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Making Pedagogy Political: An Examination of Simulations on Race

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Making Pedagogy Political: An Examination of Simulations on Race Analyzed Through the Lens of Critical Theory

We certify that we have read this dissertation and approved it as adequate in scope and quality. We have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects, and that any and all revisions required by the final examining committee have been made.

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Making Pedagogy Political: An Examination of Experiential Simulations on Race Analyzed Through the Lens of Critical Theory

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Abstract

This dissertation is a qualitative multi-case study of educators who use experiential methods to unlearn racism analyzed through the lens of critical theory. The study focused on the experiences of both experiential and critical teachers and their students in an anti-racism simulation. Nine teachers and twenty-four students participated. Three different anti-racism simulations were used for the study. The purpose of the study was to explore what happens for both teachers and students in an anti-racism simulation, examine how race plays a part in teaching and learning about racism, and secondarily explore a possible intersection between experiential education and critical pedagogy. A key focus in the study was on the role race plays in the ability to teach an anti-racism simulation, and the student's ability to unlearn racism. The data show that simulations as a critical methodology can be transformative in the lives of students. Simulations offer a practical method for teaching the abstract concepts of critical theory. The data also point to racial identity development in both teachers and students as an indicator of openness to dealing with issues of race. This study offers insight to practitioners on how to approach unlearning other "isms," and attempts to advance the discourse on the intersection between critical and experiential pedagogy.

Chapter One

Introduction

Statement of Purpose

This study is grounded in perspectives of critical pedagogy and experiential learning informed by my lived experience as a black woman. As we enter the twenty-first century, we are still a nation divided by race. In the famous 1968 Kerner Report, the Eisenhower Foundation Commission concluded that the United States was "two societies, one black, one white-- separate and unequal" (p. 1). Andrew Hacker, in his 1992 book *Two Nations*, concluded the same. In every major area of life - socialization patterns and marriage, residential patterns, economics, health care, language dialects, music expression, media habits, even crime and drug abuse - we are a nation divided by race. Emerson and Smith (2000) posited that we live in a racialized society. In their book, *Divided by Faith*, they define a racialized society as one "where we are never unaware of the race of a person with whom we interact. A society wherein race matters profoundly for differences in life experiences, life opportunities, and social relationships. A racialized society can also be said to be a society that allocates differential economic, political, social, and even psychological rewards to groups along racial lines that are socially constructed" (p. 7). Racialization is tantamount to injustice. In a racialized society we learn racism. We internalize the ideologies of white supremacy and inferiority as naturally as we watch television and drink soda.

Schools and colleges, rather than being places where educators unmask these injustices, and offer help in dealing with this American crisis, too often are the teaching grounds that perpetuate racism and the internalization of its attendant ideologies. Schools

are, in fact, a major socializing agent in our culture. In a racialized society, the role of schools and colleges is one of perpetuating the socioeconomic, racial, and political status quo. Bowles and Gintis (1976) wrote:

> Schools legitimate inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they reward and promote students, and allocate them to distinct positions in the occupational hierarchy. They create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate "properly" to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process. (p. 11)

Canadian educator Goli Rezai-Rashti (1995) has gone so far as to say, " as presently conceived, the educational system is not functioning in the best interest of racially dominated groups, . . . [or] working class students" (p. 7). This can partially be attributed to a curriculum and pedagogy that is based on and privileges the dominant white, male, colonialist perspective of the world (O'Grady, 1989).

Critical anti-racist educators such as Henry Giroux (1995), Michael Apple (1982), and Paulo Freire (1985), asserted schools and colleges not only reproduce culture, but also produce it. As social institutions with the power to produce critical thinking and develop radical ideas, schools and colleges "open a 'project of possibility' that could" change society (Rezai-Rashti, 1995, p. 5). It is here that pedagogy has application. If we are to have a more just, egalitarian, democratic society, schools and colleges must become places where students unlearn racism. Traditional, liberal-dominated educational practice has not served this task.

Cultural, racial, and political shifts in our country demand that schools take seriously the multicultural and multiracial makeup of society. Groups that were once on the margins are gaining voice and calling for new curriculum, new knowledge, and new relationships between schools, power, and democracy. One current educational approach to the issue of race is through the perspective of multiculturalism or acceptance of diversity (McCarthy, 1995; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter, 1996). Many who advocate for multiculturalism also identify themselves as anti-racist educators (Freire,1985; Giroux, 1986; Nieto, 2000; Shor, 1987); what distinguishes them is their critical approach to issues of race, class, and gender. Others who call themselves multicultural educators, such as Payne (2005) and Slocumb (2000), take a more traditional, apolitical approach to issues of race, class, and gender. This second group wants to embrace diversity without the hard work of dismantling racism, classism, and sexism. According to Rezai-Rashti (1995), "multicultural education originated from a liberal-reformist understanding of racism, while anti-racist education emerged from the struggles of racial minorities against imperial, colonial, and neocolonial experiences" (p. 6). Multicultural education sees racism through an individualistic lens as opposed to the systemic perspective anti-racism uses to analyze racism. Multiculturalism assumes that "sensitization and celebration of difference can counteract biased and prejudiced attitudes …" (Rezai-Rashti, 1995, p. 6). I see two perspectives on multicultural education, one intentionally political and critical, the other professing to be apolitical by maintaining the status quo. Critical, anti-racist educators would assert

> public schools cannot be seen as either objective or neutral. As institutions actively involved in constructing political subjects and presupposing

> a vision of the future, they must be dealt with in terms that are simultaneously historical, critical, and transformative. (Giroux, 1995, p. xi)

Critical educators are seeking pedagogical practice that serves to critique the existing social forms, redistributes power in schools, and contributes to the transformation of learners, teachers, and culture. I contend that unlearning racism can be accomplished by the use of critical, experiential pedagogy. I merge these two because I think a critical approach that incorporates an experiential component is a powerful tool for designing curriculum that can transform society.

I identify myself as an anti-racist critical, experiential educator. I use pedagogy that involves highly emotional simulations. People are amazed when I describe what I do in my classes. I make students lie in front of the door and have others walk over them to enter. I grab all of the students of color in the hall, bind their wrists together and force them to make paper bowls the others will use to eat treats in the classroom. I have students create human institutions, then allow them to exclude and abuse each other to demonstrate how institutions function. In my assessment, it works. The feedback students give testifies that the simulations and experiential exercises were the best, most effective part of the course. Students share incredible insights about themselves, racism, classism, society, and the capitalist system. The reflection papers they write testify to the depth to which they learn and unlearn.

John Dewey is considered the philosophical founder of experiential education. Aronowitz (as cited in Deans, 1999) has characterized Paulo Freire as “the Latin John Dewey”, because he is the founding father from a critical, philosophical stance. Jane Elliot, creator of the well-known Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes simulation, is an experiential

pedagogue in the tradition of Dewey. Augusto Boal, founder of the Theater of the Oppressed, is a critical pedagogue in the tradition of Freire. These are the educators who inform my work. Both Elliot and Boal used experiential methods to teach about racism for the purpose of creating a more just society. There is an intersection between critical pedagogy and experiential education. Practitioners who follow in the steps of Jane Elliot and Augusto Boal abound, but little has been written about this intersection as it relates to unlearning racism.

As a critical educator I desire to be involved in transforming society and power. I am committed to my pedagogy, but in practicing it I encounter voices that cause me to question my practice. Outside observers, and sometimes student participants, lead me to doubt the efficacy and question what I do as an educator. I have related a story where I think learning happened, but issues arose.

Here is one example. I designed a simulation for my colleague in the Modern World Language Department. The class had read Rigoberta Menchú and other Guatemalan writers, but the teacher felt the students did not understand issues of oppression, racism, classism, and poverty. I had divided the class into a three-tiered society: an elite upper class, a bi-lingual middle class, and an indigenous poverty stricken lower class. Those students with attached earlobes were designated to be the oppressed group. Seven minutes into the simulation one of the women in the poor, indigenous group began to cry. She found it physically painful to maintain the squatting, blindfolded position demanded of her social class in the simulation. The students in the elite group argued whether to “shoot” her with the squirt gun to enforce the position, or allow her to sit down. They ordered her shot and required she maintain the position. After much

squirting and tugging the woman resumed the position. She continued to weep loudly. Tension increased by the minute as the elite group ordered more and more of the indigenous people shot to maintain the status quo in the room. The woman continued to cry, getting louder each minute. The middle class, bi-lingual group became upset as they were ordered to "shoot" the indigenous people (they could speak both Spanish and native dialects) and were used by the elites to maintain the order in the society. The teacher became increasingly agitated as students cried and expressed pain and discomfort. She repeatedly asked if we should stop the simulation. In the sixteenth minute, the bilingual middle class group turned the squirt guns on the elite group and started a revolution. They "liberated" the native people (allowed them to stand or sit, removed their blindfolds, gave them food), imprisoned the elites, and confiscated and redistributed the resources (the weapons/squirt guns, and food). I immediately called a halt to the simulation and had the students form a circle to process what had happened.

The students had reached the point in the simulation where I always stop it. The elite class (the hanging earlobe group) had used their power to oppress the powerless. The lower class (the attached earlobe group) was highly emotionally invested, with a wide gamut of emotions from anger, physical pain and despair, to confusion and indifference. The simulation was not real, the situation of racism and classism was contrived, but the emotions were very real; for what I wanted to accomplish, it was perfect.

As I reflected on this and other simulations, I question what happens for students in these learning situations. What happens for teachers? Why could I allow the student to cry while my colleague was ready to call it off? Even though students left the classroom

energized by the lesson, my colleague went home so agitated by the simulation she couldn't sleep that night. Is it okay to let students cry, to push until they feel they must push back by threatening me, to allow them to be emotionally exposed? Why can some practitioners do this work and others can't? Students have gone home and cried for hours because they were so upset (self reports). Yet, those same students say the simulation is the most powerful class they experienced while in college.

We need to help students unlearn and join in the battle to dismantle racism. Our understanding of race and race theory is being constantly transformed in this day. Race used to be understood as natural phenomena, at essence biological. Today theorists talk of race as a social or ideological construct, an objective condition, or a political relationship, and of racialization. "Race is not a stable category. It has changed over time. What it means, how it is used, by whom, how it is mobilized as a social discourse, its role in educational and more general policy, all of this is contingent and historical" (Apple, 1993, p. vii). Along with these new ways of understanding race, we need pedagogies to mediate and facilitate unlearning and dismantling racism.

Ethnic and color shifts in our society contribute to the interest in unlearning racism. The color of the United States of America is increasingly becoming brown. The 2010 census revealed that 34.9% of the population is comprised of people of color. Minnesota in the seventies was 97% white; it is now 12.6% non-white (US Census, 2010). This is a huge change for communities that were once all white. "By the year 2050, according to census extrapolations, the population of the United States will be comprised mainly of people of color: Latinos, African Americans, Asian/Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and other diasporic settlers" (San Jaun Jr., 2002, p. 170).

Along with these phenomena is the reality of dealing in global contexts; it is fast becoming the everyday context for more and more of us. The multicultural plurality of America, and the multitude of contexts in which race matters make it imperative that people have the abilities to deal well with each other. These realities make it crucial for educators to understand and teach effectively about the changing dynamics of race in America.

I came to college teaching as an experiential educator. I use exercises, initiatives, simulations, service learning, and other interactive methodologies as an integral part of my teaching pedagogy. From 1993 until 2005 I had yearly attended the International Conference of the Association for Experiential Education (AEE). Practitioners from all over the world attend in order to learn and further the field of experiential education. It was in discussion with other AEE practitioners who teach about unlearning racism that my interest in this topic peaked. I found that some practitioners encounter significant dilemmas in teaching about racism.

An assumption I hold in understanding our racialized society is that we learn racism as the status quo we are socialized into it. If racism is learned then I believe it can be “unlearned”, or we can be re-educated. For me it is vital that anti-racism education take place. A key challenge for me is to do this work and maintain human dignity while according dignity to others.

There are a host of issues involved in doing this work: crossing boundaries, making people vulnerable, mis-education. Simulations require that I take on a role. Often I subject or let students be subjected to short-term experiences of emotional/physical pain or vulnerability. I withhold or manipulate the truth. I confer power or dominance on some

while withholding it from others. I have encountered practitioners who do these same practices with varying degrees of ease, and some who refuse to participate.

Not everyone can do this work. I have encountered numerous teachers who will not, like the agitated Modern World Language teacher. I am reminded of what happened in 1996 at an African-American leadership camp for tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders. A white educator from Maine had heard about this innovative program and had received a grant to film the camp experience. All she had heard and read about the camp and its experiential methods was positive. The film was to be an educational tool used also for fund raising and promotion. During camp in an *Underground Railroad* simulation, the students were cast in the role of slaves and they experienced escaping via the Underground Railroad. The students started off in a mock African village, were captured, sold into slavery and then escaped with the help of a conductor on the Underground Railroad. They ran through the woods for three miles encountering historical figures and situations. As this white teacher observed the black youth learn about slavery by being treated as slaves, she became very agitated. On the middle passage boat ride the students were locked in the hold of a paddleboat and given cold oatmeal to eat, while the white "slave owners" ate a sumptuous lunch on deck. The students' anger and rage were very real even though the situation was contrived.

The black and white practitioners in charge of the camp considered the two-day simulation a success. The simulation had the effect of engaging and teaching the students the history of their ancestors, about systemic racism, and connections to their past. Students left the camp stating their commitments to further their own education and to being leaders in the black community. The white teacher was so uncomfortable with what

had happened that she was unable to complete the film project. Why? She had articulated agreement with the goals. She talked about being committed to unlearning racism. She had participated in experiential learning exercises previously. She videotaped every segment of the camp, every simulation and experiential exercise. Yet she was not able to finish her film. Something happened. I think two factors contributed to her inability to finish the project; one, she had never seen experiential learning used as critical pedagogy. What she witnessed was too "political" for her comfort zone. Two, she had a book knowledge of racism, and gave intellectual assent to unlearning racism. But she had little lived experience with "race," and had not journeyed very far on her own racial identity development. Numerous times I have seen teachers back away from experiential exercises involving unlearning racism. When simulations are designed from a critical pedagogy stance, rather than simply an experiential perspective, emotions tend to run high and learning becomes accelerated.

There is common ground between critical pedagogy and experiential pedagogy. Critical pedagogy is, at its core, about transformation towards a more just society. Experiential pedagogy is also transformative but has the capacity to be used either politically in a critical way that challenges the status quo, or non-critically to maintain the status quo. The merging of the two, critical pedagogy with experiential pedagogy, offers a critique and an alternative to traditional education. If the goal of education is to create a more just, democratic society, then "the key is to make pedagogy more political and the political more pedagogical" (Fisher, 2002, p. 92). Bringing critical and experiential pedagogy together does just that. This study documents the overlap of these two

pedagogies and draws out possible meanings for practitioners committed to a vision of social change through educational efforts.

This study examines the experience of both teachers and learners in an anti-racism simulation, and explores the implications of race in the equation. Specifically, this study explores how practitioners and learners understand their own racial identity and understand how race works in society. I examine why practitioners are committed to this methodology, and what role their own "race" plays in their practice. The study explains ways in which students understand what happened to them, the meanings they made of what happened, and what racial issues arose for them. I examine how students expressed and named their feelings and reactions surrounding the experience. Research of experiential educators in unlearning racism is rare. My study adds an in-depth qualitative look at critical, experiential practitioners teaching to unlearn racism. This study fills a gap and attempts to advance the discourse on the intersection of critical and experiential pedagogy.

Research Questions

Much reflection went into generating my research question. I am often not at ease as an experiential practitioner. As much as I may want to control for outcomes, too often outcomes are out of my control. What students learn is often beyond the limits of my stated goals. I don't know enough about what happens to the participant in the experiential event, or about what happens to the teacher in that same event. I don't know why some practitioners can facilitate simulations while others refuse to become involved. The topic of unlearning racism is especially sensitive, as the race of the facilitator may play a factor in their willingness or unwillingness to become involved. As I weighed

these and other thoughts my first question simply emerged as the broad question of: What happens in an anti-racism simulation for teachers and learners? This question seemed broad enough to encompass all the topics of interest within it, such as the following: why do teachers use this methodology? What impact does the race of the teacher or the student have in an anti-racism simulation? Is there/what is the intersection between critical pedagogy and experiential pedagogy? At the beginning these were my questions, and the data was yielding answers.

As I began to work more with the data another question emerged that I could not ignore: Does an anti-racist simulation aimed at high school and college aged students help them grasp critical theory concepts more easily? This seemed a very legitimate question given the directions the data was pointing, and given the current lack of racial and cultural competence in our schools and colleges. So this became a broader question helping to guide my study. The final chapter will discuss this question with the original one.

I also had a set of more specific questions that guided the study. These questions grew out of the broad questions and gave focus to the interviews and data analysis.

1. What role does the race of the teacher play in their understanding and ability to use experiential methodology to unlearn racism?
2. What role does the race of the student play in their ability to unlearn racism?
3. What do students think happened and how does that differ from teacher's learning outcomes?
4. What racial implications arise in the concerns voiced by both teachers and learners and how do they differ by race?

5. How are racial and other implications expressed, and are there differences among different racial groups?

These questions shaped the interview questions but were open enough to allow for refinement as each respondent was interviewed. The questions set the direction without leading.

I approach this task with my own set of assumptions or bias. I am a strong advocate of standpoint theory, which demands I disclose where I stand as I enter this work. There are four assumptions in particular I wish to disclose; they include my thinking about white people, critical theory, being African American, and Christianity.

I am a middle aged, African American, feminist woman who grew up poor in the Midwest. Ninety-four percent of the student body of the college I teach at is white. This college does not have a woman's studies department, nor does it offer classes in whiteness studies, or black or Latino studies. My experience is that the majority of my students enter my classroom at the first or second stages of racial identity development. Indeed this is the reality for the majority of faculty and staff on my campus, too. I assume that the majority of white people I encounter have not journeyed far on their racial identity development, and have an individualistic understanding of racism as opposed to a systemic one. To flesh this out a bit it means they lack a race consciousness, lack an understanding of the social construction of whiteness, and do not see white privilege. It means they have little lived experience of being in relationships with people of color and have internalized fear of the "other." They also do not comfortably speak about these things. These perceptions give me a heightened sense of urgency about issues of racism.

I did not learn about critical theory until graduate school. I had read Freire and some others in seminary, but did not really understand critical theory until my grad school days. The concepts were difficult and I know classmates who never understood concepts such as hegemony, concientization/critical consciousness, praxis, or systemic oppression. If the concepts are hard for graduate students, how much more so are they for high school and undergraduate students? My assumption is that critical theory concepts are difficult to grasp and people need concrete ways to apprehend these often abstract concepts, especially young people. My assumption extends to the belief that these abstract theories can be made concrete. One way to make the abstract concrete is through methodology. I assume that well designed and facilitated simulations can make the abstract concrete.

As an African American woman who grew up socio economically in the lower class, I have developed a set of critical lenses through which I make meaning of my life. Amongst others I have a race lens, a gender lens, and a class lens. I began developing these lenses at an early age. I assume that other African Americans and other people of color groups also have a race lens. If a person grew up in the suburbs where their race was marginalized, and they were disconnected from their community of color, they may not have developed their race lens much but they still have one. I assume an affinity with African Americans and people of color groups who identify as marginalized and have developed a race lens. I easily identity them and they me in large groups of dominant culture folk; we look for each other and our eyes meet and we do that chin lift acknowledgement thing. We don’t have to say a word; the chin rise says it all. Those who do it have a race consciousness and lens through which reality is filtered.

I am also a Christian. More than that, I am an ordained Baptist minister who teaches in the theology department of a liberal arts Christian university. My faith has huge influence on how I view the world and how I teach. My faith is at the core of my being and doing. My Christian lens is neither liberal nor conservative but made up of a liberation theology spirituality rooted in praxis. My action and reflection cycle involves reflection on scripture in one hand, and the world in the other, in order to transform the world. I am committed to social justice because my faith demands it. I assume my Christian bias predisposes me to believe people can change, evil exists in systems, and people can change systems. This sounds like a very modernist perspective but I hold postmodernist views as well. I teach students about systemic oppression so they will act in solidarity with the oppressed and work to liberate all of humanity, themselves included; this is my emancipatory bias. Like Giroux (2000) has suggested, I live in the borderlands between the modern and the postmodern, a world constantly shifting.

Definition of Terms

There are key words or terms that need definition so the reader may proceed with this study. I will highlight ten terms in particular so readers understand how I use the terms in this study. Of course I must define simulation. A simulation, as I use the term, is an exercise in which a mock-up of reality is recreated in order for the participants to interact in the simulated world to learn something about the real world. Sauve, Renaud and Kaufman (2010) have defined a simulation as having seven essential attributes: "(1) a model of a real or fictitious system that is (2) simplified and (3) dynamic, with (4) players in (5) competition or cooperation, (6) rules, and (7) an educational [purpose]" (p. 12). The simulations in this study fit this definition. The students are asked to enter into the

microcosm the simulation creates and take on whatever roles are called for. Students are always themselves, but in addition assume some role in the simulated world.

I look to Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2010) for a working definition of race. Bonilla-Silva stated that race is socially constructed, and "after race- or class or gender is created, it produces real effects on the actors racialized as "black" or "white" (p. 9). This means race has a social reality in people's daily lives. A second term I draw from Bonilla-Silva is the term color-blind, or color-blind racism. To claim to be color-blind, "Most whites assert 'they don't see any color, just people'" (Bonilla-Silva, p.1). Colorblindness is a position of denial. Color-blind racism is the new racial ideology.

> Whereas Jim Crow racism explained blacks' social standing as the result of their biological and moral inferiority, color-blind racism avoids such facile arguments. Instead whites rationalize minorities' contemporary status as the product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks' imputed cultural limitations. (Bonilla-Silva, 2010, p. 2)

This new ideology maintains racism without racists.

A term I use often is race consciousness. By this I mean awareness of race and its saliency in society. I mean having an awareness of one's own race and the social meaning attached to it. For people of color, race consciousness means awareness of racism in society on some level. Bonilla-Silva (2010) has examined color consciousness and defined it in a much more multifaceted way. I will touch on his usage in the chapters dealing with data. Closely associated with the term race consciousness is the term racialized society. This term was defined in the opening paragraphs of this dissertation but bears repeating. By a racialized society I mean the following:

> a society wherein race matters profoundly for differences in life experiences, life opportunities, and social relationships. A racialized society can also be said to be a society that allocates differential economic, political, social, and even psychological rewards to groups along racial lines that are socially constructed. (Emerson & Smith, 2000, p. 7)

In a racialized society all people are raced, and race matters whether one knows it or not.

The term whiteness also needs definition. According to Leonardo (2000), whiteness is a racial discourse, also a racial worldview or perspective. Whiteness refuses to name racism and avoids identifying itself with a group. Whiteness is not the same as the category "white people" which is a socially constructed identity based on skin-color (Leonardo, 2009). Just as men can be feminists, a white-bodied subject can be anti-white. A term that is closely related is white privilege. Peggy McIntosh (2002) defined white privilege as the unearned package of privileges and advantages whites receive just for being white. Whites can easily find someone to cut their hair, find nylons or bandages to match their skin, or purchase a house and find themselves welcomed and affirmed by their neighbors (McIntosh). These privileges are generally invisible to whites. Leonardo (2004a) defined racial privilege as "the notion that white subjects accrue advantages by virtue of being constructed as whites. … Privilege is granted even without a subject's (re)cognition that life is made a bit easier for her. Privilege is also granted despite a subject's attempt to dis-identify with the white race" (p. 141). Recognition that society is structured to privilege white subjects and the privileges are institutionalized and not shut down by choice is important to include here. One does not have to have white skin to be constructed as white and to receive white privilege.

Two more terms that need explanation are internalized racist oppression (IRO) and internalized racist superiority (IRS). Internalized racist oppression "mean[s] that minority group members subscribe to the dominant group's negative stereotypes of their group" (Valenzuela, 2008, p. 50). The most common manifestation of IRO is self-hatred. The flip side of IRO is of course internalized superiority, the phenomena that occurs when whites internalize an ideology of racial superiority, and live as if it were true. The most common manifestation of IRS is seeing white as the norm or standard to which everything else must be measured.

Praxis is another term used in this dissertation. Praxis, in the critical sense, is the practice of integrating theory and action with reflection in a spiral that looks back in reflection and looks forward in prospective action. Both acts are seen as contingent, and lead to transformation of the learner and of society (Freire, 1988, 1970).

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into seven chapters and a conclusion. This opening chapter presented the problem in the context of critical pedagogy and stated the rationale/purpose for this study. The research questions have been laid out and underlying assumptions were made clear. Some of the key terms used are defined. The chapter closes with an overview of how the study is laid out.

Chapter two will review the theoretical frameworks I used in this study. I reviewed the literature of simulations as a teaching method. Outside of the fields of nursing and computer technology, there was little literature in this field. Simulations fit under the umbrella of experiential education, so the literature of experiential education is reviewed. A third framework used in this study is critical pedagogy. This literature is

broadly reviewed from its historical origins. The final framework focuses on critical race pedagogy. Two strains of scholarship abound here, whiteness studies and critical race theory; I briefly reviewed these two. These four frameworks woven together under gird this study.

Chapter three will describe the methodology. The qualitative nature of the study is disclosed, as well as how the data was collected. The students are introduced and each teacher participant is profiled. The sites where each simulation took place are profiled. The *Other People's Power* simulation was conducted at both a college site and a high school site with a majority of white student participants. The *Squat No More* simulation was conducted at the college site. Only four students of color responded to interviews, so a third simulation, *The Underground Railroad,* was added to the study to increase the participation of students of color. Only high school students of color participated in this simulation. The simulations themselves are described in detail with attendant diagrams. The interview process is described. The chapter references appendixes of all questions asked.

Chapter four is the first of four chapters analyzing the data. This chapter focuses on the experience of the teachers. Five topics were culled from the data. Within each topic themes emerged. It was important that the voice of the teachers come through, so attention is given to this point. The teachers tell the story in their words of what happens for them in the simulation. There is some analysis throughout and at the close of the chapter. The findings are summarized in the conclusion.

Chapter five focuses on the students of color. Nine student interviews were analyzed. The group was comprised of six African Americans, two biracial, and one

Japanese American. The students were allowed to racially self identify as they told the story of what happened for them in a simulation. Again topics were identified and then coded for themes. The themes that emerged were unique to this student group but surprisingly mirrored the white college students. This student group quickly understood the "big picture" of the simulation. As marginalized people, they identified with the voice and perspective the simulation brought to the classroom. They connected both cognitively and affectively to the simulation. The analysis runs throughout and at the end of the chapter.

Chapter six is the first of the two chapters that focus on the experience of the white students. The experience of the white college students so differed from that of the white high school students, I decided to analyze the data separately. This chapter covers eight high school students. Only four topics surfaced with this group, but many themes emerged. White identity development, or lack of it, takes up a good portion of this chapter. This student group was most confused by the simulation; some students remained confused all the way through the simulation. This group also became stuck in their feelings and subsequently found it hard to go deep cognitively. The data suggested needs unique to this racial and age level. Again, the chapter closes with the findings and analysis.

Chapter seven is the final data analysis chapter and tells the story of the seven white college students. The five topics that emerged parallel the topics of the student of color group; the themes were quite their own. In their own words, the simulation was a powerful experience for them. There was depth of feeling and learning. This group's high racial identity development levels suggest that simulations are an especially effective

methodology with them. The findings and comparison with the other groups close out this chapter.

The conclusion contains the findings, implications of the data, contributions to the field, and possible questions for further study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Frameworks

This study weaves together four theoretical strands: simulations as a teaching method, experiential education, critical pedagogy, and critical race pedagogy. Simulations qualify as a subset of experiential education as they are a part of this pedagogy. These strands describe my teaching theory. When imagining my dissertation I sought research that brought these strands together. I found very little. This fact motivated my study. I see an overlap in critical and experiential pedagogies, especially in using simulations, perhaps because it is true in my practice.

Simulations as a Teaching Method

Simulations are a useful teaching strategy. In a simulation the learner has the opportunity to experience an environment or a role that may be totally alien to them. The more isomorphic to the real life situation the simulation is, the greater the learning possibilities are. Complex and abstract concepts and systems can be taught using simulations. For students to learn the intended outcomes of a simulation there must be a time of reflection/debriefing following the simulated activity; this can be thought of as Kolb's reflective stage (see Figure 1).

Back in the 1960s Coleman defined a social simulation game as "a game in which certain social processes are explicitly mirrored in the structure and functioning of the game. The game is a kind of abstraction of these social processes, making explicit certain of them that are ordinarily implicit in our everyday behavior" (as cited in Chapman, 1974, p. 6). A prime example is Jane Elliot's 1968 *Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes* simulation exercise. Elliot wanted to promote awareness and change the attitudes towards racial

discrimination of her third grade class. The simulation she created "provide[d] her white, third grade students with firsthand experience of the effects of racism" (Hammond, 2006, p. 546). The long lasting effects of her simulation exercise are documented in the PBS Frontline documentary, *A Class Divided: Then and Now* (1985). Many simulation games have been developed since the 1960s, but the definition has not experienced much development.

The definition of a simulation game today would not differ greatly from Coleman's definition of the 1960s. Sauve, Renaud and Kaufman (2010) defined a simulation as having "five relevant attributes: (1) a model of the reality defined as a system; (2) a dynamic model; (3) a simplified model; (4) a faithful, accurate, and valid model; [with] (5) an educational purpose" (Kaufman & Sauvé, 2010, p. 8). These same authors distinguished between a simulation and a simulation game, seeing the latter as having seven essential attributes: "(1) a model of a real or fictitious system that is (2) simplified and (3) dynamic, with (4) players in (5) competition or cooperation, (6) rules, and (7) an educational [purpose]" (Kaufman & Sauvé, 2010, p. 12). This definition conflates the meaning of "game" and "simulation" to create a working definition that captures what happens in a myriad of classrooms and training spaces. By "simplified" the authors here mean "an incomplete representation of a larger reality that reproduces its essential characteristics… a mockup of reality, certain elements of which are removed to emphasize others in order to… achieve particular educational goals" (Kaufman & Sauvé, 2010, p. 8). The term "dynamic" connotes movement over stasis. In a simulation game, this "places the learner in real situations, in which [s]he *executes actions and makes decisions* with the aim of obtaining *real-time feedback*" (Kaufman & Sauvé, 2010, p. 8).

Lastly, the phrase "faithful and accurate" connotes the degree of similarity between the simulation and the reality it seeks to model, and the notion of validity refers to the fact that "the results obtained by the simulation have to be the same as those obtained in the real world" (Kaufman & Sauvé, 2010, p. 9). The simulations described in this study fit one or the other of these definitions.

The use of simulation games as a teaching tool has passed its zenith. Dorn (1989) noted that "interest in simulation gaming in education, as measured by the number of published articles and books on the topic, has been declining since the peak years of 1971-1975" (p. 1). Despite the decline in popularity, I think "serious social simulation games offer a rich field for risk-free, active exploration of serious intellectual and societal problems" (Chapman, 1974, p. 6). The effectiveness of simulations gave rise to these kinds of statements. In 1978 Covert and Thomas included the following list of reasons simulations and games are effective:

Games and simulations involve the whole student in learning.

1. Participants experience the concepts they are learning about.
2. The participant can actually feel the concept as well as learn about the concept.
3. The participants are given experiences closer to real-life situations.
4. Participants gain empathy for real-life decision makers, gain insight into the complexities of real life and empathize with real-world participants. (Covert, Thomas 1978, p. 8). I would posit the same methodology effectiveness draws teachers to use simulations today.

Experiential Education

Experiential pedagogy originates in the philosophy of John Dewey who was "the preeminent democratic theorist-educator in American history" (Becker & Couto, 1996 p.18). At the beginning of the twentieth century Dewey was influenced by the humanistic psychologists of his time, whose thought is reflected in his work. Noddings (1995) has called Dewey's philosophy *pragmatic naturalism* because the term conveys "both the emphasis on naturalistic explanation and the focus on effects through a method of inquiry that involves hypothesis testing" (Noddings, 1995 p.25). Dewey saw education as equivalent to growth, and experience as educative only if it produced growth (Noddings, 1995). The basic Deweyan assumptions that are key to experiential learning are as follows: learners are to be active, and thus Dewey said, "There is, I think, no point in the philosophy of progressive education which is sounder than its emphasis upon the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process" (Dewey, 1963 p.67). Education should value, above all, the experiences of the learner; it is to be student-centered. "The educator cannot start with knowledge already organized and proceed to ladle it out in doses. Anything which can be called a study , … must be derived from materials which at the onset fall within the scope of ordinary life" (Dewey, 1963 p.82-83).This means that the students' needs and inquiry guide the learning. Shor (1992) also saw the seeds of Freire's problem-posing method here: "By situating critical inquiry in student culture, the generative-theme approach also reflects Deweyan progressive education" (Shor, 1992 p.47).

A second Deweyan assumption is that growth through experience must create the conditions for further growth. The principles of continuity and interaction must be

applied or experiences may be mis-educative. Dewey was concerned that experiences be interpreted in ways that

> lead to transformative knowledge about the self and the social world. Continuity, as a criterion for experience, refers to the connectedness we feel toward our social practice and activities, and whether we see ourselves as authors of, rather than as authored by, our experience. (Britzman, 2003 p.50)

Dewey believed in learning from experiences both inside and outside the classroom, and not just from teachers. He asserted that power does not belong to the teacher alone, but is to be shared in the democratic classroom. Finally, the goal is the development and transformation of the learner into a mature, moral, democratic, socially responsible citizen.

> For Dewey, democracy was a mode of associated living, and decisions were to be made by a shared process of inquiry. Democracy… is not a state; it is more a process, and its rules must be under continual scrutiny, revision, and creation" (Noddings, 1995 p.35).

Experiential educators associated with AEE proudly claim Dewey. Critics, like Bowles and Gintis (1976), Noddings (1995) and Kincheloe and Steinberg (2000), have noted Dewey's silence on issues of race, class, gender, and systemic oppression, and his utopian view of democracy (Noddings, 1995). I resonate with my experiential colleagues while at the same time agree with critics who fault Dewey for his lack in dealing with systemic injustice, which obstructs any real democracy. However, his work is still the foundational theory for experiential education.

No discussion of experiential education theory is complete without mention of Kurt Hahn. Hahn was less a theorist and more a practitioner. Hahn was the founder of the Outward Bound movement in Great Britain during World War II. In 1961 the Outward Bound model came to America and gave rise to the outdoor education and service-learning movements (Kraft, 1986). Key contributions that Hahn has made to experiential education are the ideas of service to neighbor and in the cause of peace as essential to education. A second theme of Hahn is the concept of using any environment as a learning classroom, hence the notion of outdoor education. A third emphasis in Hahn was the idea that a just society ought to be the goal of education; here he echoes Dewey. For Hahn, the schooling process was incomplete if it did not educate students to be compassionate and just (Kraft, 1986).

Teaching that is methodologically experiential is the intentional, disciplined guiding of the learning process. The learner is the key individual in the learning process. The teacher plays a multifaceted role. Some key descriptive words of what the teacher does include the following: helper, facilitator, one who stands alongside, one who is in relationship with, enabler of/to the learner. I derive the following paradigm of the experiential teacher from my reading of Dewey, Hahn, Kraft, and Sakofs:

Teachers:

Take a holistic approach to learners.

Know the learners, their needs, abilities, present understandings, short-comings, etc.

Structure the teaching to fit the individual learner.

See learners as resources.

See learners as responsible and active.

Have an internal locus of discipline.

Environment:

Is creatively used by teachers

Learning is not confined to the classroom.

Learning environment is cooperative, developed by students and teacher, who is responsible to be "intimately acquainted" with the community.

Teachers:

Facilitate students learning from each other.

Communicate at the developmental level of the learner.

Purposely introduce experience in a continuum that will cause disequilibrium to encourage growth and learning.

Facilitates reflection and sharing which are basic components within the learning process.

Plans goals in conjunction with learners.

Something also needs to be said about Dewey's construction of the role of the learner at this point. Fundamentally, the student is responsible for his/her own learning; learning is not imposed. Learners should have a measure of power and control over the environment, curriculum, and relevancy of what is taught. Learners, once taught, must responsibly exercise their power and control. In experiential learning the emphasis is on process, not content. The equation for experiential learning is: plan — experience — reflection — integration. The learner is to be involved in every step. Education is seen as

a lifelong continuous process, concerned with transforming the individual (Dewey, 1963; Kraft, 1986).

There is no uniformity among experiential teachers. The range of practitioners who use experiential methods is wide. Practitioners in the fields of psychology, education, social work, technology, training, and even theology draw on experiential methodology. In any and all of these fields one can find critical pedagogues and as Shor (1987) stated, traditional pedagogues see the "traditional purpose of curriculum, [as] the reproduction of inequality … [the] educator's role as … socializing students into the status quo" (Shor, 1987, p. 15). It is not that traditional educators intend to reproduce an unequal status quo; it is that the "hierarchical, patriarchal, plutocratic structures of American education" often result in educators themselves not having the critical tools to recognize their own co-optation into a destructive educational system (Becker & Couto, 1996 p. 19). Those who are not critical pedagogues in any of the above-mentioned fields may never tackle the realm of ideology critique in their teaching methods.

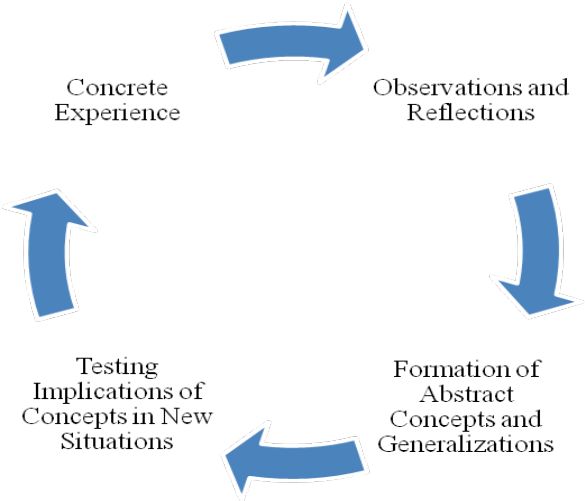
What is uniform among experiential educators is that

most attempt to travel the cycle of learning that David Kolb has described, one in which reflection and experience support each other….Kolb's learning cycle … combines concrete experience through a reflective stage to a critical/analytical stage to a stage of application of new ideas which, when tested, provide concrete experience that begins the cycle again" (Becker & Couto, 1996, p. 20; see Figure 1.). Experiential educators might also uniformly agree in the essence of a democratic education, one that

> is a system in which people, as citizens, learn the basic values of pure democratic citizenship, such as how to : (1) respect one another; (2) listen to one another; (3) think critically together about common problems and issues; (4) arrive at solutions to mutual problems creatively in a community setting; and (5) work together in implementing those solutions. (Becker & Couto, 1996, p. 19)

Experiential educators who are psychologists working in the clinical community, theologians teaching at a seminary, or camp directors working to establish community amongst campers could readily agree with the experiential learning cycle and Dewey's idea of a democratic education. One does not need to be a critical pedagogue to be an experiential pedagogue. The critique/analysis stage referenced in the experiential learning cycle does not require critical theorist based analysis; questions of power and hegemony need never be surfaced nor answered. But both critical pedagogues and experiential pedagogues can and do use simulations as a teaching methodology.

Figure 1. Kolb's Learning Cycle



(Becker & Couto, 1996, p. 20)

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is an outgrowth of critical social theory of the Frankfurt School founded in the late 1920s in Frankfurt, Germany. The Institute for Social Research (Frankfurt School) sought to "articulate a view of theory that has the central task of emancipating people from the positivist 'domination of thought' through their own understandings and actions" (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, p.130). Frankfurt theorists included names like Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and Jurgen Habermas. These critical theorists were the first to critique the *consumer* society (Kellner, 1998). Their theoretical work was "directed at understanding and contributing to the transformation of social formations that, in various ways, blocked concrete realizations of increased human freedom" (Outlaw, 2005, p.92). Not abandoning Marx, but going beyond Marx, "critical theorists have insisted on analyzing the social conditions that underlie, accompany, and result from forms of domination" (Noddings, 1995, p.68). Critical theory brought together philosophy and the emerging social sciences of the time, such as Marxism, psychoanalysis, and sociology. "Frankfurt Critical Theory sought to make theory critical insofar as it exposed the dialectical tensions in modernity, such as between authoritarianism and enlightenment" (Leonardo, 2009, p.14). Critical pedagogy fits under the broader umbrella of critical social theory as do critical race theory and feminist theory.

"Pedagogy," McLaren (1995) stated, "refers to the process by which teachers and students negotiate and produce meaning. … [and considers] how teachers and students are positioned within discursive practices and power/knowledge relations" (McLaren, 1995, p.34). Critical pedagogy requires the asking "critical" questions, those having to

do with power and hegemony. Traditional views of education assert that schooling will produce an enlightened citizenry, and that education will improve individuals and society. But the reality has not lived up to that expectation. Those in power have been enlightened and improved by education; not so the disempowered masses. Traditionally knowledge is seen as neutral and universal, and questions about the politics, power, history, and context of knowledge have not been interrogated. Critical pedagogy has "a view of the school as a terrain of contestation" (McLaren, 1995, p.30). Critical teachers and students alike can no longer endorse knowledge in the interest of, and for the benefit of, the culturally dominant group. Critical pedagogy demands that schools become zones for empowerment (McLaren, 1995; Shor, 1992). McLaren and Giroux (1986) defined empowerment as a process. Students acquire the skills to "critically appropriate knowledge existing outside of their immediate experience in order to broaden their understanding of themselves, the world, and the possibilities for transforming the 'taken-for-granted assumptions about the way we live'" (Rezai-Rashti, 1995 p.19).

In the post 1960s struggles of racial minorities, women, and disenfranchised groups opposed imperial, colonial, and neocolonial experiences of racism and sexism; the critical analytical method emerged as highly relevant. This method insists on closely studying and revealing the sites, institutions, and ways in which oppression originates. Critical pedagogy calls for a comprehensive analysis that questions historical as well as existing social and political structures. Culture is seen as a dynamic, rather than as a static institution. Critical pedagogues seek to empower students with the language of critique and possibility (Giroux, 1986; Gramsci, 1971; Rezai-Rashti, 1995, pp. 5-18). A more democratic, egalitarian, and just society is the outcome of critical pedagogy.

Critical pedagogy is essentially political. It rejects the assumed neutral and apolitical structure and posture of schools and colleges and recognizes them as social and cultural institutions that legitimate and reproduce the dominant material and ideological conditions in society (Hernandez, 1997). Paulo Freire highlighted the political aspects of education:

> First, education is a political act, whether at the university, high school, primary school or adult literacy classrooms. Why? Because the very nature of education has the inherent qualities to be political, as indeed politics has educational aspects. In other words, an educational act has a political nature. (Freire, 1985, pp. 188-189).

In elementary classrooms and college classrooms, whose history is taught and whose is excluded? Why? The same questions can be asked about art and literature? Whose perspective is taught in classrooms, and why? Is US western expansion taught from the perspective of encroaching settlers, or the landed natives? Decisions about curriculum content, dissemination, even seating arrangements is political.

The struggles of people of color, women, and other oppressed groups are in part situated in school and college classrooms. Critical pedagogy starts with the experience of these students and takes seriously their needs and problems.

> Critical pedagogy can reveal the ideology underlying a hegemonic curriculum, its hierarchically organized bodies of knowledge, and the way this curriculum marginalizes or disqualifies working class knowledge as well as knowledge about women and minorities. It calls attention to the need to unravel the ideological

> interests embedded in the various messages, especially those ingrained in the curriculum, systems of instruction, and the modes of evaluation. (Giruox, 1993, p. 292)

The critical thinking and development of radical ideas called for in critical pedagogy create a possibility for the political transformation of society.

Critical pedagogy evolved through various stages. Early on the focus was on economic-reproduction analysis. Theorists like Althusser, Bowels, and Gintis examined the links between the economic structure of society and the transmission of skills and knowledge that work to perpetuate the current system. In their biting critique, *Schooling in Capitalist America,* Bowels and Gintis (1976) asserted the following:

> Schools legitimate inequality, … They create and reinforce patterns of socialclass, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate 'properly' to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status, … Schools foster types of personal development compatible with the relationships of dominance and subordinacy in the economic sphere. (Bowles & Gintis, 1976 p. 11)

These theorists exposed the power of capitalism and the market in everyday schooling. The concept of the "hidden curriculum" entered the discourse of pedagogy. Philip Jackson termed the "tacit teaching of social and economic norms and expectations to students in schools, [the hidden curriculum]" (Apple, 1990, p.44). Apple also noted that in the nineteenth century teaching social and economic norms was a primary function of schools. But in present times this function of schooling bears examination. "They [schools] teach a hidden curriculum that seems uniquely suited to maintain the

ideological hegemony of the most powerful classes in this society" (Apple, 1990, p.43). The hidden curriculum also helps to legitimate the socialization of students into accepting limited roles. Critical pedagogues are the ones exposing this phenomenon as problematic.

Another stage of analysis in critical pedagogy was the cultural-reproductive stage represented by the work of Bourdieu. In France, he analyzed the mediating role of culture in the reproduction of class societies. As the economic sector has economic property, the cultural sector has symbolic property called cultural capital. Boudieu called the cultural rules the *habitus*, including middle class rules, values, habits, prior knowledge, and language forms (Apple, 1990). "He argues that the cultural capital stored in schools acts as an effective filtering device in the reproduction of a hierarchical society" (Apple, 1990, p.32). Boudieu and others posited that cultural capital is not neutral and thus schools play a key role in preparing some for success and some for failure. The culture-reproduction theories assume that the rules that govern social behavior come from the larger economic and political structures of society mediated through educational institutions (Apple, 1990).

In the hegemonic-state reproductive stage, critical analysis centered around the role of the state in the educational system. Gramci's concept of "hegemony" comes into the discourse at this stage. Gramci is the Italian Marxist theorist responsible for the concept of hegemony.

> Hegemony refers to the ways in which the state works to ensure that oppressed and exploited populations give consent to their own domination and that of others. Hegemony depends, in large part, on people accepting the ruling ideas in society as "common sense". (Rezai-Rashti, 1995, p.104)

Torres (1998) defined hegemony "as the dual use of force and ideology to reproduce social relations between the ruling and subordinate classes" (Torres, 1998, p.14). The institutions in civil society such as government, church, schools, and media are sites of ideological production. People absorb the "common-sense" views of dominant society in uncritical ways. Cultural hegemony can become a powerful tool. Noddings (1995) highlighted an example. One way to exercise domination is to deny people literacy, but to extend literacy can be a way to assure hegemony. People who can read can be led into becoming consumers of products they don't need; they can be duped into accepting political and social structures not in their best interests. And finally, they can be fooled into thinking economic and educational systems work for them when in reality they maintain the powerful elite (Noddings, 1995). However, Gramci maintained that subordinate populations did not passively consent to oppression and exploitation. The lived reality of subordinate populations creates another consciousness, "good-sense"; this limits acceptance of "common-sense". This "contradictory consciousness, 'good-sense' as opposed to 'common-sense' becomes the terrain for cultural and ideological work" (Rezai-Rashti, 1995, p.104). Hegemony is never complete, and Gramci called for teachers and students to act in counter-hegemonic ways.

Reproductive theory, however, failed to address the question of human agency. Resistance theory, the capacity of individuals and groups to contest hegemonic control, arose as an alternative discourse. The key theorist here is Paulo Freire. Many in the field consider Freire the father of critical pedagogy. Freire (1990) was a philosopher-educator born in Brazil in the early twentieth century. His family was middle-class but in his childhood they were forced into poverty by the harsh economic times. He became an

educator dedicating his life work to solidarity with, and empowerment of, the oppressed in both Latin America and Africa. For a national literacy campaign in Brazil he designed a method to teach illiterate adults to read, which was the foundation for his seminal text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Freire called his pedagogy liberatory; he wanted "the oppressed to understand that oppressive forces are not part of the natural order of things, but the result of historical and socially constructed forces that can be changed" (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 1997, p.38). Freire brought key concepts to the discourse: banking education, internalized oppression, critical consciousness, problem-posing, to name a few. Freire viewed the existing pedagogical models of his day as banking education because "they treated knowledge as isolated, ahistorical facts simply to be 'deposited' into the minds of the students as a banker might deposit funds into an account" (McLaren & Giarelli, 1995, p.238-239). He rejected rote memorization and regurgitation by students and conceptualized teachers as learners and students as teachers. He discussed concepts like internalized oppression, which he called "the duality which has established itself in their [the oppressed] innermost being, … They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. … Only as they discover themselves to be 'hosts' of the oppressor can they contribute to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy" (Freire, 1988; 1970, p. 30). This concept is picked up by critical race and feminist theories.

The concept of critical consciousness as articulated by Shor (1987) is emancipatory content, presented in liberatory ways that challenge students' taken-for-granted realities and inspire their commitment to radical change (Shor, 1987). Freire

spoke of problem-posing as a methodology. It is a group process that starts with listening or investigating, to generate themes, followed by dialogue or codifying issues for deep thought, culminating in action. Problem-posing creates social connectedness and shared responsibility (Shor, 1987). This is merely the surface of the contribution Freire has made to the field of pedagogy. Leonardo (2009) summed up Freire's key contributions: "ideology critique, an analysis of culture, attention to discourse, and a recasting of the teacher as an intellectual or cultural worker" (Leonardo, 2009, p.16).

The next stage in critical pedagogy was on production phenomena instead of reproduction phenomena. When students' and teachers' resistance to oppressive practice takes on new cultural forms, attitudes, or behaviors, this is cultural production as opposed to reproduction (Hesch, 1995). Here, theorists analyze the relationship between structure and human agency, recognizing the processes of mediation through which students and teachers produce and reproduce their conditions of existence. A leading theorist in this area is Giroux. He sees schools as powerful socializing environments that perpetuate dominant ideologies. Giroux advocated for critical literacy, a mode of analysis that investigates individual and collective problems, and gives students a language of critique and possibility. This "language of possibility is built on the premise that quality education revolves around the critical capacity to imagine an alternative reality for education" (Leonardo, 2009, p.22). According to Giroux, schools and colleges can become places of struggle for transformation and a discourse of possibility (Giroux, 1988; Hernandez, 1997).

In the closing of the old, and dawning of the new century, critical pedagogy has shifted away from economic/capitalist-based analysis to a broader attack on systems. For example, Leonardo (2009) asserted the following:

> Quality education means having to confront the reality of inequality, one of its latest examples going by the name of neo-liberalism with its ability to create new spaces for capital around the globe. Confronting inequality means coming to terms with social arrangements that create social disparities and understanding their sources. (Leonardo, 2009, p.18)

Giroux (2005) concurs with Leonardo here arguing that the struggle against neo-liberalism be set in the broader context of the global sphere and address the "discourse of political agency, civic education and cultural politics" (p.31). This move toward attacking systems was facilitated by "Culturalist politics, Self/Identity politics and Grassroots politics;" what Cho calls the New Social Movements (Cho, 2010, p. 7). The projects of critical pedagogy now move towards "counter-cultural or identity-based struggles" (Cho, 2010, p.7). In cultural studies, critical pedagogues like hooks (2003), Giroux (2006), and McLaren (1995) analyzed popular culture to help students develop critical agency.

Critical Race Pedagogy

Early on in critical pedagogy the critique of race took second place to that of class. The last two decades have seen a shift in attention. In dealing with the issue of race, critical pedagogy engages theorists of whiteness studies such as McIntosh (1992), Roediger (1991), Frankenberg (1993) and a myriad of others deconstruct white hegemony and analyze white supremacy and domination (Leonardo, 2004b). Whiteness studies entered academia circa 1990. In whiteness studies the social construction of

whiteness as a social category and it's meaning in societies throughout history is investigated with a twofold purpose: conceptual engagement, and a racial strategy for intervention (Leonardo, 2009).

Conceptually, the study of whiteness has yielded much, even though theorists can't say precisely what whiteness is.

> Whiteness cannot be separated from hegemony and is profoundly influenced by demographic changes, political realignments, and economic cycles. Situationally specific, whiteness is always shifting, always reinscribing itself around changing meanings of race in the larger society. As with race in general, whiteness holds material/economic implications-- indeed, white reign has its financial rewards. (Kincheloe, 2000, p.4)

Instead of definitions "we get similes: whiteness-as-property, whiteness-as-terror, whiteness-as-invisibility" (Taylor, 2004, p.228). Whiteness originated in the European Enlightenment. In the context of expanding colonialism whiteness defined itself as the norm and came to be conflated with rationality, orderliness, and self-control, while inscribing the non-white "other" as irrational, violent, and chaotic; in a word, savage (Kincheloe, 2000). The end of traditional colonialism solidified the power of whiteness. With the shift into neo-colonialism and the economic sphere now the terrain to be dominated, white rationality led the way to global domination. How this dynamic came to pass and the devastation wrought on the non-white people groups is not taught in traditional schooling. Deep shifts in the meaning of blackness, whiteness, and other racial identities in the last two decades have made the study of whiteness urgent for all people (Kincheloe, 2000; Leonardo, 2009). Rodriguez (2000) holds that "mapping terrains of

whiteness and interrogating the spaces and logic of such terrains has become vital" (p.31).

Regarding a strategy for intervention, two camps have arisen amongst critical theorists of whiteness studies: white reconstruction and white abolition. As the name suggests, the reconstructionists want to reconstruct whiteness. As McLaren (2000) says, "We must invariably ask: From whiteness to where?" (p.169). The reconstructionists believe that white people are more than racist and oppressive. They acknowledge white privilege but believe that whites can be remade into something that is not an oppressive identity and ideology. Reconstructionists argue for and offer discourses of hope based on historical examples of whites who have fought for racial justice. They maintain that whites can counter the hegemony of racist logic and think and act in solidarity with people of color while forging a positive white identity. They do not see abolitionism as a viable choice because it leads to defensiveness and hopelessness (Kincheloe, 2000; Leonardo, 2009). In this camp reside a multitude of critical anti-racist pedagogues who work with students to de-center whiteness and rearticulate its examination as an emancipatory project.

Counter to this view is that of the white abolitionist, lead by Roediger who asserts that "whiteness is not only false and oppressive, it is *nothing but false and oppressive*" (Leonardo, 2009, p.92). Those in this camp advocate abolishing whiteness because there is nothing worth saving in it. They believe white people are the problem of racism as long as they think they are white. Leonardo (2009) credits Ignatiev and Garvey with leading the charge to whites to commit "race treason" by disavowing themselves of membership in and allegiance to the "white club". They maintain that race is not real and theories that

accept the existence of races reify the problem. Neo-abolitionists argue that as long as race exists, racism will as well, so the cry is to disidentify with whiteness and cease to invest in its privileged identification (Leonardo, 2009; Roediger, 1998). These theories are in opposition to the racial identity theories of Helms (1990) and Tatum (1997), which posit stages of identity development for whites. I will revisit this in my analysis of the teachers and students who participated in this study. Leonardo (2009) has claimed this shift in focus in race theory has resulted in much needed work and opened a space for dialogue and potential transformation.

Critical race theory (CRT) is a movement primarily of theorists of color in law schools who have challenged the "complicity of law in upholding white supremacy" (West, 1995, p. xi). These theorists explored the construction of race and racial power in American legal culture and the broader society. Like other critical theorists, they reject the notion that legal scholarship is "neutral" or "objective," and is, at the least, biased by racial ideology. Thus, law schools and courts became places to contest racial hegemony in America. Critical race theorists recognized that the contemporary ideologies about race were built in the sixties and seventies and no longer served the changing racial dynamics. Dissatisfied with traditional civil rights discourse, which dealt with individual manifestations of racism, not systemic forms, they saw legal thought embracing "color-blindness" as its dominant moral compass. In opposition and resistance to this movement, critical race theory evolved with a twofold purpose: focused on the use of the rule of law, to understand how white supremacy and the subordination of people of color were created and maintained in America, and with the use of law, to change it (Crenshaw, 1995a).

For example, theorists of critical race theory like Bell (1992) challenged traditional racial assumptions and argued that "racism is an integral, permanent, and indestructible component of this society" (Bell, 1992, p.xiii). Yet while bemoaning racism's permanence, Bell (1992) still issued a call for action since "it is a question of *both, and*. *Both* the recognition of the futility of action—where action is more civil rights strategies destined to fail—*and* the unalterable conviction that something must be done, some action must be taken" (p.199). Crenshaw (1995), another critical race theorist, investigated how social power "essentialized" racial communities and presented a fixed picture of the black experience which was flat and male and lacked the complexity of a racialized society. Crenshaw argued that black female reality has been erased, and mainstream feminism "centered" white women's experience. "Because of their intersectional identity as both women *and* of color within discourses shaped to respond to one *or* the other, women of color are marginalized within both" (Crenshaw, 1995b p.358). She called for new discourses responsive to their situations (Crenshaw, 1995b). In *The Miner's Canary*, critical race theorists Guinier and Torres (2002) offered a critique of race as a political project and sought to change the framework of the discourse on race. "This approach reveals race as a political, not just a social, construction" (p.14). I discuss these three theorists among the many because reading their work contributed to my understanding of race theory.

As theory, critical pedagogy embodies the possibility for unlearning racism. In practice, a major criticism of critical pedagogy is the difficulty practitioners and teachers encounter in turning theory into practice (Rezai-Rashti, 1995). Teaching critically, based on critical theorizing, has never been an easy task. It is much easier to grasp critical

theory's analysis than to put critical theory into practice in the classroom. Critical pedagogues intend that teaching produce transformation of not only the learner, but also of society. "Critical theory challenges power and authority everywhere it resides " (Kaplan, 2003, p. 153). If it is successful, the theory will produce political activists who engage to change the social, economic, and political status quo. "The discourse of critical pedagogy is couched in abstract and ethical ideas such as hope, love, democracy, utopia, and care" (Cho, 2010, p. 321). Good intentions not withstanding, the praxis of critical theory has been problematic.

Too many of the theorists have not stated how it works in real social action, in real classrooms. So what we get are critical pedagogues who use a myriad of methodological approaches. Paulo Freire (1970) advocated a dialectical methodology. Brookfield (2005) asserted that Erich Fromm and Angela Davis advocate teaching a structuralized worldview as an approach to critical teaching. "He [Fromm] feels that adults' accumulated experience of life provides the curricular material that can be analyzed for evidence of the impact of wider social forces" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 352). Brookfield further cited critical theorists Marcuse and Habermas as advocating for the use of abstract conceptual reasoning in their pedagogy. Brookfield stated Habermas and Gramsci stressed the need for learners to temporarily detach/separate from their social and cultural lives to view society in new, critical ways. Cornel West and bell hooks engage in what hooks calls interrogative teaching, pushing students to question the prevailing paradigms of race, class, and gender (hooks, 1994). In *Becoming Critical*, Carr and Kemmis (1986) credited Habermas with the methods of psychoanalytic self-reflection and ideology critique.

> Social groups, Habermas argues, are prevented from achieving a correct understanding of their situation because, under the sway of ideological systems of ideas, they have passively accepted an illusory account of reality that prevents them from recognizing and pursuing their common interests and goals. For this reason, critique is aimed at revealing to individuals how their beliefs and attitudes may be ideological illusions that help to preserve a social order which is alien to their collective experiences and needs. By demonstrating how ideological forces generate erroneous self-understandings, ideology critique aims to reveal their deceptive nature and so strip them of their power. (pp. 138-139)

In fact, most critical pedagogues incorporate some form of ideology critique into their method. This is not true for experiential pedagogues.

Here, then, is the intersection of critical pedagogy and experiential pedagogy that are the basis for simulations I designed. Simulations can be used to get students to tackle the core issues of critical theory: power, injustice, disempowerment, and the creation of social equity (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). Simulations can be a way to expose ideologies, social systems, and structures to learners in concrete ways, so they may do the critique Habermas and others advocate. Giroux (2003) laid out what a viable anti-racist cultural pedagogy must include; he stated the following:

> Most importantly, as the history of race is either left out or misrepresented by official channels of power in the United States, it is crucial that the history of slavery, civil rights, racial politics, and ongoing modes of struggle at the level of everyday life be remembered and used pedagogically to challenge the historical

> amnesia that feeds neoliberalism's ahistorical claim to power and the continuity of its claims to common sense. (Giroux, 2003, p.207)

I assert that experiential simulations that reenact that history (slavery, civil rights, third world multinational corporate terrorism) fall within this vision of pedagogy. Skillful facilitation of simulations can help students connect to history personally, and make visible current social condition's historical roots. Giroux (2000) also commented on youth living between modernism and postmodernism.

> It is also useful for educators to comprehend the changing conditions of identity-formation within electronically mediated cultures and how they are producing a new generation of youth who exist between the borders of a modernist world of certainty and order, … and a postmodern world of hybridized identities, electronic technologies, local cultural practices, and pluralized public spaces. (Giroux, 2000, p.176)

Giroux has used cultural media analysis pedagogically with postmodern youth acknowledging that they occupy a new space. I posit that experiential simulations that deal with identity issues can also be used pedagogically for postmodern youth. In the postmodern era youth are especially open to media, in the same way they are especially open to experiential teaching methods.

In his text, *Empowering education: Critical teaching for social change,* Shor (1992) described his own and other practitioners' teaching methods. In one chapter he described a teacher simulating the theft of a student's purse as an opening exercise in a history class designed to desocialize (a critical rethinking of existing socialization) students from the Columbus myth. Desocialization is part of a process of developing

critical consciousness. Shor suggests, “critical teachers provide a social experience in education that questions previous experiences in school and society ” (Shor, 1992, p.117-118). The simulation described here is not as elaborate as those in this case study but critical pedagogues do use the method to empower students. The intersection between the pedagogies is here, but not enough practitioners are availing themselves of it.

I believe education should be emancipatory. Traditional methodologies or pedagogies won’t accomplish this task. The demand is for pedagogies that critique traditional curriculum, and address power imbalances. Weaving together these four frameworks, simulations, experiential education, critical theory/pedagogy, and critical race pedagogy has the possibility of accomplishing this task. The incorporation of these four strands is what I call an “oppositional philosophy” or “oppositional pedagogy.” It may be that no education is truly emancipatory. I was educated in a racist, classist, sexist, capitalist, patriarchal system. The fact that I turned out having internalized those mindsets is no surprise. It is what I want emancipation from, and what I seek to emancipate my students from. This study is a reflection on the integration of these four frameworks.

A disclaimer is necessary here. I discuss racial identity development in this study but did not choose to review that extensive literature; it made my task too daunting. Where appropriate I incorporate pieces of the racial identity development literature into the data analysis. This was a deliberate decision on my part guided by time and the need to be focused.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore the experience of teachers and students in an experiential simulation to unlearn racism, and also to explore the intersection of experiential pedagogy and critical pedagogy. This is a qualitative study as the questions in the study reveal. "Phenomenologists believe that multiple ways of interpreting experience are available to each of us through interacting with others, and that it is the meaning of our experiences that constitutes reality. ... reality is 'socially constructed'" (Bogden & Biklen, 1982, pp. 23-24). In looking at a topic like teaching race, I needed a research method that acknowledges multiple realities. I sought to understand the subjects from their own perspectives. Why some practitioners use experiential methods and others have objections points to a difference in interpreting experience. "The meaning people give to their experience and their process of interpretation are essential and constitutive, not accidental or secondary to what the experience is" (Bogden & Biklen, 1982, p. 25). I took, in part, an ethnographic approach that encompassed both "experience near" and "experience far" concepts (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). This meant looking at the "local and specific . . . direct influence of social structures . . . [while also tending to] broader social structures"(p. 134). Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw advocated an ethnographic approach when dealing with issues of ethnicity, race, gender, and class. The qualitative method best fit my study for two reasons: it sought to understand from the subject's perspectives, and for that reason could offer new insights to the field of education.

The data collected was information about the thinking, planning, and feelings of teachers and participants in simulations on unlearning racism. I captured the voices,

emotions, thoughts, discourses, and actions of practitioners and students to discern what happened, which racial issues arose, what was felt and learned, what role the race of the practitioner or student played, and what it all meant to the practice of the teacher.

I used qualitative research methods as outlined by Bogdan and Bilken (1992) and Emerson, Fertz, and Shaw (1995). Methods included in-depth interviews, videotapes of the simulations, and observer comments to both simulations and interviews. This was a multi-case study using three simulations: 1) *Other People's Power*, an adapted version of the Star Power simulation, 2) *Squat No More*, a simulation I designed focusing on systemic race and class oppression, and 3) *The Underground Railroad*, a reenactment of a slave escape through the historic Underground Railroad escape system. I chose these simulations because they included highly experiential components, they focused on unlearning racism, and they can be fraught with ambiguity in terms of practice. An added factor to my choice was the accessibility of the simulations.

The selected sites were easily accessible and personnel were agreeable to being research sites. The college students attended Pilgrim University located in a suburb of a large city in a mid-western state. A four-year Christian liberal arts college, it identifies itself as evangelical, and belongs to the Alliance of Christian Colleges and Universities. The student body of the day school is primarily made up of white, upper and middle class young people from mid-western states. I have taught at Pilgrim for the past sixteen years.

The high school students were drawn from two sites, Galaxy High School in Galaxy Township, a predominantly white suburb in a metropolitan area of the Midwest, and The Over Comers program of the metropolitan YMCA's. Galaxy is a public high school serving a thriving middle and working class community. The Over Comers

program serves black teens throughout the city. It is a signature program of the YMCA and students from high schools all over the metro area attend this program.

Teacher participants in this study were nine facilitators who defined themselves as anti-racist practitioners who teach for social justice and societal transformation. Three identified themselves as critical pedagogues. Six practitioners identified only as experiential pedagogues. Many critical pedagogues practice without the knowledge to articulate their theory (hooks, 1984). This study documents hooks' contention. To assess what factor race plays in the practice of teachers, I included teachers from four racial groups: two each who are African American, Native American, and Asian American, and three White teachers were participants, for a total of nine teachers. Teachers were interviewed within 24 hours of the simulation.

Student participants were high school and college students. I selected a sample of student participants from each simulation to interview within 96 hours of the simulation. The first two sites had few students of color that participated so I selected a third site to raise the numbers of those students. In all, nine students of color and fifteen white students participated in the study for a total of 24 students. The students experience of the simulations occurred in different groups, I wanted all groups represented. Students were selected so full inclusion of what happened in the simulation was represented in the study.

Participants

This multiple case study was conducted during the 2003-2004 school year. All student interviews took place in the spring and summer of the 2004. Before each taped interview, the student participants and their parents (in the case of underage students)

signed a waiver acknowledging voluntary participation in the study. All of the participants provided background (name, age, year in school, experience with simulations) and racial self-identification information. A slate of prepared questions was used for the interviews (Appendix A), but there was freedom to digress if the participant led the conversation in other directions.

The student participants were chosen because of my access to their teachers. The first group came from Galaxy High School. Tandy, as the Multicultural Education Advocate at Galaxy High School, was expected to teach in social studies classes and English classes. I invited students who had participated in a simulation titled *Other People's Power* that Tandy facilitates annually. I intentionally invited both white and students of color to participate in the study. Ten were chosen because they returned their signed permission slips by the date of the simulation and first interviews. The second group was from Pilgrim University. Dillon, an Associate Professor of Anthropology Studies at Pilgrim University, has his upper level classes participate in a simulation titled *Squat No More*. This simulation was designed for use in Spanish Literature classes focusing on race and class oppression in Guatemala, then adapted for his Anthropology course. Dillon invited all of his students to participate in my study knowing that busy college schedules would prevent many from participating. All of his students were white. I interviewed all seven who said they were available. To obtain some racial diversity I included two students who had participated in the *Other People's Power* simulation in my class on Biblical Justice at Pilgrim U. I interviewed nine Pilgrim students in all.

The third group of students were participants from the local YMCA Over Comers Program. Eric, director of The Family Tree, is an education contractor serving the metro

area. Eric contracts with area schools and youth serving agencies. He facilitates an *Underground Railroad* simulation that is a reenactment of the experience of slaves escaping to freedom through the Underground Railroad. He allowed me to include his simulation in my study when he facilitated the *Underground Railroad* for the Over Comers program. I interviewed five students of color who had participated in this simulation to contribute to the number of students of color participants.

The student participants consisted of fifteen high school students and nine college students. Five high school seniors, seven sophomores, and three freshmen participated. Seven college seniors, one junior, and one sophomore participated in the study. Sixteen females and eight males participated, creating a 2:1 ratio of females to males. This happened because in the high school the girls returned their signed parental permission slips while the boys did not. In the college, the female to male ration was 2:1 overall and 4:1 in the Anthropology Studies department. This disparity in gender representation could not, and I decided should not, be avoided, since it was representative of the students who had gone through the simulations. The racial breakdown of the students was nine students of color: six African Americans, two biracial students, and one Asian American. Fifteen white students completed the racial composition of students, including one immigrant student from Russia.

Each participant was given a pseudonym to protect her or his identity.

Table 1. List of Student Participants

Pseudonym	**Race**	**Gender**	**School/Grade**
Brittany	Bi-racial/mixed	Female	Galaxy Sophomore
Shaquira	African American	Female	Galaxy Senior

Jess	Caucasian	Male	Galaxy Sophomore
Theo	White/Russian	Male	Galaxy Sophomore
Karen	White	Female	Galaxy Freshman
ST	White	Male	Galaxy Sophomore
Kathy	White/Caucasian	Female	Galaxy Sophomore
Melissa	White	Female	Galaxy Sophomore
Ali	Caucasian	Female	Galaxy Sophomore
Abby	Caucasian/White	Female	Galaxy Freshman
Tamicka	African American	Female	East Senior
Jacob	African American	Male	STC Senior
Shiloh	African American	Male	Hoover Senior
Bobby	African American	Male	East Senior
Chivonn	Black	Female	Aldrich Freshman
Aaron	Bi-racial	Male	Pilgrim Senior
Kimiko	Japanese American	Female	Pilgrim Junior
Eddie	Euro American	Male	Pilgrim Senior
Lacey	Caucasian	Female	Pilgrim Senior
Kim	White/Caucasian	Female	Pilgrim Senior
Miranda	Caucasian	Female	Pilgrim Senior
Bella	European American	Female	Pilgrim Senior
Natalie	Caucasian/White	Female	Pilgrim Senior

Hannah	Multicultural/Caucasian	Female	Pilgrim Sophomore

The Teachers

The teacher participants in this study use experiential simulations dealing with issues of race. Some of these facilitators identify themselves as anti-racist experiential practitioners who teach for social justice. They may or may not identify themselves as critical pedagogues, many practicing without knowledge of the theories that are the foundation of their work (hooks, 1984). The purpose of the simulations was to put students in roles they normally are not in so they experience and/or see clearly the disempowerment and discrimination others experience, and to see clearly how race and class operate in societies. Following each simulation, the teachers spent from 45 minutes to two hours debriefing the exercise. Topics of race, racism, power, class, systems, and social justice were common issues raised in the debriefings. As a long time practitioner of experiential simulations, I am acquainted with many who use this methodology in their teaching. I chose nine practitioners I had worked with at some time in my career. I was looking for practitioners who: used simulations as part of their pedagogy, expressed a commitment to issues of social justice, and articulated a desire for students to wrestle with issues of racism and power. My knowledge of these teachers ranged from very well to just acquainted. Two of these teachers, knowing what I was looking for in practitioners, directed me to two more teachers to fill out my study, so I knew these last two teachers by reputation only. I chose two each from five racial categories: two African Americans, two whites, two Asian Americans, two Native Americans, and two Latinas. The two Latina teachers later chose not to participate. Their decision to drop out threw

off the gender balance, as they were both women. I later decided to add another teacher to make up for this loss; I added a white male practitioner because it was a missing perspective. There were six men and three women. I wanted the diversity in the practitioners to see what role race played in their decisions to use simulations. A description of each teacher provides an introduction and insight into their inclusion in the study.

Tandy was the Multicultural Education Advocate at Galaxy High School. She is easily identifiable as a bi-racial person. She has the common beauty of bi-racial children in an adult version; very light brown skin, curly dark hair, straight nose, and dark eyes. She is medium height and looks much younger than her 33 years. She could pass for a student if she dressed the part. I have known Tandy since her college years. She interned with a friend of mine and we met while working together on simulations. I later hired Tandy to assist me with simulations at my college and I assisted her when she started doing them at Galaxy. Through our work together I knew of her interest in social justice and racism issues. Tandy fit the profile of the practitioners I wanted.

Tandy is one of the first adults I have known who self identifies as bi-racial. She was adopted by white parents but grew up knowing her birth mother was white and her birth father was half African American and half Ojibwa (her words). Her parents also adopted her two brothers, one black and one half white and half native. Tandy's parents intentionally lived in multiculturally diverse neighborhoods in Seattle, and sent their children to culturally diverse schools. I have seen Tandy align herself with African Americans when no bi-racial category is made available. She was the only bi-racial

(considered black) person on the staff at Galaxy High School at the time of our interview. Her assessment is that most of the other staff persons consider her black.

Eric was the 46-year-old director of The Family Tree, his educational consulting company that specialized in historical reenactments. Eric is really the sole teacher in the Family Tree. He hires or involves his friends to volunteer when he needs help with a simulation. He went through the *Underground Railroad* experience himself and then worked in the role of a Conductor for many years. This experience inspired him to start doing the simulation himself and to offer other historical reenactments connected to black history. The Family Tree serves schools, colleges, and youth serving agencies statewide. Eric works with people of all ages but his focus is high school teens.

Eric is six feet four inches tall, has chocolate brown skin and salt and pepper hair on his head and face. He has a commanding voice and when playing the part of a slave revolt leader or auctioneer at a slave sale, his performance is riveting. He is the younger brother of my best friend. I have known him since high school and worked with him at various times on simulations and other youth events. He has a passion for social justice and teaching youth about race and power. He was my number one choice when I thought of doing this study.

Bobbi is a white friend with a social consciousness who, in my mind, “gets it.” Not all of my white friends, who claim to get it, get it. I first met Bobbi at the camp where I was introduced to simulations and experiential education. I had brought youth to the camp in 1984 and fell in love with their experiential pedagogy. I returned each year thereafter as part of their staff. In 1988 Bobbi was a 19-year-old university student majoring in Youth Studies and Sociology. She served as a volunteer at the camp, and like

me, returned each year thereafter as part of the staff. At the time of our interview, Bobbi was the director of the camp and worked year round as Youth Initiatives Manager for this National Youth Serving Agency (NYSA), the sponsoring agency of the camp. Bobbi works primarily with high school youth.

Bobbi is medium height, blonde with blue eyes and is 35 years old. Her commitment to social justice played a part in her decision to adopt four black children as a white woman. She moved into the black community and she and her husband are intentional about developing healthy racial identities in their children. I knew of her passion for racial issues and working with young people. I had worked on simulations with Bobbi for 16 years. For these reasons she fit the profile of the kind of practitioner I wanted for my study.

Angela is Associate professor of Spanish at Pilgrim University. She started at Pilgrim one year after I did. Her office was located next to mine and since both of us were new teachers we quickly became fast friends. She has been teaching now for ten years. Angela is a native of southern California. Her graduate studies in California introduced her to critical pedagogy, but she was not familiar with experiential pedagogy. Under my tutelage she began to use simulations in her classrooms. She quickly became passionate about this methodology.

Angela is a tall white woman with dark hair and eyes. She is 39 years old, and has a passion for educating for social justice. She integrates social justice issues into the curriculum for every course she teaches. She is committed to being an anti-racist ally to people of color. Using simulations in teaching is part of her activity as a justice activist.

Angela's commitments and knowledge of critical pedagogy led me to include her in my case study.

Lee is a full blood Lakota from the Standing River reservation in South Dakota. I met Lee at the NYSA camp when he was a 17-year-old participant. Like Bobbi and me, Lee returned every year, first as volunteer then as a staff person. Lee learned how to facilitate simulations through doing them. His first work off the reservation was with Outward Bound, an adventure based, youth serving agency whose pedagogy was founded on experiential education. At the time of our interview Lee worked with middle and high school aged youth as Program Manager for the NYSA.

Lee is six feet five inches tall, with long hair held back by a leather thong. He looks like he belongs to the tribe portrayed on *Dances With Wolves* and indeed, he did audition for the movie. His work with Native youth has been a driving passion in his life. He was 34 at the time of our interview. Lee is someone I know who uses critical pedagogy without having read about it. For this reason, and because he brings a Native American perspective, I included Lee in my study.

I met Charlie at Duncan Wood, a camp and retreat center in the upper Midwest. Part of the educational cultural programming of Duncan Wood included camps developed for Native American children and youth. Charlie was the Educational Specialist/ Native American developer for the Wood. He had assisted with simulations like the *Underground Railroad* and decided to design one compatible to teach about the Native American historical experience. Charlie had been working with children and youth for twelve years at the time of our interview.

I did not know Charlie real well, but in the context of having done simulation exercises with him we had had conversations about racism and history. I knew Charlie was passionate about educating Native American youth in Native ways. Charlie's dark skin and eyes and straight black hair make him easily identifiable as Native American. He is small of stature and at the time of our interview was 49 years old. He identified himself as Mohawk Indian on both sides of his parentage. I thought he fit the profile I was looking for in my teacher subjects and I thought he would speak to an Indian city perspective as opposed to a reservation one. He grew up in Chicago.

Teng was a colleague of mine on the staff of the Urban Leadership Academy (ULA), a summer institute that did youth leadership development in the local metro area. I met Teng when he was a youth participant and staffer at the NYSA camp. When the ULA was trying to build diversity into their staff I recommended Teng, who is Hmong American. He was hired as the Program Coordinator for this non-profit youth serving agency. Teng has a Masters degree in Youth Leadership Development from a Midwestern university. Teng had been using simulations for 12 years in his varied positions working with youth.

Teng was born in Laos and lived in a Thai refugee camp before coming to the Midwest at the age of ten. Teng has classic Asian features: tan skin, straight black hair, slanted eyes, and a small stature. Teng was 33 at the time of our interview. Besides working with me at NYSA and ULA, Teng had worked at Duncan Wood as a Hmong Education Specialist. He was committed to justice issues and to educating youth about racism. He recommended I include Samnang after he learned the nature of my research.

Samnang is the practitioner I know only by reputation. He also was a Multicultural Education Specialist at Duncan Wood. Teng, Charlie, and Eric all knew Samnang and his work at the Wood. Samnang designed the "Hmong Odyssey" simulation, a reenactment of the holocaust of the Viet Nam war. In his work at the Wood he works with children, youth, and adults.

Samnang is from Cambodia. He identifies himself as Khmer if given the opportunity. The Cambodian people are smaller and darker than the Hmong. Samnang fits this description. He, too, had passed through a refugee camp before arriving in America. Samnang was 39 years old at the time of our interview. He presents as incredibly passionate about social justice issues and educating youth. He fit the kind of teacher I was seeking for my research.

Dillon is Associate professor of Anthropology Studies at Pilgrim University. He is the reason I came to Pilgrim. Dillon first came to the Midwest to work at a non-profit organization that did reconciliation and social justice work. I served on the board of directors of that agency and came to know Dillon well. He is passionate about reconciliation and justice issues of all kinds. He taught in this field as an adjunct at Pilgrim for years before becoming full time faculty. He submitted my resume and advocated for my hire to encourage Pilgrim to increase their diversity.

As a white male from a privileged middle class, Dillon chose and continues to choose to align himself with the oppressed and marginalized in society. Dillon chose to attend a historic black seminary, and embraced the black mentor who accompanied him in that experience. He chooses to live in the black community so that his lived experience might inform his speaking, writing, and teaching on social justice issues. Dillon's

pedagogy embraces simulations and experiential exercises, but he sees his skills set stronger elsewhere. So he frequently calls on me to facilitate simulations for him. He has been doing this for 16 years. He sees great value in the ability of simulations to get beyond the cognitive level and let students experience something they might otherwise only read about. Dillon was 51 at the time of his interview. I choose to include Dillon to give voice to a white male in my study.

Table 2. Summary of Teacher Participant Demographic Information	
Alias name	(a) Race, (b) Gender, (c) Age, (d) Education attainment, (e) Title of employment (generic), (f) Years using simulations, (g) self identified type of educator.
Bobbi	(a) White, (b) Female, (c) 35, (d) BA degree, (e) Youth Initiatives Manager at youth social service agency, (f) 16 years, (g) Experiential educator.
Dillon	(a) White, (b) Male, (c) 51, (d) EED. M-Div. BA, (e) College professor, (f) 16 years, (g) Critical pedagogue.
Angela	(a) White, (b) Female, (c) 39, (d) PhD, MA, BA, (e) College professor, (f) 3 years, (g) Critical pedagogue.
Eric	(a) African American, (b) Male, (c) 46, (d) MA, BA degrees, (e) Self employed, educational consultant-focus on high school age, (f) 19 years, (g) Critical anti-racist educator.
Tandy	(a) African American/Bi-racial, (b) Female, (c) 33, (d) BA degree, with a little additional grad work, (e) High school Multicultural Education Advocate, (f) 7-8 years, (g) Experiential educator.
Lee	(a) Indian/Lakota, (b) Male, (c) 34, (d) HS Diploma, plus some college courses, (e) Program Manager, youth serving social service agency, (f) 10 years, (g) Experiential, spiritual educator.
Charlie	(a) Indian/Mohawk, (b) Male, (c) 49, (d) BA degree, (e) Educational Specialist, youth serving social service agency, (f) 9 years, (g)

	Experiential educator.
Samnang	(a) Cambodian American/Khmer, (b) Male, (c) 39, (d) BA degree, (e) Educational Specialist, youth serving social service agency, (f) 10 years, (g) Experiential educator.
Teng	(a) Hmong American, (b) Male, (c) 33, (d) BA, close to finishing MBA. (e) Educational Specialist, youth serving social service agency, (f) 12 years, (g) Experiential educator.

The Simulations

Three simulations were used in this multi-case study involving different sites. The *Other People's Power* simulation was observed at both Galaxy High School and Pilgrim University. The *Squat No More* simulation was observed at Pilgrim University and The *Underground Railroad* simulation was observed at the YMCA Camp Imhothep. The first interviews were done at Pilgrim University and Galaxy High School. When the majority of student participants turned out to be white I added the Underground Railroad simulation to gain some racial balance among student participants.

I facilitated and observed the *Other People's Power* and *Squat No More* simulations, and took field notes as they were in progress. In the case of the *Underground Railroad* simulation I video taped the simulation and took notes from the video. I also facilitated or sat in on the debriefing of the simulations and took notes from this part of the exercise.

Galaxy High School

The *Other People's Power* simulation was conducted at Galaxy High School in the spring of 2004. Galaxy High School is located in the middle of Galaxy Township, the eighteenth largest community in the state. According to the 2000 Censes, Galaxy's population is 93.5 % white. The next largest population group is Asians who comprise 2.5% of the population. All other racial groups make up less than 2% of the population. Twenty percent of adults have a bachelor's degree in Galaxy, which is 5% more than the national average. The median income in Galaxy for a family of four is $91,000 (2000 U S Census).

Galaxy High School opened its doors in 1973 as part of School District 11. The 2004 student body was comprised of 2,747 students, 13% of whom were students of color The actual student breakdown by race was not available (Merri McDonigan, Assistant Principle). My experience of schools is mostly urban and windowless. On March 17th. I entered a large, modern, clean brick building with an incredibly large number of windows. Galaxy High School blew away my impression of high schools.

The simulation took place in a small auditorium on the first floor of the school. I arrived at 8:00 a.m. and immediately helped set up the room for the simulation (see Appendix B). I was to be participant observer in this simulation and I also played the role of chief facilitator. Five other volunteers were assisting with the simulation, two teachers, Tandy and two college interns working in the counseling office. Tandy had arranged for a sophomore Social Studies class to go through the simulation. She had invited three students of color who were not in the class to participate in the simulation and obtained their release from their regular classes. Twenty-seven students in all participated. The

students had no idea what was about to happen; they had only been told they were going to play a game in class today. They arrived from their regular classroom and immediately started the simulation by receiving stickers. The regular teacher, a middle aged white woman, played the role of recorder for the middle class in the simulation.

Other People's Power is a simulation modeled after the game "Star Power." Years ago I changed the original simulation, "Star Power", with the help of other practitioners to intensify the experience, add the element of race, and more closely parallel the social conditions of class and race in America. I had renamed the variation *Other People's Power* because it was no longer the original exercise. The primary focus of the simulation is to gain an understanding of racism, classism, and power. The game casts some as oppressed based on a factor over which they have no control (the shape of their ear) and puts some in the position to possibly be oppressors. Participants have the opportunity to feel and see what oppression is like. The hope is that having experienced what others live with daily, they will be motivated to ally themselves with the oppressed, and unlearn some false assumptions they have learned. What follows is a detailed description of the simulation.

In this simulation a three-tiered society is built through the distribution of wealth in the form of poker chips. Everyone received a sticker designating their class at the onset of the game: gold seals for the wealthy, green dots for the middle class, and white labels for the oppressed poor. Primarily white participants with attached ear lobes were designated to be the oppressed group. This group should be equal in size to the middle group, even if that means placing some with hanging ear lobes in the group. Participants of color, and some white participants with hanging lobes were designated to be the

privileged. This group was the smallest. Participants with hanging ear lobes were randomly placed in the middle or privileged group.

Participants had a chance to progress upwards from one level of society to another by acquiring wealth through trading with other participants. The lowest group was constantly being oppressed. The stated reason for their oppression: they had attached ear lobes! Once the society was established, all groups were given the opportunity to make suggestions for additional rules for the game. The wealthiest group's suggestions were added as rules. They generally made rules that the other groups considered to be unfair, classist, or biased. We posted the new rules up by taping them to the wall next to the poster in the middle class group. At this time a small sign that said "This is not a game" was posted. We exhorted participants to read the new rules and said, "Make them work for you." A revolt against the rules and the rule makers may ensue from this point on, and when this occurs, the game is ended.

The privileged group is also the wealthiest group. Their stickers are gold seals. If they didn't trade well enough to keep their scores high, they were moved down. After the first four rounds of trading no one was moved out of this group but the illusion that they could move down persisted. At the onset of the game, without the other groups knowing it, these participants were given a gold and green chip before randomly selecting three more chips from a perfect bag containing red, white, and blue chips. They had both a recorder and servant(s) assigned to their group. Their perfectly lined score sheet was posted on the wall, next to a decorative poster of the scoring system and bonus points. After the end of each round of trading they were served drinks (round 1), snacks (round 2), fruit (round 3), more snacks (round 4), and so on. They were served more food than

they could eat; the excess was placed on the table within easy reach of them. The servants of the wealthy dumped the trash they produced on the floor in the lower class box during trading.

The wealthy group members were given the most comfortable furniture, the most space, and their servants fawned over them at all times (entertained them, fanned them, massaged them, complimented them, and everything was to excess!). At the end of each round of trading the lowest scorer in the highest class was moved down into the middle class and the middle class highest scorer was moved up to the highest class. This movement happened between each class group. At the end of the fourth round the head facilitator approached this group and suggested they have the low class group removed from the room, as they were loud and disruptive. I encouraged them to speed up the game and told them they could claim their resources (chips) if they removed them to the hall, but only if the majority of the group so willed this to occur.

The oppressed group was the poorest group, made up of those with attached ear lobes. Their stickers were white nametags and their names were written on them as soon as they entered their home box. They randomly selected five chips from a raggedy bag containing only red, white, and blue chips, and did not know that the groups started with unequal amounts of chips. No matter how well they traded they were not put into the privileged group after the fourth round of trading. The first rounds were to delude them into thinking the society was fair. They had a recorder and “police” assigned to them, all of whom oppressed them constantly. The oppression took any of the following forms:

not validated	interrupted	cut off	patronized
made wrong	humiliated	ridiculed	intimidated
name called	put down	discounted	ignored
disempowered	denied access	yelled at	silenced

Their recorder and police were in charge of the group. Their crookedly lined score sheet stayed on the floor; some names were purposely misspelled in recording and thereafter mispronounced.

We described members of the lowest group in disadvantageous ways and stated our low expectations of them in front of everybody. We also told jokes about them and accused them of having no sense of humor if they didn't laugh. Oppression was aimed at individuals or the group. Their space was defined by making a rectangle with tape on the floor. Each time they left to trade, we made their space smaller and smaller. We kept them confined to their space when not trading by having police people constantly patrolling the rectangle. The few chairs they started with in their space we removed after round one; after round three we added a garbage can, the smellier the better. We treated as a token any who managed to work their way out of the group. When new persons entered the group we gave them the nametag of the one leaving and called them by that name. We gently shoved new members into the box when they joined this group. We also policed them when they left to trade and threw in jail (up against the wall with their noses pressed to the wall for one to two minutes) any who entered the home area of the wealthiest group.

The middle group was made up of people with hanging ear lobes. Their stickers were green dots. They had a recorder assigned to them to keep score. The recorder took a

neutral posture. Their evenly lined score sheet was posted on the wall in front of them along with the scoring system and bonus points poster. There were enough chairs so they could all sit in a circle. The size of this group was slightly smaller than the oppressed group. Each one was given a green chip before randomly selecting four more from a neutral looking bag containing red, white, and blue chips. After the first round drinks were given to them, but not enough to go around. After the third round snacks were given again but there not quite enough for everyone to have one.

Here is a summary of the game procedure:

1. Prepare chips, set up room, including furniture arrangement and snacks.
2. Divide participants and distribute stickers to appropriate people.
3. Give brief overview of game rules; invite them to play.
4. Distribute chips, and record beginning scores.
5. Explain rules for trading session and point values of chips.
6. Have group trade for five to seven minutes, rearrange tape, and prepare first snack.
7. Stop trading, return to home place, record scores, and serve food.
8. Promote or demote people according to how well they did in trading.
9. Have second trading session, rearrange tape, prepare second snack.
10. Repeat steps seven and eight.
11. Have groups write two new rule suggestions for game, read rules, add privileged group's rules to game, tear up oppressed group's rules while ridiculing them, and put middle class rules "in committee" for consideration.
12. Have third trading session, rearrange tape, and prepare third snack.

13. Repeat steps seven and eight.
14. Introduce bonus chips, have them distribute chips, and record score changes.
15. Trading session, rearrange tape, and prepare snack.
16. Repeat process, and play it by ear from then on.

Scoring system: (Posted on posters for upper and middle classes)

Gold chips = 50 points Green chips = 25 points

Red chips = 15 points White chips = 10 points

Blue chips = 5 points

Bonus Points:

5 chips of the same color = 20 bonus points

4 chips of the same color = 15 bonus points

3 chips of the same color = 10 bonus points

Rules of the game: (Go over orally at the beginning of the game)

They have five to seven minutes to improve their scores.

The top three scorers at the end win.

They must come out of their home areas to trade.

They must be holding hands to trade.

No talking unless hands are being held.

Persons with folded arms or hands in pockets do not have to trade.

Participants must trade equal numbers of poker chips, and always maintain five chips.

Trades can be sighted; chips are held openly in hands or traded blind;

chips are concealed in hands.

The simulation was going well. The rich group was oblivious to what was happening in the lower class box. I observed one of the wealthy group boys send a donut down to his lower class friend via one of the servants. A policeman took a bite of the donut before allowing the lower class boy to have it. The rest of the upper class took advantage of their position and ordered the guards to jail some of the lower class. The group left in the box was getting agitated. They conspired to put their coins together to send someone up to the high group so that person could get food for the rest of them. Those in the middle watched both sides and tried to maintain their position. I felt stimulated and energized by how well the simulation was going although I felt a little uneasy about the level of understanding of some of the students. I wasn't sure they would understand the lessons. Some of them seemed focused on agitating certain individuals and incapable of thinking beyond themselves.

The simulation played out in classic fashion. The wealthy group wrote rules to solidify their position. Gold chips were now worth 100 points. They never shared their food or their power. Some were oblivious to the oppression going on across the room. The middle class students were nervous about moving down so they tried to stay out of the lower class by refusing to trade chips with them. They took their cues from police guards, and treated them in dehumanizing ways. The lower class became increasingly loud and upset at the treatment they received. Some of them gave up trying. We ran out of time and I called the "game" over. We sat in a circle to debrief the simulation. I used the standard guidelines to frame the debriefing (these two pages describe the guidelines, not what happened at Galaxy).

Standard Debriefing Guidelines:

It is important to sit in a circle so everyone can see everyone else when the processing happens. Sometimes it may be necessary to process within each small group before processing as a whole group (depending on depth of feelings and actions taken during game). Whole group processing is necessary; they need to hear from each other how what happened affected each person.

Begin the session with time to reflect on how they felt during the game. Give each participant an opportunity to share what he or she felt and talk about "who did what to whom" before talking about issues. Don't let anyone be scapegoated; we do not want to damage the ego or self-concept of any participant. Help them see the arbitrariness of group selection, and point out how anyone in their position usually responds similarly. Basically, watch closely what happens and let that guide your reflection questions. The following questions may be used but that is entirely up to you as process leader.

Suggested Reflection Questions:

Ask for strongest feelings from each participant.

Ask what strategy each group used.

Many of the following questions should be probed that ask about real life parallels.

Why did the privileged group make rules that enhanced their position?

How did others outside that group feel about their rules?

What did they do? What actions were taken? What did they do with those feelings?

Discuss the inequality of chip distribution at the beginning. Are there real life

parallels?

How much did success depend on hard work or on luck of position? Are there parallels to life?

Discuss who was privileged and who was oppressed.

Discuss what oppression feels like. What does privilege feel like?

What are the parallels between the game and racism in America?

What are the parallels between the game and classism in America?

What does this reveal about people in the real world?

What did the sign mean that said: “This is not a game”?

How is what happened in the game like the real world? Discuss.

Who had power? How did they use it?

What patterns did you see? How can they be broken in real life?

How did groups respond to authority? Confrontation? Withdrawal? Rebellion?

Who acted in unison? Who acted as individuals? With what effect?

How was the “system” unfair? Are there parallels to real world systems?

Which actions were justified? Why?

Key Learnings:

Oppression hurts everyone involved, both oppressed and oppressors.

It is easy to blame the victim, but it must be avoided.

Feelings don’t help the oppressed; actions do.

We don’t all start from an “equal” neutral position.

Assumptions made about race and class are often wrong.

It is important to seek to understand why people make the choices they do.

Leadership can arise from any class; they just need followers, who can also come from any class.

Those in power usually do not give away their control to others.

Almost always, the first instinct of a group with the opportunity to make decisions that affect others is to do so without involving them. The oppressed are most often excluded.

Distrust is created whenever people make decisions that affect others without involving them.

Once trust is lost it is very difficult to restore.

The privileged are usually the last to see their "privilege"

Divesting one's self of power may help the individual feel good, but does not change the system, or benefit the powerless group.

Usually a person who leaves the less powerful and ends up in the power group loses the confidence of their group of origin.

Following processing, leaders must apologize and reconcile with those they oppressed so people don't leave with bad feelings towards those who ran the game. (End of guideline description.)

The debriefing session was on target. I started by asking them to share feelings and all of the students volunteered feelings. Students had become very involved in the simulation, especially the ones being mistreated. The situation was contrived but their feelings were very real and they wanted to express them and their opinions about how others treated them during the simulation. Questions about the use of power, systemic

racism and classism, and meritocracy dominated the discussion. About a third of the students stayed focused on what happened to them in the simulation, and could not articulate connections to the real world. The debriefing lasted about forty-two minutes, then students left to go to their next class.

Pilgrim University

The site of the second simulation was Pilgrim University, a four-year liberal arts Christian university located in a suburb in the Midwest. The campus houses an Adult & Professional Studies Program, a Graduate School, and a Seminary along with the undergraduate school (College of Arts & Science-CAS). Nestled in the wooded suburbs northwest of the city, Pilgrim sits in isolated splendor on its own Lake Argentina. In 2004 the CAS had a student body of 2,688, 5.1% of whom were students of color. The racial breakdown was 69 Asian Americans, 32 African Americans, 8 Latinos, 2 Native Americans and 26 Missionary Kids (MK's) and international students (Pilgrim University, Office of Diversity and Community). Pilgrim includes MK's and international students in its diversity count. About 80% of Pilgrim's student body comes from the state with another 13% coming from the Midwest; the remaining 6% are drawn from the broader United States. According to numbers from the US Census Bureau in 2004, 87.8% of the state's population was white (Missouri Census Data Center).

The participants in the second simulation were students in ANT301 Anthropology and Leadership, an upper level class for Anthropology Studies minors. The class was working on a unit focused on systemic racism, power, and oppression. They had done much reading about the topics, seen videos, and heard guest speakers but the all white group had little experience of oppression. This class would be the first group of

Anthropology Studies students who would graduate with this specialized minor. On Tuesday March 4, 2004, totally unbeknownst to them, the 18 students were going to "experience" something of the phenomena they had been reading about.

The "Anthropology" classroom was located in the lower level of the Lutson Center. The room is detached from the larger building and must be entered through a separate door. The classroom was a remodel of the boiler room that served the whole institution so no windows and a low hum were the norm in these classrooms. Dillon, his TA, Lea, and myself had set up the room before class started (see Appendix C). The class is from 12:35 p.m. to 2:15 p.m. The room had been emptied of desks and three lounge chairs brought in and placed close to the pull down screen in the front. A teaching station had been set up with a computer for power point presentations. The table had been pushed to the wall near the lounge chairs and was covered in food: crackers and cheese, chips and salsa, fruit, Oreos, drinks, and more. There was ample food for everyone in the class.

The simulation *Squat No More* was designed specifically to get at issues of oppression. Angela, Spanish professor at Pilgrim, had approached me while teaching a Spanish Literature course with the problem; students did the reading but still seemed to fail to grasp the concepts such as systemic oppression, racism, powerlessness, and empathy. She wanted me to design an exercise that was isomorphic to the Guatemalan situation. I came up with *Squat No More*. In this simulation a three-tiered society is created: the privileged elites, children of the colonizers who are the middle class comprised of bi-linguals who speak both Spanish and their native dialects, and the lower class that can only speak in their native dialects. Because Dillon wanted to teach on many

of the same themes, I adapted the simulation to make it more isomorphic to the American U. S. system of racism and classism. I took out the language restrictions and added to the rules the stricture that the lowest class could not speak. I also added in periodic rest periods so as to allay rebellion. The goals of the exercise were that: (1) students will experience what it is like to be silenced and powerless in the presence of the elite and privileged; (2) students will be given an opportunity to critically reflect on systemic oppression, hegemony and power, and the ways in which they work; and (3) students will reflect on ways to expose or contest hegemony in their own lives.

As students approached the room they were made to wait outside the closed door until all students had gathered in the hall. Once there they were introduced to me as a guest professor who would be presenting that day. I told the students: "We are going to do an exercise that relates to the class material and I ask you to fully participate." I went among them and put colored dot stickers on their foreheads. I made sure that at least one male was put in each of the three classes. Dillon and his TA entered the room first. They went to the teaching station. As students entered the room I told them to go to a place in the room, but not next to the wall or too close to anyone else. Once there I handed out blindfolds to those with a white dot. I told them to blindfold their eyes, squat down with their bottoms toward the floor, grab their ankles and remain in that position. The students did so. The students with gold dots were told to remain standing. The students with green dots were told to have a seat at the front and attend class. They took their seats and Dillon began to teach them, lecturing on racial reconciliation. Meanwhile, I walked among the squatting, unsighted students stating the rules loudly. These are the rules:

#1. Don't cheat. You must obey the rules.

#2. If you have a white dot don't move, and don't talk.

#3. If you are gold, don't move unless a green person tells you to.

#4. If you are green, your job is to maintain the social status in this classroom.

After repeating the rules once I went to the green dotted persons and gave them a squirt bottle filled with water. I said the following:

> You need to maintain the social order. If necessary, you can send those with gold dots with this tool (squirt bottle), to maintain order over those who disobey the rules. They can only move as you direct them. You need to control the situation.

The class TA approached and told them she was their servant and they should tell her if they needed anything. She started to pass out drinks and food to them. I left them and went once again among the squatting, unsighted students and loudly repeated the rules, all the time observing the reactions of students.

I squirted in the face those students who were not squatting appropriately or had not maintained the position. The students were shocked at this treatment and returned to the position. I closely watched the time as the action unfolded. Within two minutes of starting two of the women students were shuffling around trying to find relief from the aching position. Others started to groan and shift in place. The simulation unfolded in classic form. Within four minutes the elites had given the "tool" to the gold dots and instructed them to maintain order with it. After four minutes I allowed the white dots to sit on the floor for one minute and then they had to resume the position. They got another rest after four and a half more minutes and so on. For the next twenty minutes the two students with gold dots reluctantly used the squirt bottle to keep the white dots in the squatting position. They passed the squirt bottle back and forth among themselves,

hoping not to have to use it. They asked for and received food from the green elites. I moved amongst them, encouraging them to use the squirt bottle and to maintain the status quo. I policed the white dots and squirted them when necessary. The elites were aware of the noise; they tossed grapes and cookies at the squatting students but kept their backs to them.

After seven minutes Kim started to speak out against her treatment. She was squirted and subdued by Lacey, a gold dot, and me. Again at twelve minutes Kim started yelling and tried to elicit others in a rebellion. I dragged her, kicking and resisting, out of the classroom into the hall and instructed her to stay there. I was anxious because I didn't know if I may have gone too far in pulling her physically out of the room. She quieted down because some other students were in the hall waiting for another class to start and they stared at her.

The students were somewhat subdued by Kim being dragged away. They resumed some talking after a few minutes. At the 25-minute mark I stopped the simulation and declared it over. The students were all instructed to bring a desk in from the hall and sit in a circle. I felt like the simulation went really well. The depth of feelings expressed surprised me. We debriefed the exercise for the next hour; they planned to debrief again for an hour in Thursday's class. I used the following questions to guide the reflection:

I asked for strongest feelings from each individual.

What happened?

How did people feel about the rules? Where did rules come from?

What assumptions were at work here? Who did they benefit or work against?

We discussed privilege.

What does it mean to have a voice? What did you notice about voice? Relate it to real life.

What is oppression, and how does it work?

What is hegemony, and how does it work?

What are the parallels between the exercise and American society?

What does this reveal about people in the real world?

How is what happened in the exercise like the real world? Probe.

Who had power? What kind? How did they use it?

What patterns did you see? How can they be broken?

How did people respond to authority? Confrontation? Withdrawal? Rebellion?

Who acted in unison? Who acted as individuals? With what effect?

How did the "system" work? What are parallels to real world systems?

What actions were justified? Why?

Some of the key points I raise during debriefing:

Hegemony hurts everyone involved, both privileged, dominant groups and suppressed, targeted groups.

We internalize the dominant ideologies even if we do not want to.

We must uncover how oppressive ideologies are at work in us and intentionally resist or operate with alternative ideas and ways.

Feelings do not change anything; only actions do.

We do not all start from an equal, neutral position.

Those in power usually do not give away their control to others.

We take on the mindset of the oppressor and oppress others and ourselves.

The privileged are usually the last to see their "privilege".

Divesting oneself of power may help the individual feel better, but does not change the systems, nor benefit the powerless group.

During debriefing I am pleased by how much the students talked and carried on the discussion without my having to interject every question. They were much more willing to be vulnerable and expose authentic thoughts than my Biblical Justice students are. I think this is a benefit from their being in a cohort of Anthropology Studies classes together. Midway through the debrief session we took a break and all the students were allowed access to the food. Even after they came back from break they continued reflecting and did not shrink back from deep questions. Dillon and his TA asked more of the questions then. The students thought the class went well overall and four or five expressed thanks for me coming and facilitating the exercise. I collected names and numbers of those willing to be interviewed.

YMCA Camp Imhothep

The YMCA Over Comers program was founded in 1971 at New York City's Harlem Y. Its purpose is to help young African Americans to develop a positive sense of self and to set high educational and career goals. African American professionals act as role models and volunteer leaders for the YMCA Over Comers program. Eric has been involved with The Over Comers for many years. They have included his *Underground Railroad* simulation in their yearly curriculum for the past six years.

The site of this year's simulation was YMCA's Camp Imhothep. Camp Imhothep was established in 1930 on the edge of Lake Wapogassit, 56 miles east of the cities in Albany, Wisconsin. Its rustic lodges and camp buildings sit on 165 acres of woods,

lakefront, and prairie landscapes. I was very familiar with Camp Imhothep because of my work as an independent contractor. I have facilitated numerous retreats and workshops there. On the evening of March 26, 2004, I observed the local YMCA Over Comers' reenactment of the *Underground Railroad.* Thirty-one African American high school students participated in the simulation. The students attended schools from all over the city. Their common denominator was membership in the Over Comers program.

Eric learned his version of the *Underground Railroad* simulation from Kamou Kambui. Kamou first created the *Underground Railroad* simulation when he was a Multicultural Education Specialist at Duncan Wood. Kamou sought to create a historical reenactment of the journey of slaves running for freedom to the Northern states. Eric now bases his work on what he learned from Kamou.

It was freezing cold the night of the simulation. I drove out to the camp to join the Over Comers retreat already in progress. I was excited about observing the simulation but not happy about the weather. We were going to be running around outside and it still felt like winter. The kids had arrived at the camp, unloaded their gear, and taken it to their assigned rooms. They had eaten dinner and heard the welcome and rules spiel from the Imhothep Camp director. All this occurred before I arrived. They were meeting in the big lodge meeting room just as I arrived on the campgrounds. The lodge meeting room was all wood with wood floors, wood walls, and even wood chairs. One wall was made up of screened windows. The kids were shutting the windows as I entered the lodge. Many had on winter jackets but some did not look dressed warm enough to be outside for hours. The chairs were set up in rows. The students shed their coats and sat on them or hung them on the backs of their chairs for the upcoming program. Most of the kids had heard

about the *Underground Railroad* from past participants but they knew no details about what was to happen to them. They waited in eager anticipation. I sat in the back of the room so I could observe well.

The evening began with a lecture/dialogue of African history by Eric. Students were told, often in story form, about what life was like in the West coast African villages where black people were stolen and captured for slave ships. They learned about African art, trade, culture, village life, and history. The students were given a piece of paper and told to divide it into fourths. On each section they were to write something that has great value in their lives (family, home, work, religion, etc.) then to rate the four things with one being most important. At the end of the lecture they were directed to close their eyes and put their heads down. In the darkness they were told they were being taken back in history to the time of slavery. While the room was dark another voice (Sue, a Family Tree volunteer) told them the story of the Middle Passage, the ship journey of slaves from the African continent to the Americas. Then the lights came on. When they opened their eyes and lifted their heads, the students were informed that they were now slaves debarking from a slave ship. Real slave chains were passed around for students to examine. The students were taught and sang Negro Spirituals, old slave songs dating back to the period.

While this was happening they were stripped of their papers and saw them ripped up in front of their faces. This represented losing that important thing from their life, similar to how the slaves had all the important things ripped from their lives. Eventually all four things they had listed on the quarters of their paper were taken from them. They were then divided into family groups and tied together, blind folded, and then taken outside to a bonfire. The blindfolds were removed. A portion of them were separated out

and forced to walk on their knees. A rope was strung between their legs and they had to walk to the front with heads bowed down. A few white people had joined the group of students. The “slaves” were marched in front of everyone and went through a mock auction where they were paraded before the audience. Their body parts were described like chattel and eventually they were sold to white slave owners, the whites who “bidded” on them. Even though the kids know it is simulated, one of the girls started to cry.

They heard the stories of Nat turner, Denmark Vessey, and other slaves who revolted. The blindfolds were put back on and they were led into the woods and abandoned. An Underground Railroad conductor slipped up and spirited them away in their groups. They were told to “run” for freedom on a three-mile trail where they encountered various historical characters (e.g., Harriet Tubman, Josaiah Henson, and Lucretia Mott), were chased by hunters with dogs, and sheltered and fed by white Quakers. They heard real powder rifles from the eighteenth century being fired. At one point they were captured but later allowed to escape. Eventually they made it to freedom, back to the room they started from.

I attached myself to the last group being led away from the fire. My strongest feelings at this point were concern for the camera picking up anything because it was so dark away from the campfire, and numbness from standing still in the cold so long. We were all glad to run, even in the darkness, because it got our blood flowing. We stumbled around in the woods a bit then dropped into a ditch to avoid “Overseers” hunting for runaway slaves. The girls seemed concerned with getting their clothes dirt and I wondered how seriously they were taking the exercise. All of a sudden we heard the “Boom” of a powder rifle going off near by and we took off, flying down the road.

Somebody lost a shoe and I ran back with her to find it. Our group was captured but the two of us were still free because we had not caught up with the group yet. We ran down the road and heard another group hiding in the ditch. We joined that group and continued the journey.

At one point on the journey we were led to a fire ring and "Quakers" gave us hot chocolate and let us get warm before we resumed our run. When we heard dogs or people on the road, we ran into the woods and stumbled around until we found the road again. At last we completed the journey and came out of the woods at the place where the lodge stands. We ran into the lodge and celebrated making it to freedom with high fives and more hot chocolate and warmth. Once all of the groups had made it back to the lodge we started the debriefing.

Eric took the lead in the debriefing and drew out feelings from all the participants. The students talked about the cold, fears of being outside in the dark, feeling connected to their ancestors, and surprised at what the slaves endured. The discussion moved from feelings to the experience itself. Eric wove into the discussion questions about black identity, historical racism, education, and their lives today and its connections to slave history. The leaders of the Over Comers Program, having accompanied the groups on their run through the woods, chimed in on the discussion, adding observations and insights from their perspectives. The debrief lasted about an hour and twenty minutes. It was after midnight when we finished. I thought the students felt good about the simulation and enjoyed the learning. Eric said it was a success.

I secured addresses from those students willing to be interviewed before they headed to their cabins. Eric had asked for five volunteers and they were willing to be a part of the study. I felt energized as I drove the 60 miles home from the camp.

Interview Process - Students

A slate of interview questions was asked of each student who agreed to participate in the study. The interview questions were designed by the researcher to elicit responses that would reveal the participant's perspectives and thinking. The interview questions were designed to elicit the "feelings, intensions, meanings, subcontexts, or thoughts" of the participants in this study (Lichtman, 2010, p. 140). The questions sought to get students to describe the experience in their own words and language. Some questions were scripted while others were born from the context of answers given or suggested by the interviewee. The reliability of each interview depended on the honesty of each participant answering the questions. Lichtman (2010) suggested several types of questions be included in the interview:

1. "Grand Tour questions …very general …tell me about yourself, or what is it like to …"
2. "Specific or concrete example questions … gives the participant an opportunity to be concrete and specific and provide relevant information."
3. Comparison/Contrast questions … challenges the participant to think about other times, situations, places, events or people and draw comparisons …"
4. New Elements/Topics questions … [help] the participant [that] is stuck … to introduce a new topic…"

5. Closing question … provides a chance for the participant to add anything else that has not been mentioned." (pp. 145-149)

Lichtman (2010) looked at the work of Jim Spradley (1979) in developing her types of questions. I used all of her suggested categories in my interviews. All student interviews lasted from 30 to 55 minutes. I sought to interview the students as close to the time of their simulation as I could, within four days to a week in most cases.

The interview questions were broken into five categories:

1. Background and demographic questions
2. Simulation questions such as what happened for them, and new learnings
3. Race questions, and their identity, assumptions, and understandings of racism
4. Power questions with their perspectives on voice, interests being served, etc.
5. Pedagogy questions, and their impressions and feelings about this methodology.

As stated earlier, the questions were a guide and students had the freedom to depart from these topics and go where the conversation led.

The first group of students I interviewed were those from Pilgrim University. Dillon had announced two weeks prior to the simulation that I wanted to interview students for my research project. Seven students responded to my appeal and volunteered to participate. I used my office to do the interviews, as it was a close, private space. My office is larger than most Pilgrim offices; it is a remodeled computer lab, but it has no windows. One wall is lined with bookshelves full of books and knick-knacks from all the countries I have visited. A small couch and comfortable chair are at one end, giving my office a homey feel. I invited the interviewee to sit on the couch or chair, whichever was

comfortable to them. I kept the door closed to only a crack and turned the phone off. Every effort was made to keep distractions to a minimum during the interview.

I interviewed two students on the day of the simulation and the other five over the rest of the week and into the next week. I accommodated student schedules to do interviews when they were most available. Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by my dissertation TA who had signed a confidentiality release form.

Any portion of the transcript that was unclear was verified with a phone conversation. This practice held true for all of the transcripts. Since I wanted to emphasize participants' voices, it was important to not change their words to more descriptive language.

It was evident that my Pilgrim student sample would be disproportionately white unless I went outside the present simulation. I had facilitated the *Other People's Power* simulation for the Biblical Theology of Justice class on February 17th, 2004. I invited two students of color to be part of this research project. Their participation in the *Other People's Power* simulation qualified their inclusion. Both students agreed and were interviewed in my office, one on March 5th, and one on March 20th, 2004.

I felt nervous but good about the interviews. These were the first interviews so I was unsure about my skills and about the questions eliciting the information I was most interested in. I felt the interviews went well. All the students except Aaron presented as comfortable and eager to share their thoughts. Aaron, who is bi-racial and grew up in a white context, did well with the questions until I asked about race; then he seemed nervous and a bit fidgety, but he finished the interview.

The second group of students to be interviewed were those participating in *Other People's Power* at Galaxy High School on March 17th. Immediately following the simulation I interviewed two students and met with five more over the next two days. The following Monday I interviewed the remaining three students. The first week we used an empty counseling room for the interviews. The room was small with a desk and two easy chairs in front of it. The space felt cramped with way too much on the desktop and file cabinet. I had to pull my chair to the side of the desk so the tape recorder could pick up both voices. The students were very willing to be interviewed; it got them out of class. For the most part they quickly warmed up to me. I felt very much at ease, and the interviews went well.

The second set of interviews, the last three, were on the following Monday, March 22nd. They took place in the empty school cafeteria. Tandy gave me the classroom numbers where I could locate the students and I went and pulled them out of their classes one at a time. We sat at low tables in the big empty space. Again, students were happy to get out of class and very forthcoming in answering the questions. The experience of the simulation was still fresh in their memory and the students were very open in sharing. I did not like the openness of the space for interviewing so I asked each interviewee to choose the table we would sit at in hopes that this would increase their level of comfort.

The initial pool of student participants lacked diversity so I included the *Underground Railroad* simulation to avoid racial homogeneity in this group. Even with the inclusion of this second simulation, only 9 of the 24 student participants were persons of color.

The interviews for students participating in the *Underground Railroad* simulation took place in their homes on April 3rd through the 9th, 2004. As I have stated, attendance in the YMCA Over Comers program was the common denominator for these students, not a common high school. I contacted each student by phone and they chose the location of the interview. All of the students lived in the north community. I visited four homes to conduct the five interviews; one student came to his cousin's house to be interviewed after I finished with his cousin. Each interview took place in the family's living room. The interviewees were comfortable, relaxed, and spoke freely. I met a parent and sometimes other family members at each home, but during the interview they stayed out of the room. I experienced some apprehension about going into homes but I quickly overcame this as the homes reminded me of my own home.

Interview Process - Teachers

I set up the teacher interviews to begin in a semistructured way and then moved toward a nonstructured approach. Lichtman (2010) and Lodico, Spaulding, and Voegtie (2006) discussed both methods, advocating for the nonstructured interview for long interviews. More so than the students, the teachers left the scripted questions and freely explored other topics; they seemed to have more to say. The teacher interviews lasted from 35 to 65 minutes, with most on the longer side of the scale. Here again I used Lichtman's categories for the types of questions asked.

A different slate of questions was asked of teacher participants though the categories overlapped. The questions fit into four categories:

1. Personal Background and demographics
2. Experiential Pedagogy, their theory, how teaching relates to race

3. Pedagogy and Power, how power manifests in their teaching, how their teaching is political and ethical, and other issues raised
4. Race, their self-identity, and assumptions and meaning they make of race

The questions were designed by the researcher to obtain significant details and specific information about how practitioners interpreted and understood their experience of simulations, and why they use this method as part of their pedagogy. Two of the three teachers who conducted the simulations where students were interviewed for this study were also interviewed within three days of the simulation exercise. When I discovered the oversight of not interviewing the third teacher, I added that interview in the fall of 2009. The other six teachers/practitioners were interviewed in the same spring the simulations took place.

Each teacher participant was contacted by phone and arrangements made for the interview; they chose the place of the interview. One interview took place in a restaurant near the participants' office, four took place in participants' offices, and four interviews took place in homes. Every effort was made to minimize distractions.

These interviews were also audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Any parts that needed clarification were checked through follow up phone conversations. Field notes were kept during the interview process, tracking feelings and impressions of the researcher.

Overall the teacher interviews were a delightful time of reaffirmation and discovery. I reaffirmed why I chose to include them in my study, and discovered much about their theory and practice of teaching and about them as persons. Again and again

their perspectives and insights surprised me. This held true for both women and men and the for both practitioners who were white and those of color.

Six of the nine teachers identified as persons of color. The racial diversity among teacher/practitioners was intentional on my part as I sought to examine what role, if any, the racial identity of participants from various racial backgrounds played in the use of this pedagogy.

Data Analysis

The overarching goal of this multiple case study was to explore the experience of both teachers and students in a simulation designed to unlearn racism. The data was first analyzed in reference to the research questions presented in the *Introduction*. Those questions were as follows:

1. What is the experience of learners and teachers in a simulation designed to unlearn racism?
2. What role does the race of the teacher play in their understanding and ability to use experiential methodology to unlearn racism?
3. What role does the race of the student play in their ability to unlearn racism?
4. What do students think happened that differs from teachers' desired outcomes?
5. What racial implications are raised in the concerns voiced by both teachers and learners?
6. How are racial and other concerns expressed?

I divided the data into the groupings of teachers and students and then sub-divided the student group into students of color and white students. This gave me three

manageable data groupings of 9, 9, and 15 interviews. I chose to analyze the teacher interviews first.

I read and reread the nine teacher interviews, sorting and coding for themes. The six research questions suggested broad topics. In my analysis I looked at the data according to the racial categories, but I let the data speak for itself. As I read the data, repeated words and phrases suggested themes sometimes connected to specific phrases. The themes were categorized along side other themes derived as noteworthy items and each explored fully. As each theme was explored the literature relevant to that theme was examined. The findings from the data were analyzed secondarily through the lens of critical theory asking each set of questions.

The teacher interviews sought details of what happened during simulations and the details of what teachers thought about simulations as a strategy. Expressing ideas and thoughts in their voice was paramount. I asked them to explain the rationale for their responses. When they surfaced other topics not included in my questionnaire, I sought to fully probe those topics as well. The last question on the interview was an open-ended invitation to include whatever statement they wanted to add to the interview. All of the collected information was then reviewed for analysis.

Analysis attention was also given to the field notes taken from observations of the simulations. In places where there was a lack of clarity, I made follow-up phone calls to teachers to attain clarity. The teachers willingly answered these questions, knowing they were once again being recorded.

The 24 student interviews were treated in the same manner as the teacher interviews. The two sub-groups of white and non-white interviews were sorted and coded

for themes guided by the research questions. The amount of data and the marked difference between the white high school and college students necessitated splitting the group into two, a high school and college group. This resulted in two separate chapters. Other themes were allowed to surface naturally. Again, the literature suggested by the themes was explored as each theme was covered. Here, too, the critical lens was applied to analyze the data.

In the student interviews I sought to uncover feelings and thoughts on the simulation they had just participated in. Questions on the teaching method and the ethics of being subjected to this kind of exercise were also asked. I gave attention to their voice as they expressed it. When students left the questions of the questionnaire and went in other directions I fully pursued those topics. In the final phase of questioning they, too, were allowed to make an open-ended statement about anything covered or not covered in the interview. All information collected was subjected to analysis.

Chapter Four

Teachers' Perspectives on Simulations

In this chapter I will focus on the experience of the teachers who led or worked on one of the simulations used in this study. I will examine and analyze the responses of the nine teachers who participated in this study. Some teachers were aware of and owned their critical, pedagogical stance. The two teachers associated with *Squat No More* and the *Underground Railroad* fit this category. Others of the teachers, including the co-facilitator of *Other People's Power* (OPP), practice without formal knowledge of critical pedagogy; they self identified as experiential pedagogues. One point of inquiry in this study was to see if practitioners could be critical pedagogues without knowing it, to see if they can practice without knowing the formal theory. Other key questions that are the focus of this chapter are: why do practitioners commit to and use this methodology; what do they want to happen with students; and what role does their own race play in their practice? The interview questions were organized according to topics and then regrouped to manageable sizes. Within each topic codes were developed in response to the questions that yielded data that turned into the themes for that topic. Five topics emerged: Simulations, Race/Racial Identity, Pedagogy, Power/Politics, and Learning; each has a number of themes subsumed under them. Table 3 shows the organization of topics and themes. The conclusion at the close of the chapter summarizes the findings and some suggested implications.

Table 3. Teacher Topics With Themes
Simulations
It works *Awakening* *Juxtaposition* *Pedagogy: what I do*
Race/Racial Identity
It's complex *Painful past* *Whiteness* *Journeying* *Racism as systemic power and more*
Power/Politics
Getting into trouble *Everything is political*
Learning Outcomes
High hopes *Ethical questions: the balance*

There were nine teachers interviewed for this study. *The Teachers* section in Chapter Two gives a narrative description of each teacher. For easy comparison and quick reference, see Table 2. Three of the teachers were white, two were African American, two were Native American, and two were Asian American. I gave attention to

the role their own race plays in their practice, but I have not grouped the teachers in any race-related pattern.

Simulations

Simulations as a methodology stand apart for these practitioners. They all came to the method through different avenues but share a common commitment. How they use simulations reveals an interesting juxtaposition between the experiential and critical pedagogues. Four themes surfaced in this topic: It Works, Awakening, Juxtaposition, and Pedagogy: What I do.

It Works

The positive feedback from students, the ability to connect to the book lessons, the effects on student lives, and the fact that a simulation called forth from students what other methods did not, embody what teachers mean when they say "it works." The teachers were convinced that the simulation worked and therefore overwhelmingly committed to simulations as a teaching method, although they had not all started out that way. Angela, the white professor, at first had doubts. She said, "I was skeptical at first as to how well they could actually work or actually capture people's reality. Would my students really get it? Would they see it?" She elaborated on this point:

> I had never participated myself in a simulation, or seen one, prior to hearing you talk about yours, and talk about your background and experiential learning, and I thought wow that's neat, I wonder…how does this work…could this really work? It sounds interesting. So I just wasn't sure that it could be all that powerful. And then I should take that back. I had seen some simulations done that weren't very powerful. That were…people were supposed to react to them and have these

> strong feelings and they didn't. Seeing that kind of thing, and I thought, well, I'm not quite sure, but when I went and visited your class in January and saw this really complex simulation that was carried out, I was sold on its relevance and the fact that you can use this – use simulations and get something from them. That's very valuable.

After seeing a simulation done well, she quickly became a believer in the methodology. She explained why she uses simulations:

> Because I'm sold on the fact that it works. And the reality is that the feedback from the students for the most part is extremely positive. And that is the one day, the one lesson, that will stick with many of them the longest. And they tell me that – I'm not inventing that. And when they do this particular simulation, it [book content] suddenly becomes clearer to many of them in a different way, and suddenly [they] are able to make connections that they were fighting and struggling with prior to that.

Tandy, biracial, is the only practitioner in this study who works in a public high school. Tandy participated in simulations as a high school student and was captivated by the learning style. She stated why she is committed: "The reason that I love it so much is that I see that it affects kids, because they can take something from experiences they can relate to, and it's just tangible for them." Tang, a Hmong outdoor educator, was introduced to simulations when he took a job as an outdoor educator. He concurs with Tandy's thinking: "I loved that concept of experiential education, teaching [simulations] to me, I enjoyed it because I can't learn by listening to others through lecturing."

Dillon, the other white professor, is in agreement. He first learned about simulations from me back in 1992 when we worked on training youth workers together. His openness toward simulations had one other source. He explained, "As a student of the civil rights movement, I've seen some videotapes of some of the simulation work that they've done, etc. etc. And so that is where my awareness and appreciation for simulations came from." He uses simulations "because I think students will learn things that they can't from books or documentaries, etc. And it creates a level of emotion at times. It brings forth things within the students that won't be brought forth by using other methods often."

Lee, Native American, and Bobbi, white, both work at a youth serving agency that goes into high schools to work with kids. Lee was introduced to the method as a student camper where they used simulations as part of their pedagogy. Bobbi was staff at the camp and learned the method in staff training. Lee stated, "I have seen it work where young American Indian people have their 'Ah-ha, now I know what you/re talking about, now I know what you mean' and it's very hard to do through the contemporary education system, the lecture type book approach." Bobbi is strongest in her endorsement of the methodology: "The majority of the results are it's an absolutely amazing experience for young people where it actually does help them make real life connections in the process of unlearning racism and that kinda stuff." Having encountered white teachers who question what she does, Bobbi stated why she continues to use simulations:

> First of all, because I've seen the power of this simulation to help people unlearn racism. I've seen it work, and I think that simulation "Morals and Ethics" and some of the other ones which aren't as deep like "Culture Shock" and

> "Stereotypes," those aren't even close to "OPP", but I do this because I believe in it, I've seen the power, I've seen it work for people....It's the most effective tool I've seen for people to start understanding racism. And I think that it is a little bit innovative and radical compared to most ways we'd try to teach things on race.

The practitioners of color have the same commitment to using simulations as a teaching methodology as do the white practitioners. These educators are committed to the methodology because it works for them. Shor (1992) posited that both Dewey and Freire stress student participation and the teacher's positive affect as fundamental to empowering education. Both these factors are revealed in the teachers' responses.

Awakening

All of the teachers spoke about transformation as an outcome of their teaching. Simulations are transformational. The words they used imply changed attitudes, changed lives that lead to doing something, taking action in new ways. What they allude to is a waking up, a coming to a place where students see what they could not see before, about themselves, and about the world. "Critical consciousness refers to the way we see ourselves in relation to knowledge and power in society, …" (Shor , 1992 p.129). What teachers allude to here is critical consciousness.

Eric, African American, is the only practitioner of color who described himself as a critical anti-racist educator, a critical pedagogue. He spoke of transformation:

> I think some of the most powerful simulations that I've been in, for example, the *Underground Railroad* with a group of students from another community … I felt there was real transformation that happened in their lives. Those students came with a set agenda and their set agenda was to destroy the simulation. Their whole

> reason for coming on that field trip was to say that quote, "nigger activity wasn't going to be successful," but because we gave an environment of acceptance I believe it allowed them to open up with their own issues and concerns and because we were willing to listen to them and even from their historic perspective it opened them up to a point when they did go through the experience of getting a sense of empathy for other people in the struggle, it allowed that transformation to really start happening. I think they left with ability to begin to look beyond them selves. They left with the ability to say there is some commonality in our desire to be recognized as human beings. I think it allowed them [to] touch empathetically with other people and begin the process of transformation.

These students woke up, almost in spite of themselves; the experience shifted how they perceived others and themselves. In focusing on the needs of those particular students Eric aligned his value, being student-centered, with the simulation. Eric clearly sees transformation as part of critical theorist outcomes. He is not the only one. Samnang, Cambodian American, talks about transformation in this way: "That's that passing on the baton type of thing. I'm sharing a bit of my world with you in hopes that you will do something and share with the world at large." Lee spoke of waking up also: "The manner in which I teach is the development and the ability to self reflect in the Lakota culture, it translates to a vision quest, the ability to have vision about yourself and the ability to use those clearly given [cultural] precepts I think is the most impact[ive] teaching I can give." Samnang summed it up:

> It's like a transformational piece for people and I found that it doesn't matter if you're a gang member, or a highly educated individual, once that approach is

> implemented without you knowing it, the revelation at the end of six hours you go "wow, I just learned something about myself." And that's the wonderful thing to do, that's, you've done your job, you know. Go away, walk away, get out of here and do something better tomorrow.

Bobbi, who self identified as an experiential pedagogue, speaks of the transformative power of simulations as a teaching method when she reminisced about "students who went to that simulation 10-15 years ago who still remember how their stomach felt during the reflection time … and it's students coming back and telling you how much it impacted their life and … how it actually helped direct students' life and choices they made in careers and things like that." She gave one such example:

> A student at --- High School who 7-8 years ago went through the simulation in a class and stayed, became someone who [I] actually ended up mentoring and becoming close with me through her going through that simulation. She ended up helping lead the simulation then in the future. Ended up when she went to college she decided to go into social work and can directly relate her decision from her experience in that simulation. And helping with that simulation then in the future for her was a turning point in her life to where she's at now.

This student's awakening led to a total reorientation of her life. So even though Bobbi does not have the language of critical pedagogy she teaches to the same transformative ends as the critical pedagogues.

In fact, each of the practitioners who self identified as experiential pedagogues spoke about educating for transformation in the same ways as critical pedagogues, about creating change agents committed to social justice. The data support the contention that

experiential pedagogues who lack the language of critical theory still taught towards critical theory outcomes.

Juxtaposition

One thing the data show that is note worthy was commented on by both Dillon and Angela and how they use simulations to teach complex issues of critical theory. The simulations simplify the issues and make them accessible on multiple levels. Both Charlie and Samnang commented on what they wanted learners to gain from having participated in a simulation. When juxtaposed, both sets of comments reveal the same answers. The critical and experiential pedagogues are all aiming for the same outcomes.

Both Angela and Dillon self-identified as critical pedagogues; they articulated the value of simulations in addressing complex issues. Dillon uses simulations to reinforce the critical theory he teaches in the classroom:

> The simulation demonstrates what racism does to people all the time. And so what it does, it in some ways simplifies what we have always tried to say is very complex, [students] can't really understand how this operates. It's too complex. It's too big. The simulation makes it very clear what is happening, who's benefiting, who's being hurt and the ways they are being hurt. Even the fact that there is this middle group that has some benefit, but not full freedom, demonstrates how a system keeps itself in place by handing out some crumbs to a certain group. So, in the idea of addressing racism, there is this very visual, visceral kind of picture of the way racial injustice operates and the way power dynamics operate which in the United States are in the hands of whites. So, even though we have a black President, we still have racism and we still have most of

> the power in the hands of whites. And it also shows that folks who have been disadvantaged or oppressed can be co-opted by the system and by the oppressors. A good Paulo Freire kind of information.

Dillon is clearly using simulations to address issues of power, injustice, oppression, and equity, the core issues of critical theory. Angela stated it this way:

> I think that what the simulation does is it focuses on the race issue because it's looking at indigenous vs. the mestizo-dominant culture, but also the economic issues of poverty, and that whole side of it is that it helps them understand a little bit better that the people on the bottom aren't on the bottom because they make poor choices, and because they don't use their money wisely, and because they don't, you know, basically those things, and so it helps them [students] understand the systemic aspect of racism, of privilege, and all those things a little bit better.

In the same way critical pedagogues like Giroux, McLaren, and Shor use cultural critique, these practitioners use simulations to interrogate the culture.

Charlie, Native American, and an experiential pedagogue, spoke about the "1862 Conflict" simulation, which is a reenactment of the 1862 Indian War in Minnesota that ended with the hanging of 38 warriors in Mankato, Minnesota. Charlie helped design the simulation. He spoke about what students should get from that simulation:

> I want them to feel, I want them to know that we've got a long way to go to really be a free nation, to really understand what democracy is, that you have to understand the history, but you have to understand in your heart, because you're going to be teaching this to your child, if you have a child, or your nephew or

> niece. You're still going to teach the same way, the same thing; until you understand that we are all equal.

Heart change, connection to history, equality, are themes in what Charlie wants learners to take away. Samnang, also an experiential pedagogue, talked about the "Hmong Odyssey" simulation, a reenactment of the "Killing Fields" experience connected to the Viet Nam War. He is the designer of the simulation. Samnang reflected on a typical debriefing session and asked:

> So what does that mean personally? And don't speak it in a way that it's the language you want to hear. Tell me your heart, what does that mean? And for most adults they realize, some of them work too much; some of them have lost contact [with] reality. For the young folks, they realize that their parents are the most important things. I'm not talking [about] possessions, [but] family, the soul. And inside, even though I kind of acknowledge a grin, because it's serious. I'm grinning inside.

These simulations (not included in this study) were designed on the model of the *Underground Railroad*. Both of these practitioners have designed these simulations to address issues of power, injustice, oppression, and equity. They lack the formal knowledge of critical pedagogy but they are on the same trajectory as the critical pedagogues. bell hooks (1985) asserted that all teachers have a philosophy, even if they don't know it, haven't reflected on it, can't articulate it; they have one. That philosophy is the underlying set of assumptions that guide their teaching. Is this enough data to suggest experiential practitioners can be critical pedagogues without knowing it?

Pedagogy: What I do

Three of the teachers identified themselves as critical pedagogues: Angela, Dillon, and Eric. Not surprising, these three hold the highest degrees, two at the doctoral level and one at the master's level. These three were exposed to the literature and research of critical pedagogy and anti-racist pedagogy. The other six - Tandy, Lee, Charlie, Tang, Samnang, and Bobbi - identified themselves as experiential pedagogues. The experiential pedagogues have come to this pedagogy not from schooling but through their own experience of either participating, or having been mentored or trained by other practitioners. All the teachers described their pedagogy as what they did in their teaching. Their descriptions included everything. There was some commonality amongst the experiential teachers but nothing was uniform. Pedagogy meant what they did methodologically and their methods were legion. Angela described her pedagogy:

> I'm gonna focus on one type of course, and that's my Readings course, my literature course. It's an intro to Spanish literature course. So one of my overriding objectives is to have the students grow in their self-consciousness and social-consciousness. So becoming aware of the world around them and who they are in that world. And always tied into that is their Christian worldview as well. So that would be the overriding goal and I choose texts and topics that will help them expand in that self and social critical consciousness, so I want them to become critical thinkers and learn to ask hard questions and learn to go and find answers to those questions and wrestle with ideas, and that would be my overriding goal for the course. And so I do that in a variety of ways: conversations

> and discussions and interactions, or things even like service learning or anything like that where you're interacting with communities that way.

Angela said she includes simulations in her pedagogy because

> I want them to feel… sometimes feel the pain of what it means to be oppressed, of what it means to experience racism, of what it means to be the outcast, deprived of privileges and rights, deprived of what others are given, hurt emotionally, physically, that kind of thing… to get a glimpse of that, and to be able then to make connections between what they experienced in that simulation and what others are living in reality on a daily basis everywhere around the world.

Dillon described his pedagogy as organic:

> I'm very organic in the way I work, and so I tend to do something and then reflect on it and determine what works and what doesn't. Most of my courses … are taught in more of a seminar type fashion, where we would read the text and discuss them or we would watch a documentary and discuss it, very discussion based. Often we sit in a circle with the idea that that is going to increase participation; second, so that we could actually see each other; third, it tries to illustrate the idea that we are all equal in this discussion. I encourage students to speak up, speak of them as having something to offer us so that we all, myself as a teacher, can all learn from a student or a student learning from me. Many of the papers that are required are more of a reflection kind of approach. I do academic work in the class as well, but the goal of these classes is to seek some sort of transformation in the students – worldviews, ways of thinking about themselves.

This is a description of the dialogic teaching method as outlined by Freire (1984). Dillon's understanding of experiential pedagogy is not based on study of the methodology, but on experience.

> Obviously it's based on experience, values experience, and sees that one can learn from experience equally as well as one learns from books, or research or more of an academic research type. But what I also see in this method is that while it certainly could be used for real life settings to reflect on those, you can also create experiences [simulations].

Eric's own learning style was not the traditional classroom styles; he gravitated towards visual learning. He found his way to experiential learning, "probably through several mentors in my life who focus more on experiential exercises than learning per say traditional types of learning." Eric described his pedagogy:

> I am a believer that you have to be in relationship to really teach, I know that's controversial but I believe that the best form of teaching or disciplining or giving to another happens through relationship and through the process of relationship so that would be the essence of my teaching modality.

Eric crafts simulations; they can last up to three days. His signature piece is the *Underground Railroad* simulation. He incorporates lecture, discussion, demonstration, use of music, and video documentaries into his teaching. Eric calls his pedagogy anti-racist, and what he means by this is the following:

> Helping people enter a journey or process of [self] discovery so I think that's anti racism. I think so many times we say we're doing anti-racism training we end up promoting just another, quote concrete definition of a false ideology or false sense

> of identity. Anti-racism is understanding that I am on a human journey and that my definition [of self] needs to be broad enough and fluid enough to change, and that who I am is very multi-faceted as [a] human being.

These teachers are more dissimilar than alike in how they described what they do. Where they are alike is that they use simulations and their ultimate goal is transformation of the learner in terms of ways of thinking, worldview, and life journey. They have incorporated bits and pieces of critical pedagogy into their own styles: critical consciousness, student-centered, dialogical, and participative.

Tandy is one of the experiential pedagogues. She described her pedagogy:

> I'm very much about students learning through their experience. I personally am a very hands on person, that's how I learn, and so I like to give students an opportunity to learn going through things, since I'm not in the classroom per say, I see myself teaching in other ways outside the classroom. One thing that I like about experiential learning is its group, students going through shared group experiences, that's how I always like to say…. I kind of got turned on to this kind of learning when I worked in a different district and I had a mentor, and she started doing different experiential simulations … like "Star Power", or stereotyping activities, and retreats, and all these types of things students were going through, team building, the *Underground Railroad*, and "Hmong Odyssey," and all those things.

Lee's experience very much shadows Tandy's. He participated in experiential learning activities as a youth, grew into the role of staff, and under the mentorship of

many experiential mentors became a practitioner himself. He described his teaching method in this way:

> My style is to have a very direct approach. [I] utilize contact as the basis of why I use the service learning experiential approach to take the history and bring it about in a way that is intriguing or relevant to young American Indian people. Making [them] aware of their history but also at the same [time] utilizing the spiritual teachings that are very conducive to the styles that experiential learning utilizes.

Four of the experiential pedagogues - Tang, Samnang, Charlie, and Bobbi - came to this philosophy through work experiences; they were hired by agencies that used experiential based learning and trained their staff to do so. They all spoke of being immersed in experiential activities, team building, and simulations, and growing to love it. Their desire to be transformative in their teaching motivated their teaching simulations to unlearn racism. Samnang explained the kind of transformation he looks for:

> Transformation has always been the key thing and always will be for me … I always acknowledge to people when you leave here, you will transform. You will reach a new height in terms of who you are as a person, how you see people, how you see the world, and how you see yourself as a little dot in what we call the world.

Bobbi also spoke of transformation:

> I think it can be transforming because these kind [of] simulations have the power behind them to open somebody's heart, and I think the issue of race and this kind [of] stuff is so much about taking those blinders off and really digging into what

> race and racism is and how it affects people of color. To me it's just such a heart issue, and I think that these teachings have the possibility of opening somebody's heart, which then can lead to transformation.

The experiential teachers described what they do in a somewhat similar fashion but there is still no uniformity in what they do. Once again, where they are alike is that they use simulations and the ultimate goal is transformation. Transformation here means an internal shift in how one views self and others, a changed worldview, a change in direction. This, then, is an intersection of critical pedagogy and experiential pedagogy. All the practitioners are committed to simulations as a methodology. Both sets of practitioners speak about transformation in the same ways, and desire the same kinds of outcomes from their use of simulations. I will revisit this finding in the conclusion.

Race/Racial Identity

Understanding his or her own racial identity was integral to the teacher's selection for this study. I selected them because I had ascertained from our relationship or from the simulations they ran that they were well advanced on the journey of their own racial identity development. The teachers spoke freely about their own identity development and their understandings of race. This study sought to document connections between the race of the practitioner, and their practice as a facilitator of simulations to unlearn racism. In this section I will analyze their discourse and bring to light how race plays a role in their practice. The race divide has been historically articulated as a black/white line. Present day discourse speaks of a white/non-white divide. In some parts of this section I have divided the analysis along the white/non-white divide, for ease of understanding and

to avoid redundancy. Five themes emerged from this topic: It's complex, Painful past, Whiteness, Journeying, and Racism as systemic power and more.

It's Complex

The teachers did not easily answer the question about their racial identity. The common thread in their answers was that no one answered the same. Their identity was something they had reflected on deeply and so their answers reflected that complexity. Here complexity meant claiming multiple races or ethnicities or none; it meant privileges that came with being white; it meant a host of things. "[Identity] is not necessarily a stable, permanent, united center that gives consistent meaning to our lives. It too is socially constructed, and subject to political tensions and contradictions" (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993 p.vii). Dillon talked about his identity:

> I've been raised in a society that has declared me white and privileged white and has given me many advantages and benefits for that. I would put along side that ethnically Dutch and English, but because my family is fairly distant from the culture form, it's hard for me to fully identify what of me is Dutch and English. Although I am sure that the way I deal with conflict is based on the cultures.

I will discuss white privilege later in this section. His ethnicities did not mean much to Dillon. Tandy racially identified herself:

> I identify with multiracial, biracial. I am African American. I am Native American [Ojibwa], and then European American, or white. So, and you know that's something that I struggled with a lot, because I am mixed, …But I do check African American. I do, and I tell people that I'm black.

The meaning she drew from being black depended on what day you asked her:

> I struggle with that because I've been put in positions a lot of times where people have said that I wasn't acting black or I wasn't black, or I was actually this way. And so I'm always constantly struggling trying to figure out "well what does it mean to be black then?" So I don't know that I know what it means to be black, I know what it means to be me.

Tandy spoke to the way black identity is multifaceted in this postmodern era. Historically to have "one drop" of black blood made one black, to have one white parent still made one black. Not until the 1980s did words like "mixed" and "biracial" enter the discourse of racial identity. Omi and Winant (1993) had the notion that racial categories are formed, transformed, and re-formed throughout time; race is not a fixed concept.

Eric's answer was no less complicated; he stated the following.

> I come from the perspective as I grow on this journey of undoing racism in my own life, is that race is a concept. It is a social construct, an ideology, and so I want to say that I'm liberated from saying that I am a race, but the reality is that the society that I live in pressures even the sense of affinity. I think I would claim myself as a African-American, negro, black, colored, whatever you want to call me, you know, that is the reality of a reactionary reality.

For him being black meant that "I have a shared experience, a historical point of reference with a group of people that have endured oppression and slavery and their being stripped of a sense of humanity and power and so I think part of that identity, that affinity, is around that struggle."

Tang responded to the question in another way: “I would consider myself a Hmong person who happened to be growing up in American society.” Samnang’s response was this:

> They [whites] always assume that you are some other Asian race without asking. But that’s the power of privilege, the privilege to say, “I think you’re that, so therefore I’m just going to say it.” They never say “so what nationality are you from?” and I, people tell me, “oh, you’re Cambodian.” I say, “No I’m Khmer.”

Both Tang and Samnang spoke of cultural values of hospitality and family and of being proud and being Buddhist as the meaning of being Hmong or Khmer.

Lee gave a nuanced response to the question: “Fifteen years ago I would have been divided over American Indian or Native American but now when people ask me that question I prefer Lakota.” Lee took pride his identity: “To be distinct and unique in the umbrella of Native Americans” is what it meant to be Lakota. Charlie’s response was no less complex:

> Well, I’m pretty sure that I would check the box that says Native American. But if somebody asked me, and there’s no boxes to check, I’d tell them I’m Pottawatomie, I’m Mohawk, Pottawatomie on my dad’s side, Mohawk on my mother’s, and I’m also a little Irish and English.

He too spoke of pride in being from his Reservation.

Bobbi identified herself as European American, and when asked what that meant for her she responded:

> To be confused ... To me to be European American doesn't mean, for me personally, that I have much of a history of tradition whose parents moved, or celebrations or different things like that. … Probably, for me [it] contains more of a negative connotation."

For Bobbi the negativity centered on knowledge of white privilege and the oppression that accompanies it. Angela had that same recognition of white privilege in her life. Angela identified as white and said, "I've learned that what it means is privileges in my daily life. What it means for me is that I receive the benefits of my skin color without even having to acknowledge that."

All nine respondents gave answers that demonstrated deep self-reflection, and testified to the complexity of race in a racialized society. For all the variety of their responses, these teachers did not deny the saliency of race in their lives. Nor did they espouse ethnicity theory as articulated by Omi and Winant (1986), which holds that individual merit will mobilize one in the open American social system. Their responses are indicative of a preparedness to dialogue about race, which is not typical of most educators.

Painful Past

Three of the teachers of color told stories of pain associated with their racial identity. The stories centered on a time when they desired to be white. The pain was associated with feeling confused, hurt, and rejected. Some respondents spoke of their racial identity journey. For example, Lee spoke about a time when he wanted to be white:

> I had taken a book about General George Armstrong Custer and it was written by a white historian and glorified the accomplishment of Custer and the wars against

> the Lakota. I remember reading the book and I remember identifying not [with] the Lakota in that book but I remember identifying with the Calvary movement. I can remember pulling for them even knowing, going into the book what happened to them. I remember playing cowboys and Indians and I remember I always wanted to be a cowboy and so here I am in third or fourth grade reading this book identifying with the white Calvary officers and feeling emotions of anger and being upset of why these Indians killed all these brave white army officers. And being able to reflect upon that and realizing for the first time the power of reflection and the fear after that and going to the same Uncles… and asking them and my father why am I identifying with these soldiers and not the Lakota, my people?

Tang also shared a story about a painful episode in his life:

> I came to the States in December 1980, so immediately we were sent to school. … So I started fifth grade and I recall just sitting in the bus that even black kids, white kids were making fun of us, you know calling us Chinks, Gooks, you know, would spit on us, would blow paper at us, and make fun of us, make faces at us, and so right away I know that I was different. … I always have liked being who I am, even though there were moments in time when I wished I could be like them [whites]. You know, like I can have the physical features, the nice clothes, the nice shoes, the nice friends that they have.

Samnang spoke on the same theme:

> Eight, eight and a half. That was really young, trying so much to fit in to the society that's not mine, I disregard it [race], my whole culture, through high

> school. I didn't hang out with any of my cousins. When I go to temples I refused to go up to the alter, you know I would dress inappropriately with shorts which is a no-no. Make excuses when we have to go to the temple, I said, "Well, I have to go to this and that." So, priority-wise it was more important for me to be white per say than to be Khmer. And it took me a long time. It took me through High School, and even in high school when I thought I was one of them and I realized at my first soccer game ever that I was not one of them.

In *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together In the Cafeteria?* Tatum cited William Cross's model of black racial identity development for African Americans, and Jean Phinney's model for all other groups of color. Cross's model has five stages: "pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment" (Tatum, 1999, p. 55). In the pre-encounter stage the black child internalizes the values of the dominant white culture, including the belief that it is better to be white than black. Encounters with racism in our society force the young black person into the encounter stage. Here they discover what it means to belong to a group targeted by racism. In the immersion/emersion stage the black person immerses themselves in their black cultural identity. They unlearn the stereotypes and emerge secure in their racial identity. In the last two stages, identity development is about securing a sense of black self, building cross-racial relationships, and committing to work for black group interests (Tatum, 1999).

Jean Phinney's three-stage model is applicable to all other groups of color. In the first stage race is not salient for the young person and is therefore unexamined (as cited by Tatum, 1999). The second stage is when individuals actively engage in exploring and

defining the meaning of their race/ethnicity for themselves and their group. In the final stage individuals are able to assert a positive sense of their racial self (Tatum, 1999). Cross's model seems a more appropriate fit here than Phinney's, even though these practitioners are not African American. It is evident that these stories authenticate Cross's pre-encounter stage where they have internalized the ideology that white is better. The stories also allude to internalized racial oppression (IRO), the socialization process that teaches people of color to accept, believe, and live out negative definitions of self (Barndt, 1991). The practitioners have moved well beyond this stage. These practitioners use their own past to recognize and connect with students on their racial identity journeys. Simulations are the gateway to those conversations.

Whiteness

Two threads run through this theme: white invisibility and white privilege. A common theme running through the interviews with the white practitioners was the centrality of understanding the social construction of whiteness. Akintunde (1999) wrote about the historical construction of whiteness as an "analysis of the historical construction of race [which] also supports the assertion that race was constructed by Europeans to establish 'Whiteness' as a cultural, systemic, epistemological, privileged, and superior polemic" (Akintunde, 1999, p. 2). The other, in this polemic, is "non-white" and they were to be constructed as acultural (uncivilized), non-privileged, and inferior to whites. In writing about the history of race construction, Akintunde (1999) credited Spina and Tai (1998) when discussing the invisibility of whiteness:

> [N]ot seeing race is predicated on not seeing White as a race and in denying Whiteness as a focus of critique and analysis. Ignoring the racial construction of

> Whiteness reinscribes its centrality and reinforces its privileged and oppressive position as normative. Thus, Whiteness becomes a nonrace, invisible to those that would seek to analyze race and racism, thereby giving it more power, more privilege, and more impunity. The nonracialization of Whiteness restricts the ability of minorities to point out racism and gives the dominant White culture more freedom from criticism in the practice of racism. (p. 6)

Present day socialization in our society functions to make whiteness invisible to whites. The white practitioners understood white invisibility as not seeing, thinking, or speaking about being white. Part of being white is being privileged; the teachers understood white privilege as lacking white consciousness of the everyday advantages gained from holding the dominant power in society.

> Whiteness often becomes demonized and viewed as almost entirely evil and morally bankrupt, thus creating another binary between the good non-whites and the bad "whites." However like all binary oppositions this dualism oversimplifies and conflates … representations of "whiteness" and "white" people with real-life human beings classified as "white" (Keating, 1995, p. 909).

Roediger's ideas resonates with Keating's because he found nothing good about the social construction "whiteness." His answer was the abolition of the "white" self. But McLaren (1999), Giroux (1997), Leonardo (2009), and others advocate the rearticulation of "whiteness" so white people can choose the kind of white identity they will have.

Angela spoke about whiteness.

> I mean, they [students] define their whole faith, their whole worldview, everything they live, breathe, and know from their white perspective without ever

> seeing that they are white, and without recognizing what that means … because white people – we don't think about it. Ever. Unless we're challenged to do it."

Dillon saw this too: "But they don't necessarily think of it as anything other than just normal, human being because for most white students race is used for defining someone who is not white. So even some of my students have a hard time I think using the term white." Bobbi expressed similar understandings. She confessed she had not read the sociology about the construction of whiteness but had learned from her lived experience in relationships with people of color. "Making whiteness visible works against white racial knowledge's insistence on maintaining its own invisibility" (Leonardo, 2009, p.110). *Squat No More* and *Other People's Power* contain elements that make whiteness visible.

All three practitioners discussed white privilege. Bobbi defined it this way:

> White privilege is about the privilege that white people have in particular in the United States of America and in other countries also. But it's the privilege that we have that comes from the power position that white people have and are trying to maintain and it's the privilege of not having to think about whiteness when they go into a store to buy something and it's the privilege that they have just because of the dominant status that white people have in this country. It's the privilege of just not having to think about race in their day-to-day life and even in some of the more big things like job experience, interviews and that kinda stuff.

Dillon spoke about white privilege in the assumptions he has about race: "Overall I think race is very powerful in our personal identity and the way others perceive us and

our opportunities in life. Race powerfully defines our life opportunities." Dillon asserted that his journey has led to teaching about white privilege:

> I want white students to be aware of the privilege that they have. So we talk about privilege. We use Peggy McIntosh's work as well as others. We use my book, … so part of it's identifying for both [white] students and students of color how the social construction of race affects them because even students of color, … they [need] some of the same tools.

Angela identified some of her own white privileges:

> When I walk into a store, or when I go to be served, or when I try to take out a home loan, or when I do any of those things, I am always given the benefit of the doubt, because I'm white. And I don't get questioned, and I can go where I want to go, and I can live where I want to live, and I can get a loan if I want to get a loan, and I, you know, am given the benefit of the doubt.

For Bobbi, knowing about white privilege led to guilt, but not for Angela because for her it was motivating: "And so with that comes a huge responsibility. And that recognition [of white privilege] helps me to want to work with others to help them recognize that as well, because I know firsthand that I didn't have to think about race ever until I had friends of color." Tatum (1999) stated that the "role of the [white] ally is not to help victims of racism, but to speak up against systems of oppression and to challenge other Whites to do the same" (p. 109).

Tatum (1999), in her chapter on white identity development, discussed Janet Helms' six stages/statuses of white development: "contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independent, immersion/emersion, and autonomy" (p. 95). The first three statuses

belong in phase one and are pertinent to the white students and discussed in Chapter Five. The second phase includes the last three stages/statuses which are relevant to the white teachers. The task in this phase is defining a non-racist, anti-racist, white identity, with non-racist here meaning awareness of the saliency of race/racism but taking no action against it. The pseudo-independent stage is epitomized by a cognitive understanding of the systemic nature of racism, a commitment to unlearn racism, and a distancing of oneself from all things white. Whiteness is experienced as mostly shameful and negative up to and through this stage, so individuals associate with people of color. The immersion/emersion stage is marked by recognition of the need for a positive white identity, efforts to see whiteness in a positive light, connections with whites on the journey, and learning to be an ally. The final status is autonomy, characterized by securing an anti-racist identity, and joining with others to dismantle cultural and systemic racism (Tatum, 1999).

A reconstructionist view of white identity does not lay out stages or statuses through which white individuals pass. It does, however, see a range of possibilities for white agency because not all forms of white identity "reproduce and reiterate white power" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 96). Struggling with whiteness is a legitimate political project within this pedagogy.

Angela's statements place her squarely in the later statuses of white identity development, and in the reconstructionist camp. Bobbi's comments fit in with the pseudo-independent stage. What the data make evident about the white practitioners is that their own construction of whiteness, their own journey in racial identity development, directly relates to their ability to use simulations to unlearn racism.

Journeying

The teachers of color talked about growing in their racial identity, of moving from one place to another place. They could mark the changes in themselves. These changes of movement are the journey. Working with students on their racial identity development is another movement on the journey; it is part of identity growth. Charlie spoke of his identity growth:

> When I was growing up in the 60s and 70s I was one of those radicals. I hated everybody in this country that was not Indian and had no right being here. I didn't care how you got here, you had no rights. You know I had white friends, black friends, and I dropped away from them because of who they were and what I was believing in during those days. …And then when I started to go to their funerals, and really understanding...I changed.

Tandy spoke of past struggles: "But being mixed has always, it's been kind of stuck in the middle. As I've grown older, I've matured and kind of come into my own, so it's a lot better, and I worked through some of my stuff and then I'm comfortable with who I am now." Samnang summed up his journey:

> Oh yeah, I went through a phase of hating white people, to the point of you know what, between the ages of 22 and 28. Because every time I'm in the presence of someone that's Caucasian, visually, the B-52, the tons and tons of B-52s that was dropped in my country, the lives, the lives of my brothers and sisters … But it took me 29 years to let go, 27 months to see who I was at the first time I was born, and that's when those 27 months I spent in Cambodia with my people, and then I see white for the first time, for who they really are.

The common thread in all of their stories is of a journey to a place of pride in their racial identity. Furthermore, they all alluded to connecting their work in using simulations to unlearn racism to racial identity development in the students they work with. Lee sees a direct link between his work and racial identity development:

> I have had those experiences and an ability to reflect at a young age, unlike a lot of the current generation of American Indian people who never develop that [ability] often until their mid twenties and mid thirties so having an awareness early enough which is why I try to intercede at the high school level at this point and knowing that I need to intercede at a first grade level, but right now government funding and current education aims are for the high school level.

Samnang told the story of one student he worked with not included in this study.

> First, let's give an example of an individual that is mixed, half African American, half Cambodian. She never identified herself for the two -day simulation that she's Asian, nor African American. I said, "Honey, you have two unique cultures in you, thousands of years of legacy. Don't choose, be bold." "Well I can't." "Why not?" "Well, because at home I'm raised by my mother, Cambodian... dad's not around." So you see what I'm saying, with the opportunity of that issue, it's just a mess. It's a cultural gap for her, so she never fully understands what its like to be on the African American side. She never fully understands what it's like to celebrate tons of culture, you know. That piece and she's going to go around missing that. And so after two days of that, I asked her, "So what are you going to do?" "Well, I'm going to do both." "Well, you don't have the African side." "Yeah, but grandma, you know, daddy's not around, but grandma's around." So I

> said, "OK, good." It's that piece and they're so strong that even now, two- three years later when I see her, you know "Yo, what side are you?" "I'm both!"

Every practitioner of color had similar stories to this; it is what motivates them for this work. The data suggest practitioners of color who have reached the higher stages on the continuum of identity development, or are operating from a reconstructionist view, use their own journey to aid students on their identity journey. None of the practitioners in this study espoused the white abolitionist perspective.

Racism as Systemic Power and More

For the teachers in this study, both white and teachers of color, the definition of racism they held was focused on power and systems of oppression as opposed to other definitions of racism. Critical pedagogues speak of racism as systemic oppression, and discourse, a language of ideology. One practitioner conceded that it is power but goes beyond that and argued that the inability to see each other's humanity is also racism. Dillon learned about racism at a historic black graduate school.

> But probably where this changed from individual to more systemic perspectives was when I went to Howard University. Again, I was often the only white in the classroom, which gave me that kind of experiential understanding of being able to hear conversations and see interactions that I might not have seen otherwise. But the professors taught and challenged; they looked at issues of race from a systems approach versus just an individual approach.

Tandy stated, "I see oppression more along the lines as racism and I'm still trying to figure out in my mind what that means about racism and how I define that in my mind.

I just see it as an issue of power or lack there of and I don't see people of color having much power." Eric went beyond the power definition.

> Racism to me is the inability to see humanity and the human spirit for what it really is and I wanted to start with the inability to see that because I think traditionally we want to start [with the idea] that racism is power this that and that, but the reality is that racism is a narrow view of who we are and it forces ourselves to living out that viewpoint.

Lee explained it this way:

> Where I come from in South Dakota racial tensions are reminiscent of how they were in the south in the 60s. It is still Indians vs. White, it is still hostile. I'm continually seeing an increase in racist attitudes by our young American Indian people towards other cultures very heavily influenced by the media. So there's that concept of not only other cultures but even to neighboring tribes and as born of the isolationism that reservations create just despite the nature itself, it is essentially a long term internment camp. And the only way to get people to understand is to compare it to the Japanese internment camps of World War II and the dramatic effects that it has had on Japanese American culture. Now take that same model and apply it for the last two hundred years in this country to its original people and you can only imagine the after effects and the type of effects that it has trying to deal with historical trauma. That is oppression.

The simulations present a systemic picture of racism and come from a marginalized perspective. This is in keeping with Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed. Teachers would not be equipped to facilitate the simulation without a systemic

understanding of racism. The data reveal an interesting side note. When asked why some teachers have issues with doing simulations or will not use this methodology around unlearning racism, the practitioners answered unanimously that in their experience it is white teachers who find it problematic. The reasons for this difficulty for white teachers varied. Samnang said, "It's the truth, and the truth scares people sometimes." Lee articulated an alternative reason: "it is more often as not the European American adults who struggle with it because of the feeling of guilt. And that guilt would almost stop them cold." Eric stated "that if one had not experienced certain types of oppression and struggle, that lack of experience might prevent your willingness to teach about racism." The understanding of racism those practitioners of color and white practitioners had played a role in their willingness to engage as facilitators of simulations on unlearning racism.

The data on this topic disclosed much. Foremost, racial identity is complex in our society, and practitioners who led simulations to unlearn racism have reflected deeply on their own racial identity. Teachers of color did use, and by implication, can use their own identity journeys to connect with students and to aid students on their identity journey. Three factors aided white teachers in their ability to teach on unlearning racism: white consciousness, or understanding the saliency of race in their own lives; understanding the social construction of whiteness; and understanding white privilege. The data also revealed that white teachers' own racial identity journeys was related to their ability to teach simulations on unlearning racism. Last, the definitions of racism teachers have influence their ease in facilitating a simulation on unlearning racism. If racism as a

systemic misuse of power is to be presented in the simulation, then teachers must have those understandings.

Power/Politics

For some of the teachers in this study the idea of teaching as a political act had never occurred to them. They had never read Paulo Freire, or any critical theory that discussed the politics of learning/teaching or connected it to power. For those lacking the language of critical theory I posed questions that asked about whose well-being is served or challenged in their teaching. The two sets of practitioners were noticeably close in their thinking about this topic. Their recognition of how power plays a role in their teaching was very clear. Two themes emerged here: Getting Into Trouble, and Everything is Political.

Getting Into Trouble

In their use of the term "political" the teachers meant having to do with power relationships, governmental power, being unorthodox, and going outside the prescribed bounds. Their political teaching gets them into trouble because they challenge the status quo. This factor was the common thread in their discourse on power. Some of the teachers of color were able to articulate connections between teaching, power, and politics. Lee talked about his teaching:

> It [my teaching] is a direct attack essentially on the power structure that has existed. We're still considered wards of the federal government and official governmental language towards Indian tribes [is] to try to essentially not claim our place at the table but [I want] to claim the table. This table has been grown in our own backyards; this is our table and right now we're not sitting at that table

> you know, and we're trying to build that chair to scoot it up to our own table in our own design and our teachings and scoot it up to the table to the head of the table [which] I think is mostly threatening European American power structure[s].

Lee's "direct attack" does not endear him to the 80-90% white teachers on the Reservation, "being called abrasive by some contemporary educators saying that [I'm] being too direct." It gets him into trouble.

Samnang spoke of his teaching, "Well, everything I've been doing up to this point with youth development is so political because it's so unorthodox… I like to stir things up and if you want to talk about political and the power of that, by doing unorthodox ways of educating people, informing…" Tandy, too, perceived herself as going outside the prescribed bounds: "Well, lately I certainly haven't been teaching the status quo, I've been getting myself into trouble, because I've been pushing a little bit. But I think that [teaching is a political act}, so yes I would agree with that. There's not going to be change unless we push some things." She also put in the realm of the political teaching content and teaching to maintain the status quo. Their positions of marginality have helped these teachers to see a connection between teaching and power.

Everything is Political

The self-identified critical pedagogues -Angela, Dillon, and Eric - were quick to affirm the belief that teaching is political. They meant the choices teachers make about texts, syllabi, theories, voices they bring into classrooms, these are biased and need to be recognized as such and problematized. They meant being intentional about power dynamics in classrooms. They recognized that everything is political. Teng also had read

Freire and was familiar with the concept of teaching as a political act. His views aligned with the other three. Eric expressed his sentiments:

> I understand and I do agree with that quote that everything we do is political. In getting at the definition of politics to me is how do we divide power and so therefore everything that we do needs to be political or political in part. That if we are about creating a sense of equity and equality and freedom and liberty and liberation that means that we have to be intentional about addressing those systems that may or may not aid us in that effort.

He made the connections to simulations in this way: "

> In terms of most of the [Underground Railroad] simulations I do we intentionally point out that there are those who are privileged, and those who are in power and those who would constantly resist change for better or for worse because of their own position in life and that in essence is political.

Angela also spoke passionately about her views on this topic: "I have bought into the ideology that everything is political. The public is political, and the private is political. What happens in the classroom is most certainly political." She went on to define politics:

> It's always an issue because on a daily basis, we're making choices that have consequences, and when we choose to do something, we're by definition excluding all the other options out there, so it comes into play with what I choose to include on my syllabus, the texts that I choose to use vs. those that I choose to exclude. Everything about it, the way I present material, the theories I use – my

> reading and where I come from – are biased … I'm giving voice to, and therefore power to, those texts that I choose or those opinions that I express.

Angela credited simulations (*Squat No More*) with helping students see power relationships in the world in ways they never have before, and opening a space to talk about issues of power. Again I see an overlap between critical and experiential pedagogues as both think about teaching as a political act in similar ways, and both are willing to take some risks.

Learning Outcomes

Many of the practitioners articulated what they wanted students to learn from the simulations they led, or what they saw students learning from the simulations. Here again was an area where the race of the practitioner did not seem to matter; both white and practitioners of color had learning outcomes and saw those outcomes realized. The lessons learned centered on racial identity, white privilege and racism, worldview, history, and taking action in the world. None of the outcomes were exclusive to critical pedagogues or experiential pedagogues. In the process of running simulations practitioners struggled to act with integrity when it came to simulating injustice. If the simulation is too easy then the learning is negatively impacted; teachers have to find the balance. Two themes emerged here: *High hopes,* and *Ethical questions: the balance*.

High Hopes

As I listened to the learning outcomes each practitioner articulated for the simulation, the list grew long and complex. Rereading the data made clear that the teachers had high hopes for what students could gain from a simulation. Multiple outcomes were listed, some seemingly unrealistic for a seventy-five minute or even a six-

hour exercise. The pattern in this topic is the very real, high expectations for the learning from the simulation.

Both Charlie and Angela articulated the following outcome: "I want them [students] to wake up!" For Charlie this meant he wanted Indian kids to become aware of the racist system and ideologies they grow up in and to resist them. To Angela it meant white students recognizing their connection to history and becoming aware of white privilege and systemic racism. Dillon also wanted students to become aware of white privilege and to "help students talk through and understand the idea of the construction of race and how race has affected them." Dillon spoke about learning in terms of transformation:

> So, what I want to do is transform their belief system to one where social justice is at the center of their belief system and [not] that [it] is something at the edge or something that is not even a part of it. I want them to see issues of injustice, in this case racism, as a central part of something that we can be working on in part of this world, and not just sort of an option. I also want them to be aware of who they are, racially and culturally, and how they relate to gender and how their class experience has shaped them. So I want them to be aware of that. And I want them to be able to [be] comfortable in talking about that.

Surely this is not an outcome from the simulation *Squat No More* alone, but the simulation plays a part of this bigger goal.

Teng, Samnang, Eric, Charlie, and Lee all spoke about wanting students to learn about history in connection to their simulations. Beyond the history piece Samnang stated what he wanted for students:

> Get to understand yourself, what it is that makes you very uncomfortable when we talk [about] race", first. Second is to, OK, once you understand that, how do you admit it, that you don't know yourself really well and you need to know about other people … and the third piece is to "OK, after we talk about it, what are you going to do about it?" In the simulation I make people sign a contract, and I follow up on it.
>
> I want them to be proud of, if not themselves, be proud of their history.

Teng said, "This simulation [*Underground Railroad*] is really a self-discovery process for them to say, 'Who am I?' … and that I should not take for granted who I am or what I have, but work toward making a brighter future." The hopes of many practitioners were high.

Ethical Questions: The Balance

Ethical questions are a part of the terrain of experiential education. These practitioners defined ethical questions as crossing boundaries, causing pain both physical and emotional, scaring people, and going "too far". Race did not seem to be a factor in questions of ethics; every practitioner spoke of struggling with ethical questions. Two threads ran through their comments: the need to practice with integrity, and the idea that the good outweighs the bad; this was the balance practitioners sought. Bobbi described some of what she does in her role in the *Other People's Power* simulation:

> So you're doing things like name calling, telling people they're stupid, referring to people as "you people", misspelling or mispronouncing people's names, taking gum, and there's some slight physical contact: kicking people's feet to get back in the square, pushing them back into the box, and sometimes even a bit more

> physical depending on who you're doing it with, and a lot of yelling and plain out being rude and demeaning to people. Which is something that whether I'm claiming that role or not, it's hard to do and it's also just hard to be in the room and see somebody doing it.

Bobbi talked of the balance weaving both threads in her comments: "It's always kinda difficult to walk that fine line of if you have gone too far or not in your oppression … it's not as difficult because you're understanding the end result and that's the one thing that you know, it's just worth it." Tandy stated it in near exact terms, "As in a lot of experiential activities they are difficult, they are hard, but the end result, you hope, is going to be something that is going to be positive and that people see the point in this and actually get something out of it, that's why I do these." Charlie chimed in, "So I think there's a definite line that you have to walk ... you have to be very careful with experiential education." Samnang also commented, "No, the ethical piece is that I have to do what's right, I have to." Angela spoke of being in the tension:

> I'm always a little bit nervous about how it's going to go. Because sometimes students break down into tears, and sometimes they're upset and angry, and it provokes a reaction on an emotional level for so many that participate, and that is the part that I love about it, but at the same time it makes me nervous.

Eric captured both threads as well:

> I think there are issues of safety, you're putting people in simulations to make them real; how far do you go? How close to pain do you actually get, until you experience pain, and I guess that's a constant tension or balance that you need to keep checking yourself that we don't keep it in perspective, I guess. I try to

> determine that by the overall good. It's kind of like a doctor; I guess if you see the tooth is rotten and it's got to come out or dentist, it's got to come out. Do you cause pain to relieve pain and how much pain are you willing to cause to relieve pain and I guess that's the balance that you constantly measure and I think it's subjective.

The struggle to find the boundary line between "this is okay, this is not," is a real and constant struggle. Giroux (1997), in discussing the trauma white students may feel in classrooms where they are forced to confront whiteness, has offered some insight on trauma as a pedagogical tool. "As a potent pedagogical tool, trauma refers to the subjectively felt effects of classroom practices that baffle, reorient, and challenge students' commonsense assumptions about race" (Giroux, 1997). If trauma is a legitimate tool in the belt of critical pedagogues, then it does not cross ethical bounds to use it. The data suggest that teachers hold to some inner sense of integrity when practicing.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with a number of questions: Why are practitioners committed to this methodology? What do teachers want to happen for students during a simulation? What role does the race of the practitioners play in their practice? Can practitioners be critical pedagogues without knowing it? What is the intersection between critical pedagogy and experiential pedagogy? The data speaks to these questions, suggesting answers, and also raising more questions. I will summarize the findings in hopes of answering the questions.

The data suggest practitioners are committed to this methodology for the same reason they commit to others: they find it effective. In their terms, "It works." Teachers

were able to use simulations to make the book lessons come alive. This was true especially with students who had little lived experience of the realities they were reading about. Simulations require the engagement of the whole person; they tap into the emotions of students and call forth from students much that other methods do not. This factor, combined with the positive feedback students gave about the effects simulations had on their lives, lead teachers to commit to the methodology. All of these teachers had a systemic/power analysis of racism; this was part of their commitment to the methodology. The data suggests this analysis is necessary to facilitate a critical simulation.

The biggest thing teachers wanted from a simulation was for students to learn, to have those "ah-has" about the self and the world around them. The teachers had high expectations in terms of outcomes. Both critical and experiential teachers designed simulations to address issues of power, injustice, oppression, and equity. Most often, the learning outcomes were realized. The teachers saw simulations as powerful enough to transform students' lives, and desired those transformations. Teachers wanted these aforementioned things without violating the dignity of students or their own personal ethics. These facilitators hold to an inner sense of integrity and ethics. It was important that they not cross ethical lines during simulations. The struggle to maintain ethical balance was ongoing for the teachers.

Race mattered profoundly for these teachers using simulations to unlearn racism. Race is salient for all racial groups. The fact that these practitioners had reflected deeply about their own racial identity had a perspective that put them in the reconstructionists camp, and demonstrated racial identity development that put them in the later stages on

the continuum, which was an aid to their ability to lead simulations to unlearn racism. For both white and teachers of color the knowledge and comfort dealing with the topic of race matter. All nine teachers were conscious of race; it was salient for each of them. Practitioners used their own pasts to connect with students on their racial identity journey during simulations. For some this meant remembering painful episodes; for others it meant sharing their life stories. The simulations allowed teachers to use their voice in equalizing ways.

White practitioners' racial identity development directly related to their ability to use simulations to unlearn racism. Omi and Winant (1986) have said ethnicity theory is a common way many interpret race. However, ethnicity theory denies the significance of color, and the significance of our history of colonization and European and Euro American subjugation over other people groups (Omi & Winant, 1986). The common expectation is for white teachers to have this understanding of race. "Ethnicity theory holds that the social system is open and that individual mobility can be attained through hard work. Equating race with European ethnicity [provides] white teachers with a way to explain mobility in U.S. institutions" (Sleeter, 1993, pp. 160-161). Teachers who construct race as ethnicity can easily adopt a "color-blind" perspective, one that denies the saliency of race. None of the teachers in this study operate with this framework. They have a more critical understanding of race even if they are experiential practitioners. Three factors aided white teachers in teaching about racism: understanding the social construction of whiteness, understanding white privilege, and the experience of having deconstructed "whiteness."

The data show that non-critical teachers can align their goals, outcomes, lessons, and methodology to match those of critical pedagogues. I am not sure this makes one a critical pedagogue. The language and theory are lacking and I am not sure how critical it is to have the language and theory. The self identified experiential pedagogues still taught towards critical outcomes, dealing with issues of power and systemic oppression, injustice, and student empowerment for social action. My tendency is to want to answer in the affirmative and say yes, one can be critical without knowing it, but not enough data substantiated this claim. More research needs to be done here.

I would posit that the intersection between the two pedagogies is where they align in the outcomes (specific), goals (overall), and method, in this instance the method of simulation. Both experiential and critical teachers used simulations with the ultimate goal of transformation of students. A second point of overlap between critical and experiential pedagogues was that both think about teaching as a political act in the same ways, in the ways Freire spoke about power and schools. The marginality of the lives of the teachers of color aided them in seeing the political nature of teaching without having read the theory. In a sense they had problematized their lives on the margins to "see" the existing power dynamics. Again, research needs to be done in this specific area to document an intersection.

The content of critical theory is often difficult to teach in the classroom, especially with students who have little lived experience of injustice. Simulations are a way to give a taste of those experiences and create a simplified picture of the world so students can gain access to what they lack. The method makes difficult content easy to

apprehend and comprehend. Data from the teachers' perspective support this contention; the upcoming chapters will reveal whether or not students agree.

Chapter Five

The Experience of Students of Color

The interviews with the students of color told the story of what they experienced during a simulation. Five students - Bobby, Chivonn, Jacob, Tamicka, and Shiloh - all went through the *Underground Railroad* simulation. Four students - Brittany, Shaquira, Kimiko, and Aaron - participated in the *Other People's Power* simulation (see methodology chapter). As stated in Chapter One, my desire was to attempt to capture the voices, emotions, thoughts, discourses, and actions of the students as they reflected on their participation in a simulation whose goal, in part, was unlearning racism. I also wanted to examine if and how simulations contributed to the students' racial identity development and understanding of race. In this chapter I examine and analyze the responses of the nine students of color who participated in this study.

I first organized the data into a broad range of topics developed from the questions that were asked. I then subsumed topics under other topics to shrink the categories into a manageable size. In this chapter there are five topics. As I read and reread the data, themes emerged within the topics. These themes revealed how students make meaning of their experience of a simulation. Some of the themes are direct quotes from what students said, others are the common threads that surfaced after multiple readings. The five topics were: What Happened, Feelings, Race/Racial Identity and Meaning, Teaching/Learning, Power/Politics. A table summarizing the topics and themes aids in understanding the order of this chapter. A conclusion summarizes the findings from this chapter.

Table 4. Students of Color Topic and Themes
What Happened
The excitement *Understanding the experience* *Surprised by it all*
Feelings
Close to real *This is real, my reality*
Race/Racial Identity
Race consciousness *Racism as discrimination* *It's harder being black* *Race makes a whole lot of difference*
Teaching/Learning
Pedagogy: "I think it's the best way" *Ethics: "I don't see a problem with it"* *Transformation: "I think it might have opened my eyes"* *Voice: The marginalized should be heard*
Power/Politics
Schools serve the interest of white people *Learning/teaching is a political act*

What Happened

When asked the questions around "what happened?" during the simulations, three themes emerged: the excitement, understanding the experience, and surprised by it all. Even though students had been told they would be going through a simulation and had signed a release, for the most part students didn't know what to expect or what was coming next. They were quickly caught up in the experience and often bombarded by the events and feelings as they happened. The simulation asks them to think about the experience in the midst of having the experience. The students of color were able to do this reflection, unlike their white high school counterparts.

The Excitement

Each student told a story of what happened to him or her, and in fact every one of them shared what happened with family or friends. They didn't tell different aspects of the simulation; instead, each participant related a chain of events from their own perspective; they highlighted what was exciting to them. Sometimes it was the content of the simulation. Tamicka, who went through the *Underground Railroad* (UR), shared in this way:

> And he had us go through some exercises like singing with our eyes closed, like freedom songs and he showed us the chains or he passed out chains from Mississippi or whatever, that was the actual slave chains, and like a little whip, but it wasn't an actual whip it was something just similar.

Kimiko, who had gone through *Other People's Power*, was also caught up in the sensation of events:

> Let's see... oh, they asked us our names and when I told the person my name,

> because my name was too difficult to say, he gave me a different name and it was Chrissie. So we were all given different names, which was for me probably the most degrading part, to have your name taken from you. Well, that was just awful.

The students tended to be very animated when they told their stories.

Sometimes it was not the content, but the context in which the simulation took place that contributed to the excitement. Jacob's (UR) retelling fits here:

> Somebody was speaking, I forgot who it was, she was telling us about something, but I really couldn't focus on what she was saying, because I was so cold, and my feet were cold and I didn't have enough clothes on so I could stay warm so I had to lean on the person next to me because they told us if you're cold, huddle up.

Chivonn (UR) was not excited at the context: "First I thought, man I don't want to get my clothes dirty, and then later I thought it was fun."

The sensational aspects of the simulation drew the students in. It was nighttime, class was in a different space, new and different people were present, and they didn't know what was going to happen. The aspect of surprise added a touch of excitement to the experience. Plus, students had been told, either by teachers or peers, that something big was happening for class; this raised their expectations and added to the sense of excitement. The excitement engaged cognitive, affective, and physical domains of students. The participatory and problem-posing (in UR they must find the escape route, and in OPP they must negotiate the economic system to make it to the upper class) nature of the simulations placed them squarely in the toolbox of emancipatory pedagogy.

Understanding the Experience

It took a little while for students to figure out what was going on and to grasp a "bigger picture" sense of the experience. But the students of color figured out, long before it was over, what was going on in the simulation. More than halfway through the *Underground Railroad* simulation, Jacob stated the following:

> I was thinking in my head like, "Oh, this is what the slaves went through." But then on the other side I'm thinking, "This is not real" but I was trying to take it as if it was real, so that's what we did, and people screamed in our group when we heard the gunshots. We heard the dogs barking, so it was just crazy.

Shiloh was one who understood right from the beginning what was going on.

> It [the opening lecture] was really deep. It kind of brought a background to the whole thing and got you started to think about it to put you in, kind of put you in their shoes, so it kind of got you prepared for it, got your mind set.

Brittany, who did the *Other People's Power* simulation, related her "ah ha" moment:

> In the middle [class] I didn't really get what was happening because it was kind of normal, and then I got it ... I was in the middle [class] and I was listening to everybody in the lower class and Mr. G___ talking to other people and I was like, "That's not how Mr. G___ is"; I was like, "They must be up to something." And Barry was telling them to get back into the square and stuff so I was like, "Oh, I get it."

Shiloh (UR) summed up well the extent of the experience: "I know when the real slaves did it, it was probably a hundred times harder, more serious, but just when we did it, it was definitely an experience; it was cold, and we were chained up." The students of

color understood clearly what the experience was simulating and whose "shoes" they were walking in. This was true for the students of color from both simulations; the same could not be said for their white high school counterparts, many of whom remained confused throughout the simulation.

Surprised By It All

All of the students were caught by surprise by the shock of what was happening to them, the unexpectedness of the whole experience, the depth and reality of the feelings that accompanied the event. Kimiko (OPP) spoke in a stunned voice:

> People were really unaware of how we were being treated. That we were being treated poorly and that our space kept getting smaller, that their trash was, that the people who were in the higher class, their trash was given to us, and most of them didn't know where it was going. And then the people in the middle, I know it was a really awkward situation for them because they could see both sides and didn't know what to do, and a lot of them wanted to help, and a lot of people felt guilty.

Brittany (OPP) too was surprised by all that transpired:

> The higher people took advantage of everybody else and the lower class people were, it did remind me of real life because people in lower class are willing to kill others to get higher in life, or to commit violence or crime to get higher in life. And that's what they were doing, and it's not very often you see somebody working together, like some people do it, … Like when they were giving chips to each other so they could go higher and bring back stuff to the lower class.

Despite their excitement and surprise the students of color recognized what was happening. They understood the simulation as focusing on the black experience in

America or the experience of people of color or the lower classes. There was little confusion or resistance to "seeing" life through the perspective provided by the simulation.

Feelings

The topic of feelings is a subset of "what happened" during the simulation. Students do not get through the experience of a simulation without feelings coming to the forefront. The feelings were real and often expressed with a depth that surprised the student. In simulations, as much as the facilitator may work to reproduce the real thing, the situations are contrived. These stars may be the same ones fugitive slaves looked to for guidance to the north, but really, they [the students] are on camp property in the woods in the Midwest. But what is authentic is what they felt. The feeling themes that emerged for the students of color were different than those of their white counterparts because their feelings were different. Two themes emerged: close to real, and this is real, my reality.

Close to Real

Aaron exemplified the majority of students who struggled with real feelings while cognitively knowing the situation was not real. Aaron, who went through *Other People's Power*, summed up his feelings this way**.**

> At first I thought it was kind of funny, and then I was kind of getting ticked off when the dude snatched the hat off my head, and the one guy started kicking my feet. I was starting to get a little angry, but I just kept laughing about it, but he was starting to get under my skin.

Knowing the circumstance is not real does not stop the feelings. The students expressed a whole gamut of feelings. Bobby, who went through the *Underground Railroad,* stated his feelings in a similar way: "It was scary, but I knew he couldn't hurt me, but it just seemed scary, I liked it - the whole thing. I mean because it wasn't real, you know." Chivonn (UR) also expressed her feelings: "The only thing that was scary was when they shot off the blanks, because we didn't expect it. Oh, and when we thought the dogs [would] get us." Shiloh (UR) named his strongest feelings as anxiety and panic. He talked about when the muzzle-loading gun was fired:

> That was like, the first one [gunshot] was the one that got you, because you weren't expecting it at all, like you were walking a little bit slowly and then it just went off, everyone dropped, everyone jumped to the ground, so it was, I think it added to it more … Yeah, the dogs too, you just heard them barking, or you heard someone, one of the slave masters calling for the daughter to come over there. That really got you to start panicking, like "Let's go, let's go, let's go!

Chivonn commented that she didn't like it when one of her peers was auctioned off for $500 dollars in the mock slave sale. She wasn't sold herself, and though she did not use feeling words when she talked about the incident, she emphatically did not like it.

This Is Real, My Reality

The students expressed feelings about the connections they made between what happened in the simulation to their everyday lives. The feelings elicited were real ones they experienced in their lives. In the affective domain, the simulation was right on target. In discussing the exercise when their values papers were taken from them and ripped up to symbolize that loss in the lives of the slaves, Shiloh (UR) said, "Yeah, their

God, their family, their friends, their religion, their values, all that. It's kind of crazy, even though it's not real, it still gets to me. … because no one should be able to take that away from you." It got to Shiloh because religion was important in his family, which was evident as I interviewed him in a living room full of Christian art. Tamicka (UR) expressed her feelings when asked what the simulation facilitator wanted her to learn. She replied, "To know about your ancestors, to really, really know what they went through, and not the half story, not even the whole story, or what they teach us at school, because like I really felt cheated out of information, I just, I didn't know. So that's awful." Tamicka's feelings of being cheated stem not from the simulation per se, but from recognition of what she is not getting from the history department of her school; her reality is that she is being cheated.

Kimiko (OPP) made a connection to real life: "Afterwards during the discussion one of the [white] students said it was [a] pointless simulation, and I had a really rough time with that. Because there's so much to be learned from it, I don't understand how it could be pointless." Kimiko spoke with some bitterness as she commented on the guilt her white classmates expressed. "I don't really know how to respond to guilt. I don't know if it's the right emotion to feel … I feel it's often something that isn't useful because I think people get defensive when they feel guilty." She spoke here about what was said in the debrief session, but she is simultaneously talking about her reality.

Shaquira (OPP) felt vindicated by the whole simulation. She said, "It kind of felt good. Other people got to feel like what we [black kids] feel every day." The simulation brought into the classroom what she considered her voice and her perspective. "What disturbed me the most is probably the attitudes. Yeah, some of the [white kids] attitudes

like when they did find out what it was.... like they didn't care." In her overwhelmingly white high school, that uncaring attitude is her reality. The simulation experience brought to the forefront feelings about real life situations students of color confront all the time. This is a significant factor practitioners need to attend to. Space must be made for students of color to emote, and teachers must become skilled in helping students of color see the connections to their reality. (I will explore this issue further in chapter seven.)

One of the questions guiding this study is this: What happens for students in a simulation on race? Part of what happens for the students of color is a reenactment of history or a reenactment of their own reality. In terms of feelings, students experience feelings drawn from the simulation itself and a heightened emotionality from connecting feelings to their lived reality. The data does not say the same will be true for their white high school counterparts.

Race/Racial Identity

The topic of race/racial identity generated the most discourse in the interviews. In this section I will analyze the data dealing with race and racial identity, and seek to answer the race related questions guiding this study. To assess the impact the simulation had on students I must situate them in their racial identity development. The college students proved to be bookends to the high school students in terms of where they were situated on the identity continuum. Aaron was in the first stage and Kimiko was the most advanced while the high school students were placed between them. Four themes arose to reveal racial identity and racial understanding; they are: race consciousness, racism as discrimination, it's harder being black, and race makes a whole lot of difference.

Race Consciousness

The theme of race consciousness surfaced for every student of color except one. These students live their lives conscious of being looked at, thought about, and treated in particular ways because of their color. Their internal lives have a heightened sensitivity to race and racial issues, however they define them. They themselves act out of those internalized racial ideas. They have been exposed to what Shor (1992) called regressive ideologies and values: "racism, sexism, machismo, self-reliant competitiveness, … national chauvinism, … authority dependence … excessive consumerism, … glamorous militarism, … and the conviction that you must win or lose on your own" (p.220). All this is filtered through their race lens. Their language reflects their consciousness. Race is salient for them.

The racial identity model used in Chapter Three will once again be used with the students. The black students displayed the first two stages of racial identity, according to Cross's (1995) five-stage model. Cross has theorized that children and adolescents develop a black identity through experience over time. Tatum (1999) described the first two stages as adolescent stages: pre-encounter and encounter. In the pre-encounter stage the child/adolescent internalizes the beliefs and values of the dominant white culture, including the ideologies of white superiority and the inferiority of people of color. One's race is unexamined at this stage and the social and personal significance of belonging to a racial group is not realized. In the encounter stage the young person is forced to acknowledge the impact of racism. They become aware of the meanings of race and what it means to be targeted for racism. In this stage youth must contend with negative societal

messages, learn to resist stereotypes, and move towards affirming a positive racial self identity (Tatum, 1999).

Aaron (OPP), a college senior, was the only student of color for whom race was not salient. Aaron has a white mother and a black father. About his identity Aaron stated, "Well, when you give us applications or when I'm asked, I just check both all the time. Because sometimes it'll come back and it'll say you have to choose, like if it's a medical thing … Well I want to be called biracial because that's what I am." When asked how others perceive him Aaron responded, "I couldn't tell you what people who don't know me say, but people who know me just think of me as Aaron. They say, 'There's Air. That's who he is.' But people who don't know me are, I don't know." As a biracial person easily identified as "other" in his predominantly white university, his classmates identified Aaron as black, even if he does not perceive himself as black.

Shiloh (UR) also has a white mother and an African American father. Unlike Aaron, he is very conscious of race and identified himself as African American, "Because that's, whether or not you check that in a box or whatever, that's what you're perceived in society so that's what I identify with. I still have a Caucasian side, I'm half black, half white, but that's still how they perceive me so that's what I identify with." When asked if he ever identified as something else Shiloh couldn't remember. "I just accepted that, I told people that I was black and white and they're like, 'Whoa, you're black, you identify with black.'" His cousins and black family members told him this. He perceived it as a good thing.

> Yeah, I think it was a good thing, like it's a good thing, because some kids, they're not sure, when you're mixed, some people don't know who to identify

> with, so I think it's a good thing. As long as you know who you are, who to identify with, it's better than being lost, than not being accepted by either or anybody.

Being African American was something talked about in his family and he cannot recall a time when he was not aware of his own race.

Brittany (OPP) grew up very conscious of race:

> I won't tell anybody I'm full black, I won't lie and say I'm something I'm not, I'm a mix. If they don't know me, they call me anything but that **…** Like people think I'm full black. And you know they'll see my mom, and they'll be like, "Your mom's white, that's not your real mom." And I'm like "You can't judge me because of how dark I am, because I know mixed kids who look like they're white. So I just tell them, well, mixed.

"Mixed" for Brittany means the best of both worlds. "I'm proud to be both and I like both worlds and I accept both worlds and I can't favor one over another because I was raised by my mom and she's white, not my dad, so I have to have respect for both." Brittany articulates pride in being black but seems ambivalent about being perceived as "full black". If people perceive her as black, she interprets their perceptions in the following ways.

> They're judging me. That's what it is to me … especially because out here if they're telling me I'm full black, it's like they're even looking further down at me like I'm worse than being mixed, because if I'm full black, then I must be from the city.

To be black and from the city is to be associated with crime, according to Brittany, "because mostly kids here think somebody in your family is in prison if you're full black." She unknowingly here demonstrates her internalization of dominant culture ideology that "mixed' is closer to white and therefore better than and not the same as black. In Cross's hierarchy of stages, the internalization of negative ideologies is one of the markers of the pre-encounter stage. This is not the stage where Brittany is; her race consciousness moves her beyond this stage.

> Kimiko (OPP) is highly conscious of race. She responded this way when asked. My mom's Japanese, and my dad's American. … my mom is from Japan, born and raised. She just really creates a really awkward tension for me. I idealize my Japanese heritage. I idealize roots and history and homeland … But I'm half Japanese, I'm half American, and I'm trying to reconcile the two.

In the interview I asked Kimiko if American is synonymous with white for her.

> I guess it is. I don't know, it's so institutionalized, well I'm such a product of my own culture. I feel like every time I say, because I would say that I'm American, I would always say that I'm Japanese American. I would say that my mom's Japanese, and actually normally I say my dad is white, which is, I actually call him "whitey", and I didn't know if that would be appropriate here. So I don't know; whenever I write about America, but I guess I'm really consciously thinking about it, I celebrate the fact that its diverse, but American, the word has no meaning in a sense because we've either stolen people, or forced people out, or emigrated. So I don't really know what the word, it's such a loaded word, but apparently I think it means white.

Kimiko spoke about her recent visit to Japan:

> I can't say I'm Japanese because I'm not. I don't fluently speak the language. But I identify with it. I was just there over spring break, and being surrounded by people who look like you is one of the most comforting feelings. And that sounds so foolish, but it's not.

She testifies here to a growing race consciousness.

Tamicka, Bobby, Jacob, Chivonn, and Shaquira all have a black race consciousness. Tamicka is conscious of how others perceive her group.

> I mean a lot of people, I don't want to say, don't like us, but they like, fear us because they got, just got this concept that we're all violent, that we're all loud. They just don't really want to talk to us and just, be mean or whatever.

She articulated how others perceive African Americans and clearly sees some common perceptions but when pushed to say what she thinks she said the following:

> I think we're just powerful like that. … a lot of everything we brought from Africa kind of shaped, you know, a little American culture or whatever, stuff like that. Like we brought music, you know what I'm saying, like real poetry. Even though there's other great poetries like, that are European, but like ours have soulful meaning. I say we brought soul to America.

There is no indication that she believes the perceptions herself; in fact, she contrasts the negative perceptions with statements of positive historical contribution.

Bobby and Jacob spoke of events that triggered their consciousness. Bobby remembered being discriminated against in his early teens:

> I was in this group and we would go to the hotels and whatnot. And like ... it'd be like a group of me and my parents, and there was like some other races, and they came to us first and tell us to go do what we were doing. It was like obvious, it wasn't like we were just overreacting, it was obvious that they was coming to us first, so that's pretty much, like when I first realized... like I always thought it was like that, but I never really paid attention, but I realized that it was like, they really try to take advantage of [your race] you know.

This "encounter" was one that reshaped his consciousness. Jacob spent his early years in a suburb. "I knew I was black when I was in kindergarten because I was the only black person in my class because I lived in Cottage Grove." Beyond having this consciousness, being black didn't have meaning for him. Jacob moved into the city in his grade school years when race took on meaning. In eighth grade he recognized that it meant something to be a black male:

> Because the neighborhood I grew up in, I have older cousins. I think, one of my cousins got killed, and my grandma said that you guys are not supposed to live past your, past 18 years old or something, like 20 years. She told me that, and we sat down and had a talk, so it just dawned on me, like streets is not the life, so do school, so that's what she put in my head, so that's what I'm doing.

Chivonn and Shaquira spoke about being conscious of how they and their group are perceived. Chivonn shared her thoughts on being black. For her that meant people would assume things about her, "like they assume that you might not be as smart as them, assume that you like chicken all the time, things like that, they just assume a lot." When

asked if people would have assumptions about her if she were white, she answered in the affirmative but the set of assumptions held a subtle difference:

> It would be different, but a lot of people would assume that you have money, they'd probably also assume that you can't dance, things like that. But it'd still be better though … in America they think that white people are superior than everybody else and there's more white people in America and there's more white people have higher positions and things like that. So they still rule our country.

Chivonn has learned the dominant culture's stereotypes and also learned the connection between race and power. As Jimon and Johnson (2002) noted, "Cultures sustain themselves by replicating crucial social discourses. People who are located within any given culture unconsciously internalize innumerable tacit or silent beliefs along with the explicit concepts and ideas by which their culture operates" (p. 287). Shaquira shared in much the same vein: "Well, we get stereotyped a lot, and I think that we're just thought of as something we're not, or they take one situation and they just think that everybody's like that." Shaquira grew up in an urban neighborhood, "around a lot of black people". She didn't think much about race then. In her freshman year of high school she moved to a suburb and things changed.

> In [the city] I just never really thought of it, and when you move out like in whiter areas, it just seems like it's a big deal and it just makes you look at everything, you know. And I don't know, it made me, especially the way some white kids out here act, it just makes you look at everything so differently.

Shaquira's move to the suburbs pushed her into a race consciousness she perceived she didn't have to have in the city.

Race is salient for all of these students, except for Aaron (OPP). This saliency marks all of the African American students as stage two in their identity development, the encounter stage. They are doing the tasks of the encounter stage, contending with negative societal messages, learning to resist stereotypes and affirming a positive black identity. According to Aaron, race isn't salient. Aaron spoke about growing up in a small town in North Dakota. Aaron told this story:

> I never hear anything as far as my race goes. When I was real little, like five or six, just like an 80 year old man drove by our house and started out calling racial slurs to me, I was like, "Oh, man!" We were playing on [the swing set], or I was playing on like a little sandbox, and went inside and I'm like, "Dad, this drinking drunkard just called me a 'digger.'" Because I thought he was saying "digger" because I was digging in my sandbox. And my dad just got this look on his face, and he was like, "No, he's not saying that." But that was the only time I really dealt with race, where I grew up. Nobody thought about it because it was a really small town. There's like no black people who, but nobody cares, like my dad was probably one of the most [flagrant] people in my town … that's one of the reasons I stayed in North Dakota, because if we had grown up in New York, it would have been a lot different.

Aaron's story and comments make it clear that he has absorbed dominant culture beliefs, including what he calls a "biracial" identity that he clings to, regardless of how others perceive him. He stated the following:

> I don't think about race all that much. Where I've been brought up I just look at everybody through the same lens, and it's hard for me to like decipher if a

> person's Chinese, that person's black, that person's Native American, that person's [whatever], I just look at everybody as being one person. I try to work on just being another person.

Aaron's refusal to "see" race is what Bonilla-Silva (2010) calls color-blind racism. Sleeter (1993) explained the color-blind perspective. "People do not deny seeing what they actually do not see. Rather, they profess to be color-blind when trying to suppress negative images they attach to people of color, given the significance of color in the U.S." (Sleeter, 1993, pp.161-162). Aaron's racial identity stage is pre-encounter. Aaron is most like the white high school students in this area of race consciousness; race is not salient for them, either.

Opposite Aaron on the racial identity continuum is Kimiko (OPP). Kimiko squarely places herself in Phinney's stage two (see Chapter Three) as she actively engages to define for herself what it means to be Japanese American. During the *Other People's Power* simulation Kimiko made this observation:

> Aaron, I think, is our only... I think he's half African American so... He's the only person of color in our class, and like I kind of am, which is awkward. The fact that he was the only person of color, one of the only people willing to rebel, spoke a lot to, it was like he's the only person that's willing to rebel right now, he and Drew actually. And they were both men, which is like, "Why aren't I saying anything?"

In the simulation, one group was designated for discrimination and poor treatment based on ear shape, which symbolized being a person of color. Kimiko made a

connection between race and willingness to tolerate ill treatment. She made this statement in her analysis of what happened.

> I think a lot of the students didn't want to say that the lowest class... to be politically correct and to not step on toes, no one wanted to say that that was predominantly people of color, or trailer park white people... there's my stereotype. Do you know what I mean?

She used a racial lens to analyze what was happening while Aaron used a class lens: "I was in the poverty group and I started to catch on that they had some rules they established for us and I wanted to break them because everybody was just going along with everything, making it easy." He didn't like the discriminatory treatment. "I was starting to get a little angry, but I just kept laughing about it, but he [the enforcer] was starting to get under my skin." However, Aaron never used a race lens to analyze what happened. Whereas for Kimiko the simulation gave her insights about race:

> But making people aware of what's going on in American society and hopefully instigating change. And it starts, and making students believe that it starts with one person, that it starts with them, and that it's important that they learn this. By doing the simulation, you're showing that it's important that the students have knowledge that this is going on in the world. And if it's important enough to talk about it and to do a simulation, that makes people feel really uncomfortable, then I think it should be worth learning, it should be applied.

For Aaron the simulation only gave insights about poverty, due to his inability or unwillingness to analyze race, or due to his lack of race consciousness. But the possibility

to jump start his race consciousness, increase his racial understanding, create new lenses, is all there in the methodology.

This theme of race consciousness will reappear for the white college students but will look very different. For the white high school students it is significantly absent. Their lack of race consciousness correlates to high rates of resistance to moving from the perspectives they hold on race/racism.

Racism as Discrimination

A common way the students of color spoke about racism was using a definition of racism as discrimination and/or prejudice. Shiloh (UR) defined racism as "just when you treat someone different, not even different, badly, because of their skin color or ethnicity or where they're from." Tamicka (UR) said simply, "Racism is discriminating." Bobby (UR) defined it, "Just prejudice against another race, that is just a stereotype, prejudice, stuff like that against another race." Two students were not sure how to define racism so they opted not to answer because they "don't want to get it wrong." Some students thought anybody could be racist. These definitions and ways of thinking about racism sound most like the white ideological understanding of racism, which Bonilla-Silva suggests is as individualistic as prejudice and yet "for most people of color racism is systemic or institutionalized"(Bonilla-Silva, 2010a, p. 8). The words the students used were individualistic but the examples they gave were universally systemic and institutional. In their research on black men, Fine and Weis (1998) discussed the concept of a duel discursive frame when two competing discourses are at odds with each other, operating in a single individual. The competing discourses are an individualistic ideology

and a systemic critique of racism. The black students evidence this duel discursive frame (Fine & Weis, 1998).

Tamicka and Chivonn (UR) spoke about media as a form of racism. Tamicka commented:

> Like they always show African Americans in media in a bad light. They don't really show a lot of positive things that we actually do. … like they have a lot of stereotypes about us and that there's just, it just creates a lot of, well "we just don't", "we're not looking to hire", or "you can't do this," or "you're going to have to come back," just a bunch of crap, excuses.

Chivonn was also able to articulate examples of how racism functions today:

> Well, commercials, you see a lot of white commercials and stuff like that, you don't see any other kind of people. You see a little bit of black people when you see commercials, but you don't really see any [thing] else. And on the news when a black man do something, they always make sure to tell you he's black, and that's another reason why.

Bobby (UR) also spoke about present day racism. "Like when, like you go for jobs, getting houses, and stuff like that. Sometimes it's, like in schools, but not all the time." Shaquira (OPP) said, "I think that people of non-color get better privileges and advantages than people of color and they almost get, to me, things handed to them and we have to work for ours and steal it sometimes when [there's] no opportunity." Kimiko and Aaron (OPP) talked about racial profiling and "DWB", driving while black. Aaron gave an example. "My dad's been pulled over for stupid stuff lots of times just because, I think just because he's black." Shaquira elaborated on how racism works in real life.

> I think that we don't get a lot of opportunities that white people get, education or money. I think that we get put in certain areas that are poor and then they try to take that away from us so they make it really hard for us to go anywhere, move up or anything."

Kimiko was the only student of color who used phrases like "white privilege" and institutional racism in her discourse:

> "White privilege?" People are given, white America especially and higher class America, are given privileges, we are given privileges, treated differently, whether we know it or not, because of how much money we have, and what race we are, I think. I'm trying to think of a clear-cut example of it, or even when we talked about this in class. How about when you asked me what my dad was and I was like, American - what does that mean?

Shaquira said much the same thing but lacked this language to articulate her thoughts. It is evident the lived experience of the students of color allows them to tap into a systemic critique. What they lack is language and an analytical framework to understand how the systems work; this is where simulations can have impact; they can make systems transparent and understandable, and in the dialogue acquaint students with the language of critique.

It's Harder Being Black

A thread running through the discourse on race of many of the black students was that it's harder being black. None of the students presented as whining or complaining, nor did they speak as victims. Jacob (UR) stated the meaning of being black at this point in his life:

> It's a struggle. It's hard because teachers look at you different. Like, when I was little I used to get in trouble a lot, but when I got older, I really thought about what I'm doing as a black person. That I really need to go to school, and do everything that's right, because it's going to be hard out there, because you're a black male.

Bobby (UR) shared advice from his older brother: "He tell me like, with me being black, it's going to make it that much harder, so I got to work harder than the next man to get where I want to go." Shaquira (OPP) stated the same sentiments in the converse.

> Like if I were white and somebody else, a black person came up in the store with me, they wouldn't be watching me, they'd be watching the black person. So, it'd be easy for me to steal stuff, it'd be easy for me to get a job. It's easy, I mean it's just, life is like kind of easy because you're white.

Most of the students spoke of a racial hierarchy in America, and debriefing the simulations helped them to reflect on this phenomena. Jacob (UR), like everyone else, put white people on top of the hierarchy. "Because they outnumber us and they're the ones with most of the jobs and stereotypes, that they're the smartest, and all go to college, and just live this happy life." On the bottom he put "Mexicans and black people, but it'd probably be like equal. Mexicans, they work hard, black people, we work hard. Hard for both of us to get jobs."

Neither the white high school students nor the college students talked about race in this way. It is unique to the black students because of their lived experience. The

simulations gave the students opportunities to talk about how race and racism have impacted their personal lives in classrooms where discussions have often stayed on the surface. Students didn't just share their thoughts in the interviews, but were self-revelatory in the debriefing following the simulations. The simulation opened a possibility for deep, authentic dialogue about race in the classroom. Shaquira (OPP) commented:

> Yeah, I mean, because every time we look at it [racism] we go over it in school or something, we never, you know look at, you know we never split up the groups and show examples of how black people are treated versus white people, you know I don't think we ever really covered that to the full extent. So that [the simulation] was pretty good.

Race Makes a Whole Lot of Difference

As each of the students spoke about race, the standout response was that race made a difference in their lives. There was no uniformity to that difference; it was expressed as associated to work, sports, as negatives and positives, and as identity. There was a range of views on the difference race meant to them.

Tamicka (UR) made these comments about the significance of race.

> It makes a whole lot of difference. Job-wise, I mean. Sometimes it is hard to get a job because you're African American because they think you won't be on time and you won't get the job done right, and you'll just be, you won't be on your job.

She went on to say the following.

> Like going to some places or whatever, because I play sports, and we go to tournaments up north and stuff like that, it's all white, and some people ain't

> never seen, you know black people before, so it's just, well they have, but not up close, and they kind of act different.

Jacob (UR) echoed these sentiments. He spoke from the experience of a job search. "People look at you different" was Jacob's observation. The police, teachers, people in stores, all assume something negative and make it hard to be black, from his perspective. Shaquira (OPP) started out voicing the negatives: "Well, we get stereotyped a lot, and I think that we're just thought of as something we're not, or they take one situation and they just think that everybody's like that." By "they" she meant white people.

But unlike Tamicka and Jacob, Shaquira had something positive to say about the difference being black makes. "I think it makes a big difference because it's good to be different than other people, I think it's unique, you know, because they try to take from us, but you know we still overcame that and we are what we are today." Shiloh (UR) also had positive connotations associated with the difference of blackness:

> Well, it definitely means that I've got to overcome struggles in life, you have to work harder just because you're African American. Harder than white folks. I guess when you have to overcome the struggles it makes you a stronger person, stronger will, and ... I think it gives you the culture, it's a lot different than other cultures, a very rich culture. So, I think it just makes it as a whole; we're a strong people. So that's what you get from being African American.

Aaron (OPP) spoke about his biracial identity. For him being biracial meant being different and he liked being different. "I don't want to be blending in with everybody else; I want to stand out and want people to see [me]." Another interesting phenomenon in our racialized landscape is that some people of color who are singled out

for whatever reason feel "special" in the presence of whites. When in a group predominantly of color the "specialness" is lost, so they prefer to be in a place where they are the minority so they can retain their "special" status. I would speculate Aaron demonstrates this phenomenon. When probed about the difference being biracial made in his life, Aaron responded, "I don't know, I just, I guess I don't ever think about it." When asked if he thought he would have a different experience of life if he were white, Aaron couldn't say for sure, but did say life might be a little different if he were black because "some people are afraid of black people." When asked if people feared him, his quick reply of "I hope not" was just as quickly followed up.

> I've been told that I seem intimidating. People that don't know me and then get to know me [say], "I was intimidated the first time I met you." I'm like, "Why?" And they're like, "I don't know, just...." They're really without a reason; they're just like, "I'm just intimidated by you."

Aaron never connected the feelings of intimidation to race. His desire to be a multiethnic person is indicative of the changing status of race over the past three decades. The 2000 census was the first to allow persons to check more than one racial category. Racial identity is a sociopolitical phenomenon.

Kimiko shared the difference being Japanese American made:

> I love being able to identify with something far away, because you can idealize something that's really far away. Sometimes it's awkward, especially in a place like college where people want to know my opinion because I'm female and because I'm half-Japanese. Sometimes I wonder if my points are any more valid than anyone else just because I'm Asian, or half Asian. Sometimes I feel isolated

> at a place [like college] where there are like five other Asian students. And it also makes me feel awkward because I don't know how I'm supposed to feel about certain issues when I know I'm part of the problem, but I need to be part of [the solution] but I suppose anybody who's not doing anything would be part of the problem. But the fine line between guilt and being part of the people who are oppressed. Is this making any sense?

Kimiko's struggles stem in part from her identity search and seeking to see how she fits in both cultures with her growing awareness of systemic racism. "People have asked me this question [the meaning of being Japanese American] in the last few weeks recently and I've had a really tough time answering it because I still don't know. Like I'm 20ish and should know the answer to this." Kimiko's consciousness of her status as "other" came out in the *Other People's Power* simulation. Her white peers looked at her to rebel as Aaron rebelled. It disturbed her that Aaron "was the only person of color, one of the only people willing to rebel … "Why aren't I saying anything?" She had that expectation of herself even though she didn't act on it.

Kimiko's struggle is exacerbated by the social pressure to assimilate to white culture while internalizing messages of being forever a foreigner (the valuing of her half Asian opinion over others) (Kim, 2008). Kim has called the phenomenon Kimiko describes nativistic racism. "Nativistic racism has relied on several ideologies and stereotypes: economic competitor, organized criminal, 'illegal alien,' and unwelcome immigrant; to that I would add military enemy ('yellow peril')" (Kim, p. 55). Kim argues that while Asian Americans hold legal citizenship, they have been denied social citizenship, and the ideology of Asians as "forever foreigners" reigns strong even today

(Kim, 2008). This means Asian Americans

> are subordinated along the citizenship line. Scholars have called this line the "insider-foreigner" axis, one rooted in a macro process of civic ostracism. Most of these scholars agree that while some (or all) Asian American groups are valorized above blacks along class and color hierarchies, they are not "Americans" in the same manner that blacks are. In large part because of America's white-black legacy, black Americans are not constantly conflated with Ghana, Guinea, or Niger (p. 56).

Kimiko remembered when she first realized she was Japanese American:

> I mean, probably in eighth grade when somebody called me a chink was one of those moments when I was like, "OK...." Other people notice that I'm different. A lot of me just wants to get past the whole race thing, and I believe that beyond race is humanity. I don't really know when I consciously acknowledged it. That was probably when I first had my, not negative association with being half-Japanese, but what it meant for other people to view me as a negative thing because I'm half-Japanese.

In processing the simulation we did not uncover these issues in depth but the simulation did open the door to the possibility for exploration in these directions.

Race still matters; for students of color seeking to unlearn racism in a simulation, it matters in ways different than it matters for white students. The stage of racial identity development also differed for students of color from their white counterparts; therefore, how the simulation functioned differed. Practitioners need to attend to this functionality especially if the simulation is for a diverse group. Our racialized society results in the

internalization of competing ideologies. Students of color often speak with a discursive duality, an ideology of individualism counter to a systemic critique of society. This is most often not helpful to the student. Simulations have the capacity to bring competing ideologies to light in concrete ways so students can comprehend their realities in new ways, opening possibilities to develop new frameworks. The needs of students of color as they seek to unlearn racism differ from white students. Students need validation of their perspective as members of whatever group of color they belong to. Students of color need a language with which to analyze and dialogue about race/racism. They also need frameworks that help them "put it all together" and make sense of our racialized society. The role race plays in the student's ability to unlearn racism and specific race related concerns and implications are broader questions guiding this study. I will revisit this topic in the next chapters as I examine the topic of race with the white students.

Teaching/Learning

The students' views on using simulations as a teaching method directly correlated with their perceptions of learning. They felt like they learned a lot, so they had high regard for the method. The pedagogy brought into the classroom missing elements; students recognized this and valued it. Even difficult ethical issues raised were deemed methodologically minimal. The themes here are: Pedagogy: I think it's the best way, Ethics: I don't see a problem with it, Transformation: I think it might have opened my eyes, and Voice: the marginalized should be heard.

Pedagogy: I Think It's the Best Way

Overwhelmingly students thought the use of simulations as a teaching method was positive. They enjoyed learning in this way and felt it was effective for numerous

reasons. The content and the perspective the simulation brought into the classroom was a missing piece that students of color latched onto quickly. Bobby's evaluation (UR) was echoed by every student of color. "I think it's the best way, because it gets you a hands-on experience, and it's fun, but I mean, it's not really meant to be fun, but you have fun doing it, and it's just great, I think it's the best way to teach." He acknowledges that he had learned about slavery in school, "but it's like they took it to a different level. They got more in depth with what we learned; you know what I'm saying. I was told about slaves and all that, but [in the simulation] he went deeper." Jacob's (UR) statements concurred with Bobby's:

> If we were doing this in school and they gave us books and papers, I probably wouldn't really focus on it, but as long as they had us... he [facilitator] was talking and we were active, and moving around; that's a way better way to learn, especially when you're trying to do history like that.

Chivonn (UR) thought what was best were the results "because it makes you think about it more, instead of just sitting in books, sitting and reading in the books." From Chivonn's perspective, black people's perspectives should be in the classrooms. That is what the *Underground Railroad* simulation brought into the classroom. She explained her ideas.

> "Because I didn't know anything about that stuff until now. They should have taught us that stuff a long time ago. Because they teach everybody about white people history, then they should teach everybody else about black people history, Mexican, and Asian, and all those other people.

What the simulation did for Chivonn was expose her to a missing piece in her education.

Kimiko (OPP) also thought the results were what mattered:

> Initially, I think it's really scary for the teachers doing it and also for the students involved. Students don't know what to expect, so I think it can really be awkward, but I think it's effective. Ultimately, students are put in really uncomfortable positions, whether they're put in the high class, the middle class, or the low class, they don't get to choose, which is exactly the point. So I really think it's effective. I think students are forced to be put in situations that relate to everyday life, that are realistic, and that [are] applicable, and uncomfortable, which hopefully will encourage them to change or think.

The capacity to get students to think critically is what attracted some educators to the methodology (see Chapter Three). This same attraction holds for students, at least around the topic of race/racism. Again, Kimiko expounded:

> The fact that should students reflect on it, it can be effective for either thinking about it, talking about it, discussing it, and showing what really goes on in society and how some people are overly privileged and some people are overly punished. And I think beyond their control, I think its validity proved that point.

So even though the simulation was disturbing because it forced her to "see," Kimiko approved the methodology because she learned so much.

For Brittany and Shaquira (OPP) the simulation didn't bring in missing content as it did for Chivonn, but it brought in a missing perspective. Brittany stated the following:

> I wasn't bothered by it because I want people to learn that's how I feel and that's how other minorities feel, and what we feel everyday going to a predominantly white school, because now they [whites] just want to throw words out and they

> don't know if you threw words back, how it'd feel.

Brittany thought every student should be required to take multicultural classes and go through the simulation "because too many kids in this school don't understand … and whether they want to learn or not … I know there's a lot of kids who don't want to take math, but it's required so they have to, so they learn it anyways, so if you make it required, they[ed] have to learn it." The "it" she refers to here are the perspectives and feelings of African Americans. Shaquira concurred:

> I think it's [using simulations] a good idea because not only do people tell you what's going on but you actually get to feel it, … because you never really know how somebody feels, unless you're in their shoes … They [white students] see how we're labeled and how like most of us group together because of the kids who don't accept us, so I think... and a lot of them got angry and they tried to call us rowdy, well, now they see why we get mad because you know, what they say and how we're treated, so I think they got a good feel for that.

For both of these students the simulation as a methodology was valued and valid because it did what other methodologies hadn't done: it gave them a voice in the classroom. They and the other students expressed a desire for critical content in the curriculum; theirs is the marginalized voice, perspective, worldview, and they are ready to move to the center and share their views.

Ethics: I Don't See a Problem With It

The use of simulations always raises ethical issues for me because of how others (outside observers usually) respond. The participants experience short-term stress, unequal and unfair treatment, emotional and physical dis-ease, and are often asked to

inflict ridicule or pain onto their peers. The facilitators have made the decision that the educational outcomes justify aforementioned treatment, but what do the students think? The students of color overwhelmingly had no problem with the methodology. The questions of crossing boundaries, exposing them to harsh treatment, and using this teaching method were uniformly met with, "I don't see a problem with it." These were Brittany's (OPP) sentiments, and she continue, "Because that's how it is in real life. There's no point in a simulation if you're not going to tell the truth." That same thread could be heard in Shaquira's (OPP) comments: "I think they need [they], shouldn't candy coat anything, you should just, reality, just show how it really happens, what's really going on." Shiloh (UR) spoke in that same vein. "I think it was definitely OK. I mean, if you only do it halfway, then the people are only going to learn halfway." Some students experienced small worries. Tamicka (UR) expressed hers:

> OK, I wear glasses, and you were [holding] my glasses, and I couldn't see and they was like "you're going to be alright.'" I just really felt blind. I was OK, but the only thing I was worried about was branches, like little twigs sticking in your eye, because they didn't warn us before we went out there, and I had to sign this little piece of paper whatever, about my health condition if I got hurt or something.

Jacob (UR) also expressed what bothered him:

> When my group left me, because before we left, he [Eric] was in there talking, "Your family, stay with your family, you need your family." But my family left me so it was just me and one person from my family member stuck in the woods

> with no sense of direction on where we were going, so that's why I got mad at a point.

Chivonn (UR) said, "I just didn't like being blindfolded all that time. But otherwise it was OK." The kinds of things that bothered the students would not fall in the ethical category.

In their analysis of the "Blue Eyes-Brown Eyes" simulation, Byrnes and Kiger (1988) have argued that, ethically, participants have a right to know what is being asked of them in the classroom but not to the degree that it mitigates the learning. It is enough to offer general information, they argue, without compromising the simulation (Byrnes & Kiger, 1988). Byrnes and Kiger continued:

> Teachers routinely require work of students that might induce stress. Minor psychological discomfort is not an unusual feature of the educational enterprise. Indeed, the creation of cognitive dissonance and/or value conflicts are well-known tools for enhancing learning and personal growth. Simulations, …if handled sensitively with good debriefing sessions, are no different than other assignments. (p. 23)

These researchers would not contest the students' assertions that the simulations did not raise ethical issues for them.

Transformation: I Think It Might Have Opened My Eyes

Gaining the capacity to see what is going on in the world both locally and globally was a common thread throughout students' reported learning. The students reported having their eyes opened to many things. Their response to having their eyes opened from the simulations ranged from self-reflection to life changing practice. Every

student had lessons to share from their experience. Aaron (OPP) talked about how the simulation was like real life. “We don’t really see what’s going on. We see homeless people standing on the corner, but nobody stops for them. That’s kind of how it was for us; they didn’t do, people in the rich group didn’t care for us, they didn’t stop for us.” He confessed he wanted to change his response in relation to poverty.

> I think it might have opened my eyes a little bit. There’s been times where I’ve been driving and I’ve seen homeless people and I just drive by them. Every once in a while I think, oh, I might just give them like some McDonalds or something, or if I have some food somewhere that I haven’t eaten yet and I’ll just, well, what if I just stop and give this to eat. It cost me like $5. I can give $5 to him. And I think [the simulation] might have made me feel more like the next time I’m in the situation, I might want to actually do it.

Bobby used an almost identical phrase: “It did open my eyes to a lot of things.” Foremost among them was “that it’s a really hard thing they [slaves] had to go through.” Bobby took two things from the simulation that he wanted to do differently, to operationalize the belief “that you should be a family with your community, and that you could make a difference... like you can take it upon yourself, I mean, it’s not going to hurt you, know what I’m saying? So we just got to help each other.” There is a subtle difference in these two responses; the nature of Aaron’s response comes from an individualistic discourse while Bobby’s is drawn from a communal discourse. As critical educator it is important to shift Aaron’s discourse.

The students who participated in the *Underground Railroad* simulation learned about the legacy of their African ancestors, in depth information about the American

slave trade, what the slaves endured, and what it meant to escape on the Underground Railroad. This was life affirming to Chivonn because for the first time she realized "that black people didn't start from slavery, like they [white people] made it seem like it, and we had a history." Her interview was just a few days following the simulation but she had already shared with many relatives what she had learned. Tamicka spoke in that same vein: "Like we were kings and queens and princes, you know what I'm saying, we had good doctors and stuff like that. I thought like we came over here [the USA} and we got educated and stuff like that." The lecture content on African civilizations prior to the slave trade captivated students' interests and was experienced as libratory.

Chivonn (UR) intended to do the recommended reading in black literature. Tamicka (UR) felt the lecture affirmed one belief she held: "Like they [whites] always say Jesus was white, but I know Jesus was black because over there it's hot and you're dark." The spiritual implications of learning that Africa was not an uncivilized place, full of uneducated people, was pivotal for Tamicka's faith. She also felt that if she had been born in the harsh times of slavery she would not have survived. What she intended to do differently was "go to the library and get those books and read. Ask [her teachers] a lot of questions."

Freire's concept of *conscientizacao*, the development of a critical consciousness, is one of the first steps in liberatory teaching. If indeed the simulation leads the students to check out and read the recommended black literature, then it is moving them towards praxis (action/reflection) (Frankentein, 1987). "Emancipatory content presented in a nonliberatory way reduces critical insights to empty words that cannot challenge students' taken-for-granted reality and cannot inspire commitment to radical change"

(Frankentein, 1987, p. 186). The simulations presented emancipatory content in a liberatory way; a recipe designed to produce "subjects capable of using critical knowledge to transform their world" (Frankentein, 1987, p. 186).

Those students who participated in the *Underground Railroad* had their eyes opened to understand where they had come from historically. Jacob articulated it succinctly: "So we, like, understand where we came from, so we would know where we're going." The "we" he speaks of here is communal. Both Jacob and Shiloh also spoke of doing the reading and Jacob stated, "Yeah, it [the simulation] inspired me to really go to school now and focus on what I have to do, and quit lollygagging and playing around." If Jacob follows through with his stated plan, then the simulation evidences power to reshape his life.

Kimiko's response was vast; the *Other People's Power* simulation was a huge eye opener for her. Her opening response was this:

> I'm still wrestling with it. I was in tears after the class just because it was kind of overwhelming. So I'm half white and half Japanese. It just makes this really awkward to answer a bunch of questions. But I think people need to be aware of what's going on around them. If we turn a blind eye to things, I think there's [something] morally and spiritually wrong with that because we're supposed to be a community that gives and loves and serves freely all of God's people and for all God's children. And I know that sounds so idealistic, but I'm going to go with it because I'm still young and I can still be idealistic. I think that people aren't willing to recognize that racism is institutionalized. I think that it needs to be recognized by people of color and by Caucasians, especially in America, but

> around the world just generally. But I think people need to know that institutionalized racism and that white privilege exists. And I think the simulation is really effective in showing how it does exist, and then tying it together at the end.

When asked what she takes away from the simulation, how she might act differently, Kimiko responded:

> I think it challenges me; something you said really struck me, because I always think that my role, because I'm teaching, is to educate. But you said, "You're not there to help, you're there to empower." Oh, even when I think about it now, I get goose bumps. I think that's something that I really learned, that "help" is the same attitude that I hated, the same attitude of "oh, come along, come along side and I'm going to help you." That's not what people need. It's awful. And I thought that it was good. I was so encouraged to want to "empower" my students. And I don't know exactly what that entails, but I think that that was probably for me one of the things that struck me the most.

It is evident that the simulation impacted how this student shapes her worldview. The capacity to see the difference between "helping" and "empowering," and to recognize the class, race, and power dimensions connected to these terms can shape the kind of teacher Kimiko will some day be. She went on to say:

> And I think things like empowerment is much more appropriate and it just made me more aware of stereotypes that I have, and privileges that I have, which I mean, it's just the way it is, I'm not going to beat myself over it. But, what am I doing? What am I really going to- so I think it challenges me to figure out what

> I'm going to do with the knowledge that I have and what I'm doing to learn more about the knowledge that I don't have. Politically it's really shaking me, not because I'm ultraconservative, or because I'm ultraliberal. Sometimes I don't know the answer, I don't and ...I've really been struggling with that.

Kimiko here evidenced a willingness to be in the ongoing struggle that is at the heart of praxis (the interaction of reflection and action) as defined by critical theorists. Kimiko continued:

> I think that I want to be more sensitive to culture just generally and what it means to be American and what I'm doing to change people's silence and what I'm doing to change my own silence because people are comfortable with silence, and what I'm doing to shake silence. What am I doing to change that, because even that is ridiculous? Little things like that that I am oblivious to, like when I say that my dad's American, [as opposed to white] I should be conscious of that, because I'm not, I'm just adding to the problem, and relearning it. [I'm] relearning things the wrong way and teaching it the wrong way with whomever I'm talking to and making other people feel ostracized without even knowing it. I want to be sensitive to it.

This student at least is pushed by the simulation to take action in numerous ways.

Brittany and Shaquira, who had also participated in the *Other People's Power* simulation, saw how the simulation mimicked real life. Shaquira commented, "I think that it's just reality, you know how things really go, so I was real relieved to be in the upper class so I kind of learned how that felt for a little bit." She related the simulation to her high school:

> I think they [teachers] wanted to get a reality check and [let us] see what's going on, like hallways and everything, how sometimes we [blacks] get labeled because they [whites] think we're loud or whatever, but I think they want them to get the experience and feel it for themselves.

Shaquira was also inspired by the simulation; what she claimed she takes away from the experience is resolve: "Well, I'm always going to persevere, and I'm not going to let anything get me down, and I'm always going to try my best or go up to what I want and not what they [whites] say I can have." Brittany also made connections to her school situation; she thought the teachers who ran the simulation wanted to open the eyes of the white students to see how the black students felt. She identified with the poor people in the box during the simulation: "I'm like, yeah, tell me to be quiet, and I'm trying to speak what I think, and what I think should be changed and you tell me to be quiet! I feel like I'm lower class than you are, you're above me in some way." The simulation gave her the resolve to speak her feelings and not hide them.

The discourse the students fall into here is the ideology of individualism, which says you can make it, you can overcome if you desire it and work hard. This is a dominant American ideology and does not take into account institutionalized injustice or systemic oppression. Listening to the discourse students use to frame their learning gives critical pedagogues indications for further study.

Voice: The Marginalized Should Be Heard

Every student who participated in the *Underground Railroad* simulation thought the simulation brought in the perspective of black people. The majority of those who participated in *Other People's Power* thought the simulation brought in the perspective

"of the people of color and the people of the lowest class." The students universally agreed that it is important to bring in and include those marginalized voices. As Kimiko (OPP) put it:

> Because to completely ignore it would be to say that there aren't people who exist in these circumstances, and to completely rule these people out, is to completely ignore something that is thriving in America right now. And these people aren't given a voice because maybe they don't have the means to, but it doesn't mean they don't have nothing to say, and people need to be aware of it, things need to change.

With the use of the term "these people" Kimiko unknowingly seems to distance herself a bit from those for whom she advocates. A common thread in the students' comments was woven around the belief that people need to speak for themselves. Shiloh (UR) put it eloquently: "l can't tell your point of view as well as you can, and you can't tell mine, so there's no way that Europeans can tell African Americans' point of view, like they could."

The students of color for the most part recognized resistance demonstrated by their white peers. Kimiko (OPP) remembers strong feelings: "Afterwards during the discussion one of the [white] students said it was [a] pointless simulation, and I had a really rough time with that. Because there's so much to be learned from it, I don't understand how it could be pointless." Her peers were not used to hearing from another perspective, and were often not open. At the same time she admits that almost all of her teachers are white males and few bother to bring other voices into the classroom. "I think

students are often just willing to be fed and just consume because we're lazy and we're foolish."

Shaquira (OPP) concurred with Kimiko's thinking about whose voice the simulation was seeking to bring in: "I think black people. Because I think it was mostly about us, and what we go through. So I think that was us speaking out to white people, and trying to teach them what's really going on." She was gratified for the dialogue opportunities the simulation opened, while also observing her peers: "OK, white kids, I don't think they really care. You know, they're just more worried about what's [happening] to them, but they didn't understand that we're just trying to get them to see what we black kids go through, you know, daily…."

Power/Politics

Two themes emerged as students reflected on the link between education and power, and the political nature of education: schools serve the interests of white people, and learning/teaching is a political act. In the *Underground Railroad* simulation, Eric, the facilitator, included comments about the study of history and perspective in the debriefing. He attempted to open a conversation about the political nature of teaching. Most of the students were not prepared to explore the topic. They didn't make connections between power and politics, nor did they understand teaching/learning as political.

Schools Serve the Interests of White People

The aspect of power that students were aware of was that schools did not serve their interests. From their perspectives, schools served the interests of white students because the content of the curriculum was overwhelmingly white, and so were those

teaching it. This meant, in part, that students of color disengaged for lack of interest and relevance to their lives. Serving the interests of whites also meant that students of color felt they had no voice in the classroom. Bobby (UR) spoke about the act of learning:

> I don't think it suppose to [be political], I think it's supposed to just... just to help you get further in life and know more about what you're doing. I don't think it's too much political, I think he [Eric, was] just trying to get us to understand stuff that might not have been told, like it wasn't told to me, like he was just trying to get to a different level of our knowledge of how slavery.

The idea of education being a political act was foreign to him. Jacob (UR) recognized that schools serve the interests of "white people," "because they're just teaching us about them, really. Telling us 'they invented this' and 'they invented that.'" Though Jacob could see inequality here, he did not see that inequality as political. He stated, "A little bit [political], but that's how they've been doing it for a long time, so I really don't know no different." Shaquira (OPP) agreed that schools serve the interests of "white kids mostly." She elaborated, "We only learn about white American history. I mean there's not really any class that teaches it about us. It's just World and German history and all this stuff and it really doesn't interest me, so I don't think that we have a voice in this school." She connects lack of curriculum content to voice, but did not go on to connect that to power. Shaquira felt that the simulation served the interests of "black kids for sure."

Tamicka (UR) associated learning and knowledge with power, "because the more knowledge you got, the more places you'll be able to go to, the more people you'll be able to meet." But she lacked the language to go more in depth on the topic. From her perspective curriculum content didn't include topics relevant to her life: "I think it's more

that's their curriculum they have to teach and they have a certain amount of time to teach it, so that's what they go off of. They could change it, but it would take a long time before the change would happen." Tamicka felt she deserved more lessons like the simulation; non-inclusive curriculum cheats all black kids, herself included.

Learning/Teaching Is a Political Act

To see teaching and learning as political was to connect the acts to power, either the power of the individual teacher, or the power of decisions made about such things as curriculum, teaching styles, and resources in the classroom. Some of the students clearly saw these kinds of connections and understood the political nature of such connections. Shiloh (UR) did think that learning was a political act:

> Very much so… In school you hear more the white point of view, and that's how its always been, like when we study black history, we [don't] really study anything, throughout the whole school year, we don't really study anything, so you don't really learn the African history. I mean, if you're trying to teach history, you're not getting the whole story, and then it's just "his" story rather than history because there's a lot of things from, that they don't tell us, that African Americans did or didn't, or [made] it. You just think about it, the whole thing is slavery, the African Americans, they built the country that we're in right now, through all the free labor, but it's never put like that, it's never thought of as that.

He reasoned that the exclusion of African history, and the selectivity of what they learned about African American history were deliberate decisions falling in the realm of power and politics. Shiloh thought the simulation was invaluable in the content it

presented and recommended "a lot more people should get that experience, and go through that simulation."

Kimiko (OPP) also thought teaching was a political act:

> A lot of times, teaching methods are... teachers aren't sensitive to other cultures, not all teachers, … they have no real training in teaching a lot of the times, their approaches are often geared towards how they learn best and often the people who are in the high position of teaching, …they are usually, here I've had mostly white men, they teach the way possibly that they learn, what they're interested in. [They] may not bring in other sources, so they're just teaching themselves. … power is so abused and people in power don't take into consideration people who don't have power and I'm sure that totally goes into their teaching methods and how they address and interact with material and people.

Kimiko's critique reflects issues covered in the simulation debrief. Not all of her peers reflected or articulated to the depth she did but her critical thinking is evident here. Kimiko thought using simulations could even be politically dangerous:

> People get really sensitive, really defensive when you're dealing with issues of race, of classism, of power. And if people are threatened by it, let's say a white male in the class is offended by it. Well first of all he needs to think about why he's offended by it, but you're walking a very fine line of getting preyed [on] and attacked by the people around you. And it just puts people in [a] really strange position, forcing them to think, and since we live in a culture that doesn't celebrate knowledge, people are afraid to think.

She saw the value of simulations as having the capacity to disrupt the status quo. As a budding educator Kimiko perceived teachers as power holders:

> Right, and if you are a person that is privileged with imparting knowledge upon other people, you have a responsibility to impart the knowledge and the gift that you have upon other people, and that may not be through you, it may be a voice through someone else or through a simulation. I think it's important that people in power give, … ideally give every person a voice, a focus on things that are different than you, not you personally, but the teacher. Culturally, gender, whatever, economically, ... and if they don't, then everything will just continue to repeat itself.

Shor (1987) wrote that "all [pedagogies] have a form and a content that relate to power in society, that construct one kind of society or another, and they all have social relations in the classroom that confirm or challenge domination" (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 13). Kimiko grasps this understanding of power, and Shiloh is moving towards this understanding. Simulations have the capacity to challenge domination in the classroom, and to aid students in seeing these power dynamics.

Conclusion

In the opening chapter of this study I posed some questions: What happens in an anti-racism learning simulation for students of color? How do simulations contribute to the student's racial identity development and understanding of race? What, if any concerns do students of color raise? The data have yielded answers to these questions. The data showed that a lot happens for students of color; they love the hands on learning style of simulations; they tended to get totally engaged and stay engaged throughout.

Students of color had quicker recognition and understanding of the "big picture" presented in the simulation. Leonardo noted that "countless authors from Freire to Fannon have suggested that oppression is best apprehended from the experiences or vantage point of the oppressed" (Leonardo, 2004a, p. 141). The vantage point of the oppressed was the perspective presented in the simulations. The students of color noted and identified with that perspective; they felt validated by it, and some even found their voice through the simulation. The students of color were open and accepting to ideas and perspectives in the simulation, unlike their white counterparts who were closed and resistant to much that was discussed in the debriefing. They had many "ah-ha" moments about self and the learning content.

What students of color experience in simulations aimed at unlearning racism is unique to them. Race does indeed matter in how they responded and in what they took away. The data indicate that the farther along the racial identity development continuum they are the more they are enriched by the experience. My study was limited in that it included only two college students of color who operated at higher cognitive levels, and who could have been farther along in their racial identity development. A greater number of students of color in the study would have yielded richer results.

The data suggest that simulations can be a catalyst to push students in their racial identity development. In the pre-encounter stage simulations can be the triggering event that moves an individual into the next stage. In the higher stages simulations can help individuals do the tasks that move them into the next stage. Simulations present a simplified picture of complex realities; they make what is abstract concrete. Through use of the concrete examples simulations can be used to develop critical language and critical

thinking skills. Listening is a key component in Freire's critical pedagogy. Wallerstein (1987) asserted that emotions often contain "hidden voices" that students bring with them as baggage; they have the power to block or stifle learning. Uncovering these voices is essential for educators if they really want to listen. Simulations with powerful, emotive content can be instrumental for this kind of listening (Wallerstein, 1987). Critical pedagogues can use simulations as a valuable tool for student transformation.

The implications of what the data reveal are enlightening. Students of color bring a different set of learning needs than their white counterparts. They need help putting a framework around what they learn. In the debriefing period following a simulation the facilitator must spend some time focused on the students of color. The feelings they have must be tended to, a set of questions focused on their needs should be asked, and space should be made for any concerns they may have. If the student of color experience is unique, how then does what happens to white students differ? How does race matter with white students going through a simulation to unlearn racism? What concerns do these students have and how are they expressed? I take up these questions in the next two chapters.

Chapter Six

The Experience of the White High School Students

Eight white high school students - Abby, Ali, Karen, ST, Theo, Kathy, Jess and Melissa - all participated in the *Other People's Power* simulation (see methodology section). Seven white college students participated in the *Squat No More* simulation; their data is being presented in a separate chapter. After multiple readings of the data I decided that volume of data and marked differences in experience warranted separate coverage of the high school and college student groups. In this chapter I examine and analyze the responses of the eight white high school students who participated in this study. Again I sought to capture the essence of what happens for the students during a simulation on race.

This chapter is organized like the preceding one, only there are four major topics with themes subsumed under them. The fifth topic generated almost no data for the white high school students but will be revisited with the college students. While the topics are the same as the students of colors, most of the themes that emerged for the white students are different. A key point of exploration in this study is the examination of the students' racial identity and the impact if any, the simulation had on their racial identity development and understanding of race. These questions will be explored under the topic of race/racial identity using identity theorists in the analysis of student responses. I choose identity theory as opposed to "whiteness" studies to be consistent with the analysis of the students of color. Also, identity theory does not conflict with a parallel reconstructionist perspective. A table summarizing the topics and themes that emerged

will aid quick reference. A conclusion will summarize the findings and draw some comparisons to the students of color.

Table 5. White High School Students' Topics and Themes
What happened
"I don't know what happened" *"We got treated like crap"*
Feelings
Confused and angry *Stuck in the feelings*
Race/Racial identity
"I'm normal" *"I have no racial assumptions"*
Teaching/Learning
Fun and positive *The lower class learned the most* *Transformative possibilities* *Crossing the ethical line in small ways* *Didn't really learn anything* *Feeling from another's perspective* *Seeing from another perspective*

What Happened

The story the white students told of what happened in the simulation was very dependent on where they spent the majority of their time in the context of the three-tiered society created in the *Other People's Power* simulation. Two themes emerged from students' recitations on the exercise they had participated in that morning: *I don't know what happened,* and *we got treated like crap.* The students had been told they would be participating in a simulation exercise that built on earlier lessons about multiculturalism. None of them had been in a simulation before and had no real understanding of what would take place. The students were greatly impacted by the simulation.

I Don't Know What Happened

When asked, "What happened," the most common refrain was, "I don't know." This refrain was peppered throughout the recitation of events. All of the comments in this section are in reference to the *Other People's Power* simulation. Kathy is an exemplar:

> I was in lower class. We didn't really know what it was about or anything … we got judged on our ears and we got stickers to classify us into the three groups, and so then they put us in the three groups and my group was the one standing in the masking tape box and at first we were confused - we didn't know what was going on at all, we were just like "OK..." and then as the game started to go on we started to realize that it was higher, lower and middle class because like the higher had the nice chairs, middle had normal chairs and we had nothing, and then they started taking our names and it was weird because we thought they had, like, a disability or something because they couldn't understand what we were saying and they wouldn't, like, listen to us when we were talking and we'd say, like,

> "Dan" and they'd be like "I think they're name's Don" or they spelled my name with two t's. We were so confused, we were like, "What is going on?"

Most of the students could retell the events that happened during the simulation but there was less a sense of understanding the big picture or grasping what the whole thing was about. Unlike their student of color counterparts, who caught on fairly quickly, the white students took much longer to figure out what was going on if they figured it out at all. Karen, who stayed in the upper class the whole time, responded in this way.

> It was nice; we had our teachers serving for us which is cool because that never happens. We got to eat, drink, comfy chairs; it was pretty cool. I didn't really get what was going on till like a third way through it. And then I was just like, *"I'm* in the upper class, so it's OK with me."

When asked if it ever occurred to her to do something to make things fair or to share the food, she replied, "No, because we just thought it was at our table and it was the six of us, we didn't really look at what was on the other table." The simulation is a microcosm of the real world; those in the upper class who "get it" have the freedom to counter the injustice they see either individually or systemically. Karen's comment about not really looking is at another level, about not really reflecting.

Theo, who was in the lower class, offered the same kind of narrative:

> I don't know, it was just weird. They were pushing us around and stuff and I was like, "What's going on in here?" Because you know those kids were in the upper class, they got treated good and stuff and you people started throwing trash at us... We were just playing a game and I didn't know that if you go in the lower class you get treated so bad, so I didn't really care. So we traded chips and I ended up

> with the [lowest amount], went to the lower class, and things went bad. Nobody listened to us, everybody told us to shut up and we were made to pick up garbage, we couldn't talk, and you know, our names were spelled wrong and stuff.... Like, when somebody got a lot of points, they had to check them and stuff because.

Theo could describe the details of what happened, but it remained a "game" for him that he did not make ready connections to life realities. ST would also fit in this category:

> So I came down to the auditorium, and we were split up based on our ears. And then once we were in our groups, we were given chips that were supposed to represent wealth (the points), and then we were, the one group got to sit in the comfy chairs and they got to have the treats and the pop; and the middle group got plain chairs, got a few donuts and a few cookies, and the lower class had to stand up and they didn't get anything. And then we had to trade with people outside our group.

After citing what happened ST was asked, "What were you supposed to get out of it?" His response, "I don't know," got no elaboration even though probed. The students were clearly able to tell the story of what happened in the simulation. In fact five of them reported that they shared their experience of the simulation with either friends or a parent. What is also clear is that compared to their students of color counterparts, the white students experienced more confusion and less understanding of the big picture in the simulation.

We Got Treated Like Crap

In the *Other People's Power* simulation the way groups are treated escalates after each trading session. By the fourth round of trading the group designated as lower class

people of color is experiencing psychological and behavioral oppression. The white students experienced this treatment as “crap”. Their sense of “unfairness” and “injustice” came to the forefront. ST spent the entirety in the middle class: “The upper class liked it, the lower class didn’t like it so much. They had a bad day the rest of the day, because they didn’t like the simulation.” Kathy, who was in the lower class and designated a person of color by her ear shape, was explicit in her description:

> And then as the game started to go they started to be really crappy with us and we were like, “What is with these people, why are they being so mean to us?” And then we saw that the donuts were being brought out to the other groups and Sprite and stuff. And then as we were trading chips, they just told us to go back to our thing [box] after we did that. And for an hour we just got kind of treated like crap!

Jess, also designated a lower class person of color, still radiated feelings as he told what happened:

> Okay, well, at the beginning they were kind of just not treating us like the rest of the people, and at the end they started treating us worse and worse as the whole simulation went on it seemed like. And I don’t know, our group kind of, we were all trying to [form] a plan, just to not listen, like we were all just going to stand outside of the box and stuff and just see what happened. …and they got chairs to sit down on and we just had to stand. They put garbage in our square. It got smaller and smaller each time we got back into it. Because our earlobes were attached I think.

Even in interviews two or three days following the simulation, the students’ focus was still on their ill treatment; this is what left the strongest impact on this group and

possibly all groups. Melissa made an observation on the debrief: "I was really surprised when we talked about it in class [next day]. A lot of people were really angry and I noticed a lot of them all had the same perspective on, like, 'Oh, that's not how it is, you have to see it our way too" and blah, blah, blah.'

Feelings

The students' expressions of feelings were generally elemental, and did not get complex. The feelings were heightened because students didn't understand what was happening so they had no reference on which to hang their feelings. How they were treated generated the most feelings. Two themes surfaced: confused and angry, and stuck in the feelings. The students' feelings did not lead to connections to the real world. Whereas the students of color make effective connections in many ways, the white students noticeably did not.

Confused and Angry

The two strongest emotions expressed were confusion and anger. The white students were confused by what was happening to them. They were thrust into a social role with little to no preparation. Some students were privileged and given servants, food, and entertainment. Many more students were oppressed and marginalized; they were policed, harassed, and psychologically dehumanized in public. This treatment was alien to the white students' experience so their response was confusion and anger.

Abby, who spent the whole simulation in the middle class, stated her feelings: "I was kind of mad, the higher class got treated a lot better, I wanted to move up to the higher class." Kathy was in the lower class: "At first, I was really confused, and then towards the end, I just got angry and frustrated, I just wanted to give up on the whole

thing, I was just pissed." Melissa, who was in the upper class the whole time, reported her feelings: "At first I was a little confused because we were having nicer things than everybody else. I thought it was kinda funny at first and then I was, like, 'This is kinda weird because we're getting all this and they don't get anything.' I don't know, I felt like it was unfair for everybody else." Theo was in the lower class, and he felt "some confusion, yeah, because you know those kids [who] were in the upper class - they got treated good and stuff and you people started throwing trash at us..." These students were not used to being mistreated so what came at them in the simulation defied explanation. In some instances they couldn't name feelings. "This is kinda weird" was oft repeated.

Stuck in the Feelings

The white students generally did not know what to do with the feelings they felt. If they were angry, they stayed angry. The feelings, though strong, did not result in the students taking action. Students were stuck in their feelings, immobilized by them with no sense of how to actualize what they felt. Beyond their own treatment, what generated strong feelings was how the other classes were treated, especially the lower class. ST spoke about the lower class: "Well, at first I thought it was kinda funny how the poor class had to stand in a square. That was kind [of] amusing. But then, I don't know, I thought they were getting kinda beaten, for lack of better terms." He said their treatment made him angry and "made me want to step in" although ST took no action during the simulation.

Both Ali and Abby expressed sympathy for the lower class. Ali stated, "The lower class, I felt bad for them because they got treated like junk." Abby, from her position in the middle class, echoed Ali's sentiments: "I felt sorry for the people down in the lower

class." She also stated her feelings about the upper class: "I felt like they were greedy and they didn't have nothing to do with anybody else just themselves and they were in their own little circle doing with nothing but themselves." They had all these feelings but did nothing during the simulation to express them. Even in the lower class the students felt immobilized. Kathy spoke about what did not happen:

> Yeah, we were seriously thinking about just throwing down our chips and walking out and being like "screw this", we came so close to it, we were talking about it in the box and stuff, we were, like, seriously, we should just go and see what they do because we don't want to do this anymore.

Melissa, who was in the upper class, spoke about her upper class peers who voted to remove the lower class from the room onto a "reservation", "like when they voted to kick them out, like I didn't want to, you know, like I said 'no'." Her action (a "no" vote) here was motivated by sympathy for the other group: "Yeah, because I didn't feel like it [them staying in the room] was a problem." However, she did nothing beyond vote. Her single vote was not enough to prevent her peers from having the lower class group removed to the "reservation."

The white students noticeably did not make connections to the real world through their feelings. They differed greatly from the students of color who used the affective domain to self-reflect and to make real world connections. Two students were an anomaly in that they did made connections to the real world through what they felt. ST was disturbed: "When the guys said 'Get American names,' that kinda bothered me. There's just so many different names out there that there isn't really one American name." He recognized that some immigrants might experience hearing such derogatory

comments. Ali also made a connection to real life when she commented on being a middle class person and seeing that positionality for the first time. “It seemed really weird. I don’t know if it was the position I was put in, I don’t know how I would have felt if I was put in [the] lower class or the upper class. I felt weird.” Developmentally these students ranged in age from fourteen to sixteen and were freshmen and sophomores. They had the ability to make connections from the simulation to the real world, but very little was expressed affectively. Tandy was the lead co-facilitator here; I had led in the simulation but she led the debriefing. Not enough time was spent on deconstructing feelings.

Race/Racial Identity

Once again, the questions about race generated the most discourse in the interviews. Most of the students had difficulty getting started talking about the subject but once started, held and expressed strong views. In this section I will analyze their discourse on race and bring to light their racial identity and racial understandings. Two themes emerged from this topic: I’m normal, and I have no racial assumptions. For some students, to talk about the topic of race called into question where they stood on issues of race; there was strong insistence on not being seen as racist. The simulation in many ways challenged their views.

The white students demonstrated the first phase of Janet Helms’ model of white identity development described by Tatum (1999) in her seminal text. Helms’ model describes how white racial identity develops with the twofold goal of abandonment of racism and the development of an antiracist healthy white identity. Individuals work through six statuses as they move towards an antiracist white racial identity. In the first

phase of the model are three statuses: contact, disintegration, and reintegration. In the contact status race is not salient for the individual. They are aware of racial differences but this fact has little conscious meaning for them (Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004). Tatum (1999) described Whites in this status:

> [Whites] have internalized many of the prevailing societal stereotypes of people of color; they typically are unaware of this socialization process. They often perceive themselves as color-blind, completely free of prejudice, unaware of their own assumptions about other racial groups. In addition they usually think of racism as the prejudicial behavior of individuals rather than as an institutional system of advantage benefiting Whites in subtle as well as blatant ways. (p. 95)

If whites have little or distant contact with other people of color groups they may live their entire lives in this first status.

The second status, disintegration, is characterized by experiences that challenge prior conceptions of the world and make racism and white privilege visible. Once the process starts, individuals at this level start to see racism everywhere. The newly developed awareness brings feelings of guilt, shame, and anger often triggered by self examination and discovery of one's own and family collusion in racist systems (Tatum, 1999). Persons at this level must decide what to do with all these negative feelings.

The last status in phase one is reintegration, the angry white person stage. At this level "previous feelings of guilt or denial may be transformed into fear and anger directed toward people of color" (Tatum, 1999, p. 101). The tendency is to "blame the victim" for the racism they see in society. There is an intensifying of attitude in part because the person can no longer identify as an individual, but now recognizes their membership in

the group called "white". There is also a growing recognition of racism in society and what whites have perpetrated against people of color groups, accompanied by social pressure to collude and remain silent. To move beyond this phase a person must learn to see whiteness in a positive way (Tatum, 1999). These first three statuses Helms identified as racist and non-racist, non-racist being defined as a state where an individual recognizes racism but does nothing to interrupt it. Phase one statuses are considered negative white racial identities.

The neo-abolitionist perspective is in contention with Tatum's (1997), Helms' and Cross's (1990) racial identity development theories. Neo-abolitionists like Roediger (1991) and Ignatiev (1996) equate whiteness with oppression and domination. They do not advocate for whites to develop a healthy white identity. Instead they want to strip whiteness of its power and abolish it as a racial category and marker for identity. I agree with Giroux (1997) and Leonardo (2009) that this position does not offer hope to white individuals who need a "more critical and productive way of construing a sense of identity, agency, and race across a wide range of contexts and public spheres" (Giroux, 1997 p.293). In the language of the reconstructionists, critical anti-racist, emancipatory pedagogy offers a project of rearticulating "whiteness."

I'm Normal

For seven of the eight white high school students race was not a salient feature in their lives. They defined whiteness as being "normal" or being "American", often stating that it had no meaning in their lives. In their conception of themselves as normal, they were unconscious of their conceptualization of everyone else as "other", with negative

connotations. Karen fits in the contact status. She identified herself as of "White, European ancestry" but drew no meaning from it. She said:

> I don't know, I guess my skin's white, I'm a normal, like, American, white American, I speak English, I don't talk any other language, I live in, like, a normal house, we have the same traditions, like Christmas, Thanksgiving, we don't celebrate any weird holidays, well not weird, but different holidays like other people do. So I don't know, I guess I'm just normal like everybody else who's white.

"Whiteness" scholars have described how white privilege is maintained in three dimensions. One dimension is called white normativity.

> The normalization of whites' cultural practice, ideologies, and location within the racial hierarchy such that how whites do things, their understandings about life, society, and the world, and their dominant social location over other racial groups are accepted *as just how things are*. (Emerson & Yancey, 2011, p. 12)

Unbeknownst to herself, Karen speaks from a position of white privilege; she has internalized the belief that she is the norm.

ST also identified as white and Caucasian. For him it meant that he was of European descent. When asked about his treatment as a white person ST said, "I don't think it gets me anything. I haven't noticed that I get anything special because I'm white vs. somebody else." ST was asked when he realized he was white and he responded, "I didn't really think about other races till I got to middle school, so I guess probably the 5th/6th grade range when I actually started realizing that there was other races out there."

He maintained that being white made no difference in his life. “That I’m white? No, I think I live the same kind of life if I was black.”

Abby spoke about her identity much like her peers, as white/Caucasian and that it made no difference in her life. Yet Abby did acknowledge that she did get treated differently. “I think there’s more white people than anybody else, so we get treated higher and better than people.” She did not think there were racial assumptions about whites either. In her home they do not talk about race, but Abby outlined the racial hierarchy: “Probably Caucasian [on top], Mexicans, [next], probably black [on the bottom].” It is evident that Abby has been socialized with no white race consciousness. Flagg (1993) described this phenomenon:

> I call this the transparency phenomenon: the tendency of whites not to think about whiteness, or about norms, behaviors, experiences, or perspectives that are white-specific. Transparency often is the mechanism through which white decision makers who disavow white supremacy impose white norms. (p. 953)

This aspect of white transparency is a second dimension of white privilege.

Theo is a Russian immigrant who came to the United States over five years ago. He has spent all of that time living in a suburb. Theo self-identified in this way:

> I suppose it’d be white. They don’t have boxes that say Russian, you know, I don’t know. There’s no brown. I’d check brown because, you know, I’m like part Ukrainian, part Russian. And my dad, my family has dark skin and stuff.

He shared that sometimes Latinos think he’s Mexican. For him race doesn’t make a difference in his life but he has observed others.

> Like all the Americans, you know, when they got the Corvettes running, the Firebirds and stuff, and they make fun of them [Asian Americans] like, "Oh, you guys drive suped up Civics" and stuff. Well, teachers don't treat them [African Americans] differently? But some students, like, there's some racist students in our school, and I don't know, they just yell the N-word and stuff [Mexicans]. They don't get treated [well].

In defining himself over against the "other" Theo denies the saliency of whiteness in his life. He is unaware that he conflates American with white.

Ali identified herself as Caucasian, and when asked what that meant she said, "white." When probed about being white, Ali responded:

> I think you get treated better if you're Caucasian. 'Cause different races, when it's a school of mostly white people, I think they get put down more. But like in the city where there's mostly colored people in school, the white people, I mean Caucasians, get put down more.

This is not, however, something Ali knows from experience as she is not often in the city. Ali said, "I think all people should be treated the same" but when pushed to state how society is, not how it should be, she conceded "that the colored and the different races get put down more than we do." When asked if race makes a difference in her life, Ali declared, "Personally, I'm against racism, totally. It's not something I do. If I see it I will just ignore it 'cause I don't like it. People are people. It doesn't matter if they're colored or Asians or Japanese; it doesn't matter."

Ali's answer here is a non-sequitur; it does not make sense stemming from the question asked. Tatum (1999) stated that in the contact status to even bring up the topic

of race is to cause discord and be seen as racist; this is where Ali is. Ali is textbook status one, contact level. Her use of the term "colored" marks her as having little contact with African Americans. Indeed, Ali stated, "I've heard racist comments from coloreds, colored people. I've never really heard them from Caucasians." Her definition of racism clearly does not include concepts of systems or institutions.

Jess's interview revealed a more nuanced version of the contact status. Jess's response to the question of the meaning of being Caucasian was, "A white, American male. Well, it's not necessarily male, but, I don't know, I guess people kind of classify white people as more middle class or upper class, I guess you could say." Jess went on to talk about himself. "I get treated, you know, I'd say normally. I don't really have assumptions, I mean no, I don't stereotype people like that." Although he claims his parents do not really talk about race, he said:

> I kind of grew up in a racist family, like I mean my step dad; he was in the Vietnam War and stuff, so he is kind of racist against Asians and stuff like that, the Vietnamese and stuff. And my dad's side is, he's racist against, I guess you could say, blacks, but.... But they used to think that, you know, whites just deserve to be here [suburbs] and you know blacks deserve to live in the projects and stuff like that. I kind of just view things different. Like I kind of view everyone as being the same. Yeah, because, like, if you don't really have friends that are of different races, then you're going to just kind of think like everyone else does because you know, you don't really get to know them.

Jess related a recent incident when he was in a fight in school with some Asian kids; the incident was racially motivated. What started with one kid's pencil tapping irritating him,

quickly escalated, "because usually Asians, you know, once you fight one of them, you usually fight them all. That's kind of how it works, but, so, I got up and just started, you know, just kind of hitting people." Jess's explanation for why these conflicts happen was this: "Well, like I said, I just don't think that people accept a lot of people out in the suburbs just because we're not used to seeing them around, you know."

Jess's insistence that he is different did not hold up as we got further in the interview. His "we/they" mentality, his territoriality, and demonstrated sense of the superiority of whites marked his internalization of an ideology of white superiority. Jess articulated his ideas from a position of dominance. The third dimension of white privilege is white structural advantage and it means the following:

> Whites occupy the location of dominance - politically, economically, culturally, and numerically - within the racial hierarchy. … These three dimensions of whiteness - white structural advantage, white normativity, and white transparency - work together to produce white hegemony, … [and] can produce dominance without whites feeling like it is true. (Emerson & Yancey, 2011, p. 13)

Another white student, Kathy, gave answers much like her peers to the opening questions about racial identity: "Caucasian/White, the color of my skin." She answered forthrightly about the difference race makes in her life, or doesn't make. "You know, I'm sure on some levels it is, but I've never really looked at it. The fact is, I've always been white, you know, my whole life, so it's, like, I've never, you know, seen it from any other perspective, other than being white." Race was never an issue in her home.

Kathy claims many friends of different races and also a boyfriend who is of a different race. These encounters have informed her attitudes.

> I mean, it's never been an issue to me - different races. So, I mean, it's not like I'm going to go out of my way to be just like, 'Oh, that person's African American; I'm going to go be friends with him', you know.

She believes racism is still around but doesn't know how it works in America.

> Yeah, it is still around, but it's not as bad as it used to be, I think. I know racism is still around, like I hear the N-word sometimes, even if the people are joking or whatever, but it is still around, but I just feel like there's no way to ever stop it.

Here she speaks from Bonilla-Silva's minimization of racism frame.

Melissa differed from her peers. She identified herself as white, then stated, "Well, mostly it means I probably live in America or a European country and speak English and have white colored skin." She continued, "I think a lot of people think being white is better, which I don't agree with, I don't agree with at all, like, if I had a choice I wouldn't be white." She admitted to being intrigued by the Asian race. Melissa claimed race makes a difference in people's lives:

> I think it makes a big difference sometimes, and other times some people might not care. I think race makes a big difference for maybe people who aren't thought of as higher, like people who aren't white maybe, or maybe people who are white it [isn't a big difference]. But I think... I think it makes a difference on who may like you, who you're friends with, where you go, what you do, maybe what your interests are; I think a lot of it has to do with that.

Melissa talked about not talking about race in her family:

> No, because I think some people in my family are kinda prejudiced too. Like they think the white race is like the good race or something like that. I just don't like to talk about it with my family because I don't agree with a lot.

She spoke of her father's prejudices as an example. Melissa is clearly in the disintegration status according to Helms' model; she has reflected on issues and the meaning of race. She also commented on racism in her school:

> Yeah, here in ____, there's a lot of them [racists] and I can't really say that I've done anything about it because, you know, I might say, "That's really not cool you said that", but nobody really listens. I don't know, a lot of it, some of it's on TV, but not that much. Like I think TV is trying to be diverse.

Melissa's awareness is heightened; she experiences white guilt, and does not want to be white because of it. All these indicators place her toward the end of the contact stage and closer to the disintegration level of racial identity development.

I Have No Racial Assumptions

The majority of the students were under the impression that they had no racial assumptions. Some spoke with certainty, and some were not sure what an assumption was. Once the term was defined, they were sure they had none. The pattern in the student responses was to follow their negative answer with examples of assumptions they held unawares. For example, Karen maintained she had no racial assumptions. "I don't know if I have really any assumptions, I don't know, I guess I don't really have any." She then went on to describe her thoughts when she saw a group of black kids:

> Depending on the way they're dressed, if they're all dressed in, like, their sports jerseys and their hats and big pants, it's like, "Oh, they're kind of ghetto," not

> necessarily ghetto meaning they're poor, just ghetto meaning they talk a lot of slang and like some of them are probably rappers because you'll hear them freestyle sometimes in the hall.

Karen defined racism as, "People being prejudiced, discriminatory against somebody who isn't like them, like a black person being discriminatory against like Asians or whites, or whites being discriminatory against blacks or Asians or Latinos." Karen asked me if she could use slang in the interview. She explained:

> Like some of [my] friends will say that all black people are Niggers, there's good ones and there's bad ones. Other people will say look at the Chinks, or whatever, Spicks for Mexicans, and I don't know, there's just a lot of racial slang like that. .... But I think Chinks and Niggers are basically the worst that you can say.

She is aware of a racial hierarchy. "Probably white is on top just because it's the majority…" and on the bottom, "I don't know, it probably is a minority group, just because people kind of look down on them, whoever is in the most poverty people." Karen's responses reveal her internalization of dominant cultural stereotypes and assumptions.

After much probing ST concluded that he didn't really have any racial assumptions. He defined racism as, "When you think your race is superior to others. When you put other races down because of that." He cited an example from school: "I guess racism in schools, if you have one bad encounter with someone, and you put the whole race down." ST believed that anybody from any race could do this. He elaborated on race:

> Well, I think race now isn't as big of a factor in determining what class they're in. Like I said, there's different ways, it's just the role that you want to have to work harder at something. 1 think a lot of people, white, black, Asian, they take what they [can] get. If they're born into an upper class they take upper class, if they're born in a middle class, they'll take what [they] get, and if they're born in a lower class they'll take what they have. I think you get the select few [of color] that actually know they can have better. … Lower class [code word for color], they take as much as they can for free, they'll take their shelter, they'll take stuff, they'll take from friends, but they won't work harder to work their way up.

ST claimed he got his ideas on race from his dad and from television. Even as he asserted he had no assumptions, ST's discourse is full of them. He spoke from Bonilla-Silva's cultural racism frame.

Concerning assumptions about race Ali had this to say:

> I don't know if I have assumptions, but if you see them [Asians] gawking at you, you think that they're talking about you, but necessarily they're not. They just might be looking. It doesn't mean that they're talking. …Down town is mostly colored people, I think we'd get put down there. People would be like, "Oh, my God", I don't know if they'd start fights or what it seems like. I've been downtown to a person's house, in a colored community. It was kinda scary, I don't know why 'cause it's hard to say.

She has internalized racial stereotypes, has no idea of her own assumptions, and would consider herself prejudice-free.

Abby asserted that she had no racial assumptions but said, "I think its people who are all the same, like, race, they hang out. Sometimes they don't want people, like [not] their color, or their background into their little groups." Abby displayed Bonilla-Silva's naturalization frame here. She spoke about her friends:

> Well, some of my friends might see like a group of black women, all they think is like "ghetto". You know, dangerous people, and that makes me mad. I think when they think of black people they think of, like, fights and gangs and that kind of stuff. [Asian people] Basically the same thing, like, I don't know, like, I see a lot of, like, groups hanging around school and they don't look bad to me, but I hear stuff about how they have their certain gangs and how they go and, like, do stuff to people.

Abby defined racism as when "people treat people just because of their color. Treating poorly, treated unfair, how they shouldn't be treated." She asserted that racism still happens in America but she could not think of an example. Abby is unaware of what she has internalized.

Theo didn't think he had any racial assumptions, but was very aware of the racial hierarchy in America: "I guess the white people [on top]. Probably Asians, [next] because they don't have, like, dark skin." On the bottom, he stated, were "probably black people or Mexican people." These are the kinds of things he heard as an immigrant. He summed it up: "Well, in general, like, everybody [says] black people are bad, white people are good. Mexicans, I don't know, like, everybody says things that are bad [about them]."

What is more salient than race for Theo is being Russian. "Like, sometimes people in, I don't know, they make comments, like everybody assumes that, like, all the

immigrants are on welfare and stuff." He spoke of his friend getting his car beat up by "some Americans" because he's Russian. "I guess because they think that we take their jobs and stuff, all the immigrants come by and take their job." Theo spoke of being angry with "Americans" who make stupid comments or put-downs about Russians.

Theo was unaware that he conflated "white" with American; he distinguished every other people of color group, but when he meant white, he said "American" throughout the interview. It is evident that in the five plus years he has been in the U.S., he has been socialized to not notice whiteness, and been socialized into the racial status quo. His status as an immigrant might provide an opening to shift his thinking as he has some shared experiences of being targeted for discrimination.

Unlike their peers, Kathy and Melissa had no trouble naming and owning their racial assumptions. Kathy stated some of hers:

> Truthfully, sometimes when I think of African American, I sometimes think of, you know, like the baggy pants, like, you know, "whaddup", that kind of thing. When I think of Chinese people, I think of short people. I don't know, I mean just the regular stereotypes of everyone, or not everyone, but that some people have of people who just get rubbed off on me; I think I have them.

Kathy's awareness of race here is awareness of the "other", not her own, which is a bit different than what Melissa shared. Melissa articulated some of her racial assumptions:

> Well, there's a lot of stereotypes, I know, and a lot of people just assume, like, if you're Asian, you're going to have cool hair or something like that, you're short, and, like, if you're African American, you can dance and you can play basketball.

> Things like that. I think some of them are just dumb, like, because it's just not true - like not all white people can speak English.

She was "not proud" of holding stereotypes and recognized the untruthfulness in many of them. Melissa's awareness of racial assumptions is consistent with moving out of the contact status in her identity development.

Teaching and Learning

The students had a wide range of responses about the use of a simulation and what was learned from the simulation. Evaluations of the method were generally positive. Though some students did not like their treatment during the simulation, they liked very much the hands-on style of learning. Two students felt they learned nothing from the simulation. Some students thought the simulation reinforced earlier lessons or knowledge they already knew. A few students gained new insights and two mentioned changing behavior as a result of the simulation. A few students made connections to real life. The themes surfaced on this topic were: fun and positive, the lower class learned the most, transformative possibilities, crossing the ethical line in small ways, didn't really learn anything, feeling from another's perspective, seeing from another perspective.

Fun and Positive

For the most part, the students thought the use of a simulation, as a teaching method, was positive; some expressed this as positive feelings, others as words. Many students thought the simulation was fun. Karen, a member of the upper class, was one with this evaluation: "I thought it was a fun simulation; it was a cool learning process. And we got to eat so that's always cool." ST was of the same opinion, "Like me being in middle class, I got to sit down and I got my cookie so it was more fun of a simulation, but

with the lower class they probably had a rougher time standing up the whole time and having their names made fun of." Abby, also a member of the middle class, used the word fun as she evaluated the simulation: "I liked it; I thought it was good, it taught people a lot of lessons. It was fun too, like I got a lot from it, I thought it was really cool, yeah."

None of the students in the lower class used the word "fun" to evaluate their experience but they said positive things. Theo thought it was all right to teach this way "because if, like, people just tell you about this stuff you wouldn't, like, [understand]; now you know what it feels like to deal with this stuff everyday." He thought that made the whole experience worthwhile. Kathy also spent her time in the simulation in the lower class and shared her thoughts: "I think it was a good teaching method, because it really made us, like, understand what was going on, but at the same time, like, they were kind of having a discussion in class about how the lower class felt like."

The aspect of taking another's perspective was the most appealing piece to these students. Jess, also a lower class member, was of this mindset:

> Yeah, I think, yeah, I think it was a good simulation because, I mean, usually you just don't get treated like that, so once you kind of realize, "Oh, well, I'm being treated like all the other people," and then [you] just kind of realize, "It's not a cool way to be treated."

Jess felt learning through perspective taking would make him less likely to mistreat someone, more so than reading a book or hearing a lecture. He endorsed the method: "Yeah, definitely, I like hands on things."

The Lower Class Learned the Most

The students unanimously thought those in the lower class learned the most. Jess explained why he thought this: "Because they were being discriminated [against] and they weren't allowed to, you know, do anything basically, and we didn't get any of the, like, things like chairs and stuff that the upper class and middle class got." Abby of the upper class concurred with his thinking here and she stated, "Because they [student peers] never really get treated like that and [they] realized how it feels to get treated the way that [blacks, the poor] get treated." She thought the way to improve the simulation would be "to have everyone get a chance to be treated like that."

Melissa also spoke about the effectiveness of the method:

> I think it's really effective, because a lot of people could get mad, like people in the lower class got mad, and so I think it's more effective than just sitting down. Because it shows emotions, like it shows how they really felt and, like, gave them a piece of what it's really like.

That "piece of what it's really like" was an appealing aspect for Karen, too. "Right, I've never been to the projects or the ghetto or whatever you want to call that, I've never been down there, I've been down to the cities, but not that part of the city, so I've never seen it first hand." A simulation is not "first hand" experience, but it may be as close as some of these students get to poverty or wealth or whatever context is being simulated. The aspects of effectiveness and the opportunity to get close to "real" experience made the method valuable to students.

Transformative Possibilities

Both critical pedagogues and experiential pedagogues want to be transformative in their teaching. Two of the students saw transformative possibilities in the simulation. Karen said what was right about this method:

> I think it's all right, because, say somebody was put in the lower class in the simulation, and they are racist, or they just don't care. Then they kind of see first hand how it is and it's probably really worse for the people who live like that because they do that every day and this is just during an hour class. And so maybe they just start to realize, "Oh, maybe I should do something about this, because I wouldn't want to be treated this way, I don't want to be treated this way, maybe I should do something so that they don't get treated this way", so I think it could help like that.

Jess commented on the harsh treatment meted out by the teachers in their roles during the simulation:

> Well, I don't know if it needs to be done, I, you know, I'd say, you know some kids are just totally out of line and stuff, and like, the simulation, I think we needed that just to kind of totally realize that that's what's going on.

Both these students see how the simulation can be a catalyst for change/transformation.

Crossing the Ethical Line in Small Ways

Three students - Ali, Abby, and Theo - thought teachers crossed a boundary in their execution of the simulation. The infractions were not major for any of these students but their response is worth nothing. For Ali, the perspective presented in the simulation

was troublesome. When asked what she thought of the teaching method, Ali said, "It's good, but it just seemed like it was based on colored people too much. It doesn't seem like it was based on anybody else but colored people. I think it should have been changed a little bit in that sense. Other than that it was good." Being based on "colored people too much" is problematic for Ali. The perspective/voice the simulation brought to the classroom is what validated and elated Brittany and Shaquira, Ali's African American peers; that same perspective/voice is disproportionate and disquieting for Ali. In this instance, the student's race and racial identity development, or lack of it, is a factor in how they perceive the simulation.

Abby did not like how the lower class was treated during the simulation. She was "OK" with how the upper class was treated and with yelling at the lower class "but pulling their hair and, like, freaking out on them, I thought that was mean." Most of the students thought that what happened to the lower class was "mean". Abby did not elaborate here so it is difficult to ascertain if her dislike goes beyond the bounds of the simulation. During the simulation teachers, in their roles as police or authorities, harassed the lower class. No hair pulling occurred; Abby interpreted holding someone in place as hair pulling. When asked if teachers crossed the line, Abby replied, "A little bit, I think. I thought it was OK though. Overall, it was not like too bad though." One of the ethical issues with using simulations is the role-playing that accompanies them. Some students have difficulty separating the teacher from the role they play in the simulation, or with understanding the role as exactly that, a role. Usually during the debriefing session these kinds of issues surface and are dealt with, but in this case that did not happen. What is clear is that it was not a major issue for Abby.

Theo also voiced his point of discontent, two points actually; his first was a desire for a warning about what was to come in the simulation. Even though students were told that they would be participating in a simulation, many had no clear idea what would happen. Theo's second point of contention was this: "Well, I kind of think you overdid it on the shouting." This is a commonly held perception by those in the lower class; no one liked being oppressed.

Didn't Really Learn Anything

Ali and ST said they didn't really learn anything from the simulation. ST stated he already knew "like, how the lower class got treated a lot different than the upper class. That was really reinforced." As far as lessons connected to the issue of race, ST thought that the teachers wanted students to understand "how racism exists in class. If you're a minority, you're put into a lower class automatically. You can work your way up, but it's a lot harder to do that." He felt this was true in society, but "there is a lot of opportunity in this country. There's loans and different things you can get if you can't afford college. You are a minority, and you have a goal for a career. It's easier to do that than in the simulation. That's what I think." ST's resistance here is voiced in the frame of abstract liberalism. His assertion about access to loans and opportunities does not take into account the multiple institutionalized ways people of color are prevented from accessing those opportunities. ST's abstract utilization of the idea of "equal opportunity" is a mask for his color-blind racism that manifests itself as resistance to what was being taught (Bonilla-Silva, 2010b, p. 28).

Ali echoed ST's doubts on whether the simulation reflected real life. She questioned the overall treatment of the lower class: "It's not necessarily colored or

Caucasians or Asians or anything. It can be anybody" who gets discriminated against. Ali thought the simulation "needed to be changed a little bit." She did not believe the majority of garbage dumps in major cities are built in poor communities of color, or that urban spaces keep shrinking. Ali stated, "I didn't know if that was normal for them [lower class] to keep going down hill like that. It seemed like the upper class kept going up. I mean, yeah, they probably take things from the lower class, but I don't think it's that bad in reality." Ali could not entertain the notion that what the exercise simulated could possibly be true. Her denial of a different perspective helps to maintain her position. Here she uses the minimization of racism frame to justify not changing her views; this, too, is resistance.

Feeling From Another's Perspective

Jess, Kathy, and Theo all spoke about learning how others felt. Theo said, "Well, I guess I kind of knew all this stuff, you know. It just made you feel, like, what different people feel." In sharing with her mother Kathy said this:

> They [the teachers] want to show us how minorities felt and how racism is and how it feels to be treated like crap, you know, and prejudice against them. Yeah, I did understand it felt like crap, but I didn't understand it, just like nobody would understand it if they weren't a minority and stuff like that, so I did understand it, yeah.

The learning went from being cognitive to being affective. Jess saw it as a better chance to empathize with "the real world."

The other key lesson Jess took from the simulation was "that people of other races are discriminated more than you know, by the people that are, I guess you could say

white. And they all kind of look down on the people of the lower class and stuff." He thought that people in the suburbs expressed more racism than people in the cities. This, too, was a connection he made from the simulation to his reality. Both Melissa and Abby made similar statements. Abby stated "that a lot of people, they just get treated differently because of their color. Like, I know I never was racist, like, I'd make jokes and stuff, then I realized after, that it was wrong, that[s] how it really affects other people." She reiterated her takeaway lesson was to not make jokes anymore. Melissa said what she learned:

> Well, the thing that stuck out the most to me was about how horrible some people are really treated. Like, I knew they were treated badly, but I never knew totally that extreme. Like, I knew back in the 1920s and stuff like that, but I had never really realized that today and I'm sure it goes on a lot today still. So that's one thing that I learned.

Melissa had the same "ah ha" about class: "I just never realized that and I never put it in perspective how, like, one group was really high up and they wanted to kick the [lower group] out. I never really realized that." Melissa thought many of her peers were more confused than anything else at the end of the simulation. Karen named things she would consider doing differently:

> Volunteering I think, like you can volunteer at the soup kitchens and that helps do something. It doesn't really help them get out [of] poverty, but it helps to get them fed or sheltered or whatever and things [at] school, just like the racist comments and everything, just kind of step in, be like, "Hey, you shouldn't say that because that's not nice; how'd you like it if somebody…"

The last new insight she gained was "that we should be open-minded more towards the racism issues … I guess with friends, like, not only have the same race friends, and just kind of expand your viewpoints and incorporate other people into your group because you might be able to learn from them, too." The simulation becomes transformative if these students follow through with the actions they outlined. The transformations described here lack the depth of many articulated by the white college students. The lead facilitator for debriefing the simulation identified herself as an experiential pedagogue, not a critical pedagogue; this shows up in the lessons students articulated.

Seeing From Another's Perspective

These students had not reflected on the concept of voice and perspective in the classroom. Abby stated, "Normally you get to speak up if you have something to say." All of them acknowledged that the teacher had a voice in the classroom. ST observed, "You know, I don't feel like there's any, like, teachers here who really teach a white perspective all in all, because right now we're doing an English [unit] you know, doing [multicultural] case studies and stuff, and I don't know... people, like teachers here, think of students as people, not like.... They don't care about their color." ST's lack of consciousness about race and unreflected stance on voice explain his comments.

The students thought the simulation brought in many voices but primarily the voices of people of color. What struck many students was how some voices did not get heard. Karen noted, "The ones in the lower class and they didn't get heard." Kathy stated it another way, "I think ours got heard, but it wasn't listened to." She acknowledged the noise her group made, without impacting their oppressive treatment. ST spoke about perspective, too: "You are getting a white person's perspective from a lower class, which

I think doesn't happen as much." Karen thought the simulation brought in "everybody's perspective":

> Because it kind of brought in everybody's viewpoint, because it brought in the lower class - if you were in the lower class, you got that viewpoint from the minority or whoever's in poverty - their viewpoints of them being, like, kicked and pushed down and yelled at, and then middle class is just the same as middle class, like the same viewpoint that I would express, and then the higher class was what the wealthy people would express. So I think it was a mix of all of them actually.

Melissa was clear about whose perspective the simulation sought to reveal: "I think it was not really the white perspective, I think it was more the other races' perspective, like the black perspective or the Native American perspective." She highly valued having the opportunity to see from another perspective. "Yeah, I think it is really important because it makes people see that not everything is how they see it. Like it broadens everything for them. Like a lot of people are so naive and they only see it from their point of view." Karen concurred with her on this: "Because you don't usually necessarily see that. Like, I only see my viewpoint and with that [simulation] I got to see from a different spot in the class or whatever you want to say."

Conclusion

Eight white high school students going through the same *Other People's Power* simulation as four students of color did not have the same experience. What was liberating, inspiring, and transformative for students of color was confusing, immobilizing, and challenging for white students. Once again key questions guided the

exploration in this chapter: What happens for white students in a simulation on unlearning racism? What role does race play in the students' ability to un-learn racism? What concerns arise and how are they expressed for this student group? The data suggests answers and now allows for comparison between the two groups.

It turns out that quite a bit happens for white students in a simulation on unlearning racism. The data show that these white high school students also loved the active hands-on learning. They engaged wholeheartedly in the simulation. The white high school students were confused by the "big picture" presented by the simulation, and often did not "get it". Some were still puzzled days later when interviewed. These students lacked the lens to see the systems at work in the simulation, and were often not open to exploring new concepts and seeing from another's perspective. Resistance was another hallmark of this group; they were resistant to ideas and perspectives put forth, and demonstrated this resistance by casting doubt on what the simulation revealed, and discounting the voices/testimonials of the students of color. Conversely, these students had many "ah-ha" moments about the self and the learning content. Some of the students appreciated the perspective the simulation brought.

The white students became stuck in their feelings. This was expressed as, "We got treated like crap". They were unable to get past their feelings. Some commented that they had a crappy day because of the morning simulation. They were unable to process cognitively because a feelings barrier blocked their ability to reason. This was a concern expressed through the affective domain.

The data signal that the white high school students' own racial identity development influenced what they were able to learn or un-learn. The two students

moving out of the contact status exhibited the most openness to the simulation lessons. For white students in the contact status of identity development a simulation can be a catalyzing event that disequilibrates them and opens a possibility for dialogue around a white identity not attached only to oppression. Just as listening is important for students of color, it is also important for white students. Indeed it may be critical for this group, as they tend to emote more because the treatment may be experienced as traumatic for them. Their race marks the marginalized perspective as not theirs. These white students had little lived experience to lend a minority perspective credence, and therefore they had a harder time hearing it, accepting its validity, believing it. Educators must tend to this issue.

The data suggests that white high school students have their own set of needs to be dealt with in a simulation on unlearning racism. They need skillful facilitators in the debriefing process to help them process their feelings so they do not get stuck and have the learning blocked. Their own color-blind racism is the lens they filter their reality through, unknowingly; they need facilitators skilled in aiding them build new lenses and ways to rearticulate their identity. Perspective taking is the first and top level of learning for white students; if educators want to go deeper they must draw the dialogue towards critical issues, and do preparation before introducing a simulation into the class. The data say to expect resistance from white students to show itself in different ways, in feelings, in cognitive reasoning or arguments, in behaviors.

The students of color and the white high school students shared some commonalities: both groups loved the hands-on learning, had moments of enlightenment, and their learning was influenced by their racial identity development. Where they

differed is noteworthy. Students of color tend to get the big picture because they identify with the marginalized perspective being presented. They are often quick to figure out what's going on because it is their lived experience. In a simulation dealing with race, students of color have a head start on their white counterparts because, generally speaking, they are conscious of race; our racialized society contributes to this factor. Students of color generally do not become stuck in the feelings because they are feelings common to the marginalized experience, and are therefore not new or strange for them. White students must deal with color-blind racism; the flip side for students of color is internalized oppression; one socialization process, two different psychological phenomenon. I think students put up resistance out of fear. The white college students responded differently on many of these measures; they more closely resemble the students of color than the white high school students. What is different for them as they go through a simulation on unlearning racism? In the next chapter I seek to discover what the data reveal for their group.

Chapter Seven

The Experience of the White College Students

In this chapter I will continue the analysis of the interviews of the white students who participated in this study. Seven white college students - Natalie, Hannah, Kim, Lacey, Bella, Miranda, and Eddie - all participated in the *Squat No More* simulation (see methodology chapter). Multiple readings of the data revealed that the experience of the college students was quite different than that of the high school students. Six of the seven college students were seniors. This put them at a more advanced cognitive developmental stage than the high school sophomores. Six of the seven students had experienced multiple simulations before; five had participated in three to five simulations dealing with issues of race that I had facilitated. These students were more open to learning because they had previously encountered this teaching method. The teacher in this case was Dillon, who espoused critical pedagogy, as opposed to Tandy, an experiential pedagogue. Again I will explore what happens in a simulation for this particular student group. As I did with the other students, I will focus on their racial identity and how it impacted their response to a simulation on unlearning racism. The data is organized as per the other student groups: five major topics with themes subsumed under them. The themes that surfaced for the college group closely mirrored the themes of the students of color. The table here outlines the topics and themes. The conclusion will compare the findings of this chapter with the findings of the other student groups.

Table 6. White College Students Topics and Themes
What happened
Almost the same story *Making meaning, drawing parallels*
Feelings
Frustration plus *Overwhelmed*
Racial Identity/Meaning of Race
Race/white consciousness *"I don't like being white"* *White privilege* *Racism is systemic*
Teaching/Learning
It's powerful *Real life feelings* *Ethics: "I thought it was within bounds"* *Broad world issues* *Listening* *Insights about myself* *Changes I want to make*
Power/Politics

"Teaching is political"

"It's still saying what we want you to think"

What Happened

As a group the college students could easily recite the events that happened during the simulation. There was uniformity to their recitations, unlike the high school crowd who focused on what happened to them personally. The college students moved quickly to analysis so even in the "telling the story" phase they were making meaning out of it. Two themes emerged: almost the same story and making meaning, drawing parallels. The college students meaning making differed from the students of color because of their ability to quickly see the bigger picture. One group was "seeing it" while the other group was "seeing it" and pulling it apart.

Almost the Same Story

As the college students retold the story of what happened in the *Squat No More* simulation, there was a consistency to their tale. All of the college students were aware of most of what took place in the room. They told almost the same story. Eddie gave his recitation:

> We were in the hall, as a class, and the instructor for the day, you, came around and placed either colored dots or white dots on people's forehead. When we got into the classroom we spread out and you instructed the people who had colored dots to go and be in the small group with [Prof.]. And the people with the white dots you told to just stand there and you handed out scarves—bandanas. At that time, you also put a colored dot, I think, on two people's foreheads. So they had

> one white and **[**one**]** colored dot, and we put the bandanas over our eyes so we couldn't see and you instructed the people who owned the white dots to squat down and grab their ankles, and the people with two dots on their forehead could remove the bandana but they couldn't talk unless they were spoken to from the small group—the colored dots, and they couldn't move unless the higher group told them to. And we, the people grabbing their ankles, squatting, couldn't move unless they were told to or they got sprayed in the face, whenever it was needed or whenever they were being disruptive to the class. And the people with the color dots had some type of lecture going on and they were separated from us and they wouldn't listen to us or give us any food.

Lacey included a few more details as she related much the same story:

> There was a group who was being educated by the Professor about reconciliation and etc. and the rest of the group was divided and they all had different colored dots on their forehead. [Those] with all white dots on their foreheads, they were blind-folded and told to squat down and hold their ankle and then we and two others had two dots on our forehead and stood up and didn't have [to squat down] but we couldn't move unless the people who were being educated told us we could move and talk, no move. Basically, anyone who was squatting down kind of got [squirted] in the face with a lot of [water] if they talked or moved or anything like that. The people who were in the classroom all got to eat a bunch of food and sit in comfortable chairs and [be] heard and listened to [unlike] anyone in the rest of the group when they were talking and trying to get their attention. Some of

> them got thrown out of the room for talking too much, someone who was squatting down.

Kim experienced being thrown out of the room and related that experience: "**I** was one of the people with the dots on the forehead, that was the white dots, which meant that I got to squat on the floor and hold my ankles and I ended up being dragged out of the room for starting rebellious talk." Even with that singular event happening to her, Kim told much the same story as the others:

> What happened is we all started off in the room standing together and then the instructor told us that depending upon the dots we had on our foreheads that we were going in different areas of the room. Some people were sitting up and some were standing and the majority of us were squatting and we were told to hold our ankles and we had blindfolds that we were told to fold and put over our eyes, and then we were told there were three rules we had to follow – one of them was don't cheat, and I can't remember what the other two were…. Don't move, and … something along that like… the status quo, maintain the status quo. And so then we sat there and squatted with our hands on our ankles while the people in the chairs got a lesson on reconciliation and got served cheese and crackers and Oreos. And I was hungry because I didn't have lunch.

For the white college students the events of what took place were just the starting place to relate what happened in the simulation. They all shared that they had talked with roommates, girlfriends, and parents about the simulation. Telling the tale was like laying the foundation so people would understand what followed. The students of color were

excited about what happened, but the white college students were excited about the meaning of what happened.

Making Meaning, Drawing Parallels

Even in retelling what happened, some students immediately went into relating it to the real world; they starting pulling the simulation apart and making meaning of it. Some students quickly drew parallels to real life in attempts to understand any insights to be gained. Miranda was one such student as she recited what happened:

> It seems to me that the different groups of people who were assigned different roles, they took on their roles much more seriously than I guess I expected, and so we all went into taking on our own roles. I thought that was really interesting because it really made me reflect on how we take on our roles in society as a whole and how we're given those images that we should live up to and we take them very seriously. I really felt like people assumed the roles that they felt they should be playing and did not try to break out of them in any way.

Miranda speculated on why people assumed roles:

> A few reasons; probably to some degree [some], I'm sure, fear what's going to happen if I break through the roles, not wanting to break the status quo; everyone else is going along with it so I will, too; sort of the group think idea, not wanting to disrespect some of the authority figures. The people who were sitting at desks didn't want to stop Professor __ in the middle of his speech and be rude. Yes. It really was reflective [of real society].

Bella, like Miranda, also immediately made connections to real life and spoke of what happened in those terms:

> It's related to class, towards a lower class that was sitting on the floor. They couldn't talk, they couldn't see, and to me a little bit uncomfortable position to be at because they didn't know what was going on with this kind of stuff. And then there was also middle class person[s] and they were able to stand up but they couldn't move, but they can see and talk pretty much, sometimes, so they could see what's going on. Then there was upper class person[s] at the front of the classroom, which was the least hungry people, and their backs were towards the lower classes and they were trying to focus on going through [the] lecture … I was the person who was serving them food in the front of the classroom. So I was standing by them, but I was looking out at the classroom so 1 could see the whole thing right out in front of me. [I]t put such an evidence of life played out and you can see yourself in this picture like you see yourself in the world but you don't look at yourself critically like, as we did. So when you see it in front of you, just exactly as it is in society, it's overwhelming.

Almost without being asked Bella related what happened to race: "If it was related to race. The smaller number in front would be white people; the people on the ground would be persons of color. I would say the people standing up to be economically successful, people of color or could be the lower class white people."

These students went into their own analysis even in the telling of what happened. Natalie told what happened this way:

> People with the one white dot and the one colored dot, they started but they also couldn't move until one of the members in the colored dot told them to move. And as the simulation was set up they were never going to actually tell them to

> move because they were sitting in a circle eating, drinking, and chatting, and their only instruction was to maintain the status quo. So you had three levels of different experiences that we debriefed and talked about, different ways that oppression works in our society.

This quick movement to analysis on the part of the students demonstrates how they were not stuck in the affective phase of the simulation but had shifted to the cognitive phase. Unlike their high school counterparts, who dwelled on their feelings and "had a bad day" and could not move past what actually happened to them in the simulation, the white college students, even feeling overwhelmed by it all, moved to the learning.

I would posit two reasons for this response by the college students: all but one had a history of doing anti-racism simulations so they knew to some degree what to expect, and knew that analysis would follow in the debriefing time. Second, the content of the class (Senior Seminar for Anthropology Studies) had prepared them for the content of the simulation. These two factors combined to set the stage for an open, receptive student response.

Feelings

The college students expressed a myriad of feelings. Their feelings related to what was actually happening to them at that moment, but also related to the implications of what it meant in real life. There was more complexity in the feelings expressed than was witnessed with the high school students. Two themes emerged here: *frustration plus*, and *overwhelmed.*

Frustration Plus

A common feeling shared by many was frustration. But it was rarely just frustration by itself; it was usually combined with other feelings such as confusion or shame. Sometimes students could not even name their frustration. Natalie shared her feelings:

> I felt frustrated. I felt confused and not sure what was supposed to be happening or what I was supposed to be doing. Whether there was some way to get out of this or not. 1 felt pain in my legs. I guess I felt also that it was a simulation and I sort of felt angry at you because [you] were talking kind of harshly to us and spraying us in the face [with water] and dragging other participants that were in our group out of the room and things like that.

Eddie expressed some of the same feelings:

> I didn't—I felt like I didn't really know what was going on until we talked about it afterwards. I was one of the people squatting down, holding their ankles, and I kept getting sprayed in the face. And whenever I tried to do something I would get sprayed in the face. I felt kind of lonely—because, this is what I said in class, I couldn't do anything with other people all by myself, all by myself. And even [saying], "Let's try to do this." But I stood up. I don't know if anybody else stood up, though. So it was like, I had that feeling of awkwardness and kind of like, "Am I doing this by myself?"

The feelings students expressed were real and even in the interview came across strongly.

Miranda had very strong feelings that in part were triggered by self-reflection:

> It was a simulation; you go into it with certain preconceived notions about, okay, I'm gonna be asked to do things. But I found myself feeling very ashamed, which is not what I expected initially, because as we were being treated very negatively, and, you know, people throwing food at us or being sprayed by people we couldn't see. I found myself feeling very small and ashamed that I didn't have the courage to stand up for what I knew I should be trying to do. There was a lot of discussion between some of the other people that were in the same situation. You know, like, we should do something; if we all get up at the same time they won't be able to do anything. Especially knowing that it was a simulation where nothing bad could really happen. I felt very odd that I couldn't do anything, that I was incapable of acting in that situation.

Her feelings of shame and being small relate directly to an inactive response to those in the room who rebelled, and to the same type of situation in the real world. Lacey echoed some of those feelings: "I felt very frustrated. I almost felt like it was a little too real and too close for comfort. Like there were no real answers and I couldn't do anything about what I was seeing and hearing."

Overwhelmed

There was much going on in the simulation and as students were caught up in the action, they tended to have many responses, a good portion of them emotional. They experienced the abundance of emotion as overwhelming. Bella saw the "realness" of the simulation; she searched for words to say what she felt:

> I guess the emotion was critical, the emotion…. So when you see it in front of you, just exactly as it is in society, it's overwhelming. Like, you feel all these

> emotions like activism, and like change[ing] the status quo, and everything. You can see it, how it could affect your life, the game in the classroom, but then it's so much more than that, and its hard, it's so huge.

Kim's feelings resounded with those of her peer: "Yeah, it was overwhelming to think about because it's so engrained and it's so hell, and it makes me feel powerless and hopeless but... you know?" These students were overwhelmed by their feelings in spite of their knowledge that the situations were not real. They were caught, almost unaware, by the depth of their own feelings.

Kim, one of the students who was dragged into the hall for trying to incite a rebellion amongst the white dotted group, talked about many feelings:

> People can usually help, so I thought, "So I can deal with this", but as it went on I found myself (it's funny, because I knew it was coming), but I still found myself getting upset even though I knew it was a simulation. So I ended up, I think, getting upset and embarrassed, and I think the reason I was upset was because I was embarrassed. I think I was just in a vulnerable position so I didn't know how I looked, like, I couldn't see anything, so it was just a very vulnerable feeling. And then I was being squirted in the face with water every time I tried to talk, so I felt like people could be laughing at me, but I don't know. I could just be looking very foolish, and so it was embarrassing that I was in that position.

Kim went on to express her annoyance with the privileged group:

> I always feel like they could have done something, that they're part of the culture [of the] simulation kind of thing, so in all the simulations, I've never been in that

> group [privileged group]. Yeah, so I always wonder, "Would I do something?", and yet do I in real life? So I don't know.

The feelings triggered by the simulation led to self-reflection and reflection on the larger issues in society, exactly what the teachers wanted from the activity.

Racial Identity/Meaning of Race

The white college students matched their high school counterparts in the level of discourse the topic of race generated. But unlike the high school students, these college students had no trouble talking about race. Once again I will seek to analyze their discourse on race in light of the simulation. The six seniors were clearly farther along in their racial identity development than the one sophomore, or the high school students, though they were not uniformly in one place. Most of them used the metaphor of journey as they shared about their growth. The students spoke of the impact of family, classes, roommates, travel, and more, on their racial development. The simulation reinforced earlier lessons, gave new insights, and challenged them to action in the area of race. The themes that surfaced here were: race/white consciousness, I don't like being white, white privilege, and racism is systemic.

Part of my analysis will again draw on Helms' theory of white identity development. The second phase of Helms' two-phase theory is comprised of three statuses: pseudo-independent, immersion-emersion, and autonomy. The major task in this phase is building a non-racist or anti-racist white identity. The pseudo-independent status is characterized by a commitment to unlearn racism; an intellectual understanding of systemic/institutional racism; a growing awareness of whiteness' connection to power; a desire to identify with people of color who resist oppression; and continued feelings of

guilt and shame associated with whiteness (Helms, 1993; Tatum, 1999). This is the stage the college seniors appeared to be in, according to the comments they made.

The fifth status in Helms' model is immersion/emersion. This level is marked by a search for a positive white consciousness. This search is best accomplished by connecting with whites who have gone further on the journey. At this level people embrace an anti-racist identity and often experience isolation and marginalization from other whites (Tatum, 1999). The final status in Helms' model is autonomy. At this level a person understands and embraces their white identity. They are a public ally to people of color and work for social justice in the area of race (Helms, 1993). The six white college seniors fit in this second phase, though not in its higher stages.

Whiteness theorists do not speak of stages of white identity; instead, they stress the importance of deconstructing white racial hegemony. This means looking at whiteness as ideology, as privilege, as terrorism, as invisibility, as domination. The Reconstructionists camp posits that white subjects must rearticulate their white identity *after* they have struggled through deconstructing whiteness. Viewed from this perspective, these white college students were engaged in a project to deconstruct whiteness. The simulation is a catalyzing event that opens a space for dialogue about race and class.

Race/White Consciousness

The college seniors, much like their student of color counterparts, were aware of race/whiteness, and that it had meaning in their lives. They gave a variety of answers to the meaning race makes, but none of them conflated race with ethnicity. Miranda did not

give a straightforward answer to the question about how she identified racially; she prevaricated:

> I've been thinking more about the issues of identifying as a white person because some of the incidents we had here at ___ last year and trying to [be]come more aware of that. But in many ways I think I still don't think about my race first; I think about a lot of other things first. I know in some ways, kind of one of the differences between white people and people of color is that people of color have a lot more self conscious feelings and so I'm trying to think about it more because I think it's important that I don't identify myself first as white.

Miranda made sense of what it meant to not identify first as white:

> Well, it means that I very easily identify with the image that's given to me in a cultural sense, that I've had images of people like me shown to me for my entire life. I've been surrounded by people like me and that's, like, my social norm. In some ways it sort of makes me feel emotionally guilty, I think, because when I do look at these kinds of issues I feel overwhelming guilt that I was not put through what other people have been put through, and that I have never had to endure that, and in a way, I think I maybe would have been better for it had I gone through it because then I would be more aware.

Miranda spoke of growing up with a proud, strong German heritage in her family. She was not really conscious of her whiteness:

> My grandfather on my mother's side is very racist and so I feel like I was always exposed to his opinions and that made me conscious of it [whiteness] but not in the way that I think means being conscious of it. I think it just means that there's

> an "other" out there and we're not the other; it didn't necessarily reflect on my own race.

Just reciting this story made Miranda think about how she had been "taught" and made her

> realize that I have never been confronted about those issues and never been taught directly about those issues. I guess there's a lot of subliminal messages that you pick up along the way but I don't know if I can identify any of them.

In high school Miranda dated a South American, which caused her to seriously reflect on her whiteness. In college having a Korean American roommate, living abroad for one sophomore semester, and courses in the Anthropology Studies major led her to deep reflection about race issues. Her coursework and life experience helped her begin to deconstruct whiteness. She has a growing white consciousness. Miranda's comments locate her as pseudo-independent; she has journeyed further than the white high school students.

Eddie would also fit this pseudo-independent status. Eddie spoke about his identity:

> I would probably say Euro American because I don't really like the term white American. I really don't know what that means. Well, I know what it means and I don't like what it means. It means being someone who is, I feel, is oppressive, I feel like it's, it's a term used—it has a bad history. I don't like the term because it has a history of negativ[ity]. You know the book, *A Different Mirror*? Yeah, if it's like, I don't want to be a part of that. I would rather identify myself with, I guess, a European American or something like that because I feel, like, White

> American has this tendency to be arrogant and just umm. I just don't like because it's like "white ", all that does is describe yourself but that doesn't describe anything about who you are.

There was pain in his voice as he spoke about his identity. He is clearly struggling to see "whiteness" in a positive light, something more than oppressor and victimizer.

> I can't get away from being a *"White* person" quote, unquote. You know, I just can't do it. So when someone describes me they may describe me as a White American but I don't want to describe myself [that way].

Eddie said he came to this consciousness, "I think, last spring in your class. I just didn't want to be classified as someone like that. Because I don't think of myself as someone who thinks like that any more." The Neo-abolitionist perspective has resonance with Eddie's position. If whiteness is only oppressive and has nothing worth redeeming, then to abolish that identity makes sense. Ignatiev (1996) would argue that Eddie has become a race trader, one who abandons "whiteness." But the Neo-abolitionist position leaves ambiguous what identity Eddie has assumed instead.

Bella would also fit the pseudo-independent status because she identified herself as European American and reflected on the meaning of that. Bella shared a story of being with a diverse group a month before and being given the task of breaking into like, or similar, groups. Each group was to find three ways they looked alike and three cultural practices they shared. All her white group could do

> was to say we don't do that, we don't do that, we don't do that. I feel like European Americans are people who don't have special practices or whatever. I'm in the majority group; I'm in the dominant group then. I have to figure out

> how I'm different; I just know that I am different so then, that really bothered me. I was on this quest to figure out what are some honorable practices that European Americans have that I can hold on to and be proud of and that I cannot despise.

Her comments here are indicative of someone ready to immerse herself into a search for a positive white identity. She was on a journey to learn to love "whiteness," not despise it.

Bella is also very conscious of her whiteness; she plans to work in a diverse community after graduation.

> I'm really scared of not respecting people enough, not understanding people enough. Yeah, I guess, it's a real fear. I don't want to do it. I wish for my effectiveness sometimes in the community of color that I was of color. But also I know the privileges I have and the responsibility that I carry with it.

Her desires to be with people of color and work for justice are markers of identity growth.

Lacey called herself "a work in progress" as far as her racial identity was concerned. In talking about the difference race made in her life Lacey confessed the following: "Right now, it makes the difference that I'm trying, much harder, to realize where I am and admit it. Like, I don't know if a year ago I would have admitted these things—these answers, like the white privilege." Lacey spoke about her journey:

> I think that a lot of white people don't care. I think there was a time in my life when I didn't care or didn't know this or notice, and that might be just because of my background, small town, but there was adversity there, too. I think, especially when thinking about the simulation that we did, like you don't have to see it if you don't want to and you can live in the suburbs.

Lacey is aware that she notices race all the time.

> I have never felt more aware of my color as when I was there [Kenya] and I think bringing it back here it's just so there, all the time, and I never would have realized that had I not been on the opposite [end] of the spectrum. Everything comes back to race. No matter what the situation is, I am very aware that you are Black and I am White.

Natalie, another white college student, identified herself as a white person.

> It means, I guess, European descent. I think for me personally it almost seems a little bit that I wish that I wasn't just white; it seems that everyone else has an ethnicity and being white is not an ethnicity; it seems more of a classification than really an ethnicity.

A wistfulness came through Natalie's voice here and as she spoke about the difference being white made in her life:

> It makes a lot of difference that I'm white because [of] the white privilege that exists in our society. I think that being white carries a lot of silent benefits with it, some of which I'm probably aware [of] and many of which I'm not, just because if I suddenly look up and [was] not white one day, I would probably become very aware of things I was given or ways in which people identified with me and understood just little things.

Natalie's response of discontent with whiteness is noteworthy, but not enough data to locate her in one status.

Kim was the one student whose overall race information situated her in the second phase of having a pseudo-independent status in her racial identity development.

She, too, identified as white, and discussed white privilege as part of the meaning of being white. She reflected that her peers did not share her perspective.

> I'm a T.A. [Teaching Assistant] for Anthropology and I read papers where people talk about the factors that influence them, and whites almost never say the way they see the world, and they almost never talk about class or race or even gender, and yet those are probably the strongest factors that shape the way we've been raised to react to see the world.

Kim learned she was white from an African American classmate in second grade. Her Irish and Norwegian roots have no meaning in her life; her family never talked about race. Kim declared this about her own growth on the journey:

> I would have said I really have no ethnicity, but I think as I started to meet people and take classes and break outside of that little locked world, that I really see how "whiteness" has shaped me and has influenced me, and yeah.

I Don't Like Being White

When white students first learned about the history of injustices whites have perpetrated on almost every other people group, they often developed negative feelings about being white. Learning the history is often done in conjunction with developing a sense of belonging to a collective. These two factors, when combined, make membership in the race called "white", an uncomfortable place for a time. Four of the students expressed sentiments around hating whiteness. In responding to what she found disturbing in the simulation, Hannah said the following:

> I've felt at times, "Oh, my gosh, I hate being white" because there's so much negativity that has been brought to our attention and that I would be somewhat,

> you know, we talked about white privilege and white superiority, but that is very much in our history. You can't put that upon an individual person who didn't [perpetrate?] those events, and even though, I just think there's a misrepresentation and misbalance within our Caucasian culture.

Hannah's comments sound resistant to what she is learning but on some level she is taking it in or it would not bother her.

Natalie made this remark while talking about assumptions: "Some times it can feel harsh to be white, I'm sorry I'm white, and I'm responsible for everything bad that's ever happened in the world. …" This statement reveals that Natalie has not experienced whiteness as a source of pride; to move in this direction is the next phase of her journey.

Eddie, too, has experienced whiteness in only negative ways. He earlier expressed his dislike of the term "white": "It means being someone who is, I feel, is oppressive, I feel like it's, it's a term used—it has a bad history. I don't like the term because it has a history of negativ[ity]." Eddie maintained he no longer thinks about race as he did in his past so he does not want to be classified as "white"; he prefers to be called "Euro American".

At the close of her interview Lacey added an unsolicited comment.

> I am still trying to grow and confront; confront what I'm not willing to admit all the time and come to be OK with being white. And not having experienced what people go through in this country who are not white; and not feeling bad that I do have privileges, or maybe I should feel bad about that, I'm not sure.

She is definitely ambivalent about being white. Her sense of being "a work in progress" would hold true in this part of her life.

Niehuis (2005) has commented on teaching white students about oppression and structural inequality. She has argued that learning about white privilege "is very difficult and can lead to a variety of reactions, ranging from denial, resistance, and defensiveness to feelings of guilt, anger, hostility, and outrage" (Niehuis, 2005). These students have affirmed what Niehuis said. During the third and fourth statuses of white identity - reintegration, and pseudo-independence - white people pass through a phase where they hate being white. Tatum (1999) predicted that investing time in discovering their ethnic roots and working for social justice can bring whites through this phase. Eddie, Natalie, and Lacey fit the criteria for belonging in these status levels. They are seeking to build a positive white identity.

White Privilege

The concept of white privilege as McIntosh (2002) defined it is "unrecognized and unearned advantages" that whites can count on cashing in on daily" (p. 97). The near invisibility of these advantages is due to white normativity. Making white privilege visible is a learning outcome of Dillon's Anthropology course and a secondary outcome of the simulation. Leonardo (2004) has argued that "a critical look at white privilege, or the analysis of white hegemony, must be complemented by an equally rigorous examination of white supremacy, or the analysis of white domination" (Leonardo, 2004). The *Squat No More* simulation could teach these goals. Five of the students spoke about white privilege in ways that demonstrated comprehension of the concept.

In stating how she racially identified, Lacey said what it meant to be Caucasian: "What I think it means is that I have certain privileges. I think it means that—I don't

want to admit that's probably how it is -- that I automatically have some privileges." She cited some examples:

> The thing that came into my mind—I don't have to be worried about being pulled over by a cop because of my race. I think that from the general public there might be a whole lot less stereotypes about me. I guess, too, that I would blend in more in the situations that I am in. I blend in more.

Eddie talked about white privilege by citing the difference race has made in his life:

> Well, I probably won't get pulled over by a police officer when I'm with some of my friends in a nice car because I'm white. When maybe a person, a Latino person or an African American, might get pulled over, and they do. I'll be treated different in stores. People will treat me more like a customer because they might say, "He is a white person, he has money, and this and this and this." They are treating me different. They are not going to follow you around with this stereotype and presupposition that you might steal something 'cause that's a stereotype of people who aren't white. The list goes on, you know.

His response here shows a clear understanding of white privilege.

Miranda also spoke about white privilege in stating the difference race made in her life: "I know that my racial identity and how people see me has definitely given me an advantage in many ways." She expounded on that point: "Just that I've never had to be self conscious of it [her whiteness] and never felt like it was a burden in any way and being free of that. I guess I feel like it's a very wonderful gift."

Natalie did not characterize white privilege as a gift; rather, she spoke of "silent benefits":

> I think that being white carries a lot of silent benefits with it, some of which I'm probably aware and many of which I'm not.... Like when I want to get my haircut I can easily find someone who knows how to cut my hair; people on TV look like me; everybody speaks the kind of English that I speak; you know, just visually.

Kim spoke of the tension of living with white privilege:

> It means that I have a lot of safety in society because it's white privileged and those kinds of terms. I can go most places and be fairly assured that I'm going to be treated well. I mean there's other gender issues, I guess... there's just benefits [from] society with being white but at the same time I have to deal with that, that I unfairly have these advantages, and so it's like this dual existence almost like society privileged [me] and yet knowing it is wrong, [wrong] that a certain group of people are privileged just because, with nothing that any of us did, the way that we came into this world, we're automatically - one group's privileged and one group's not, and that's wrong.

The impact white privilege has had on these students varies from guilt to motivation to change. Students could see white privilege in the simulation. The pattern itself, the prevalence of these students seeing white privilege, is indicative of the higher status levels of racial identity they have attained.

Racism Is Systemic

The majority of the students spoke about racism as systemic and/or institutionalized. Bonilla-Silva (2010b) explained, "Whereas for most whites racism is prejudice, for most people of color racism is systemic or institutionalized" (p. 8). This means racism is embedded in the social, economic, and political systems and institutions

and even the ideologies that permeate our lives. This is a critical understanding of racism based on an analysis from the perspective of the marginalized in society. The simulation sought to demonstrate some aspects of systemic racism. The student's discourse on racism fit this analysis.

Miranda spoke about how racism works:

> I think it's a process of teaching people, conditioning them to become desensitized to all this anger and hatred and to take it as the norm. I think it takes a lot of power by a very small group of people to make it keep working. Not just in America but in the world.

Miranda told a story as an example of how racism works in the world:

> I was watching *Dumbo* a few weeks ago with some kids that I baby-sit for and there's a part in there where they have these black crows and I hadn't watched it in a very long time and I was, like, that is incredibly racist, and I'm watching it with these little kids and I'm thinking what do I say to them to show them that this is not right? It's a harmless movie in many respects but at the same time it's very deeply biased, and those images would probably stick with those kids for a long time without really knowing it or processing it. So it really had me sitting there thinking I need to say something to these children, to let them know that it's not right, but it was one of these moments, and I watched that movie all the time as a kid and never realized.

She relates an excellent example of racism in the system of the media. The simulation gave her insights about racism; it testified to the dehumanization of people, and "it was

saying that it is very real and it hurts and that it doesn't take a lot within the system to perpetuate it." Miranda acknowledged her associated power via racism.

Bella picked up on that theme, as well: "Racism at the top works at the institutional level. Policies enforced and how crimes are punished or charged. I think of the police, the differences in suburban and urban schools. I think of colleges. I think of government." All of these are systems rampant with racism. Natalie's comments demonstrated her deep understanding:

> I think a lot of times people at least in the white middle class think that racism is not a problem because largely they're not in situations where it would be visible to them. It functions sort of like a latent level in some ways, in small ways where it's often systemic and institutional. That the way our society functions in some ways is dependent on racist attitudes where a lot of people want to say immigrants, they just don't know any better, or they're lower intellectual level, or they don't speak the language, or they're not smart enough. But really it's not an equal playing field because they were never given the opportunities we had, they didn't get the education we got, they didn't get the housing we got. Even [if] you look at standardized tests, [they] are designed to test the white middle class experience. So I guess on an institutional level you look at who gets, hired who doesn't.

Kim also discussed systemic racism when she shared how she understood the simulation. This is what she ascertained the simulation was saying about racism:

> That it's within the structure, it's within the institution, that it's not just an individual level; it's not just one person saying to another, and it's maintained by

> the system as well; it's not just there; it's continued; it's within the status quo idea.

Kim understands how systemic racism functions in America. Kim also spoke about her senior year and ways she has lived intentionally.

> I've surrounded myself more and more with people who are likeminded, I think because it's comfortable and I get sick of being called a feminist or an ethnic person... it's such a weird thing, but I think I've surrounded myself with a peer group that talks about these things and works for these things.

Kim has testified here to the marginalization some anti-racists experience for speaking out. This last comment is indicative of the immersion needed to form a positive white anti-racist identity.

Lacey's reflection on systemic racism included both this simulation and one from earlier in the semester:

> It is very systematic. Well, both systematic and individualized, I think; that systematically people are left out, pushed aside. People are discriminated against based on their race. I think it is driven mostly by our fear and a love of power. And white people are not wanting to give up what privileges they do have and I think that racism plays out; it just has to do with people who are not willing to stand up for what is right because of what privileges they are receiving, based on who they are.

Lacey connected our present race situation with history:

> We need to be willing to accept the sin of our past and the people who were our ancestors who did racist things—need to be able to accept that and ask for

> forgiveness and take responsibility for it. I don't think there are a lot of [white] people who are willing to do that and I think I struggle with it myself. About collective—being collective about it.

Lacey's extended family is racist and does not understand her journey. "My family is confused about it somewhat. Why would you want to hang out with Africans, to get to know them? And what is this all about? In a way I am educating them." Lacey's responses suggest the movement within her racial identity development. She shared what she understood from the simulation:

> As someone who in realty was in the classroom, and talking so much about [it] that I could continue to be like the simulation and sit there and learn and talk about it and not do anything about it. Unless I specifically get up and turn around, and walk out of the comfort zone and do something about it, the racism, educating and bringing people with me, I guess, to combat racism. To be willing to step down from any kind—I don't really know how to do that necessarily—to step down from any privileges I may have because of my race.

The data on the college students show evidence of much further growth in racial identity development than was true of the high school students. Miranda, Eddie, Natalie, and Bella all exhibited the markers for the pseudo-independent status: race consciousness, ambivalence about whiteness, overwhelming guilt, and understanding of their racial assumptions and systemic racism. Lacey and Kim demonstrated even stronger traits of the pseudo-independent status: searching for positive white identity, connection with white allies, and being marginalized for being anti-racist. Only Hannah fit in the earlier status of early disintegration.

Natural cognitive/age development could account for some variance here but not the distinct status shifts seen between the two groups of white students. The only student comparable to the high school students is Hannah, the lone sophomore for whom this class is her first exposure to unlearning racism. The white high school students had not participated in other simulations dealing with issues of race; five of the college students had participated in three to five such simulations. The college students also had lengthy exposure to two teachers who were critical pedagogues, while the high school students had not. The college students were using critical analysis and critical language to speak about and understand race/racism, which they had learned from critical pedagogues. These factors likely account for the racial identity developmental differences.

Teaching/Learning

The white college students overwhelmingly approved of simulations as a teaching method and felt adamantly that the simulation resulted in learning for them. In this section I will analyze the data on simulations as a teaching method and the resultant learning. The students had only positive things to say about the method as was true of their student of color counterparts. Their evaluation was not dependent on their place in the simulation, as was true of the white high school students. The color of dot they were assigned in the simulation had no impact on their evaluation of the method. Every student said they learned from the experience and drew lessons from a variety of topics. Some students thought earlier lessons were reinforced while new insights were also gained. Three students thought this simulation built on past ones and gave illumination to all of them. Mirroring the students of color, every student made connections to real life and many shared how they felt deeply impacted to change. The themes that emerged in

this topic are: it's powerful, real life feelings, I thought it was within bounds, broad world issues, listening, insights about myself, and changes I want to make.

It's Powerful

Students used the term "powerful" to describe the simulation they were generally talking about, and the simulation's ability to recreate a microcosm of the world, draw forth real feelings, allow participants to take/see another perspective, and leave a lasting memory. The students gave strong endorsement of the method. Unlike the white high school students, none of the college students said the simulation was fun; Miranda, a white dotted squatter, came the closest with this comment:

> I enjoyed it and I hadn't really gone through anything like this before so I don't know if it impacted me more strongly than people who maybe had already gone through [a simulation] but I really felt like it gave me a lot to think about. It took me out of my comfort zone in a lot of ways. I think in terms of teaching you get very used to sitting and listening and not doing anything and this is a very different approach that I think can really throw people off and make them re-evaluate some of the things that they may have been talking about earlier but not just living necessarily.

"Powerful" was a commonly used word amongst the college students. Kim, a white dotted squatter in the simulation, used this word in her evaluation:

> I think the reason why teachers do simulations is because they're so powerful, it's because they get you to see a perspective outside of your own, and I think when you're living within your own world, and culture, or bubble, or whatever it is you want to call it, you stop seeing the way realities are for different people … I think

> they're one of the most powerful teaching tools for me because you can learn about stuff in class, you know, like, yeah, that makes sense, but when you experience [it] the learning locks in a new way. And I think it's powerful; I remember the lessons I learned because I associate them with feelings, then because it's not just words on a page, it's become a feeling.

Eddie, also a white dotted squatter, used the word "powerful" too:

> I think it's very powerful, at least for myself. It's another way of looking at things. I have read so many books for this school. I don't know how much I remember of any of them but like when you are actively participating in something you don't—it's like that stays in you and when you actively participate in something that deals with issues such as racism, classism, sexism, heavy hitters like that, you don't forget that either.

Hannah, a colored dot sitter, likewise spoke about simulations as compared to other methods: "I think they're very effective; this may sound very bad, more effective than some of the stuff you learn in class lecture wise because you're put in the position, whether you volunteered for it or not, that plays out what actually does go on in society."

Real Life Feelings

Real life and real feelings were threads that ran through the evaluative comments of some students. The students deemed it positive that the simulation was life-like and elicited real feelings. These aspects inspired change in students. Natalie, a white dot, picked up on the theme of real life in her evaluative comments; she thought the simulation allowed students to

> have a visual and physical experience of what it is like and how this can function in society in a very simplified and clear cut way; this is really what it can look like from the perspective of somebody in that lower class or in that other ethnic group or an immigrant or something. It was a good way to put us in a perspective of someone different and view the system in their eyes.

Natalie had spoken here about how the simulation was like the society it was representing, and both Bella, the server of food, and Lacey, a white and colored dot stander, had spoken about feelings in their evaluative comments, the one element that is not contrived.

Lacey found the simulation both effective and intimidating, but not in a bad way:

> Because you are no longer looking at it academically it's almost as if it is actually happening to you, even though it is not. And you are very aware that it is not but at the same time you [are] aware that these are real feelings. And realizing that they are real you must admit that the situation is real, which makes it even more clear that, being in that real situation and actually knowing real people are in it, makes those feelings even stronger.

Parts of the simulation were intimidating for Lacey:

> I think the way I have experienced it, it confronts a lot of things that people would not normally think about. Also it's intimidating to know that you're going to discuss some things about yourself that you might not like and you're going to have to do something about it.

Bella went beyond thinking feelings made the simulation effective; she loved the feelings aspect:

> I think it's excellent because it's emotional. It emotionally connects you to these issues enough to see it. People say you could go on spring break trips and meet anyone or you could go to a food or homeless shelter; you could easily go out of your comfort zone … and be charmed by diversity. But you only get a snapshot of what that's like and then you have this stereotype in your head because you don't understand how this affects you. You don't get into how people think, [how] people understand life. Yeah, I guess this simulation has really been influential in my journey of reconciliation and [being] emotionally connected to these issues.

Lacey spoke of an aspect in the simulation beyond feelings that she could not name:

> Even if I hadn't been coming to this interview today I would still be thinking about it, what it means in my own life. It adds another dimension to the learning process. It is no longer just me listening to a lecture but it is me participating and taking on the role of an actual person who is in the position that you are in during [the] simulation. Luckily, [leaving] maybe even a little bit more confused, but in a good way, wanting more, learning more, and going more toward the direction of actually changing and doing something about it.

The transformational aspect of the simulation appealed to this student.

Ethics: I Thought It Was Within Bounds

The students considered the questions about boundaries but determined they had not been crossed. The boundary is between what is ethical in teaching and what is not, what is allowable and what is not. The students were utilitarian in their assessment; the end justified the means. A number of students responded to the questions of simulations crossing boundaries. Miranda was one who weighed in:

> I didn't think anything was going past boundaries that shouldn't have been broken. In a way, you need to sort of push people a little bit and do things to them that they wouldn't expect to happen. Being squirted in the face really doesn't, its not a bad thing.… I mean it's a simple thing and it doesn't hurt anyone but it really makes you feel a sense of injustice and I think that that's what this simulation was getting at. I think it was a good thing.

Eddie agreed with her assessment:

> I think it is all right. That's a small, that's a small scale of what actually goes on in society, you know. For you to drag Kim into the hallway and for you to try to give me a smashed grape, that's nothing compared to what goes on, like in our society. Like people being beaten, you know, because of the color of their skin or people being, you know, given food that was outdated or spoiled, people just being taken advantage of. I don't think anything is wrong with that because it gets the point across.

Kim's thoughts were in the same vein:

> I thought it was within bounds, but I don't know where I'd draw the line because I do think there's a line [on] what people could probably take, but I think it's OK to push people and let them experience what it's like because that's the point of it.

There is a fine balance that practitioners must find and walk because that line does exist, and only students can tell when it has been crossed.

These students' experience of the simulation moved them in the cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains of their lives. They echoed many of the positives that the students of color and the white high school students said. The overall experience was

powerful and inspiring. Miranda's endorsement sums up the college students' perspective:

> I certainly think they [simulations] have the power to cause self reflection and that in [and] of itself can create change; it's not an overnight thing but you internalize it and you process it and you come out a different person in the end, so I guess in that way I think they do have the power to change people.

Broad World Issues

When talking about what they learned, some students shared insights about the larger society: how it operates, impacts them, or their new ways of seeing it. They did not use common language but the phenomenon was the same; I call this theme broad world issues because the learning centered on some learning about the broader society. Miranda spoke about what she took away from the simulation:

> I think for me the biggest thing I took away from the experience was that I need to become more aware of these things. I think coming from my personal background I was never exposed to situations of racial diversity. I was never really shown the fact that the choices I made directly impacted other people. I'm really interested in this area of study and it's making [me] think a lot more about my own choices as an individual and how I relate to other people, how I relate to society, and how society has impacted me, and how I need to almost relearn certain behavior and ways of thinking that I've adopted. For one thing, vocabulary; I really feel like I need to relearn the way I speak about different groups for myself. Because I don't really know what the accepted terminology is all the time I find myself often

> walking on eggshells, not knowing what terms to say. I really think I need to relearn that.

Miranda broke into tears during the debriefing following the simulation. She recalled her most poignant moment: "Because I knew I used terms like minority and majority and I didn't think about things until we talked about them after the simulation and how that really affects people's understanding of who they are, like you internalize that." During the debriefing Miranda was told by a person of color that the term "minority" was insensitive because it didn't just describe a group but it also reinforced an ideology.

Natalie saw parallels to the real world and was dismayed at what she saw:

> I think that when we were debriefed we talked about when this actually plays out in real society. In the classroom people that were standing up were listening to the cries of the people that were sitting on their heels, telling us to give them food or let us stand up. They actually turned their bodies to look at us but in real society, in a real world what tends to happen, is people have their attention and efforts focused [on] getting to the next level and they're not necessarily turned around. And they may not be aware that there is a whole class or group behind them and they may not hear them. And [I] also saw the irony of this elite group, the colored dot, sitting in there having a discussion on oppression. The irony of them sitting up there, being comfortable, being well fed, and being taken care of, and talking about our problems, and they really knew nothing about our problems and really were not concerned about our problems.

Natalie was even more dismayed when she reflected on the fact that in real life she belongs to the comfortable group discussing oppression.

Kim had lots to say about what she learned. She had participated in five simulations dealing with the "isms" in a two-year period. She was one who thought the simulations built on each other and brought clarity from one to the next:

> A thing that I always learn from the simulations is kind of the illusion of choice in our society and that we always feel that we live in some sort of place where people can just move fluidly between places, and really, somebody just needs to get up and move over there, but it's really not the way it works. It's like we don't have the choices where we're in different positions and we're locked into them and there's other factors playing in than just individual choice trying to work or do something. Like, I think that's something I always learn every time I do it, or relearn, that our country has a big illusion of choice.

Kim was one of the students who had been dragged out of the room for trying to incite a rebellion. In the debrief her role was likened to a Malcolm or a Martin or the Freedom Riders. Kim talked about more new insights she gained from the simulation:

> I think the one thing I learned the most from this simulation, as opposed to other ones, was about the status quo. And how things are in place to keep the status quo and it's more than just a group of people, it's everybody is socialized to keep it. It's not just one group of people maintaining power or whatever, but we're all socialized either into the [inferior] people, you know, who are being oppressed, as opposed to the others somehow believing that they deserve to be superior. And there's this, the hegemony, like how it's more than just a group of people, it's like everybody in society is influenced by it, and to keep that status quo is what's engrained in us. I think that's what I got the most out of it.

Bella was another student who thought the simulations built on one another:

> The first one I did was the *Other People's Power* one. At the end of that simulation, the elite group was the rich white people or whatever you want to call it. They were given all the coins, all the money, and they started distributing them amongst themselves … I was just, like, that was so much like real life, that that was just so wrong. So what I often thought about that in translating to real life, like, where is my money going to, who is benefiting from this money? Is it Cub Foods or is it, like, a local grower or similar to that. I was in the middle class and I was trying to stay there. So I just felt kind of immobile in this position, and that is, I guess, how my family was. We are just trying to keep our spot, keep our place, maintain that status quo.

She connected two simulations: "So it's [this simulation] a real life depiction of what's happening around us that we can work to change. What statuses we're maintaining and how that's so contradictory to what we're learning in our class." Bella is a veteran of five simulations, and now when she participates in one she said she "was aware of every thought I was thinking, … I could see my racism, my discrimination, pour out in my mind before I said anything. I didn't want to say anything." Often, negative feelings have the effect of making people feel stuck, and to know that is to be able to change, to move, to empower oneself and others and work to change systems. Without knowing that the process has this stage that tends to disempower people, students are much more vulnerable to stasis. So understanding the stages in the process, the stages on the journey is essential. Bella understands she is on a journey.

Listening

Three of the students noted a desire to listen better, particularly to people of color, as a lesson from the simulation. This could apply in individual and group settings, and in personal and non-personal settings. Natalie spoke about becoming a better listener in a specific way:

> I think that maybe it makes me a better listener in that, when people of color and people in different ethnic groups, sometimes they can come across as being bitter and really angry at you because you're white. And sometimes, at first, that's a little bit like, "I'm sorry; it wasn't actually me that did this." But I think that it helps [me] be a better listener in understanding that they didn't always have the voice to say these things. I could just listen to this and let them get this out or try to be someone that [they] have maybe a positive experience with, versus a negative one.

The change Natalie envisions for herself is a small one but something that is within her grasp. She said more about change:

> It's not about me from a selfish standpoint; how do I do that kind of advocate, mediator, and restore kind, of the brokenness, of the misunderstandings within culture and people, especially in that setting. These people do have a voice and they need to be heard and that I need to be somewhat intentional.

She was reflecting McLaren's (1995) notion that "critical pedagogy commits itself to forms of learning and action that are undertaken in solidarity with subordinated and marginalized groups. … critical pedagogy is dedicated to self-empowerment and social transformation" (p. 32). The simulation allowed Natalie to exemplify the aspect of critical

pedagogy McLaren here highlights, standing with the marginalized and feeling empowered to change.

> Both Bella and Miranda stated a desire to listen. Bella was struck, she claimed, [by] how much we don't see until we take the time to listen or to look, to go somewhere you're not used to going. It makes me want to do more, be more active. It makes me want to listen more to people. Because I can either stay with my back turned against people and live in a comfortable life; that wouldn't be hard. I need to be conscious more than ever to turn back towards people, listen to people, and hear what they're saying.

Miranda, too, saw listening as an action: "One of the things that I want to try to teach myself is to listen to people more, particularly when talking to people from different backgrounds or different cultures." The simulation was motivational for these students. It taught them to take action as listeners, to seek out the marginalized, and take them seriously, and see themselves in the dynamic that nearly forced silence onto them.

Insights About Myself

Some of the students also reflected on what they had learned about themselves. They valued the simulation because, in processing the experience, a mirror was held up so they could see themselves. Often, they did not like what they saw but it was motivation to change. Miranda spoke on her own self-reflection:

> We were all so complacent; I never thought of myself as the kind of person who would just go along with things and this really shows me that, yes, I am, and I don't like that. It's like why were we just going along with it? What was making

> us do that? We should be doing something, so, yeah, that kind of disturbs me [to] know that about myself.

Lacey spoke of personal revelations and general knowledge she gained. She learned about racism from the simulation: "To everyone in society, racism is very obvious but there are some people who refuse to turn around and look at it and refuse to admit it is their fault." How easily we fall into roles of oppressed and oppressor disturbed Lacey. She shared what struck her the most:

> I got food from the upper class, or whatever people, and ended up trying to throw some to the people who were squatting down. And one of the girls said, "I don't want to eat the food that has been on the floor", and I said, "Well, it's food, so you should just eat it." And it just really struck me as, not as—in trying to be helpful, people who do care and may be able to see, may end up being more (what's the word I'm looking for?) condescending, I guess, to people who [they] are trying to help and may be misusing. Maybe in a good way, but misusing what they have been given and just kind of forcing it upon people and saying, "Well, you should be satisfied with this." So I basically kind of learned about my own shortcomings and reality. But I know I have had that mind set before when I worked with people, and it's frustrating to learn and to see yourself, especially when I'm going to graduate with a social work major and I really feel like I should have worked through those things by now, and I haven't.

Lacey's self-reflection indicates inner work she wants to do for both personal and professional reasons.

Eddie articulated his personal insight, "For myself, it's more or less of coming to the realization that I live in an unjust world and I have to see myself, as a person, who wants to try and change it. But, at the same time, I can't get rid of who I am as a racial person. I can't get rid of my race, whatever that might be." Eddie's reflection brings to light his ambivalence about being white, an indication of his reintegration/pseudo-independent status.

Natalie's insight about herself called for a word of caution:

> I want to be a contributor and agent for change in racism in America. But I have to also understand that I don't always know what it's like to be discriminated against because of my skin color, and so to look before you leap instead of saying I'm going to [do] this and try to make all this change and I'm all for this and I'm all for diversity. What can I learn from you [person of color] because you know a lot more than I do about what it's like to be multicultural?

Kivel (2002), in his book, *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice,* writes about how whites can be allies to people of color. He says it is a process that takes education and relationship building. Natalie recognized the need to "de-center" the white self to learn, so as to be an ally to people of color (Kivel, 2002).

Kim spoke about her racial assumptions:

> That's what's hardest for me to see, is that even after all the Reconciliation classes and all that kind of stuff, is I daily have to fight with things I've been brought up learning. Like, there's that stereotypical, like, that African American man is dangerous, like kind of thing, that I have to daily say, that's not true, that's something that culture has taught me, and I need to fight against that. I think that

> they're so hidden down that you just have to keep finding them and that's why the simulations are so nice, and horrible, because you find things that were there that you didn't know were there. And that's those tricky things that, as you think, "Oh, I don't have any racial assumptions", but I do, I have so many of them, and I have to address them and deal with them when I see them because I'll see myself [flinching] or something, like, "why am I reacting that way?" That's something that's in me that I don't even know was there, like, and something that I have to daily work on.

The insights into the self that the students gained were deemed valuable by them and are in the realm of personal outcomes the teachers were looking for.

Changes I Want To Make

bell hooks (2003) wrote, "While it is a truism that every citizen of this nation, white or colored, is born into a racist society that attempts to socialize us from the moment of our birth to accept the tenants of white supremacy, it is equally true that we can choose to resist this socialization" (hooks, 2003 p. 56). In stating how specifically they wanted to make changes in their lives, the college students were taking a stance against the racist socialization that is the status quo. Some of the changes were small, everyday things they encountered, while other changes were monumental; all would count as transforming their lives.

Eddie said the ramifications of participating in the simulation had already taken root in his life:

> I think it has already started to show in my life in that, I don't stand for little comments made by people about, like little racist comments. Whether they think

> it is a racist comment or not, I know it is one, and I will tell them, "I don't appreciate that and you really need to think about what you are saying." This small tangible action is set within a larger post graduation plan to move into the city, live in a diverse community, and work for social justice.

Bella said this about the impact of the simulation:

> If I hadn't gone through the simulations, if I hadn't taken your class, this is a factor that has changed me and enlightened me. I probably would not have changed my major. But now when I look at jobs, my picture is living in the city. [I've changed] how I think and listen to people; [I'm] not doing things traditionally.

Simulations, including this one, have been transformational for Bella.

Lacey stated commitments she wanted to make as a result of the simulations: "Confronting my own stereotypes. Confronting the stereotypes of those around me and being willing to call them on it, and to call myself on it and to admit that I am not culturally competent all the time." Hannah said she wanted to be "more intentional to speak up and not just sit and know that there's a problem and not do anything about it." Miranda wanted to commit to something bigger:

> I hope that what I can do with it is to change my way of living, almost. I think I still retain this idea of my life being very much like my parents, living in a nice neighborhood with a nice home and going to work and doing things that help people but not branching out. And I guess I'm seeing the need for more radical lifestyle changes within myself that not only promote these ideas but that actually fulfill them, show them in some way. There's so much internal dissidence

> [dissonance] right now, and it's a good kind, but it's there and it's something that needs [to be] resolved. And I feel, like, the only way it can be is through my actions and my lifestyle. I'm trying to be open to the idea of living in a part of the city, a part of the world, that I'm not comfortable with. Being submersed in a non-comfort zone because I feel like it not only changes people who do that but it changes the assumptions that people around them are making.

All of the students learned and were able to articulate their learning as life changes they wanted to make as a result of participating in the simulation[s].

The data clearly show that one of the things that happened for white students in a simulation is that they learn. In a simulation designed to help them unlearn about racism, white students' learned/unlearned some things about racism. It is very evident that the kinds of lessons cited here are not in the same category as those of the white high school students. The curriculum in the course these college students had been exposed to had better prepared them for the simulation. The depth of content to the learning set it apart from the other group's learning. The depth of that learning depends on the students' readiness for the topic, but it may also depend on their racial identity development, their experience with learning through simulations, and the debriefing skills of the facilitator of the simulation. All of these factors may contribute or detract from the learning experience.

Power/Politics

For the white college students the questions about the political nature of teaching and the links between power and education did generate discourse, unlike their high school counterparts. Two themes emerged from the data: teaching is political, and it's

still saying what we want you to think. The college students answered these questions with some confidence, unlike the white high school students or the students of color, who were tentative in their understanding. Of the three student groups in this study, this group comes closest to a critical understanding of the political nature of teaching/learning, and simulations may have contributed to that understanding.

Teaching Is Political

Six of the students answered in the affirmative that teaching/learning was a political act. Not all of them understood the question in the same way or answered with the same depth. What they meant when they said teaching is political is that teachers are not neutral; they teach from a biased position. They meant teachers have the power in classrooms and they get to say what is "truth".

Hannah said, "Absolutely, learning is political." She spoke about the politics of applying to colleges and how admissions decisions are made. "In our nation I think you can go back to institutionalized distinctions … distinction that needs to be made between equality based on talents and abilities vs. someone's ethnic background." Her understanding of power/politics here is quite different than her peers. Miranda voiced the more commonly held understanding of learning/teaching being political:

> I definitely think it is. I think I learned from college that as much as any teacher tries to present something objectively to you, every teacher brings their own biases, their own experiences. And I don't think there's any way of being in a Christian institution that is predominantly white, that's mainly middle class - that's probably [what] I mean with just with all those qualifiers - I don't think there's anyway you could argue that it's not political. And at [the] very least

> you're getting the Christian perspective, you're probably also getting the conservative perspective, and you're certainly getting the white perspective just because almost all the teachers are white. There's just no way to be totally objective, to say that what we're learning is not slanted in a certain way, not biased in a certain way, and we're taught in some ways [to] perpetuate a lot of these systems.

Bella spun it a bit differently, but said much the same thing.

> When a professor speaks they're giving you their perspective of the world, their political persuasion. If you're not conscious you can find yourself agreeing with them without questioning that may not be the truth, may not be how life is. If professors are speaking politically then we're learning politically.

Eddie concurred with the general opinion but used a metaphor to describe power in the classroom: "The professor is like the president and he can, he or she can, kind of do whatever they want. They are like the pinnacle of the class. All eyes are on them. Their word is truth because it's probably what is going to be on the test."

In the simulation debrief this topic was briefly explored. Lacey's answer was much like her peers but in her interview she deviated from the others by also posing a question:

> I'm kind of wondering, like, if [there's] an underlying sort of policy that some things aren't taught so that [change] won't happen? I don't know who I would ask to find that out but, I mean, there definitely could be circumstances where we don't learn about some things so that we don't cause a political uprising.

Making these kinds of critical inquiries is what shapes critical thinkers, and the simulation opens the possibility.

It's Still Saying What We Want You to Think

Along with recognition that the teaching/learning process is not neutral came the recognition that the teaching and learning that happens in a simulation is also not neutral. Students did not see this method as apolitical. Students saw teachers having the power in the simulation and setting the agenda behind it. Lacey talked about the power in the classroom during the simulation:

> I think it does have to do with power. It was very evident and very obvious who was in power and who was not in power. Highest being [you], you were saying, deal with the rules, don't break them but if you do…. (laughter). You didn't say that but that was the reality.

Bella, speaking about the power of teachers, made the same observation: "I think a lot of people in that classroom wanted to see where you were going with this. They wanted to do what you were telling them to do." From their perspective, nothing different was happening just because they were doing a simulation. Miranda articulated her viewpoint:

> It's using the shadow method.… It's political in a healing direction in the sense that it's trying to recreate other political movements or other ways of thinking [as opposed to those] ingrained in people. It's trying to push towards a different mindset, but yeah, I still feel like it's still political.

Kim also saw this aspect in the simulation: "Yeah, because it's challenging the status quo, it's saying it's not the white males' voice that should be heard all the time; it's challenging the way our system traditionally recognizes [knowledge]."

Eddie and Lacey commented on the debriefing process that followed the simulation. They both perceived that process as an interruption in the normal power dynamics of the classroom. Eddie shared what he saw:

> Usually, in a lot of my classes that I've taken [men] tend to speak more. So usually, men will dominate the discussion. [In the simulation] I think everybody [speaks]. At least when you do them, you make everybody. You go around the circle and so everyone has to at least say something. So everyone has to participate in some way.

Lacey supported what Eddie said:

> I know that, in general, and studied it and talked about it in class, that the male dominates classroom experiences.… In terms of [the simulation] class you definitely made an effort to include everyone so that there is no [male domination]. There isn't much of that, and I don't feel like that happens in that class.

Miranda saw an agenda at work behind the simulation. She commented on the political agenda of educators:

> Well, it's all sort of controlled by these social norms. It's like my parents sent me to college 'cause they wanted me to get a good job 'cause then I can fall into a good income bracket and so I can support a family of my own. It's sort of political reasoning and I think __ College sort of does the same thing; they have their own agenda and not that their agenda is bad, but everyone has things that they're trying to accomplish and that sort of turns it into a political endeavor.… It

> [the simulation] still has a point and a purpose and it [is] still saying this is what we want you to think about and none of that's bad but it's political in that way.

Kim also weighed in on this point:

> Depending on, what is taught shapes the type of people that come out of the education systems and go into the society. If you only teach white history and male history and upper class history, you get people who only know about those things and it just feeds into the system. And so whatever the political agenda is in charge of education, affects what kind of people are going into society and how they will thus live accordingly.

The college students saw teachers running the classroom and having the power in the simulation. They also perceived agendas at work in their education. These students assessed simulations as being no more apolitical than other teaching methods with which they were familiar. When they talked about power and politics, the overall tone the college students used was that it was a negative, yet in connection to the simulation they were positive.

Conclusion

These white college students closely resembled the high school students of color as they went through the experience of a simulation to unlearn racism. The experience was powerful, enlightening, and transformative for the students. It is important to revisit the same questions posed in the earlier chapters: What happens for the students in a simulation to unlearn racism? What role does the race of the student play in their ability to unlearn racism? What racial concerns arise and how are they expressed? Points of comparison and contrast with the other two groups conclude this chapter.

Much happened in the affective, cognitive, and behavioral domains for the college students in the simulation. The data show that the hands-on learning powerfully moved these students. Many named changes they wanted to make in their lives, or actions they were inspired to take because of the simulation. These students used feelings to connect to the real world and for self-reflection. They took what they felt during the simulation and found many parallels to the real world; this gave them deep insights into others' perspectives. They also used feelings as a starting point for self-reflection. It took some of them awhile, but eventually the college students understood the "big picture" the simulation was presenting, and "got it." They demonstrated comprehension of the stated goals of the simulation.

There was little resistance among the white college students to the ideas or marginalized perspectives presented in the simulation. They did not get defensive or disbelieving during the debriefing. They did not do what is common in such situations such as roll their eyes, cross their limbs, or turn sideways in their chairs, which are all indicators that they are not "buying it". In contrast, they processed feelings, asked critical questions, listened, and reflected deeply as their assignment required. I believe student readiness makes all the difference. This is a strong endorsement to do simulations that start gently, build on each other, and reinforce earlier learning; sequencing in this way can only be positive. The data point in this direction but more research is required.

The lessons the college students learned had more depth and complexity than those of the high school students, both white and of color. The high school students tended to work at the lower levels of Bloom's taxonomy, in the domains of understanding, application, and some analysis. The college students worked in all the

domains: understanding, application, comprehension, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. The changes the college students reported are transformative by any measure. Simulations have the capacity to create critical consciousness. Both critical and experiential pedagogues can take hope from the evidence here.

Racial identity development was important for the white college students. Their specific needs hinged on their stage of development. Students in the reintegration/pseudo-independent status developed an aversion to "whiteness". They felt an overwhelming guilt for the injustices their group has perpetrated on other groups and wanted to dis-associate themselves from membership in the white collective. These students needed encouragement to continue to deconstruct "whiteness," to explore their ethnicity, or to study the history of the legacy of white folk who fought for justice. Educators must take care in debriefing simulations; participants can be pushed backwards if not handled well. Tatum (1999) warned that white individuals can slip back into the "blame the victim" stage if the guilt and shame go unrelieved. Students in this status need assistance in developing language and an analysis to understand racial hegemony and white dominance. Focusing on the inner life, students can learn to see their "color-blindness," and understand internalized racial superiority. Externally, they can learn to see and understand our globally racialized society. Skillful educators can use simulations to equip students with lenses to see themselves and the world around them in new and deeper ways.

The data suggest that the experience of the white college students was very close to the experience of the students of color. Because these students had journeyed further than the high school students in their racial identity development, had experience with

simulations before, and were in a program that taught the concepts of unlearning racism, they were open and accepting to the simulation as a whole, unlike their white high school counterparts. Whereas the events in the simulation excited the students of color, the meaning of the events excited the college students. Both groups were shocked and surprised by the depth and complexity of feelings they experienced during the simulation. The students of color connected to real life through feelings elicited in the simulation; the white college students also connected to real life through feelings and used feelings to self reflect. Both groups were race conscious. The voice and perspective the simulation brought into the classroom validated the students of color and gave them a voice. For the college students, that same voice and perspective "de-centered" them and caused them to listen. Overall the experience was liberating, inspiring, and transformative for the students of color; for the white college students it was powerfully moving, enlightening, and transformative.

The data also suggest some points of divergence. The college students did not become stuck in their feelings like the white high school students; they moved quickly to an analysis of the simulation. They experienced the feelings as real; they were able to process them and not let them block their cognitive process. Both the white high school students and the students of color defined racism as prejudice, though the students of color gave systemic examples of racism and white students did not. The college students defined racism as systemic and institutionalized, with one exception. The white high school students were least developed on the racial identity development continuum; they were in the first status with one exception in the second. The students of color were further along in their development, all of them in the second or third stage. The college

students were furthest on the continuum, with all but one of them in the third and fourth statuses of their development. Overall the students of color in this study were sandwiched between the two groups of white students.

There were not enough college students of color to make a comparable comparison. Just two of the nine students of color were college students, and one of them grew up in a white context and had not journeyed beyond the first stage in his racial identity development. These findings suggest further study needs to be done in this area.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

My dissertation, as stated in chapter one, was guided by three broad questions and five more directed questions. The broad questions were: What happens in a simulation to unlearn racism for teachers and learners? What impact does the race of the teacher or the student have in a simulation on unlearning racism? And lastly: Is there/what is the intersection between critical pedagogy and experiential pedagogy? From these three questions the following five emerged as my research questions:

1. What role does the race of the teacher play in their understanding and ability to use experiential methodology to unlearn racism?
2. What role does the race of the student play in their ability to unlearn racism?
3. What do students think happened and how does that differ from teachers' learning outcomes?
4. What racial implications arise in the concerns voiced by both teachers and learners and how do they differ by race?
5. How are racial and other concerns expressed, and are there differences among different racial groups?

I begin the conclusion by responding to the five focus questions. In answering the five I think the three broader questions will also be answered. Of course there are also implications I see emerging from this study. In the last section I will articulate the limitations to this study and suggest areas for further study.

Findings Summary

Racial identity matters for teachers teaching an anti-racism simulation. Teachers, no matter what race, who had a reconstructionists perspective of hope, or had journeyed through the later stages of identity development (pseudo-independent or immersion / emersion), were more likely to facilitate a simulation on unlearning racism. These teachers were all comfortable talking about race and race issues. Taking the time to reflect on their own racial identity development was helpful for white teachers and teachers of color. For white teachers, three factors aided them in teaching about racism: race consciousness, doing their own work to deconstruct whiteness, and understanding white privilege. Lived experience of these phenomena served practitioners best. For practitioners of color, the experience of being marginalized in life, plus reflection on that experience, had prepared them to teach on racism.

Every year at my college the Education Department asked me to come and facilitate an anti-racism simulation and department colleagues assisted as I led the simulation, including processing the experience. The "diversity" class changed hands so three different professors taught the course. After four years I offered many times to teach them how to conduct the simulation. They always adamantly said, "No". I concluded it wasn't me running the simulation they wanted; it was me guiding the debriefing that followed. As a critical pedagogue I asked a set of questions and guided the dialogue in directions they didn't go. I introduced concepts such as "social/cultural capital", the social construction of race, hegemony, and others that usually took the class to a much deeper level of learning. Race was not the defining issue here; being a critical

pedagogue was. To lead a critical simulation teachers must have a systemic understanding of racism. The data point to this as well.

Simulations impact students differently according to race and according to racial identity development. The data suggest students demonstrate unique needs according to race, and those needs should be attended to. For students in the first or early stages of identity development, the simulation can be a catalyst to jump-start movement into the next stage, or onto the next task in their current stage. For students in the middle stages of development simulations can be used to develop critical language and critical thinking skills. White students can become stuck in their feelings. This precedes their being resistant to ideas and perspectives presented in the simulation. White students are more prone to resistance than students of color. Students must successfully process their feelings to move on to cognitive learning. Students of color felt validated and found their voice during simulations. White students further along the continuum of racial identity development were able to de-center themselves and listen to the marginalized voices the simulation presented; this led to much deeper learning. For students of color, simulations can provide an emotional connection and sense of fulfillment lacking in their schooling. The simulations in this study came from the marginalized perspective. They were empowering experiences for the students of color, especially those who identified with their communities of color. Time needs to be spent in debriefing to allow students of color to emote. Simulations can be emotionally enriching for this particular group.

Students shared a wide variety of stories about what happened for them in a simulation. Students of color experienced something close to their reality that they found validating and empowering. White students were powerfully moved by seeing from

another perspective or overwhelmingly confused by stepping into another's shoes. Simulations impacted the whole person as they engaged the whole person. Students felt real feelings during simulations. They emoted during and after the simulation. Students learned and were transformed by simulations. They learned about themselves and "the other," they learned about oppression, systemic injustices, the contours of racism and classism, the core concepts of critical theory. The learning outcomes of teachers were significantly aligned with what students experienced. Teachers had high expectations for the simulations. Simulations disequilibrated learners in multiple domains, the cognitive, affective, and behavioral. Teachers wanted to see students transformed into social justice activists and empowered to act on their own behalf; for the most part, their goals were realized.

Racial concerns that emerged from the study show themselves in the unique needs each racial group expressed during debriefing. Feelings must be processed and critical questions that probe the issues specific to each group must be attended to. White students who have not moved from the first stage/status in racial identity development by the time they enter the world of work (post high school graduation, post college graduation) are not equipped to be global citizens; indeed they are not equipped to be American U.S. citizens. They lack a critical race consciousness and lens to interpret the reality of our racialized society. Bonilla-Silva (2010a; 2010b) would say they are color-blind racists. An implication from this study is that simulations have the capacity to be a triggering event for white students in the contact stage. The chances for student openness to the power of the simulation are great if teachers do the pre-work so that the simulation is not

the first exposure to race concepts. Great attention needs to be given to student readiness by teachers as they prepare to present a simulation.

The major way racial concerns are expressed in simulations is through resistance. Resistance is usually shown through negative body language, doubting, discounting, or by interrogating what is being put forth in the simulation, or disengaging altogether through non-participation. Students of color did not engage in any of these behaviors, and no one totally disengaged. Skilled facilitators can generally walk students through their concerns if they are willing to try.

There is an intersection between experiential and critical pedagogy. Critical and experiential pedagogues can align their goals (macro), outcomes (micro), lesson, and methodology (simulations). This is the intersection of the two pedagogies. Both groups used simulations to teach core tenants of critical theory. The experiential teachers lacked the language of critical pedagogy. They wouldn't say, "There is a hidden curriculum that taught you to be a patriot; let's explore this idea." They might say, "This land is not your land; it wasn't made for you; that song you learned in fifth grade taught you a lie; this land is stolen land; let's talk about that." Either way gets the student to reflect and interrogate strongly held beliefs and positions. The language of critical theory may not be necessary for all critical practitioners.

The critical pedagogues held the belief that teaching/learning is a political act. They did not buy into the idea of neutrality of content or dissemination. They were aware of the power dynamics involved in educating at all levels. They wanted to reveal how power worked in the lives of students and empower their students to work counter to the ways power oppressed them. In the same way, the experiential pedagogues of color were

aware of the political nature of the teaching/learning act. They had not read Freire or any of the others, but knew from their lived experience about being marginalized. This point of contact is part of the intersection. This is where the two types of pedagogues need to talk. The conversation needs to address how they arrived at this position through lived experience, what new questions arise, and how one teaches and names the important concepts when they lack the language of critical pedagogy. These and other questions are worth exploration.

I have attempted to put the focus on experiential simulations and critical pedagogy, to answer the key questions and turn the lens on a possible intersection. Experiential learning went out of vogue in the late 1980s. I found very little research on the topic except for technology gaming and the field of nursing. Neither of these is what I do. Methodologically experiential simulations have much to offer critical pedagogues. Many students have difficulty hearing and perceiving critical concepts. Simulations can overcome this obstacle; they make the concepts visible in concrete ways. The use of simulations as a teaching method is a concrete tool to help students move. This is what I mean when I say the pedagogues intersect. I believed, going in, that there was something to be learned by looking close. The findings from the data bear me out. I will now highlight key implications from this study.

Implications

These first two implications fall in the realm of the practical. There seemed to be a hierarchy of the complexity of learning among the students. At the lower end was perspective taking, the opportunity to see through the lens of a marginalized person; above that was ideology critique, then systems critique to bring to the discussion of

hegemony. Most of the white high school students did not get past perspective taking, but two did as did most of the high school students of color. Only the college students made it to the discussion of hegemony. The younger students did not make it as high not because they were cognitively unable to handle the material, but because they had not been prepared. An implication indicated from this study is that if the groundwork is well laid, simulations could make difficult concepts of critical theory accessible to younger students. This could be especially true if simulations were sequenced so as to build on each other and reinforce earlier lessons. For example, in a simulation designed to teach white privilege, the groundwork would include "first introducing the idea of unearned privilege and then discussing forms of privilege, such as class privilege, able bodied privilege, male privilege, heterosexual privilege, and White privilege" (Niehuis, 2005). If discussed in this order, Neihuis has argued college students would be less inclined to be resistant.

Another implication is in the area of ethics. Practitioners facilitating simulations do so at a risk. The boundary lines are not hard and fast and the ethics that guide practitioners are their own. This is fine when teachers act with integrity and no one is hurt. That is what the data revealed. Students used utilitarian types of computations to determine if lines had been crossed in their evaluations; the ends justified the means. The teacher's own, inner sense of integrity determined their behavior; there was no uniform ethic. But the minute someone does get hurt the terrain can quickly change and implications for teachers can be negative. Once in my experience, an upset student told a parent about the emotional impact of the simulation, and the parent called the academic

dean about me. A colleague and I spent a hot minute justifying our methodology in the dean's office. This is problematic and the data suggests more study be done in this area.

In describing their pedagogy none of the three critical pedagogues in this study sounded like the others, and only one came a little close to Freire's problem-posing method. What counts as critical pedagogy these days is vast. McLaren (2000) stated, "I wish not to present critical pedagogy as a set of classroom teaching practices but rather to position it within a larger political problematic: here critical pedagogy is located as a politically informed disposition and commitment to others in the service of justice and freedom" (p. 169). Cho (2010) has noted, "There are various (and sometimes competing) definitions, approaches, and emphasis in critical pedagogy" (p. 11). I situate this study under the umbrella of critical anti-racist pedagogy. Rezai-Rashti (1995) stated, "Anti-racist education insists on closely studying and revealing the sites, institutions, and ways in which racism originates" (pp. 6-7). Simulations can do this; they can be used to teach to these ends.

The origins of anti-racist education "emerged from the struggles of racial minorities against imperial, colonial, and neocolonial experiences" (Rezai-Rashti, 1995, p. 6). We know that the needs and problems of students are the starting point in critical pedagogy. It seems that the needs and problems of students of color would be the starting point for anti-racist critical pedagogy. The needs of students of color as a starting point can justify much, from policy change, to building restructure, to teacher re-education, to curriculum redesign. Rezai-Rashti acknowledged that the contribution critical pedagogy can make to anti-racism is limited because of the "highly abstract set of theoretical principles. Its language, conceptualization, and scope are … [difficult] to comprehend

and grasp" (p. 17). This is where experiential education can make a contribution, in the areas of teacher re-education, and curriculum redesign. The data show that simulations can make the difficult and abstract both simplified and easy to comprehend. This could be true not only for students, but also for teachers. Simulations can be used to teach students, and also to teach teachers. Does an anti-racist simulation aimed at high school and college aged students help them grasp critical theory concepts more easily? The data seem to say yes, if the students are readied for the simulation. Critical anti-racist pedagogues should consider experiential methods, and look at places the research overlaps. Critical pedagogues should take seriously whatever experiential pedagogy has to offer; we need concrete methods to make our ideas accessible.

Simulations engage the mind, the emotions, and the body; whenever engaging all three people integrate the learning at a deeper level. This integration of learning makes it more transformational. As integrated wholes, it makes sense that learning that appeals to the whole person is attractive. This kind of learning leaves room for many learning styles. Bodily kinesthetic learners like simulations because the whole body-person is involved. Visual learners have an opportunity to see, in real time and metaphorically. Intrapersonal learners have opportunity to look deep within and reflect. Interpersonal learners can use their relating skills in the simulation. Logical and verbal learners find simulations appealing because they get to speak and think critically both during and after the exercise. Appealing to a variety of learning styles allows many students to shine in the classroom, including the non-traditional learners. The affective domain in learners is not compartmentalized in experiential education. Emotions are processed following a simulation; they receive the attention they need. This method recognizes a person as a

whole person and accords people dignity. Students are not treated as if only their brains had walked into the classroom. On the practical side, simulations as a methodology have much to contribute to critical anti-racist pedagogy.

Limitations

This is a qualitative study and therefore is limited in sample size. I could only work with limited amounts of data over a limited time period and this impacts the findings. A larger sample size would either substantiate or contest my findings; I believe they would be substantiated but the method does not allow this knowledge. It would have been beneficial to have parity in numbers of students interviewed by gender and by race. The gender and race makeup of the classes made this impossible so this factor was out of my control.

The two white student groups in this study responded very differently to the simulations, differently enough that cognitive development does not explain it. Even the student of color group responded differently from the other two groups. So other factors such as student readiness and facilitator skill must be explored to account for the difference. I confined my study to select groups based on my accessibility to the students. I did not compare apples to apples. The question of why students respond differently to a simulation on unlearning racism is worth study. What is the extent of influence of race, age, content preparation, facilitator skill, racial identity status/stage, prior lived experience, or something else in terms of how a student responds? This method has much to offer teachers as they teach about racism but we need to know more. Study that compares student groups where the factors are controlled could reveal how to go about teaching this difficult topic; this could be an area for future study.

A number of questions related to this topic emerged from the data as the study progressed. What is the relationship between teaching about race/racism and the racial identity development level of the teacher? If one is using "whiteness" studies as the measure, what is the relationship between teaching about race/racism and the depth of deconstruction of whiteness one must have engaged? How do experiential practitioners make ethical decisions during simulations? Can one be a critical theorist without having studied critical theory? When is racial identity development critical for students' well-being? This is a sampling of related questions. The focus of my study limited the exploration of these questions though each question is a legitimate one worthy of inquiry. I would commend these questions as areas worthy of further research.

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Appendix A

Teacher Interview Questions

My questions are guided by my reading of Freire and Brookfield. These first questions are for teachers/practitioners.

Personal Background

Name, title, years teaching?

How did you come to teach this way?

How has your background/history influenced where you stand on race?

Experiential Pedagogy

Describe your pedagogy? Theory?

Describe your understanding of experiential methodology? Probe.

Why do you do experiential education? Probe.

How does experiential methodology relate to learning about racism?

Pedagogy and Power

Talk about power in your teaching methods. Probe.

Freire says teaching is always a political act, how do you understand/practice that?

How is/is not your teaching political?

In your teaching about racism, whose interests are served? Probe.

In your teaching about racism whose voice is heard? Probe.

Is there anything that disturbs you in the simulation process? Probe.

What issues arise from teaching about racism using simulations? Probe.

How are ethics addressed? Probe.

Race

How do you self identify racially? Probe.

What meaning do you make of your own/your students racial identification?

Probe.

What assumptions about race do you hold?

How is your teaching connected to students construction of racial identity? Probe.

Student Interview Questions

Personal Background

Name, age, grade/year in school.

What is your experience with simulations?

Simulation

What feelings did you have during the simulation?

What happened?

What did you learn? Probe.

What did the teacher want you to learn?

What do you think of this teaching method? Probe.

Race

How do you self identify racially? Probe.

What does it mean to be _____ (their race)?

What difference does race make in your life? Probe.

How do people make sense of their race, put it all together?

What assumptions about race do you hold?

Talk about your understanding of racism and how it works in the USA.

What did the simulation say about race/racism? Probe.

What, if anything' changed about your understanding of race/racism?

New insights, etc.?

How will what you learned show in your life? Examples?

Power

Whose perspective was presented in the simulation? Probe.

Whose voice is heard? Probe.

Whose interests are served? Probe.

How is learning political? Probe.

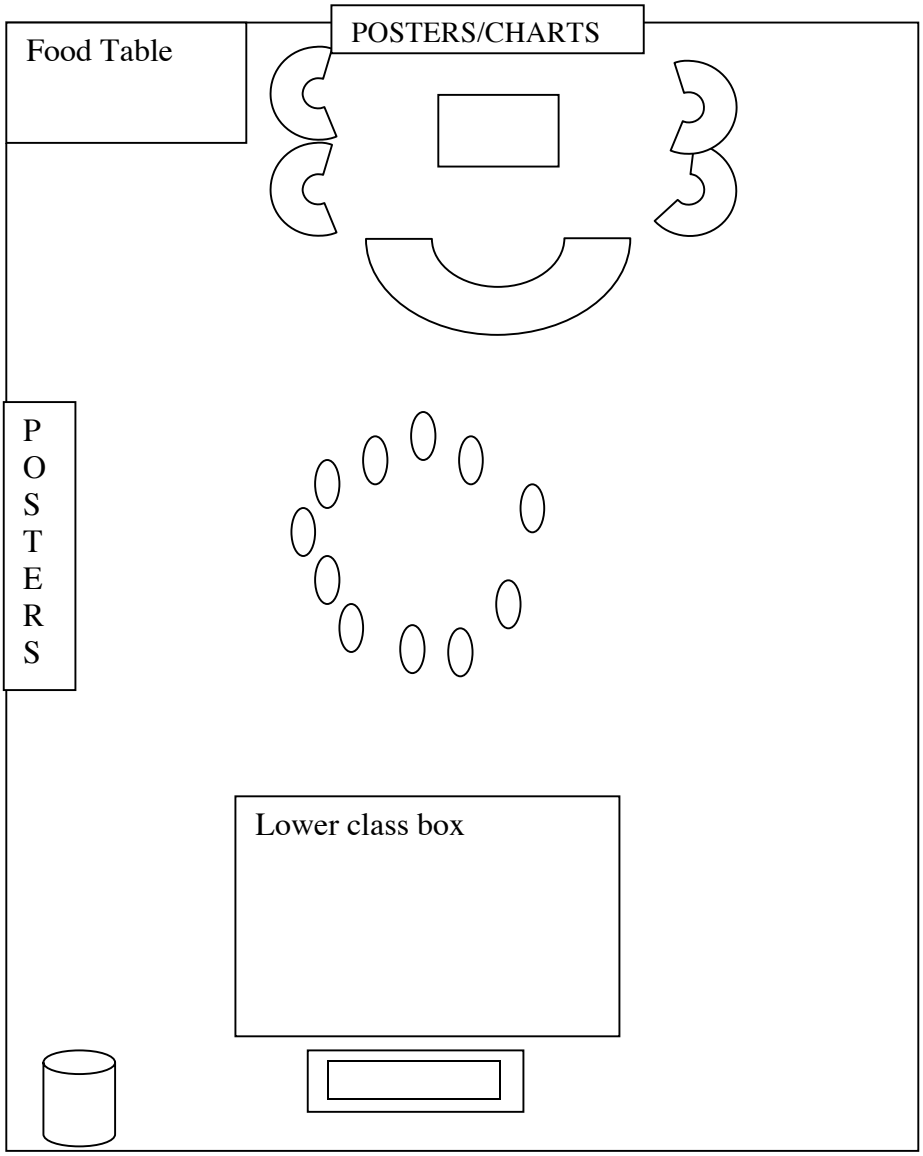
Pedagogy

Did anything in the simulation disturb you? Probe.

Why is/why isn't it all right to teach this way? Probe.

Appendix B

Room Setup for *Other People's Power*



Appendix C

Squat No More