now think about the people you have met and friendships you have formed at UMD. Have you made many new friends since coming to UMD? Any close friends? Any casual friends? Describe your five closest friends at UMD, both close and casual friendships.

When you think about these friends, do they have interests similar to yours, such as sports or hobbies or activities?

Do they think similarly to you in terms of political views?

Are they of the same gender as you?

How similar are they to you racially and ethnically?

18. Have you gotten involved with any groups, clubs or sports on campus?

If so which ones? What drew you to them?

How would you describe the people in this group/these groups? Do they think similarly to you in terms of political views?

Are they of the same gender as you?

How similar are they to you racially and ethnically?

DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS

19. People such as President Loh and others in administration like to talk about how diverse racially, ethnically and otherwise that UMD is. Have you noticed this diversity on campus? Is it similar or dissimilar to your high school? How would you describe the similarities and differences?

Do you think there is too much emphasis on diversity? Why or why not?

20. Has there been a time during your freshman year where you interacted with someone you would view as quite different from yourself?

Describe this interaction.

In what ways was the person different?

What this interaction by choice or because of an assignment or living arrangement?

FOR STICKS + STONES PARTICIPANTS

21. Last fall you participated in a series of diversity exercises in UNIV 100/College Park Scholars/HDCC course. One of these exercises was the construction of a self-portrait. You were assigned to create an abstract self-portrait of yourself. Do you remember this exercise?

If so, do you remember what you were thinking as your created your self-portrait?

What aspects of your identity did you want to show in your self-portrait?

Were their parts of your identity that you did not want to show on your self-portrait?

How did you make decisions about what to include and what not to include?

Had you ever done an assignment like this before?

How hard was it for you to create this image of yourself?

Did you like or dislike this assignment?

22. As part of this larger assignment, you were asked to write down labels and descriptions of self-portraits made by students from another class. Do you remember doing this?

If so, do you remember any positive descriptions that surprised you?

If so, do you remember any negative descriptions that surprised you?

Show the interviewee three self-portraits and their corresponding labels.

23. Here are some self-portraits and their corresponding list of words that resulted from an exchange in other classes.

Do you recognize these?

Take a look at the labels it received. How would you describe those labels?

Are there any that you or your friends might use to describe someone?

Are there any that you or your friends might find insulting or rude?

24. What did you think of this exercise? Did you like labeling the self-portraits?

Dislike it? Was it easy or hard to think of these descriptions?

25. How honest or not do you think your classmates were in describing these portraits? Were your classmates saying what they really wanted to say when describing these portraits?

26. Do you think that the self-portrait assignment had a positive or negative impact on your view of diversity? In what ways?

27. Has the self-portrait assignment impacted who you hang out with? What programs you attend? What organizations you are involved in?

28. Did that assignment impact how you interact with your friends? Meaning, has it made you more conscious of what people say about others? If so, can you give me an example?

29. Your class also participated in the privilege walk. This is where you stood in a line and moved forward and backward based on different questions.

Do you remember this exercise?

How did you and your classmates respond to this?

30. Do you think that the privilege walk had a positive or negative impact on your view of diversity? In what ways?

31. Has the privilege walk impacted who you hang out with? What programs you attend? What organizations you are involved in?

32. Did that privilege walk impact how you interact with your friends? Meaning, has it made you more conscious of what people say about others? If so, can you give me an example?

33. What reaction, if any, did you have to doing these exercises and assignments overall?

Did you like or dislike them? Did you enjoy or dislike one more than the others?

Do you think there was too much emphasis on diversity? Why or why not?

34. How likely would you say that you are to speak up if someone says something racist or sexist because of any of these activities? More than when you were in high school? Less than when you were in high school? About the same?

Have you been in a situation when you did this this year? Describe.

35. Have you had any other experiences on campus that have influenced how you feel about or interact with people different from you? Maybe an event you attended? A conversation with friends? Something you learned in class?

If so, how do you feel or act differently?

FOR CONTROL PARTICIPANTS

21. Last fall you were enrolled in a UNIV100 course. Do you have any memories or lasting impressions of this class?

What, if at all, do you remember talking about issues of *diversity* in that class?

What, if at all, do you remember talking about issues of *racial diversity* in that class?

22. What reaction, if any, did you have to these exercises/discussions/assignments overall?

Did you like or dislike them? Did you enjoy or dislike one more than the others?

Do you think there was too much emphasis on diversity? Why or why not?

23. How likely would you say that you are to speak up if someone says something racist or sexist because of any of these activities? More than when you were in high school? Less than when you were in high school? About the same?

Have you been in a situation when you did this this year? Describe.

24. Have you had any other experiences on campus that have influenced how you feel about or interact with people different from you? Maybe an event you attended? A conversation with friends? Something you learned in class?

If so, how do you feel or act differently?

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS (asked of all interviewees; can be printed)

36. What is your gender?

☐ Male

☐ Female

☐ Gender neutral

37. Do you consider yourself to be transgender?

☐ Yes

☐ No

38. In which state or country if outside the United States were you born?

39. In which country was your father born?

40. In which country was your mother born?

41. Which of the following best represents your racial identity? You may say all that apply.

- ☐ Non-Hispanic White
- ☐ Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American
- ☐ Asian or Asian American
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- ☐ Hispanic
- ☐ Multiracial
- ☐ Unknown
- ☐ Foreign

42. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or other? (*Ask them to select one*)

- ☐ Strong Democrat
- ☐ Not Strong Democrat
- ☐ Independent, Near Democrat
- ☐ Independent

___ Independent, Near Republican

___ Not Strong Republican

___ Strong Republican

___ Other Party

43. Do you have any additional comments you would like to make or questions for me?

Thank you for participating in this interview.

Complete interview honoraria paperwork.

APPENDIX D: Interview questions for Spring 2019

Greeting and introduction of interviewer.

Thank you for making the time to participate in this interview. The purpose of these questions is to further our understanding of attitudes about diversity on this campus and how different training activities might address those.

Let me know if there are any questions you prefer not to answer. If there are, we can just skip that question and go on to the next one.

Is it okay if I use a voice recorder during our interview?

I want to remind you that all of your answers will be kept confidential. We will not use your real name in any research articles or publications.

1. This is your fourth year at UMD, correct?
2. Have you enrolled in college-level courses anywhere else? For example, did you take an online course from another university or study abroad?

If so, what motivated you to take courses outside the UMD offerings?

3. What is your major or majors?

Why did you choose this?

Do you have any minor areas of study? If so, why did you choose this/these?

When do you expect to graduate?

What are your plans after you graduate? Will you continue your studies or will you enter the workforce? If the latter, what specific type of work do you want or expect to do?

EXPECTATIONS VS. REALITIES OF UMD

1. Think back to your freshman year at UMD. What did you think college would be like?

What expectations did you hold of becoming a Terp?

Why did you choose to attend UMD?

What did you think UMD would be like?

2. Suppose a random stranger, say a person about your age, asked you to describe what UMD is like today. How would you respond? What would you want him or her to know?

How would you describe the students on campus?

How would you describe the faculty and staff on campus?

Would you say these descriptions are what you expected UMD to be when you applied to come here?

3. Has your time at UMD been what you thought it would be? How has it matched your expectations? How has it been different?

4. How successful, if at all, do you consider your college career to have been?

What aspects such as grade point average, connections with professors, satisfaction in friendships, engagement in campus activities, do you feel contribute to this?

5. Is there an aspect you wish had gone another way? Do you have a regret or something you wish you had done differently during your undergraduate career?

6. What do you consider to be your biggest accomplishment at UMD?

DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS

1. Do you feel as if you belong on campus? Are you comfortable here? Do you feel like a Terp?

If so, to what groups do you feel you belong? What parts of your identity—interests, major, things you like to do with your time—do you feel others share?

Do you feel like you are able to express these aspects of your identity without fear of a negative reaction or punishment?

Are there other aspects of your identity you feel you are not able to express without fear of a negative reaction or punishment?

2. People such as President Loh and others in our administration like to talk about how diverse racially, ethnically, and otherwise that UMD is. Have you noticed this diversity on campus? Is it similar or dissimilar to your high school? How would you describe the similarities and differences?

Do you think there is too much emphasis on diversity? Why or why not?

3. Has there been a time at UMD where you interacted with someone you would view as quite different from yourself?

Describe this interaction.

In what ways was the person different?

What this interaction by choice or because of an assignment or living arrangement?

4. What, if at all, do you remember talking about issues of diversity in your classes?

What kinds of diversity—religious, racial, ability, etc.—did you discuss?

Did any of these conversations prompt you to rethink how you regard yourself

or your future? If so, please describe.

Did any of these conversations prompt you to rethink how you regard yourself or your future? If so, please describe.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

1. Think back to your high school years. How would you describe your circle of friends? Did you have many close friends, people with whom you would share personal information? Maybe one or two? Or five or six? Did you have many casual friends, people you see infrequently and maybe connect with infrequently over social media? Describe your five closest friends in high school, both close and casual friendships.

When you think about these friends, do they have interests similar to yours, such as sports or hobbies or activities?

Do they think similarly to you in terms of political views?

Are they of the same gender as you?

How similar are they to you racially and ethnically?

2. Now think about the people you have met and friendships you have formed at UMD. Have you made many new friends since coming to UMD? Any close friends? Any casual friends? How would you describe your five closest friends?

When you think about these friends, do they have interests similar to yours, such as sports or hobbies or activities?

Do they think similarly to you in terms of political views?

Are they of the same gender as you?

How similar are they to you racially and ethnically?

3. Did you get involved with any groups, clubs or sports on campus?

If so which ones? What drew you to them?

How would you describe the people in this group/these groups? Do they think similarly to you in terms of political views?

Are they of the same gender as you?

How similar are they to you racially and ethnically?

4. Have you had any other experiences on campus that have influenced how you feel about or interact with people different from you? Maybe an event you attended? A conversation with friends? Something you learned in class?

If so, how do you feel or act differently?

SHIFTING CULTURAL NORMS

This is your fourth year on campus. During this time you've attended classes, possibly sporting events and parties, heard lectures and presentations on a variety of subjects by a range of speakers, and maybe took part in campus organizations or groups.

1. Is there a ***class assignment or academic component*** that influenced or prompted you to rethink how you view yourself or how you view your future? If so, please describe this.

2. Is there ***a campus event, course, or activity*** that influenced or prompted you to rethink how you view yourself or how you view your future? Maybe you enrolled in a course that made you reconsider your chosen major, or you participated in an activity that awoke a strong interest in doing more of that activity, or you heard a speaker

present information in a way that made you reconsider how you view that subject? If so, please describe this event or events.

3. Is there something that happened in *College Park, D.C. or elsewhere locally* that influenced or prompted you to rethink how you view yourself or how you view your future? If so, please describe this.

4. Is there a *national event or set of events* that influenced or prompted you to rethink how you view yourself or how you view your future? If so, please describe this.

If the interviewee did not mention this in any of the above questions, ask:

5. Did you know about Sargent Richard Collins III being killed on campus?

What did you hear about or do you know about what happened?

How did you learn about this, maybe through friends, social media, news media or another outlet?

What was your reaction to this event?

Did you talk to your friends or family about this? If so, what did they think about it?

If the interviewee did not mention this in any of the above questions, ask:

6. Did you know about the event when campus police broke up a graduation party with pepper spray?

What did you hear about or do you know about what happened?

How did you learn about this, maybe through friends, social media, news media or another outlet?

What was your reaction to this event?

Did you talk to your friends or family about this? If so, what did they think

about it?

7. Did you know that a Maryland football player died last summer as a result of lack of proper medical treatment from the football staff?

What did you hear about or do you know about what happened?

How did you learn about this, maybe through friends, social media, news media or another outlet?

What was your reaction to this event?

Did you talk to your friends or family about this? If so, what did they think about it?

8. How, if at all, do these events make you feel about this University?

About your identity as a Terp?

Are there other factors that you take into account when considering you think about this campus and its population? (Reference response to Diversity question 1.)

If the interviewee did not mention this in any of the above questions, ask:

9. What was your reaction to the 2016 U.S. Presidential election?

How would you describe this?

How did you learn about this, maybe through friends, social media, news media or another outlet?

What was your reaction to this event?

Did you talk to your friends or family about this? If so, what did they think about this?

10. Would you say there seem to be more political debates and tension, less or about the same in recent years? Why do you think this?

Do you talk about the political landscape with anyone, maybe friends or family members?

If so, what aspects do you generally talk about?

How important are politics to you personally? Have you attended any political events such as speeches or protest rallies? If so, please describe those. Did you go by yourself? Attend with others? What was it about this person or issue that motivated you to spend your time this way?

11. How likely would you say that you are to speak up if someone says something racist or sexist? More than when you were in high school? Less than when you were in high school? About the same?

Do you feel like that you can speak your mind more freely today than in the past, say in high school? More freely on this campus than your high school? Describe why you think this is.

Have you been in a situation when you had to make this decision recently? Perhaps to react to something you saw on social media, something someone said in a class, or while you were out with friends? If so, please describe.

12. Do you have any questions or additional comments?

Thank you for participating in this interview.

Complete paper demographic survey and interview honoraria paperwork.

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Note: Interviewees will be provided a paper version of the following questions. They will mark their answers on paper rather than responding verbally.

1. What is your gender?

☐ Male

☐ Female

☐ Gender neutral

2. Do you consider yourself to be transgender?

☐ Yes

☐ No

3. Which of the following best represents your racial identity? Check all that apply.

☐ Non-Hispanic White

☐ Black, Afro-Caribbean or African American

☐ Asian or Asian American

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native

☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

☐ Hispanic

☐ Multiracial

___ Unknown

___ Foreign

4. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or other? Choose one.

___ Strong Democrat

___ Not Strong Democrat

___ Independent, Near Democrat

___ Independent

___ Independent, Near Republican

___ Not Strong Republican

___ Strong Republican

___ Other Party

APPENDIX E: Symbolic self-portrait assignment

OVERVIEW

Who are we? The concept of identity is tied to how we perceive ourselves and in what others see and understand when they look at us. In the “selfie era,” we make images of ourselves for others. How can we gain a better understanding of the coded visual cues in those portraits? Are we creating accurate messages about ourselves?

For this assignment, you are to create a non-traditional self-portrait using imagery of your choosing. A traditional self-portrait is a (mostly) life-like replica of a person, clearly defining facial or other features of the artist. However, for this assignment, you are to create an abstraction or symbolic representation of yourself, rather than create a literal image of yourself.

DO NOT use photos of yourself or persons you know.

DO NOT incorporate your name into your portrait.

This is not about what you look like but who you are and who you are becoming.

CONTENT

Your self-portrait may focus on your childhood, your adulthood, your future, and/or your present. Strive to communicate aspects about yourself that others can understand and interpret to some extent. Consider the following questions for your self-portrait’s content:

- What are your interests and hobbies? What do you like to do in your spare time?

With friends?

- Who/What are your favorite musical artists or types of music?

- Where have you lived? How have your lived locations shaped the person you are

today?

- Where do you want to live? Where do you see yourself living in 5 years or 10 years?
- Where have you traveled? What destinations or experiences are still on your bucket list?
- What physical aspects, if any, help to define you, such as tattoos, jewelry or style of dress?
- What have you accomplished that you are proud to share with others?
- What matters to you? Are there issues about which you are passionate?
- How do you want others to perceive you? What words, ideas or terms would you expect others to associate with you?

The best self-portraits require some sort of interpretation by the viewer. They are not literal representations but have ideas and messages embedded within them. A little mystery in a self-portrait can be a good thing. That said, your self-portrait should be understandable to others to some degree.

Consider including a “legend” with pertinent content to help an outsider “navigate” the portrait. These self-portraits may be shared with your classmates during next week’s class. With this, make sure you are comfortable with your portrait’s information as it will be seen by many different people inside and possibly outside this classroom.

VISUAL FORM

This portrait is about you who you are *rather than what you look like*. It should incorporate visual information that represents yourself in an abstract and symbolic way. Consider maps (road maps, topographic maps, depth of water charts, etc.) symbols of languages and countries (money, flags, etc.), music lyrics, fabric patterns, photos of objects that are important to you, and other types of visual content.

PROCESS

- Write down a few words or ideas that you think would be good to include about yourself.
- Gather the images or imagery you would like to include and consider which would be best to use. How will you represent these ideas or words?
- Sketch a few ideas before you begin your portrait.

SOME THINGS TO KEEP IN MIND

- **Strive for strong hierarchy:** As you create your composition, strive to have one image or visual element be the largest to have strong hierarchy. Then make the remaining images or visual components “stair step” down in sizes.

• **Communicate don’t decorate.** Use visuals to communicate rather than decorate. Flowers, dot patterns and other decorative elements can make an image more visually interesting, but they generally do not add much information to the overall portrait. As much as possible, make sure the elements you use in your self-portrait have meaning that others will understand.

• **Less is more.** Your self-portrait should contain multiple images. However, rather than trying to say everything about yourself (and thereby creating a very crowded portrait), choose a few of the most important aspects of yourself to address.

• **Invest time.** We realize that few, if any, of you are Studio Art majors. This is fine. You are *not* being graded on the level of artistic refinement for this. However, you do need to put some time and thought to create a successful self-portrait.

OBJECTIVES

- To explore your identity through an artistic process.
- To explore communicating through visual, rather than strictly verbal, cues.
- To gain understanding of how we understand the identity of others.

MEDIA

You may assemble this content using a method of your choosing: collage or montage, drawing, painting, Photoshop, or a combination thereof. Visual materials will be provided to you during class, however you are not limited to these. You may supplement or completely substitute your portrait visuals with other visuals and material.

Dimensions: 11" x 17".

DEADLINE

Bring a completed paper-version of your final portrait to class next week.

APPENDIX F: Written reflection assignment

For this assignment, you are to write a response to the self-portrait assignment, privilege walk and discussions that followed. The purpose of this assignment is to provide a forum for you to express your thoughts, feelings, and opinions about the activities. Provide thorough answers to one or more of the suggested areas below.

You do not need to respond to all of these questions in your paper.

Some questions to consider:

- Describe your reaction to the process of creating your abstract self-portrait. Was this difficult? Was it easy? What aspects of your life did you choose to focus your portrait on and why? What visual materials and methods (photographs, magazine cutouts, drawings, etc.) did you use to create your self-portrait? Why did you use these? Did you deliberately leave out an important aspect about yourself? If so, why?

- Describe your reaction to the labeling and stereotyping process. How easy or hard was it to give terms to another portrait? Did you regret any of the words you used to describe a self-portrait? How do you feel about the terms and labels that you gave others' self-portraits?

- Now that the class discussion has concluded, what comments linger in your mind? What made the biggest impression upon you? Were you surprised by what your classmates said? Why was this surprising? Alternately, were you surprised by what

you or your classmates did not say? What did you expect others would talk about but did not and why?

- If you could add labels and stereotypes to your own portrait, what would they be?

How do you want to be perceived by others? How do you not want to be perceived?

- Describe the positive and negative aspects of your first semester at college at it relates to the campus population. How are you adjusting to life at this university? Do you feel at home with the campus population? How is it different from your high school experience?

Format: Your final paper should be 2 pages, typed and double-spaced paragraph spacing. Use 1" margins and either Cambria or Times New Roman font for your document.

Due date: Turn in your completed assignment before the start of next week's class.

APPENDIX G: Privilege Walk instructions

Instructions:

Participants should stand shoulder to shoulder in a line across the room.

They should be instructed to stand shoulder to shoulder in a straight line without speaking.

Participants should be instructed to listen carefully to each sentence, and take the step required if the sentence applies to them.

Movement prompts:

1. If your parents worked nights and weekends to support your family, take one step back.
2. If you are able to move through the world without fear of sexual assault, take one step forward.
3. If you can show affection for your romantic partner in public without fear of ridicule or violence, take one step forward.
4. If you have ever been diagnosed as having a physical or mental illness/disability, take one step back.
5. If the primary language spoken in your household growing up was not English, take one step back.
6. If you came from a supportive family environment take one step forward.

7. If you have ever tried to change your speech or mannerisms to gain credibility, take one step back.
8. If you can go anywhere in the country, and easily find the kinds of hair products you need and/or cosmetics that match your skin color, take one step forward.
9. If you were embarrassed about your clothes or house while growing up, take one step back.
10. If you can make mistakes and not have people attribute your behavior to flaws in your racial/gender group, take one step forward.
11. If you can legally marry the person you love, regardless of where you live, take one step forward.
12. If you were born in the United States, take one step forward.
13. If you or your parents have ever gone through a divorce, take one step back.
14. If you felt like you had adequate access to healthy food growing up, take one step forward
15. If you are reasonably sure you would be hired for a job based on your ability and qualifications, take one step forward.
16. If you would never think twice about calling the police when trouble occurs, take one step forward.
17. If you can see a doctor whenever you feel the need, take one step forward.

18. If you feel comfortable being emotionally expressive/open, take one step forward.
19. If you have ever been the only person of your race/gender/socio-economic status/sexual orientation in a classroom or workplace setting, please take one step back.
20. If you took out loans for your education take one step backward.
21. If you get time off for your religious holidays, take one step forward.
22. If you had a job during your high school and college years, take one step back.
23. If you feel comfortable walking home alone at night, take one step forward.
24. If you have ever traveled outside the United States, take one step forward.
25. If you have ever felt like there was NOT adequate or accurate representation of your racial group, sexual orientation group, gender group, and/or disability group in the media, take one step back.
26. If you feel confident that your parents would be able to financially help/support you if you were going through a financial hardship, take one step forward.
27. If you have ever been bullied or made fun of based on something that you can't change, take one step back.
28. If there were more than 50 books in your house growing up, take one step forward.
29. If you studied the culture or the history of your ancestors in elementary school take one step forward.

30. If your parents or guardians attended college, take one step forward.
31. If you ever went on a family vacation, take one step forward.
32. If you can buy new clothes or go out to dinner when you want to, take one step forward.
33. If you were ever offered a job because of your association with a friend or family member, take one step forward.
34. If one of your parents was ever laid off or unemployed not by choice, take one step back.
35. If you were ever uncomfortable about a joke or a statement you overheard related to your race, ethnicity, gender, appearance, or sexual orientation but felt unsafe to confront the situation, take one step back.

APPENDIX H: Class discussion prompts for instructors

CREATIVE PROCESS

- Describe the process of coming up with imagery to represent yourself. Was this difficult?
- How did you make decisions about what to include and what not to include?
- How does it feel putting your life on a sheet of paper?
- What aspects about your identities became most salient to you during this creative process? How did you choose to represent this?
- How, if at all, did does racial and ethnic identity play into one or more of these self-portraits?

LABELING

- Are there any descriptions that are surprising? That struck you as unexpected, for either positive or negative reasons?
- Were there any comments that you decided not to include on other portraits? Why?
- Were you surprised by any positive comments about a certain portrait?
- Were you surprised by any negative comments about a certain portrait?
- Are there any descriptions on others' portraits that you would be happy to hear about yourself?

- Are there any descriptions on others' portraits that you would be unhappy to hear about yourself?
- Did any of the labels reveal something about you that you weren't explicitly trying to express?
- Are there any labels that you expected that are not there?
- Why do you think certain self-portraits not receive as many comments as others?

PRIVILEGE WALK

- What happened in the privilege walk? What was the purpose of this activity?
- How did this exercise make you feel? What were your thoughts as you did this exercise?
- Does it reflect your experience in life? How did being in the front or the back make you feel?
- How can you relate this to the concepts of stereotypes and labeling?
- What have you learned from this experience?
- What can you do with this information in the future?
- Were you surprised when you were moving forward or backward during the exercise?
- Had you thought much about the privilege you or others have experienced before this?

CAMPUS DIVERSITY

- How do you feel about the diversity at UMD? Did you notice it during your visit to campus?
- What about the size of campus and student body? Was your high school big or small?
- Do you hang out with friends from high school or do you have a new group of friends?
- If you have made changes in your social circle, why do you think this has happened?
- Was your high school diverse? Was it similar to your neighborhood? Is the diversity you've experienced on this campus different from your high school or neighborhood? If so, how?
- Why do you think some schools get labeled as rich or ghetto? How does the racial composition of the school factor into that?
- Do you feel that this campus is diverse?
- Do you think these self-portraits accurately reflect the diversity at UMD?
- In what ways have you seen campus members—students, faculty, staff—defy your stereotypical expectations of them?

SOCIAL MEDIA

- Do you consider social media a public space?
- How do discussions online differ, if at all, from conversations in person? Why?

- Do you feel more carefree or constrained in your online conversations versus your in-person conversations?
- Do you observe differences in how people interact (such as how candid people are) in an anonymous site, such as Yik Yak, versus a more-identified site, such as Facebook or Twitter. If differences, why does this happen?
- Recently people have come under fire for their online conversations in social media. Do you think people's jobs, reputations or other status qualities should be in jeopardy due to comments or postings they make online?
- Which is a more authentic identity: what you say when no one knows who you are or what you say when people know who you are?

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