

Inclusion and Exclusion in the White Space:
An Investigation of the Experiences of People of Color in a
Primarily White American Meditation Community

By

Craig N. Hase

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Counseling Psychology)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN – MADISON

2019

Date of final oral examination: March 3, 2017

This dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Stephanie L. Budge, Assistant Professor, Counseling Psychology

Lynet Uttal, Professor, Counseling Psychology

Alberta M. Gloria, Professor, Counseling Psychology

Richard J. Davidson, Professor, Psychology and Psychiatry

Anne Gleig, Assistant Professor, Philosophy, University of Central Florida

Table of Contents

<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	4
1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.2 Purpose of the Study.....	4
1.3 Orientation to the Document.....	5
1.4 Research Question.....	6
<u>Chapter 2: Review of the Literature</u>	7
2.1 Race in American Religious Communities.....	7
2.1.1 History.....	7
2.1.2 Definitions of Multiracial Congregations.....	8
2.1.3 Reasons for Segregation in American Churches.....	9
2.1.4 Factors that Promote Racial Inclusivity.....	11
2.2 American Buddhism.....	13
2.2.1 Two Buddhisms.....	13
2.2.2 History of American Buddhism.....	13
2.2.3 Demographics of American Buddhism.....	16
2.2.4 Addressing Race in American Convert Buddhism.....	18
2.3 The White Space.....	19
2.3.1 Defining the White Space.....	19
2.3.2 Consequences of the White Space.....	21
2.3.3 Psychological Research on Segregated Spaces.....	22
2.4 Exclusion in the White Space.....	23
2.4.1 The Consequences of Exclusion.....	23
2.4.2 Exclusion of People of Color.....	25
2.4.2.1 Racialization.....	25
2.4.2.2 Color Blindness.....	27
2.4.2.3 Microaggressions.....	29
2.4.2.4 Psychological Impacts of Microaggressions.....	31
2.5 Intergroup Relations.....	32
2.5.1 Ingroup/Outgroup Bias.....	33
2.5.2 Intergroup Relations and Faith Communities.....	34
2.5.3 Theories of Conflict Resolution.....	35
2.5.4 Interventions.....	36
2.5.4.1. Contact Hypothesis.....	36
2.5.4.2. Superordinate Identity.....	37
2.5.5 Interventions and Meditation Communities.....	39
2.5.6 Acculturation Processes and Strategies.....	39
2.6 The Current Study.....	42
<u>Chapter 3: Methodology</u>	43
3.1 Participants.....	43
3.2 Researcher.....	44
3.2.1 Positionality.....	45
3.2.2 Reflexivity.....	45
3.3 Interview and Observation Protocols.....	45

3.4 Procedure.....	47
3.5 Analytic Strategy.....	48
4. Findings.....	50
5. Discussion.....	70
6. Implications.....	85
7. Recommendations for ECMC.....	90
8. Recommendations for Other Primarily White Meditation Communities.....	93
8. Limitations and Future Directions.....	95
Appendices	
Appendix A: Consent Form.....	98
Appendix B: Demographic Questionnaire.....	101
Appendix C: Interview Protocol.....	103
References.....	106
Tables	
Table 1.....	136
Table 2.....	137
Table 3.....	138
Table 4.....	139

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

American Convert Buddhism has, until recently, been composed largely of White community members (Pierce, 2000). However, in the past 20 years, due in part to the increased popularity of meditation in mainstream American culture, more U.S. born people of color have begun to seek out meditation communities (Dugan and Bogert, 2006). While White members of these communities express a desire to make their communities a “multicultural refuge,” (IMS, 2015, p. 1) people of color often experience meditation groups as bastions of “normative whiteness” (Harper, 2012, p. 1), where structures of language, dress, and other culturally sanctioned (i.e. “White”) behaviors are subtly enforced. Unfortunately, when non-White community members raise these issues, they are often met with resistance and disbelief (Harper, 2012), leading to a “silencing” (Arun, 2011, p.1) that many people of color in American Buddhist Community find exhausting and alienating (Williams, 2002).

1.2 Purpose of the Present Study

The present study seeks to explore the ways in which people of color experience racialized inclusion and exclusion at the East Coast Meditation Community (ECMC, a pseudonym), a large, American Convert Buddhist community of primarily White members in a populated, multiracial urban center on the East Coast of the United States. (For the purposes of this study, “White” is defined as people of European origin, including those of Jewish heritage, as well as ethnicities inclusive of both southern and northern Europe.) While the East Coast Meditation Community has made explicit efforts over the past decade to address issues of race inside and outside of the community, observations and a single pilot interview during my initial site visit to ECMC in May 2015 indicated that the community is still “hypersegregated”

(Emerson & Woo, 2006, p. 37), and that people of color in the community experience race as problematic in terms of distribution of resources, shared governance, and other areas.

Using the literatures of race in American religious communities, the history of American Buddhism, White Spaces, and Intergroup Relations as a lens, the present study seeks to build a phenomenological investigation of the lived experiences of people of color at ECMC. The explicit hope is that by bringing out the voices of the people of color at ECMC, many of whom feel “marginalized,” (J. James, personal communication, May 9, 2015), and making specific recommendations to the leadership of ECMC, three outcomes will come to fruition. First, the intention is to contribute to a broader dialogue within ECMC, leading to a more inclusive community. Second, I hope this inclusiveness will serve as a model for other American Convert Buddhist communities that have expressed intentions to make progress on racial diversity and inclusivity. Third, I hope these processes will serve as a model for the conversation that is already taking place in universities, health systems, corporations, and other arenas in the United States.

1.3 Orientation to the Dissertation

The present text begins with a review of five literatures. First, I present the academic literature of race in American religious communities, in which I survey the history of race in American churches, offer definitions of multiracial congregations, explicate reasons for segregation in American churches, and review factors that promote racial diversity in certain congregations. Second, I provide an overview of the American Buddhism literature, in which I define two Buddhisms (American Convert Buddhism and Immigrant/Ethnic Buddhism), provide a history of the development of Buddhism in America, outline the current demographics of American Buddhism, and explain current efforts to address race in American Convert Buddhist

communities. Third, I describe the literature of what Anderson (2015) calls, “The White Space” – that is, spaces that are defined not only by a preponderance of White people, but by the implicit and explicit enforcement of White normative structures. Fourth, I review the literature on exclusion and microaggressions. Finally, I outline the psychological literature on Intergroup Relations, including subcategories about Ingroup/Outgroup bias, theories of conflict resolution, and interventions that emphasize intergroup contact, superordinate identity, and meditation.

Following the literature review, I outline the methodology for the present study. This section includes subsections about the participants who were recruited, myself as a researcher, interview and observation protocols, procedures, and my analytic strategy. Next, I report the findings of the current study and then discuss them. These sections are followed by implications and recommendations. Lastly, I review the limitations of the study and outline possible future directions.

1.4 Research Question

The present study seeks to explore the ways in which people of color experience racialized inclusion and exclusion at the East Coast Meditation Community (ECMC), a large, American Convert Buddhist community of predominantly White members in a populated, multiracial urban center on the East Coast of the United States. More broadly, the study investigates how racialized inclusion and exclusion is produced by organizations, as well as how these dynamics can be actively and effectively challenged. A major product of this study is intended to be recommendations to address this goal of racial inclusivity and integration.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

2.1 Race in American Religious Communities

2.1.1 History

To understand the dynamics of race, racism, and racial segregation in American Convert Buddhist communities, it is useful to examine the state of race in American spiritual communities more generally. The history of American churches is one of racial segregation. Indeed, the historian of American religious movements Gene Zubovich (2015) contends that until the 1940s, racial segregation was forcibly imposed on congregations, both by social convention and even, in some regions, by law. Starting in the 1940s, Zubovich notes, several congregations in California and elsewhere began to challenge these conventions. The Church of Christian Fellowship of Los Angeles, the Church of the Fellowship of All Peoples, the South Berkeley Community Church, and the Albany Fellowship Church, all intentionally promoted a model of racial integration in both their clergy and laity (Zubovich, 2015). These churches grew rapidly in the 1940s, only to experience various tensions and difficulties during the 1950s and 1960s, and, according to Zubovich, more or less fizzling out by the 1970s.

The 1990s saw a resurgence of interest in the racial desegregation of protestant churches, as the Promise Keepers, a popular and mostly White men's movement, adopted racial reconciliation as one of its seven promises, thereby bringing problems of race to the attention of a wider White Christian audience (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson, 2013). Simultaneously, as a result of the 1965 immigration laws, the number of immigrants from Latin and Asian nations increased dramatically during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, shifting the demographics of American educational, civic, and religious life. Catholic churches were especially adept at serving the new influx of Latina/o worshipers in at least somewhat multi-ethnic churches, while

Protestant churches took various positions, from colorblind ideologies to more developed anti-racist work (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson, 2013). Colorblind approaches assume race does not matter or impact how one practices one's religion, whereas the anti-racist perspective assumes that race is embedded as an important social system contextualizing and organizing all religious life, including its members (Hearn, 2009).

By the turn of the century, congregations were paying increasing attention to the state of racial segregation in American churches. While the percentage of multiracial churches doubled between 1990 and 2010, according to the most recent data available, more than 85 percent of churches remain uni-racial (Faith Communities Survey, 2010) In fact, America's churches continue to be 10 times more segregated than their surrounding neighborhoods and 20 times more segregated than the school districts they inhabit, leading Emerson and Woo (2006, p. 37) to conclude that all Christian denominations remain "hyper-segregated."

2.1.2 Definitions of Multiracial Congregations

Scholars typically define multiracial congregations in binary terms or on a continuum (Edwards, Christerson, & Emerson, 2013). The most commonly used binary definition of a multiracial congregation is one in which no particular racial group makes up more than 80 percent of the community (Emerson & Kim, 2003). The reasons for this are twofold. First, research suggests that when at least 20 percent of the congregation is not made up of the dominant racial group then it represents a "critical mass," in which numerical minorities begin to play a role in the power structures of the church and influence policy, worship services, and other structures. In other words, when numerical minorities make up less than 20 percent of the population of a given group, they can easily be relegated to several disempowering roles, such as "the solo role" and the "token role" (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987). However, above the marker of

20 percent, these roles begin to shift and numerical minorities (usually people of color) begin to be able to be seen as more normalized members of the group and therefore are able to act in church power structures and influence policy (Emerson & Woo, 2006). Second, given the assumption of random contact, at the 20 percent mark there is a 99 percent probability that members of different races will come into contact with one another in any given week (Edwards, Christerson, & Emerson, 2013).

There are two continuum definitions of multicultural congregations, including the Index of Dissimilarity and the General Heterogeneity Index. Both indexes calculate proportions of racial diversity. In their research on multiracial congregations, Emerson and Woo (2006) used the General Heterogeneity Index to estimate that the median congregational diversity in the United States—which was approximated to be 0.02. In other words, on a typical Sunday, drawing two random people from an emblematic American congregation, there is only a 2 percent chance that those two parishioners would be of different races.

2.1.3 Reasons for Segregation in American Churches

Although the reasons for the segregation of American churches are complex, in their review of the literature, Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson (2013) point to several compelling themes. First, unlike workplaces, educational systems, or neighborhoods, church congregations are voluntary institutions in a "pluralistic religious economy" (p. 216). Since people generally choose organizations composed of participants similar to themselves (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), and because there are few legal or social pressures to associate across racial lines in religious life, parishioners tend to choose congregations composed of same-race congregants (Christerson & Emerson 2003; Emerson & Smith 2000). Second, across congregations, new church members are typically recruited from existing social networks (Christerson & Emerson

2003; Emerson & Kim 2003). Since social networks in America are overwhelmingly uniraical, this often unwittingly enforces homogeneity (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson, 2013).

A third factor that contributes to racial homogeneity is the well-documented fact that numerical minorities tend to stay in churches for shorter periods than their majority culture counterparts, making it difficult even for communities that intend to diversify to maintain that diversity over time (Scheitle & Dougherty, 2010). Fourth, neighborhoods in most American cities and towns are still highly segregated by race, making recruitment across racial lines difficult because of simple geographical demographics (Emerson & Kim 2003; Massey & Denton 1993).

The last factor that contributes to racial segregation in churches is tied directly to the historical oppression of people of color in the United States. Given the historical treatment of African American, Latina/o, and Asian Americans throughout the 19th and 20th centuries (e.g. slavery and Jim Crow; the Reclamation Act of 1902; and the internment of Japanese citizens during World War II), people of color have often looked to churches as places of safety and political activism (Blau, Redding, Land, 1998; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, & Kim, 2003; Emerson & Kim 2003). This has been as true for African American communities (Billingsley 1999; Brown & Brown 2003; Pattillo-McCoy 1998) as for recent Latino and Asian immigrants (Hirschman 2004; Levitt 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). In fact, DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim (2003) found that diverse congregations were often perceived as less empowering by people of color because multiracial congregations focused less on the political and social pressures that people of color face in the United States. This, in turn, influenced people of color to choose monoracial congregations over congregations that were attempting to be more racially diverse.

2.1.4 Factors that Promote Racial Inclusivity

Despite the prevailing racial homogeneity in American churches, a number of congregations have successfully achieved varying levels of diversity. Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson (2013) have identified a host of dynamics that may contribute to the successful integration of churches, including both internal and contextual factors. Several researchers have found that clearly articulating anti-racist positions over a period of years, and making these positions central to the message of the church, predicts racial diversity in churches (Ammerman, 2005; Dudley & Roozen, 2001; Hadaway, Hackett, & Miller, 1984). In addition, when church leaders actively promote racial diversity, both verbally and with policy, their congregations are more likely to be diverse (Christerson, Edwards, & Emerson, 2005; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, & Kim, 2003; Kramer 1954; Yancey & Emerson 2003). Examples of this active promotion of diversity include diversifying leadership (Christerson, Edwards, Emerson, 2005; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, & Kim, 2003; Yancey & Emerson 2003), cultivating person of color small groups within the community (Christerson, Edwards, Emerson, 2005; Marti, 2010), encouraging music and dance from diverse cultural backgrounds (DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, & Kim, 2003; Ganiel 2008; Marti 2012; Yancey & Emerson, 2003), fostering programs that directly address the concerns of people of color (Dougherty & Huyser, 2008; Ganiel, 2008; Hadaway, Hackett, & Miller, 1984), devoting efforts to the unique concerns of people of color (Garces-Foley, 2007; Marti 2010), and putting people of color in visible positions of power during meetings (Marti 2012).

Two additional factors that contribute to racial diversity in churches are size and average income of parishioners. Typically, large, recently founded churches are more successful at producing racially inclusive congregations than their more established counterparts (Dougherty

& Huyser 2008). As well, churches that draw high-income, well-educated parishioners are more likely to be diverse than those that do not harbor those particular demographic factors (Emerson & Woo 2006).

Contextual factors also contribute to racial diversity in American churches. For example, urban churches are more likely to be diverse than suburban or rural congregations (Dougherty, 2003; Dougherty & Huyser 2008; Emerson & Woo, 2006; Hadaway, Hackett, & Miller, 1984). In addition, congregations located in racially diverse neighborhoods are, perhaps unsurprisingly, more likely to be racially diverse (Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998; Emerson & Kim 2003; Emerson & Woo, 2006; Hadaway, Hackett, & Yancey 2003). As Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson (2013) note, a number of internal and external factors must be present in order for a church community to overcome the barriers imposed by historical trends and social pressures of religion in the United States. However, they further conclude that, "this mix of internal and external factors rarely comes together for a single congregation, thus making racial segregation in American congregations the continued norm" (p. 218).

American Buddhism

2.2.1 Two Buddhisms

Using the literature on the racial diversity of Christian churches as a foundation, the unique history of American Buddhism will now be described. The development of Buddhist communities in the United States can be divided into a history of two distinct groups. The first group is composed of the Asian immigrants who brought Buddhism to the U.S. starting in the mid-19th century. The second group has until recently been composed mostly of middle class, educated, White Americans who began to convert to Buddhism in the 1960s. Many scholars refer to these two distinct groups as "Heritage" Buddhists and "Convert" Buddhists (Numrich, 2003).

Some scholars have challenged this dichotomous approach (e.g. Hickey, 2010), arguing that the categories themselves contain an unconscious bias and privilege White communities over more traditional immigrant communities. While these points are well founded, as yet no accepted categorization has taken the place of the “Two Buddhisms” approach. Therefore for the purposes of this paper, I will refer to the primarily White communities who are attempting to be inclusive to people of color as “American Convert Buddhist” communities, and I will refer to communities made up of those from a Buddhist cultural background as “Heritage” Buddhists.

2.2.2 History of American Buddhism

Buddhism first arrived in the United States via Chinese and Japanese laborers who settled in California and other western states in the mid 1800’s (Prebish & Baumann, 2002). While some Euro-American intellectuals (e.g. Thoreau, Emerson, and Whitman) expressed interest in Buddhist doctrines throughout the 19th century (Phillai, 1985), it wasn’t until the syndicated newspaper coverage of the World Parliament of Religions, which met in Chicago in 1893 and featured a number of Buddhists from different affiliations (e.g., the Theravadin monk Anagarika Dharmapala and the Japanese Zen Buddhist Soyen Shaku) that a larger number of White Americans were exposed to Buddhism as a coherent philosophy (Seager, 1995). Although only a handful of White Americans approached Buddhism as a possible religious affiliation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Fields, 1986), this dynamic began to change in the 1950s when Beat novelists and poets (e.g. Snyder, Kerouac, and Ginsburg) in search of an alternative to perceived limitations of American culture, advocated Zen’s transcendental possibilities (Tonkinson, 1995). What resulted was a selective appropriation of Zen philosophy and practice that included an emphasis on meditation and direct experience and downplayed the ritual and community aspects of Zen. While this repurposing of Buddhism met the intellectual and spiritual needs of White

seekers, it simultaneously established a rift between convert Buddhist communities and heritage Buddhist communities that persists to this day (Goldberg, 1999).

After the lifting of the Asian Exclusion Act in 1965, several influential Asian teachers moved to the United States, including Shunryu Suzuki and Taizan Maezumi, two Zen teachers who settled in California (Chadwick, 1999) and Chogyam Trungpa, a Tibetan teacher who founded a large community in Colorado (Batchelor, 1994). Other Asian teachers followed, and by the 1980s there were a handful of influential Asian teachers leading large communities of primarily White students in locations around the country (Seager, 1999). Throughout this period, communities of Ethnic Buddhists were also rapidly expanding, due to an influx of Asian immigrants and greater access to financial resources in the Japanese, Chinese, and Thai communities (Tanaka, 1999). For instance, the Buddhist Churches of America, a Jodo Shinshu community that was founded in California in the late 19th century, expanded to include temples in several states, eventually drawing a membership of over 16,000 parishioners (Buddhist Churches, 2015)

Meanwhile, the cultural ferment of the 1960s and 1970s inspired many White Americans to seek out Buddhist teachers in Asia (Fields, 1986). These seekers went to Japan to study Zen, to Southeast Asia to study Theravada, and to India to study with Tibetan teachers who were living in exile after the Chinese invasion of Tibet (Fields, 1986). Upon their return, many founded communities of their own, usually with the guidance of their Asian teachers (Batchelor, 1994). For example, Jack Kornfield, Sharon Salzberg, and Joseph Goldstein co-founded the Insight Meditation Society (IMS) in 1976 as a center for the study of the Theravadin Buddhism they had been practicing in Burma, Thailand, and India (Cadge, 2004).

Through the process of Asian leaders teaching in the United States and White Americans studying in Asia and then returning to teach, three broad traditions flourished with White middle class Buddhists in America: Tibetan Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, and Insight Buddhism (Cadge, 2004). Each of these traditions made conscious efforts to adapt to the American cultural landscape. For example, Insight meditation, as practiced at IMS and other centers, eliminated the extensive liturgical elements of Southeast Asian Buddhism (Kornfield, 1993), while Trungpa's community retained much of the ritual practices of Tibetan Buddhism, but recited all texts in English and adopted the cultural dress of middle class America, including business suits at special events (Chadwick, 1999). Most of the traditions deemphasized the monastic structures that were essential to the Asian Buddhist models in favor of relatively short retreats, home study, and a "lay practice" adapted to the needs of family and work life of middle class White Americans (Prebish & Tanaka, 1998).

2.2.3 Demographics of American Buddhism

According to a recent Pew Research Center report (2012), there were approximately 3.8 million Buddhists in the United States in 2010. Just over half (53 percent) of the Buddhists identified by the study were White, while 32 percent were Asian, six percent were Hispanic, and four percent were Black (see Table 1). For the sake of comparison, Census Bureau figures estimate the racial demographics of the United States to be approximately 77 percent White, 17 percent Latino/a, 13 percent African American, five percent of Asian descent, and one percent Native Indian (Census, 2014; see table 2). The Pew numbers, though helpful, represent only a rough approximation of the complexity that defines Buddhism in early 21st century America. As Fronsdal (1998) notes, the lines demarcating what it means to be Buddhist in America are hazy,

with some highly involved members of Buddhist communities refusing the label of “Buddhist,” while others who do not attend a Buddhist temple appropriate the term.

In addition, the numbers in the Pew study fail to demarcate between convert Buddhists and heritage Buddhists. Likewise, the Pew study reveals little about the racial demographics of individual communities. In fact, finding data on the demographics of convert Buddhist communities in the United States can be difficult. While a number of writers have noted the lack of racial diversity in convert Buddhist communities (e.g. Kaleem, 2012; Pintak, 2001; Sharpe, 2004), there is a shortage of accurate studies or statistics on the phenomenon of race in convert Buddhist communities. To date, there have been no large-scale studies of Buddhist communities equivalent to the 2010 Faith Communities Survey that established racial demographics for Christian congregations.

Over the past several years, Insight Meditation communities have made a concerted effort to address issues of race in their communities. For instance, the recent Community Dharma Leaders training, a three-year program at Spirit Rock Meditation Center (SRMC) that is designed to train aspirants to be leaders in their spiritual communities, was explicitly focused on inclusivity, and is perhaps the most diverse American Buddhist teacher training program in history (Gleig, 2014). In addition, both IMS and SRMC have instituted teacher training programs that are committed to including at least 75 percent leaders of color. This is an explicit attempt to ameliorate the imbalance of racial power disparities within the Insight community (D. Williams, personal communication, April 1, 2017).

Nevertheless, Insight meditation communities, like other American Convert Buddhist communities, remain predominantly White. For instance, in an effort to understand the racial dynamics at play in its community, IMS began tracking racial demographics in 2010, using the

IMS Diversity Questionnaire. According to the results of this annual survey, in the year 2014, approximately 84 percent of respondents identified as White or of European decent. In addition, six percent identified as of Asian descent, just under five percent identified as Black or African descent, approximately four percent identified as Hispanic or Latino descent, three percent identified as of Middle Eastern descent, and less than one percent identified as being either Native American or Native Alaskan descent, or as Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander descent. Interestingly, despite efforts on the part of IMS administration, staff, and teachers, the percentage of White-identifying participants grew each year between 2011 and 2014, from 81 percent in 2011 to 86 percent as of September 8, 2015 (IMS Diversity Questionnaire, 2015).

2.2.4 Addressing Race in American Convert Buddhism

Members of American Convert Buddhist communities have been calling for more explicit efforts to address issues of race and racism in their communities for nearly 20 years (e.g. Adams et al., 2000; Gutierrez Boldoquin, 2004; Pierce, 2000; Willis, 2000). As such, the literature produced by practitioners on the topic has progressed a great deal. Dugan and Bogert (2006) produced an informal paper on racial diversity in American Buddhist sanghas. (Note: for the purposes of this paper, the word “sangha” designates any Buddhist community, whether lay or monastic.) In 2012, Larry Yang, the co-founder of East Bay Meditation Center in Oakland, C.A., which has been called “one of the most diverse sanghas in the world,” (as quoted in Gleig, 2014, p. 1) published three articles in the Huffington Post dedicated to the topic of diversity in Buddhist communities. Also in the Huffington Post, Jaweed Kaleem (2013) profiled a People of Color (POC) Buddhist affiliation group in Seattle. More recently, 125 Buddhist leaders gathered in the White House to meet with State Department officials about racial and other pressing issues in the United States (Boorstein, 2015). Meanwhile, Buddhists for Racial Justice, an online

community of Buddhist Teachers, Monastics, Priests, Leaders, Ministers, Practitioners, and Clergy, has begun to build support for unified actions on racial issues (Buddhists for Racial Justice, 2015).

In contrast, the academic, peer-reviewed literature on the topic of race and racism in American convert Buddhist communities is scarce. Particularly lacking is recent qualitative data. While Hickey's (2010) position paper explicitly addresses the issues of race, racism, and White supremacy in American Buddhist discourses, her analysis relies on ethnographic theories drawn from the 1970s and 1980s. Cheah (2011) usefully argues that the lack of a discussion about race within American Buddhist scholarship is, in itself, an expression of White supremacy. However, his treatise relies on data drawn almost exclusively from Ethnic Buddhist communities, and suffers from a paucity of data drawn from convert American Buddhist groups. Finally, Munt and Yip (2016) have recently offered a bracing critique of race, gender, and sexuality in British Buddhism. However, this work primarily concerns the way these dynamics play out in Great Britain rather than the United States.

Smith (2009) and Gleig (2014) have most clearly articulated an empirically-based understanding of diversity in convert Buddhism. Smith, for instance, conducted an ethnography about the experiences of people of color in two of the largest Convert Buddhist communities in Great Britain, while Gleig's ethnography examined the experiences of LGBTQI individuals in a multiracial community in the United States. However, while providing a theoretically sophisticated analysis, Smith's work focused on London-based communities rather than American Buddhists and, due to her tragic death, has not been published for wider distribution. Meanwhile, Gleig's ethnography of the East Bay Meditation Center focuses its inquiry on LGBTQI diversity, and though approximately 50 percent of the population in her study identified

as people of color, race was not the focus of her published ethnography. This leaves the question of race and its effects on people of color in primarily White American Convert Buddhist communities still largely unexamined.

2.3 The White Space

2.3.1 Defining the White Space

A number of Buddhist commentators have described American Convert Buddhist communities as “White spaces” (e.g. Harper, 2012; Williams, 2002; Willis, 2000) – that is, spaces that are defined not only by a preponderance of light-skinned people, but by the implicit and explicit enforcement of White, middle class, educated normative structures of language, dress, tone and volume of voice, and other subtly endorsed behaviors (for more on White normative behaviors, see Hill, 1998).

While the academic literature concerning "the White space" is, to date, relatively sparse, Elijah Anderson, a leading sociologist of urban environments and the politics of race, has recently published a paper intended to operationalize the construct (Anderson, 2015). In the article, Anderson elucidates what "the White space" is, how it functions, and what are its consequences. He notes that, though the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and the legal and educational reforms that followed allowed a portion of the African American population to enter the middle class, and therefore participate in institutions that were previously White, segregation persists. That segregation, he explains, is both physical – in terms of neighborhoods, school districts, and churches – and "perceptual," (p. 10) since the spaces in which people of color are "typically absent, not expected, or marginalized when present" (p. 10) create a sense of isolation and precariousness among people of color who enter those spaces, such that people of color feel

they may be excluded from communities unexpectedly (see below for several examples). This "normative sensibility" (p. 10) is often called by Black research participants, "the White space."

Anderson (2015) contrasts the White space, which is typically defined by middle class sensibilities of orderliness, cleanness, and upward mobility, with what he calls "the Black space." The Black space, according to Anderson, is associated with images of "the ghetto," which is "symbolized as a distressed place to which Blacks have been relegated to live apart from the larger society, thereby encouraging a universally low opinion of Blacks as a racial category" (p. 11). This low opinion, according to Anderson, follows people of color into the White space and defines their roles in that space, such that "when the anonymous Black person enters the White space, others there immediately try to make sense of him or her — to figure out 'who that is,' or to gain a sense of the nature of the person's business and whether they need to be concerned" (p. 11).

These dynamics can be seen in the well documented cases of people of color being mistaken for hired help, pulled over by the police without cause, and suspiciously surveilled in places of business. A number of commentators have identified American Convert Buddhist Communities as White Spaces (Harper, 2012; Williams, 2002; Willis, 2000), based on their propensity to rent rooms in primarily White churches, host meetings in White neighborhoods, and subtly endorse White behavioral norms.

2.3.2 Consequences of the White Space

Anderson continues outlining the resulting dynamics, including what he calls "the tyranny of the command performance," (p. 14), in which people of color must dissociate themselves from the stereotype that all Blacks come from the inner-city by speaking "White" English, dressing in expensive clothing, and expressing themselves in low and careful tones of

voice. To illustrate his point that African Americans are only tenuously welcome in the White space, Anderson offers several examples from his own life and the lives of his research participants. In one, while jogging in a White neighborhood, Anderson is told to "go home;" in another, an upper middle class Black adolescent is called a racial epithet in the middle of a soccer game, and then blamed for the ensuing tensions; in a third, a Black law student is mistreated by police because he "fits the description" of a suspect involved in a shooting, and none of his fellow students or professors step in to help. As one informant explained when asked about reminders that one is not truly welcome in the White space, "Once it happens to you, all bets are off, and you do not know what to expect, no matter what you thought of yourself; for the moment, you don't know just where you stand. You feel like a stranger in a strange land" (p. 15).

The White space, then, is a space that is not only defined by demographics, in which Whites outnumber people of color. It is also a perceptual state and a state of mind, in which people of color are made to feel like outsiders, in which they must perform in order to be accepted, and in which that acceptance may be revoked without predictable cause. Though Anderson focuses his analysis primarily on the experience of African Americans, the construct can be extended to other communities of color, in that Latino/a people, people of Asian descent, and any other people that are not phenotypically White must contend with the expectations and strictures of the White space.

2.3.3 Psychological Research on Segregated Spaces

While Anderson has done a great deal to elucidate the construct of the White space, some psychological research has also examined racially segregated spaces without the use of this particular terminology. For instance, Sibley's (1998) definition of 'pure' spaces relates strongly to the White space construct. A 'pure' space, according to Sibley, is one that is kept free from non-

conforming elements, thereby excluding deviant people or activities. When these spaces are (often unconsciously) established, group members tend to construct notions of the "other," and therefore react defensively to customs, styles of dress, ways of speaking, and other unaccustomed behaviors as "impure."

Sibley's (1998) "pure" space can be applied to racially segregated spaces. For instance, in an experiment in dining halls in a South African university, Lameer (2007) sent Black confederates to "invade" tables made up entirely of White students, and, conversely, sent White confederates to "invade" tables occupied entirely by Black students. The results were telling. Both Black and White students avoided confederates who crossed color lines and "invaded" "pure" spaces. In addition, a number of White students vacated tables when Black confederates sat down, and there was not a single time during the course of the experiment that White students spoke to or acknowledged Black confederates who had seated themselves at "White" tables. These findings uphold Sibley's hypothesis that pure spaces are strongly boundaried, and make an empirical and psychological contribution to Anderson's (2015) construct operationalization.

2.4 Exclusion in the White Space

Having reviewed the literature on the White Space and Segregated Spaces, we now turn to the literature that has elucidated the consequences for people who are excluded, in general, and the dynamics that people of color experience, in particular. Below, two questions are examined. What happens, internally, interpersonally, and physiologically, when people feel excluded from groups? More specifically, what are the particular dynamics at play in the exclusion of people of color in White Spaces, such as universities, workplaces, health care, or meditation communities?

2.4.1 The Consequences of Exclusion

Human beings are, by nature, social creatures. They harbor an inherent need to belong to groups in which they feel accepted, cared for, and welcomed (for a review, see Baumeister & Leary, 1995), and will therefore strive to enact and sustain relationships with others (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003; Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004). However, instances abound in which this basic human need is not met, and people feel rejected by groups. That experience leads to a number of negative outcomes. For instance, excluded participants in experimental social psychology studies often feel angry (Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004; Chow, Tiedens, & Govan, 2008), lose their sense of control (Gerber & Wheeler, 2009; Warburton Williams, & Cairns, 2006), and experience generalized hostile thoughts (DeWall, Twenge, Gitter, & Baumeister, 2009). They also experience powerful negative mood states (Leary, Kowalski, Smith, & Phillips, 2003; Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004), reduced self-esteem (e.g. Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995), increased anxiety (Baumeister & Tice, 1990), diminished self-regulation (Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Twenge, 2005), and even decreased cognitive capacities (Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002). In a number of experimental studies, participants have shown less willingness to partake in prosocial behaviors after being excluded from a group (Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001; Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2002), and in one cross-sectional, naturalistic study investigators concluded that excluded employees at a large firm were more likely to engage in unethical behaviors than their compatriots who felt included (Kouchaki and Wareham, 2015).

The negative impacts of exclusion are not only social and emotional, however. They also register physiologically. A sense of being rejected has been associated with enhanced activation of “fight or flight” areas of the limbic system (Eisenberger, 2012; Kross, Berman, Mischel,

Smith, & Wagner, 2011), increased arousal of the sympathetic nervous system (Cavanagh & Allen, 2009) and increases in salivary cortisol (Blackhart, Eckel, & Tice, 2007), a biological marker of stress. Indeed, studies have shown that the brain registers experiences of rejection in a similar manner to physical pain (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003), which may explain participants' powerful aversion to being excluded (MacDonald & Leary, 2005).

2.4.2 Exclusion of People of Color

While the literature on the psychological nature and consequences of exclusion provides a foundation, people of color also experience exclusion in particular and historically situated ways. This section, therefore, examines the dynamics of racialization, color blindness, and microaggressions. These literatures are particularly relevant in contextualizing the experiences of people of color in White meditation communities, since these communities tend to be explicitly progressive in their political and social beliefs, but often still express subtle forms of White supremacy (Harper, 2012).

2.4.2.1 Racialization. In examining the historically situated nature of exclusion that people of color may experience in primarily White meditation communities, it is useful to ask three questions: What is race? How is it constructed? What purpose does it serve? Throughout the past three decades, Michael Omi and Howard Winant have sought to address just these quandaries. In their work, they begin by asserting that race is, indeed, a social construct (Omi & Winant, 2014). In fact, they claim, an historical examination of race reveals that what most Americans take to be a fixed and intuitive category of experience is, upon reflection, fluid, dynamic, and subject to revision based on the prevailing political struggles of an historical moment (Omi & Winant, 2014).

For example, race as we know it first became a powerful social category during the European conquest of Africa, Asia, and North America in the 18th century, allowing Europeans to justify exploitation and genocide based on an assumed superiority (Omi & Winant, 2014). While the construct of race has undergone numerous revisions in the past three centuries, including shifting assumptions about who is White and who is not, the theme remains the same: race is constructed by the dominant group of a given society, and it serves to empower the dominant culture and marginalize the oppressed (Omi & Winant, 2014).

Howard F. Taylor further clarifies the construct. In his chapter, *Defining Race* (2006), he notes first the profound impacts of race as a social construct, explaining that African Americans, Asian Americans, Latina/os, and Native Americans are statistically far more likely to be poor, live in dangerous neighborhoods, and suffer from a lack of access to health care and education. He then deconstructs the notion that race is a biological category, noting that the differences within racial categories far surpasses differences between categories. In fact, he notes, the overlap in facial features and other physical traits between races in the United States is more than 99 percent. The genetic overlap, too, rests in the 99 percent range. Therefore, Taylor concludes, "the definition of race in America . . . is largely social" (p.49).

Like Omi and Winant, Taylor then outlines and deconstructs the boundaries of the social construct, stating that, "race is what interacting human beings define it to be" (p. 49). Due to the power dynamics of American culture, White people and people of color are both socialized into rigid racial stereotypes that are not based on biology, but instead become essentialized through robust cultural dynamics, and tend to define access to important resources.

Taylor then goes on to examine ethnicity. Unlike race, which functions exclusively as a powerful societal fiction, ethnicity "exists," in that it describes a group of people united by a

common culture, including practices such as language, social rules, music, and other dynamics. African Americans are an ethnicity in that, broadly speaking, they share certain cultural connections. Jews, too, are an ethnicity. However, when an ethnicity comes to be seen by a dominant culture as a race, then, according to Taylor, this group has become *racialized*. Racialization almost always carries with it negative consequences, such as when Jews were racialized in Nazi Germany, making genocide possible.

2.4.2.2 Color Blindness. While color blindness was once seen as an attempt to overcome the explicitly racist stances that Taylor and Omi and Winant elucidate, it is broadly accepted among race theorists that the color blind philosophy, in fact, contributes to racial inequities by depoliticizing current racial disparities and divorcing them from a historical context (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). For example, the practice of redlining (selectively denying services to certain geographical areas) was legally abolished in the late 1960s. However, since intergenerational equity is built primarily through real estate holdings in the United States, the impacts of redlining continue into the present, in that Whites, who were never blocked from receiving services and owning real estate, still benefit from the wealth their families gathered (Burke, 2012). Suppressing this historical perspective, one may claim that people of color who live in poor, segregated neighborhoods either do so by choice or by poorly constructed cultural values, as many conservative commentators argue. This color blindness allows for White Americans to ignore the unearned privileges they have inherited due to historical oppression (Bonilla-Silva, 2006).

Building on that argument, Burke (2012) examines attitudes of Whites in a liberal, diverse community. In this context, she finds that self-professed progressive Whites like the members of the East Coast Meditation Center tend to explain away racial segregation and

attribute it to other causes. She finds that these explanations come in four frames, including ideas of meritocracy (that people work their way into the neighborhood based on their merits and skills), naturalization (that "birds of a feather flock together," and therefore segregation is natural), cultural racism (that patterns of inequality are based on certain pathological norms among cultural groups), and minimization of racism through denying one's own racism or one's own benefit from systems of racism.

Burke goes on to explain that, even Whites who are "pro-diversity" (p. 61) fall into the four frames. However, many of the White residents that Burke interviewed also were able to name issues of systemic racism when speaking about difficult topics. Both these observations – that even so-called "liberal" Whites fall easily into the four frames of color blindness and that they can also, sometimes, step out of those frames to examine the problematic history of racialization – clearly relates to the experience of people of color in primarily White meditation communities, in that they likely experience both the racist ideologies of color blindness and the clear-eyed analysis of racism that some of Burke's White subjects were able to harness. Next, we turn to the subtle forms of exclusion people of color face in White spaces, in the form of microaggressions.

2.4.2.3 Microaggressions. While it is no longer legal or socially acceptable in America to exclude individuals based on their race, many people of color still report feeling marginalized in White Spaces, based on the subtle dynamics of demeaning or inaccurate assumptions that consistently surface in everyday interactions with White people (Minikel-Lacocque, 2013; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue, 2010; Yosso, 2006; Yosso, Smith Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009; and many others). Operationalized as "microaggressions," (Sue et al., 2007), these covert racist instances often leave the victim feeling confused, isolated, and unwelcome (Sue, 2010), in

part due to the fact that the marginalizing act often, though not always, originates from a well-meaning individual (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue, 2010; Sue et al., 2007).

Sue et al. (2007) have developed a comprehensive psychological model of microaggressions in which the broad phenomena is defined as "Commonplace verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults" (p. 271). In addition, Sue et al. developed nine themes, each of which are accompanied by examples of typical statements corresponding to the given theme, as well as the message the statements often imply. The nine themes are: alien in own land, ascription of intelligence, color blindness, criminality, denial of individual racism, myth of meritocracy, pathologizing cultural values/communication styles, second class citizen, and environmental microaggressions.

A statement such as "Where are you from?" asked of an Asian American who speaks native English and was obviously born in the United States, might be an example of the theme of "alien in own land." In this case the implied message might be, "You are not American." Additionally, the statement, "You are so articulate," spoken to an African American PhD student, might imply an "ascription of intelligence," as the underlying message could be "It is unusual for someone of your race to be intelligent" (Sue, et al., 2007, p. 276).

In addition, Sue et al. (2007) divide microaggressions into three categories, including microinsult, microassault, and microinvalidation. Microinsults are "Behavioral/verbal remarks or comments that convey rudeness, insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity" (p. 278). Microassaults are "Explicit racial derogations characterized by a violent verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or

purposeful discriminatory actions" (p. 278). Finally, microinvalidations are "Verbal comments or behaviors that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color" (p. 278). According to Sue et al., microinsults and microinvalidations are often, though certainly not always, unconscious, while microassaults are often conscious. Together these three types of microaggressions enact everyday racism in contemporary America's White spaces.

Over the past decade, the empirical literature on racial microaggressions has grown substantially (for a review, see Wong, Derthick, David, Saw, & Okazaki, 2013). Studies have examined the dynamics of microaggressions for students on college campuses (Minikel-Lacocque, 2013; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Yosso, 2006; Yosso, Smith Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009), in the workplace (Basford, Offermann, & Behrend, 2014; Holder, Jackson, & Ponterotto, 2015), in counseling relationships (Nadal, Griffin, Wong, Hamit, & Rasmus, 2014; Owen, Tao, Imel, Wampold, & Rodolfa, 2014), in health care (Ross, Lypson, & Kumagai, 2012; Walls, Gonzalez, Gladney, & Onello, 2015) and among faculty in higher education (Dade, Tartakov, Hargrave, & Leigh, 2015; Huang & Taylor, 2014; Pittman, 2012). In addition, studies have evaluated the experiences of racial microaggressions for Asian Americans (Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009), African Americans (Hall & Fields, 2015; Robinson-Wood et al., 2015; Stambaugh & Ford, 2015), Latino/Hispanic populations (Forrest-Bank & Jenson, 2015; Minikel-Lacocque, 2013; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Stambaugh & Ford, 2015), and Native Americans (Clark, Kleiman, Spanierman, Isaac, & Poolokasingham, 2014; Jones, & Galliher, 2015; Walls, Gonzalez, Gladney, & Onello, 2015).

2.4.4 Psychological Impacts of Microaggressions

While the literature on the occurrence of microaggressions is extensive, studies that examine the psychological impacts of microaggressions are less robust (Wong, Derthick, David, Saw, & Okazaki, 2013). In contrast to the literature that has examined the negative impacts of overt forms of discrimination on the physical and psychological health of marginalized individuals (e.g. Clark et al., 1999; Hatzenbuehler, 2009; Herek, 2009; and many others), the impact of microaggressions on psychological functioning is still developing. Current studies rely on cross sectional designs at a single time point, self report measures, and correlational analyses that make drawing causal conclusions difficult (Wong, Derthick, David, Saw, & Okazaki, 2013). However, based on the experimental literature of experiences of exclusion reviewed above, it is plausible to conclude that, when people of color experience microaggressions, it may lead to psychological consequences similar to other forms of exclusion (e.g. lowered self esteem, loss of control, increased anxiety, lower mood, decreased self-regulation, etc.). In addition, the one study that did examine microaggressions among a population of color using a mixed methods, longitudinal design, found that experiencing microaggressions was related to increased stress and depressive symptoms at a one-year follow-up (Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010), providing further evidence for the extensive participant reports that have already made their way into the literature.

The psychological literature on exclusion from groups and the historical analysis of racialization and color blindness, combined with the psychological literature concerning microaggressions, provides further context for the study of people of color in primarily White meditation communities. However, as with the literature of racialized segregation in churches, there still exists a gap in terms of what people of color experience in primarily White meditation communities. The following section provides further context by examining how groups interact

with one another, how they create ingroup and outgroup bias, what can be done about these biases, and how acculturation to outgroup cultures takes place.

2.5 Intergroup Relations

Building upon the literature of race in American churches, the racialized history of American Convert Buddhism, the literature concerning White spaces, and the literature on exclusion and race-based microaggressions, we now turn to the Intergroup Relations literature, which provides a framework for how individuals identify with particular groups, and how that identification can lead to denigration of outgroup others and conflict between groups. Intergroup Relations is an integrative field of social psychology that focuses its study on at least nine interrelated domains, including person perception, social attitudes, aggression, self-esteem, social comparison, equity, cooperation, competition, and conformity and compliance (Brewer, 2010). Though the field traces its roots at least as far back as Sumner's (1906) theory of ethnocentrism, social psychological investigations of the interactions of groups began in earnest with Allport's work in the 1950s (Brewer, 1999).

Intergroup Relations theory builds on the premise that human beings do not experience themselves only as individuals; they also, often implicitly, identify as representatives of groups (Brewer, 1996). As such, in his seminal definition of Intergroup Relations, Sherif (1966) explains that, “Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification, we have an instance of intergroup behavior” (p.12). This interaction may occur at the dyadic level, between two individuals who represent a given group, or at the intergroup level, in which multiple members of distinct groups meet (Brewer, 2010).

2.5.1 Ingroup/Outgroup Bias

Investigators have amassed nearly half a century of evidence concerning in-group/out-group biases. In fact, according to Marilynn Brewer, a leading Intergroup Relations theorist, human beings seem to have a "universal propensity to differentiate the social world into 'us' and 'them'" (Brewer, 2010, p. 536). Importantly, this demarcation is not a neutral one. Based on the division of people into categories, subjects then extend their sense of self to their particular group, identifying with their group to such an extent that the group's successes are perceived as their own successes, and attacks on the group are perceived as an attack on the self (Turner et al., 1987). In addition, studies have shown that, when confronted with ingroup and outgroup situations, individuals tend to accentuate the similarities between themselves and members of their perceived ingroup, exaggerate the differences between themselves and members of perceived outgroups, selectively generalize positive affect such as trust and liking toward members of perceived ingroups, and perceive competition between the identified ingroup and other outgroups (Turner, 1975).

While many real world examples of ingroup/outgroup behavior coalesce around relatively fixed and historically fraught identities, lab experiments have shown that simply classifying individuals into arbitrary groups elicits similar biases. In a series of British experiments, for instance, subjects who were randomly assigned to objectively meaningless social categories allocated significantly higher rewards to their arbitrary ingroup than to those they were told were not in their group (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Similar patterns of preferential treatment for randomly assigned ingroups have been established for the application of fair rules (Ancok & Chertkoff, 1983), attributions of negative and positive behaviors (Weber, 1994), and capacity for trust and cooperation (Wit & Kerr, 2002), among

other dynamics, leading investigators to conclude that the conditions necessary for ingroup favoritism and outgroup denigration are minimal (Brewer, 2010).

2.5.2 Intergroup Relations and Faith Communities

Interestingly, while the Intergroup Relations literature has examined conflict between religious communities at length (e.g. Williams, 1947; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999; Verkuyten, 2007; Grefe, 2011), the field has yet to address intragroup identity conflicts like those that may exist in monoracial religious communities that attempt to become multiracial (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson, 2013). In fact, despite the work that has been done on how groups instantiate unity by promoting a common, overarching group identity among a diverse group (e.g., Brewer 1991; Dovidio et al. 2005; Gaertner et al. 1989; Gaertner & Dovidio 2000; Hehman et al. 2010), little of that discussion has focused on the dynamics within church communities, leaving a gap in the literature that future studies will need to address.

2.5.3 Theories of Conflict Resolution

Unsurprisingly, the reification of ingroups and outgroups can lead to conflict. Within Intergroup Relations, there exist several theories of conflict, including Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966), Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), and a loosely related network of theories of relative deprivation (e.g. Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Stat, & Williams, 1949). Realistic Conflict Theory, whose proponents instigated the now canonical Robber's Cave Experiment in the early 1960s, posits that conflict between groups develops through competition for real or perceived valued resources (Sherif, 1966).

While the basic premise of Realistic Conflict Theory has been verified in subsequent experiments (e.g. Kahn & Ryen, 1972; Rabbie & Wilkins, 1971), Turner (1981) and others have argued that other dynamics, such as the strength of individuals' loyalty to their group, may also

account for important aspects of tensions between groups (e.g. Struch & Schwartz, 1989). In response to these theoretical concerns, Stephan and Stephan (2000) have developed Integrated Threat Theory, which elucidates four different sources of threat from a particular outgroup, including realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. Finally, theories of relative deprivation account for the perceived injustice individuals experience when they compare their situations either to the situations of others, or even to their own expectations for themselves. This dynamic may occur even when these people objectively occupy a privileged social position relative to the perceived outgroup (e.g. Brahmin youth that protested educational reforms that seemed to favor disenfranchised castes; Brewer, 2010).

2.5.4 Interventions

The field of Intergroup Relations has proposed several interventions for the improvement of relations between groups. These include the contact hypothesis, interventions that activate a superordinate identity, and meditation interventions. While each of these approaches suffers from limitations that have been acknowledged in the literature, they also provide some promise for how to overcome ingroup/outgroup differences.

2.5.4.1 The Contact Hypothesis. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, for instance, posits, first, that isolation and segregation perpetuate intergroup hostility and, second, that interpersonal contact between members of different groups can therefore diffuse reified stereotypes and build meaningful and generalizable connections. However, Allport further theorized that mere contact was insufficient to instigate change. In addition, four qualifying conditions must also be present, including support from an authority, intimate contact, equal status for members of both groups, and conditions for cooperative interdependence (Allport, 1954). These core conditions have been verified in subsequent research (e.g. Brown, Vivian, & Hewstone, 1999; Hewstone & Brown,

1986; Ensari & Miller, 2002), with cooperation and intimate contact receiving the most empirical support (Pettigrew, 1998).

Some theorists have raised concerns about generalizability of positive intergroup contact on two counts. First, they wonder if successes in relatively mild circumstances like the Robber's Cave Experiments can be generalized to more violent and entrenched conflicts, such as desegregation of schools (e.g., Cook, 1985). Second, they wonder if positive experiences toward a relatively small number from a specified outgroup can be reliably generalized to the outgroup as a whole (Rothbart & John, 1985; Wilder, Wilder, 1984). Though the generalizability of contact theory to entrenched conflicts seems to be less successful than once hoped (e.g. Gerard, 1983; Gerard & Miller, 1975; Stephan, 1986), there is evidence for the generalizability of positive affect and categorization toward outgroup members after relatively short interventions (e.g. Groenewoud & Hewstone, 1996; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

In addition to the research on direct, between-group contact, a growing body of research has explored the possibility of various kinds of indirect contact and their effects on outgroup prejudice. Research has shown that knowing that a person from one's own group is close with an out-group member improves one's attributions not only to that one member, but to the entire out-group (Dovidio & Hewstone, 2011). In fact, just watching a member of one's in-group interact positively with a member from an out-group may reduce prejudice (Mazziota, Mummeneay, & Wright, 2011). Furthermore, simply imagining positive interactions with out-group members have been shown to reduce negative attributions toward the out-group as a whole (Crisp & Turner, 2009).

2.5.4.2 Superordinate Identity. Social psychology theories of *superordinate identity* also offer promising possibilities for the reduction of dehumanizing tendencies across groups

(Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Gaertner et al. (1993) have proposed one such model, which they call the *common ingroup identity model*. Based on the *social identity approach*, the common ingroup model hypothesizes that groups are made up of members who have internalized the same social category membership. These social category memberships are assumed to be malleable. For instance, a man may identify as a motorcycle enthusiast and a lawyer. Both of these group identities will be salient for him. However, it may be possible to extend these identities to include out-group members. For example, in addition to being a motorcycle enthusiast, he may extend his identity to include himself in a group that cares about highway safety; in addition to being a lawyer, he may extend his identity to include being a member of the professional class. By extending these salient identities, he may “cast a wider net” and include more out-group members in his sense of identity. When he does, the sympathies he attributes to in-group members may extend to others who were formerly outside the net of his group membership.

Evidence suggests that salient identities can be extended to include members of less valued out-groups. Specifically, “us” and “them” bifurcations can be reduced to a single “we” identity through both contact and cognitive interventions (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996). In one experiment, Black and White interviewers approached White football fans at a football game. In the first round of the experiment, White football fans were more likely to comply with the White interviewers than the Black interviewers. However, when the Black interviewer was wearing a home team jersey, the White football fans were far more likely to comply, suggesting that the superordinate identity of “home team football fan” could trump the Black and White identities, at least to some extent (Nier et al., 2001).

One classic example of superordinate identity cohesion is the recorded increase in patriotism after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. In the months after the attacks, the

salience of nationalist identity increased significantly for many Americans, minimizing many people's perceptions of regional, political, and other differences in favor of the larger superordinate identity of all being Americans (Kohut, 2002). Unfortunately, while this dynamic increased feelings of solidarity and cohesion, it also led to out-group discrimination and depersonalization of people of Arabic descent (Rodriguez-Carballeira & Javoloy, 2005).

2.5.4.3 Interventions and Meditation Communities. As noted above, the research supporting the contact hypothesis and superordinate identity is robust. It seems that, under the right circumstances, ingroup and outgroup biases can be ameliorated in particular communities, and that these interventions may even generalize to outgroup members outside of those communities. The question remains, however, how can these interventions be utilized in meditation communities to overcome the current sense of marginalization and alienation experienced by some people of color (e.g. Harper, 2012; Arun, 2011; Williams, 2002)? A literature search revealed no published studies that sought to answer this question. However, Gleig's (2014) ethnography on LGBTQ diversity in a meditation community and the literature on factors that promote racial diversity in Christian churches (Edwards, Christerson, & Emerson, 2013; Ammerman, 2005; Marti, 2010; see above) provide an ample foundation to ask the question in the current study.

2.5.5 Acculturation Processes and Strategies

In this final section of the literature review, information related to the question of intergroup relations regarding people of color in primarily White meditation communities relates to acculturation strategies is discussed. Broadly speaking, acculturation is the process by which "groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, &

Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). For individuals undergoing the process, acculturation includes psychological changes related to at least three arenas of experience, including affective, behavioral, and cognitive experience (Ward, 2001).

Acculturation is a stressful process. Individuals engaged in the acculturation process often confront ideas and people that challenge their typical coping abilities. As with other stressful situations, the negative impacts of this stress depend a great deal on factors such as the level of support an individual is able to access and mediating personal characteristics such as resilience, age, and openness to experience (Berry, 2006).

Behaviorally, acculturation challenges individuals to learn relevant skills associated with the culture they are newly contacting (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). This can be as simple as learning a new language (Ward & Kennedy, 1999). It can also include the subtleties of identifying and adapting to "cross-cultural differences in communication (both verbal and nonverbal), rules, conventions, norms, and practices that contribute to intercultural misunderstandings" (Lackland & Berry, 2010, p. 475).

Cognitively, individuals confronted with a cross-cultural situation must ask the question, "Who am I? To which group do I belong?" (Berry, 1997). Belonging to a group is often considered a prerequisite for well-being (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and (as noted above) individuals are favorably biased toward their own group and negatively biased toward outgroups. Therefore, the cognitive distinctions made during acculturation have significant impacts. Typically, individuals identify as part of one culture or group in opposition to other groups (Phinney, 1990). However, newer research has also identified individuals who identify as bicultural, and therefore may belong to two groups simultaneously (Benet-Martí'nez, Leu, Lee,

& Morris, 2002). These individuals identify as belonging to a "hyphenated culture" (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005).

Noting that individuals undergo affective, behavioral, and cognitive processes during acculturation, we turn now to what strategies individuals might employ to navigate the process. According to Berry (1974), individuals and groups utilize distinct strategies based on two basic concerns. The basic concerns are the degree to which people wish to maintain their own culture and heritage; the second is the degree to which acculturating individuals wish to build intimacy with the society to which they are acculturating.

The strategies utilized by individuals undergoing the assimilation process are fourfold. First, assimilation is the strategy used by individuals or groups who wish to establish close contact with other cultures and are willing to relinquish aspects of their heritage and previously held cultural values. Second, individuals that wish to maintain a strong sense of their own cultural identity and heritage and who are willing to sacrifice the benefits of association with another culture choose separation. Third, the integration strategy is used by people who wish to balance their adaptation to a new culture with a firm commitment to their heritage. Lastly, individuals experience marginalization when they neither maintain their heritage nor adopt the values of a host culture (Berry, 1980).

In the case of primarily White Buddhist communities, it is reasonable to expect that an integration process, in which both the majority White culture and people of color adapt to one another will be the most effective outcome in terms of long term group harmony and feelings of solidarity. This assertion is backed by research, in that individuals who chose the integration strategy showed better psychological and sociocultural outcomes than those who chose any of the other three strategies (Liebkind, 2001; Sam et al., 2006). In terms of the research questions in

the current study, if people of color are feeling excluded, if they feel they are being asked to give up valuable parts of their cultural selves, than this is likely a sign that they are being forced into an assimilation model, with its attendant negative outcomes.

2.6 The Current Study

Through reviewing the literatures on race in American religious communities, American Buddhism, the White Space, racialized exclusion, intergroup relations, and acculturation processes and strategies, I have sought to contextualize the current study's research questions in a broader conversation that is currently underway in the academy, the media, and the culture at large. As such, the present study seeks to explore the ways in which people of color experience racialized inclusion and exclusion at the East Coast Meditation Community, a large, American Convert Buddhist community of predominantly White members in a populated, multiracial urban center on the East Coast of the United States. More broadly, the study investigates how racialized inclusion and exclusion is produced by organizations, as well as how these dynamics can be actively and effectively challenged. A major product of this study will be recommendations to address this goal of racial inclusivity and integration.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Participants

A discovery-oriented, heuristic phenomenological methodology (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007; see below for further explanation) was used to study experiences of race among members of color of the East Coast Meditation Community (ECMC, a pseudonym), a large, primarily White meditation community located in a populated urban center on the East Coast of the United States. Due to the limited number of people of color (POC) at ECMC, I recruited eleven participants for this phenomenological investigation. I used a purposeful sampling strategy

(Marshall, 1996), beginning with a list of participants that had been recommended by Dr. Jayla Braun (a pseudonym), the White founder of ECMC, and several senior POC members of ECMC. As the phenomenology developed, I instituted a “snowball” sampling strategy (Noy, 2008), asking POC interviewees about whom they would recommend to best answer the research questions of this study.

I purposefully included only people of color at ECMC, as the phenomenon I wished to study was the experiences of inclusion and exclusion of racialized selves at ECMC for people of color. More of the participants were women of color rather than men of color, since ECMC tends to draw more women than men. I interviewed members from as many different racial backgrounds as possible (African American, Latina/o, Asian American) to understand their different and overlapping views of how inclusion and exclusion of identities of color function at ECMC. As a unit of study, I was interested in the lived and intersecting experiences of race, ethnicity, and cultural heritage for people of color at ECMC. All interviewees were fluent English speakers. All names in the study are pseudonyms.

3.2 Researcher

3.2.1 Positionality. As Minikel-Lacocque (2013) and others have noted, White researchers inherit a special responsibility to be clear about their positionality when attempting to convey the experiences of people of color. As a White researcher I cannot claim to know the experience of being the target of racism. In addition, I have no first-hand understanding of what it is like to be a person of color in a predominately White Buddhist community, with the attendant dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. It was therefore essential for the research process that I team with an analysis partner who occupies a different positionality. As such, all analysis

was conducted with a coding partner, James Meadows, a 48-year-old African American Ph.D. student in Education Policy at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Mr. Meadows grew up in a large Midwestern city that he describes as “virulently racist.” At a young age, he was bused as part of his public school district's response to a federal desegregation court order. Mr. Meadows attended public schools until he received a scholarship to attend a private, predominantly White high school in the area. He went on to earn a bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago before teaching middle and high schools students in predominantly white, private school environments. Mr. Meadows began practicing Buddhist meditation in Thailand before going on to earn a master's degree in Buddhist Studies from Naropa University, a Buddhist-inspired university in Boulder, Colorado. Over the course of two decades, Mr. Meadows has attended numerous Buddhist practice and study retreats in different parts of the country. He feels many of those spaces were emotionally unsafe for people of color.

As a Black man with extensive experience in Buddhist communities, Mr. Meadows offered a welcome check to the biases inherent to my positionality as a White researcher. Mr. Meadows participated in all phases of the data analysis process, from initial coding through the development of themes. In the first phase of the analysis, we met with Dr. Budge for training in Charmaz's (2014) three-tiered analysis strategy. Subsequently, we coded interviews separately and then met approximately six times for one to three hours each time to discuss the findings. During each meeting, we debated each step of the analysis to consensus. While we never failed to reach consensus, there were a number of times when Mr. Meadows challenged my bias as a White researcher. For example, at one point during the write-up of the recommendations, I stated that cross-racial dialogue might be an essential step forward for the East Coast Meditation Community. Mr. Meadows challenged this idea. He pointed out that none of the participants of

color had named that as an essential step. He also noted that White members of ECMC might do more by examining their own racial identities rather than requiring people of color to participate in dialogues. There were many other examples of this sort of bias challenging during the analysis process.

In terms of my own positionality, I identify as White, cis-gender, heterosexual, and male. I grew up in a middle class family that sometimes struggled financially. I am from the East Coast of the United States and grew up in both urban and rural environments. I began practicing meditation while I was still in high school and became very committed to the practice by the time I entered college, such that I went on extended, months-long retreats starting at the age of nineteen. After graduating from college I entered a Buddhist monastery and stayed for six years. I am currently a student, a teacher, and a community leader in Buddhist communities. For many years, I was blind to racial dynamics in my Buddhist communities. In fact, my awareness of these dynamics has only clarified in the last four or five years, due in part to my relationships with leaders and members of color in my communities, and also to the anti-racist and anti-oppression pedagogies I have engaged as a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

As mentioned above, my Whiteness brings with it a certain set of biases. In addition, my deep connection to Buddhist communities brings with it both a layered and rich understanding of community dynamics, practices, and meaning structures, as well as a set of biases and blind spots. It was therefore important to work both with Mr. Meadows as a coding partner, who is positioned as a Black male Buddhist, and with Dr. Stephanie Budge as an auditor, who is a White, queer-identified, female non-Buddhist. Through this process of intersecting and divergent

cultural positions, we hoped, as a team, to unearth the richest possible interpretation of our participants' experiences.

3.2.2 Reflexivity. Whiteness is not, however, my only bias. I have also been an American Convert Buddhist for my entire adult life. Over the past 20 years I have developed my own views, opinions, and preferences concerning what convert Buddhist communities in the United States are, and what they might be. These ideas have evolved according to my own experiences as a practitioner in a number of Buddhist communities, including six years spent living in a Zen monastery in southern Colorado. I attempted to remain open to these inclinations as they appeared during the development of this project. As such, I strove toward the ideal of *epoche* (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990), in which I attempted to “bracket” my experiences as a White male with 20 years of history in Buddhist communities, while simultaneously acknowledging my own biases throughout the process.

3.3 Interview & Observation Protocols

The semi-structured interview protocol (see the Appendix), was developed after an IRB-approved weeklong pilot visit to ECMC in May 2015, which included observations of six ECMC meetings/meditations, three unstructured conversations with senior members of the community (two of whom were people of color and one of whom was White), a number of emails with senior members of the community (most of whom were White), and a single semi-structured pilot interview with a senior member of the community (who identifies as a person of color).

The protocol was developed across two themes. First, it relied on a close reading of the literatures of racial diversity in American religious communities, the history of American Buddhism, the White Space literature, the literature of exclusion and microaggressions, and the Intergroup Relations literature. Second, it relied on the philosophical lens of phenomenology as

developed by Husserl, Sartre, and Heidegger (Spiegelberg, 1982; see above Analysis section for a description of the heuristic phenomenology that was employed for this project) and adapted for the purposes of psychological research by Giorgi (1985), Polkinghorne (1989), Creswell (1998), and others. The questions in the interview protocol, therefore, sought to unearth the lived experiences of people of color at ECMC as they navigated their situated context, i.e. “the White space” of a predominantly Caucasian community. As well, the protocol sought to instigate an understanding of the meaning inherent in experiences of inclusion and exclusion of various aspects of racial identity of people of color as they navigated that space, as well as the processes and invariant structures that reproduced patterns of communication that may have led to feelings of alienation or exclusion for people of color.

The protocol, therefore, included prompts asking participants to describe a personal interaction at ECMC that led to feelings of inclusion, as well as a personal interaction that led to feelings of exclusion. It also included questions related to how participants experience race and the White space at ECMC, as well as a question focused on what might make ECMC a truly inclusive community for people of color. In addition to the structured questions, I used follow up prompts and encouragers to obtain the richest possible data from informants' lived experiences at ECMC.

All protocol questions were directly linked to the research questions of the present study. For example, questions number five and six (see protocol in Appendix C) "Please describe an experience that you have had at ECMC in which you felt truly included as a person of color" and "Please describe an experience that you have had at ECMC in which you felt parts of your racial identity were excluded" directly corresponded to research question number one, in which the project sought to explore the ways in which people of color experienced racialized inclusion and

exclusion at the East Coast Meditation Community. Meanwhile, question number eight, which posed a "miracle question" in which participants were asked to imagine walking into an ECMC event in which they felt truly welcomed and all parts of their identity were included, sought to answer the second part of the research question, in terms of what changes ECMC might make to become a truly inclusive community, in which dynamics of white supremacy were actively and effectively challenged. The data analyzed from this second research question formed the content of the recommendations produced for ECMC at the end of the project.

I also developed a demographic questionnaire in order to quickly assess participants' identities and an observational protocol to focus my attention on racial demographics and dynamics at ECMC. The demographic questionnaire included questions about race, gender, sexuality, education level, socioeconomic status, nation of origin, and age. In addition, I developed an observational protocol that included basic questions designed to focus my attention at meetings, lectures, and meditations. For instance: How many people were here? How many people presented phenotypically as people of color (recognizing that their may have been light-skinned Latina/os)? How much did people of color and Whites speak to one another across color lines?

3.4 Procedure

I received initial Institutional Review Board for a pilot study of ECMC in April, 2015. Based on that IRB approval, I made a single, weeklong site visit in May, 2015, in which I visited six different ECMC locations, spoke with several people in the ECMC administration, and conducted one pilot interview with a member of ECMC. After approval of the dissertation proposal, I made amendments to the IRB before visiting ECMC two more times. During my second trip I gathered data from six interviews over a six-day period in the fall of 2015. During

my third trip I gathered data from five interviews over a six-day period in the spring of 2016. I conducted all interviews on site at ECMC in a private room at the meditation center or at a private, quiet location of the participants' choosing. Participants signed an IRB-approved consent form prior to participating in interviews, which included a section asking permission to contact participants by phone for a member check several months after the interview was completed (allowing time for data analysis). I interviewed each participant once in person, for as long as the interviewees seem interested in speaking with me. I audio recorded all interviews and hired a professional, HIPAA compliant transcription service to transcribe all interviews (I also listened to recordings of all interviews: see analytic strategy below.)

I conducted follow-up interviews with the eight participants who responded to my email request for a member check (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). During the member check I shared my phenomenological themes and solicited their feedback and interpretations. These member checks occurred in August 2016, several months after the initial interviews took place, when the analysis had produced phenomenological themes. No written documents were sent to participants at this time. Instead, I simply shared my interpretations verbally and received their feedback verbally. The member checks were not recorded or transcribed. However, I took careful notes on these conversations and integrated participants' views and feedback into my final analysis.

3.5 Analytic Strategy

Interviews were transcribed verbatim and analyzed alongside the field notes I took during and after interviews, observations, and participant observations. During analysis, I listened to audio recordings in order to gather richer data, as recommended by L. Uttal (personal communication, October 23, 2015). The data was analyzed utilizing a heuristic phenomenological approach. In essence, the heuristic phenomenological approach attempted to

describe the meaning of lived experiences of participants by exploring their feelings, thoughts, and narratives as related to a particular phenomenon (Polkinghorne, 1989). While Husserl's original phenomenology sought to be exclusively descriptive in its approach – to describe an essential, universal phenomenon “bracketed” from the biases and presumptions of the observer – Heidegger and other, later phenomenologists extended the circle of inquiry to include the “situated” nature of lived experience (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990). Heidegger argued, in other words, that people exist always in context, and phenomena must be examined not so much to extract a fundamental essence, but to discover the dynamic flux of the person in his or her environment, relationships, and culture, among other factors (Campbell, 2001). This second form of phenomenology, then, is fundamentally heuristic or interpretative in nature (Benner, 2004). While Husserl's descriptive phenomenology boasts many advocates in the social science literature, the current work utilized Heidegger's heuristic phenomenology as adapted to the social sciences by Koch (1995), Benner (2004), and others in order to examine the lived experiences of people of color in a particular, dynamic context.

During the analysis process, we utilized Charmaz's (2014) three step coding schema. In the initial coding phase (Charmaz, 2014), we read through all participants' descriptions of their experiences at ECMC to acquire an intuitive feeling for themes, contrasts, and similarities. Using in vivo coding, we extracted significant statements from each description, including phrases and sentences that directly pertained to the phenomenon under investigation (i.e. experiences of inclusion and exclusion at ECMC). In the second phase of analysis, we used focused coding (Charmaz, 2014), to codify and develop meanings, ensuring that we remained faithful to the intended meanings of the participants through a process of constant comparison with the transcriptions. We then used axial coding (Charmaz, 2014) to organize clusters of themes from

the codified meanings, allowing for the development of phenomenological themes to emerge. Again, we referred back to the transcripts in order to validate these increasingly abstracted themes. We also noted discrepancies and overlap between different clusters, as well as between research participants. Having produced valid axial codes, we then identified themes and I shared these themes in detail with participants by phone (see above for description). We then integrated participants' feedback and interpretations into the data analysis, ensuring that the themes represented a valid hermeneutic interpretation of the lived experiences of participants. Finally, I interpreted the analysis in the context of the sociohistorical information outlined in the above literature review.

In addition, Dr. Stephanie Budge audited the analyses five times during the analytic process. During the initial coding phase (i.e. "line-by-line" coding), Dr. Budge's audit pushed the analytic team to stay very close to the words and meanings of the participants. During the second stage of analysis, when we were generating axial codes (also known as "higher order" codes), Dr. Budge challenged us to add context to each code in order to respect the participants' intended meaning. She was also meticulously engaged in the process of accurately placing line-by-line codes under respective higher order categories, as well as in the naming of those categories. Finally, Dr. Budge challenged us to clarify themes in a manner that fully respected the complexity of the higher order codes, so that participants' lived experiences would be as fully accounted for as possible in the write up of the current paper.

The analysis was iterative, in that themes were developed as Mr. Meadows, Dr. Budge, and I worked through the data and discovered resonances across different interviews and situations at ECMC. Repetition of themes across narratives was considered evidence of reliability (Stiles, 1993). In addition, trustworthiness was assessed utilizing Lincoln and Guba's

(1985) constructs of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility (i.e. confidence in the accuracy of the findings) was established through member-checking, triangulation of the interview data with observational data, a prolonged engagement that began in November of 2014 and will continue until the final draft of the dissertation is deposited, and regular peer debriefings with Mr. Meadows and other peers of color who helped to check the biases inherent to my positionality. Transferability (i.e. generalizability to other contexts) was achieved through thick descriptions; to wit, phenomena were described in rich detail so that other scholars may evaluate the extent to which the interpretations are transferable to other settings, times, situations, and people. Meanwhile, dependability (i.e. whether the findings are consistent and therefore repeatable by other investigators) was established through Dr. Budge's audits during the various stages of the data analysis. Finally, confirmability (i.e. the degree to which the exhaustive phenomenological description matches the respondents lived experience) was established through Dr. Budge's five audits (see above) during the data analysis, as well as triangulations with observational data, frequent peer debriefings, and the member check of the exhaustive phenomenological description.

Findings

Participants offered richly descriptive accounts of their experiences at the East Coast Meditation Community (ECMC) (a pseudonym), both in the primarily White mainstream milieu, and in the person of color (POC) affiliation group. While the views, experiences, and opinions of participants varied widely, a picture of ECMC as a primarily White community in the process of instituting anti-racist and equity based work did develop, including participant references to a series of failures and successes on the part of the White leadership to advance various inclusivity practices in the face of resistance from ECMC's White membership. In addition, a picture of the

people of color engaged with ECMC also surfaced, as they sought to engage with various racialized difficulties brought about by contact with the White majority culture. Out of these narratives, six distinct themes emerged related to racialized inclusion and exclusion, including *Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation*, *Institutional Barriers to Full Participation*, *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion*, *Failures of Leadership Support for People of Color*, *Range of POC Experiences*, and *Promoting Equity and Inclusion*. Throughout the following sections, the main themes are illustrated with reference to direct quotes from the participants. All names of participants are pseudonyms.

Theme One: Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation

A theme that emerged from the interviews with people of color at ECMC was a persistent sense that there were interpersonal barriers to full participation at White mainstream ECMC events. While different participants coped with and navigated these barriers differently (see *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion*, below), the majority of participants agreed that White mainstream events at ECMC were often defined for them by instances of *microinvalidations*, *tokenizing*, and by the persistent *Use of Buddhist Doctrine to Undermine the Significance of POC Experiences*.

Participants offered a number of examples of what Sue et al. (2007) have operationalized as *microinvalidations*, those "Verbal comments or behaviors that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color" (p. 278). As mentioned in the literature review, microinvalidations are one form of the broader dynamic of microaggressions that often play out in primarily White spaces. For example, Trent, a 47-year-old African American man, spoke about the second time he came to the flagship ECMC meeting, which takes place on a weekday night and routinely draws more than 200 people. At first, Trent

felt very comfortable in the room. He came early and helped set up snacks and tea. He spoke with several ECMC members near the entrance of the building. However, when he sat down for the meditation and dharma talk, the chair next to him remained empty. For some time, he felt confused. The room was full. There were very few empty chairs. He wondered if perhaps he had forgotten to wear deodorant. Slowly, however, he began to suspect that the chair next to him was empty because of the color of his skin. Considering possible alternative explanations, he finally concluded that this was the case.

Clarice, a 33-year-old African American woman who regularly attends the mainstream, primarily White ECMC flagship event, spoke about her experience in terms of the way people look at her when she enters the space. “When I walk into a room of White people [at ECMC], the stares go over as if to say, ‘What is she doing here?’ I don’t know if they intentionally mean that but that’s the look.”

For Biyu, a 29-year-old Asian American woman, the interpersonal barriers she experiences take the shape of curiosity about her origins, as if to imply that she is somehow less native to the space than White members of ECMC. "There's definitely the exotifying questions about, you know 'Where are you from?' And 'Where are your people from?' Not any outright suspicion but just the generally, 'You're not one of 'us' kind of thing."

A number of participants also spoke about experiences of *tokenism*, “the symbolic inclusion of numerical minorities within a group, usually for the sake of appearances rather than for inclusiveness or true diversity” (Hirshfeld, 2015, p. 1). At ECMC these usually took the shape of members of the White majority culture inviting participants of color to be a part of the community in ways that seemed perfunctory, demeaning, or inauthentic. Participants told stories of the primarily White board asking them to be in promotional materials, without first

establishing a relationship. Others spoke about being asked to teach simply because a person of color was "needed" to balance out the racial composition of a teaching team. These critiques usually focused not on the inclusion itself, but on the lack of real relationship that preceded such offers. Tasha, a 49-year-old African American leader and teacher in the community gave an example:

“Yeah. I mean it’s like – last time I was at ECMC, it was so funny. Oh my god. It’s hilarious. Somebody talked about they’re doing some race stuff and one of their objectives was to partner with more teachers of color. And right after the end of the meeting, some woman, some White woman, walked up to me and said, “I want to do a retreat with you.” I mean, can we talk about that? I never hear from this woman, she never picks up the phone. I don’t know her middle name. I don’t know anything about this woman. She doesn’t know me. It was just because she wanted black people, a teacher of color.”

While the preceding patterns of interpersonal barriers to full participation might exist in many different kinds of majority White institutions (e.g. schools, counseling centers, hospitals, corporations), one particular structure at ECMC bears special mention. This is the way that Buddhist doctrine was consistently used to undermine the significance of the experiences of people of color. In particular, White members of the sangha wielded the doctrine of "non-self" to invalidate the attempts of people of color to challenge the existing White majority culture at ECMC.

Put simply, the doctrine of "non-self" is the argument that what human beings take to be a solidly existing, permanent, and independent self, is, in fact, far more fluid, dynamic, and interrelated than we usually consciously experience (Goldstein, 1993). As the pinnacle of

Buddhist philosophy, the "non-self" doctrine is extraordinarily subtle and complex, and would require several pages to thoroughly explicate. For our purposes, however, it is important only to understand how members of the White majority culture utilized the doctrine. For example, Rita, a 30-year-old African American woman, spoke about the ways in which the doctrine of non-self was used by White members to challenge the existence of the POC affiliation group, since, she reported White members saying, the doctrine pointed to the way in which race was just a social construct. Anj, a 51-year-old Asian American transgender person, spoke directly to this point when they said:

[White folks ask] “how do we transcend this so that we are all one. But is transcendence even necessary? Instead, how do we honor what's happening? Because on a relative level that's not how we treat each other in the world. It's not even how we treat each other in this community.”

Theme Two: Institutional Barriers to Full Participation

In addition to the interpersonal barriers to full participation in the ECMC community, a number of participants said that institutional barriers interfered with their ability to fully engage. During the process of analysis, the researchers organized these experiences into three categories: *Exclusivity of the Flagship Location*, *Socioeconomic Barriers to Full Participation*, and the *Divide Between White and POC Cultures*. Of these, the most frequently cited was the exclusivity of the flagship location. ECMC hosts its weekly flagship event, in which founder and head teacher Jayla Braun (a pseudonym) offers meditation instruction and a Dharma talk, at a rented Unitarian church in a primarily White, wealthy suburb. Speaking to the perceived inhospitality of the flagship location, participants called the flagship location "Whitesville," (Tasha, African American), "the Woods," (Alice, African American), "Upper Caucasia," (Anj, Asian American),

and other epithets. For instance, Alice, a 60-year-old African American woman told the story of her first visit to the flagship location. "I get off the bus at the woods and I'm going, 'What the fuck?' Of course, it's not the woods if you're driving." Eve, a 44-year-old African American woman, acknowledged, "The location is definitely problematic. If you don't have a car, it's kind of a pain to get out there." Meanwhile, Carmen, a 68-year-old Latina woman said, "Where it's located is a problem. The fact that it is really difficult to get out there with public transportation means that it tends to draw only pretty affluent, highly educated folks."

Socioeconomic status presented another institutional barrier to full participation at ECMC. In addition to issues of public transportation, participants spoke of ECMC as a culture that has been built by and for the affluent. Alice summed up this point when she said,

"What's interesting to me is that if you connect, you're going to a restaurant after. I'm going, 'Sweetie, I can't pay \$20 to get some sprouts some place.' I'm always interested as to why aren't we going to each other's homes. But that's not something that's done. It's just not built for me."

Rita also spoke about the prohibitive cost of retreats. While she acknowledged that the scholarships available to people of color were a step in the right direction, she also argued that they do not go far enough. Other participants agreed, pointing out that only a small minority of the POC community can afford to take time off work - for which they often will not be paid - and then spend well over a thousand dollars for a weeklong retreat.

A third institutional barrier to full participation was the divide between White and POC cultures and cultural experiences. When asked to envision what ECMC would look like if it were truly reflective of themselves, many participants imagined a radically changed atmosphere, in which children played, people danced, there were fully cooked meals, people ate together and

talked together, and the meditation practice was deemphasized in favor of more interpersonal and socially engaged practices. In addition, participants spoke about not being “reflected” in the topics of the talks at the mainstream White ECMC meetings. Biyu, a 29-year-old Asian American woman spoke to this dynamic when she said,

I think being a person of color at ECMC, I don't feel like my story or my life experience is reflected in a lot of the teachings actually. The perspective and the teachings itself are white centered.

Alice offered another example of the chasm between White and POC culture - her experience as a Black mother raising a son in a working class neighborhood in an urban center. She compared this to Jayla's experience as the mother of a White son in more affluent circumstances.

“Jayla gave a talk about dealing with fear with an example where her son was on Nantucket and a young male got attacked by a shark and they didn't know whether that was her son. And that's – I'm not saying that's not a real thing. But in April, I had the police come in my house and, you know, my son was a crime victim but they came in with their guns loaded and I just think that the way I'm fearful for my son and the way . . . you get my point. If my son doesn't get hurt or killed by some other disaffected black males or shot by the police, that's a good thing. It's a very different way of holding the dharma.”

Theme Three: Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion

A third theme that emerged from the analysis of the interview transcripts had to do with the ways in which people of color at ECMC cope with racialized exclusion in their community.

Three primary categories captured this theme, including *Accommodating White Ignorance*, *Avoiding White Ignorance*, and the *Importance of the POC sangha*.

Clarice, a 33-year-old Black woman who often attends events at the White mainstream sangha, described the way that she copes with subtle forms of exclusion:

This is the thing that probably a lot of Black people will tell you, is you have to make [White] people feel comfortable to be around you . . . And so I have to go over and I have to smile and I have to say, 'How are you?' and make people feel comfortable about being around me, you know, when everybody else in the room looks like them and I'm the only person that is different.

In this quote, Clarice describes the process she undergoes in order to put White people at ease, despite the fact that she is the "one person that is different." Later in her interview, Clarice admits that she often feels like she has to be "the adult in the room," and that she accommodates the anxieties of White members of ECMC in order to make the space welcoming for herself.

Other interviewees spoke about avoiding the White sangha altogether as a way of coping with racialized exclusion. For instance, Rita, a 30-year-old African American woman, advocated for the POC sangha group to break off from the wider ECMC community after several racialized incidents were poorly addressed by the ECMC leadership. When others in the POC sangha decided to remain affiliated, she discontinued her membership. "I just decided we needed to spin off a separate POC group or I needed to just leave, because it was just too much to interact with ECMC. But Anj wasn't ready for that, so I was, like, 'I'm out.'"

Patty, a 34-year-old African American woman, never attends the mainstream White ECMC events, because fellow members of the POC sangha have reported to her that participants in the mainstream ECMC community lack a basic understanding of race and racial dynamics.

Speaking about her apprehension about possibly attending the primarily White LGBTQ sangha, Patty describes it this way:

I have a little nervousness; I haven't been yet. In the POC Sangha, you know, there's just so much unspoken understanding of what we share. You don't have to fully explain everything. Like if I experience something at work and it's about race. If I bring it up in POC sangha, people get it. But I don't know that [White people at ECMC] will understand, and they might start questioning me about how I'm making assumptions and I just don't want to have to give the whole backstory. So I haven't been yet. I'm afraid that I have a little apprehension.

One of the primary ways that people of color at ECMC cope with racialized exclusion is through engaging the safe space of the POC sangha. Founded over a decade ago by Anj, a 51-year-old Asian American trans individual, the group has been flourishing ever since. It meets monthly for meditation, Dharma talks, and open discussions about topics that are salient for people of color in the community, such as race, racism, workplace challenges related to being a person of color in primarily White environments, family concerns, and even the difficulties of interacting with the primarily White ECMC sangha. A number of participants described the POC sangha as "essential" (Rita, 30, African American) to their participation in ECMC and their development as Buddhist practitioners.

Patty, a 34-year-old African American woman who has participated exclusively in the POC sangha, and never attends events in the White mainstream ECMC community, describes her initial experience with the POC affiliation group this way:

I just - I felt so welcomed. Even though there were a mixture of - it wasn't just African Americans there, there were people of different races there and just the

diversity of the group and I just, I felt like I wanted to belong to that, and everybody was jovial and kind and, like I said, welcoming, and I just wanted more of that.

Patty was not the only interviewee to name this welcoming quality. For example, Clarice, the African American woman mentioned above, who also attends mainstream, predominately White events at ECMC, spoke about her admiration for Anj and other POC leaders, and described the POC sangha as a place where she feels implicitly understood, where she does not have to explain herself, her identity, or her experience.

In addition, several participants noted the location of the POC sangha. In contrast to the flagship location of ECMC, which meets in an affluent suburb with poor public transportation (see above), the POC sangha meets in a mixed race middle class neighborhood in the heart of an urban environment. It is surrounded by public transportation hubs that can take participants easily to any part of the city. This, participants noted, sends a clear message about whom the POC sangha is for.

Finally, several participants immediately mentioned the POC sangha when they were asked to name an experience in which they felt truly at home. For example, when asked to describe an experience at ECMC in which she felt truly at home, Biyu, an Asian American woman in her late 20s, replied, "Really the people of color Sangha." She then continued, "That has been a home and that's interesting because I'm usually one of the only Asian people there, but it is more of that reflection or that shared experience or that the Dharma is coming from someone who shares experience with me and I feel really reflected when I'm there." Clarice, too, when asked about an experience in which she felt truly at home at ECMC named the POC

sangha. She then clarified that the POC sangha has been "a beautiful experience," but, "outside of something like that, no. Not particularly as a person of color."

Theme Four: Failures of Leadership Support for People of Color

Another theme that emerged in the data was various failures of leadership on the part of ECMC White board members and community members in regards to difficulties around race and racism. These took the form of *Challenges to the Existence of the POC sangha*, *POC members feeling Unsupported by the ECMC Leadership*, and a *Distrust of the White sangha Wanting More Diversity*.

From its inception over a decade ago, the POC sangha faced unwelcome scrutiny from White members of ECMC, including the sorts of microinvalidations and other interpersonal barriers to full participation listed above. As Anj, the founding leader of the group recounts, "When the people of color sangha started, [White] folks were saying, 'Why do you need to separate yourselves out, we're welcoming here. Our doors are wide open to everybody,'" thereby invalidating the sorts of interpersonal and institutional barriers to full participation listed above. In addition, Anj continues,

[White community members] would say, "Oh, you know, I'm about as dark as you, I guess I'm a person of color." Or they'd say, "I don't see color. It's not really that important." Or they would say, "I've never experienced you as a person of color."

This sort of color blindness, it seems, was pervasive in the majority White culture of ECMC. When it was challenged, tensions rose. For example, in one incident, a White sangha member approached Anj outside of an ECMC event. He challenged them to explain the necessity of the POC group. When Anj attempted to explain, the exchange grew heated. Anj tried to walk

away, but the man, who was bigger than them, followed. Finally, a group of POC sangha members intervened. While the incident itself was disturbing, the response from the ECMC leadership was far more damaging to the relationship between mainstream ECMC and the POC sangha. Rita, an African American woman in her early thirties explains what happened when the group took their concerns to the ECMC leadership.

What was so hard was that, we were trying to have a conversation about [the aggressive White sangha member] with folks on the board. They wanted us to justify why Anj or one of us felt threatened by this person over the experience, which is not great. They were trying to really get into interpreting our feelings about him and reactions to him. There was a lot of that. There was a lot of us even having to defend our own feelings and experience around it, having to even explain our own feelings again and again to people without ever getting to the issues.

Multiple incidents in which the POC sangha asked the board or other ECMC leaders for support and encountered defensiveness, ignorance, or sluggish response times led to a feeling of being unsupported by the ECMC leadership and a distrust of mainstream ECMC's stated intent to promote diversity and inclusivity. As Anj says about the idea of inclusivity, "Who decides? If there's like, "Okay, we're including you," who's the we? What I said earlier about, we're all one. It's like, "Well, who's one are we going to be? Who's getting to decide that?" Anj then compared ECMC's inclusivity efforts to a dinner party:

They're inviting other people, new people, new guests to this dinner party and these new guests are like, "Oh, we want to bring our own food. We want to bring some music because we like to dance after meals and we want to bring our kids,"

and the dominant culture hosts are basically saying, "No, we already have the menu. We just need you to sit at the table and eat our food". That to me doesn't lend to the sense of belonging. It lends to the sense of, "Okay, we're including you but we get to say how this is going to go down."

This sense that the White majority culture gets to decide "how this is going to go down" has led some sangha members to wonder why the White ECMC culture is attempting to become more racially diverse. Anj continued,

Sometimes I'm not even sure what the reason is. Why are all-White sanghas all up in the air about wanting people of color to be a part of them now? Where is that coming from? Sometimes I think it's a sense of being politically correct or something.

Theme Five: Range of POC Experiences

A fifth theme that emerged from the data was the sheer variety of experiences and views that people of color reported about their interactions with ECMC. Upon analysis, the researchers divided these into four categories: *ECMC as a Safe Haven*, *Participant Claims ECMC Is Not Racist*, *Not Fully at Home in the POC Sangha*, and *Conflict in the POC Sangha about Whether to Stay with ECMC*.

As can be seen in the themes that emerge below, participants named a variety of racialized barriers to their full participation at ECMC. However, some participants described the White mainstream ECMC experience as a place where they felt very welcomed. For example, Trent, the 47-year-old African American man, described the White mainstream ECMC environment as a "safe haven." He went on to explain that he had gone through a very difficult time near the beginning of his tenure at ECMC, where he suffered two simultaneous losses in his

life. Speaking about those circumstances and the role that ECMC played in helping him stabilize and find purpose, Trent began to cry. Through his tears, he said, “I didn’t realize this was so emotional. You know, the rush of emotion is out of being grateful. That was a hard time, and ECMC was just a wonderful safe haven.” He also reiterated twice more that he experienced ECMC as a “safe haven” and a place where he feels truly at home, a statement that diverges sharply from experiences of other participants, who described a sense of not feeling fully welcomed by or at home in the majority White community.

Eve, the African American woman mentioned above, offered a similar narrative during her interview. She had come to ECMC after a confusing time in her life that was filled with loss, and ECMC helped her, too, stabilize and find spiritual purpose. When asked what it was like for her to be a Black woman at the flagship community that she attends several times a month she stated that she felt very supported there. “I feel like I’m like everyone else. I don’t feel any different . . . It’s a wonderful environment where you feel loved, you know, it’s like we’re happy to see each other. I just enjoy it; I absolutely enjoy it.”

Carmen, a 68-year-old Latina woman, argued strongly against the idea that ECMC includes racist or exclusionary undertones, theorizing instead that people of color who come to ECMC could be projecting their trauma from previous experiences onto the neutral or positive intentions of White community members. She concluded, "It's hard for me to believe that a true practitioner could be a racist."

This diversity of experience also extended to participants’ relationship to the POC sangha, the affiliation group that is designated for people of color at ECMC. While many participants spoke of the POC sangha as essential to their participation at ECMC (see *Strategies for Coping*, below), and still others participated exclusively in the POC sangha, bypassing the

mainstream White sangha entirely, other participants felt uneasy about some aspects of the POC sangha. Trent, mentioned above, spoke about an incident in which White students had arrived at a POC event and were turned away due to their race. While Trent stressed that he values the POC sangha and the container that it offers for the discussion of issues important to people of color, this incident – and others like it – troubled him, and he reported feeling uneasy and “not at home” with the exclusion that the POC sangha sometimes seemed to encourage.

It should never be an issue when someone wants to explore the Dharma or to have community or build community with you. There shouldn't be an issue where people are excluded, regardless. I can't think of a reason why. At this very moment, I can't think of a reason why I would want to exclude anyone from deepening their practice or me deepening mine because [of race].

About five years ago, the range of POC experiences at ECMC expressed itself in a conflict over whether the POC sangha should stay with the primarily White mainstream community, or whether it might be more beneficial to split off and form an autonomous Buddhist group exclusively for people of color. This debate took place in the context of several perceived failures on the part of the ECMC leadership to support the POC sangha (see *Failures of Leadership*, below). In one instance, according to Anj, the founder of the POC sangha, a man of South Asian descent, who had been coming to the POC sangha, began to send them harassing emails and text messages, demanding that they allow his White girlfriend to come to the POC sangha. The messages grew more and more aggressive and frequent. Reportedly, when Anj and other members of the POC sangha asked the ECMC board to intervene, the board's response was perceived as surprisingly slow and tepid.

Instances like this, in which the POC sangha felt unsupported by the mainstream ECMC leadership, led to some members advocating to leave ECMC entirely. As Anj put it:

I had so many people within the people of color sangha say to me, "Well if you leave, we'll support you. You don't need them. We'll do our own thing." But I just felt something in me was just like, "No, just stay", because bottom line, regardless of where people come from and who people are, they're still human beings and I've invested seven or eight years with these human beings and there's something that I am intuiting that I'm to learn about myself and this dynamic in this community if I stay rather than deciding, "It's just not working out, I'm going to leave you."

Other participants did not resonate with Anj's assessment. For instance, Rita, a 30-year-old African American woman, advocated for the POC sangha group to break off from the wider ECMC community. When Anj and others in the POC sangha decided to remain affiliated, Rita discontinued her membership. "I just decided we needed to spin off a separate POC group or I needed to just leave, because it was just too much to interact with ECMC. But [Anj] wasn't ready for that, so I was, like, 'I'm out.'"

In addition to the above findings concerning the range of POC experiences, when I shared some of my findings with Eve during the member check, she insisted that ECMC was not racist. In fact, she seemed surprised by the criticisms of ECMC and offered an alternative explanation for the discomfort some people of color experience at ECMC events.

I can understand from the standpoint of not feeling comfortable, not feeling you're welcomed into the community. There is the possibility that that can happen. But then I would ask the question, 'Are you also welcoming?' You might not realize

that you're giving off a certain energy. In what you say or don't say, you're giving off a certain energy. It goes both ways . . . I think instead of always pointing the finger out, we should ask ourselves if we're being welcoming toward others.”

Theme Six: Promoting Equity and Inclusion

Despite many participants' critiques of the White majority culture at ECMC, nearly all agreed that ECMC is evolving in a positive direction and learning to more effectively address racial equity in the community. In fact, Theresa, a 60-year-old Latina, pointed out during the member check that Jayla has made racial equity a central issue at ECMC over the past several years, and that she is making measurable progress, such as working to relocate the flagship ECMC meeting to a downtown location near a public transportation hub. She said, "Quite frankly, we wouldn't be doing this if not for Jayla. She's just so committed to the issue." Participants mentioned five basic categories on which ECMC has made progress on these issues, including *Diversity Committees*, *Inviting and Training POC Teachers*, *Institutional Support for the POC Sangha*, *White Awareness Training*, and *An Increasing Willingness to have Race Conversations*.

A number of participants mentioned the benefits of the diversity committees that ECMC has instated over the years. The first committee was started as a "rogue effort," according to Theresa, the Latina woman mentioned above who was one of the founders. She noted that, though the board and the teacher's council didn't explicitly support the early iterations of the diversity committee, they also did not stymie its growth, which was enough to begin to make changes. As Theresa recounted,

ECMC is an interesting organization, because it's fairly loose. But the powers that be never pooh-poohed [the diversity committee] or never said, "No, don't do it."

That was kind of a test. It wasn't like there was a whole lot of support for it. But no one said, "No, don't do it."

Biyu, the Asian American woman mentioned above, notes that the diversity committees gained momentum and institutional support as time went on, which she viewed as a promising development. Rita, an African American woman in her early thirties, noted the most recent iterations of the diversity committee have far more clout at ECMC, including a budget, which they are using to pay her a consulting fee for her work on the committee. This, she notes, is a litmus test of how serious an organization is about racial equity, or any subject: when they put money toward something, it means they care about that topic.

Theresa, who was on the ECMC board for years, and therefore has an insider's perspective on ECMC issues, also mentioned that Jayla and the board have made a point of inviting POC teachers from around the country. Several participants mentioned the impact of this practice. For instance, Alice, the African American woman mentioned above, mentioned that seeing a POC guest teacher at ECMC was the impetus for her further participation in the ECMC community. Clarice, the African American woman mentioned above, shared a similar experience, in which she arrived at an ECMC event in which a guest POC teacher was speaking about the topic of rage. She related so profoundly to the teacher's treatment of the topic that she made a commitment to the group then and there. In addition, Theresa mentioned that the board has set aside money for the development of POC teachers in particular within the ECMC community.

Another way that ECMC has supported equity work is by supporting the POC affiliation group. When asked what ECMC has done to advance these issues, for example, Anj notes, "I would say it's probably being supportive of the POC sangha." They also note how complex that

dynamic has been. "Of course, we've had to really navigate what that actually looks like. Sometimes it means supporting us, and sometimes it means leaving us alone. Sometimes it's writing the check and then allowing the community to self-determine." Biyu notes that she feels grateful to ECMC for their financial support for the POC sangha, because, as she observes, she "wouldn't be in this practice right now without the POC sangha." In her interview, Rita also mentioned the POC scholarships that the board set aside for retreats, though she argues these scholarships only go partway toward addressing the systemic inequities they attempt to address.

Several participants mentioned the White awareness training that the leaders at ECMC are now required to undergo. The program, which was co-created by two White members of ECMC, combines meditation with traditional anti-racist didactics to create a White awareness training based loosely on Buddhist principles. Biyu said that she felt "encouraged" by the work that ECMC leadership was doing through the White awareness training. Carmen, the Latina woman mentioned above, pointed to the training as a clear sign that ECMC is working on anti-racist principles. Eve, the African American woman mentioned above, also mentioned the White awareness training as a clear sign that Jayla and the board are serious about equity work. Trent, the African American man mentioned above, also spoke about the White awareness work when asked what ECMC has done so far to combat racism in the community and make the sangha more inclusive and welcoming to people of color.

Even the most critical of the participants acknowledged that the leadership at ECMC is becoming more and more willing to have difficult conversations around race. Rita, a 30-year-old African American woman, left the community in the wake of one of the conflicts that erupted between the POC sangha and the primarily White board. After a five-year hiatus, she notes of her most recent meeting with the ECMC leadership:

It seemed like they were willing to make some investments that seemed a little bit different in terms of having conversations around real change. Having some time pass I was able to distill some of my analysis a little bit differently too. And they were like, "We value your insight - not only your personal insight but your analysis - as a consultant. We will pay you to show up in this space." That's different from before.

In addition, nearly all participants expressed praise for Jayla Braun, the founder of and head teacher at ECMC, for modeling to other White members of the community how to have difficult conversations about race without becoming defensive. As Theresa put it during our member check:

Quite frankly, we wouldn't be doing this if not for Jayla. She's just so committed to it. She's been a model of this willingness to have these conversations. To sit there and be in difficult interactions and listen as people say how bad it was. But again, just keep at it, keep at it, keep at it. So really that kind of leader taking up the mantle and saying this is important, that's huge.

Discussion

Based on the 11 interviews conducted with people of color at the East Coast Meditation Center (ECMC), we were able to identify six themes related to our research question of how racialized inclusion and exclusion function at ECMC: *Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation, Institutional Barriers to Full Participation, Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion, Failures of Leadership Support for People of Color, Range of POC Experiences, and Promoting Equity and Inclusion*. In the following pages, we elucidate these dynamics, drawing from the findings of the current study, and from the literature on microaggressions, teacher

education, social exclusion, health disparities, racial diversity in church communities, intergroup relations, and acculturation styles.

First, participants in our study reported *Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation*. As noted in the findings, these barriers included *microinvalidations*, those covert racist instances that often leave the victim feeling confused, isolated, and unwelcome (Sue, 2010), in part due to the fact that the marginalizing act often, though not always, originates from a well-meaning individual (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue, 2010; Sue et al., 2007). Participants in the current study named a number of experiences of microinvalidations. For example, an Asian American participant in the study noted that, on a number of occasions, White members of ECMC asked her where she was from in a way that felt *exotifying*, contributing to the “stranger in a strange land” dynamic that Sue et al. (2007) elucidate. In addition, several participants noted *tokenizing* behaviors, such as when people of color at ECMC were asked to be in brochures and promotional videos without an authentically cultivated relationship, or when participants of color were asked to be on teaching teams, seemingly due to their skin tones rather than a genuine relationship. Other participants noted feeling “invisible,” such as one participant who explained that it is always up to her, as a Black woman, to approach White community members, because, if she doesn’t, then no one will approach her.

Unfortunately, it is not surprising that the participants in this study experienced microinvalidations, since microaggressions are reportedly a common occurrence for people of color in a range of environments (Sue, 2010). For example, in a recent study, students of color on a college campus reported an average of 291 microaggressions over a period of 90 days (Blume, Lovato, Thyken, & Denny, 2012). In another sample of 187 African American women, 96 percent of the participants reported experiencing racialized microaggressions at least a few times

a year (Donovan, Galban, Grace, Bennett, & Felicié, 2013). Finally, in a recent qualitative analysis, 12 out of the 14 African American women interviewed in a domestic violence shelter reported experiences of microaggressions at the shelter (Nnawulezi, & Sullivan, 2013).

In short, it seems that the White membership of ECMC has at various times simply enacted a dynamic that is all-too-common in other primarily White environments in the United States. However, as noted in the findings section, one unique aspect of the way White ECMC members produced microinvalidations was their use of Buddhist doctrine. To wit, on numerous occasions White members told POC participants that their experiences were irrelevant in the context of “non-self,” a subtle and complex doctrine that was reinterpreted by White members to avoid conversations about race, racism, and inequity at ECMC. While use of Buddhist doctrine to invalidate the experience of the person of color who is attempting to challenge white cultural scripts may be particular to Buddhist communities like ECMC, the dynamic of undermining the experiences of people of color and their allies in order to preserve normative Whiteness can be found in various literatures, including the Teacher Education literature.

In one recent study, for example, the authors found that preservice teachers who were challenged to think critically about race utilized various strategies to “actively protect hegemonic stories and White supremacy” (Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016, p. 197). While these strategies were manifold, it should be noted that many of them included the invalidation and undermining of the perspectives and histories of people of color, very much in the same ways that White ECMC members sought to invalidate the experiences of people of color in their community through the use of Buddhist doctrine. In another study, researchers asked 200 White preservice teachers to respond in writing to Peggy McIntosh’s classic article, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack.” Upon analysis of the written responses, the researchers found that

White students employed various strategies to reject the notion of their own privilege and undermine the author's claims about racial injustice (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005).

While these strategies parallel the sorts of strategies that White ECMC members employed while invalidating the experiences of people of color that attempted to challenge White norms in their community, it is important to note that there are differences between these two populations. Preservice teachers are students, usually in their early 20s, who are studying to lead classrooms. Most of the White members of ECMC who utilized these exclusionary strategies were in their 50s and 60s and held a variety of professional positions. In addition, their role in the ECMC community differed significantly from that of a classroom teacher or a classroom teacher-in-training. Predominately, they were volunteers who spent only a few unpaid hours a week in ECMC environments. Few of them had undergone the racial awareness trainings that are required of most preservice teachers. Nearly all of them identified as progressive or liberal. However, the dynamics of exclusion at ECMC closely paralleled the findings from the preservice literature.

The reactions of the participants to microinvalidations were very much in alignment with the literature of social exclusion, which notes that individuals who feel excluded experience a range of negative outcomes (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). For example, excluded participants in psychology studies often experience generalized hostile thoughts (DeWall, Twenge, Gitter, & Baumeister, 2009), feel angry (Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004; Chow, Tiedens, & Govan, 2008), and lose their locus of control (Gerber & Wheeler, 2009; Warburton Williams, & Cairns, 2006). They also experience negative mood states (Leary, Kowalski, Smith, & Phillips, 2003; Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004), decreased cognitive capacities (Baumeister, Twenge, &

Nuss, 2002), reduced self-esteem (e.g. Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995), increased anxiety (Baumeister & Tice, 1990), and diminished self-regulation (Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Twenge, 2005). While the mental health outcomes of participants were not assessed as part of the current study, it was clear that participants often felt hurt and confused by perceived moments of social isolation, and that the instances of microaggressions and social isolation had a cumulative effect that led to feelings of exhaustion and hopelessness, sometimes even driving members out of the ECMC community.

Second, participants in our study reported *Institutional Barriers to Full Participation*. These included such dynamics as exclusive locations for meetings and events, such that the POC sangha members would have to leave their own environments and communities and enter a White world in order to participate. They also included socioeconomic barriers. For example, even with scholarships set aside for people of color, retreats were considered expensive, especially for those who do not receive paid vacation from their places of employment.

While I was unable to locate literature on this dynamic with respect to religious communities, a great deal of literature exists on the ability of people of color to access health care and other services based on income and location of services. For example, in one study people of color had reduced access to health facilities, due to both income status and transportation barriers (Gordon-Larsen, Nelson, Page & Popkin, 2006). Another study on the health disparities experienced by Latinos in the United States lists both socioeconomic and transportation barriers as key components of existing negative health outcomes for this population (Vega, Rodriguez, & Gruskin, 2009). In addition, in a review of 61 studies, Syed, Gerber, and Sharp (2013) concluded that transportation is an important barrier for people of color, particularly those with lower incomes. As such, people of color are less likely to access

health care. Likewise, in the current study participants of color noted that they were often unable to participate in both formal and informal community events due to both transportation and economic barriers. While the primary variable in these studies (access to health care) differs from the dynamics explored in the current study, the themes of inaccessibility due to financial constraints, location, and transportation remain similar.

It is important to note that the sorts of systemic barriers prevalent at ECMC are not unique to this particular community, or to American Convert Buddhist communities more generally. There exists a robust literature on segregation in spiritual communities, and the dynamics that result. In fact, the most recent data available on segregation in America's churches reports that more than 85 percent of churches are uni-racial (Faith Communities Survey, 2010). America's churches continue to be 10 times more segregated than their surrounding neighborhoods and 20 times more segregated than the school districts they inhabit, leading Emerson and Woo (2006, p. 37) to conclude that all Christian denominations remain "hypersegregated." While the reasons for this segregation are complex, Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson (2013) find five factors that most contribute.

First, Americans tend to congregate by race (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), and since religious communities are, by nature, voluntary organizations where desegregation is not legally or socially enforced, one might expect to find uni-racial congregations. Second, congregations tend to draw from social networks, and social networks in America tend to be highly segregated by race networks (Christerson & Emerson 2003; Emerson & Kim 2003). Third, numerical minorities tend not to stay in churches (Scheitle & Dougherty, 2010). Fourth, the great majority of American neighborhoods are still racially segregated, and churches tend to draw parishioners from their local neighborhoods (Emerson & Kim 2003; Massey & Denton

1993). Fifth, people of color often look to churches as places of security to escape the discrimination they face in the dominant culture (Blau, Redding, Land, 1998; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, & Kim, 2003; Emerson & Kim 2003).

Third, many participants in the current study reported *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion*. These strategies included the *accommodation of white ignorance*, such that participants of color felt obliged to make White members of the community feel safe and went out of their way to appear friendly, approachable, and calm, despite the fact that they were the numerical minority. Another strategy participants reported employing was *avoiding White ignorance*, primarily by refusing to attend events and community gatherings where they or their acquaintances had previously experienced microaggressions and other forms of subtle exclusion, in order to preserve their emotional resources. Finally, participants of color reported using *the POC affiliation group* as a way to “refuel” in between visits to the primarily White ECMC community, where they encountered a pervasive sense of White ignorance on both interpersonal and institutional levels.

Broadly speaking, the *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion* match the *strategies of acculturation* that have been identified in the literature. For individuals undergoing the process, acculturation includes psychological changes related to at least three arenas of experience, including *affective*, *behavioral*, and *cognitive* experience (Ward, 2001). According to Berry (2006), the primary *affective* experience that accompanies acculturation is stress. *Behaviorally*, groups must learn relevant associated with the culture they are newly contacting (Masgoret & Ward, 2006), such as language and culturally appropriate communication styles (Ward & Kennedy, 1999). *Cognitively*, individuals confronted with a cross-cultural situation often grapple with identity questions (Berry, 1997). Since individuals typically identify as part of

one culture or group in opposition to other groups (Phinney, 1990), these adjustments can cause cognitive dissonance that require *strategies of acculturation*.

The strategies utilized by individuals undergoing the assimilation process are fourfold. First, *assimilation* is the strategy used by individuals or groups who wish to establish close contact with other cultures and are willing to relinquish aspects of their heritage and previously held cultural values. Examples of this from the current study include instances of individuals adopting tones of voice, vocabulary, and physical postures that were deemed culturally appropriate for the White space (i.e. "code switching"). These individuals also took care to approach White community members at events, present a warm and friendly countenance, and put the individuals from the majority culture at ease. These findings parallel similar findings in the assimilation literature. For example, one study that measured how and with whom immigrants to the United States and Australia spend their time found that those immigrants who spend their time on "assimilating activities" (for example, working in a majority culture office) benefit in terms of social and financial capital (Hamermesh, & Trejo, 2013). In other words, the participants in Hamermesh and Trejo's study willingly subvert some of their cultural practices in order to gain the benefits of assimilation.

Second, individuals that wish to maintain a strong sense of their own cultural identity and heritage and who are willing to sacrifice the benefits of association with another culture choose *separation*. In the present study, for example, there were individuals who simply refused to attend primarily White events and meetings at ECMC. They considered themselves active members of the person of color affiliation group. However, when asked to attend more mainstream functions, they declined, often citing as their reason an unwillingness to conform to the behavioral norms of the host culture of ECMC. This dynamic also paralleled some of the

findings in the acculturation literature. For example, one study of professional Chinese immigrants in Australia found that those professionals who had chosen the assimilation model reported the highest levels of both job and life satisfaction, while those who had chosen separation reported the lowest levels of both variables (Lu, Samaratunge, & Härtel, 2012). (It should be noted, however, that *integration* was not measured in this study.) Likewise, participants in the current study who had chosen separation as an acculturation strategy also often reported lower levels of satisfaction with the mainstream ECMC community. However, in the current study those participants who had chosen the integration strategy often seemed the most satisfied, as exemplified by their engagement with the community and their development of close relationships both with White community members and members of color.

Third, the *integration* strategy is used by people who wish to balance their adaptation to a new culture with a firm commitment to their heritage. In the present study there were participants, for example, who attended both the person of color affiliation group and the White majority culture events and meetings. Often these participants spoke of "breaking ground," when they attended mainstream primarily White events. The process was often fraught with identify difficulties, as well as the difficulty of encountering White ignorance. These participants often used the POC sangha as a safe space from which to encounter and explore the larger ECMC community. As such, they attempted to integrate both their own cultural heritage and their new affiliation and identification with the primarily White community. These findings correspond to trends in the acculturation literature, in which the integration strategy is often theorized to be the psychologically healthiest option. For example, Tartakovsky (2012) found that teenagers who emigrated from Russia to Israel preferred the integration strategy to the other strategies of acculturation, and that those youth who successfully integrated (i.e. maintained their cultural

traditions while adapting to their new cultural milieu) performed best in school and reported the highest levels of life satisfaction.

While the participants in this study were not immigrants to a new country, their experience parallels the experience of immigrants, in that their encounter with the mainstream ECMC culture often required acculturation to the new cultural environment. Like immigrants, they chose acculturation strategies. In addition, like immigrants, they made certain compromises, whether compromising parts of their cultural selves, compromising their connection to the mainstream ECMC culture, or attempting to find a compromise between these two competing identity concerns.

Lastly, individuals experience *marginalization* when they neither maintain their heritage nor adopt the values of a host culture (Berry, 2005). No participants reported behaviors that might be associated with active marginalization, as it is defined in the acculturation literature. Instead, all eleven of the current participants reported behaviors that can be classified in the first three categories.

The fourth theme we identified in the current study was ***Failures of Leadership Support***. These often took the shape of the primarily White leadership at ECMC feeling confused about how to best intervene on behalf of people of color in their communities when racialized exclusion arose, intervening too slowly on behalf of people of color in such instances, and even contributing to a sense of alienation by questioning the experiences of people of color when they reported microaggressions and other racialized incidents. This reportedly led to some people of color at ECMC feeling unsupported and misunderstood, and also reportedly caused a sense of alienation and exhaustion, as well as a sense of distrust with the diversity initiatives that ECMC leadership seemed to espouse.

As mentioned above, a number of the incidents reported by participants of color in the current study can be well categorized using Sue et al.'s (2007) matrix of definitions surrounding *microinvalidations*. For example, in one incident, a White male member of ECMC confronted the leader of the POC affiliation group on the street outside of an ECMC event, asking them to explain why the affiliation group was necessary. When the leader of the POC group attempted to explain, the man grew agitated. The POC leader attempted to exit the conversation. However, the White ECMC member followed them, raising his voice further. Eventually, several members of the POC group physically stepped between the White ECMC member in order to allow the POC leader to exit the situation.

While this was clearly a microaggression (or macroaggression), for the purpose of this section on *Failures of Leadership Support*, what came next was more salient. First, the POC members who were present during the incident reported the White ECMC member's behavior to the ECMC leadership. Instead of the support they had expected, however, it seemed to several participants of this study that their perceptions of the situation were immediately called into question. They were asked, for instance, how they knew the man's behavior was related to race. They were also asked whether they might be exaggerating the level of aggression the man had performed. This is a clear instance of a microinvalidation (Sue et al., 2007). Unsurprisingly, this incident and others like it led to a sense of being unsupported by the ECMC leadership and excluded from the mainstream ECMC group.

These *Failures of Leadership Support* for people of color at ECMC correspond with data derived from parallel literatures. For example, the Teacher Education literature includes a robust treatment of actions of White leadership when addressing racialized concerns like those listed above (For a review see Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016). For example, one qualitative study

followed nine English-only speaking preservice teachers who tutored English learners of Mexican origin over the course of a semester. Through observation of tutoring sessions, in-depth interviews, and analyses of the preservice teachers' learning journals, the researchers determined that, "Good intentions of the participants were consistently undermined by the Whiteness and the racism that influenced their beliefs about and behaviors with the children" (Marx, 2004, p. 31).

While there are obvious differences between the context of a classroom and a meditation community that primarily serves adults, this is an important finding in the context of the current study, in which the primarily White leadership at ECMC seemed to hold genuinely "good intentions," but in which those intentions were consistently "undermined by the whiteness and the racism" that blocked them from appropriately intervening on the behalf of members of color at ECMC. Unlike the study cited, in which the White researcher intervened with the preservice teachers in order to point out their racist assumptions, the primarily White leadership at ECMC did not initially receive feedback from an authority on their microinvalidations and other subtly undermining behaviors. As such, it took several years of awareness training and feedback from senior POC members before the White leadership was able to unpack its own racist assumptions and begin to address racialized issues in the community.

Fifth, the participants in the present study reported a *Range of POC Experiences*. Indeed, some of the participants interviewed experienced the primarily White spaces of ECMC as welcoming. Others even denied claims that ECMC was racist or suffered from the sorts of racialized dynamics that many participants reported. Simultaneously, other participants of color experienced the White space of mainstream ECMC as implicitly or explicitly exclusive and oppressive.

While the components of this range of experiences are complex, it is important to note that two factors seemed to emerge in our data. The first was *socioeconomic status* and the second was *colorism*. In terms of socioeconomic status, those people of color who had access to more resources were considerably less likely to experience the White Space as oppressive and alienating, a finding with some backing in the research literature (Khanna, 2016).

The reasons for this seemed, on the one hand, to be practical. Participants of color with greater access to resources were, by and large, more able to participate in the mainstream ECMC events. They were, for example, able to take time off work to participate in weekend and weeklong retreats, where a great deal of community building takes place at ECMC. They were also able to go out to dinner after events and meetings, which is another primary way that community members build relationships at ECMC. As a result, participants of color with more economic resources seemed to feel more connected to ECMC as a whole, and to experience more intimacy across racial boundaries.

This conclusion fits well within the parameters of the *contact hypothesis* (Allport, 1954), which is one of the classic social psychological interventions for the bridging of ethnic and other differences. As noted in the literature review above, in his seminal work on the theory, Allport proposed that four qualifying conditions must be present in order for groups to overcome ethnic and other divisions, including *support from an authority, intimate contact, equal status for members of both groups, conditions for cooperative interdependence*. In the case of our participants of color with access to financial resources, all four of Allport's (1954) qualifying conditions were met. Both the White and POC members at ECMC had the explicit support of Jayla Braun, the founder and head teacher at ECMC, to bridge cultural and racial gaps (*support from an authority*). In addition, the higher SES participants of color and White ECMC members

experienced *intimate contact* at retreats, meetings, and in informal settings at restaurants after events; they enjoyed *equal status* due to the resources that more affluent POC members were able to display, in the form of dress, accessories, vehicles, or just the ability to buy a member of the sangha lunch or dinner; and they benefited from the *cooperative interdependence* of being part of a community with a singular vision.

Unfortunately, participants of color without access to robust economic resources did not enjoy all of the qualifying conditions that make genuine contact possible in Allport's (1954) model. Although they still had the *support of an authority*, for instance, they benefited from less opportunities for *intimate contact*, due to the exclusive location of the flagship ECMC meeting, as well as less ability to participate in retreats, meals at restaurants, and other activities that required more autonomous forms of transportation, free time, and spendable income. They also did not enjoy *equal status*, because their socioeconomic situation was not equal to most of the White members of ECMC. Finally, due to the interpersonal and institutional barriers listed above, they were far less likely to be able to participate in activities that generated a sense of *cooperative interdependence*. All of these factors together seemed to contribute to a sense of precariousness and distance for the participants of color with less access to economic resources.

The contemporary psychological literature on the *contact hypothesis* lends support to the above conclusions. For example, in one of the largest meta-analyses on the development of cross-group relationships, Davies et al. (2011) concluded that two factors most contributed to the development of friendship across cultural and other differences. These were *time spent* with members of the other group and *self-disclosure* to members of the other group. The researchers found that these variables “yielded significantly greater associations with attitudes than other friendship measures, suggesting that attitudes are most likely to improve when cross-group

friendships involve behavioral engagement” (p. 332). One conclusion to draw from this is that those POC members of ECMC who did not have the economic resources to spend significant time with White members of ECMC, and therefore engage in the kinds of mutually reinforcing self-disclosure that leads to cross-group friendships, were not able to develop those friendships. They therefore isolated and alienated from the mainstream ECMC culture and community.

Another factor that seemed to influence the experience of participants of color in the White Space of ECMC was *colorism*, “the process of discrimination that privileges light-skinned people of color over their dark-skinned counterparts” (Hunter 2007, p. 237). Decades of research have established that *colorism* is prevalent in the United States and internationally (Burton et al., 2010). Consequences of the dynamic range from the social, to the educational, to the economic. In fact, lighter-skinned people of color complete higher levels of education (Arce et al. 1987; Espino & Franz 2002), live in better neighborhoods (Hill 2000; Hughes & Hertel 1990), earn more money (Hunter, 2005), and marry higher-status partners than their darker-skinned counterparts (Rondilla & Spickard, 2007). Studies have also established that employers are more likely to hire a light-skinned applicant over a dark-skinned applicant of the same race (Espino & Franz 2002; Hill 2000; Hughes & Hertel 1990; Telles & Murguia, 1990) and that people are more likely to choose a marital partner who is lighter-skinned rather than darker-skinned (Rondilla & Spickard, 2007), among other outcomes. Along these lines, and granting that the current design is inadequate for the drawing of causal conclusions, the participants of color in the present study who were lighter-skinned were more likely to report experiencing the White Space of ECMC as welcoming and inclusive than their counterparts with darker skin tones. While this finding is complex, it seems possible that POC members of ECMC were more easily accepted by their White counterparts than were POC members of ECMC with darker skin.

Sixth, our data suggest that, over time, *Promoting Equity and Inclusion* has become a primary goal of the leadership of ECMC. As such, policy interventions and cross-racial communication at ECMC have become more culturally competent over the past decade. For example, ECMC has instituted a number of diversity committees to undertake an analysis of racial dynamics in the community and make recommendations for how these might be transformed. They have invited people of color onto the board, into the teacher's council, and into other leadership positions and have increasingly encouraged and supported the racial analysis that these POC leaders have offered.

ECMC has also fostered a White Awareness Group, which is a space that is structured so that White members of the community may make their own analysis of how race functions, and begin to understand their role in replacing the implicitly excluding practices of the White Space with attitudes and interventions that are truly welcoming and inclusive to people of color. Finally, White leaders at ECMC have become more willing and more able to sustain difficult conversations about race in which their own assumptions and behaviors are challenged. A number of participants noted that this process was directly impacted by ECMC's founder and head teacher, Jayla Braun. According to participants, Jayla modeled non-defensiveness and dedication to issues of racial equity, even when she herself was being criticized for implicit biases.

These interventions (diversity committees, inviting people of color into positions of prominence and power, White awareness, a willingness to have conversations about race) broadly parallel the research that Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson (2013) cite on the successful integration of churches. However, as those authors note, a number of internal and external factors must be present in order for a church community to overcome the barriers

imposed by historical trends and social pressures of religion in the United States. ECMC could therefore still institute several policies that, according to the research literature, might have a further impact on the racial diversification of the community. They could, for example, move their flagship location from its current location in a suburban, upper middle class, primarily White community to an urban, multi-racial, working or middle class neighborhood. A great deal of research supports the idea that urban churches are more likely to be diverse than suburban or rural congregations (Dougherty, 2003; Dougherty & Huyser 2008; Emerson & Woo, 2006; Hadaway, Hackett, & Miller, 1984). In addition, congregations located in racially diverse neighborhoods are, perhaps unsurprisingly, more likely to be racially diverse (Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998; Emerson & Kim 2003; Emerson & Woo, 2006; Hadaway, Hackett, & Yancey 2003).

Implications

Members of American Convert Buddhist communities have been calling for more explicit efforts to address issues of race and racism in their communities for nearly 20 years (e.g. Adams et al., 2000; Gutierrez Boldoquin, 2004; Pierce, 2000; Willis, 2000). While the literature produced by practitioners on the topic has progressed a great deal (e.g. Dugan & Bogert, 2006; Kaleem, 2013; Yang, 2012; Buddhadharma, 2016; etc.), the academic, peer-reviewed literature on the topic of race and racism in American convert Buddhist communities is undeveloped, with only a handful of empirical articles published on the topic of diversity (Cheah, 2011; Gleig, 2014; Smith, 2009), and none of them dedicated particularly to the topic of race in primarily White meditation communities.

The findings of this paper suggest that, as expected, race is a salient issue for people of color practicing in primarily White meditation communities. As mentioned above, we were able

to identify six themes related to our research question of how racialized inclusion and exclusion function at ECMC: *Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation*, *Institutional Barriers to Full Participation*, *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion*, *Failures of Leadership Support for People of Color*, *Range of POC Experiences*, and *Promoting Equity and Inclusion*. Analyzing these themes, we understand them to be directly related to and an extension of Elijah Anderson's (2015) scholarship on "the White Space." This may be especially valuable for the field, since our data provide further empirical evidence for Anderson's assertions.

While Anderson's seminal work introduces the construct of the White Space to the academic literature and begins to clarify its dynamics, there still exists an opportunity to more fully elucidate how the White Space functions. We believe that the six themes that emerged from the data collected at the East Coast Meditation Center not only describe the experiences of a handful of people of color engaged in a particular spiritual community. Nor do we believe that our findings apply only to people of color in primarily White meditation communities like ECMC. Instead, we theorize that the six themes that we have elucidated in this paper are an accurate depiction of how the White Space functions across contexts, whether in meditation communities, churches, counseling centers, hospitals, university classrooms, or other primarily White institutions in America.

We argue here that primarily White meditation communities can be considered White Spaces (Anderson, 2015), and that they function very much like other White Spaces in other organizations and institutions in America, such as counseling centers, hospitals, schools, and corporations. The findings of this paper, therefore, can help primarily White meditation communities in America deconstruct the White Space and build in its stead spaces that are truly welcoming and inclusive of people of color, as well as equitable to people of color in ways that

account for historical injustices and the impacts on both White members and people of color that those injustices have created. More broadly, we argue that these six themes can help other organizations deconstruct White Spaces and produce more equitable spaces.

What, then, are the functions of the White Space? First, the White Space will likely include *Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation* for people of color. These barriers will take the form of microaggressions, such as the instances of *exotifying* described above, in which White community members asked an Asian American where she was from each time she attended primarily White events. They will also often take the form of *tokenizing*, such as when people of color at ECMC were asked to be in brochures and promotional videos without an authentically cultivated relationship. In Buddhist communities, White community members may utilize particular Buddhist philosophical principles in order to invalidate or undermine POC experiences. However, in other contexts this particular dynamic will likely take other forms. For instance, primarily White counseling centers in which there is an implicit demand for quiet voices and subdued body language may implicitly limit and exclude persons from different cultural backgrounds, while primarily White classrooms may favor a particular lexicon and introduce White-centered topics in a way that silences people of color.

Second, the White Space will likely include *Institutional Barriers to Full Participation* for people of color. These institutional barriers will often include implicitly and explicitly exclusive locations for meetings and events, such that people of color will feel they have to leave their own environments and communities and enter a White world in order to participate. These venue choices may include a lack of access to public transportation, a choice of venue in primarily White and/or upper middle class neighborhoods, and spaces that simply “feel White,” like yoga studios, Unitarian churches, or buildings that are filled with the portraits of White men.

In addition, the members of White Spaces will likely ignore the importance of socioeconomic status, implicitly assuming, for instance, that anyone can afford a taxi or a restaurant after events. Also, gaps between White culture and the various cultures of people of color will likely go unacknowledged and unaddressed in the White Space, such that the topics that are introduced are conceptualized as “universal” and the (White) people that are speaking may assume that what they are saying relates to anyone, regardless of race, socioeconomic background, or other areas of diversity.

Third, the White Space will likely require that people of color develop *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion*. These strategies will likely include the accommodation of white ignorance, such that people of color will feel obliged to make White members of the community feel safe and will go out of their way to appear friendly, approachable, and calm, despite the fact that they are the numerical minority in the room. Another strategy people of color will likely employ will be to avoid White ignorance, primarily by refusing to attend events and community gatherings where they or their acquaintances have previously experienced microaggressions and other forms of subtle exclusion, in order to preserve their emotional resources. Finally, where people of color affiliation groups are available in predominately White communities such as meditation groups, universities, or other contexts, people of color will likely seek them out and take refuge in these communities as a way to “refuel” before encountering the pervasive White ignorance they encounter across the various institutions in which they participate.

Fourth, even the primarily White communities that attempt anti-racist interventions will almost certainly encounter *Failures of Leadership Support* for people of color. This will likely often take the shape, as it did at ECMC, of primarily White leadership feeling confused about

how to best intervene on behalf of people of color in their communities when racialized exclusion arises, intervening too slowly on behalf of people of color in such instances, and even contributing to a sense of alienation by questioning the experiences of people of color when they report microaggressions and other racialized incidents. This likely will lead to a feeling on the part of people of color interacting with the White Space that they are not fully supported or understood, as well as feelings of alienation and exhaustion, and a sense of distrust for the diversity, inclusivity, and equity mission statements of the primarily White leadership in schools, clinics, hospitals, and other institutions.

Fifth, when people of color encounter the White Space there will almost certainly exist a *Range of POC Experiences*. Based on background, level of comfort with White culture, level of racial awareness, ability to analyze racialized dynamics, and other factors, some people of color may, indeed, experience the White Space as welcoming, even a safe haven, and they may claim that the particular White Space they are inhabiting is not racist. Other people of color will likely experience this same space as implicitly or explicitly exclusive and oppressive. While the components for this range of experiences are complex, it is important to note that both socioeconomic status and colorism may play a role in how included or excluded some people of color feel in the community.

Sixth, our data suggest that *Promoting Equity and Inclusion* in the White Space is both possible and beneficial. Indeed, if ECMC can be taken as an example, it seems that White leaders occupying the White Space can become aware of its dynamics, and begin to deconstruct its insidious power. This can take place in a number of ways. For example, creating diversity committees that undertake an analysis of racial dynamics in the community can begin to make visible the functions of the White Space so that they may be addressed. In addition, inviting

people of color into leadership positions in the community or organization (for example as board members, executive directors, CEOs, deans, etc.) and then encouraging their racial analysis can advance the deconstruction process. Another effective intervention for the deconstruction of the White Space is the founding of White Awareness Groups, spaces that are structured so that White members of the community may make their own analysis of how race functions, and begin to understand their role in replacing the implicitly excluding practices of the White Space with attitudes and interventions that are truly welcoming and inclusive to people of color. Finally, if the White Space is to be deconstructed and an inclusive and equitable space is arise, White members of the community or organization must be willing to engage in difficult conversations about race in which their own assumptions and behaviors are challenged, and they must cultivate an emotional balance and non-reactivity so that they can clearly hear the feedback they may receive from people of color. As the dynamics at ECMC show, it will be extremely helpful if a powerful leader in the organization models this behavior, by being willing herself or himself to listen carefully when receiving such feedback.

Recommendations for ECMC

With regard to the above analysis of the experiences of racialized inclusion and exclusion at the East Coast Meditation Center (a pseudonym), several recommendations emerged from the data. Given the *Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation* that emerged from the data, the researchers recommend that all White leaders at the East Coast Meditation Center undergo racial awareness training. We recommend that optional racial awareness training also be offered to community members of ECMC free of charge. We recommend that the leadership at ECMC institute a review board to investigate the complaints of people of color who feel they have experienced microaggressions or other interpersonal barriers to full participation.

Given the *Institutional Barriers to Full Participation* that emerged in the data, the researchers recommend that ECMC relocate its flagship location to a more urban environment. We recommend that this new flagship location occupy a working class, multi-ethnic neighborhood. We recommend that this new location be chosen for its proximity to public transportation. We also recommend that ECMC continue to promote appropriately skilled and experienced people of color through the leadership structure. Though many people of color that attend ECMC identify as middle class, the researchers recommend that the leadership continue to explore ways in which financial hurdles might be overcome for members of color who do not have the resources to attend retreats and other community-bonding activities.

Given the *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion* that emerged in the data, the researchers recommend that all leaders at ECMC be educated about the importance of safe spaces for people of color, such as the POC sangha, so that they can better serve and support these spaces. We recommend that the mainstream ECMC leadership continue to support the POC sangha and other affiliation groups, both financially and otherwise. We also recommend that the ECMC leadership work with POC leaders to bridge the gulf between some members of the POC sangha and the mainstream ECMC community. It is important that this process be genuinely collaborative. It is also important that members of the White ECMC community follow the lead of POC members in establishing appropriate cross-racial connections.

Given the *Failures of Leadership Support* for people of color that emerged in the data, the researchers recommend that ECMC use the present study as a source for information about how its leadership has struggled in the past to support people of color in the community. The researchers also recommend that White teachers at ECMC actively investigate and deconstruct Whiteness as a seat of self-identity. Out of that actively investigatory space, we recommend that

ECMC teachers incorporate topics and examples that broaden their Dharma talks beyond the narrow confines of White culture, by referencing leaders and thinkers of color and by addressing race and other issues of oppression in talks. This last recommendation, of course, requires that these White teachers be actively engaged in racialized work, both internally and externally, rather than simply including examples in order to fill an institutional requirement. According to our data, it is only through this active engagement that inclusion of a broader range of topics will feel genuine and inviting to people of color.

Given the *Range of POC Experiences* that emerged in the data, it will be important for White leaders at ECMC to understand that people of color in the community will always occupy different positions in relation to Whiteness, based on socioeconomic status, level of comfort in white spaces, and possibly even the lightness or darkness of their skin. As such, it will be important for the leadership of ECMC to build anti-racist policies utilizing two interrelated but distinct sources of information. First, the views and experiences of people of color at ECMC should guide their policies. Second, current anti-oppression frameworks should be used to interpret and frame the various levels of feedback the organization receives from different people of color.

The researchers would like to acknowledge the work that the leadership of ECMC has already done to promote inclusivity and equity in the community. Given ECMC's commitment to *Promoting Equity and Inclusion*, we recommend that ECMC continue the important progress it has already made by supporting the goals of its diversity committees and putting into action the recommendations of these committees. We recommend that ECMC continue to invite appropriate and experienced people of color into leadership positions and support them financially, both during the training process and after. Further, the researchers recommend that

the White Awareness work currently being done at ECMC undergo expansion, and that the active investigation and deconstruction of Whiteness as a seat of self-identity become an integral part of the mindfulness practices at ECMC.

Recommendations for Other Primarily White Meditation Communities

The researchers believe that the current data may be generalized to other primarily White meditation communities in the United States. As such, a number of recommendations emerged for other primarily White meditation communities. For example, according to our data and publicized reports (e.g. Owens, 2016), it appears likely that many primarily White meditation communities suffer from *Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation*. As such, the researchers recommend that the White leaders of those communities undergo racial awareness training. We recommend that racial awareness training be offered to community members under the guise of personal and community development.

Second, many meditation communities with which we are familiar suffer from the same sort of *Institutional Barriers to Full Participation* listed in this study. As such, we recommend that these communities consider their locations carefully. We recommend that they consider opening new locations or relocating flagship locations in multi-ethnic and working class neighborhoods, if those neighborhoods exist in their geographical location. We recommend that these communities institute scholarships for people of color and other marginalized populations (LGBTQ, low SES, etc.).

Third, many primarily White meditation communities would benefit from recognizing the need for safe spaces for people of color and other marginalized populations, as exemplified in our participants' *Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion*. From there, they could work to support people of color in founding and maintaining these spaces as ECMC has done over the

past fifteen years. Fourth, it will be important for leaders in these primarily White meditation communities to understand that people of color will report a *Range of POC Experiences*, and to address these differences wisely, utilizing current anti-oppression models as a reference.

Fifth, primarily White meditation communities could learn a great deal from the *Failures of Leadership Support* that ECMC has struggled with in regard to people of color, and take steps to avoid some of the same pitfalls. As such, they could actively investigate and deconstruct Whiteness as a seat of self-identity, taking such a process as an essential part of their spiritual practice. When appropriate, they could work their own process of racial awareness into their dharma talks and include references to people of color in order to widen topics beyond the narrow confines of White culture.

Finally, members of primarily White meditation communities may take inspiration in ECMC's relatively developed efforts to *Promote Equity and Inclusion*. They might consider following some of the same steps, such as instituting diversity committees, promoting appropriately qualified POC leaders through their hierarchies, instituting White Awareness groups, and setting aside a budget for equity work.

Limitations and Future Directions

Given the qualitative methods employed in the current study, there are limits to the generalizability of the data presented above. In addition, in applying the findings of the current study to other White Spaces such as hospitals, schools, and clinics, researchers should also exercise caution, as those institutions likely express racialized dynamics in unique ways. Future research should investigate the experiences of people of color in other primarily White meditation communities to explore the possibility of generalizing the current study's findings. Future research might also use the current findings as a lens through which to examine more

diverse settings like hospitals, schools, and clinics. These studies might explore, for example, whether Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation are present, or whether there are Institutional Barriers to Full Participation, or whether participants of color employ Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion. These studies might also explore how these dynamics are similar to the dynamics presented here, and how they might be different.

Another limitation of the current study has to do with identity and positionality. As the primary researcher, I identify as a White, cisgender, heterosexual male. While I have attempted to fully engage in anti-oppression education and pedagogies in preparation for the gathering, analyzing, and presentation of this data, there are inescapable limitations that gather around my identity and my position in the culture. It is highly likely that some participants of color felt uncomfortable talking about race to a White male that they did not know. Though several of the participants mentioned that it was liberating to speak with a White person who "gets it," it is still highly likely that, consciously or unconsciously, they shaped their answers to interact with my presenting identities. In addition, several participants identified as LGBTQ. Given my identification as both cisgender and heterosexual, and the participants knowledge of these identities, it is likely that some of the data offered by participants was shaped by the need to interface with my identities. Future research, therefore, might benefit from interviewers who identify as people of color and/or LGBTQ.

While my position as an "insider" in meditation communities opened many doors, it also presents limitations. In terms of doors opened, I was able to gain access to the community as a trusted friend of the community who understood the layers of meaning implied statements that participants made about Buddhist doctrine, community dynamics, and board politics. However, it is likely there was also some pressure to present during the interviews in terms of the norms and

meaning structures of meditation communities. Future research, therefore, might benefit from "community naive" interviewers gathering and analyzing data, as they might unearth divergent expressions of similar dynamics, or even different dynamics altogether.

In addition, while the in-person interviews and the Skype member checks produced rich data, there are limitations to the one-on-one style of the conversations that this study relied upon. Future researchers might consider employing focus groups in which members have time to interact with one another, as this may uncover further layers of meaning, and participants may understand dynamics differently and more fully together than they do in isolation. On this note, future research might also benefit from interviewing White participants in order to explore the phenomena of racialized inclusion and exclusion from different angles and heuristics to more fully describe how and why these patterns continue.

In terms of strengths, this study employs a multi-coder and collaborative data analysis, in which the second coder, as an African American male in his late 40s with a law degree and his own experiences in meditation communities, occupied a different cultural and racial positionality. The discussion and debate that led to agreement in the three tiered coding process was an essential validity check, and likely curbed some of the biases that I, as the primary researcher with the identities listed above, would have suffered from without the support of an analysis partner. In addition, each step of the three-tiered coding process was audited by an outside researcher who does not have experience with meditation communities, helping the two primary coders to check some of the bias that naturally came with being meditation community "insiders," and also helping us ensure the step-by-step quality that allows qualitative research to be reliable and trustworthy. Another strength of this study is the powerful stories and insights that participants offered. None of the rich conclusions offered here would have been possible

without the brilliant minds and hearts of the people I interviewed. A final strength of this study is that it provides the first peer-reviewed, academic investigation of the experiences of people of color in a primarily White meditation community.

Appendices

Appendix A

Consent Form for Racial Diversity in Buddhist Communities Participants

As part of my education in the counseling psychology department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, I am conducting an observation and interview project to gather information about race at the Insight Meditation Group of Washington (ECMC). I would like to ask you some questions about your experiences with race at ECMC.

Purpose and general description of study:

Our goal in this study is to learn about people's experiences with race in Buddhist communities. In addition, the researchers hope to publish the results in a peer-reviewed journal. The study will include 5 to 10 interviewees who have been selected due to their experiences with race at ECMC. I will conduct the interviews over the course of a single visit between November 19 and November 25, 2015.

Participation:

Participation will involve an interview, with possible follow-up emails or a short follow-up interview for clarification purposes. Data will be collected through recording our interviews. If you would prefer not to be recorded, I would still like to speak with you and will take notes based on your responses. The recordings will be used for transcription purposes only. Therefore the data collection will take place at a spot at either ECMC or another location that is convenient to the interviewee. During the interview my questions will focus on interviewees' experiences of race at ECMC. The interviewee can stop the interview at any time. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or loss of the benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.

Confidentiality:

The collected responses will be kept confidential. We will request permission from interviewees in the case that we would like to include direct quotes from their interviews in future publications. During data collection, if interviewees wish to say something "off the record," they must let the researcher know, and I will turn off any recording devices. Notes and recordings will be stored in the Counseling Psychology Department at the University of Wisconsin Madison. Only the researchers will have access to the data. Data will be preserved for three months following the study. Lastly, one exception to confidentiality should be noted. Researchers may be required to break confidentiality if abuse or neglect is suspected or witnessed while in participants' homes, if the interview is conducted at a participant's home.

Risks:

Race and racism are sensitive subjects. There is some risk that you will experience psychological stress while speaking of your experiences. In addition, when interviews are recorded there is always some risk of a breach of confidentiality, as well as the potential risk that participants will reveal personal, sensitive, or identifiable information when responding to open-ended questions.

In order to minimize these risks, several precautions will be taken. As noted, you may pause the interview at any time, and you may choose not to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable. In addition, the principle investigator of this study, Dr. Stephanie Budge, is a licensed psychologist. Dr. Budge is available by phone and email for consultation, should the need arise. Special care will be taken to respect the boundaries and sensitive emotions of all participants. Confidentiality will be treated with utmost conscientiousness. All data files will be kept in a single password protected computer to mitigate the risk of a breach of confidentiality. In addition, names and identifying details will be changed for publication to mitigate the risk of a breach of confidentiality.

Benefits:

While there are no direct benefits for participation in this study, I hope our findings will help me understand race at ECMC, and by extension the dynamics of how race is playing out in Buddhist communities more generally. This may also contribute to our understanding of racial dynamics in other contexts.

Compensation:

There will be no payment for participation.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study at any time, please feel free to contact me, Craig Hase, MA, cnhase@wisc.edu, or the principle investigator on this study, Dr. Stephanie Budge, budge@wisc.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the ED & SBS IRB Office at 608-263-2320.

I give consent to the researcher to record my interview:

Name:

Signature:

I give consent to the researcher to use quotes from my interview after checking the specific quote with me first.

Name:

Signature:

____ (initial) I give consent for the researcher to contact me to participate in a follow-up interview.

I sincerely thank you for your time.

Craig Hase
Graduate Student
Department of Counseling Psychology
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Appendix B

Demographic Questions

What is your name? _____

What is your age?

How long have you been coming to ECMC?

Have you practiced in other spiritual/religious communities? If so, which ones? What dates?

Describe your racial/ethnic identity identities.

What was your sex assigned at birth?

- Male
- Female

How do you identify your current gender identity (e.g., female, male, genderqueer, gender bender, gender-variant, etc.)?

What sexual orientation/identity labels do you use (e.g., lesbian, gay, bisexual, heterosexual, queer, pansexual, etc.)?

Where do you live (city, state, zipcode)?

What is the highest degree you've earned?

How many members live in your household?

What is your household income?

In what nation were you born? What is your current citizenship status?

Appendix C

Interview Protocol

1. How did you become involved at ECMC?
2. What is your understanding of race?
3. What is your experience as a person of color at ECMC as a predominantly white community?
 - a. Probe: Values?
 - b. Probe: Ways of speaking?
 - c. Probe: Everyday concerns?
 - d. Probe: Topics of teachers' talks?
4. What is your understanding of racial inclusivity?
 - a. Probe: What does it look like?
 - b. Probe: How does it incorporate different values?
 - c. Probe: How does it incorporate different identities?
5. How has ECMC promoted racial inclusivity?
 - a. Probe: Power
 - b. Probe: Race
6. Please describe an experience that you have had at ECMC in which you felt truly included as a person of color.
 - a. Try to describe your thoughts and feelings during that experience. How did you know that you were welcome?
 - i. Prompt: asking again for feelings.

7. Please describe an experience that you have had at ECMC in which you felt parts of your racial identity were excluded.
 - a. Try to describe what your thoughts and feelings during that experience. How did you know that you were not completely welcome?
 - ii. Prompt: asking again for feelings
8. Now, with your permission, I'd like to lead you through a thought experiment. Imagine that tonight, as you sleep, a miracle occurs. Overnight, magically, ECMC becomes a truly racially diverse and inclusive space. Of course, you're sleeping, so you don't know it happened. But when you walk into your next ECMC meeting, everything has changed. You feel totally welcomed, all of you. You feel truly at home.
 - a. What's different?
 - b. What's the first thing you notice when you walk in the room?
 - c. What do you see?
 - d. What do you hear?
 - e. What do you smell?
 - f. Who do you see?
 - g. How do people treat you?
9. How could ECMC become a truly racially inclusive and diverse community?

References

- Adams, A., Ikeda-Nash, M., Kitzes, J., Loinaz, H.M, Tan, J., & Yang, L. (2000). Making the invisible visible: Healing racism in our Buddhist communities. Retrieved from <http://www.dharma.org/sites/default/files/Making%20the%20Invisible%20Visible.pdf>
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Ammerman, N.T. (1997). *Congregation and community*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Ammerman, N.T. (2005). *Pillars of faith: American congregations and their partners*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ancok, D., & Chertkoff, J. M. (1983). Effects of group membership, relative performance, and self-interest on the division of outcomes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45, 1256-1262.
- Arce, C. H., Murguia, E., & Frisbie, W. P. (1987). Phenotype and life chances among Chicanos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 9(1), 19-32.
- Arun (2011). It's not about Richard Gere. Retrieved from <http://www.angryasianbuddhist.com/2011/06/its-not-about-richard-gere.html>
- Batchelor, S. (1994). *The Awakening of the West: The Encounter of Buddhism and Western Culture*. Berkeley: Parallax Press.
- Basford, T. E., Offermann, L. R., & Behrend, T. S. (2014). Do you see what I see? Perceptions of gender microaggressions in the workplace. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38(3), 340-349.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Tice, D. M. (1990). Point-counterpoints: Anxiety and social exclusion. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9(2), 165-195.

- Baumeister, R. F., DeWall, C. N., Ciarocco, N. J., & Twenge, J. M. (2005). Social exclusion impairs self-regulation. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 88(4), 589-597.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), 497-529.
- Baumeister, R. F., Twenge, J. M., & Nuss, C. K. (2002). Effects of social exclusion on cognitive processes: anticipated aloneness reduces intelligent thought. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 83(4), 817.
- Becker, P.E. (1998). Making inclusive communities: Congregations and the “problem” of race. *Social Problems*, 45, 451–72
- Benet - Martínez, V., & Haritatos, J. (2005). Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components and psychosocial antecedents. *Journal of personality*, 73(4), 1015- 1050.
- Benet-Martínez, V., Leu, J., Lee, F., & Morris, M. W. (2002). Negotiating biculturalism cultural frame switching in biculturals with oppositional versus compatible cultural identities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 33(5), 492-516.
- Benner, P. (1994). Hermeneutic phenomenology: A methodology for family health and health promotion study in nursing. In P. Benner (Ed.), *Interpretive phenomenology: Embodiment, caring, and ethics in health and illness* (pp. 71-72). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J. W. (1974). Psychological Aspects of Cultural Pluralism: Unity and Identity Reconsidered. *Topics in culture learning*, 2, 17-22.

- Berry, J.W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings* (pp. 9–25). Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied psychology*, 46(1), 5-34.
- Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(6), 697-712.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied psychology*, 55(3), 303-332.
- Billingsley, A. (1999). *Mighty like a river: The Black church and social reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blau J.R., Redding K., & Land, K.C. (1998). Ethnocultural cleavages and the growth of church membership in the United States, 1860–1930. In N.J. Demerath, P.D. Hall, T. Schmitt, & R.H. Williams (Eds.), *Sacred Companies: Organizational Aspects of Religion and Religious Aspects of Organization*, , p. 132–153. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blume, A.W., Lovato, L.V., Thyken, B.N., & Denny, N. (2012). The relationship of microaggressions with alcohol use and anxiety among ethnic minority college students in a historically White institution. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 18(1), 45-54.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Chicago.

- Boorstein, M. (2015). A political awakening for Buddhists? 125 U.S. Buddhist leaders to meet at the White House. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2015/05/12/125-u-s-buddhist-leaders-to-meet-at-the-white-house/>
- Burke, M. A. (2012). *Racial Ambivalence in Diverse Communities: Whiteness and the Power of Color-blind Ideologies*. Lexington Books.
- Burton, L. M., Bonilla - Silva, E., Ray, V., Buckelew, R., & Hordge Freeman, E. (2010). Critical race theories, colorism, and the decade's research on families of color. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*(3), 440-459.
- Brewer, M.B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup Hate? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*(3), 429–444.
- Brewer, M.B. & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(1), 83-93.
- Brewer M.B. (1991). The social self: on being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*, 475–82.
- Brewer, M.B. (2010). Intergroup relations. In R.F. Baumeister & E.J. Finkel (Eds.), *Advanced Social Psychology: The State of the Science*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, R.K. & Brown, R.E. (2003). Faith and works: Church-based social capital resources and African-American political activism. *Social Forces, 82*, 617–641.
- Brown, R. J., Vivian, J., & Hewstone, M. (1999). Changing attitudes through intergroup contact: The effects of group membership salience. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*, 741–764.
- Buckley, K. E., Winkel, R. E., & Leary, M. R. (2004). Reactions to acceptance and

- rejection: Effects of level and sequence of relational evaluation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40(1), 14-28.
- Buddhists for Racial Justice (2015). Retrieved from <http://buddhistsforracialjustice.org/>.
- Buddhist Churches (2015). BCA history. Retrieved from <http://buddhistchurchesofamerica.org/about-us/bca-history/>
- Cadge, W. (2004). *Heartwood: The first generation of Theravada Buddhism in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Census (2014). United States Census Bureau: Quick Facts. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>
- Chadwick, D. (1999) *Crooked cucumber: the life and Zen teaching of Shunryu Suzuki*. New York : Broadway Books.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. New York: Sage Publications.
- Cheah, Joseph. 2011. *Race and religion in American Buddhism: White supremacy and immigrant adaptation*. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chow, R. M., Tiedens, L. Z., & Govan, C. L. (2008). Excluded emotions: The role of anger in antisocial responses to ostracism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44(3), 896-903.
- Clark, D. A., Kleiman, S., Spanierman, L. B., Isaac, P., & Poolokasingham, G. (2014). “Do you live in a teepee?” Aboriginal students’ experiences with racial microaggressions in Canada. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 7(2), 112-117.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Crisp, R. J., & Turner, R. N. (2009). Can imagined interactions produce positive perceptions? Reducing prejudice through simulated social contact. *American Psychologist, 64*(4), 231–240.
- Christerson, B. & Emerson, M.O. (2003). The costs of diversity in religious organizations: an in-depth case study. *Sociology of Religion, 64*, 163–182.
- Christerson, B., Edwards, K.L., Emerson, M.O. (2005). *Against all odds: The struggle for racial integration in religious organizations*. New York: NYU Press.
- Cook, S. W. (1985). Experimenting on social issues: The case of school desegregation. *American Psychologist, 40*, 452-460.
- Dade, K., Tartakov, C., Hargrave, C., & Leigh, P. (2015). Assessing the Impact of Racism on Black Faculty in White Academe: A Collective Case Study of African American Female Faculty. *Western Journal of Black Studies, 39*(2), 134.
- Davies, K., Tropp, L. R., Aron, A., Pettigrew, T. F., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes a meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 15*(4), 332-351.
- DeWall, C. N., & Baumeister, R. F. (2006). Alone but feeling no pain: Effects of social exclusion on physical pain tolerance and pain threshold, affective forecasting, and interpersonal empathy. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 91*(1), 1-16.
- DeWall, C. N., Twenge, J. M., Gitter, S. A., & Baumeister, R. F. (2009). It's the thought that counts: The role of hostile cognition in shaping aggressive responses to social exclusion. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 96*(1), 45-53.
- DeYoung, C.P., Emerson M.O., Yancey, G.A., & Kim K.C. (2003). *United by faith: The multiracial church as the answer to the race problem*. New York: Oxford

University Press.

- Donovan, R. A., Galban, D. J., Grace, R. K., Bennett, J. K., & Felicié, S. Z. (2013). Impact of Racial Macro-and Microaggressions in Black Women's Lives A Preliminary Analysis. *Journal of Black Psychology, 39*(2), 185-196.
- Dougherty, K.D. (2003). How monochromatic is church membership? Racial-ethnic diversity in religious community. *Sociology of Religion, 64*, 65–85.
- Dougherty, K.D. & Huyser, K.R. (2008). Racially diverse congregations: Organizational identity and the accommodation of differences. *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion, 47*(1), 23–43.
- Dovidio, J. F., Eller, A., & Hewstone, M. (2011). Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*, 147-160
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. *Psychological science, 11*(4), 315-319.
- Dovidio J.F., Gaertner, S.L., Hodson, G., Houlette, M., Johnson, K.M. (2005). Social inclusion and exclusion: Recategorization and the perception of intergroup boundaries. In *The Social Psychology of Inclusion and Exclusion*, ed. D Abrams, JM Marques, MA Hogg, pp. 246–64. Philadelphia: American Psychological Association.
- Dudley, C.S. & Roozen, D.A. (2001). *Faith communities today: A report on religion in the United States today*. Hartford, CT: Hartford Institute of Religious Research.
- Dugan, K. & Bogert, H. (2006). Racial diversity in Buddhism in the U.S. Retrieved from http://eastbaymeditation.org/media/docs/4028_RacialDiversityInBuddhism.pdf
- Edwards, K.L., Christerson, B., & Emerson, M.O. (2013). Race, Religious

- Organizations, and Integration. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39, 211-228.
- Emerson M.O. & Kim K.C. (2003). Multiracial congregations: an analysis of their development and a typology. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 42, 217-27
- Emerson, M.O. & Woo R. (2006). *People of the dream: Multiracial congregations in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Ensari, N., & Miller, N. (2002). The out-group must not be so bad after all: The effects of disclosure, typicality, and salience on intergroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 313-329.
- Eisenberger, N. I. (2012). The pain of social disconnection: examining the shared neural underpinnings of physical and social pain. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 13(6), 421-434.
- Eisenberger, N. I., Lieberman, M. D., & Williams, K. D. (2003). Does rejection hurt? An fMRI study of social exclusion. *Science*, 302(5643), 290-292.
- Espino, R., & Franz, M. M. (2002). Latino phenotypic discrimination revisited: The impact of skin color on occupational status. *Social Science Quarterly*, 83(2), 612-623.
- Faith Communities Survey (2010) retrieved from <http://faithcommunitiestoday.org/fact-2010>.
- Fields, R. (1986). *How the swans came to the lake: A narrative history of Buddhism in America*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Forrest-Bank, S. & Jenson, J.M. (2015) Differences in Experiences of Racial and Ethnic Microaggression among Asian, Latino/Hispanic, Black, and White Young Adults, *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, 27(1), 141-153.
- Fredrickson, B. L., Coffey, K. A., Pek, J., Cohn, M. A., & Finkel, S. M. (2008). Open hearts build lives: Positive emotions, induced through loving-kindness

- meditation, build consequential personal resources. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 1045–1062.
- Fronsdal, G. (1998) Insight Meditation in the United States: Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In C.S. Prebish and K.K. Tanaka, *The faces of Buddhism in America*, 271-301. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Gaertner, S.L. & Dovidio, J.F. (2000). *Reducing Intergroup Bias: The Common Ingroup Identity Model*. Philadelphia: American Psychological Association.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The Common Ingroup Identity Model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup Bias. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 4, 1-26.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., & Bachman, B. A. (1996). Revisiting the Contact Hypothesis: The induction of a Common Ingroup Identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 271-290.
- Ganiel, G. (2008). Is the multiracial congregation an answer to the problem of race? Comparative perspectives from South Africa and the USA. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 38, 263–283.
- Garces-Foley, K. (2008). Comparing Catholic and Evangelical integration efforts. *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion* (47), 17–22.
- Gerard, H. B. (1983). School desegregation: The social science role. *American Psychologist*, 38, 869-887.
- Gerard, H. B., & Miller, N. (1975). *School desegregation: A long-term study*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Gerber, J., & Wheeler, L. (2009). On being rejected a meta-analysis of experimental

- research on rejection. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 4(5), 468-488.
- Giorgi, A. (1985) *Phenomenology and Psychological Research*. Pittsburgh, PA: Dequesne University Press.
- Gleig, A. (2014). Dharma diversity and deep inclusivity at the East Bay Meditation Center: From Buddhist modernism to Buddhist postmodernism? *Contemporary Buddhism: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 15(2), 312-331.
- Goldberg, E. (1999). The reorientation of Buddhism in North America. *Method & Theory of the Study of Religion*, 11(4), 340-356.
- Goldstein, J. (1993). *Insight meditation: The practice of freedom*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Gordon-Larsen, P., Nelson, M. C., Page, P., & Popkin, B. M. (2006). Inequality in the built environment underlies key health disparities in physical activity and obesity. *Pediatrics*, 117(2), 417-424.
- Gutierrez Baldoquin, H. (2004) *Dharma, Color, and Culture: New Voices in Western Buddhism*. Parallax Press: Berkeley.
- Hadaway, C.K., Hackett, D.G., & Miller, J.F. (1984). The most segregated institution: Correlates of interracial church participation. *Review of Religious Research*, 25, 204–219.
- Hamermesh, D. S., & Trejo, S. J. (2013). How do immigrants spend their time? The process of assimilation. *Journal of Population Economics*, 26(2), 507-530.
- Harper, A.B. (2012). On Buddhist sanghas, divesting in post-racial whiteness, and Nina Simone. Retrieved from <http://sistahvegan.com/2012/09/10/buddhist-sanghas-divesting-in-post-racial-whiteness-and-nina-simone/>
- Haslam, N. & Loughnan, S. (2014). Dehumanization and Ifrahumanization. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, 399-423.

- Hatzenbuehler, M. L. (2009). How does sexual minority stigma “get under the skin”? A psychological mediation framework. *Psychological bulletin*, *135*(5), 707-717.
- Hearn, M. (2009). Color-blind racism, color-blind theology, and church practices. *Religious Education: The official journal of the Religious Education Association*, *104*(3), 272-288.
- Hehman, E., Mania, E., & Gaertner, S.L. (2010). Where the division lies: common ingroup identity moderates the cross-race effect. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *46*, 445–48.
- Herek, G. M., Gillis, J. R., & Cogan, J. C. (2009). Internalized stigma among sexual minority adults: Insights from a social psychological perspective. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *56*(1), 32-45.
- Hickey, W.S. (2010) Two Buddhisms, three Buddhisms, and racism. *Journal of Global Buddhism*, *11*, 1-25.
- Hill, J.H. (1998). Language, Race, and White Public Space. *American Anthropologist*, *100*(3), p. 680-689
- Hill, M. E. (2000). Color differences in the socioeconomic status of African American men: Results of a longitudinal study. *Social Forces*, *78*(4), 1437-1460.
- Hirschman, C. (2004). The role of religion in the origins and adaptation of immigrant groups in the United States. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1206–1233.
- Hirshfield, L. E. (2016) Tokenism. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*. London: Wiley Blackwell.
- Holder, A., Jackson, M. A., & Ponterotto, J. G. (2015). Racial microaggression

- experiences and coping strategies of Black women in corporate leadership. *Qualitative Psychology*, 2(2), 164-171.
- Huang, S. H., & Taylor, C. M. (2014). Black Faculty Negotiating the Microaggressions in Scholarship. *Black Faculty in the Academy: Narratives for Negotiating Identity and Achieving Career Success*, 55-70.
- Hughes, M., & Hertel, B. R. (1990). The significance of color remains: A study of life chances, mate selection, and ethnic consciousness among Black Americans. *Social Forces*, 68(4), 1105-1120.
- Hunter, M. L. (1998). Colorstruck: Skin color stratification in the lives of African American women. *Sociological Inquiry*, 68(4), 517-535.
- Hunter, M.L. (2007). The persistent problem of colorism: Skin tone, status, and inequality. *Sociology Compass*, 1(1), 237-254.
- Hutcherson, C. A., Seppala, E. M., & Gross, J. J. (2008). Loving-kindness meditation increases social connectedness. *Emotion*, 8(5), 720-724.
- IMS Commitment to Diversity. Retrieved from <http://www.dharma.org/about-us/diversity>
- IMS Diversity Questionnaire Results (2015). Document obtained from IMS Executive Director, Linda Spink.
- Jones, M. L., & Galliher, R. V. (2015). Daily racial microaggressions and ethnic identification among Native American young adults. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21(1), 1-16.
- Jupp, J. C., Berry, T. R., & Lensmire, T. J. (2016). Second-Wave White Teacher Identity

- Studies A Review of White Teacher Identity Literatures From 2004 Through 2014.
Review of Educational Research, 0034654316629798.
- Kabat-Zinn, J. (2013). *Full Catastrophe Living (Revised Edition): Using the Wisdom of Your Body and Mind to Face Stress, Pain, and Illness*. New York: Bantam.
- Kahn, A., & Ryen, A. (1972). Factors influencing the bias towards one's own group.
International Journal of Group Tensions, 2, 33–50.
- Kaleem, Jaweed. 2013. Buddhist 'People of Color Sanghas,' Diversity Efforts Address Conflicts About Race Among Meditators. Huffington Post. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/18/buddhism-race-meditators-people-of-color-sangha_n_2144559.html
- Kang, Y., Gray, J. R., & Dovidio, J. F. (2013). The Nondiscriminating Heart: Lovingkindness Meditation Training Decreases Implicit Intergroup Bias.
Journal Of Experimental Psychology, 143(3), 1306-1313.
- Khanna, N. (2016). The connections among racial identity, social class, and public policy. In K.O. Korgen (Ed.67-80). *Race Policy and Multiracial Americans*. Berkeley: Policy Press.
- Koch, T. (1995). Interpretive approaches in nursing research: The influence of Husserl and Heidegger. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 21, 827-836.
- Kornfield, J. (1993). *A path with heart: a guide through the perils and promises of spiritual life*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Kouchaki, M., & Wareham, J. (2015). Excluded and behaving unethically: Social exclusion, physiological responses, and unethical behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100(2), 547-556.

- Kramer, A. (1954). Racial integration in three Protestant denominations. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 28, 59–68
- Kross, E., Egner, T., Ochsner, K., Hirsch, J., & Downey, G. (2007). Neural dynamics of rejection sensitivity. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 19(6), 945-956.
- Leary, M. R., & Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 32, 1-62.
- Leary, M. R., Kowalski, R. M., Smith, L., & Phillips, S. (2003). Teasing, rejection, and violence: Case studies of the school shootings. *Aggressive behavior*, 29(3), 202-214.
- Leary, M. R., Tambor, E. S., Terdal, S. K., & Downs, D. L. (1995). Self-esteem as an interpersonal monitor: The sociometer hypothesis. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 68(3), 518.
- Levitt, P. (2003). You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant: religion and transnational migration. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 847–73.
- Liebkind, K. (2001). Acculturation. In R. Brown & S. Gaertner (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology* (Vol. 4, pp. 386–406). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Lillis, J. & Hayes, S.C. (2007). Applying acceptance, mindfulness, and values to the reduction of prejudice: A pilot study. *Behavior Modification*, 31 (4), 389-411.
- Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lu, Y., Samaratunge, R., & Härtel, C. E. (2012). The relationship between acculturation strategy and job satisfaction for professional Chinese immigrants in the Australian workplace. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36(5), 669-681.
- Lueke, A. & Gibson, B. (2014). Mindfulness meditation reduces implicit age and race

- bias: The role of reduced automaticity of responding. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 6(3),284-291.
- Marshall, M.N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), 522-525.
- Marti, G. (2010). The religious racial integration of African Americans into diverse churches. *Journal of Scientific Study of Religion*, 49(2), 201–217.
- Marti, G. (2012). *Worship across the racial divide: Religious music and the multiracial congregation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marx, S. (2004). Regarding whiteness: Exploring and intervening in the effects of white racism in teacher education. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 37(1), 31-43.
- Massey D. & Denton, M. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.
- Mazziotta, A., Mummendey, A. & Wright, C. S. (2011). Vicarious intergroup contact effects: Applying social-cognitive theory to intergroup contact research. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14, 255-274.
- Minikel-Lococque, J. (2013) Racism, college, and the power of words: Racial microaggressions reconsidered. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50(3), 432-465
- MacDonald, G., & Leary, M. R. (2005). Why does social exclusion hurt? The relationship between social and physical pain. *Psychological bulletin*, 131(2), 202-210.
- McPherson, J.M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J.M. (2001). Birds of a feather: homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 415–444.
- Masgoret, A.-M., & Ward, C. (2006). The cultural learning approach to acculturation. In

- D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 58–77). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Munt, S., & Yip, A. (2016). *Cosmopolitan Dharma: Race, Sexuality, and Gender in British Buddhism*. Brill.
- Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Wong, Y., Hamit, S., & Rasmus, M. (2014). The impact of racial microaggressions on mental health: Counseling implications for clients of color. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 92(1)*, 57-66.
- Nier, J. A., Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Banker, B. S., & Ward, C. M. (2001). Changing interracial evaluations and behavior: The effects of a common group identity. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 4*, 299-316.
- Nnawulezi, N. A., & Sullivan, C. M. (2013). Oppression within safe spaces: Exploring racial microaggressions within domestic violence shelters. *Journal of Black Psychology, 0095798413500072*.
- Noy, C. (2008) Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology 11(4)*, 327-344.
- Numrich, P.D. (2003) Two Buddhisms Further Considered. - *Contemporary Buddhism, (4)1*, 5578.
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Ong, A. D., Burrow, A. L., Fuller-Rowell, T. E., Ja, N. M., & Sue, D. W. (2013). Racial microaggressions and daily well-being among Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60(2)*, 188-199.

- Owen, J., Tao, K. W., Imel, Z. E., Wampold, B. E., & Rodolfa, E. (2014). Addressing racial and ethnic microaggressions in therapy. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 45*(4), 283-290.
- Owens, R. (2016). Do you know your true face? *Lion's Roar: Buddhist Wisdom for Our Time, September 19, 2016*.
- Pattillo-McCoy, M. (1998). Church culture as a strategy of action in the black community. *American Sociological Review, 63*, 767–784.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology, 49*, 65-85.
- Pettigrew, T.F. & Martin, J. (1987). Shaping the organizational context for Black American inclusion. *Journal of Social Issues, 43*(1), 41-78.
- Pew Research Center (2012) The global religious landscape: A report on the size and distribution of the world's major religious groups as of 2010. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2014/01/global-religion-full.pdf>
- Phillai, A.K.B. (1985). *Transcendental self: a comparative study of Thoreau and psycho-philosophy of Hinduism and Buddhism*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: review of research. *Psychological bulletin, 108*(3), 499.
- Pierce, L. 2000. "Diversity as Practice: Thinking about Race and 'American' Buddhism." In K.L. Tsomo (Ed.) *Innovative Buddhist Women: Swimming Against the Stream, 277–284*. New York: Routledge.
- Pintak, L. (2001) "Something has to change:" Blacks in American Buddhism.

- Shambala Sun, 9/1/2001. Retrieved from
<http://www.blackelectorate.com/articles.asp?ID=1364>
- Polkinghorne, D.E. (1989). Phenomenological research methods. In R.S. Valle and S. Halling (Eds.), *Existential-phenomenological perspectives in psychology: Exploring the breadth of human experience* (pp. 41-60). New York: Plenum Press.
- Portes, A. & Rumbaut, R. (2006). *Immigrant America*. Berkeley: University California Press.
- Prebish, C.S. & Baumann, M. (2002) *Westward Dharma: Buddhism beyond Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Prebish, C.S. & Tanaka, K.K. (1998). *The Faces of Buddhism in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rabbie, J. M., & Wilkins, G. (1971). Intergroup competition and its effect on intragroup and intergroup relations. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1*, 215-234.
- Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum for the study of acculturation. *American anthropologist, 38*(1), 149-152.
- Robinson-Wood, T., Balogun-Mwangi, O., Fernandes, C., Popat-Jain, A., Boadi, N., Matsumoto, A., & Zhang, X. (2015). Worse than blatant racism: A phenomenological investigation of microaggressions among Black women. *Journal of Ethnographic & Qualitative Research, 9*(3).221-236.
- Rodriguez-Carballeira, A. & Javoloy, F. (2005). Psychosocial Analysis of the Collective Processes in the United States After September 11. *Conflict Management and Peace Science, 22*, 1–16
- Rondilla, J. L., & Spickard, P. (2007). *Is lighter better?: Skin-tone discrimination among*

Asian Americans. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Ross, P. T., Lypson, M. L., & Kumagai, A. K. (2012). Using illness narratives to explore African American perspectives of racial discrimination in health care. *Journal of Black Studies, 43*(5), 520-544.

Rothbart, M., & John, O. P. (1985). Social categorization and behavioral episodes: A cognitive analysis of the effects of intergroup contact. *Journal of Social Issues, 41*(3), 81–104.

Sam, D.L. (2006). Adaptation of children and adolescents with immigrant background: Acculturation or development? In M.H. Bornstein & L. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent child relationship: Measurement and development* (pp. 97–111). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2010). Acculturation when individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5*(4), 472-481.

Salzberg, S. (2002). *Lovingkindness: The Revolutionary Art of Happiness*. Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications.

Scheitle, C.P. & Dougherty, K.D. (2010). Race, diversity and membership duration in religious congregations. *Sociological Inquiry, 80*, 405–423.

Seager, R.H. (1995). *The World's Parliament of Religions: The East/West encounter, Chicago, 1893*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Seager, R.H. (1999) *Buddhism in America*. New York : Columbia University Press.

Segal, Z.V., Williams, J.M.G., Teasdale, J.D. (2012). *Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy for Depression, Second Edition*. New York: The Guilford Press.

- Sharpe, G. (2004). Does race matter in the meditation hall? Tricycle, Fall 2004, retrieved from: <http://www.tricycle.com/events/does-race-matter-meditation-hall>
- Sherif, M. (1966). *In common predicament: Social psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Smith, S.E. (2009) Buddhism, Diversity and 'Race': Multiculturalism and Western convert Buddhist movements in East London – a qualitative study. Unpublished dissertation. Retrieved from: <http://research.gold.ac.uk/2553/>
- Solomona, R. P., Portelli, J. P., Daniel, B. J., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: How white teacher candidates construct race, racism and 'white privilege'. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education, 8*(2), 147-169.
- Solorzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education, 69*, 60-73.
- Spiegelberg, H. (1994). *The Phenomenological Movement: A Historical Introduction, 3rd Edition*. New York: Springer.
- Sumner, W. G. (1906). *Folkways*. New York: Ginn.
- Stambaugh, T., & Ford, D. Y. (2015). Microaggressions, Multiculturalism, and Gifted Individuals Who Are Black, Hispanic, or Low Income. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 93*(2), 192-201.
- Stephan, W. G. (1986). The effects of school desegregation: An evaluation 30 years after Brown. In M. Saks & L. Saxe (Eds.), *Advances in Applied Social Psychology*, pp. 181–206. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice.

- In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination* (pp. 23-45). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Stewart, D. & Mickunas, A. (1990). *Exploring Phenomenology: A Guide to the Field and Its Literature, 2nd Edition*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Stiles, W. B. (1993). Quality control in qualitative research. *Clinical Psychology Review, 13*, 593–618.
- Stouffer, S., Suchman, E., DeVinney, L., Stat, S., & Williams, R. (1949). *The American soldier: Adjustments during Army life (Vol. 1)*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Struch, N., & Schwartz, S. H. (1989). Intergroup aggression: Its predictors and distinctness from in-group bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*, 364-373.
- Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2009). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. *American psychologist, 62*(4), 271-284.
- Syed, S. T., Gerber, B. S., & Sharp, L. K. (2013). Traveling towards disease: transportation barriers to health care access. *Journal of community health, 38*(5), 976-993.
- Tajfel, H. (1970). Experiments in intergroup discrimination. *Scientific American, 223*(2), 96-102.

- Tajfel, H., Billig, M., Bundy, R., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1*, 149-178.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior, in S. Worchel and W. Austin, (Eds.). *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, pp. 7-24, Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Tan, B.G.L., Lo, B.C.Y., & Macrae, N.C. (2014). Brief Mindfulness Meditation Improves Mental State Attribution and Empathizing. *PLoS ONE 9(10)*, e110510
- Tanaka, K.K. (1999). Issues of ethnicity in the Buddhist Churches of America. In *American Buddhism: Methods and Findings in Recent Scholarship*, eds. C. Queen & D.R. Williams. New York: Routledge.
- Tartakovsky, E. (2012). Factors affecting immigrants' acculturation intentions: A theoretical model and its assessment among adolescent immigrants from Russia and Ukraine in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 36(1)*, 83-99.
- Taylor, H.F. (2006). Defining Race. In Higginbotham, E., & Andersen, M. L. *Race and ethnicity in society: The changing landscape*. Wadsworth Pub Co.
- Telles, E. E., & Murguia, E. (1990). Phenotypic discrimination and income differences among Mexican Americans. *Social Science Quarterly, 71(4)*, 682.
- Tonkinson, C. (1995). *Big sky mind: Buddhism and the beat generation*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Torres, L., Driscoll, M. W., & Burrow, A. L. (2010). Racial microaggressions and psychological functioning among highly achieving African Americans: A mixed-methods approach. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 29*, 1074–1099.
- Turner, J. C. (1975). Social comparison and social identity: Some prospects for

- intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 5, 5-34.
- Turner, J. C . (1981). The experimental social psychology of intergroup behaviour. In J. Turner & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup behaviour* (pp. 66-101). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M., Oakes, P., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Twenge, J. M., Baumeister, R. F., Tice, D. M., & Stucke, T. S. (2001). If you can't join them, beat them: effects of social exclusion on aggressive behavior. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 81(6), 1058-1065.
- Twenge, J. M., Catanese, K. R., & Baumeister, R. F. (2002). Social exclusion causes self-defeating behavior. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 83(3), 606-616.
- Vega, W. A., Rodriguez, M. A., & Gruskin, E. (2009). Health disparities in the Latino population. *Epidemiologic reviews*, 31(1), 99-112.
- Walls, M. L., Gonzalez, J., Gladney, T., & Onello, E. (2015). Unconscious Biases: Racial Microaggressions in American Indian Health Care. *The Journal of the American Board of Family Medicine*, 28(2), 231-239.
- Warburton, W. A., Williams, K. D., & Cairns, D. R. (2006). When ostracism leads to aggression: The moderating effects of control deprivation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 42(2), 213-220.
- Ward, C. (2001). The A, B, Cs of acculturation. *The handbook of culture and psychology*, p. 411-445. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press
- Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1999). The measurement of sociocultural adaptation. *International journal of intercultural relations*, 23(4), 659-677. Chicago.

- Weber, J. G. (1994). The nature of ethnocentric attribution bias: In-group protection or enhancement? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 30*, 482-504.
- Wilder, D. A. (1984). Intergroup contact: The typical member and the exception to the rule. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 20*, 177-194.
- Williams, K.W. (2002). *Being Black: Zen and the Art of Living with Fearlessness and Grace*. New York: Penguin.
- Willis, J.D. 2000. "Diversity and Race: New Koans for American Buddhism." In *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women: Tradition, Revision, Renewal*, ed. E.B. Findly, 303–318. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Wit, A. P., & Kerr, N. L. (2002). "Me versus just us versus us all": Categorization and cooperation in nested social dilemmas. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 616-637.
- Wojnar, D.M. & Swanson (2007). Phenomenology: An Exploration. *Journal of Holistic Nursing, 25*, 172-180.
- Wong, G., Derthick, A. O., David, E. J. R., Saw, A., & Okazaki, S. (2014). The what, the why, and the how: A review of racial microaggressions research in psychology. *Race and Social Problems, 6(2)*, 181-200.
- Yosso, T. J. (2006). Critical race counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano educational pipeline. New York: Routledge.
- Yosso, T., Smith, W., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review, 79(4)*, 659-691.
- Yancey, G. & Emerson, M. (2003). Integrated Sundays: An exploratory study into the

formation of multiracial churches. *Sociological Focus*, 36, 111–127.

Zadro, L., Williams, K. D., & Richardson, R. (2004). How low can you go? Ostracism by a computer is sufficient to lower self-reported levels of belonging, control, self-esteem, and meaningful existence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40(4), 560-567.

Zadro, L., Williams, K. D., & Richardson, R. (2005). Riding the ‘O’train: Comparing the effects of ostracism and verbal dispute on targets and sources. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 8(2), 125-143.

Zubovich, G. (2015). What Can Be Done about Segregation in Churches? Religion & Politics. Retrieved from <http://religionandpolitics.org/2015/04/07/what-can-be-done-about-segregation-in-churches/>

Table 1

Buddhist Demographics in the United States

<u>Race</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Total	3.8 million	100
White	2.0 million	53
Asian American	1.2 million	32
Latina/o	200 thousand	6
African American	150 thousand	4

Table 2

Racial Demographics of the United States

<u>Race</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Total	318 million	100
White	244 million	77
Latina/o	54 million	17
African American	41 million	13
Asian American	16 million	5

Table 3

Participant Demographic Information

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>	<u>Gender Identity Label</u>
Biyu	29	Asian American	Female
Patty	34	Black	Female
Clarice	33	African American	Female
Rita	30	African American	Female
Trent	47	African American	Male
Eve	44	African American	Female
Tasha	49	African American	Female
Anj	51	Asian American	Non-binary
Theresa	60	Latina	Female
Alice	62	African American	Female
Carmen	68	Latina	Female

Table 4

Themes and Higher Order Categories

Theme	Higher Order Category
Interpersonal Barriers to Full Participation	Microaggressions
	Tokenizing
	Use of Buddhist Doctrine to Undermine the Significance of POC Experience
Institutional Barriers to Full Participation	Exclusivity of Flagship Location
	Socioeconomic Barriers to Full Participation
	Divide Between White and POC Cultures
Strategies for Coping with Racialized Exclusion	Accommodating White Ignorance
	Avoiding White Ignorance
	Importance of POC Sangha
Failures of Leadership Support for People of Color	Challenges to the Existence of the POC Sangha
	POC Members Feeling Unsupported by the ECMC Membership
	Distrust of White Sangha Wanting More Diversity
	ECMC as a Safe Haven
Range of POC Experiences	Participant Claims that ECMC Is Not Racist
	Not Fully at Home in the POC Sangha
	Conflict in the POC Sangha about Whether to Stay with ECMC
	Diversity Committees

Inviting and Training POC Teachers

Institutional Support for the POC Sangha

White Awareness Training

An Increasing Willingness to have Race Conversations
