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BROTHERS IN THE STRUGGLE: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF WHITE MALE
COLLEGE STUDENT DEVELOPMENT AS SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

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December 2015

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Leaders in higher education understand that exposure to diversity in America's colleges and universities is essential to the preparation of all students to live and work within culturally diverse contexts post-graduation. However, White males in colleges and universities are least likely to engage with diversity in college (Cabrera, 2014) and often resist social justice education experiences (Boatright-Horowitz & Soeung, 2009; Mildred & Zúñiga, 2004; Watt, 2007; Whitehead & Wittig, 2004). This phenomenological study contributes knowledge to the fields of educational leadership, multicultural education and student affairs administration about White men in highly selective colleges who voluntarily engage with diversity and co-curricular social justice education opportunities. The researcher employed purposive sampling to identify 14 White men within four private, highly selective, Northeastern colleges and universities who met the selection criteria. After conducting 60-90 minute semi-structured interviews with each participant, the data were coded and re-coded to identify key themes in response to three research questions: what pre-college factors do White men associate with their diversity engagement; what college experiences support their continued ally development; and how do they make meaning of their ally development? The data revealed three primary pre-college factors: personal or vicarious marginalization, diversity exposure and intellectual curiosity. There were three dominant categories of college experiences: campus climate issues, social interaction with

diverse peers, and intellectual stimuli. Finally, their meaning making processes centered around three main ideas: the definition of White maleness, self-definition, and social justice ally motivation. This study provides recommendations to help leaders in higher education more intentionally and effectively support White males in developing ally behaviors, ultimately benefitting the larger society.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to anyone who is fed up with the way things are.

I humbly ask you to do something about it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This labor of love quite simply would not have been possible without the support, accountability, cheerleading, counsel, prayers and well wishes of a host of friends, colleagues and loved ones. Though I will attempt to capture here my sincerest gratitude, I would need another dissertation length paper to fully acknowledge all the people who have walked this journey with me.

I am grateful to IUP-ESU doctoral Cohort 4 for six years of laughing and learning together. We most certainly have our work cut out for us in trying to reform K-16 education, but I believe we are well suited for the task. Congratulations to all who have finished and to everyone that remains, fix bayonets! My dear friend Chris Hunt, I thank you for kick starting all of this with the simple phrase, “you know, I’ve been looking into this doctoral program...” I owe you big time, my brother. I can’t wait to see you cross the finish line very soon.

I offer thanks to my dissertation committee for your careful reading, constructive critique, and helpful guidance throughout the entire process. I am especially grateful to Dr. Patricia Smeaton, whose timely and thoughtful feedback was invaluable. Dr. George Bieger, thank you for your positivity and encouragement to further pursue this research agenda. Thank you to Dr. Douglas Lare for debating me on these social justice issues for the past several years. Doug, I realized somewhere along the way that you are a wonderful educator whose tough exterior is really just masking a huge heart. Dr. Christopher Brooks, I am thankful for your outstanding contributions to this work, particularly for helping me take the long historical view and for calling attention to international considerations.

I want to thank the *Agraphia Mafia*, my fiercely supportive writing group: Dr. Laurie Caslake, Dr. Brett Hendrickson and Dr. Mary Roth. Thanks for the pep talks, venting sessions

and coffee rewards. I also appreciate the support of close colleagues at Lafayette College who have put up with a pretty beleaguered co-worker for the past several years. I should be less cranky now, but I make no promises.

To my fellow multicultural educators near and far, I implore you to keep doing what is right and necessary for a better future; but let us do it with the fierce urgency of now. In particular, I appreciate the support of multicultural educators Dr. Theresa Tensuan, Dr. Ed Pittman, Mable Millner, Robert Jones, Tyrone Russell and Margarida Da Graca.

I express gratitude to one of my earliest mentors and White male friends, Brian Dassler, who has always been supremely inspirational and influential in my decision to become an educator. Very few can do it better than you, Daz. I am so thankful that our paths crossed at such an important time in my life.

I am indebted to Chris Morrin, Ted Morrin, Daniel Bahner, Evan Goberman, Chris Kelly, Connor Heinlein, Yanni Tsirigotis, Eric Luby, Alex Rosenfelder, Barker Carlock and probably at least a dozen other White males I have had as former students whose ally development processes I have found fascinating and inspiring. Now that this is over, I will likely want to interview you gentlemen, so please take the calls when you receive them.

To the participants in this study, I am endlessly grateful for the time you spent with me on this quest for deeper knowledge and greater understanding. Your stories matter a great deal and I appreciate your entrusting me to share a few of the highlights. I will forever value your generosity of spirit, honesty and openness. I feel a lot better about the future knowing the fourteen of you will be among those leading us into it.

To my father, for me, you are the definition of a man: smart, loving, nurturing, giving and always growing. Your strength, faith and determination provided just the example I needed to

finish this race. You are my hero and I love you. Mom, I thank you for being a constant source of light, energy and encouragement. I know for sure that my passion for justice comes from you. We have always been on the same wavelength, but I think our cosmic connection intensified throughout this dissertation process. You always seemed to know exactly what I needed and when. Thank you. I love you, vehemently. I am also grateful to my sister for your quiet confidence in me. I have always felt it and I appreciate it very much.

To my massive extended family, enormous church congregation and long list of friends, I have felt and can still feel your prayers and positive thoughts propelling me forward. Thank you for understanding and accepting my relentless pursuit of education, even if it sometimes meant missing important family gatherings, meetings, social outings and other special events. I plan to make up for lost time!

Joel and Lilia, you cannot fully understand this now, but I did all of this with the two of you in mind. Daddy loves you both so much and I appreciate your patience with me for what has been the entirety of your lives so far. I cannot wait to see all that you will become and I vow to be here for you every step of the way.

Finally, I give thanks to the love of my life, my wife Katrina. I cannot adequately express how much I appreciate your patience, love and support throughout this process. Thank you for kicking into double-parent mode for so many days and nights, and for making it look so darn easy. It's my turn to do that for you and I will relish the opportunity. I look forward to what the future holds for you and for us. I am so proud to be your husband, and I love you forever.

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I think the whole concept of race has had its day. Ultimately, to be white is a moral choice. It's obviously a very deliberate challenge to people who think they're white to re-examine all their values, to put themselves in our place, share in our danger.

James Baldwin, *New York Times*, 1979

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In America, diversity is big business. Major corporations, healthcare providers and government agencies all recognize the rapidly changing demographics of the United States and the world, as evidenced in 2011 when more than half of all babies born were not White (Tavernise, 2012). Many work organizations feel underprepared to address this demographic shift and complex issues related to diversity as the needs of consumers, employees and benefactors will continue to change. Leaders of these organizations are among the contributors to an estimated eight billion dollar diversity training industry (Madera, 2013). Though the overwhelming majority have been found to undervalue diversity (Peck, 2015), White male leaders in corporate America understand the necessity of this work in the fast-paced, highly competitive global market and have responded by offering diversity trainings as well as networking and mentorship programs for women and people of color within their organizations (Madera, 2013).

Increasingly over the past several decades, colleges and universities have borne the brunt of pressures from the federal government, corporations, peer competitors, and other external entities to widen access and address lags in achievement, retention, and graduation for students of color, women in STEM fields, and other underrepresented groups (Jacobi, Astin & Ayala, 1987; Williams, Berger & McClendon, 2005). Over the past two decades, leaders in higher education developed an understanding that exposure to diversity in colleges and universities is

essential to the preparation of students to live and work within culturally diverse contexts post-graduation (Laird, Engberg & Hurtado, 2005; Warchal, 1999; Williams et al., 2005). Humphreys (2000) reported in a study conducted by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) that 54% of the 543 institutions surveyed included diversity as a general education requirement (as cited in William et al., 2005). However, many researchers suggest that in order to truly impact the learning of students, classroom diversity must be defined by more than the structural or compositional element reflected through equal representation of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion and other identity statuses. Diversity education in colleges is most effective when the content of the curriculum challenges complex thinking about self-identity and differences and there are complementary structured opportunities for social interactions across those differences (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Laird, 2003; Williams et al., 2005).

In the decade from 2000-2010, more than 60 colleges and universities either created or reframed their diversity efforts on campus (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013), creating high-level administrative positions, establishing standing committees, forming task forces and founding offices, all with the charge to raise the diversity awareness and multicultural competence, as later defined in this chapter, of all students, and in many cases, faculty and staff (Clark, 2011; Williams et al., 2005; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Perhaps more than ever before, colleges are following in the footsteps of corporate America by investing time, money and human resources in an attempt to provide students with myriad co-curricular opportunities to expand their personal competencies in diversity and multiculturalism (Clark, 2011; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Although each college campus organizes diversity work in different ways, a common theme has been to encourage student affairs professionals to offer co-curricular and

extracurricular experiences such as conversation groups, guest lectures, service learning opportunities, cultural events and heritage month celebrations (Watt, 2007; Williams et al., 2005; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). These outside-the-classroom educators, typically trained in student development and identity theory (Baxter-Magolda, 2003), are given budgets and expected to produce definitive and measurable results (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Particularly within predominantly White institutions (PWIs), these types of co-curricular and extracurricular activities may not appeal to the entirety of the student body. A major research study by Hu and Kuh (2003) revealed that White students were less likely to interact with diversity while in college than their non-White peers, but also suggested that those who did have such interactions were positively affected.

In the present researcher's 10 years of experience as a student affairs administrator, college students in general and White males in particular have often reported that they are too busy with academic work, social networking, athletic involvement and other activities and have little time to truly engage in opportunities for diversity education outside the classroom. Poor attendance rates at diversity programs lead to high levels of frustration and attrition among multicultural educators, and they often refer to a general sense of preaching to the choir, the notion that those who show up for diversity programs do so by virtue of their personal identities or predispositions to concern themselves with these issues (Hall, Cabrera, & Milem, 2011). The proverbial choir is often made up of students who carry one or more identities that have been historically subordinated in the context of their institutions, with examples including students of color, gays and lesbians, women, and international students. However, there always seem to be a few choir members carrying racial and gender privileges whose voices are tuned up to sing the same songs (Hall, Cabrera, & Milem, 2011). Who are they and why are they singing along?

Problem Statement

According to a sizeable body of literature (Bowman, 2010; Ford, 2012; Gurin, 1999; Hall et al., 2011; Shaw, 2005; Terenzini, Cabrera, Colbeck, Bjorklund, & Parente, 2001) multicultural or diversity education can generally be separated into three distinct categories: structural or compositional; curricular and/or co-curricular; and interactional or informal. Structural or compositional diversity generally refers to the representation of diverse identities within a learning community and is most often indicated by the percentage of students of color within an overall population (Bowman, 2010). Curricular and co-curricular diversity education takes multiple forms, including: diversity-related courses in ethnic studies fields (e.g. women's studies, Africana studies); culturally relevant readings or assignments within a non-diversity specific course; and cultural awareness workshops (Bowman, 2010). Interactional diversity education most often happens through opportunities for informal engagement across social differences, for example, students who are a part of diverse residential or dining communities (Hu & Kuh, 2003).

Colleges and universities are constantly seeking to improve the compositional diversity of incoming classes because of a belief that this will increase the likelihood of interactional diversity (Shaw, 2005). Because interactional diversity alone is insufficient (Shaw, 2005), faculty members and multicultural educators at the college level frequently design thoughtful curricular and co-curricular educational opportunities in the form of lectures, workshops, seminars and other diversity training programs (Bowman, 2010; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Shaw, 2005). Astin, Oseguera, Sax and Korn (2002) and Bonilla-Silva (2006) found that "White men have the lowest levels of support for multiculturalism and racial equality" (as cited in Cabrera, 2014, p. 4), and when they do participate they often resist basic concepts of diversity within and outside of classroom settings (Boatright-Horowitz & Soeung, 2009; Carpenter, 2000; Mildred & Zúñiga,

2004; Watt, 2007; Whitehead & Wittig, 2004). This problem is significant because as “hyperprivileged” members of American society (Cabrera, 2011), White males have an important role to play in advocating for equitable treatment of all community members within their higher education and post-graduation contexts. They need opportunities to develop advanced knowledge, awareness and skills in order to achieve multicultural competence and enact social change as future leaders in politics, business, education, law and other fields (Ukpokodu, 2010). Student resistance to diversity education, even when displayed among a small minority of learners, typically slows down the learning process for all parties involved and could detract from learners’ ability to experience the full range of benefits of diversity education (Watt, 2007). Moreover, faculty members and practitioners are stalled in their efforts to prepare future leaders to become self-aware, culturally competent and civically responsible contributors to the global societies in which they will live and work.

Purpose Statement and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to closely examine White male college students who are committed to learning about social justice, as later defined, and developing social justice ally attitudes and behaviors. The study seeks to understand their pre-college experiences and personal motivations in order to give faculty and practitioners insights into how to effectively engage more White men in diversity and social justice education. A similar research study (Broido, 2000) investigated six White male and female college students who identified as heterosexual and were deemed social justice allies on their campus in order to examine how they came to understand their own development as anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic allies. The Broido (2000) study, cited more extensively in the literature review chapter, served as a launching pad for the present study. As is recommended for qualitative study (Merriam, 2009)

the present study intends to expound upon the findings of Broido (2000) through an adaptation of its research questions, methodology and data analysis procedures. Broido (2000) offered compelling research questions, as well as questions for further study, which serve the basis for the following research questions that are adapted for the present study:

1. What pre-college factors do White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education opportunities while in college?
2. What college experiences do White males who voluntarily engage in co-curricular social justice education see as instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development?
3. How do White males who voluntarily engage in co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies?

The present researcher sought to address these questions and others that emerged from the research pertaining to the work of White male college students engaged in diversity and social justice education. This study contributes knowledge to higher education, multicultural education, leadership studies and potentially other related fields about White male college students who actively promote diversity and social justice within their college campuses. By looking closer at this understudied population, the researcher illuminates practices that can be applied in colleges and universities to encourage and promote the active engagement of White men in the development of personal multicultural competencies and the advancement of social justice causes. The researcher also posits several questions for further consideration that would more fully investigate the role of White males in pursuing social justice advocacy.

Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in a set of important theories that frame the benefits of diversity education. Diversity educators typically believe in the intrinsic value of their work. The expansion of personal belief and values systems, they argue, will have inherent benefits for individuals and societies as a more respectful community is established. However, scholars in education and high-ranking administrators have historically questioned the true gains of diversity education (Orfield, 2001). A massive body of theoretical and empirical research over time has suggested that all students, as opposed to only students from underrepresented groups, experience a wide range of cognitive (Adams & Zhou-McGovern, 1994; Baxter-Magolda, 1992; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen & Allen, 1999; King & Kitchener, 1985; King & Kitchener, 1994; King & Shuford, 1996); social or democratic (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan & Landreman, 2002); and moral (Piaget, 1965) benefits from exposure to diversity in academic settings.

Piaget provides a theoretical base and rationale for several models that connect diversity to complex thinking. Essentially, ideas that challenge an individual's perspective force the individual to create capacity to understand the new information and resolve competing ideas, thus expanding cognition (Piaget, 1971; 1985). Similarly, King and Kitchener's (1985; 1994) Reflective Judgment Model suggests that students who understand multicultural viewpoints are more advanced in reasoning skills (as cited in King & Shuford, 1996). The theorists argue that students can move through stages of thinking, from the belief that knowledge is absolute to the questioning of truth. Implications of the Reflective Judgment Model challenge diversity educators to assess the reasoning skills of students and utilize appropriate teaching methods to

match their needs. Instructors must provide sufficient evidence when offering multiple, and often controversial, points of view within the classroom.

In addition to the cognitive benefits of diversity, there is evidence of social or democratic gains (Bowman, 2010; Hurtado, 2007; Marichal, 2010; Shaw, 2005). American colleges and universities have long enjoyed a distinctive role in the preservation of society, shaping leaders, creating new knowledge and advancing humankind (Hurtado, 2007). Research suggests that upon college completion:

...students who genuinely engaged with diverse peers and participated in diverse classroom experiences during college are likely to have healthier conceptions of self... and be more willing and able to work effectively in our increasingly diverse society than their counterparts without such experience. (Laird, 2003, p. 4)

Clearly, increased exposure to people of various backgrounds increases the likelihood that a student may combat negative stereotypes or associations linked with groups (Astin, 1993).

Diversity in the learning environment also enhances cultural awareness and reduces prejudice (Chang, 2002) while promoting social engagement between various groups (Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan & Landreman, 2002) and greater civic engagement, including participation in the democratic process (Bowman, 2010; Hurtado, 2007; Marichal, 2010).

Finally, there are areas of moral and identity development that are enhanced by exposure to diversity. Piaget (1971) theorized that children and adolescents who interact with people who are different are better able to understand and share diverse perspectives and are therefore aided in their moral development. College is defined as a pivotal period in the development of students, one that is largely characterized by experimentation with identity and personality traits (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). The social justice oriented nature of most diversity work

challenges students to understand the power and privilege dynamics of identity as they are making decisions about who to become (Adams & Zhou-McGovern, 1994). Students engaged in natural maturation processes are able to test different personas before committing to one, or several, that they will maintain throughout their adult years (Laird, 2003). During this period of personal growth, students who are exposed to multiple options are equipped to make conscientious decisions about their values and morals. For example, service-learning opportunities can offer students a well-rounded understanding of many issues such as poverty, racism and environmentalism.

Rationale for the Study

As suggested, the research has clearly articulated multiple benefits of living and learning in environments that actively promote engagement with diversity. This study is necessary because White males are the group displaying the least support for diversity education experiences in American colleges (Cabrera, 2014) and simultaneously, as a group that is extremely overrepresented in corporate leadership (Peck, 2015), they “hold disproportionate societal power” to challenge the status quo with regard to diversity (Cabrera, 2014, p. 4). In an effort to expand upon the current body of research, this qualitative study aimed for a deep exploration of how White males who exhibit ally attitudes and behaviors have arrived at their commitments to overcome three problems that the present researcher believes function as the major barriers to diversity. The literature review section offers an examination of these diversity problems and how they are best mitigated. In sum, the rationale for this study is that faculty members and practitioners in colleges and universities can use the information gathered to adapt instructional methods and programming approaches to better promote and support White males’ participation in diversity and social justice education opportunities in college.

Identifying the Population

Peck (2015) highlighted several recent studies to demonstrate the overrepresentation of White men in leadership positions within the United States, particularly within top corporations. According to a study by Catalyst, a non-profit organization, only 19% of the board positions available in the top 500 companies are currently occupied by women and another study by the Alliance for Board Diversity found that 9.2% of board seats in the top 100 companies were held by African Americans (as cited in Peck, 2015). The picture was even bleaker for African American women, who were found to occupy a mere 2.8% of the board seats available in the top 500 corporations (as cited in Peck, 2015). A study by PricewaterhouseCoopers also found that male board members on the whole were not convinced that racial or gender diversity mattered in the boardroom, with only 31% of male board members strongly agreeing that diversity improved a company's performance as compared to 74 percent of their female counterparts (as cited in Peck, 2015).

Despite these alarming statistics, one must assume that there are some White males in the professional world who are leaders in their fields and who are concerned about diversity for a variety of reasons. There are business leaders and sales managers who know that they must understand target marketing in order to gain or maintain a competitive edge in this diverse world (Smith, Larsen & Rosenbloom, 2009). Politicians and public officials see the effects of rapid demographic shifts and are recognizing the need to broaden their understanding of differences in order to ensure adequate representation (Wyatt-Nichol & Badu Antwi-Boasiako, 2012). There are White male teachers at every level of education who are striving to create learning environments that are culturally inclusive (Heinze, 2008). An important assumption of this study

is that there are many White men in every corner of American society. Why, therefore, target White college men for this study?

The researcher chose White college men at selective private institutions in the Northeast region who are engaged in voluntary co-curricular diversity initiatives as the population for this study for several reasons. First, foundational theorists in education and identity development have suggested that college students experience some of the sharpest and most significant identity transformations (Chickering, 1981; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). College is often thought of as the perfect time and place to test different personas, and it is not uncommon for beliefs, values and attitudes to be solidified near the end of one's college experience. It follows, then, that White men in college are still experimenting with their personal identities, and this is an opportune time to expose them to social justice education.

Second, and closely related, colleges and universities, particularly private colleges that are often smaller and highly residential, are some of the best natural laboratories for the study of relationship building that can occur across cultural and social identities. There tends to be greater compositional diversity in American colleges and universities than in other self-segregated spaces within our society, including residential neighborhoods, churches, places of employment and social clubs (Bishop & Cushing, 2008; Chelser, Peet & Sevig, 2003). Interaction with diverse peers is likely to happen in college, and this has great potential to increase empathy for different types of people (Goodman, 2000). Empathy is a desirable trait for college educated White men who are likely to become leaders in every profession (Feagin & O'Brien, 2003).

The researcher has determined that private, highly selective colleges provide a strong pool of participants for this study because of a body of literature suggesting that graduates of such institutions will have greater power and influence in society post-graduation than their

counterparts who have attended public colleges and universities (Hearn & Ochs Rosinger, 2014). Hearn and Ochs Rosinger (2014) concluded “net of other factors, attending a selective institution has been associated empirically with higher future income, greater social status, increased pursuit of graduate degrees in selective programs, and increased civic engagement” (p. 71). These researchers also supported Bowen, Kurzweil and Tobin’s (2005) finding that “The path to many positions of power and wealth in this country winds its way through these selective colleges and universities” (p. 95). Paradoxically, highly selective private colleges are striving to offer greater access to students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds because of a recognition of the sweeping demographic changes in the country, but they continue to be widely considered as “bastions of privilege” (Bowen, Kurzweil & Tobin, 2005) wherein the country’s wealthiest families expect their sons and daughters to learn the unwritten rules of maintaining their privileged status in society (Hearn & Ochs Rosinger, 2014). Therefore, the researcher finds it fitting to use private, highly selective institutions to identify participants for this study, which seeks to engage White males as social justice allies who will find later success in their various career paths and influence social change writ large.

Finally, the researcher chose to examine students involved in co-curricular diversity initiatives because they are typically voluntary. Students in college may choose courses about diversity to fulfill core requirements, and they are rewarded with grades and credits on their transcripts. White college men who participate in co-curricular kinds of learning experiences, however, do so with very few tangible rewards, and they typically commit for longer periods of time. In private, highly selective institutions, these men choose to be involved in social justice education amidst entrenched institutional cultures that confer upon them the privileges of being White males (Hearn & Ochs Rosinger, 2014). An implicit assumption in this rationale is that

there is greater altruism in devoting time to a co-curricular diversity initiative than in a classroom environment. That is not to say that diversity courses are not valuable and essential, merely that students' motivations may differ.

Introduction to the Study

This study aims to contribute knowledge to the fields of multicultural education and higher education administration concerning the pre-college factors and college experiences that White males associate with their demonstration of social justice ally behaviors. The researcher was also interested in understanding how these men made meaning of their development as social justice allies. To introduce the study, the researcher offers operational definitions of key terms, a brief summary of the methodology and an overview of the report structure.

Operational Definitions

- **Diversity** - This term is generally difficult to define in academic settings and in society in general, and that difficulty alone has greatly contributed to the ineffectiveness of diversity education in American colleges and universities (Ukpokodu, 2010). Many institutions have done a disservice by equating diversity with only race and ethnicity. Throughout this study, a broader definition is used. The Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) defines diversity as “individual differences (e.g., personality, learning styles, and life experiences) and group/social differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, country of origin, and ability as well as cultural, political, religious, or other affiliations) that can be engaged in the service of learning.” (AAC&U, 2009)
- **Critical diversity** is the “intersecting dimension of human differences that may serve as the basis for differential treatment of individuals, with the

potential to diminish their access to opportunity, equality, social justice, and fulfillment of their dreams.” (Ukpokodu, 2010, p. 28)

- **Diversity exposure** and **diversity education** are used throughout to refer to educational experiences both inside and outside the classroom. These phrases are used to suggest that students might experience *ideological* and/or *structural diversity*.
- **Ideological diversity** suggests that students are exposed to content which challenges personal or political opinions, values and beliefs about identity characteristics (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000).
- **Structural** or **compositional diversity** is physical presence of people from various groups within a given context (Williams et al., 2005).
- **Inclusion** – “The active, intentional, and ongoing engagement with diversity—in people, in the curriculum, in the co-curriculum, and in communities (intellectual, social, cultural, geographical) with which individuals might connect—in ways that increase one’s awareness, content knowledge, cognitive sophistication, and empathic understanding of the complex ways individuals interact within systems and institutions.” (AAC&U, 2009)
- **Multicultural and/or Intercultural** – Used interchangeably to refer to the condition of multiple cultures, not limited to races and ethnicities, being represented in thought or action. The primary difference between the terms is that intercultural signifies a more intentional and integrated condition than multicultural, which means simply that a variety of cultures are present (Gumucio-Dargon, 2014).

- **Multicultural or intercultural competence** – Concepts that have largely focused on the attainment of knowledge, awareness and skills in working with people from underrepresented groups, particularly minority racial and ethnic populations (Pope, Reynolds & Mueller, 2004). The emphasis has often been on learning about “the other” as opposed to self-learning and exploration. There have been considerable attempts by scholars to delineate multicultural or intercultural competencies (Howard-Hamilton, Richardson, & Shuford, 1998; Ottavi, Pope-Davis & Dings, 1994; Pope & Reynolds, 1997; Pope, Reynolds, & Mueller, 2004; Pope-Davis, Reynolds, Dings, & Ottavi, 1994), and most emphasize the development of attitudes and behaviors consistent with having knowledge of other cultures. For the purposes of the present study, the idea of multicultural or intercultural competence refers to the following four indicators taken from the national College Student Experiences Questionnaire (CSEQ) empirically observed by Kuh, Gonyea, Kish, Muthiah and Thomas (2003): “knowledge about other parts of the world, and other people; awareness of different philosophies, cultures, and ways of life; developing the ability to get along with different kinds of people; [and] developing the ability to function as a member of a team.” (as cited in Hu & Kuh, 2003, p. 324-325)
- **Racism** – The present researcher employs Wellman’s (1993) definition of racism as a “system of advantage based on race.” (as cited in Tatum, 2003, p. 7) Tatum makes an important distinction between racial prejudice and racism, stating:

This definition of racism is useful because it allows us to see that racism, like other forms of oppression, is not only a personal ideology based on racial prejudice, but a system involving cultural messages and institutional policies and

practices as well as the beliefs and actions of individuals. In the context of the United States, this system clearly operates to the advantage of Whites and to the disadvantage of people of color. (p. 7)

- **Social justice** – A phrase used to make a distinction between the awareness or acceptance of diverse conditions, and the meaningful commitment to combating racial prejudices, homophobia, gender bias and other forms of discrimination, inequity or oppression. Adams, Bell and Griffin (2007) provide thorough and comprehensive definitions of both social justice and social justice education:

We believe that social justice is both a process and a goal. The goal of social justice is full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure. We envision a society in which individuals are both self-determining (able to develop their full capacities) and interdependent (capable of interacting democratically with others). Social justice involves social actors who have a sense of their own agency as well as a sense of social responsibility toward and with others, their society and the broader world in which we live... The goal of social justice education is to enable people to develop the critical analytical tools necessary to understand oppression and their own socialization within oppressive systems, and to develop a sense of agency and capacity to interrupt and change oppressive patterns and behaviors in themselves and in the institutions and communities of which they are a part. (pg. 1-2)

- **Social justice education** – Engages learners in a critical dialogue about the power and privileges associated with membership in certain identity groups (e.g. White, male, Christian).
- **White privilege** – One of the foundational concepts of multicultural and social justice education in the academy, explored in great detail in the literature review, is the notion of White privilege, a concept that researchers across disciplines have carefully studied for several decades (Goodman, 2001; Gordon, 2005; Jensen, 2005; Kendall, 2006; Kivel, 2002; McIntosh, 1988; Tatum, 2002; Tochluk, 2008). A landmark essay published by Peggy McIntosh in 1988 offered the crux of the White (and male) privilege definition: that people have unearned benefits associated with their race, gender or other identity characteristics.

Overview of Methodology

This study employs qualitative methods in order to understand White male college students who are committed to diversity education. Specifically, the researcher uses a phenomenological approach to gathering and analyzing data. This method is most appropriate because it allows the construction of knowledge to happen directly from the sources. In qualitative studies, researchers seek to convey a deeper and more nuanced understanding of a phenomenon than one might obtain through quantitative measures. The researcher employed purposive sampling methods and conducted 60 to 90 minute semi-structured interviews with 14 participants who met selection criteria. Chapter 3 of this report further elaborates on the method.

Report Structure

The remainder of this report provides a deeper analysis of issues related to diversity education and seeks to answer the proposed research questions. An extensive review of literature

discusses Whiteness and maleness as hotly debated social constructs, outlines key theoretical frameworks regarding White racial and male identity development processes, and further explores empirical evidence of the benefits of diversity education to protect the psychosocial well-being of White male college students. Following the review of the literature, the methodology of the study is provided in greater detail. An in-depth explanation of and rationale for the qualitative methods of the study are provided. Chapter four of this report gives a thorough analysis and summary of the research findings. The conclusions are given in chapter five along with general discussion and recommendations for society at large, for higher education, and for further study.

Chapter Summary

Institutions of higher education understand that exposing college students to diversity and providing opportunities for the development of multicultural competence is becoming increasingly important as they are likely to live and work within culturally diverse contexts post-graduation (Lee, Poch, Shaw, & Williams, 2012). There has been a rapidly growing interest among colleges and universities to establish high-level administrative offices to help campuses develop strategic plans to provide students with diversity exposure through curricular and co-curricular means (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Student affairs practitioners tend to lead efforts on college campuses to organize co-curricular opportunities such as lectures, workshops, and dialogue programs to encourage the development of multicultural competence for all students (Williams et al., 2005). The research suggests that White males are the least likely to support these efforts on college campuses (Cabrera, 2014) and when they do participate, they tend to show resistance to learning about these issues (Boatright-Horowitz & Soeung, 2009; Carpenter, 2000; Mildred & Zúñiga, 2004; Watt, 2007; Whitehead & Wittig, 2004).

As this trend continues, it is essential to understand the important role that White males can have in advancing social justice causes. This study focuses primarily on understanding why certain White college males within private, highly selective colleges and universities choose to participate in and, therefore, benefit from diversity and social justice education in college settings. Through an analysis of data collected from students involved in prolonged social justice education or structured engagement with diversity outside of the classroom, this study seeks to expound upon a earlier studies (Bridges, 2011; Bridges & Mather, 2015; Broido, 2000; Edwards, 2006) to examine the pre-college motivations of White males who commit to social justice education, to explore what college experiences advance their development as social justice allies, and to understand how these students make sense of their development as allies. The researcher aims to provide practical recommendations for multicultural educators and student affairs practitioners who would like to engineer college experiences that will lead to the inclusion of more White college men as brothers in the struggle for social equity.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a great body of research on diversity education in colleges and universities. Numerous publications over the past two decades (Banks, 2006; Barber, 1992; Guarasci et al., 1997; Noddings, 2005; Sehr, 1997; Sleeter, 1996) have sufficiently made the case for diversity exposure and multicultural competence as essential aspects of a college education and a successful career in the 21st century (as cited in Ukpokodu, 2010). However, the problem is that White males do not participate in opportunities for engagement with diversity at the same rates as their peers (Cabrera, 2014).

Although research in the field of multicultural education has been powerful and instructive for diversity educators in terms of the benefits of diversity, it is less apparent from a review of the literature how diversity educators can achieve greater success at developing White male allies. Very few studies have been conducted with White men as the chosen population and even fewer seek to understand the impact of White male alliance in anti-racism and anti-sexism, among other social justice activities, in college settings. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate the ways in which White men who voluntarily participate in diversity education opportunities outside of the classroom make meaning of their development as social justice allies. The specific research questions are as follows:

1. What pre-college factors do White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education opportunities while in college?

2. What college experiences do White males who voluntarily engage in co-curricular social justice education see as instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development?
3. How do White males who voluntarily engage in co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies?

This chapter will summarize literature from the fields of anthropology, biology, education, history, sociology and psychology. It includes: a historical analysis of the social construction of Whiteness as a racial identity; Whiteness studies and White privilege; White racial identity development theories; the social construction of maleness; male privilege; male identity development theories; contemporary issues with White college men, including their socialization, campus engagement and the psychosocial costs of their privilege; and an overview of co-curricular diversity education, including a brief history, contemporary models, associated benefits and White male resistance.

Whiteness

What does it mean to be White? This question serves as one of the foundations of a budding field of Whiteness studies. The first section of this review explores literature regarding the White race, a topic that is often unexamined by people who carry White racial identity because of its prevalence in American society (Kendall, 2006). Though average citizens may not think often about Whiteness, there is a growing body of scholarship suggesting that White racial identity is worthy of study. In this section, the present researcher summarizes literature on the social construction of Whiteness, the development of Whiteness studies as an academic field, White privilege and various White identity development models.

Social Construction of Whiteness

Contemporary scholars in a variety of scientific fields agree that race is not biological; rather it is a sociocultural or social construct (Kendall, 2006; Painter, 2010; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). In fact, Tattersall and DeSalle (2011) argue for the obliteration of the word race from the biological lexicon because of its virtual nonexistence in human DNA. It is important to note what sociologists commonly refer to as the *social construction* of race, because implicit in this idea is the fact that there was some intentionality on the part of Whites in establishing a social hierarchy that would privilege Whites in all aspects of life, including economics, government, and education (Kendall, 2006; Painter, 2010). The following will illustrate the social construction of race, specifically of Whiteness as a race, and discuss its enlargements in the United States.

Bad science. Although phenotypical features such as skin color, hair texture and facial features are distinguishing characteristics across what humans now call races, there is insufficient scientific evidence that these characteristics are genetic. Historians and scientists argue that Whiteness as a racial category was created, and supported by generations of bad science (Dain, 2002; Graves, 2001; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011), for the express purpose of establishing systems of White superiority and privilege that would manifest in centuries of oppressive acts against non-Whites, including but not limited to the genocide of indigenous peoples in North America, and the enslavement of African peoples (Kendall, 2006; Painter, 2010).

In 1684, French physician François Bernier published *A New Division of the Earth by the Different Species or Races which Inhabit It*, one of the earliest academic texts to identify racial differences (Graves, 2001; Roberts, 2011; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). Bernier did not, however, believe there were significant differences between the races beyond their skin color (Graves,

2001; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). Nearly a century later, Swedish botanist Karl Linnaeus published the tenth edition of his seminal work, *Systema Naturae*, which assigned all living organisms to classifications using a two-name identifier (e.g. *Homo sapiens*) (Dain, 2002; Graves, 2001; Roberts, 2011; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). This notable scientific advancement was offered in direct opposition to long held creationist beliefs about the origin of man because it established four races based on region and skin color, and attributed to each a distinct temperament, that have arguably survived until the present day. They were described as follows: “the choleric *Americanus*... [an] Amerindian group with red skins” who were “energetic, upright, and combative”; “the sanguine *Europaeus*” who were “white, confident, muscular and inventive”; “the melancholic *Asiaticus*” who were “yellow, gloomy, thoughtful, inflexible and avaricious”; and “the bilious *Afer*” Africans who were “black, self-contented, lazy, slow and relaxed” (Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011, p. 12).

Scientists all over the world continued into the eighteenth century to explore human diversity and attempted to empirically prove genetic disadvantages of certain classes of people, namely Negroes (Table 1). During this period, German physician Johann Friedrich Blumenbach became the first to collect human skulls (Graves, 2001; Kendall, 2006; Painter, 2010; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011), measuring their size and circumference, and identifying “five main varieties of humans: Caucasians, Mongolians, Ethiopians, Americans and Malays” (Graves, 2001, p. 40). Blumenbach is attributed as the first to credibly establish the term Caucasian as a moniker for all White peoples of Europe, whom he believed to have their origins in the Caucasus Mountain region (Roberts, 2011). Caucasian remains the word of choice for those who attempt to use scientific language to classify races. Blumenbach believed that the differences in physical traits between the races had no correlation with intellectual ability and intentionally left them unranked

(Graves, 2001). In fact, at least one biological historian suggests that Blumenbach was particularly taken with disproving that Blacks, called Negroes at the time, were intellectually inferior (Graves, 2001).

Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau, a French aristocrat known as the “father of racism” (Biddiss, 1970) published his landmark *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* across a voluminous 12 books from 1853-1855. Gobineau was a novelist and theologian who used the Biblical story of the origin of man as the primary source to inform his written works. He was among the earliest writers to offer three human races and to pointedly uplift the White race as superior in nearly every way, including intellect and beauty (Biddiss, 1970).

	Country and year*	Traits examined	Relative to Europeans	Heritable	Environment	Separate species
Francois Bernier	France 1684	General	Neutral	?	?	No
Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz	Germany 1690	General	Neutral	No	Yes	No
Henry Home, Lord Kames	United Kingdom 1774	Skin color, lips, hair, smell	Inferior	Yes	No	No
Johann Friedrich Blumenbach	Germany 1775	Skin color, lips, hair, smell	No ranking of human races	Yes	Yes	No
Samuel Thomas Sommering	Germany 1784	General	Not always inferior	Yes	No	No
Petrus Camper	Netherlands 1786	Skull angle	Inferior	Yes	No	No
Georges Buffon	France 1789	Skin color, smell, intellect	Inferior	Yes	No	No
Christopher Meiners	German 1790	General	Inferior	Yes	No	No

Note. *The year refers to the approximate date the work concerning the traits of the Negro was first published.
Adapted from Graves, 2001, p. 39

In a quasi-scientific elaboration on the distinct physical and moral qualities of his three races, Gobineau (1853-1855) wrote:

The negroid variety is lowest, and stands at the foot of the ladder. The animal character, that appears in the shape of the pelvis, is stamped on the Negro from birth, and foreshadows his destiny. His intellect will always move within a very narrow circle. He is not however a mere brute, for behind his low receding brow, in the middle of his skull, we can see signs of a powerful energy, however crude its objects... The yellow race is the exact opposite of this type. The skull points forward, not backward... The yellow man has little physical energy, and is inclined to apathy; he commits none of the strange excesses so common among Negroes... He does not dream or theorize; he invents little, but can appreciate and take over what is useful to him... The yellow races are thus clearly superior to the black. Every founder of a civilization would wish the backbone of his society, his middle class, to consist of such men. But no civilized society could be created by them; they could not supply its nerve force, or set in motion the springs of beauty and action. We come now to the white peoples. These are gifted with reflective energy, or rather with an energetic intelligence. They have a feeling for utility, but in a sense far wider and higher, more courageous and ideal, than the yellow races; a perseverance that takes account of obstacles and ultimately finds a means of overcoming them; a greater physical power, an extraordinary instinct for order, not merely as a guarantee of peace and tranquility, but as an indispensable means of self-preservation. At the same time, they have a remarkable, and even extreme, love of liberty, and are openly hostile to the formalism under which the Chinese are glad to vegetate, as well as to the strict despotism which is the only way of governing the Negro. (as cited in Biddiss, 1970, p. 134-137)

In drawing distinctions between the three races, Gobineau stated that his main intention was to show that the degeneration of mankind is directly proportional to the mixture of non-White blood that they were subject to over the course of history (Biddiss, 1970).

Gobineau also wrote about the unparalleled beauty and strength of the White peoples from ancient civilizations, particularly the Aryan lineage or Germanic races in the fifth century that he believed represented the purest and most desirable form of Whiteness (Biddiss, 1970). He wrote “The Germanic race was endowed with all the vitality of the Aryan variety and needed it in order to fulfill the role to which it was destined. After it, the white race had no further power or vitality of which to dispose” (Biddiss, 1970, p. 170). This idea launched his theory of Aryan superiority that would later serve as the foundation for the racist ideologies of the German Nazi Party although Gobineau himself was not known to espouse anti-Semitism (Fortier, 1967).

French naturalist, George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (known as Georges Buffon), believed to be one of the most sophisticated of the early naturalists (Dain, 2002), had a very dynamic and nuanced understanding of differences within the human species. Buffon believed in nature as a “perpetually living work, a constantly active worker” (as cited in Dain, 2002, p. 14) and thought human progress was possible and inevitable. Although he did not support the idea of slavery or the use of the word “race” to classify humans, his fundamental belief was that Africans were inferior in every way because of the harsh conditions of the African continent (Dain, 2002). Buffon held firm to the notion that only through man’s sexual drive and prowess would there be changes in the ranking of the human races over time and thought the New World needed much more time to develop into a biologically sophisticated ecosystem, including the human species (Dain, 2002).

In the mid-nineteenth century, there was a significant shift in scientific research about human diversity for political reasons. Because of colonization and the competitive commercial market, science was called upon to justify the subjugation of certain peoples into enslavement or indentured servitude (Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). Graves' (2001) review of literature from several of the world's nineteenth century thinkers reveals that more often than not, Negroes were believed at the time to be an inferior race (Table 2).

	Country and year*	Traits examined	Relative to Europeans	Heritable	Environment	Separate species
Charles White	United Kingdom 1799	Skulls, sex organs, sexuality	Skulls smaller, sex organs larger	Yes	No	Yes
Samuel Stanhope Smith	United States 1810	Skin color, general	Inferior	No	Yes	No
James Pritchard	United Kingdom 1813	Skin color, civilization	Inferior	Yes	Yes	No
Sir William Lawrence	United Kingdom 1823	General, civilization	Inferior	Yes	No	Yes
Georges Cuvier	France 1831	General	Inferior	Yes	No	Yes
Samuel Morton	United States 1849	Skull volumes	Inferior	Yes	No	Yes
Louis Agassiz	United States 1850	Skin color, smell, intellect	Inferior	Yes	No	Yes
John Bachman	United States 1855	Fertility of hybrids	Equal	Yes	No	No
Josiah Nott	United States 1857	General	Inferior	Yes	No	Yes
George Gliddon	United Kingdom 1857	General	Inferior	Yes	No	Yes
Paul Broca	France 1862	Skeletal features	Inferior	Yes	No	Yes

Note. *The year refers to the approximate date the work concerning the traits of the Negro was first published.
Adapted from Graves, 2001, p. 44

Philadelphia physician Samuel Morton struggled with the notion of a monogenic creation and instead suggested that God created all of the different varieties of humans at once and gave each the genetic makeup that would be best suited for the regions in which they would live, a concept called polygenism (Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). George Gliddon and Josiah Nott, students of Morton, expounded upon this theory by suggesting the inferiority of Blacks to Whites, and this became the crux of the argument for the continuation of brutal practices of enslavement in the United States (Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). With Charles Darwin's groundbreaking theories of evolution and natural selection entering the scene in the mid-nineteenth century, the debate over creationism was in full swing in Europe and around the world. Darwin initially ignored the question of human diversity altogether because of the outcry he received regarding his theories about evolution in animal species (Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). In publishing *Origin of Species* in 1859, Darwin could no longer avoid the topic and his ideas on evolution would eventually dominate the field of biology (Painter, 2010; Roberts, 2011; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011).

German zoologist Ernst Haeckel and others referenced Darwinism as they established a system of Aryan supremacy that would launch the eugenics movement made notorious by Hitler and his German Nazi party (Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). Beauty was defined by paleness, blondeness and blue-eyedness, and eugenics would borrow ideas from Darwinism about how to genetically engineer perfect human specimens (Painter, 2010).

At the close of the nineteenth century, many prominent scientists and anthropologists were still trying desperately to hold on to polygenist ideas about genetically separated races created and ordained by God as the natural order. German-born anthropologist, Franz Boas, was

the first to use hard evidence to contest the biological basis of racial differences and to argue against the intellectual inferiority of Blacks, but his ideas would not be widely accepted until much later (Painter, 2010). However, Darwin's theory of evolution and Boas' work on environmentalism became the good science that would affirm that there is only one human species, and that any variation did not map onto genes, but reflected changes in a population over time to adapt to their living conditions (Painter, 2010; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). It was from Darwin's theories of evolution that the field of population genetics emerged, and it continues to seek understanding about race.

Becoming White. Painter (2010) submits that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the period of the American Revolution and the era of founding fathers, saw great men in the New World struggling to intellectualize and hypothesize about racial differences. Thomas Jefferson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Samuel George Morton among other turn-of-the-century American intellectuals were contributors to the philosophical, and later practical, demarcations of race in the forming United States (Painter, 2010). Jefferson was deeply committed to the advancement of the new, egalitarian society in which White men could have a voice regardless of their economic status, but he overlooked women and persons of color as citizens of this New World (Graves, 2001; Painter, 2010). He simultaneously believed in the unalienable rights of humans given at birth by a single Creator, and that something had occurred since creation that tainted the intellectual and social capacity of Africans (Graves, 2001). Jefferson as an American historical figure continues to represent myriad contradictions surrounding his ideas on democracy, freedom and race (Graves, 2001).

One major problem for the founding fathers to consider was that early American immigrants were not White, nor were they American; they were Irish, Scottish, Italian, Greek or

some other ethnic group; that is to say, they still held ethnic ties to their places of origin (Kendall, 2006). To be American, to be a White man, meant that these immigrants would have to leave their languages, practices and other cultural distinctions at the shores and begin assimilating into American Whiteness (Kendall, 2006). Similarly, Africans brought to the United States were quickly stripped of their cultural practices and norms and formed into a new American version of Blackness in direct juxtaposition to American Whiteness (Painter, 2010); this was a prominent theme in *Roots*, Alex Haley's (1976) seminal work of fiction, which vividly described brutal beatings endured by enslaved African Kunta Kinte as he was being asked to accept the English name, Toby. This loss of African identity and connection became especially relevant in this period as Blacks in America struggled to position themselves in relationship to the African diaspora (Alexander, 2011; Painter, 2010).

It was in the early nineteenth century that thought leaders launched a vigorous debate about beauty as a distinctive element between the races. Around 1858, Black abolitionist John S. Rock is believed to have been the first to coin the phrase Black is beautiful, or at least the idea behind it, in staunch defense of the unique physical traits of African peoples (Quarles, 1969). In stark contrast were Jefferson's ideas about American Whiteness, which were based upon the Anglo Saxon ideals of beauty, refined behavior, and social sophistication; ideals widely held in the nineteenth century and exemplified by Ralph Waldo Emerson who was fascinated with English culture (Painter, 2010). All of the so-called uncivilized behaviors that the early immigrants brought with them needed to be exchanged for proper White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) manners (Kendall, 2006; Painter, 2010). Only then would these men become White and gain access to all that this new identity could offer, like voter rights, employment and quality residential life (Painter, 2010).

Enlarging Whiteness. The expansion of voting rights in the mid-nineteenth century to non-property owning European men and their free male children represented what historian Nell Irvin Painter (2010) describes as the first of four enlargements of American Whiteness. This change in voter status for White men of all socioeconomic classes solidified the designation of White as the normative or default American race. This was a hugely distinctive aspect of the New World and a marked detour from the aristocratic caste system of Great Britain. In order to keep track of racial identity and voter status, the first census data in the United States were collected in 1790 and listed six distinct categories: (1) heads of households; (2) Free White males over 16; (3) Free White males under 16; (4) Free White females; (5) All other free persons by sex and color; and (6) slaves (Painter, 2010). Thus began the purposeful categorization of American citizens by free status and skin color. Later census records show how quickly White maleness and freedom became synonymous (Painter, 2010). American citizenship was certainly more egalitarian by class, but not by race or gender. If the ability to vote represented being American, then being American meant being White and male.

The second enlargement of American Whiteness happened in the late 1880s with fuller acceptance of Irish and German immigrants as truly American. This occurred only against the threat of other possible European immigrants, namely Slavs, Russian Jews, Poles and Italians, whose physical attributes (e.g. darker hair, brown eyes) traditions and behaviors seemed further away from the Anglo Saxon ideals than those of the first waves (Brodkin Sacks, 1998; Painter, 2010). For Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Irish became an acceptable group because of their light complexion and blue eyes. Emerson wrote,

In the distinctions of the genius of the American race it is to be considered, that, it is not indiscriminate masses of Europe, that are shipped hitherward, but the Atlantic is a sieve

through which only or chiefly the liberal adventurous sensitive America-loving part of each city, clan, family are brought. It is the light complexion, the blue eyes of Europe that come: the black eyes, the black drop, the Europe of Europe is left (as cited in Painter, 2010, p. 205).

Francis Amasa Walker, a prominent American economist and statistician who was appointed director of the Census of 1870 and became president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1881, shared Emerson's fears about the potential for "less-desirable" European immigrants to start arriving en masse at American shores (Painter, 2010). He published many influential articles in the 1890s that cautioned New Englanders against opening the floodgates to the "vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions... [lacking] all the inherited instincts and tendencies" (as cited in Painter, 2010, p. 210). Since "Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, south Italians, and Russian Jews [from] every foul and stagnant pool of population of Europe" (as cited in Painter, 2010, p. 210) could get to the United States more easily, Irish and German immigrants who were already here started to seem as if they had more desirable White characteristics.

The third enlargement of American Whiteness began when World War II shuffled White immigrants by ethnicities, classes, political parties and neighborhoods in the United States. About 16 million Americans, immigrants from all over Europe, served together in the armed forces (Painter, 2010). Essentially, the idea of *inclusion* became the theme of the prosperous 1930s and 1940s, with goals to prime the economy, unify immigrants, denounce anti-Semitism and justify American participation in the war (Brodkin Sacks, 1998; Painter, 2010). The famous Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 or the G.I. Bill of Rights was the single most important legislative action in making education, jobs and housing broadly accessible and firmly

establishing a White American middle class, which now included Italians, Russian Jews and others previously considered undesirable (Brodkin Sacks, 1998; Painter, 2010). The G.I. Bill has been referred to as “arguably the most massive affirmative action program in U.S. history” because of its clear emphasis on and far-reaching success in helping veterans, most of whom were White males, rebuild their lives after military service (Brodkin Sacks, 1998, p. 38). The entertainment industry and popular media helped the masses to see Italian Americans, like musician Frank Sinatra; Jews, like writer Philip Roth; and even Cubans, like actor Desi Arnaz, as talented, artistic and highly contributing members of this new and inclusive White American society (Painter, 2010). At the same time, the advent of suburban neighborhoods, coupled with overtly racist and discriminatory housing practices, created unified White middle class spaces and a litany of material possessions symbolizing their status as true Americans (Painter, 2010). This enlargement of Whiteness also required European immigrants to join forces in their racism towards Blacks and Asian Americans.

The fourth and final enlargement of American Whiteness, according to Painter (2010), was in full bloom in the mid to late 1960s, when multiracial and multiethnic populations grew exponentially. During the era of the Jim Crow South, most European immigrants and their descendants were tightly bound together under a unified label: White Americans. The civil rights and Black power movements sufficiently demarcated the most important racial boundaries, those established between Whites and Blacks or anyone else. New immigrants after 1965 or so came mostly from outside of Europe and included countries in Asia, and South and Central America (Painter, 2010). The other important lines were those drawn between Northerners and Southerners, the latter being heavily scrutinized for allowing and perpetuating the reign of White supremacy. The word race itself was of less use in conversations about White ethnic groups

because of the new, and somewhat threatening, multiracial American reality. Census categories during the stretch between the 1970s and 2000 shifted to allow options for “non-Hispanic Whites,” which further complicated and confused citizens about the usefulness of racial classifications (Painter, 2010). Though the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s was an intense period of struggle, some of the greatest social movements in history happened and advanced equality in powerful ways.

That Whiteness was socially constructed and enlarged over time has become a prevailing concept in sociology, history and biology (Dain, 2002; Feagin & O’Brien, 2003; Graves, 2001; Painter, 2010; Roberts, 2011; Tattersall & DeSalle, 2011). A review of the literature in these fields also demonstrates that Whiteness has become a privileged racial identity (Kendall, 2006; McIntosh, 1988).

Whiteness Studies and White Privilege

In social justice advocacy few words and phrases are as commonly referenced as *White privilege*. This concept, that there are many institutional, systemic, unearned benefits associated with White racial identity, is considered a central tenet of a thorough social justice or diversity education curriculum or co-curriculum (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007; Kendall, 2006). As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in higher education the term *White privilege* is most directly attributed to Peggy McIntosh (1988) whose paper established a framework that would be cited for decades in discussions about the unearned benefits associated with being White and/or male. However, the concept had been explored and written about long before McIntosh’s pivotal essay was published.

In this section of the literature review, and in the social justice educator’s tradition of naming and recognizing leaders in the fight against oppression, the researcher will briefly

summarize writings published by W.E.B. DuBois, James Baldwin, Theodore W. Allen and Noel Ignatin, Toni Morrison and Peggy McIntosh that have solidified Whiteness studies as an academic field. The researcher then offers a sampling of the major critiques of Whiteness and the White privilege concept from a variety of sources.

W.E.B. DuBois. Much of the contemporary focus on Whiteness studies and White privilege can be attributed to a preeminent turn of the twentieth century Black American scholar, W.E.B. DuBois, whose work is credited as having provided the “intellectual foundations for this body of [Whiteness] scholarship” (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). Unlike many other early race scholars, DuBois was equally concerned with the plight of Black Americans and the privilege of White Americans. In advancing ideas about Blackness, DuBois published *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) which presented the notion of the *double consciousness* felt by Blacks in America because of their attempt to reconcile their African heritage with their place in the New World. DuBois was also profoundly impacted by social Darwinism ideas represented in Herbert Spencer’s adaptation of Charles Darwin’s scientific research on evolution. DuBois’ beliefs were evident in his writing, namely that the most highly selective and *fittest* members of the Black race, which he believed to be about 10% of the total Black population, should strive for excellence in order to uplift the entire race.

DuBois’ important writings on race contributed at least three major observations that served as foundational to the study of Whiteness and White privilege. First, he introduced in *Black Reconstruction in America* the idea of a “psychological wage” of Whiteness; that poor and working class Whites were made to believe they shared social status with wealthy Whites as a sort of compensation for being low-class laborers. He explained:

They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white. They were admitted freely with all classes of white people to public functions, public parks, and the best schools. The police were drawn from their ranks, and the courts, dependent on their votes, treated them with such leniency as to encourage lawlessness. Their vote selected public officials, and while this had small effect upon the economic situation, it had great effect upon their personal treatment and the deference shown them. White schoolhouses were the best in the community, and conspicuously placed, and they cost anywhere from twice to ten times as much per capita as the colored schools. The newspapers specialized on news that flattered the poor whites and almost utterly ignored the Negro except in crime and ridicule. (DuBois, 1935, p. 573-574)

In offering this notion of a psychological wage of Whiteness, DuBois also suggested that White laborers wrongly forfeited an opportunity to connect with freed slaves during the reconstruction era around their social class identity, instead choosing to accept the racial identity of the dominant group (as cited in Twine & Gallagher, 2008). It follows that lower class Whites were extended certain privileges for choosing racial over class-based solidarity. In alignment with DuBois' definition, David Roediger (1999) explored this idea of the wages of Whiteness in-depth and he, too, serves as a thought leader for Whiteness studies.

Secondly, DuBois published *The Philadelphia Negro* in 1899, an ethnographic study of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward neighborhood, in which he suggested that Whites were blind to the real impact of White supremacy and racial prejudice (as cited in Twine & Gallagher, 2008). He surmised that Whites altogether lacked a critical consciousness of their identity and associated privileges. The third and final major observation is that DuBois wrote about the global scope of Whiteness and White privilege, spreading from western countries to every other continent

around the world (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). Perhaps his most often quoted line, from *The Souls of Black Folk*, reads, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea” (DuBois, 1903; 1995, p. 54). Twine and Gallagher (2008) cite as an example of global White hegemony the alarming numbers of Asian women around the world who regularly use skin whitening products to lighten their skin and improve their social status.

James Baldwin. DuBois’ prophetic writing on White privilege along with few other key works has effectively served as the first wave of Whiteness (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). Many race scholars followed the tradition of DuBois in raising the visibility of White privilege ushering in the second wave. Like many of his early twentieth century contemporaries, prolific essayist and novelist James Baldwin was bold and authoritarian in speaking out against White supremacy, and was primarily concerned with uncovering the structural and institutional forms of oppression that had been virtually ignored by White social scientists (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). Few writers are as oft cited in academic and non-academic texts on race as is Baldwin. His contributions to the field of Whiteness studies were numerous, but perhaps most critically he suggested two foundational concepts. First, he stated that Whiteness was not a real condition, rather an American invention, or as it was otherwise suggested, a social construct. He wanted Whites to educate themselves about their countries of origin and the history of becoming White on American soil. In an essay published in *Essence* magazine called “On Being White and Other Lies,” he stated:

The crisis of leadership in the white community is remarkable – and terrifying – because there is, in fact, no white community... America became white – the people who, as they claim, ‘settled’ the country became white – because of the necessity of denying the Black

presence, and justifying the Black subjugation. No community can be based on such a principle – or, in other words, no community can be established on so a genocidal lie. (Baldwin, 1984, p. 90)

The second big idea Baldwin shared was that White people were sorely lacking in moral reasoning and that they were predisposed toward brutality in their dealings with Blacks and others whom they feared (Baldwin, 1963). He suggested in *The Fire Next Time* that Whites would best help the race problem in America if they could learn to love themselves and one another. Other intellectuals, like prominent Black American feminist bell hooks and Black British professor Paul Gilroy, have expanded this concept into an even more explicit theory of White terrorism, that is to say White people are uniquely prone toward violent displays of their supremacy (Roediger, 1999).

Theodore Allen and Noel Ignatin. Theodore Allen, a White, working-class intellectual, contributed to the field an exhaustive, two-volume text titled *The Invention of the White Race*, which resulted from more than 40 years of studying what he referred to as White skin privilege by reviewing original historical sources, such as public records from colonial Virginia (Allen, 1994; 1997). Along with many of his other written works, these two volumes emphasized that Whiteness was established as an identity almost exclusively to allow wealthy White settlers to exert ruling class social control (Allen, 1994; 1997). His lived experience as a working class White man undoubtedly contributed to his passion for tying together class and race-based oppression.

Together with his frequent collaborator, Noel Ignatin (or Ignatiev), Allen published pamphlets from 1967-1969 with essays titled “White Blindspot” and “Can White Radicals be

Radicalized?” that condemned “White chauvinism” and “White skin privileges” as a part of the discussion on labor. In the first essay, a letter to the Progressive Labor Party, Ignatin wrote:

The U.S. ruling class has made a deal with the misleaders of American labor, and through them with the masses of white workers. The terms of the deal, worked out over the three hundred year history of the development of capitalism in our country, are these: you white workers help us conquer the world and enslave the non-white majority of the earth’s laboring force, and we will repay you with a monopoly of the skilled jobs, we will cushion you against the most severe shocks of the economic cycle, provide you with health and education facilities superior to those of the non-white population, grant you the freedom to spend your money and leisure time as you wish without social restrictions, enable you on occasion to promote one of your number out of the ranks of the laboring class, and in general confer on you the material and spiritual privileges befitting your white skin. (as cited in Davidson, 2011, p. 149-150)

With Allen’s letter of support for Ignatin’s poignant essay, and his own piece on White radicalism, these essays served as a call to arms for the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a well-known and longstanding student activist movement of the 1960s (Davidson, 2011) and also solidified the word *privilege* as a permanent part of the White supremacy lexicon. As Ignatiev, he also introduced the idea that “treason to Whiteness is loyalty to humanity,” a line that became the slogan for *Race Traitor*, his journal published with John Garvey from 1992-1996 (Cabrera, 2012). Modern anti-racist activist, Tim Wise (2008), borrowed this idea of treason by titling his anthology of essays *Speaking Treason Fluently: Anti-Racist Reflections from an Angry White Male*.

Toni Morrison. Toni Morrison is perhaps best known as a Pulitzer and Nobel Prize winning novelist, professor and author of the critically acclaimed works *Beloved*, *Sula* and *The Bluest Eye*. She is also considered one of the founding mothers of Whiteness studies, having drawn great attention to White dominance in American literature as reflected in her book, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Her critique is not only that people of color are mostly absent from the whole of American literature, but also that scholars and literary critics ignore opportunities to unpack truly meaningful questions on race through deep analysis of the few non-White characters that are present in the literature (Morrison, 1992). In the preface, she poses several questions that extend beyond literature into the fiber of American society:

For reasons that should not need explanation here, until very recently, and regardless of the race of the author, the readers of virtually all of American fiction have been positioned as white. I am interested to know what that assumption has meant to the literary imagination. When does racial ‘unconsciousness’ or awareness of race enrich interpretive language, and when does it impoverish it? What does positing one’s writerly self, in the wholly racialized society that is the United States, as unraced and all others as raced entail? What happens to the writerly imagination of a black author who is at some level *always* conscious of representing one’s own race to, or in spite of, a race of readers that understands itself to be ‘universal’ or race-free? In other words, how is ‘literary whiteness’ and ‘literary blackness’ made, and what is the consequence of that construction?... Living in a nation of people who *decided* that their world view would combine agendas for individual freedom *and* mechanisms for devastating racial oppression presents a singular landscape for a writer. (Morrison, 1992, p. xii-xiii)

Peggy McIntosh. As a scholar and educator in Women's Studies, Peggy McIntosh began her work by examining privileges that men have in society, observations which will be cited later in this chapter. Her work on maleness led to an awareness of her own Whiteness juxtaposed against the Blackness of her colleagues. McIntosh (1988) offered a comprehensive analogy for White privilege that would assist readers in understanding the framework:

I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks. (p. 1-2)

In the essay, she offers a list of forty-six examples of unearned privileges she observed in her personal life after documenting years of conversations with people of color about their day-to-day life experiences. The checklist included items that at the surface appear inconsequential, like the following:

6. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
20. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
46. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin. (p. 6-9)

The White privilege list also included items that carry more serious and direct implications for the financial security, physical safety and psychological health of its beneficiaries:

3. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.

15. I do not have to educate my children to be aware of systemic racism for their own daily physical protection.

38. I can think over many options, social, political, imaginative or professional, without asking whether a person of my race would be accepted or allowed to do what I want to do.

(p. 6-9)

McIntosh's article brought into focus a clearer definition of White privilege and also spread the concept to a wider audience outside of critical race theorists, anti-racism advocates and Black Americans at large. She delivered her observations in a narrative format, in the first-person and in a tone akin to a confessional. It is likely that because of the writing style and technique the idea of privilege was made more digestible for modern day White Americans. That is not to suggest that the concept has been wholly accepted without critique or protest, which will be later discussed.

Metaphors for White Privilege. The invisible knapsack is an enduring metaphor for White privilege, but race scholars have recently offered new ways of thinking about privilege that are also useful in understanding the concept. McIntosh, herself, offered a new metaphor beginning in 2009 that shifts the conversation from a guilt-inducing list to one that empowers White people to consider their agency in mitigating the adverse effects of White privilege. She refers to privilege as a bank account from which she can choose to spend by acting in anti-racist ways (McIntosh, 2012). The bank account analogy offers an optimistic but urgent call to action for Whites to use their privilege to lessen the racial inequality that still exists in contemporary times.

Prominent American studies scholar George Lipsitz also uses banking and financial management as a framework for understanding and teaching about Whiteness and White

privilege. He refers to the stretch of time between American colonialism and the reconstruction era as the period establishing a “possessive investment in Whiteness,” suggesting that being White carried various legal, social and most importantly economic privileges (Lipsitz, 1995; 2006). Although the idea of a return on investment is a useful metaphor, Lipsitz has shown quite effectively that there are endless literal examples of the financial rewards associated with Whiteness, starting with the seizing of property from indigenous peoples in the Americas; continuing through the legalization of free human labor through the enslavement of African peoples; and the overtly racist Federal Housing Act of 1934 which privileged Whites in mortgage lending (Lipsitz, 1995).

Science fiction author and blogger John Scalzi garnered a lot of attention and support for his analogy of White privilege as a video game in which straight White men are “the lowest difficulty setting there is.” For readers who are not video game aficionados, he offers the following explanation of the analogy:

The default behaviors for almost all the non-player characters in the game are easier on [White men] than they would be otherwise. The default barriers for completions of quests are lower. Your leveling-up thresholds come more quickly. You automatically gain entry to some parts of the map that others have to work for. The game is easier to play, automatically, and when you need help, by default it's easier to get. (Scalzi, 2012)

The video game metaphor is one that may become widely used in social justice education for college students, and men in particular, because of its accessibility for young learners.

Critiques of Whiteness Studies. Although dozens of institutions of higher education have academic courses and programs dedicated to Whiteness studies (Kellogg, 2012; Sueyoshi, 2013) the national White Privilege Conference founded in 2000 grows larger and stronger each

year (Kellogg, 2012) and academic texts on Whiteness are published regularly (Sueyoshi, 2013), the field is not without its share of critics. There are numerous ways of grouping the critiques of the study of American Whiteness, but the following three categories are offered: the *unsound methodology* case, the *evilness and eternal guilt* case, and the *victimology* case.

Scholars outside of Whiteness studies have been very critical of the methodologies employed in the interdisciplinary field, claiming that Whiteness researchers are too biased to design and engage in truly objective historical studies. Historian Eric Arnesen (2001) noted that Whiteness scholars who have consistently presented the idea of early Irish and other immigrants “becoming White” have done so without sufficient grounding in archival and empirical evidence. He states:

This claim [Roediger’s (1988) suggestion that Irish immigrants did not originally see themselves as White] rests not on an examination of early and mid-nineteenth century scientific thought, nor upon the actual observations of contemporary native-born white opponents of Irish immigration, much less on any assessment of what the Irish newcomers themselves happened to think. Rather it is rooted largely in the negative views, held by some, of the Catholic Irish ‘race’ in the antebellum era. (Arnesen, 2001, p. 14)

He also suggests that historians have filled in missing information with an overabundance of psychoanalysis of early immigrants as a collective without consideration for individual stories and circumstances. James Barrett (2001) agreed with Arnesen’s assessment of the incomplete, at best, and unsound, at worst, methods employed by Whiteness historians, although Barrett believed Arnesen’s critique might have been more personal than scholarly. Barrett (2001) referred to the research methods as “sloppy” (Barrett, 2001, p. 33). Historian Peter Kolchin

(2002) described himself as sympathetic to – but still highly critical of – the methods employed in Whiteness studies, namely that the term “Whiteness” is too vague and is sometimes used in contradictory ways within the scholarship. He argues that some of the work chooses not to offer a definition of the term at all, which he believes is a significant methodological error.

The researcher refers to the second category of Whiteness studies critique as the *evilness and eternal guilt* case, as a nod to a short but scathing piece written by columnist Barbara Kay in the *National Post* (2006). Kay’s remarks about Whiteness studies make the argument that the clear intention of this body of scholarship is to vilify all White people as eternally guilty of White supremacy and systemic forms of racism. She states:

Unlike other special-interest disciplines, such as Women's, Queer or Islamic Studies, which celebrate their subjects' achievements while mourning their victimization at the hands of men/homophobes/Israel, WS [Whiteness Studies] cuts to the chase: It is all, and only, about white self-hate... WS teaches that if you are white, you are branded, literally in the flesh, with evidence of a kind of original sin. You can try to mitigate your evilness, but you can't eradicate it. The goal of WS is to entrench permanent race consciousness in everyone. (Kay, 2006)

Kolchin (2002) has also made this observation, suggesting, “there is a thin line between saying that whiteness is evil and saying that whites are evil” (p. 168). Conservative White social commentator David Horowitz said, “Black studies celebrates blackness, Chicano studies celebrates Chicanos, women's studies celebrates women, and white studies attacks white people as evil” (as cited in Fears, 2003, p. A01). The idea of White evilness and guilt has occupied a tenuous space in the ongoing academic conversation on social justice education and will be

further explored in reviewing the literature on contemporary frameworks for multicultural and social justice education.

The final category of critique offered is the *victimology* case, a term that Black conservative professor of linguistics and author John McWhorter (2000) uses to suggest that Blacks inappropriately use their race and White racism as excuses for poor academic performance, social isolation and general disdain for Whiteness in America. McWhorter, like many others, believe that Blacks who play the victim are at least in part responsible for the long lasting perpetuation of White racism. He states:

In leading Black American thought today, Victimology, adopting victimhood as an identity and necessarily exaggerating it, dominates treating victimhood as a problem to be solved. Most black public statements are filtered through it, almost all race-related policy is founded upon it, almost all evaluations by blacks of one another are colored by it.

(McWhorter, 2000, p. 3)

Critics of Whiteness studies have cited the victimology case, saying that the field of study fails to account for the role that Blacks play in maintaining systemic oppression (Kolchin, 2002).

As the field of Whiteness studies grows and expands, more and more critics question its methodologies, its apparent emphasis on perpetuating White guilt, and its furtherance of Black victimology. However, the present researcher asserts its usefulness in larger academic discussions on race and racism in the United States because of the focus on White identity development.

White Racial Identity Development Theories

Since the early 1970s, the field of psychology has produced numerous theories and identity development models pertaining to people of color, women, lesbian, gay, and bisexual

persons, and biracial or multiracial individuals (Torres, Jones & Renn, 2009). Following in the tradition of the early people of color models, White racial identity development theories were conceptualized through personal observations within counseling psychology settings in the early 1980s (Table 3).

Theorist(s) / Model	Year	Development of Model	Levels called...	Stages/Phases/Statuses/Types
Hardiman's White Identity Development Model	1982	Qualitative analysis of six autobiographies of White Americans	Stages	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of Social Consciousness 2. Acceptance 3. Resistance 4. Redefinition 5. Internalization
Helms' White Racial Identity Model	1984 1990	Theory developed through in-depth review of literature and qualitative interviewing of White persons; intended for operational use in counseling	Stages in two phases	Phase 1 – Abandonment of Racism <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contact 2. Disintegration 3. Reintegration Phase 2 – Evolution of a Nonracist White Identity <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Pseudo-Independence 5. Autonomy
Ponterotto's White Racial Consciousness Development Model	1988	Qualitative study of White graduate students in multicultural counseling psychology course	Stages	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-exposure 2. Exposure 3. Zealot-Defensive 4. Integration
Sabnani et al.'s White Racial Identity Model	1991	Integration of previous models	Stages	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-exposure or Precontact 2. Conflict 3. Prominority and Antiracism 4. Retreat into White Culture 5. Redefinition and Integration
Rowe, Bennett & Atkinson's White Racial Consciousness Model	1994	Integration of previous models	Attitudes	Achieved Types: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dominative 2. Conflictive 3. Integrative 4. Reactive Unachieved Types: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Avoidant

				6. Dependent 7. Dissonant
Helms's Revised Model Helms & Cook	1995 1999	Revision of former model	Statuses	Phase 1 – Abandonment of Racism 1. Contact 2. Disintegration 3. Reintegration Phase 2 – Evolution of a Nonracist White Identity 4. Pseudo-Independence 5. Immersion-Emersion 6. Autonomy
Sue et al.'s Descriptive Model of White Racial Identity	1998	Integration of previous models	Stages	1. Conformity 2. Dissonance 3. Resistance and Immersion 4. Introspection 5. Integrative Awareness

A common thread of the models related to White racial identity development is the premise that Whites are not typically taught to consider themselves as racial beings or as privileged members of society (Ponterotto, Utsey & Pedersen, 2006). Thus, the process of adopting a White racial identity, in nearly every model, involves developing an awareness of the unearned social status associated with Whiteness, finding ways to challenge privilege, and committing to social justice advocacy for members of oppressed groups.

In the next section, the researcher will briefly summarize the major White racial identity development models. Summaries of these models are presented in chronological order, as many of the theorists critique, revise or expand upon their predecessors' work. This information is helpful in setting up the present study for social justice oriented White college men.

Hardiman's White Identity Development Model. Rita Hardiman (1982) developed the White Identity Development (WID) model soon after the emergence of Black identity development (Cross, 1973; Jackson, 1976) and gender identity development (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1976; Rebecca, Hefner & Oleshansky, 1976) theories in the field of counseling psychology (as cited in Hardiman, 2001). The model was developed amidst an era of racial turmoil in the United

States and was conceptualized mostly to understand how Whites can confront personal racism. There was no empirical research to support the initial development of the Hardiman model and this has limited its influence in the body of counseling psychology research. However, counseling practitioners and conflict mediators Wing and Rifkin have since used the model to design training and education programs on race (Hardiman, 2001) and the model has also influenced the creation of subsequent identity development models including White identity development (Sabnani, Ponterotto, & Borodovsky, 1991) and gender identity development.

To develop the model, Hardiman read and analyzed six autobiographies written by White authors discussing their lived experiences as White Americans. Of the six authors, there were four women and two men and they represented various regions of the United States. The autobiographies reviewed were *Killers of the Dream* (Smith, 1963), *The Wall Between* (Braden, 1958), *Confessions of a White Racist* (King, 1971), *The Education of a WASP* (Stalvey, 1970), *Hey, White Girl* (Gregory, 1970), and *White on White: An Anti-Racism Manual for White Educators in the Process of Becoming* (Edler, 1974) (as cited in Ponterotto, 2006). The Hardiman model of White Identity Development offers five stages:

1. Lack of Social Consciousness, characterized by a growing awareness of racial differences and in which the White person begins to experience some curiosity and/or discomfort in interracial settings;
2. Acceptance, in which White persons have become socialized by parents, teachers, and the surrounding community to learn the dominant racial ideology that Blacks are inferior;
3. Resistance, which Hardiman described as a stage of painful emotions when Whites are presented with new information about the reality of oppression for Blacks in American society, but are unsure how they can transform the guilt they feel into antiracist action;

4. Redefinition, defined by a search for a new White racial identity that will both acknowledge racism and begin developing a more positive sense of self as White persons; and
5. Internalization, when a sense of pride in their racial identity propels White persons to liberate other White people from racist ideology and to counteract other forms of oppression (as cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006).

Rita Hardiman (2001) retrospectively analyzed her White Identity Development model, considering the historical context, other models developed thereafter, and critiques of her model. In retrospect, Hardiman believes the model was inadequate because it described the experiences of a small number of Whites who were actively struggling against racism and she was not easily able to find examples of people in the redefinition or internalization stages (Hardiman, 2001). She stated “It is a grandiose and a gross oversimplification to say that the WID defined the racial identity experience for all Whites in the United States... the WID stages were and still are more of a prescription for what I felt Whites needed to do than a description of experiences that Whites shared” (Hardiman, 2001, p. 112-113). Hardiman (2001) also analyzed the work of Janet Helms, which was similarly developed, but has been empirically supported much more frequently.

Helms’ White Racial Identity Model. Janet Helms (1984) offered a theoretical model for White Racial Identity Development (WRID) that she has continued to refine over decades of research (Helms, 1990, 1995, 2005; Helms & Cook, 2005) mostly in response to over a decade of discussion of the model in counseling psychology literature (Behrens, 1997; Hardiman, 2001; Rowe, Bennett & Atkinson, 1994; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). At the time of its conception, Helms was careful to note that the WRID model was hypothesized based largely upon her review

of racial identity development literature, saying “the reader should be forewarned that much of the empirical work necessary to validate the model does not exist in the literature, and thus, the model is meant to stimulate further inquiry from a theoretical perspective” (Helms, 1984, p. 154). The model has since proven to be just the stimulus Helms intended, garnering much attention in counseling psychology and in several other fields and being employed or referenced in numerous empirical studies (Table 4).

Helms developed the original model by reviewing the literature and interviewing a few White colleagues and friends about their experiences in developing a racial consciousness (Hardiman, 2001). In the tradition of other identity development theories of the time, Helms conceptualized stages in a linear fashion. The original Helms model (1984) presented two phases, Abandonment of Racism and Evolution of a Nonracist White Identity, in five stages. In the first phase, Abandonment of Racism, the stages are:

1. Contact, in which the person is unaware of racism and claims a color-blind worldview;
2. Disintegration, when the person learns about, notices examples of and is confused by societal White privileges; and
3. Reintegration, a self-protective stage in which the person rebuilds a sense of pride in White identity, blames people of color for their misfortunes, and believes the superiority of Whiteness to other races.

In the second phase, Evolution of a Nonracist White Identity, the stages are:

4. Pseudo-Independence, defined by an intellectual recognition of issues surrounding race while still denying the existence of systemic racism; and
5. Autonomy, the stage in which the person is comfortable in her or his own skin and has a personal definition of Whiteness (Helms, 1984, 1990).

Table 4			
<i>[Selected] Articles Featuring Helms' Racial Identity Theory</i>			
Helms's Racial Identity Theory and...	Author(s)	Year	Title
Career			
	Block & Carter	1998	"White Racial Identity: Theory, Research, and Implications for Organizational Contexts"
Counseling			
	Carter & Helms	1992	"The Counseling Process Defined by Relationship Types: A Test of Helms' Interactional Model"
	Helms & Cook	1999	"Using Race and Culture in Counseling and Psychotherapy"
Education			
	Perry	2008	"School Engagement Among Urban Youth of Color: Criterion Pattern Effects of Vocational Exploration and Racial Identity"
	Jernigan	2009	"Using a Sankofa Intervention to Influence Black Girls' Racial Identity and School-Related Experiences"
Ethnic Minorities			
	Bryant & LaFramboise	2005	"The Racial Identity and Cultural Orientation of Lumbee American Indian High School Students"
	Alvarez, Juang & Liang	2006	"Asian Americans and Racism: When Bad Things Happen to 'Model Minorities'"
Gender			
	Parks, Carter & Gushue	1996	"At the Crossroads: Racial and Gender Identity Development in Black and White Women"
Health			
	Franklin & Carter	2007	"Race Related Stress, Racial Identity, and Psychological Health for Black Americans"
	Pieterse & Carter	2010	"An Exploratory Investigation of the Relationship Between Racism, Racial Identity, Perceptions of Health Locus of Control Among Black American Women"
	Talleyrand	2010	"Eating Disorders in African American Girls: Implications for Counselors"
Legal			
	Carter & Gesmer	1997	"Applying Racial Identity to the Legal System: The Case of Family Law"
Race-related constructs			
	Carter, Helms & Juby	2004	"The Relationship Between Racism and Racial Identity: A Profile Analysis"
	Clauss-Ehlers & Carter	2005	"Current Manifestations of Racism: An Exploratory Study of Social Distance and White Racial Identity"
Trauma			
	Jernigan & Daniel	2011	"Racial Trauma in the Lives of Black Children and Adolescents: Challenges and Clinical Implications"
	Helms, Nicolas & Green	2010	"Racism and Ethnoviolence as Trauma: Enhancing Professional Training"

Note. Adapted from Jernigan, 2012

Helms' conceptual model is often linked with her White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS), a tool she later developed with a colleague for assessing White identity development (Helms & Carter, 1990). Since its establishment, the validity of the WRIAS has been critically examined in a number of research studies (Behrens, 1997; Carter, 1995; Helms, 1997; Helms, 1999; Rowe, Bennett & Atkinson, 1994; Swanson, Tokar & Davis, 1994; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). The wide-ranging research has yielded a number of findings supporting the stages proposed in the Helms model (Table 5).

Carter (1995) used the WRIAS to survey 50 White men and 50 White women enrolled in an introductory course at a large Midwestern university about their racial attitudes and beliefs. One relevant finding for the present study from Carter was that across every level of racial awareness, White male participants displayed more racist beliefs and attitudes than White women. Because the WRIAS employs the stages proposed in the Helms model, its validation as an effective measure has strengthened the use of the WRID as a theoretical framework for White identity development (Ponterotto et al., 2006).

Ponterotto's White Racial Consciousness Development Model. Joseph G. Ponterotto (1988) presented a four-stage model that was specifically designed for operational use by graduate students in counseling psychology programs. Like Helms, Ponterotto was clear at the time he established the model that it was his theoretical conceptualization based largely upon his experiences as a White male professor of counseling psychology teaching multicultural counseling courses to numerous White students. He suggested that there was "a strong need to begin systematic empirical research into the area of racial consciousness development among majority counselors," (Ponterotto, 1988, p. 154) and went on to suggest specific research questions for the future.

Table 5		
<i>Research Findings on WRID</i>		
Helms' (1990) Stages of White Racial Identity	Research Findings	Research Studies*
Contact	Lower levels of inner directness and reduced capacity for intimate contact, more dualistic and rigid thinking, reduced capacity to consider past events and future goals when contemplating present state of affairs, lower levels of racism in women, more positive views of other racial and ethnic groups, lower levels of multicultural counseling competence (in counselors), higher working alliance perceptions in cross-cultural counseling, higher general identity achievement	Burkard et al. (2003); Carter (1995); Goodstein & Ponterotto (1997); Neville et al. (1996); Steward et al. (1998); Tokar & Swanson (1991); Vinson & Neimeyer (2000, 2003)
Disintegration	Lower levels of mature interpersonal relationships, lower ability to consider present circumstances in light of past events and future goals, more negative views of other racial and ethnic groups, lower multicultural counseling knowledge and negative perceptions of the working alliance in an analog counseling study, preferences for White counselors, and lower levels of general identity achievement levels	Burkard, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Alfonso (1999); Helms & Carter (1991); Goodstein & Ponterotto (1997); Tokar & Swanson (1991)
Reintegration	Lower capacity for intimate contact, lower levels of mature interpersonal relationships, more dualistic thinking, higher levels of racism and more negative attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups, lower ratings of the therapeutic alliance regardless of client's race, and lower levels of multicultural counseling competence in counselors	Burkard et al. (1999, 2003); Carter (1995); Goodstein & Ponterotto (1997); Pope-Davis & Ottavi (1992, 1994); Steward et al. (1998); Taub & McEwen (1992); Tokar & Swanson (1991); Vinson & Neimeyer (2000, 2003)
Pseudoindependence	Higher levels of autonomy and mature interpersonal relationships; lower levels of racism in women; more positive views of other racial and ethnic groups; higher levels of self-reported multicultural counseling competence among counselors, as well as more positive expectations for the therapeutic alliance with potential clients across race; some preference for White counselors; higher general levels of identity achievement	Burkard et al. (1999); Goodstein & Ponterotto (1997); Helms & Carter (1991); Ladany et al. (1997); Neville et al. (1996); Pope-Davis & Ottavi (1994); Taub & McEwen (1992); Vinson & Neimeyer (2000, 2003)
Autonomy	Higher inner directedness and autonomy, positive opinions of other racial and ethnic groups, higher self-reported multicultural counseling competence among counselors and stronger perceived therapeutic alliance with racially diverse clients among counselors, higher general levels of identity achievement	Burkard et al. (1999, 2003); Goodstein & Ponterotto (1997); Neville et al. (1996); Ottavi et al. (1994); Taub & McEwen (1992); Tokar & Swanson (1991); Vinson & Neimeyer (2000, 2003)

Note. Sources cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006, p. 107-108

Ponterotto's (1988) model built upon the work of Hardiman and Helms with stages including:

1. Pre-exposure, in which White graduate students are naïve about race and White privilege;
2. Exposure, which typically occurs when students enter a multicultural counseling course and are exposed to evidence of modern-day racism causing feelings of anger and guilt;
3. Zealot-Defensive, a stage in which graduate students either become engrossed in the study of multicultural issues or take the information personally and withdraw from the learning experience; and
4. Integration, which comes about when the students are afforded an opportunity to process their feelings about the new information and they begin to notice and counteract their own racism (Ponterotto et al., 2006).

Sabnani et al.'s White Racial Identity Model. In an attempt to offer a broader, more inclusive model, Sabnani, Ponterotto and Borodovsky (1991) integrated the Hardiman, Helms and Ponterotto theories into a White Racial Identity Model. The theorists claimed the model had conceptual validity stemming from the "logical integration" of the three extant models, further stating "it is clear, however, from an empirical standpoint, that we are at an infancy stage in terms of testing and fully understanding models of White racial-consciousness development generally, and such models within the context of multicultural training specifically" (Sabnani et al., 1991, p. 94). The Sabnani et al. (1991) model provided the following five stages of development model listing the following as stages:

1. Pre-exposure or Precontact, characterized by obliviousness to racial identities of self or others and the acceptance of stereotypes about people of color;

2. Conflict, centered on the emotional response to new information about race gained from personal experiences, readings or courses;
3. Prominority and Antiracism, in which Whites resist racism and identify with people of color;
4. Retreat into White Culture, the other choice after the conflict stage, characterized mostly by the retreat from interracial contact; and
5. Redefinition and Integration, the final stage when Whites adopt a healthier racial identity, balancing an acknowledgement of racism with anti-oppressive action (as cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006).

Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson's White Racial Consciousness Model. Through the intellectual exercise of integrating previous models, Wayne Rowe and a group of colleagues developed a comprehensive model (1994) and elaborated on it for many years (LaFleur, Rowe & Leach, 2002; Leach, Behrens & LaFleur, 2002; Rowe, Behrens & Leach, 1995). These researchers felt it was important to move away from stages, as in the former White racial identity development models, because they believed the process did not always occur in a linear fashion (as cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006). LaFleur et al. (2002) surmised that identity theory was “too abstract and intangible to serve as a conceptual anchor for understanding racial beliefs” wanting instead to study the cognitive, affective and behavioral components of racial attitudes (as cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006, p. 99). The Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson (1994) model listed seven types of racial attitudes as opposed to stages, and they were grouped into Achieved and Unachieved Types. The achieved types are as follows:

1. Dominative, persons who believe in the superiority of Whites and may act in racist ways;

2. Conflictive, persons who may not support overt acts of racism, but value a Eurocentric worldview;
3. Integrative, persons who hold positive racial attitudes; and
4. Reactive, persons who are supportive of people of color but unaware of their role in maintaining systemic racism (as cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006).

The unachieved types are:

5. Avoidant, person who ignore or trivialize racial issues;
6. Dependent, persons who have narrow views regarding racial issues and are heavily influenced by peers, relatives and others; and
7. Dissonant, persons who are wavering in their attitudes on race because of experiences that contradict their racial beliefs (as cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006).

Helms' Revised Model. Helms offered a few important updates to her original model (Helms, 1995; Helms & Cook, 1999) taking an approach similar to the Rowe et al. (1994) group by changing from stages to statuses, implying that people can hold more than one status simultaneously and may not progress through them in a linear fashion. She also added a status between Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy that she called Immersion-Emersion. This status involves an active exploration of racism and a conscious effort to confront it and other similar forms of oppression before developing a true sense of autonomy.

Sue et al.'s Descriptive Model of White Racial Identity. Sue et al. (1998) sought to bring together the best of the developmental models, from Hardiman (1982), Helms (1995) and Ponterotto (1988), with the best of the typology model presented by Rowe et al. (1994, 1995) (as cited in Ponterotto et al., 2006). The stages presented in Sue et al. (1998) model are:

1. Conformity, in which White persons have little racial awareness, hold stereotypes about people of color as truth and believe racism is over;
2. Dissonance, during which the White person has a conflict between beliefs and experiences, such as being confronted with their own racism;
3. Resistance and Immersion, a stage in which the White person begins to see how they have contributed to upholding a racist society and react with feelings of confusion, anger, or guilt;
4. Introspection, characterized by the person's attempt to find a positive White identity in a racist society; and
5. Integrative Awareness, in which people are aware of racism and other forms of oppression and are secure in their identity as White people who value racial diversity against their former socialization (Ponterotto et al., 2006).

This portion of the literature review provided a summary of major White identity development models, including those presented by Hardiman, Helms, Ponterotto, Sabanani, Rowe and Sue. Hardiman (2001) summarized the extent to which conceptual White identity development models, in particular the Hardiman and Helms models, have advanced knowledge about White racial consciousness in the following way:

A major achievement, initiated in the helping professions by Hardiman and Helms, and later in other disciplines, is the decentering of Whiteness and the marking of Whites as a race that should be the subject of study. Despite this important contribution, the WID, WRID, and subsequent positions in White identity focus primarily on the way racism and racial isolation affect Whites. We understand more about how Whites are socialized to take on a privileged, racist sense of Whiteness. However, we lack understanding about

how and why some Whites come to reject that privilege and racist-defined sense of self, while others see themselves as victims of affirmative action, and champions of the English-only movement, ‘standards,’ ‘family values,’ and other codes for race-based privilege. A much-needed area for future study is related to the factors affecting how and why Whites choose to take their Whiteness in such different directions. (p. 122)

This notion, that Whites would “choose to take their Whiteness in such different directions,” is an important premise for the present study. The researcher sought to understand those White males whose racial identity development processes led them down a path of social justice advocacy.

Maleness

The next section reviews a broad cross-section of literature on male identity. Increasingly over the past several decades, gender studies have expanded to include in-depth study of men and masculinities. The information presented in this section includes the social construction of male identity, a summary of key ideas from the growing academic field of men and masculinities, and two major male identity development models.

The Social Construction of Maleness

As with race, gender identity is considered by intellectuals to be socially constructed, suggesting that it is developed independently from, although closely aligned with, one’s biological sex (Neale, 2012). In other words, simply being born with a male (XY) chromosomal pairing does not teach an individual what it means to be a man in a society dominated by men. Sociologists have offered in-depth arguments that lessons about sex and gender identity and performance begin at birth and are reinforced daily (Harris, 1995; Lorber & Farrell, 1991).

Characteristic of much of the early literature on the gender role norms in American society, Goffman (1963) observed:

In an important sense there is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual Protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports. Every American male tends to look out upon the world from this perspective, this constituting one sense in which one can speak of a common value system in America. Any male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself – during moments at least – as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior. (p. 128)

Similarly, Harris (1995) offers a list, though he describes it as neither exclusive to men nor exhaustive, of 24 major societal messages men acquire over the course of their lifetimes defining their maleness and reinforcing a hegemonic masculine identity (Table 6). This list reflects notions of masculine identity, some of which are widely considered positive and some negative (Harris, 1995).

Discourse between average citizens around gender is far more prevalent in daily life than race, most probably because every person is subjected to the pervasive conceptions of gender identity (Lorber & Farrell, 1991), whereas some humans may never enter racial identity development processes (Kendall, 2006). The study of men and masculinities is also a newer field of study than Whiteness, having shown up in academic settings only in the 1970s, as a parallel to the second wave of feminism (Connell, 1995). It is clear from a review of the literature that maleness is a less established, although fast-growing, area of research. For these reasons, the literature reviewed in this section is more succinct than the previous section on race.

Table 6

Male Messages

The Classical Man*	Message	Description
C	Adventurer	Men take risks and have adventures. They are brave and courageous.
	Be Like Your Father	Dad is your role model. Males express feelings in ways similar to their fathers.
C	Be the Best You Can	Do your best. Do not accept being second. "I can't" is unacceptable.
C	Breadwinner	Men provide for and protect family members. Fathering means bringing home the bacon, not necessarily nurturing.
C	Control	Men are in control of their relationships, emotions and job.
	Good Samaritan	Do good deeds and acts. Put others' needs first. Set a good example.
C	Hurdles	To be a man is to pass a series of tests. Accomplishment is central to the male style.
C	Money	A man is judged by how much money he makes and the status of his job.
	Nature Lover	Love of outdoors. Respectful treatment of plants and animals. Harmony with nature.
C	Playboy	Men should be sexually aggressive, attractive and muscular.
C	President	Men pursue power and status. They strive for success.
	Rebel	Defy authority and be a nonconformist. Question and rebel against system.
C	Self-Reliant	Asking for help is a sign of weakness. Go it alone. Be self-sufficient and do not depend on others.
C	Sportsman	Men enjoy playing sports, where they learn the thrill of victory and how to compete.
C	Stoic	Ignore pain in your body. Achieve even though it hurts. Do not admit weakness.
C	Superman	Men are supposed to be perfect. They do not admit mistakes.
	Technician	Men relate to, understand, and maintain machines. They fix and repair things around the house.
C	Tough Guy	Men do not touch, show emotions, or cry. They do not let others push them around.
C	Warrior	Men take death defying risks to prove themselves and identify with war heroes.
C	Work Ethic	Men are supposed to work for a living and not take handouts.

Note. Adapted from Harris, 1995, p. 12-13

In the literature on the social construction of gender, key themes are as follows: examining linkages between biological sex and gender identity (Lorber & Farrell, 1991); analyzing anthropological and historical evidence of societal gender norms (Eagly & Wood, 1999); and unpacking ideas about hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). These themes are discussed more thoroughly in the section that follows.

Bad Science, Again. One of the clearest flaws of biological attempts to explore sex differences is the pervasive idea of only two sexes. Although there exists a commonly accepted male-female genetic binary, biological sex is far more complex than what is known to the average person (Connell, 1995; Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Neale, 2012). Groundbreaking gender studies sociologist and gender theorist, Raewyn Connell (1995) suggested that there were two types of knowledge about gender: “common sense and psychological science – partly reinforcing each other and partly at odds” (p. 4). But she also says that both rely heavily on their understanding and interpretation of biological sex differences, which she suggests is deeply flawed. Connell (1995) states:

Science has a definite hegemony in our education system and media. This has shaped the development of ideas about masculinity through the twentieth century. All the leading discourses make some claim to be scientific, or to use scientific ‘findings,’ however grotesque the claim may be. Even Robert Bly, in *Iron John*, uses scientific language for his gripping idea that one-third of our brain is a ‘warrior brain’ and that our DNA carries warrior instincts. But the appeal to science plunges us into circularity. For it has been shown, in convincing historical detail, that natural science itself has a gendered character. Western science and technology are culturally masculinized. This is not just a question of personnel, though it is a fact that the great majority of scientists and technologists are

men. The guiding metaphors of scientific research, the impersonality of its discourse, the structures of power and communication in science, the reproduction of its internal culture, all stem from the social position of dominant men in a gendered world. (p. 6)

Biologists and social scientists (Fausto-Sterling, 1985; Money, 1986; Stoller, 1985) have found that sex exists on a continuum and includes the chromosomal, gonadal and hormonal genetic makeup of an individual (as cited in Lorber & Farrell, 1991). Instances of disorders of sex development (DSD) are rare, with one infant out of every 2000 being born intersex (Reis, 2013). However, scientific research on this population has made clear that scientists, families and communities have had to work together to decide how to categorize and deal with ambiguous genitalia, calling into question the ethics of sex assignment or reassignment (Lorber & Farrell, 1991). These cases, infrequent as they may be, suggest that there is an element of social construction even for physiological sex differences (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Stated differently, scientific support for a gender binary is lacking.

Becoming Male. Parallel to the body of scholarship suggesting that Whiteness was created as a social identity, there is anthropological evidence that prehistoric era men and women lived in relatively gender neutral and egalitarian societies (Eagly & Wood, 1999). In the days of hunting and gathering, the Pleistocene era, the lines between male and female behaviors became more clearly drawn and were reflective of the changing environmental contexts (Eagly & Wood, 1999). When males and females experienced new threats to their reproductive capabilities, were faced with new challenges, or exposed to new technologies, they adapted accordingly.

Eagly and Wood (1999) highlight two categories of theories surrounding the origins of sex differences in human behavior. The first group of theories, from evolutionary psychologists Buss (1995), Kenrick and Keefe (1992) and Tooby and Cosmides (1992) discuss evolutionary

adaptations to psychological sex differences (as cited in Eagly & Wood, 1999). The second group of theories, generated by social psychologists Eagly (1987), Lorenzi-Cioldi (1998), Ridgeway (1991), West and Zimmerman (1987) and Wiley (1995) suggest that men and women have played different social roles at different times in history in accordance with their cultural contexts, and have adapted behaviors to match these roles (as cited in Eagly & Wood, 1999). To further distill the differences between these two schools of thought, evolutionary psychologists believe that differences in reproductive biology were key in behavioral adaptation. Eagly and Wood (1999) state:

Women were restricted in the number of children they could propagate during their life span because of their [parental] investment through gestating, bearing, and nursing their children; men did not have these restrictions. Men therefore competed for access to women, and women chose their mates from among the available men... It was to men's advantage in terms of fitness outcomes to 'devote a larger proportion of their total mating effort to short-term mating than do women' (Buss & Schmitt, 1993, p. 205) – that is, to be relatively promiscuous. Women, in contrast, benefited from devoting a smaller proportion of their effort to short-term mating and a larger proportion to long-term mating. (p. 410)

Social psychologists, in contrast, believe cultural conditions stemming from sex-differentiated physical attributes, like the division of labor based on size and strength, are critical to adaptive gendered behaviors (Eagly & Wood, 1999).

Doing Maleness. Given the evidence of the social construction of gender and its evolution, it is necessary to highlight how maleness as an identity is reinforced daily in numerous world cultures and civilizations, and in particular for the White American male. West and

Zimmerman argue that humans are “doing gender,” that is to say men and women are performing daily actions, espousing beliefs and perpetuating behaviors that reinforce the socially constructed gender binary (as cited in Lorber & Farrell, 1991). People are rewarded for normative gender performances, at minimum, by avoiding being outcast from local and global communities (Butler, 1988; Lorber & Farrell, 1991). This sense of belonging is especially critical to males between the ages of 16 and 26, the fraught period of transition between adolescence and adulthood (Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe, 2007)

For men, in particular, there are scripts for doing maleness that stem from varied sources and carry a variety of messages about how manhood is best done (Harris, 1995). Harris offers a comprehensive list of masculine personas that are organized into five categories and rank ordered. From most influential to least, the categories are as follows: standard bearers, workers, lovers, bosses and rugged individuals. In each of these categories, and surely others, men have picked up messages from relatives, peers, churches, media, schools and nearly every other societal structure about acceptable versions of maleness or masculine performance (Butler, 1988; Harris, 1995).

Maleness is often described in the literature as being policed by men and women alike (Kimmel, 2008). Few places are as full of gender police as American high schools and colleges, where the weapons of choice for gender-role enforcement are hypermasculinity, heteronormativity and homophobia (Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe, 2007). The literature suggests that high schools and colleges are among the most dangerous places for boys to make mistakes in their gender role performance because of the potential for verbal and physical abuse from male peers (Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe, 2007). Kimmel (2008) offers numerous anecdotes about egregious and violent acts committed by men against men in a forceful attempt to maintain the clear gender

boundaries in high schools and colleges, which he refers to as “Guyland.” Many of these acts occur as a part of hazing rituals associated with membership in fraternal organizations or inductions onto sports teams, and range in severity from name-calling to fist-fighting to brutal acts of sodomy (Kimmel, 2008). Fraternity men and male student-athletes are also frequently found responsible in incidences of sexual misconduct against women on college campuses, although there is little conclusive evidence that their membership alone in these all-male peer groups disproportionately predicts their involvement in sexual misconduct; rather, the peer pressures to have sex and the direct linkages of alcohol or drug use to sexual misconduct are both prevalent within all-male peer groups (Franklin, Bouffard & Pratt, 2012). This information is critical to the present study because such behaviors are prevalent on college campuses.

Men and Masculinities Studies

The interdisciplinary field of gender studies has expanded since the 1970s to include serious scholarship on men and masculinity, the latter having first been pluralized by influential men’s studies scholar, R.W. Connell (1995). Scholars continue on their quest to create new knowledge about the biological, sociological and psychological similarities and differences between the sexes. Key themes in the growing body of research on men and masculinities have aligned with feminist ideologies, sought to dismantle male privilege and investigated gendered role norms.

Feminist Alignment. The movement toward the study of men and masculinities has its roots in feminist ideology, specifically, second-wave feminism (Whitehead, 2002). This political ideology is best characterized by an intense focus on gender inequality in societal roles, work and home life, reproductive rights, sexual liberation and physical safety. Ushered into the public sphere largely by Betty Friedan’s (1963) seminal work *The Feminine Mystique*, gender equality

quickly became a hotly debated topic. Some men, in resistance to the notion of gender equality, pushed for a “men’s movement” that would restore the balance of power in their favor and recognize the pressures placed upon men to be the breadwinners and leaders in their families and communities. In reaction, feminist scholars (women only at the time) and pro-feminists (men who aligned with feminist ideals) started to explore their intellectual curiosities about men as a socially constructed identity group, worthy of its own theory development and critical inquiry (Kimmel, Hearn & Connell, 2005).

Male Privilege. Much of the literature in the field of men and masculinities centers on the idea of male privilege, which runs parallel to the earlier addressed concept of White privilege (McIntosh, 1988). Male privilege draws attention to the deep, historic inequalities between the sexes and the vast array of unwarranted benefits afforded to men in patriarchal societies. These benefits are numerous, but often cited are the persistent gaps between men and women in employability and earning potential, unequal representation in positions of authority, and stark differences in sexual and body politics (Lorber & Farrell, 1991). Michael Kimmel likens privilege to a runner’s tailwind saying:

Being white, or male, or heterosexual in the United States is like running with the wind at your back. It feels like just plain running, and we rarely, if ever, get a chance to see how we are sustained, supported, and even propelled by that wind... You’re everywhere you look, you’re the standard against which everyone else is measured. You’re like water, like air. People will tell you they went to see a ‘woman doctor,’ or they will say they went to see ‘the doctor.’ People will tell you they have a ‘gay colleague,’ or they’ll tell you about a ‘colleague.’ Any college course that doesn’t have the word ‘woman’ or ‘gay’ or ‘minority’ in its title is a course about men, heterosexuals and white people. But we

call those courses 'literature,' 'history,' or 'political science.' (Kimmel & Ferber, 2003, p.1)

The literature contends that most societies uplift men as the dominant sex or gender in every imaginable way (Kimmel & Ferber, 2003).

Role Norms. Although masculine identities are plural and varied in nature, much of the literature offers common themes as it relates to the role norms men display throughout their lives. Brannon (1976) listed four masculine identities: (1) "no sissy stuff," symbolizing the avoidance of any and all things feminine; (2) "the big wheel," characterized by men's quest for success; (3) "the sturdy oak," referring to the emotionless and mental toughness persona; and (4) "give 'em hell," defined by male adventure-seeking behaviors, even in violent forms (as cited in Levant & Richmond, 2007). Variations of these role norms are found throughout the literature on masculinities.

Critiques. Analogous to the critiques about Whiteness studies and White privilege, there are several opponents to the academic study of men and masculinities. Psychologist Herb Goldberg (1976) stated:

...the myth that the male is culturally favoured – a notion that is clung to, despite the fact that every critical statistic in the area of longevity, disease, suicide, crime, accidents, childhood emotional disorders, alcoholism, and drug addiction shows a disproportionately higher male rate. (p. 17)

Similarly, Warren Farrell and James Sterba (2008) highlight the overrepresentation of men in homelessness, suicide, violence, and prison as evidence that this is not a privileged group. While the statistics about crime, imprisonment, substance abuse and suicide are indeed alarming, an irony is that dominant masculine cultural norms prevent men from seeking help that could

improve their emotional, social, mental and physical health and safety, and even prolong their lives (Addis & Mahalik, 2003).

Masculine Identity Development Models

There are considerably fewer identity development theories and models designed specifically with men in mind than there are for other social identity groups. Researchers in the field generally refer to broader theories on sex, sexuality and gender developed by pioneering theorists like Sigmund Freud, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan. Feminist theorists, including R.W. Connell, Judith Butler and bell hooks, have built upon the work of these foundational theorists, updating the ideas presented to counter inherent sexism and heteronormativity. They also began to study men more directly at least as vital parts in setting the context for the study of women. From these feminist perspectives, and modeled after racial identity development, two primary male identity development models were established (Table 7).

Pleck's Gender Role Strain Paradigm. Joseph Pleck, a scholar of counseling psychology, thoroughly reviewed the literature available to him from the 1930s through the late 1970s regarding gender identity and, in particular, masculinity. Pleck (1981; 1995) introduced the Sex Role Strain Paradigm as a psychological framework for understanding the cultural scripts associated with gender identity from infancy through adulthood. It is important to note the operational definition of the phrase *sex role* as employed by Pleck in his writings. He defined it in the following way:

The term *sex role* refers to the set of behaviors and characteristics widely viewed as (1) typical of women or men (sex role stereotypes), and (2) desirable for women or men (sex role norms). The behaviors and characteristics comprising sex roles include aspects of

personality (traits, dispositions) and social roles (especially activities performed at the job and in the family). (p. 10)

Theorist(s) and Model	Year	Development of Model	Levels called...	Stages/Phases/Statuses/Types
Joseph Pleck's Gender Role Strain Model	1981 1995	Literature review and categorization of empirical studies into two paradigms: Male Sex Role Identity (MSRI) and Sex Role Strain (SRS) MSRI – an innate human desire for clearly defined sex roles, with rigid notions of masculinity and femininity SRS – sex role norms are socially constructed and psychologically harmful	Types	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discrepancy-Strain Feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt resulting from not fitting into male gender norms 2. Trauma-Strain Results from traumatic events or processes of being socialized into traditional masculine roles 3. Dysfunction-Strain Male successfully achieves socialization into a normative masculine identity that has negative consequences for himself or others
David Scott and Tracy Robinson's Key Model	2001	Theoretically derived identity model based upon the review and integration of numerous empirical studies and identity theories	Types in circular model	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Noncontact Low contact outside of racial and gender groups and uninformed belief in superiority of White males to women and people of color 2. Claustrophobic Growing awareness of the realities of racism and sexism, but a belief that women and people of color are 'crowding out' White males in workforce 3. Conscious Identity Results from an event that creates dissonance between the White male's belief system and real experiences of women or people of color 4. Empirical Acknowledgment of White privilege, racism and sexism 5. Optimal Develops appreciation for value of all humans; Becomes ally for human rights

Pleck's (1981) work established Male Sex Role Identity (MSRI) as an overarching categorization of the prevailing ideas on masculinity at the time, built upon the work of many theorists and researchers (as cited in Pleck, 1981). From the vast research that established the MSRI paradigm, Pleck formulated eleven propositions:

1. Sex role identity is operationally defined by measures of psychological sex typing, conceptualized in terms of psychological masculinity and/or femininity dimensions.
2. Sex role identity derives from identification-modeling and, to a lesser extent, reinforcement and cognitive learning of sex-typed traits, especially among males.
3. The development of appropriate sex role identity is a risky, failure-prone process, especially for males.
4. Homosexuality reflects a disturbance of sex role identity.
5. Appropriate sex role identity is necessary for good psychological adjustment because of an inner psychological need for it.
6. Hypermasculinity in males (exaggerated masculinity, often with negative social consequences) indicates insecurity in their sex role identities.
7. Problems of sex role identity account for men's negative attitudes and behaviors toward women.
8. Problems of sex role identity account for boys' difficulties in school performance and adjustment.
9. Black males are particularly vulnerable to sex role identity problems.
10. Male adolescent initiation rites are a response to problems of sex role identity.
11. Historical changes in the character of work and the organization of the family have made it more difficult for men to develop and maintain their sex role identities. (p. 4-5)

Pleck (1981) decided as a theorist and researcher to critique these independent propositions as well as the MSRI paradigm in its entirety and in doing so succinctly stated that:

An easy and usually accurate way of telling whether a particular argument derives from the MSRI paradigm is simply to note whether it has one or more of the following characteristics: (1) it uses terms like *insecure* or *inadequate* (2) it emphasizes the potential psychologically harmful consequences of a man's relationship with his mother; and (3) it views homosexuality as the worst misfortune that can befall a man (pg. 7).

After his review of independent research studies within the MSRI paradigm and newer scholarship that was emerging, Pleck (1981) offered the Sex Role Strain (SRS) paradigm as a better alternative for understanding masculinity. As opposed to the overarching idea presented in MSRI that humans have an innate psychological need for sex-typed traits, the underlying assumption of SRS is that sex-typed traits result from human desire for social approval within the rigid confines of socially constructed sex roles (Pleck, 1981). Pleck offered the following ten propositions for the SRS paradigm:

1. Sex roles are operationally defined by sex role stereotypes and norms.
2. Sex roles are contradictory and inconsistent.
3. The proportion of individuals who violate sex roles is high.
4. Violating sex roles leads to social condemnation.
5. Violating sex roles leads to negative psychological consequences.
6. Actual or imagined violation of sex roles leads individuals to overconform to them.
7. Violating sex roles has more severe consequences for males than females.
8. Certain characteristics prescribed by sex roles are psychologically dysfunctional.
9. Each sex experiences sex role strain in its paid work and family roles.

10. Historical change causes sex role strain.

Pleck (1995) updated his thoughts on SDS as a theoretical framework, reviewed additional theoretical contributions and empirical studies, and consolidated the SDS concept into a Gender Role Strain model. The model proposed three types of strain:

1. Discrepancy-Strain, characterized by the feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt resulting from not fitting in to male gender norms;
2. Trauma-Strain, which occurs as a result of traumatic events or processes of being socialized into traditional masculine roles; and
3. Dysfunction-Strain, in which the male successfully achieves socialization into a normative masculine identity that is problematic or has negative consequences for himself or others.

In reaffirming the ideas presented in the Gender Role Strain Model, Pleck (1995) referenced several studies, including two of his own longitudinal studies which found that fathers who spend less time with children and doing household chores reported lower levels of health and well-being (Snarey & Pleck, 1993) and higher levels of psychological distress (Barnett, Marshall & Pleck, 1992). These types of gender role strains are also evident in male socialization processes for younger males and are easily recognizable in the college-aged segment of the White male population (Kimmel, 2008).

Scott and Robinson's Key Model. Based upon the review and integration of numerous empirical studies (e.g. Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989; Good, Robertson, Fitzgerald, Stevens & Bartels, 1996; Sadker, Sadker, & Long, 1993; as cited in Scott & Robinson, 2001) and connecting the work of important identity theorists (Helms, 1995; Myers, Speight, Highlen, Cox, Reynolds, Adams, & Hanley, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1990; as cited in Scott & Robinson, 2001),

David Scott and Tracy Robinson presented a model of White male identity development that they called the Key Model. Scott and Robinson describe their work as a “theoretically derived identity model” that sought to become the first to converge the separate bodies of literature on race and gender in describing one process of White male identity development (p. 418). The Key model presents types rather than phases or stages, signifying that circular nature of the model and the ability for movement to occur in any direction (Figure 1).

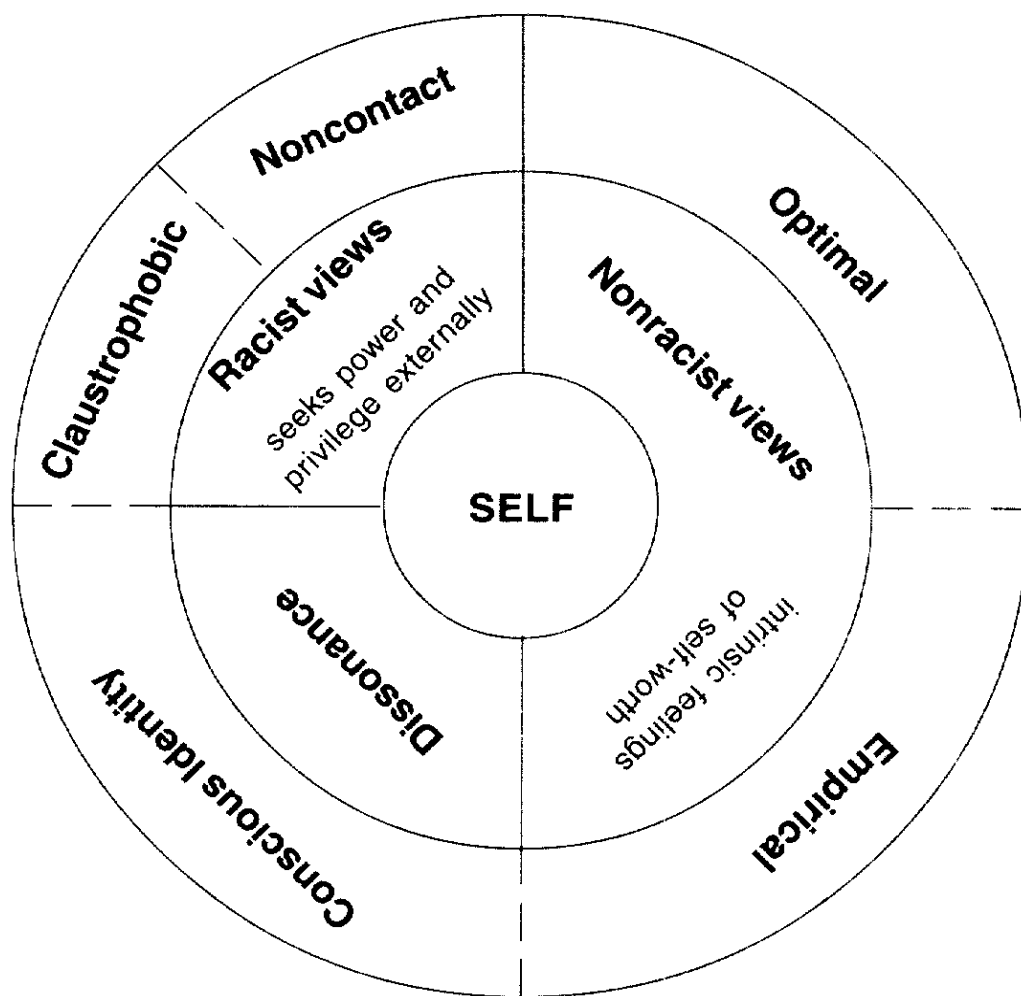


Figure 1. Scott and Robinson’s Key Model. Reprinted from “White male identity development: The key model,” by D. Scott and T. Robinson, 2001, *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 79(4), 415-421.

The five types described in the Key Model are:

1. Noncontact, characterized by low contact outside of racial and gender groups as well as an uninformed belief in the superiority of White males to women of all races and people of color;
2. Claustrophobic, which is typified by a growing awareness of the realities of racism and sexism in society and a belief that women and people of color are unfairly “crowding out” White men to level the playing field;
3. Conscious Identity, which is brought on after an event creates dissonance between the White male’s belief system and real experiences of women or people of color;
4. Empirical, characterized by an acknowledgement that racism and sexism are real and a growing awareness of unearned White male privilege; and
5. Optimal, in which the White male develops an appreciation for the intrinsic value of all humans and works to eliminate race and gender based oppression, among other forms (Scott & Robinson, 2001).

Scott and Robinson (2001) made clear their intentions for psychologists to employ the Key Model in counseling settings with White male clients exhibiting attitudes and behaviors as described. Each section of the article provided specific implications for counselors, and the authors stated that:

The main goal of the Key model in counseling is to facilitate growth in White males by seeing them as whole beings... recogniz[ing] the types of attitudes White males struggle with, as a function of their socialization patterns, that teach them to equate productivity and control with success and manhood. (p. 420)

The aforementioned models of male identity development are useful considerations in the present study as the researcher seeks to understand how White male college students make sense of their journeys toward becoming social justice allies. The participants in this study may exhibit attitudes and behaviors as described in the Pleck (1981; 1995) and Scott and Robinson (2001) models, and it will prove helpful to have descriptive language from a set of theories that have been explored in the field of counseling psychology.

The next section includes an overview of the research on White male college students as a specific population. Specifically, there is an exploration of hegemonic White masculinity in colleges and universities, which often results in disproportionate negative outcomes related to alcohol consumption, sexual violence and single-sex social groups; a summary of the literature on the psychosocial costs associated with unexplored White and male privilege; and discussion of a model of privileged identity exploration (Watt, 2007).

White Males in College

In this section, the present researcher summarizes dominant themes from the literature on young White males, particularly those enrolled in colleges and universities. Much of the information presented is drawn from literature that examines broader populations (e.g. all males, all White males). However, the present researcher has identified areas of the literature that are most relevant to the population of study, White males in college. This section summarizes leading ideas on hegemonic masculinity, homosociality, and the psychosocial costs of unexamined privileges; all prevalent issues impacting White college males.

Hegemonic Masculinity in College

The sociological notion of hegemonic masculinity was introduced in the early 1980s through a field study of social hierarchies in Australian high schools (Connell, Ashenden,

Kessler & Dowsett, 1982). This study provided empirical evidence of social inequality based on gender and class and launched a worldwide investigation into the idea of masculine hegemony; the basic premise being that a particular set of masculine traits, behaviors, and practices (e.g. physical strength, courage, aggression, domination of women, excessive drinking) are idealized as the standard, and that such practices empower and sustain systems of patriarchy and homophobia (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt described the origins of hegemonic masculinity as a concept in the following manner:

Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men. Men who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity. It was in relation to this group, and to compliance among heterosexual women, that the concept of hegemony was most powerful. Hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion. (p. 832)

The idea of hegemonic masculinity has served as one of the pillars of the academic study of men and masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), and its practical application has been vast in the fields of education, criminology, media studies, health, and organizational studies among others. However, the idea has been critically examined and contested over several decades and some of the earliest academics to have proposed the notion are among those calling for a more

nuanced understanding of the ways in which masculinities are hierarchically organized in contemporary times (Arxer, 2011; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Dean, 2013).

As research continues to seek an understanding of how hegemonic masculinity operates in various institutions and social spaces, colleges and universities have been singled out among the settings in which gender performance is at its fullest embodiment and gender norm socialization, including hegemonic masculinity, continue to thrive (Kimmel, 2008; Peralta, 2007; West & Zimmerman; 1987). Although this concept of a masculine ideal applies broadly, there is an emphasis in the literature on how White college men perpetuate hegemonic masculinity; a notion that Kimmel (2008) believes can be attributed to racism and classism by stating:

There are plenty of young black and Latino boys who are equally desperate to prove their manhood, to test themselves before the watchful evaluative eyes of other guys. But only among White boys do the negative dynamics of Guyland seem to play themselves out so invisibly... Though Guyland is not exclusively white, neither is it an equal opportunity venture. Guyland rests on a bed of middle-class entitlement, a privileged sense that you are special, that the world is there for you to take. (p. 10-11)

Kimmel (2008) also suggests that many men of color who are “upwardly mobile” (p. 11) struggle to thrive in Guyland because of the added pressures of moving their families along the social ladder.

Homosociality

An online search of academic texts and peer-reviewed articles published since the year 2000 including the word homosociality in either the title or abstract yielded over 330 results. Largely coined by organizational behavior theorist Jean Lipman-Blumen (1976) and central to the work of queer studies pioneer Eve Sedgwick (1985), the terms homosocial and homosociality

refer to the “seeking, enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same sex” (Rose, 1985, p. 63). Much literature has suggested that homosocial interaction between men is one of the enforcers of hegemonic masculinity (Arxer, 2011; Bird, 1996; Britton, 1990; Flood, 2008; Karioris, 2014; Rose, 1985; Sedgwick, 1985). While the term applies to both men and women, it has been closely observed in the literature on men because of its reinforcement of and reliance upon patriarchy, rejection of homosexuality and misogynistic attitudes about or treatment toward women (Flood, 2008; Karioris, 2014; Sedgwick, 1985). The idea of homosociality has even been a central theme in popular media such as the celebrated HBO television show, *Entourage*, wherein a group of young, White, male, heterosexual friends navigate their masculine identity performance in a “post-feminist” society (Lee, 2010). The overt misogynistic, homophobic and aggressive language in the show (Lee, 2010) is intended as a depiction of the ways in which young heterosexual men organize their social and sexual lives, as described in a study by Flood (2008):

First, male-male friendships take priority over male-female relations, and platonic friendships with women are dangerously feminizing and rare, if not impossible. Second, sexual activity is a key path to masculine status, and other men are the audience, always imagined and sometimes real, for one’s sexual activities. Third, heterosexual sex itself can be the medium through which male bonding is enacted. Last, men’s sexual storytelling is shaped by homosocial masculine cultures. (p. 342)

Young men have adopted the phrase “Bros before Hos” as a way of simultaneously pledging unity and solidarity with their male friends and subjugating women, a notion that Kimmel (2008) says supports a three-pronged culture of entitlement, silence and protection wherein males are not held accountable for their actions.

In colleges and universities, males exhibit homosociality in informal and formal settings. Fraternal organizations and sports teams are among the most prevalent formal spaces for male homosociality, and in both settings there are often problematic displays of hegemonic masculinity, including hazing rituals like binge drinking, sleep deprivation and public humiliation (Kimmel, 2008; Sperber, 2000). Kimmel (2008) describes a fraternal initiation process wherein a rope with a cinderblock attached is tied on the other end to a pledge's penis as an example of physically painful and often psychologically distressing practices intended to reinforce what he refers to as a "misguided notion of masculinity" (p. 98). He states:

These snapshots capture typical events that are taking place at colleges and universities across America. Binge drinking is epidemic, and nowhere near as innocuous as many of us would like to believe. Hazing rituals span the range from the ridiculous to the truly criminal, occasionally becoming lethal as well. There is an impulse – among parents, college administrators, alumni, and the guys themselves – to chalk it all up to harmless fun. College is supposed to be the best years of your life. Yet stories like those above [involving the cinderblock] also suggest something important about Guyland that lurks beneath the surface of all that "fun": its chronic insecurity, its desperate need for validation, and the sometimes sadistic cruelty with which that validation is withheld and then conferred. Here's what guys know. They know that every move, every utterance, every gesture is being carefully monitored by the self-appointed gender police, ensuring that everyone constantly complies with the Guy Code – even if they don't want to. They know that if you do go along, you'll have friends for life, you'll get laid, you'll feel like you belong. And if you don't, you won't. If you're lucky, you'll just be ignored. If you're not, you'll be ostracized, targeted, bullied. The stakes are so high, the costs of failure

enormous. Many guys – perhaps most – suspect that they might not have what it takes. They feel unable to live up to the Guy Code, yet their fear compels them to keep trying.”
(p. 97-98)

Sports, in the forms of both playing and watching, also add to a hegemonic masculine identity for young college men. Particularly in NCAA Division I institutions, usually large research universities, sports tend to dominate the social atmosphere for college students and many college men construct their social lives around athletic participation or followership (Sperber, 2000). Kimmel (2008) argues that although sports encourage physical fitness, promote healthy competition, create safe spaces for men to express a range of emotions and often advance cross-racial friendships, the very nature of collegiate athletics necessitates gender segregation, supporting homosociality and a narrowly defined masculine identity.

Psychosocial Costs of Unexamined Privilege

It is evident from a review of the literature on Whiteness and maleness that White men are a population in need of further academic study as it relates to racial and gender identity development and social justice ally commitment. Taken together, these two identities represent a population that simultaneously carries the most social group privilege (Cabrera, 2011) and displays the highest and most severe risks for psychosocial problems resulting from unexamined privileged identity (Kimbrell, 1995; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Todd, Spanierman & Poteat, 2011). This dichotomy mostly shows up in the literature in mutually exclusive ways; that is to say privilege and psychosocial fragility are presented as antithetical notions. The researcher in the present study aligns with the limited body of research that suggests a strong relationship between White male privilege and psychosocial fragility as summarized in Todd, Spanierman and Poteat’s (2011) longitudinal study and in both Nolan Cabrera’s (2009) and Benjamin Homan

Neale's (2012) dissertations on the White college men. These studies divide the psychosocial costs into three distinct categories: cognitive, affective and behavioral. The cognitive costs outlined in the research include the lack of awareness regarding racism in the United States, the steadfast belief in American meritocracy and the perpetuation of negative stereotypes (Neale, 2012). Affective costs include: denial regarding the salience of racial identity; repression of thoughts about race or racism; fear of losing privileges or relationships with others after showing commitment to anti-racism; and shame or guilt associated with coming to terms with social inequality (Neale, 2012). Finally, behavioral costs take the form of self-segregation of Whites from people of color and self-censorship in communication across racial lines (Neale, 2012).

For their own psychological well being, White men need to explore and come to terms with their identities as people with races and genders in a society that has given them systemic advantages over time at the expense of women, people of color and any number of oppressed groups (Neale, 2012; Todd et al., 2011). College is an ideal time for privileged identity exploration to occur (Cabrera, 2012; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005) and often results in the achievement of higher levels, phases or stages of White and male identity development in the models earlier summarized. In most colleges and universities in the United States, White male students are afforded opportunities for such exploration. Some seize such opportunities, but many more display active forms of resistance (Goodman, 2001; Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Watt, 2007).

Watt's Privileged Identity Exploration (PIE) Model

Watt (2007) offers a model for Privileged Identity Exploration (PIE) as a guide for educators and practitioners to help White men and others to raise critical consciousness about their privileged identities. With more than a decade of experience as both a student affairs

practitioner and a faculty member in higher education administration, Watt developed the model based on the results of a five-year qualitative study that reviewed over 200 personal narratives and reaction papers submitted by 74 helping professionals enrolled in a graduate level course on multiculturalism. Watt asked the research question “In what ways do students express resistance in reaction to difficult classroom dialogues about racism, sexism, homophobia, and ableism?” (Watt, 2007, p. 118). The PIE Model outlines eight defensive reactions that occur in educational settings when privileged identities are explored, and they are organized into three parts of the privileged identity exploration process. First, in the Recognizing part of the process, there are three defensive reactions: denial, deflection or rationalization. In the second part of the process, called Contemplating, there are three defensive reactions: intellectualization, principium or false envy defenses. The final part of the process, known as Addressing includes: benevolence or minimization. Each of these reactions is briefly summarized below.

1. Denial as a defensive reaction typically results when a privileged person is exposed to new information about a societal injustice towards another group. The person may hear and even acknowledge the injustice, but simply refuses its credibility.
2. Deflection is a reaction that shifts the focus away from a particular injustice to a tangential or unrelated issue.
3. Rationalization occurs when the individual attempts to logically explain injustices.

The process continues with the contemplating part, which consists of the following:

4. Intellectualization, a defense that seeks intellectual arguments for why an injustice is necessary to keep intact. For example, a person displaying this defensive reaction might say that making the United States “too comfortable” for

undocumented immigrants will decrease opportunities for Americans to get jobs, which harms the whole country in the end.

5. Principium, in which the individual rests upon religious or personal values as a reason not to further explore an injustice.
6. False envy is characterized by a surface level admiration for a person from a subordinated identity group as opposed to a deep exploration of the group's oppression. An example might be someone who suggests that they are jealous of their Black friends who have such a strong cultural linkage.

In the Addressing stage the process continues with the following:

7. Benevolence occurs when the person displays oversensitivity to a social issue on the basis of charity as opposed to understanding and challenging the systemic injustices.
8. Minimization focuses only on developing simple skills that might aid an individual in cross-cultural interactions rather than addressing the deeper and larger social issues.

Watt (2007) argues that simply having these typologies for resistance will help diversity educators in three essential ways. First, labeling these forms of resistance helps educators remember that they are “primal and normal” (p. 123). Normalizing the reactions can help diversity educators maintain non-judgmental and positive regard for students who are simply displaying expected cognitive and behavioral reactions to the new information. The model is also helpful to diversity educators in that it legitimizes the feelings of fatigue and other emotions that the educators feel in doing this work. The researcher in the present study, a 10 year professional in student affairs administration, has witnessed diversity educators burnout and leave the

profession because of the personal attachment to the issues and the constant displays of resistance by students. The final example of the usefulness of the PIE model that Watt offers is that it has named and defined factors in a way that will aid in larger conversations about student resistance to diversity. This naming and categorization helps to alleviate the tendency to lump all resisters together.

Social Justice Education and Ally Development

This section reviews information about approaches to diversity and social justice education in American colleges and universities. Specifically, there is an analysis of three problems the present researcher has identified with diversity in colleges: defining diversity, measuring diversity, and internalizing diversity. There is also a summary of the leading models on ally development for college students.

Three Problems with Diversity in College

The researcher has drawn out of the literature three major diversity problems that serve as barriers for White male college students in committing to social justice education. First, college students are often confused by the lack of a shared campus definition of the term *diversity*, or the agreed upon definition is too narrow (Williams et al., 2005; Sims, 2006). Second, the importance and true impact of diversity education is almost impossible for students to self-assess (Garcia, Hudgins, Musil, Nettles, Sedlacek & Smith, 2001). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, after exposure to notions of diversity, White male students are stifled by feelings of guilt, anger and the perceived inability to create significant change in society (Carpenter, 2000; Heinze, 2008; Helms, 1992; McIntosh, 2005; Tatum, 1994; Whitehead & Wittig, 2004).

Defining diversity. When the word diversity is spoken in any given setting on a college campus, a specific image is evoked for many people. Despite college and university personnel's

greatest attempts to broaden the definition to include gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, ability, age, political affiliation and overall worldview, race is typically the first aspect of identity to come to mind. This makes sense, given that racial identity is often more visible than other identifiers. However, the problem with using race as the working definition of diversity is that all focus is usually placed on people of the underrepresented race or races (Helms, 1992; Williams et al., 2005).

When the word diverse becomes synonymous with underrepresented racial minority on college campuses, there are several negative outcomes. First, admissions counselors, faculty and staff work together to set informal or formal quotas to diversify their campuses. For example, admissions offices publically tout plans, often similar to Affirmative Action legislation, to increase campus racial diversity by going into predominantly Black or Hispanic regions of the country, lowering admissions standards and providing financial assistance to the neediest applicants (Bollinger, 2007). These types of concerted efforts, although well intentioned, harmfully suggest to the entire campus community not only that diverse means minority, but also that minority means economically disadvantaged and inferior academic ability.

A second and closely tied outcome of synonymous diversity language is that students are allowed to nurture their innate human desire to categorize everyone by race (Michaels, 2006). White male students, in particular, often separate themselves from the idea of multiculturalism, thinking of Whiteness as the normative or default racial identity and all others as atypical (Ortiz & Rhoads, 2000). They are given the language by admissions, athletics and other campus offices to affirm their ideas that diverse students are Black, Hispanic or Asian American, poor, less academically motivated or exhibit some combination of these traits. When asked to think broadly

about the importance of diversity, many of these students are frustrated because of their limited understanding of themselves as diverse or non-diverse beings.

Using the words diversity and race interchangeably is dangerous for college campuses. The true essence of diversity is the idea that all people bring unique backgrounds, experiences and qualities to their work and social environments (Williams et al., 2005; Garcia et al., 2001). However, diversity educators on college campuses are hard-pressed to find ways to offer this expanded view of diversity for the campus. Such misuse of the language makes it easy for White male college students to conceive of diversity education as a way of helping “us” understand and work with “them” as opposed to a way of advancing the needs and interests of all people (Ortiz & Rhoads, 2000). An even greater challenge, perhaps, is to create successful strategies for evaluating and assessing the effectiveness of diversity education programs.

Measuring diversity. On many college campuses, diversity educators and social justice advocates experience difficulties in designing appropriate program goals and effective tools to evaluate and help students self-assess the effectiveness of their diversity experiences (Garcia et al., 2001). For those who are most passionate about diversity education for its intrinsic value, the inability to immediately assess the real impact of their efforts is disheartening and often leads to career burnout. It is not enough for some diversity educators to think of their work as planting seeds of social justice; often they wish to see immediate fruits of their labor, particularly with White male students who are often thought of as the most challenging group to reach. One of the largest sources of frustration for diversity educators is that progress happens at a slow pace and is extremely difficult to measure. White male students, faculty and staff often augment the frustrations of diversity educators by dismissing diversity as unnecessary or social justice as impossible to achieve.

Garcia et al. (2001) offer a comprehensive approach to addressing the measurement of diversity within college contexts. They illustrate the necessity of institutions to establish evaluation teams and charge them to monitor the progress made in several *dimensions* and *stages* of diversity. The evaluation teams should reach a consensus about the best methods to collect, analyze and report data back to the larger campus on a continuous basis. Although the authors recommend general guidelines to assist in the evaluation process, they emphasize the need for campuses to create processes based on their individual histories, constituencies and climates (Garcia et al., 2001).

Internalizing diversity. Some of the most basic notions of living in a diverse society challenge humans to think critically about the world around them. People are asked to consider the deep, historic roots of inequality in the United States and, also, to situate themselves along various continuums of privilege or dominance. There is privilege associated with being from a highly educated or wealthy family; being considered physically attractive based on societal standards; being White; being male; being heterosexual; being Christian; being able-bodied or being a member of another dominant or majority group (Helms, 1992). Many people experience feelings of guilt when they realize that they live privileged lives because of some aspect of their identity and not everyone around them share the same privileges. White men probably have the guilty feeling most profoundly just as they are beginning to understand the concept of privilege, and it becomes one of the largest barriers to advancing ideas about diversity and equality.

Equally disparaging for some students is the expectation that they will take away valuable time from their busy academic and extracurricular lives to process their thoughts on diversity, usually at the mandate of a professor or other educator. Internalizing diversity requires individuals to think intellectually not only about how others perceive them, but how they

perceive others (Helms, 1992). This new level of awareness can be painful at times because they are forced to admit and confront personal biases. Most are well meaning, but are often turned off by diversity education on campus because of the great burden they feel to overcome personal prejudices and biases. Furthermore, these individuals sometimes feel ill equipped to address societal issues related to diversity.

Taken together with the problematic issues surrounding hegemonic White male identity, as earlier outlined, these three problems with diversity offer a compelling rationale for the furtherance of diversity and social justice education initiatives on college campuses. Although all students stand to benefit from curricular and co-curricular education of this sort, the focus of the next section is a review of some key literature on co-curricular programs that aim to develop White men and others with social privileges into social justice allies.

Co-Curricular Ally Development Models

Much literature (Adams et al., 2007; Boatright-Horowitz & Soeung, 2009; Carpenter, 2000; Chang, 2002; Heinze, 2008; Hurtado, 2001; Laird et al., 2005; Ukpokodu, 2010) has explored a range of issues pertaining to academic or classroom-based social justice initiatives examining course design, instructional methods, and classroom climate among other relevant issues. Although student affairs professionals are the best positioned employees within colleges and universities to address issues of multiculturalism and campus climate (Pope, Reynolds & Mueller, 2004), the literature on co-curricular social justice education and ally development models or initiatives employed by student affairs practitioners is less readily available, with a few notable exceptions (Broido, 2000; Edwards, 2006; Reason, Roosa Millar & Scales, 2005).

Broido's model of social justice ally development. Broido (2000) presented a model of social justice ally development resulting from a phenomenological qualitative study of six

traditionally aged, heterosexual, White students, three of whom were women and three men. The participants, all undergraduate students at the University Park campus of the Pennsylvania State University, were interviewed using an open-ended interview protocol. The researcher identified participants using purposeful sampling, with criterion that “(a) they were currently engaged in identifiable ally behaviors, (b) their first ally behaviors occurred during college, and (c) they were current undergraduate students at the University Park campus of Penn State” (Broido, 2000, p. 5). The researcher recruited participants from student organizations that were created for social justice advocacy such as Men Against Rape and Amnesty International. Based upon recommendations from multiple on campus sources, the six who were selected as participants met the eligibility criteria and were the most exemplary of social justice ally behaviors. While they were found to have first acted as allies while in college, all participants in this study “entered college attitudinally congruent with the aims of social justice work” (Broido, 2000, p. 7).

Broido conducted two open-ended interviews with each participant for approximately 90 minutes each. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. She also took notes of her impressions and observations and included those notes in the data analysis process. Transcripts were given to the participants to correct any errors or clarify statements. Broido analyzed the data using standard inductive coding techniques outlined in Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Patton (1990) (as cited in Broido, 2000). The researcher used a qualitative software program (NUD-IST) in analyzing the data and employed a variety of strategies to lend to the credibility, transferability, and dependability of the study, including expert review of the coding process and the findings (Broido, 2000).

The results of the study highlighted three main components that helped participants move from an attitudinal willingness to act as allies to actually doing so while in college:

1. Information – The acquisition of content knowledge while in college that was inaccessible or less readily available at earlier periods of their lives;
2. Meaning-Making – Opportunities to use new information gained in discussions, self-reflections, and in taking the perspectives of others; and
3. Self-Confidence – The level of comfort individuals feel expressing their own identity within diverse contexts.

Broido (2000) found that interactions with student affairs professionals and participation in activities traditionally within the student affairs domain (e.g. residence life, cultural student programming, leadership trainings) were important sources of ally development.

Reason et al.'s racial justice ally development model. Reason, Roosa Millar and Scales (2005) presented an exploratory racial justice ally development model that they formulated based on findings from two separate but related qualitative studies of White students who were actively working against oppressive systems. They referenced Broido (2000) and other key studies (as cited in Reason et al., 2005) in developing two research studies, the results of which were later merged. The first study involved 11 first-year White female students enrolled in a sociology course on race relations (group one) and 6 White female students enrolled in an introductory education course (group two), all of whom were interviewed on three occasions throughout the academic year to explore whether their ideas on Whiteness were changing (Reason et al., 2005). The women of group one were living together in an intentionally designed multicultural residential program and there was no such living arrangement for the women in group two. The second study employed purposive snowball sampling to identify 15 upper-class White undergraduate students, 12 women and three men, who were enrolled in racial justice courses or active in clubs and organizations that promote racial justice within the same PWI as in the first

study. These students were interviewed once for 60 minutes each to explore which of their college experiences they believed to be influential in their anti-racist ally actions.

There were three principal investigators for these two studies and they coded the interview data independently in order to increase the trustworthiness of the studies (Reason et al., 2005). The researchers met regularly, using a constant-comparative technique to reveal emergent themes and employing consensus building to develop a shared understanding of their findings. The researchers concluded this consensus building when they reached saturation in the data analysis. From these two studies, Reason et al. (2005) developed a preliminary model of students' racial justice ally development process. The model summarized the following pre-college factors influencing students' racial justice ally development:

1. Sense of Whiteness and existing racial justice attitudes
2. Structural or compositional diversity in the student's high school
3. Positive cross-racial interactions
4. Experiences of being the numerical minority within a particular setting
5. Positive parental influence.

College experiences that were found to have influenced racial justice ally development included:

1. Coursework related to race and/or racism
2. Experiences of being the minority within certain settings
3. Diverse friendships
4. A student's developing sense of Whiteness
5. Intentionally diverse residential arrangements
6. Invitation and opportunity to demonstrate ally behaviors
7. Level of racial justice actions

8. Support and White racial justice ally role models.

Reason et al. (2005) reinforced the notion that colleges and universities should continue to seek greater structural or compositional diversity because this would increase the likelihood of cross-racial interactions. The researchers also suggested greater exploration of White racial identity and the creation of more opportunities for White students to engage in ally action.

Edwards' aspiring social justice ally identity development model. Edwards (2006) offered a conceptual model intended for practical use by students aspiring to become social justice allies. The Edwards model, based upon a review of Helms' (1995) racial identity development models and various ally development literature (Broido, 2000; Broido & Reason, 2005), divides aspiring allies into three distinct statuses (Table 8).

1. Aspiring allies for self-interest, who are mostly interested in protecting individuals in their lives who are experiencing oppression;
2. Aspiring allies for altruism, described as an often unconscious way of dealing with the feelings of guilt and shame that arise from an increased awareness of privilege; and,
3. Aspiring allies for social justice, who accept the realities of privilege, seek constant self-improvement and work alongside people from subordinate identity groups to end oppressive systems (Edwards, 2006).

Edwards (2006) offers that though the statuses are organized into distinct categories the operational use of this conceptual model is and should be more fluid. He also states that the underlying motivations for developing as allies may not be important to those who are direct targets of oppression. The usefulness of this framework, he argues, is in its function as a tool for

self-reflection for students who are becoming allies or those engaged in the work of helping students to become allies (Edwards, 2006).

	Self-Interest	Altruism	Social Justice
Motivation	Selfish – for the people I know and care about	Other – I do this for them	Combined Selfishness – I do this for us
Ally to...	A person	A target group	An issue
Relationship with Members of Oppressed Groups	Working <i>over</i> members of the target group	Working <i>for</i> members of the target group	Working <i>with</i> members of the target group
Victims of Oppression	Individuals with personal connection are or could be victims – my daughter, sister, friend	They are victims	All of us are victims – although victimized in different ways and unequally
Focus of Problem	Individuals – overt perpetrators	Others from the agent group	System
View of Justice	These incidents of hate are exceptions to the system of justice	We need justice for them	We need justice for all
Spiritual or Moral Foundation	I may be simply following doctrine or seeking spiritual self-preservation	I believe helping others is the right thing to do	I seek to connect and liberate us all on spiritual and moral grounds
Power	I'm powerful – protective	I empower them – they need my help	Empower us all
Source of Ongoing Motivation	Motivator (my daughter, sister, friend) must be present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dependent on acceptance/praise from the other - Easily derailed by critique by other - Often leads to burn out 	Sustainable passion – for them, for me, for us, for the future
Mistakes	I don't make mistakes – I'm a good person, and perpetrators are just bad people	Has difficulty admitting mistakes to self or other – struggles with critique or exploring own issues – highly defensive when confronted with own behavior	Seeks critique as gifts and admits mistakes as part of doing the work and a step towards ones own liberation – has accepted own isms and seeks help in uncovering them
Relationship to the System	Not interested in the system – just stopping the bad people	Aims to be an exception from the system, yet ultimately perpetuates the system	Seeks to escape, impede, amend, redefine and destroy the system
Focus of the Work	Perpetrators	Other members of dominant group	My people – doesn't separate self from other agents
Privilege	Doesn't see privilege – wants to maintain status quo	Feels guilty about privilege and tries to distance self from privilege	Sees illumination of privilege as liberating and consciously uses unearned privilege against itself

Note. Reprinted from Edwards, 2006, p. 47

The present researcher believes the three models above are essential to the current study because they have established helpful frameworks to think about co-curricular social justice ally development. Since they focused broadly on White identity and involved mostly college women as participants, the present researcher aims to advance knowledge on the social justice ally development of White men in college. Together with the earlier presented information on White identity development and gender role socialization, these models provide a foundation to conduct the present study.

Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to review a massive body of literature on White and male identities from a variety of academic disciplines, including literature that described the historic struggles of early biologists and other scientists to support the idea of genetic racial differences. Several historical texts were cited to demonstrate how Whiteness as a racial category was created and enlarged over time to include even those European immigrants who had been formerly considered less desirable in terms of their personal characteristics and physical traits. The researcher also shared leading ideas on the social construction of both race and gender, summarized several theoretical models of identity development for White males, and introduced key themes from the relatively new interdisciplinary fields of Whiteness and Men's studies, including a focus on the idea of privilege. The researcher discussed some of the aspects of White male identity development within college and university contexts, including a review of literature on hegemonic masculinity, homosociality and an examination of some of the psychosocial costs of unexplored White male privilege. Finally, this chapter offered thoughts on the main problems with diversity education in colleges and reviewed key models of social justice ally development.

In the next section, the researcher builds upon the literature review to establish a sound methodology for exploring the present research questions. By employing qualitative techniques similar to those found in key studies (Broido, 2000; Reason et al., 2005), the researcher aims to further investigate how White males involved in co-curricular social justice education programs and initiatives make sense of their identities as social justice allies.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the researcher presents the methodology employed in this study. The researcher employed a qualitative method of data collection and analysis. The researcher provides a brief historical overview of qualitative research, specifically phenomenology, discusses the researcher's decision to employ both constructivist and critical epistemological paradigms, describes the procedures for identifying the population, selection of the sample, and data collection, introduces the data analysis procedures, and addresses the trustworthiness and limitations of the study.

Problem Statement and Research Questions

The problem that this study sought to address was two-fold: first, there is a noticeable underrepresentation of White male college students actively engaged in diversity and social justice education outside of the classroom (Cabrera, 2014; Chelser, Peet & Sevig, 2003); and secondly, many White men who do participate in co-curricular diversity experiences often react defensively (Watt, 2007) or show active forms of resistance to the content or pedagogical approaches (Carpenter, 2000; Mildred & Zúñiga, 2004; Whitehead & Wittig, 2004).

These problems are significant because there is a long established pattern of White male leadership dominance in business, government, education and other systems that keep social inequality, privilege and oppression firmly in place (Feagin & O'Brien, 2003). Until there is a sizeable shift in the racial and gender make-up of influential leaders in the United States, many educators believe White college men can and should collectively attain higher levels of social justice awareness in order to later use their power and influence to act against systemic forms of oppression. With greater awareness of their privileged identities, research has suggested that

White men will have greater potential to overcome personal cognitive, affective and behavioral costs associated with Whiteness and maleness (Neale, 2012). For this study, three key research questions connected to this problem statement:

1. What pre-college factors do White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education opportunities while in college?
2. What college experiences do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education see as instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development?
3. How do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies?

The researcher aimed to address these research questions and construct knowledge about the population through qualitative research methods.

Qualitative Research

This study employed qualitative research methods in order to construct an in-depth understanding of a targeted sub-population, specifically White men enrolled in highly selective, private colleges in the Northeastern region who voluntarily commit to co-curricular diversity or social justice education experiences while in college. As mentioned in the literature review, the scarcity of White males choosing to engage in these efforts suggests that those who choose to do so represent a phenomenon, and thus the researcher employed a phenomenological qualitative approach. In this section, the researcher provides a brief history of phenomenology as a research method and discusses various epistemological paradigms and methods employed in this study.

A Brief History

Since ancient times, quantitative methods have been widely accepted as inerrant because of their rigorous and repetitive testing in laboratory environments. Today, there is still lively debate in the academy about research methodology, and the ongoing quest for truth about our world and its inhabitants. The field of education, as in many social sciences, often employs qualitative methods to construct knowledge of human behavior. Sharan Merriam (2009) offers a strong case for the use of qualitative research methods, efficiently summarizing four epistemological paradigms as the philosophical foundations of qualitative research: positivist/postpositivist, interpretive/constructivist, critical, and postmodern/poststructural.

The positivist paradigm, most commonly associated with natural science, has relied on empiricism, or the collection of hard evidence through experimentation, and the belief that there is objective external truth to be discovered through research (Merriam, 2009). Researchers are collecting, categorizing and analyzing observable facts. In the early 1900s, post-positivism began to offer a different role of researchers in data collection processes, namely that their personal values, backgrounds and experiences could influence the ways in which researchers interpret observations (Merriam, 2009). This notion served as the foundation for new qualitative methodologies to develop in the mid to late 20th century. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a marked increase in scholarly work about qualitative forms of inquiry, with an intentional effort on the part of intellectuals from a variety of fields, most notably anthropology and sociology, to find ways to ensure the quality and rigor of such methods (Krefting, 1991; Merriam, 2009). Anthropologists and sociologists were known to go native in their data collection processes, employing constructivist or interpretive epistemological paradigms, deeply immersing themselves into particular cultural groups to construct an understanding of the lived experiences

of their subjects (Merriam, 2009). The critical paradigm took constructivism a step further by requiring the researcher to seek not only to authentically interpret, but also to challenge conditions, as demonstrated in the work of Marx regarding socioeconomic class and Freire regarding liberatory education. Critical epistemology is supported by a body of critical theory (e.g. feminist theory, critical race theory, postcolonial theory, queer theory) that has enhanced, complicated, and in some cases, sought to replace theoretical knowledge from dominant perspectives in nearly every academic field. The final paradigm to note is postmodern or poststructural epistemology, which discredits the idea of a singular truth to be discovered through research, rather that there are multiple truths and many ways of knowing (Merriam, 2009). The postmodern world is one in which there are few rules and constraints placed upon researchers and their methods.

Qualitative research in its present form is described in Merriam (2009) by four primary characteristics: "...the focus is on process, understanding and meaning; the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis; the process is inductive; and the product is richly descriptive" (p. 14). These and other traits were appealing as the researcher sought a methodology that would answer the aforementioned research questions about the lived experiences of White college men. In particular, the researcher employed phenomenology as a method that would accurately construct meaning about those lived experiences, and to derive information that may be instructive for other diversity educators of all backgrounds and personal identities.

Phenomenology

Edmund Husserl, late 19th and early 20th century German philosopher, is widely regarded as the intellectual father of phenomenology, which serves both as a philosophical foundation for

all qualitative research, and as a specific method (Groenewald, 2004; Merriam, 2009). Husserl derived the philosophy in response to the chaos of knowledge production in post World War I Europe (Groenewald, 2004). Husserl believed that data were only absolute if the subjects were able to work their lived experiences into their personal consciousness (Merriam, 2009). He rejected the notion that researchers could learn about human behavior without subjects sharing from their personal consciousness. Further, he posited that researchers cannot and should not separate themselves, their perspectives, beliefs, and values, from the research process, rather they should engage in the process of unpacking personal biases, experiences and viewpoints as a part of the research process.

The Greek word *epoche* is used to describe the researcher's intentional efforts to increase her or his self-awareness prior to conducting a phenomenological study (Groenewald, 2004). Whatever information is uncovered in the *epoche* process should then be bracketed, or essentially set aside, in order to focus attention on the research questions at hand and the consciousness of the subjects (Merriam, 2009). The researcher in this study wrote an *epoche*, making notes about how personal biases, experiences and values might inform the research process (Appendix A).

The researcher chose to employ phenomenology as a method because of the belief that it would best allow for the construction of knowledge about the lived experiences of White college men engaged in voluntary diversity education. It is also true that many diversity educators recognize and value the importance of storytelling as a means of remedying historic misunderstandings between groups of peoples and developing a stronger sense of multicultural community (Dyson & Genishi, 1994). The researcher is invested in the notion that phenomena are best described through subjects' telling of their personal stories. Thus, the specific

phenomenological approaches of this study included semi-structured interviewing of White college men involved in voluntary diversity education initiatives outside of the classroom.

Epistemological Paradigms

As earlier suggested, constructivism as an epistemological paradigm signifies that “there is no single, observable reality,” rather that there are “multiple realities, or interpretations, of a single event” (Merriam, 2009, p. 8). It is the task of a constructivist researcher to carefully assemble varied interpretations into a collective understanding of the experience, drawing out and accurately describing themes and patterns. The researcher chose to operate under this paradigm for this study because the goal in answering the research questions was to construct an understanding of the lived experiences of White college men. Constructivism liberates the researcher to build as nuanced of an understanding as possible directly from the subjects of the study. Although the researcher enumerated several key theoretical frameworks in earlier chapters, it was important to remain open in this study to the possibility that new ideas about racial identity development may result from the data collection.

The critical paradigm was also employed as a philosophical underpinning of this study because of its emphasis on challenging current social structures. According to Merriam (2009), “those who engage in critical research frame their research questions in terms of power – who has it, how it’s negotiated, what structures in society reinforce the current distribution of power, and so on” (p. 10). In this study, an essential assumption, supported in the literature (Feagin & O’Brien, 2003; Kimmel & Ferber, 2003; McIntosh, 1988; 2005; Roediger, 1999) was that White men have historically held greater collective power and privileges than any other group in North American society. In an attempt to understand a subset of this privileged population, a related goal of the study was to challenge the remainder of the population to, first, recognize their

collective power and, then, wield it toward positive social changes. The critical paradigm was also important in this study because it supports the overarching goals of diversity and social justice education; that all people should strive for a society that is more just and equitable for all of its members.

Data Collection Procedures

The researcher employed purposive sampling procedures in order to identify participants for this study. Merriam (2009) describes purposive sampling as an appropriate strategy because in a qualitative study researchers are seeking information-rich cases that can provide a wealth of knowledge and information from their personal consciousness about the subject. The first form of purposive sampling is to describe the research questions in detail to expert diversity educators in a variety of four-year colleges and universities and to seek their assistance in identifying participants for the study.

The researcher identified co-curricular social justice education programs and outside the classroom diversity initiatives at four highly selective, private institutions in the Northeastern region of the United States (Appendix B) and invited staff persons who oversee those programs to nominate student participants for the study. The researcher invited nominations of White male participants for the study, using the following criteria:

1. Must be actively enrolled full-time in a four-year college or university or have graduated from a four-year institution within the two years prior to the date of the interview.
2. Must self-identify as both White and male.
3. Must be able to demonstrate active engagement in one or more college recognized diversity education or social justice initiatives outside of the classroom (e.g.

involvement as an ally in a cultural club, social justice peer education group, intercultural dialogue group)

4. Must have participated in said organizations/initiatives for more than one academic semester.

Through expert nominations, the researcher identified and invited 27 students to participate and 11 responded affirmatively to participate in the study.

After seeking initial nominations from experts, the researcher employed the snowball sampling method by asking participants to identify peers within and outside of their institutions who met the same criteria. Through snowballing, the original participants nominated an additional five students, three of which accepted the invitation to participate in the study making a total of 14 participants. Although there is no standard number of participants to guarantee the validity and transferability of a qualitative study, many qualitative researchers believe that they have included enough participants when responses become redundant (Merriam, 2009). The researcher sought participants for the study and conducted interviews until arriving at a point of saturation in the emergent themes.

The researcher piloted this study by identifying and interviewing two White male students from a different highly selective institution. The purpose of the pilot interviewing was to test and refine the interview structure, questions and techniques as well as the logistical aspects of the interviews, such as audio recording devices and transcription technology. It proved useful to begin identifying common language and themes from the interviews conducted in the pilot stage of the process, but the data from the pilot stage were not included in the analysis or summary sections of this report. The researcher did not make changes to the interview questions based on the pilot stage of the study. However, there was a need to find a reliable system for

audio recording and the researcher used an embedded microphone in a MacBook laptop to ensure accuracy in the recordings.

After confirming student participants for the study, the researcher conducted in-depth, semi-structured 60 to 90 minute interviews and conducted follow-up conversations via email or exchanges through social media where necessary to clarify information from the interviews and ask additional questions. Thirteen of the 14 interviews were conducted in person, on-location at the students' respective institutions out of the researcher's desire to create as natural and comfortable a setting as possible. One interview with a recent alumnus was conducted via Skype because of his residency in California. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to obtain baseline information from each participant and gave the flexibility for new and relevant topics to emerge (Merriam, 2009). There were several standard questions asked of each participant, including basic demographic questions (Appendix C).

Data Analysis

Data collected and reviewed in this study included transcriptions of the interviews, the researcher's field notes and any other documents provided by the participants. Using the constant comparative method of data analysis, the researcher grouped data points together as they were collected in an attempt to begin outlining categories or themes (Merriam, 2009). Because of the constructivist nature of this work, it was essential to code and analyze the data as it was being collected in order to remain attentive to the research questions. This also aided the researcher in assessing when there was saturation in the information, and the decision to invite no further participants for the study.

The researcher employed web-based computer software called "Transcribe" to transcribe about one-quarter of the conversations and hired a transcriptionist for the remaining interviews.

The researcher then began coding the data while reviewing field notes from the interviews. The researcher grouped key words and phrases together, using color-coded highlights and annotations in the margins of hard copy transcribed pages. The researcher began establishing codes for the groupings based on language directly obtained from the interviews. The researcher conducted member checks periodically to attend to the credibility of the study (Merriam, 2009). This process is further described in a later section of the methodology.

Trustworthiness

All researchers should be attentive to the trustworthiness of their data collection, analysis, and reporting. Trustworthiness in qualitative research is primarily characterized by its credibility, transferability, dependability and ethicality (Krefting, 1991). There are several strategies to address these factors, and in discussing them the researcher endeavors to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the present study.

Credibility

In quantitative research, internal validity is a more common term than its qualitative counterpart – credibility, but both concepts refer to the question of the degree to which findings in a study match the reality of the experience (Merriam, 2009). Philosophical views on reality greatly differ in quantitative and qualitative research methods and remain hotly debated in contemporary times. It has been repeatedly argued that in qualitative research, reality can only be understood by “getting back to the things themselves” (Groenewald, 2004, p. 4); that is to say all reality is constructed from human understanding, consciousness and meaning making of their experiences (Krefting, 1991; Merriam, 2009). Sandelowski (1986) states that, “a qualitative study is credible when it presents such accurate descriptions or interpretation of human experience that people who also share that experience would immediately recognize the

descriptions” (as cited in Krefting, 1991, p. 216). It follows that many qualitative researchers believe the credibility of their methods to be sounder than those of their quantitative researcher peers. Nonetheless, there are numerous strategies to strengthen the credibility of qualitative studies, and the researcher employed several in this phenomenological study.

As earlier stated, the researcher completed occasional member checks while collecting and analyzing data. Member checks or respondent validation involves the researcher checking in with participants along the way to share emerging themes and categories (Merriam, 2009). Participants were afforded two opportunities collectively to weigh in via email on whether they saw their stories accurately and effectively represented in the analyzed data. The first email asked them to respond to the national crises surrounding police brutality, specifically the death of Freddie Gray and subsequent protests in Baltimore, MD. Six of the participants replied to this email clarifying their views on the Baltimore situation and these sorts of issues on the whole. The second email was issued after the data were completely coded and organized into categories. Three of the participants (21%) responded, all affirmatively, agreeing that the categories and labels for the data were reasonable and accurate.

A third strategy to make this study more credible is peer examination (Krefting, 1991; Merriam, 2009). The researcher invited three colleagues as peer reviewers, all with relevant experience in qualitative methodologies and multicultural and/or social justice education. Each reviewer provided general comments in support of the methodology and posed questions about the study, prompting the researcher to review for both content and clarity. The researcher did not make substantive changes to the study based on peer review.

Transferability

Perhaps one of the most significant points of departure between quantitative and qualitative research methods is the extent to which findings can be applied in similar circumstances. Quantitative researchers refer to the degree of applicability as external validity while qualitative calls it transferability (Merriam, 2009). Researchers trying to establish external validity make every effort to ensure the generalizability of the results to the full population. In this study, however, establishing the transferability of the findings is primarily the task of future researchers who may choose to reference the study (Merriam, 2009). The researcher made this task simpler for future researchers by employing two key strategies, using a nominated sample and offering dense description of the data.

The first strategy to establish transferability of this study was earlier described in the researcher's selection of the sample. Having clearly defined the population for expert multicultural educators and sought their nominations is a technique that has been identified as a method of enhancing the transferability of the results (Krefting, 1991). Simply stated, if the experts in the field agree that their nominees for the study are representative of the population, then the results have a great likelihood of carrying transferability.

Another important strategy regarding transferability was to provide rich and thick description of each of the participants in the study so that future researchers may have as much background information as possible to determine whether they represent the larger population (Krefting, 1991; Merriam, 2009). In the data analysis chapter, the researcher describes demographic details about the participants while also seeking to protect their anonymity.

Dependability

Dependability is the qualitative parallel to reliability in quantitative research (Krefting, 1990). Both are concerned with how outsiders view and use the results of a study. However, the

idea of reliability, the ability to reproduce the study with the same results, is in some regards antithetical to qualitative research altogether. Merriam (2009) states, “reliability is problematic in the social sciences simply because human behavior is never static, nor is what many experience necessarily more reliable than what one person experiences... the more important question for qualitative research is whether the results are consistent with the data collected” (p. 221). In other words, qualitative researchers aim to demonstrate that the data they have collected translate well into the results they have described (Merriam, 2009). This can be achieved through some of the strategies already referenced; namely triangulation and peer examination. The researcher will offer one additional strategy to address the dependability of this study.

In the data analysis part of the research process, qualitative researchers often employ a code-recode procedure to address the dependability of the study (Krefting, 1990). This procedure involves an initial coding of the data as it is being collected, but then requires the researcher to set the data aside for at least two weeks, upon which time it is revisited and coded again. The goal of engaging in this process is to ensure that the research would identify the same themes and categories in the coding process upon a second pass. The researcher employed the code-recode procedure in analyzing the data in this study.

Ethicality

The final, and perhaps most important, consideration for addressing the trustworthiness of a qualitative study is to ensure its ethicality. There are many governing bodies concerned with ethics of research, from the federal government, to professional associations, to internal review boards; but the ethicality of a research process is best governed by the researcher her or himself (Merriam, 2009). Much of the question of ethics in a qualitative research study where interviewing is a chosen method centers around the role of the researcher in the interviewing

process (Merriam, 2009). Since in-depth interviewing can unearth personal and potentially sensitive information, the researchers must be prepared to respond ethically to whatever thoughts and feelings are evoked in the interview. One of the recommended ways of preparing is to have a list of resources, contact information for a counselor for example, available to share if participant reactions in the interview appear that they will have long term psychosocial impact (Merriam, 2009).

Much of the question of ethics is addressed in how participants are invited into the study and kept informed along the process. There was an informed consent form sent to confirmed participants in advance of their scheduled interviews (Appendix D). This form shared with participants the goals of the study, described the researcher's aim for confidentiality, discussed risks associated with their participation and outlined how the data was to be analyzed and used.

Chapter Summary

This phenomenological study seeks to answer research questions about White college men who voluntarily participate in co-curricular diversity education experiences over a prolonged period. An underlying problem that this study seeks to address is the underrepresentation of White men in these types of initiatives. The researcher employed a *constructivist* epistemological paradigm to build an understanding of the lived experiences of the men in the sample rather than hypothesizing about the men who self-select into such experiences. Additionally, the *critical* paradigm was essential to the design of this study because the research questions assumed that diversity and social justice education are valuable to White college men within institutions of higher education and vital to the forward progress of American society.

The researcher called upon expert multicultural educators to nominate White college men within four highly selective, private Northeastern institutions who meet the desired profile. The

researcher then asked confirmed participants for additional names, employing the *snowballing* method to grow the sample size. The researcher conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with 14 participants in total. The researcher followed up the interviews with email exchanges to discuss emergent themes and clarify information wherever necessary. As is common in qualitative studies, the researcher began analyzing the data while collecting it, seeking themes and creating categories through a *code-recode* process. In this chapter, the researcher outlined elements of qualitative research as a whole, and this study in particular, that must be addressed in order to support the rigor and trustworthiness of the study. In the next chapter, the researcher will report the data collected and provide an in-depth analysis.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This research aims to contribute knowledge to several fields of study, most notably multicultural education, higher education or student affairs administration, and leadership studies, regarding the pre-college factors and college experiences that White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education. Specifically, three research questions frame the present study:

1. What pre-college factors do White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education opportunities while in college?
2. What college experiences do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education see as instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development?
3. How do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies?

These research questions were foundational in the design of a protocol for semi-structured qualitative interviews with 14 white males enrolled in highly selective, small to mid-sized, four-year, private colleges and universities (Appendix B).

Thirteen of the 14 participants were interviewed in person on their respective college campuses and one participant, a recent alumnus, was interviewed via Skype because of his West Coast residency. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Using the transcriptions, the researcher coded and analyzed the data and separated it into three categories, consistent with the

research questions: 1) Pre-College Factors 2) College Experiences and 3) Meaning-Making. This chapter presents information about the participants and institutions in this study as well as an in-depth analysis of the data collected.

Institutions

As earlier stated, the researcher chose participants for this study who were enrolled in or recent graduates of private, highly selective colleges in the Northeastern region of the United States. This decision was rendered because graduates of such institutions are likely to have greater power and influence in society post-graduation than their counterparts who have attended public colleges and universities (Hearn & Ochs Rosinger, 2014). There was also the recognition that highly selective colleges and universities are widely considered as “bastions of privilege” (Bowen, Kurzweil & Tobin, 2005) attended by children of some of the country’s most affluent families (Hearn & Ochs Rosinger, 2014). The present researcher was intrigued by the paradox of White males in these highly privileged environments who were self-determined to pursue various forms of social justice activism and who demonstrated ally behaviors.

Four institutions were selected for this study based on the availability of participants and the researcher’s confidence as a multicultural educator and practitioner in the availability of social justice ally development opportunities on their respective campuses. In order to protect the participants in this study, each institution represented in this study is described, but not named.

The first institution, situated in the New England region, will be referred to as “Institution A.” Institution A has an undergraduate enrollment of less than 3000, 77% of which are White students, and features a traditional liberal arts curriculum. The combined tuition and fees for this institution are just under \$60,000 per year and about 60% of the students receive some financial aid. The faculty to student ratio is 10:1 and over 90% of the students reside on campus.

Located in the mid-Atlantic region, the second institution, “Institution B,” is a mostly residential, Carnegie classified Research I university with about 5000 undergraduates and about 2000 graduate students. Sixty-eight percent of the student body self-reports White racial identity. The tuition and fees are approximately \$60,000 and more than 50% of the students receive some financial aid.

The third institution, “Institution C” also located in the mid-Atlantic region is an undergraduate only liberal arts college with a total enrollment of about 1200 students, 65% percent of whom are White. Ninety-eight percent of the students live on campus and there is a faculty to student ratio of 9:1. Tuition and fees amount to nearly \$65,000 annually about 55% of the students receive some form of financial aid.

Finally, the fourth institution, “Institution D” is an undergraduate only liberal arts college in the Northeastern region of the U.S. with about 2500 students. The faculty to student ratio is 8:1 and 98% of the students live on campus. Tuition and fees are slightly more than \$60,000 annually and this institution has a need-blind admissions policy, which means they guarantee to meet the demonstrated financial needs of all admitted students.

Participants

Each of the 14 participants in this study self-identified as White males and were qualified to participate based on their involvement in one or more organizations or initiatives in college that aided in the development of social justice ally behaviors. Each of the students was assigned a pseudonym and certain identifiable information has been omitted in order to protect their anonymity.

Collectively the participants in this study represent academic majors ranging from music to mechanical engineering and span several regions including the South, Northeast, Midwest,

Mid-Atlantic and New England. At the time of the interviews, 9 of the 14 participants (64%) were seniors nearing the end of their college careers; one was a recent alumnus, having graduated in the spring of 2014; and the remaining four were sophomores and juniors. Their ages at the time of the interview ranged from 19-23 and all but three described their social class as “upper middle” or “upper.” In terms of their self-identified sexual orientation, eight (57%) identified as “straight” and six (43%) as “gay” or “queer.” None of the participants disclosed personal involvement in fraternal organizations or participation in varsity athletics. A summary of these and other types of background information regarding each participant can be found in Table 9.

Data Analysis

In this first section of data analysis, the researcher shares patterns in how the participants described their childhoods, family dynamics and other pre-college factors that they felt might have influenced their disposition toward developing social justice ally behaviors in college. The next portion uncovers college involvement and experiences to which the participants attribute their continued development. The final section describes how each student is making meaning of his own path toward becoming an ally and assigns possible motivations for choosing to do so using some theoretical frameworks earlier discussed in the review of the literature.

Pre-College Factors

The researcher in this study was interested in learning about participants’ experiences prior to college. Each participant in this study was asked to reflect on his childhood, sharing information about his family, neighborhood, community, schools and any other information that might prove influential in his predisposition to engage in diversity education opportunities in college.

Table 9

Participant Demographics and Information

Name	Institution	Class	Major(s)	Hometown	High School Type	Sexual Orientation	Family Social Class	Family Religion(s)
1 Brian	A	Senior	English	New England	Private	Straight	Upper Middle	Catholic Protestant
2 Evan	A	Senior	Psychology and Sociology	New England	Private	Gay	Upper Middle	Catholic
3 Robert	A	Senior	Chemistry Music	Midwest	Public	Straight	Upper Middle	Catholic
4 Anthony	B	Alumnus (2014)	Mechanical Engineering	Mid-Atlantic	Private	Straight	Upper Middle	Catholic
5 David	B	Sophomore	Computer Science, Business and Public Accounting	Mid-Atlantic	Public	Gay	Upper Middle	Catholic
6 Wyatt	B	Sophomore	Civil Engineering & Political Science	Southeast	Private	Straight	Upper Middle	Protestant Atheist
7 Wayne	B	Senior	Political Science	Northeast	Private	Straight	Upper	Jewish
8 Cain	C	Senior	Economics	South	Public	Gay	Upper Middle	Catholic Jewish
9 Chase	C	Junior	Economics	Northeast	Homeschooled	Straight	Upper Middle	Catholic
10 Aiden	D	Senior	Political Science and French	Northeast	Private	Straight	Upper Middle	Catholic Jewish
11 Gary	D	Senior	Environmental Studies	South	Private	Straight	Middle	Protestant
12 Michael	D	Junior	Economics and Political Science	Northeast	Private	Gay	Upper Middle	Catholic Protestant
13 Samuel	D	Senior	International Studies and Arabic	Midwest	Private (International Boarding School)	Gay	Lower	Catholic Protestant
14 Tim	D	Senior	Geography and Drama	South	Public (Magnet)	Gay	Lower	Jewish Protestant

The data suggest three categories of pre-college factors that seem to have propelled students toward openness to diversity education in college:

1. Personal or vicarious marginalization experience (Marginalization)
2. Diversity exposure or cultural immersion (Exposure/Immersion)
3. Intellectual curiosity or academic interest (Curiosity)

Each of these categories will be further discussed with narratives from participants to provide examples and are summarized in Table 10.

Marginalization. Largely because of their experiences in college, the participants in this study were able to clearly articulate that being a White male offers privileged status in American society and throughout most of the world. Since the majority also came from middle to upper middle class families, other privileges were afforded that are atypical for those from lower socioeconomic statuses such as attendance at private K-12 schools, travel abroad, and access to transformative experiences. For the most part, they are now able to retrospectively say that their Whiteness, maleness and affluence are the identities that provided access to a number of opportunities and to recognize that this is disproportionately advantageous as compared to their non-White peers. However, when asked to reflect on their youth and upbringing, it was evident that most participants either personally carried or closely witnessed a relative or friend who carried an identity that is typically marginalized in American society. Personal identities held by the men in this study that marginalized them included: lower socioeconomic status, disability or serious physical or mental illness, gay or queer identity, and religious minority status (Figure 2). Most participants also described personality traits as having led to feeling marginalized. Direct experience negotiating these marginalized identities in their youth and adolescence played an important role in helping these students to recognize and understand disadvantage.

Table 10

Pre-College Factors

	Name	Marginalization	Marginalization Example	Exposure	Exposure Example	Curiosity	Curiosity Example
1	Brian	Personality	"I remember this, a couple moments I had to actually push myself outside to actually do things with people that I'm not comfortable with..."	Travel Abroad Diverse Friends HS Extracurricular	"My dad would mention things about my speech... I think hip-hop has influenced my speech...that and the way my friends talk."	Class Race/Ethnicity	"Most of the trips I went on kind of like made me expand, like made me think I could do things... like be in uncomfortable situations."
2	Evan	Sexuality Personality Disability/Illness	"A lot of my isolation I experienced in high school, middle school... because it [took] me so freaking long to do assignments."	HS Extracurricular	"I've had some engagement with it in the past in high school, we founded... the student diversity board."	Race/Ethnicity Gender/Sexuality	"What is race, what is socially constructed reality? And I just didn't have at that time the developmental software to process that."
3	Robert	Personality	"...I guess the video gamers and nerds probably, more along those lines..."	Travel Abroad Diverse City Liberal Parents Diverse Friends	"It's the first suburb west of Chicago... so I was used to diversity, in growing up... so it was something I was very comfortable with."	Race/Ethnicity	"These are all questions that are being called to the forefront you know, having a black president how do you not talk about race?"
4	Anthony	Disability/Illness (relative) Personality	"The older I got the more obvious it became that my sister was special..."	Travel Abroad Diverse City	"When I was 9, leaving all my friends behind... experiencing that cultural change from southern California to a[northeastern] suburb..."	Race/Ethnicity Class	"My high school was a private, college prep school in a very White suburb...that was pretty well-off and there was not a lot of diversity there in general."
5	David	Sexuality	"I went through the struggle of feeling ostracized... I just knew if I could help other people not feel that way, it would have a huge impact."	Travel Abroad Diverse City Diverse Friends	"When I really started to care about it was junior year of high school. We had an orphanage near our high school, with predominately black children."	Race/Ethnicity	"One of the things that always bothered me was those kids would always be at a separate table... I didn't know what to do then..."
6	Wyatt	Personality	"I was a chubby little kid who had terrible grades, very bad self-respect, not much confidence."	Lived Abroad Diverse Friends Liberal Parents Domestic Staff HS Extracurricular	"[My nanny] came from a very different environment than my parents or me..."	Race/Ethnicity Class	"At the time I definitely noticed the differences, and it bothered me, not so much in like a moral way, but just like culturally, the school was boring."
7	Wayne	Religion Sexuality (relative) Personality	"I grew up in a very Christian town and wanted to distance myself from Jewish identity... I was never cool or popular, which I think was important"	Liberal Parents Travel Abroad	"I would describe them as liberals... I'd say that more than anything else, their ideology stems... from a belief in empathy and compassion."	Religion Politics	"I would describe [my parents] as liberals. They are not on the progressive end of the spectrum where I am..."
8	Cain	Religion Sexuality	"My guess is a lot of it [engagement with difference] came through religion... being conscious of that kind of difference maybe."	Diverse City Liberal Parents Diverse Friends	"It was more diverse before I came here...it felt like it was just a mix of people I had classes with and I did theater with."	Class Gender/Sexuality	"If you come from a really, like a wealthy White neighborhood, it's really easy to think of that as the neutral, or to generalize that to everybody's experience."
9	Chase	Class Gender	"I never really felt comfortable in those spaces with other guys my age... I had a lot of female friends"	Lived Abroad Diverse Friends Female Friends Liberal Parents	"I had parents who travelled abroad and talked about different cultures... My best friend was Chinese... I lived in India for a year..."	Race/Ethnicity Gender/Sexuality	"I started getting really interested, like how did we get to this country? What are we doing here? Where are we originally from?"
10	Aiden	Religion Personality	"I will never be a real Jew for many people because of the fact that my mother was never Jewish..."	Diverse City Liberal Parents	"My father is much more of an intellectual kind of individual. Yes, pretty radical he was. Very active in kind of the 60s movement."	Religion Class Politics	"I literally could not wrap my brain around it, but it wasn't until high school that I kind of really started seeing these class divisions."
11	Gary	Class Disability/Illness	"I had certainly been on the margins of, like, health."	Travel Abroad Activism Liberal Parents	"I would say, like, pretty solidly democratic throughout most of my childhood... I started getting involved in some of the community clean-up efforts."	Environmentalism	"The issue of pollution really opens your eyes up to a lot of different kinds of suffering, you know?"
12	Michael	Sexuality	"I think obviously there's still a lot of stigma around white gay men."	Travel Abroad Diverse Friends International HS	"When I went to the United Nations school, my two best friends were black and they were the only people I hung out with."	Race/Ethnicity Gender/Sexuality	"Even in my high school... it's a predominantly White private school that had the same issues for the past 200 years..."
13	Samuel	Class Disability/Illness Sexuality	"Seeing all of the poverty that was in my city, really shaped me."	Lived Abroad International HS Diverse City Diverse Friends HS Coursework	"I went to international school... for 2 years...when I was there my history class was on northern Africa..."	Race/Ethnicity Class Gender/Sexuality	"Having me and the other white kid always the ones praised in class, but almost no one else...I remember vividly thinking that's just weird..."
14	Tim	Class Sexuality	"I was pretty aware that the neighbors around me were a little more well off..."	Diverse Friends Activism HS Coursework	"My high school was kind of like [here] a very left wing school. And so we had like a lot of teachers doing a lot of really cool things..."	Class Gender/Sexuality	"I guess starting with GSA and starting to get my head into what being part of like mainstream activist circles would look like..."

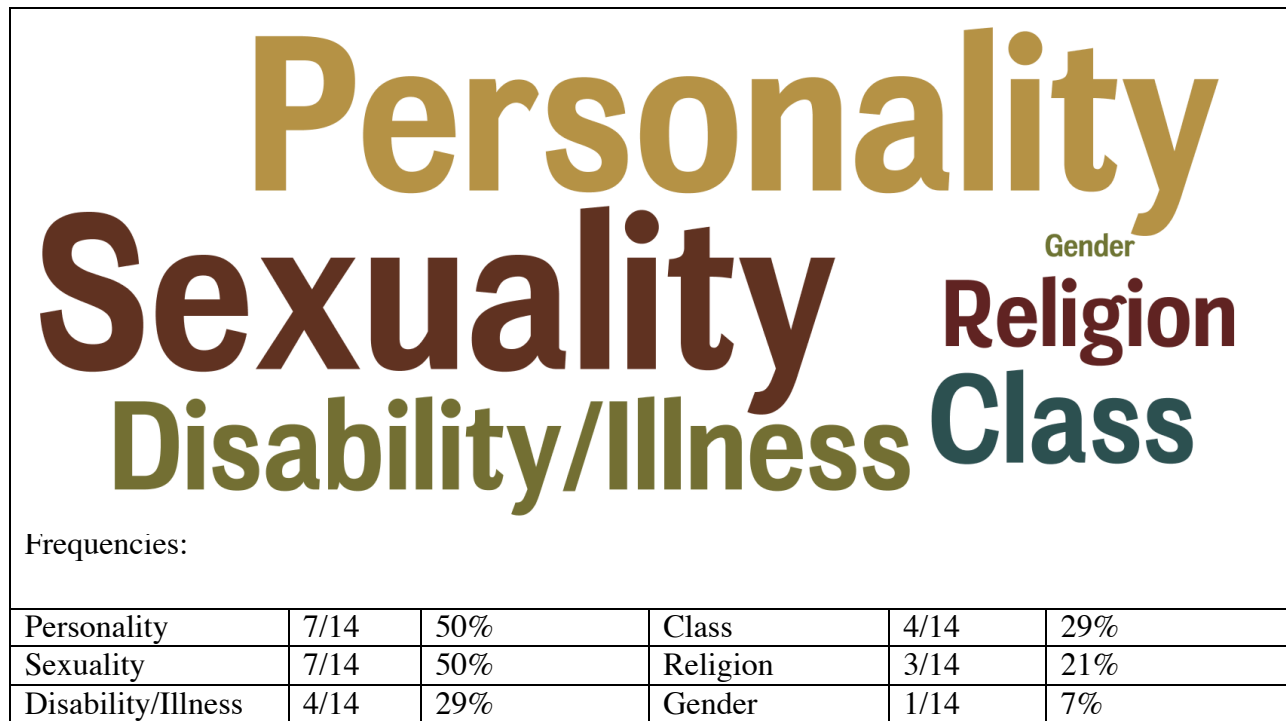


Figure 2. Pre-College Marginalization.

Pre-college marginalization was, perhaps, most pronounced in Tim and Samuel, both students at Institution D who were the only two men in the study to self-describe as coming from lower socioeconomic status. Both described early memories in which poverty impacted their family lifestyle. Tim’s family was adversely impacted socioeconomically by his parents’ divorce when he was around the age of six. He stated:

A lot of what happened was that my mother had left my dad for another guy, who lived up in the area. He, like, ran into a lot of problems with drugs, so he ended up having to leave the country... I had been living with my mom through that period and after that incident happened, I ended up moving down with my grandmother... and I ended up living at her house for the rest of my, for the most part, for the rest of my high school time... I would say for the majority of [my life] it’s been largely a working class background. Like growing up, in the earliest years it was a little better. My mom had

opened a business that lasted a couple years and dad ran a [small] company for a little while, but basically as soon as I moved in with my grandmother that started to drop.

Tim went on to describe how this downward shift in socioeconomic status impacted his experience, stating: “I know that for, like, quite a while we got food from food stamps, especially the later years of childhood that was a good defining part of me.”

Similarly, Samuel’s parents divorced when he was seven years old. Though he presents racially as White because of his fair-skin and blue eyes, Samuel’s father was Mexican and he describes his ethnicity as half-Mexican. He described living in an impoverished neighborhood as an illuminating experience. He stated:

I grew up in a high poverty neighborhood, and that influenced the way I see the world and view different things. Seeing my mom struggle with money, having to go to the store with, like, food stamp cards or applying for section eight, waiting in the offices, seeing all of the poverty that was in my city, really shaped me... I think that something that has always come across my mind is being a poor White person and the, like, the stakes that go along with that. And my family’s view, the way that they see privilege is very different.

Both Tim and Samuel were removed from their immediate surroundings through educational opportunities presented. For Tim, his family promoted education as their best opportunity for social mobility and enrolled him in magnet program at a public school across town. Samuel was awarded a scholarship that allowed him to attend a private international boarding school in Europe for his last two years of high school. After having been one of few White kids in his elementary and middle schools, he said he felt his otherness once again as an American studying in Europe. Though their high school experiences prepared them academically,

and to an extent, socially for their experience at Institution D, Tim and Samuel described later experiences in college when they realized their social class differences were marginalized within that environment. Samuel stated:

I remember someone asked me, like, ‘you don’t have a suit, why not?’ and I was too embarrassed to say, ‘well, I can’t afford to buy a suit, I never had to buy a suit.’ And people were always surprised that I identified as poor or my family was poor because I had gone to a fancy boarding school in Europe for two years prior to going to [Institution D], and I felt weird having to explain that, like, I was on a full scholarship, and they paid for my airfare and spending money.

Tim reflected on the dichotomy between being grateful for the financial aid available to make it possible for him to attend Institution D without significant loans and his desire to still hold the school accountable for its elitism and the frequent microaggressions he experienced as a student from a lower socioeconomic background. He described having professors who would make the claim that everyone at Institution D was at least middle class and a particularly troubling experience in which a wealthy alumnae of the school attended a “scholarship tea” event and told him and a few of his friends, also on scholarship, that “people like her shouldn’t have to pay for people like [us] to come to a school like this.” He described that statement as the most overt form of a fairly pervasive sentiment he experienced on campus.

The two students who described their family socioeconomic status as “middle,” Chase and Gary, also attributed some of their awareness of marginalization to their experiences with financial insecurity. Chase was initially unsure of how to accurately categorize his family’s social class, largely because his parents never had particularly high-paying jobs; but their parents, Chase’s grandparents, were very wealthy and established a strong financial safety net. He stated:

So I'm on very heavy financial aid here at [Institution C], and that was a big part of my consideration when I was choosing colleges. I worked at [a fast food restaurant] all through high school, but that being said, we've never really had to want for anything because my grandparents are in such a privileged position that whenever things fell through they were able to support us... I think in terms of education, experiences, opportunities, the amount of travel that we do, I think we're definitely upper class. If you look at our financial situation, you would be like, middle to lower middle, I would say... I didn't understand until I was older that the reason [my parents] could do this and like just not care about money and just kind of figure things out is because they always had that backup. They were able to follow their dreams and do whatever they loved, because they had someone else supporting them.

Though Chase had numerous experiences that would typically be afforded to those of a higher social class, during his high school years, he was concerned that his parents' risky financial decisions would adversely impact his and his siblings' lives in terms of their ability to attend college and be successful after graduation. He stated:

There was a point where I realized that I couldn't do what they did, because I don't have the social safety net that they had... I've been very lucky until now that we have been able, like, that I don't have any college debt and it's all worked out, but generationally, we can't keep doing this. Like, it's not gonna work out, you know? Or even if it does, I just feel like it's kind of a dangerous game that they're playing in some ways... Because what if we hadn't gotten the financial aid for college... And I think that changed my mindset a lot.

When asked about his family's financial status, Gary said it had been pretty solidly and consistently "middle" throughout his childhood and as he moved through college. He described that they'd had plans to move into a larger home, but were never able to do so. He received financial aid to attend a prestigious private high school and felt his otherness as lower-income student:

My high school was an interesting case just because it was very, very like, very White, very southern, all male and very wealthy. And so I was certainly the odd one out, in a lot of ways, not just in political views, but also just like from a class perspective. There weren't too many folks of a low class background, there were mostly folks from an upper class background.

Gary, Chase, Tim and Samuel all experienced feelings of marginalization in their adolescence because of their proximity to peers from wealthier backgrounds, which they said opened their eyes to social differences.

Another marginalized identity carried or witnessed by several participants was a diagnosis of serious physical or mental illness. One of the clearest examples was Gary, whose family discovered in his teenage years that their home was situated near an industrial plant that emitted toxic elements into the atmosphere. He spent much of the interview describing how this realization sparked his, and later his parents', interest in environmental justice issues and other forms of social activism. His mother, a schoolteacher in the community, often taught kids whose families had "strings of people diagnosed with cancer." Near the very end of the interview, Gary disclosed that he, too, had been diagnosed with cancer in his youth and that this experience was key in his developing an interest in justice issues. When asked the final interview question about why some people act on their awareness of injustices and some do not, he responded:

I think for me, it felt innate to act in the best interest, like, growing up with this situation with all the like toxins in the community, to act in the interest of my own health and in the interest of the health of other people. And it was, like, so completely obvious to me that's what I needed to do: act... Maybe conversation with a friend opens you up, or maybe you take a class that opens you up. But I think that action comes from a deeper place inside where you know you're trying to make the world right. Make the world a better place. And to some degree, I think it's an issue, too, of like tapping into, like, in what ways you're marginalized. And I, you know, didn't grow up marginalized on the racial plane or necessarily the class plane, or on the gender plane, but I felt like I was in tune to a lot of that marginalization. You know I actually, this is a longer story, something I could get into another time, maybe, but part of the reason that the draw to speak out in my home community was so strong was that I'd been diagnosed with cancer when I was eleven. And I think that informed so much of my activism later on, because only later did I find out about this toxic pollution that was a mile from my house. And that was like a wake-up call.

Samuel had a speech disorder, a severe stutter, since childhood, which he said created a lot of social anxiety and discomfort in classroom settings. Evan also self-disclosed information about a diagnosis that impacted his childhood and continues to influence his worldview:

One big thing that has defined my academic career and also how I operate through everyday life is ADHD; which you wouldn't really think, like on the surface, you wouldn't think, like, oh yeah, it's an identity. When I was a little kid, when I was in fourth grade, I kept banging my head against the wall trying to do homework. I kept struggling to start processing things. I couldn't pay attention and I got put on the

medicine, Ritalin, and when I got diagnosed, grades turned around and everything, but still, that just keeps my body in the seat. A lot of my isolation I experienced in high school, middle school, here to a large extent, because it takes me so freaking long to do assignments... I see everyday life in a fundamentally different way...

Anthony described his experience having grown up in a household with a sister who had a serious genetic disorder and needed additional support:

It definitely gave me a little, I guess, some uniqueness to my childhood just because, you know, at a very young age, I didn't know any better, but the older I got the more obvious it became that my sister was special and not developing at the same rate as other individuals. So I don't know. I mean, I guess, it's kind of made me more resilient to tough situations, because she'll often get like extremely upset over tiny things, and having to deal with that my whole childhood has definitely kind of given me perspective when I'm in tough situations.

Several men in this study, 6 of 14 (43%), were gay or queer identified, and most of those reported feelings of marginalization in their youth as a direct result of their sexual orientation. Evan attended an all-male Catholic high school and experienced difficulties when he came out to his friends and family at age 17. He recalled:

That was a crazy year. I had a giant car accident... that ended my [athletic] career. I was forced on the couch, for a year sitting on the couch. I had to think about a lot of things; sexuality was one of them...I met someone via the Internet and I hooked up with them and then my friends knew something was off. I was floating three feet above the ground and they were like, 'you've been a depressed piece of shit for the past year, what's going on?' They knew exactly what happened. 'You went and got laid.' And I was like, ok, and

I couldn't be like, 'oh yea by the way his name is [Damian]. So I made up this crap story and my friends were just relentless. They needed to know; it was like a witch hunt...Finally I told them and two of my friends were really, really cool with it... One of them I was basically in a spousal relationship with it was just that weird sort of, like, thing that happens. You're sort of dating and you're two guys, but you're not really aware. It was a really gray area. He ditched me right and then he sort of, well he didn't sort of, he actually told people and it set on like wild fire.

Evan said friends struggled with his sexual orientation in the beginning and made homophobic and offensive remarks toward him and about him in his absence. He says they eventually came around to being supportive, but his experience coming out to family members was much less positive.

David came out to friends in high school as well and also experienced great difficulty. He recalled the coming out process in the following manner: "It certainly caused a lot of emotional pain in high school. I was very depressed, major depression, mainly because I just, I wasn't strong enough, I wasn't secure enough with me as a person to be able to stand what their reaction would be."

Wayne identifies as straight, but said his sister is gay and that his support of her provided a vicarious experience with marginalization. He said of his sister's coming out simply that, "it didn't go well." In the beginning, he witnessed his sister avoiding posting photos and comments on Facebook and other social media sites and felt it necessary to keep her relationship with another woman a secret from their parents and extended family.

Perhaps the most extreme case of marginalization around sexual orientation was Cain, who is out within his circle of college friends, but at the time of the interview had not yet revealed his sexuality to his parents and family members. He stated:

I don't know why it hasn't [happened]. It's just sort of, I think like at any point that's a difficult conversation, so if I don't have to have it now... I'm definitely out within my friend group and it's not something I'm actively trying to hide, but it's also not something that I think, I don't know if people, like I don't know if the average person would know or have an idea that I'm gay.

Cain's hesitancy to share his sexual orientation with relatives demonstrates his familiarity with the experience of living with an oppressed social identity.

Though he describes himself as straight, Chase said he struggled a bit with sexuality and his gender identity. His tendency was to have mostly female friends. He elaborated a great deal on his gender identity as a contributing factor in his social isolation as a youth, stating:

So I have a very strange relationship with my gender and sexual identity. So I know now I'm a cisgendered, White, straight male...but that being said, I had a friend group that was almost all female when I was homeschooled, just cause there weren't many other guy homeschoolers. And I think probably there was a big influence of my mother in my life, and then also, my father is not like your typical manly man. He's more sensitive than my mom is, you know? He doesn't watch sports, he doesn't, I don't know, he just doesn't check all the typical boxes. He eats super healthy, he's like vegan now, he's given up alcohol and caffeine and just like all the things that like a typical red-blooded American male, shouldn't be. And so I never really felt comfortable in those spaces with other guys my age, and I never really felt like I could connect with them... I just didn't have the

same way of seeing as them. So, but I read a lot of books, and most of the people who read books were women, or females around my age, so I had a lot of female friends.

Several men in the study mentioned religious identities that would be considered in the minority within their communities (e.g. Jewish, atheist, agnostic). However, most of them grew up in cultural or religious enclaves in which they felt fully connected and supported and, therefore, did not report any particular experiences with religious bias. Only three (21%) felt marginalized by their religious identities or faith affiliations within their pre-college contexts.

Wayne struggled with his Jewish identity because he was raised in a mostly Christian town. He saw being Jewish as “a weakness” and was embarrassed by his stereotypically Jewish physical features, including his curly hair. He said, “being Jewish was very different than normal, and people don’t want to be different than normal when they’re in high school.”

Cain said the majority of his awareness of difference as a high school student was around religious difference. He described his identity as being half Jewish and half Catholic and having significantly impacted his overall perspectives on diversity. Aiden, too, is half Jewish and half Catholic and decided around the time of Bar and Bat Mitzvahs, traditional Jewish coming of age ceremonies, to pursue his Jewish identity. He acknowledged, however, that there is tension around his dual-identity. He said, “No matter how hard I try, even if I go to synagogue every day, every week, I’ll never be a real Jew in some people’s eyes, so that’s been really kind of a big factor pushing me away.”

In addition to social identities, personality traits like introversion, quirkiness and being nerdy were mentioned as marginal identities for the men in this study. Seven of the 14 (50%) attributed some of their discomfort in social settings as youth with having been on the fringes of “normal” or acceptable social behavior.

Brian described his struggle to settle into a personality that would make him more comfortable in social settings within his school environments as he was growing up and maturing.

He stated:

I was very imaginative, I guess, when I was a kid, you know? I always had fantasies about, pretty much, I could like daze off in the middle of the day and then see things walking around during class or something... I remember in 7th and 8th grade, I guess, let's call it the 'emo' stage cause I was always like the class clown, right? I was kind of like, there was a couple of fights every now and then, and I was never a confrontational person, so I was never going to get in any fights with anyone... so to be a part of that popular group, I just kind of, like, became funny. But there's a point in 7th and 8th grade when, I want to say it was because a girl rejected me, but I remember telling my teacher 'I want to be taken seriously from now on...' and I didn't want to be a class clown anymore... I remember this, a couple moments I had to actually push myself outside to actually do things with people that I'm not comfortable with. That kind of helped me.

When asked about his personality as a youth, Robert responded that he was more likely to hang out with "the video gamers and nerds probably" but that he "couldn't tell in terms of the chicken or egg mentality, you know, if that was because [he] was introverted and kind of resorted to more introverted people or [he] was more geared toward video games and just clicked with those people." Anthony described introversion as a defining characteristic in his youth that he believed later made him more open-minded.

Evan, too, struggled to find social acceptance as an adolescent and attributed this to his family dynamic as well as elements of his personality. He recalled:

As a little kid, I grew up not around a lot of kids, so I spent most of my time with adults. And so my grandpa, this is strange, I would be talking about the stock market at four, and listening to these reports and watching Bill O'Reilly, and basically I grew up in this weird vacuum of adults and sort of the news and everything... I tried to talk to kids about it and no one really connected with me. I was kind of an outsider for quite some time... I didn't connect with popular culture.

Wyatt moved around between countries quite a bit throughout his childhood and struggled to make friends in new settings. He recalled:

So, like, when I moved [overseas], everybody thought that I was gay, everybody. I wasn't. I'm not now... [Question: Why the misperception, do you think?] I don't know. I was a weird, really quirky kid. Especially in middle school, kind of going through puberty. Which was very quirky.

Wayne also said, "my personality as a kid, I was never cool or popular, which I think was important... I often found my identity through doing whatever everyone else wasn't."

Marginalization was clearly shown to be an important pre-college factor in predisposing the men in this study to pursue diversity engagement opportunities in college. In each of the 14 interviews, participants either volunteered information about various social identities or personal traits that marginalized them within their friend groups, families and communities or they shared information about their vicarious experiences with close friends and loved ones who were marginalized. The researcher elaborates on this important finding in the conclusions section of this report.

Exposure/immersion. The second pre-college factor to emerge from the data as important in preparing students for participation in multicultural education or social justice initiatives in college was exposure to diversity through various experiences and interactions in their youth. Forms of exposure included living or travelling abroad, living in racially and ethnically diverse cities and towns, having racially and ethnically diverse friends, taking relevant courses in high school, being involved in multicultural extracurricular activities, and having politically liberal parents (Figure 3).

Ten of the 14 participants in this study (71%) cited having traveled or lived abroad as a pre-college experience. Most of the participants who traveled extensively in European or westernized countries in high school experienced some low-level cultural exchange and exposure. For example, Robert visited Australia, New Zealand, England, Holland, France and Italy. Gary visited Italy and Ireland with his family. Anthony spent two weeks in high school touring Western Europe and also spent time in Quebec. Wayne visited Italy, Spain, Scotland, and a few other places in Europe as well as the Dominican Republic and Anguilla. David said his family



Figure 3. Pre-College Exposure.

vacationed frequently and often chose tropical destinations including Mexico, Haiti, and various Caribbean Islands.

Four of the participants had more immersive experiences abroad, having lived in places with more distinctive cultures, and for longer periods of time. Samuel attended an international high school in Europe for two years. In addition to being surrounded by racially and ethnically diverse peers from all over the world, the coursework was globally focused and provided a depth of cultural exposure.

Brian studied abroad in Latin America for a month during his junior year of high school and recalled having to adjust to the culture there. He stated:

I think that kind of did a lot for me... like being able to be open, cause it put me in a situation I wasn't comfortable with, not just because I didn't know people but also because I didn't speak the language that well. I spoke it, I knew basic like elements of Spanish, but I couldn't hold a conversation for too long... Most of the trips I made kind of like made me expand, like made me want to, like made me think I could do things that I wasn't, you know, like be in uncomfortable situations.

Chase took a gap year with Rotary International after high school and lived in a country with a very different culture. He attributes a great deal of his later interest in learning about and interacting with diverse cultures to his time abroad. He stated:

I was homeschooled... I had a great education, I learned a lot, but I said I really want some stories. I want some experiences. I want to try something new and different and just, like, challenge myself. Like I want to break out of this suburban bubble, you know? And so I found a program with Rotary International where you live with another family in another country for a year and you see what it's like to become, like, a teenager in that

country. So you go to school in that country. It doesn't matter if you don't speak the language, you're gonna have to. It's complete cultural immersion. You live with a host family, you have to do chores with that host family. Sometimes you won't even know a single other American, or in my case, White person. Like, when I was walking down the streets... people would take my picture and I got asked for autographs... I got the sense that some people were friends with me just because I was White. And that was really interesting, being an American. There was all kinds of, like, being a privileged White man in America is one thing, but when you go abroad, it's a whole other ball game.

Chase not only developed a stronger awareness of his White racial identity while living abroad, but he also began to think about his social class in relationship to his extremely wealthy friends and their families.

The people I ended up hanging out with...were people of a social class that I don't think I would ever be part of in the U.S. and I don't think they would have hung out with me if they had known my social class, just because they were so miles beyond whatever I was. But they assumed, 'oh, you're White, you're American, you're [here], you're the same as us.' [Interviewer Question: So they were of an upper social class?] Like stratosphere, like, ridiculous. But that was awkward sometimes because, like, I couldn't buy the clothes they were buying or fly to [a nearby city] with them or whatever. And so those weren't things I'd had to think about before, because it was like everything we'd always needed was provided.

Similarly, Wyatt spent much of his childhood among the children of ambassadors and witnessed extreme wealth while living in two different European countries for a total of nine years. He described these experiences in the following manner:

I was going to school with very privileged kids, like I said before, much more privileged than me, even though I'd considered myself privileged. But this was a different type of privilege. This was international privilege. They had, you know, bodyguards that would come to PTA meetings, things like that. Um, it was amazing. So I found myself trying to hang out with them and trying to act privileged, which was just very, very fake.

The second most frequently cited form of pre-college diversity exposure among the participants was their friendships with diverse peers, primarily those of different races and ethnicities. Nine of the 14 participants (64%) described their childhood friends as having provided early exposure to difference. Six of 14 (43%) also described growing up in diverse cities, though not all of those 6 had immersive cultural experiences within their settings.

Brian grew up in an extremely racially and ethnically diverse neighborhood in a New England city before his family's upward social mobility led him to a more suburban part of town. He recalled:

When I went to elementary school, it was mostly like Haitian and Nigerian immigrants in that section of [town]... [Question: So pretty much all of your close friends growing up were people of color?] Yea, it's not like I wanted, it's not like I went out and did that, and in elementary there was probably like two or three guys that were White and were just like really, I didn't like them, cause they were kind of, it's not because they were White, but it was because they were weird people in general. So it was kind of, I just kind of avoided them.

Brian developed a love for hip-hop music and culture, in part, because of his cultural immersion with first and second-generation immigrant children. He said:

How I got into hip-hop was, I'm trying to remember. So when I was growing up, especially when I was driving to work with my mom all the way to kindergarten in [the city], which is like an hour drive every day, you know. She would listen to Motown hits and things from like the 60s and 70s and she wouldn't really go past that... One of my friends started making fun of me because I hadn't heard of, I think it was like Nelly 'Air Force Ones' or something... I started listening to a lot of other things and then I heard it tracing back to the Motown and to the music I already knew, and it was very easy for me to kind of gradually get into that.

Hip-hop has since become a defining part of Brian's identity, much to the dismay of his father and others who question his rhythm of speech and dialect.

Like Brian, Robert felt that growing up 20 minutes west of a major Midwestern city provided racial and ethnic diversity that was important to his childhood development. "My high school was actually 60/40 White/Black on the west side," he said. "So I was used to diversity... it was something I was very comfortable with."

Anthony left the racially diverse region of southern California with his family at age nine and moved to a less diverse suburb of a major city in the mid-Atlantic region. This shift made noticeable the lack of racial and cultural diversity in his schools in the region. David grew up in a different, but similarly affluent, suburb of that mid-Atlantic city and his primary exposure to diversity was seeing poor Black students who'd been admitted and funded to attend his highly selective private high school. He began to notice and care about racial diversity in his junior year of high school. He said:

We had, we have, an orphanage near our high school, with predominately Black children. For 13 years now, of course, you know one of the things that always bothered me was

those kids would always be at a separate table. The rest of the school would be up and about, people walking between tables, and they were always in their own group. I think that was when I first realized, that was a problem. I didn't know what to do then and I certainly wasn't comfortable enough to do anything.

Aiden grew up in a major Northeastern city and recalled struggling to understand the diversity around him. He said:

[The part of town I'm from] is extremely liberal, extremely, pretty diverse, I mean all things considered. Diverse in so far as religion is concerned. I mean there is some diversity in terms of race as well. Lesser so, though, more so than some other places, but obviously [the city] is still extremely gentrified and not particularly matching actual racial composition... I was very acutely aware that there were people who were not living like I was, from a very early age... I was constantly exposed, and constantly doesn't do it justice really, truly everyday seeing people asking me for money on the street. That was like a very, very jarring experience for me... Like I literally could not wrap my brain around it...

Samuel had a very different experience, growing up in an impoverished area of a town in the Midwest. Regarding the racial composition of his primary school, he said:

Well in my grade, I remember I was one of five white kids. The majority of my neighborhood was, I think maybe 80% Hispanic and then maybe 18% Black and then the rest were White pretty much... Very early on in elementary, being one of two White kids in my fourth grade class and having me and the other White kid always the ones praised in class for doing well. But almost no one else got the same praise that we got. I

remember very clearly, very vividly like thinking like that's just so weird, why they aren't getting the same praise I'm getting.

Though Tim also grew up in a fairly impoverished area in a Southern town, he was a part of a mostly White magnet program within a public school that allowed him to see, but not necessarily interact, with racially and ethnically diverse peers. When asked about the racial diversity in his school, he responded:

Yeah, though the programs themselves were like segregated programs to a large extent. But if you were to look at the overall racial diversity in the school, the statistics that they used in presentations, I think it was like 20% Latino/Latina, 25% Black, 23% White, 19% Asian descent, or something like that. But then like if you focus on the magnet program that I was a part of it was largely White and east Asian and south Asian, and three or four Black students out of 100 in each class, very few Latino students in that program also. I think that's also kind of why I, I don't know how conscious I was of it then, but that drove me to not want to just stick within that program. And then also within that program a lot of class lines too, that it was a much more, like, middle, upper middle class type program whereas, with the students in the magnet program, I was not able to connect with a lot of them in those ways as much as you'd think.

Several participants, five of 14 (36%), mentioned either classes or extracurricular activities in their high schools as having provided some exposure to diversity. Brian and Wyatt both participated in their respective Model United Nations clubs and found those to be wonderful experiences for exposing them to cultural diversity. Evan helped to found a diversity board for his prep school. Tim was an active member of the gay-straight alliance club in high school, but he also discussed how important his classes were at providing diversity exposure:

My high school was kind of like [Institution D], a very left wing school. And so we had like a lot of teachers doing a lot of really cool things, not necessarily to the same extent that goes on here, but it was like a really good introductory level experience and so I guess starting with GSA and starting to get my head into what being part of, like, mainstream activist circles would look like and the kind of work that could be done there and then taking classes on human rights. And we had, I took a class on global issues my senior year where we were just really looking at current events and addressing them in certain ways...

Samuel, who attended an international high school, also recalled courses that provided great exposure: “That piqued my interest in international systems and globalization. When I was there, my history class was on northern Africa, and there were parts of Arabic focus as well.”

A commonality across seven of the 14 participants (50%) was their diversity exposure as a result of having one or more politically liberal parents. Wayne described his parents’ political ideology as a constant and a driving force for shaping his personality, stating:

I would describe them as liberals. They are not on the progressive end of the spectrum, nor are they centrist leaning. They’re right smack dab in the middle of the party line. To describe their ideology, I’d say that more than anything else, their ideology stems first and foremost from a belief in empathy and compassion. It’s interesting, though. My dad is a bit more liberal than my mom, and he had two very liberal parents... My mom came from a somewhat lower economic background, as her dad was a watchband maker. Her knee-jerk reactions to news and ideas can be more centrist, but when I talk about issues with her, she almost always comes around to the liberal side if she believes that the liberal position is more compassionate and humanistic.

Chase spent more time on this subject than any other participant. He felt strongly that his parents' liberal ideology and diverse experiences mapped on to his development as an ally. He described in great detail their experiences studying abroad as having made them particularly sensitive to issues of equality and justice. He said:

Like, my dad went to Notre Dame, felt repelled by the conservative aspects of it, went to Ireland, got radicalized or whatever by the Europeans, and then came back and had this like very, just liberal stance, like at first he was working on politics. He was campaigning against Ronald Reagan, and like campaigning for a nuclear disarmament, and he did that for awhile, like worked on Walter Mondale's campaign, lived in D.C. – And I think because they both came from privileged backgrounds, they felt okay doing all this because they knew there was like a safety net. You know, I talked to my dad the other day and he was like, 'yeah, I never cared about money...' – same thing for my mom. And so, my dad lived in D.C., worked for all these campaigns, Walter Mondale lost, he felt crushed, and then he started realizing that, like, he preferred the one on one connection with people and like working with people directly. Because he felt like there could be more of an impact. I don't remember how my mom got into it. She started working at an orphanage in Mexico, I don't know why. Probably because she heard about it from someone. Oh, same thing, she came back from Denmark with these super liberal ideas and felt like Boston College wasn't really fitting into that. And then she ended up in the orphanage in Mexico, I don't know how, but then everything kind of built on that. And they've been involved with the work every since.

Aiden also reflected a great deal on his parents' political sensibilities, stating:

In terms of growing up, both of my parents are extremely liberal... My mother is a liberal in so far as she, politics aren't her thing, but she's well aware of things that make her viscerally upset. She loves people and she hates you know ways in which people get, you know, screwed – or the ways in which people have to live life in misery. I got most of my, kind of, compassion from that. That said, if I start talking about socialism or something a little more radical she thinks socialism- communism, she thinks radicalism is dangerous and she'll just stop talking...Her level of political competency is very low, but she's very liberal in that sense in so far as, you know, 'yes, like [Aiden], people suffer and you need to make a difference' or 'it's not fair,' 'any little bit helps,' etcetera... My father is much more of an intellectual liberal. He's pretty radical. He was very active in, kind of, the 60s movement. Definitely not in the center of it but definitely went to the protests, definitely was more radical. A good Democrat, you know, hated Reagan. Hated Bush; liked Clinton... sometimes he doesn't always want to go that far but when I push him on things I realize that he's a true, you know, pretty radical, he won't admit it but he's pretty much a socialist.

Gary's parents became activists toward the end of his time in high school as a result of their realization of toxic pollutants near their home. He believed his parents' politics and social actions to be in alignment, stating:

They lean towards the left, and pretty consistently, my dad certainly, always votes for the Democrats or other left-leaning candidates. He grew up in a much more conservative household and my mom grew up in a home where her dad was a Democrat and her mom was a Republican, so there was an interesting dynamic going there. And my mom very much, pretty much solidly is democratic, though she also says she votes for whoever she

thinks is going to do the best job, and voted for Reagan; might regret that now, I don't know... and there's actually a case of pretty heavy industrial pollution real close to our home and we found out about that, we found out how toxic it was when I was a junior in high school. So I started getting involved in some of the community cleanup efforts and my parents carried that on, actually... and I think that's probably when they leaned more to the left.

All 14 of the men in the study provided examples of exposure to, and in some cases, immersion within diverse cultures, religious communities and political contexts. Each attributed, in some measure, their later efforts to engage with diversity to these early experiences. This finding is further explored in the conclusions section of this report.

Intellectual curiosity. Perhaps it is not a surprise that students who would attend highly selective private institutions would describe themselves as having been intellectually curious in their youth. Each participant in this study expressed keen academic interest or intellectual curiosity about particular social issues prior to their arrival at college. A finding of this study was that for many of the participants, they observed and expressed curiosity about social differences. Participants displayed general curiosity about all sorts of cultural and social issues, including race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, religion and socioeconomic status (Figure 4).

The majority of the participants in this study, 9 of 14 (64%), expressed some intellectual curiosity about race or ethnicity before arriving at college. Some participants were more curious than others, and this seemed to correlate with their exposure to racial differences. For example, Anthony's curiosity was limited because he had so little interaction with people of color and international students before college. He described his high school in the following way:

My high school was a private, college preparatory school in a very White suburb... that was pretty well off in general. There were, like, very, very few kids in my high school who weren't White or weren't Catholic. [Question: Did you have, sort of, a conscious awareness of diversity even being in that environment?] I think I had, yeah, I had an awareness of it, certainly an awareness of a lack of it in my high school, but I don't really think it meant as much to me because it kind of was removed from my life almost, just because I was in such a uniform group of people.

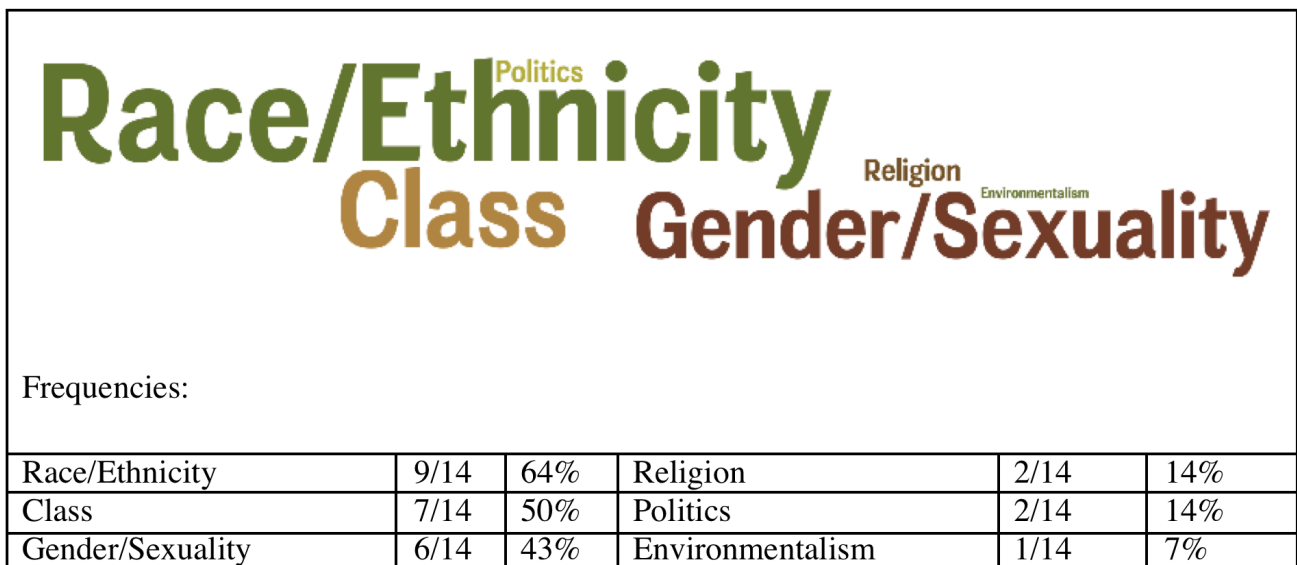


Figure 4. Pre-College Curiosity

Similarly, Michael expressed some curiosity about the lack of racial diversity within his high school that he described as having “the same issues for the past 200 years or so, I think.” As earlier mentioned, David noticed the Black students from the nearby orphanage who were attending his high school and seemed to be experiencing social isolation. Samuel also showed interest in racial issues when he and the other White student in his fourth grade class were praised for their efforts and other students, students of color, did not receive equal treatment.

Wyatt expressed some curiosity about race as a result of having been raised in part by an African American nanny who left her home to work for his family in Europe. Wyatt said:

“I had a nanny for eight years, until I was about eight or nine. I didn’t see my parents that often... I don’t really remember so much about her. It’s been a long time since I’ve seen her. She was interesting... She came from a very different environment than my parents or me... It was her dream to start a nursery. I do remember that. And when my parents, when she came to [Europe], you know, it was a big deal for her. It was her first time out of the country, not only out of the country you know but she was going across the Atlantic Ocean. She was going so far away from everybody. And she had this funny way of handling it, she was so positive, she was probably more positive than any of us about living [there]. And then, by the time she left, so when my dad retired he said, you know, ‘we’re going to pay you a severance package and ship you back to [your hometown],’ she was very upset and she actually, she took the severance package and left two weeks earlier than she was supposed to. My parents had given her all these photo albums of us and she took them and just left two weeks early. And we haven’t heard from her since. She went back... she called asking for money once. My parents gave her money and then we haven’t heard from her since. I tried looking her up once [at] her place... but I couldn’t find her. I tried looking for her nursery actually. I was hoping she’d started one. But then we also had, so, because my nanny left early, her name was [Dorothy], we, my parents hired other nannies and they were much different than [Dorothy]. They were actually, in my opinion, much worse. So [Dorothy] used to, you know while my parents would be mad that she took us to fast food and everything, she’d always be around, she’d always be – her attention was always on us. [Question: Was Dorothy African American?] Yeah.

Wyatt seemed to be struggling to understand a lot of what his family experienced with Dorothy and has lingering questions about how her race and class might have impacted her relationship to his family and affected her life back in the United States.

Some of the participants' showed a deeper intellectual curiosity about race and ethnicity. Evan, for example, described his difficulty trying to conceptualize how race could privilege some members of society and not others. He helped to found a diversity board in his high school because of the questions he had about these issues:

I tried to understand. Kept beating my head against the wall. 'What is race, what is socially constructed reality?' And I just didn't have at that time the developmental software to process that. That question kept eluding me...

Chase also showed a profound interest in matters of race and ethnicity at a young age. His parents' stories of their extensive travels and their social work in various countries prompted him to later pursue his own questions about ancestry and heritage. He said:

So when I was growing up, I just spent my whole childhood hearing stories from Mexico and Honduras and Guatemala, and like my mom studied abroad in Denmark, my dad studied abroad in Ireland, just the places they had traveled and it was always like a, 'okay, I wanna get some stories of my own.'

In terms of his recollection of his own curiosity, he said:

I actually decided to be homeschooled... we were living in a small town and there was just this huge disconnect between me and everyone else in my school, because it's a very, like, blue collar, working class town, not that there's anything wrong with that, but I had these parents who both have master's degrees and have lived abroad and are both bilingual...the quality of the teaching was not stellar. Most students didn't care and I was

just like, so bored out of my mind... [Question: What sorts of academic interests did you have at that age?] Everything. I loved reading. I loved everything. I don't know, science I guess? Science, history, biology... I think I was a very curious kid, which made it easy for my parents because you know, they just set me up with a stack of books and then I'd finish them and go to the library and get more... And then being White... it's something I've come to terms with, that I've thought about a lot and I've considered a lot. And yeah, I think, like, struggled with a lot. I became really aware of it when I was [living abroad] because I was a different race from everyone around me.

In addition to race and ethnicity matters, participants displayed intellectual curiosity about gender and sexuality issues. Evan's questions about gender and sexuality were tied to his personal experience coming to terms with being a bisexual or gay male. He reflected a great deal on his memories of high school, saying:

I had a great high school experience. I identified as Bi at the time, so I was like, yeah, I mean, you know, I could still date women and stuff. I didn't really think about how I would want a queer community or if I would want one [in college]... I probably wouldn't be doing half the shit I'm doing, wouldn't understand it if I wasn't gay. I'd probably be on the conveyor belt. Being gay kicked me off the conveyor belt and I fell on the ground, and I saw the machinery for a little bit, and then I was put back on, right, and I got accepted again. And that glitch in the matrix sort of still sticks with me and makes me want to get involved. [Comment: I love your metaphors.] All I speak is metaphors... Yeah, so it is a privilege conveyor belt.

Again, Chase was probably the best example of pre-college curiosity. Much of his thinking about gender and sexuality during his youth also centered on his own feelings of

marginalization within those identity groups, as earlier described. To elaborate on this theme, he said of his gender identity:

I kind of had this weird self-dislike then for being a guy... and then, I also kind of felt, and I don't know where this started, I kind of felt a little bit of shame about being straight at some point. I felt like, there's a lot of bad things that straight men have done to women over time, and that like, I just felt like through puberty, I felt guilty about testosterone or whatever. Anyways, so I thought like, 'oh, maybe I'm gay, you know, because most of my friends are girls.' I'm like, you know, looking at the writing on the wall. And so I explored a lot in my gap year... and I came to realize over time that I was straight, and like, definitely cisgendered.

Wayne was curious about religion, mostly because of his Jewish identity being so noticeably different within his mostly Christian community. Aiden was also very curious about his Jewish identity. He recalled:

In terms of [having] two different religions, I actually chose to be Jewish. I had a Bar Mitzvah. I'd kind of distanced myself from that side of the family, that part of who I am. But my parents actually raised me neither. They said, 'you can choose whatever you want; you can associate however you want but we're not giving you any kind of religious upbringing.' [Question: Why did you choose Jewish identity or faith?] Don't know. To be honest this is something very interesting to me. I don't really know. Perhaps it was because I went to a school where a large part of my friends were Jewish, but admittedly, most of them were probably half Jewish... I was starting to be like, for a long time I wasn't close to my father and, I was getting close to my father and so I think that played a role...

Samuel attributed a great deal of his curiosity about privilege as a general concept to his experience growing up without a strong faith affiliation, which he later pursued in college. He said:

I guess there was this vague kind of adherence to Christianity, but nothing too serious. I don't remember ever going to church. I remember God being brought up. But now I consider myself Unitarian Universalist... It provides a lot of the basis to the questions I'm trying to ask.

Socioeconomic status or class was another common social issue observed by participants in their youth. Some participants questioned the wealth disparities they witnessed in their neighborhoods, communities and schools and this was irrespective of their families' financial status. For example, Wyatt and Chase both mentioned having their eyes awakened to international wealth while living abroad. Though they, too, were of middle to upper middle social status, they witnessed wealth extremities that created questions for them about their own privileged statuses. Tim and Samuel, as earlier noted, were on the opposite end of the spectrum with regard to socioeconomic status but expressed the same curiosities in the other direction. Brian, whose family he described as having been upwardly mobile throughout his lifetime, had questions along the way to a more financially secure status. When asked about his family's class background, he responded:

You know, everyone says middle class, basically like that's what my mom and dad always told me, 'middle class.' But I guess, kind of like growing up with some of my friends, like, I always had the nicest house. So I guess upper middle class I would call it. We definitely had a lot of luxuries that I don't think a lot of other people had...I guess it changed, it improved... considering we started in an apartment.

Generally speaking, the participants in this study were able to retrospectively identify intellectual curiosities that fueled their later interests in pursuing diversity education and social justice ally development opportunities. Much of their curiosity was connected to the first two themes, their marginalized identities or their exposure to various social differences. The researcher elaborates on this finding in the conclusions section of this report.

College Experiences

The second research question in this study was about college experiences that White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education saw as having been instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development. The researcher asked a series of questions (Appendix C) that enabled participants, all of whom had completed at least one year in college and most of whom were graduating seniors, to reflect upon experiences inside and outside the classroom that supported their development as allies for racial, gender-based or other forms of ally development. From reviewing and coding the data, the researcher identified three categories of college experiences that provided such support for ally development:

1. Campus climate issues and controversies (Campus climate)
2. Social interactions with diverse peers and ideas (Social interactions)
3. Knowledge acquisition and intellectual stimuli (Intellectual stimuli)

Each of these examples will be further discussed to highlight the ways in which participants felt college helped them to advance their social justice advocacy. The data in this section is summarized in Table 11.

Campus climate. Every participant in this study (100%) cited one or more campus climate issues that propelled him to some type of engagement with diversity, social action or

leadership position. Some campuses were clearly in the aftermath of specific incidents or occurrences because all of the men from those institutions referenced the incidents in their interviews. Others spoke more generally about issues that they believe have long permeated their respective campus cultures. In every case, the men drew upon their personal or vicarious experiences with marginalization, exposure to diversity and/or their intellectual curiosity about these issues in order to become involved in college. There were three dominant types of campus climate concerns referenced by the men in this study: racism, sexual violence, and class disparity (Figure 5).

Racism was the most dominant theme with 12 of 14 participants (86%) alluding to racial tensions on their campuses. They shared stories about friends, students of color, who personally experienced or witnessed discrimination or harassment on the basis of race. Brian recalled an incident from his first year:

I was in a triple and one of my roommates was Black, and me and him would have a lot of discussions, right? And he would tell me about how he would (and I had heard it, too) – a lot of White students on campus saying the N-word and such, and if he would walk by they would get very quiet and things. It’s a funny situation, but around me they would be comfortable saying things like that.

Brian grappled with how to support his roommate in his early exposure to the racist language of some of their White peers.

It depends. If it’s a very close friend of mine [using the racist language], I probably wouldn’t say anything, but because of how it affected him so much, like, I could tell how much it affected him. Because he didn’t want to be that person where people had to watch their words or something like that. I kind of felt he should’ve been that person, not

so that they watch their words, but that they know that their words has an effect on people. So I kind of wanted to be that person, but as I kept going, I kind of dismissed myself from those type of people... especially like freshman year when you're just kind of meeting people, it's tough to be that kind of person.

Anthony reflected upon one of a string of incidents at Institution B involving racism as a catalyst not only for his decision to act, but also for the campus community at large to engage in more critical conversations on race. He recalled:

There was one incident in particular that happened outside a bar, where, like some members of the football team got in a fight with some members of a fraternity because they were using like racial slurs to address them inappropriately. I think a lot of people were very upset with how the University handled the situation in the aftermath and a lot of different kinds of student groups spoke up after that about what they saw as the injustices that were going on. I think a lot of these incidents really made it clear to students that there were problems that were worth addressing.

David, Wyatt and Wayne also spoke about the racial incidents at Institution B as having impacted their respective decisions to connect with diversity. Wyatt applied to be the resident advisor for the primary multicultural community on campus after hearing that the house had been vandalized. When asked about his decision to apply for this post, he responded:

So I wanted to apply for a place that really celebrates diversity, for personal reasons. The second reason is (this was right after the incident at [the multicultural house] happened, is when we were applying) And one of my good friends, [Tanya], is very involved with [the multicultural house], she's African-American, and this affected her so much and it just made me feel like I should get more involved in social activism...

Table 11

College Experiences

	Name	Campus Climate	Campus Climate Example	Social Interactions	Social Interactions Example	Intellectual Stimulus	Intellectual Stimulus Example
1	Brian	Racism	"I remember freshman year...one of my roommates was black...he would tell me about a lot of white students on campus saying the N word."	POC Friends	"The only white friend I have is my roommate... I would say I have a lot of women friends, more than male friends..."	Multicultural Affairs Community Service Study Abroad	"I remember in Argentina...we did one day of community service. I was just helping out homeless people in Buenos Aires..."
2	Evan	Racism	"I do talk and connect well with racial minorities... because we both feel like kind of outsiders, different subcommunities here."	Women Friends Summer Program	"Probably most of my best friends are girls...I feel in some sense that is tied to my sexuality...I feel particularly comfortable with women"	Coursework Senior Thesis Faculty Mentor	"The kid does not shut up about sociology and social theory... that would be how faculty would probably see me."
3	Robert	Racism Sexual Violence	"I guess I got involved...as a direct counter action of what I've seen on campus...race and sexual assault...two biggest factors."	POC Friends LGBT Friends Women Friends Leadership	"My interactions with women have been more of a confidant ...I don't think a lot of men are partaking in any of that activity."	Multicultural Affairs	"Working on different parts of my brain rather than just focusing on chemistry...led me to join [multicultural group]"
4	Anthony	Racism	"Some members of the football team got in a fight with some members of a fraternity because they were using racial slurs to address them..."	Leadership LGBT Friends	"I was president of student government and a committee that I founded... [the diversity committee.]"	Diverse Collaboration	"Definitely all that experience and learning really happened in our student government inclusive excellence committee..."
5	David	Racism Sexual Violence	"When you look at persons of color, you know that they're 3 times as likely to be harrassed and when they are harrassed it's about their race..."	Leadership Women Friends POC Friends	"There's a bureaucracy, which sometimes you're fighting against and sometimes you're working with to combat these issues."	Diverse Collaboration	"It just boggles my mind...a lot of information that's in these [institutional research] studies...I don't think the institution gets it."
6	Wyatt	Racism	"They put the N-word all over the house, they egged the house...there was a lot of vandalism..."	Leadership POC Friends Women Friends	"I'm actually the RA for a [multicultural] community called...we talk a lot about multiculturalism and what does identity mean."	Coursework Faculty Mentor Diverse Collaboration Multicultural Affairs	"I was talking to one of my professors about why I was interested in sustainable development, he said, have you ever heard of White guilt?"
7	Wayne	Racism	"Our apartment was a safe place... we were all struggling to understand what was happening...couldn't separate it from the larger community."	POC Friends Women Friends Leadership	"I had a black roommate...the White savior complex... understood issues in the abstract... had couple hundred hours of conversation."	Coursework Faculty Mentor	"I have taken lots of relevant political science courses including propaganda and Prof [A's] political thought..."
8	Cain	Sexual Violence	"I had a friend who was sexually assaulted and sort of dealing with the aftermath of that."	Leadership Women Friends	"I worked with [the Multicultural Affairs director] on the sexual misconduct policy advisory committee."	Coursework LGBT/Women Center	"I've taken a couple anthropology courses and some political science, and some that are... outside a traditional department."
9	Chase	Racism	"When I came... I talked to a lot of upperclassmen of color and they talked about how bitter they were with the admin... and the issues were long-	Women Friends POC Friends Summer Program	"Probably 75 to 80 percent of my friends are female...I sometimes bridge the distance that's supposed to exist between two straight men..."	Study Abroad Personal Reading Multicultural Affairs Coursework	"I took a poli sci course freshman year that was really, really good on this front...about freedom and obedience and disobedience and power."
10	Aiden	Racism Sexual Violence	"The campus climate is not very good right now, because we're having problems with racial discrimination and sexual assault problems."	Activism	"I went down [to Occupy Wall Street] with a group of other [Institution D] students on September 17 when it began."	Coursework Senior Thesis Activism	"A lot of things I had been learning about in my first political science class, about like solidarity...played out in that friction space..."
11	Gary	Class Disparity Sexual Violence	"I was almost immediately disillusioned on the first day...I didn't share much with students who came from much wealthier backgrounds."	Activism	"I think the activist scene here at least for my first two years easily lent itself to interconnection between different activist groups."	Diverse Collaboration Coursework	"About half or even more of the group was made up of people of color...I definitely learned a lot from fellow students..."
12	Michael	Racism Class Disparity	"It's just one of the institutions that was crafted for a different time, it was crafted to serve the needs of white students..."	Leadership POC Friends Women Friends	"I have a lot of autonomy...I met with the exec board and I said I'm not going to lead a committee of white men."	Diverse Collaboration Coursework	"I think it's more than just attending events...its about really pursuing equity...trying to understand that people have different experiences..."
13	Samuel	Sexual Violence Racism Class Disparity	"I wasn't fully aware at the time of all the privilege that comes with being a white person in these spaces..."	POC Friends Women Friends Activism	"I'm involved with a multi-racial, biracial student association...I've really enjoyed that space."	Study Abroad Coursework Conferences Religious & Spiritual Life	"I enjoy the complexity of looking at everything all together...race, gender, sexuality, economic status...as one huge messy system."
14	Tim	Sexual Violence Racism	"There was a lot of people centering their voices that didn't need to be...tall white men... being the loud ones..."	Activism Summer Program	"A bunch of women of color on campus organized a protest at the [local] jail, that myself and a lot of other students went to...there was a lot of energy."	LGBT/Women Center Coursework Senior Thesis	"I've participated with organizations and helped plan events around [sexual violence]...I took a class on domestic violence junior year."

David mentioned that his diversity committee had at its disposal quite a bit of data collected by institutional research that demonstrated discrepancies in campus comfort.

It just boggles my mind...you know a lot of this information that's in these studies, I think its incredibly powerful... you know, when you look at persons of color, you see that they are three times more likely to be harassed and that when they are harassed it's about their race more than anything else; so when White people are harassed it's not about their race...If everyone is getting harassed, okay that means people have personality problems, but when you make it about race, then there's something more fundamentally wrong there. And I think just telling everyone that that's what happens...I think it's really powerful; I don't think the institution gets it.

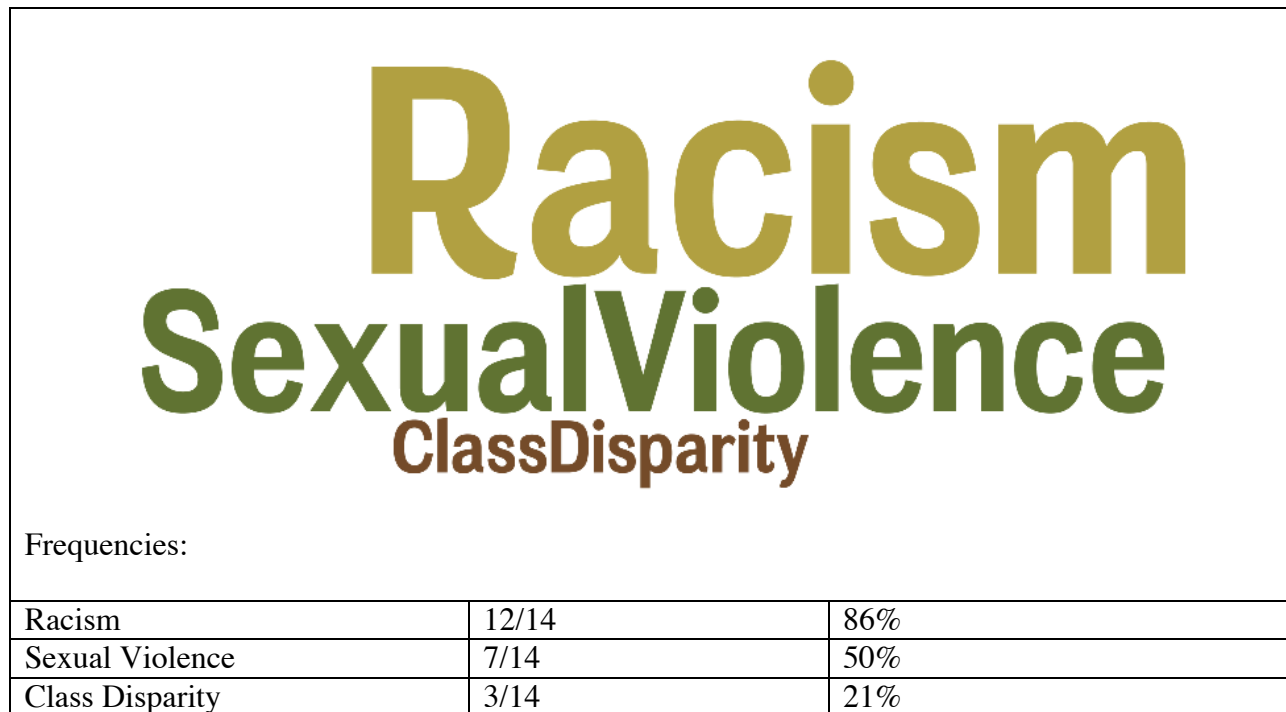


Figure 5. Campus Climate.

Wayne said he spent “a couple hundred hours in conversation” with his mostly female African American friends after these incidents occurred. He said they felt his apartment was a

safe place to discuss race issues with someone of a different race and gender and he was grateful for their willingness to help him struggle to understand the issues.

Institution B was not the only campus struggling with issues around race and racism. Chase talked about arriving at college with his curiosity about race firmly intact and quickly learning that many people of color within the community felt it was a racist institution. He said:

I came into college like, 'ah, this is something that is really important to me, I want to support it.' Cause I had this image, like, when I was looking at colleges, like, I think I kind of, you know, the diversity posters on the websites, where it's like everybody from every country and every race altogether in the classroom... it's ridiculous. But I was like; I think that's pretty cool. I want my college experience to be like that. You know, from a totally superficial standpoint... And kind of looking at it long term, I was like, okay I'm probably gonna get, hopefully, a great job and end up in a, like, wealthy suburb, surrounded by people who look and act like me. College is a great time where there is that mixing of people and I can make friends who are different from me. So, but when I came to [Institution C], like, I talked to a lot of upperclassmen of color and they talked about, like, how bitter they were with the administration, like, the problems of the school, and the issues and long-term history and I was, like, 'wow, this is really contentious. I hope I can do something to transform [Institution C] into the institution I wanted it to be when I came in as a freshman.' And, I also, like, people that were friends, like we became friends through this [social justice retreat] weekend and then after that weekend talking to them and being like, 'wow, this person that I really respect and admire has such strong feelings, negative feelings about the college; I want to help with that.' So yeah, I came in with this like blind idea of helping...

The other two institutions in the study, Institution A and Institution D, both had issues with race as well. However, participants from these institutions were much more likely to discuss sexual violence and gender discrimination as the primary campus climate concern. At the time of the interviews, Institution D, in particular, was still feeling the effects of a recent high profile case of sexual assault that gained the attention of many national news media outlets. Most participants from Institution D mentioned the campus tensions around sexual violence as important issues for them to understand and address. Tim was very involved in this particular issue, stating:

A lot of my social justice activism now, in particular, is around personal violation and sexual violence, dating violence or intimate partner violence. And I've participated with organizations and helped plan events around that. I guess I should mention that I took a class on domestic violence my junior year that I think was particularly informative about a lot of the work that I've been doing. And so I'm now a part of a hotline on campus for people who've experienced personal violation or like friends or children of people that have been affected and I've like taken what I've learned in that class which was pretty, like, white, cisgender, straight woman focused.

Also from Institution D, Gary, who had been primarily interested in environmental issues, talked about the problematic gender dynamic as an important campus issue. He said:

If you're asking for like the role of White men on campus, that's like a different thing. It's different because I feel, I just feel like, a lot of this also comes from just talking to my girlfriend who's also involved in a lot of, has done a lot of social justice issues on campus, and, she's getting shut down or ignored all the time by White dudes. And I think that's not particular to [Institution D], of course, it's a much larger social problem in the

U.S. - The White men are the ones who are dominating conversations in politics and in the classroom, by in large, here the administration. And it's just sad, I don't know, it's just sad. It can be pretty frightening. You know we've seen a lot of cases of sexual assault on campus, and thankfully, that issue has become more vocal in the past year.

Regarding his personal connection to issues of sexual violence, Robert from Institution A said:

I always can talk more about involvement with sexual assault. I've had a lot of negative encounters with things like that, and the perception of men on campus. And, you know, I literally had a friend who was sexually assaulted, raped, and kind of came to me two weeks later, and I just, I don't know, I guess I was just the person she talked to. She didn't really talk to her friends about it, but she talked to me about it, so I got a very personal, first-hand experience of what she was thinking about the guy, what she was remembering, what she was going through, and just having experienced that, I just – that was a huge shift for me in terms of my motivation towards [remediating] sexual assault stuff like that. After just talking to her and seeing her go through this downward spiral for a month, I just, that was another point I also became more involved, on sexual assault topics. Stuff like that.

Another topic was the wealth disparities within these institutions that were apparent to many of the participants in this study. Gary from Institution D noted:

I didn't realize that a lot of liberal arts schools, and I think [Institution D] is actually on the better end than a lot of liberal arts schools are, but I didn't realize, I would have expected it to be more economically diverse. I was coming in, and still am, on heavy amounts of financial aid so I've always been very, very grateful for the financial aid program. That hasn't stopped me in my activism when the College says we're not going to

do all this stuff because we want to protect financial aid. For me that's just a big excuse. But, I was surprised by the amount of wealth that I saw around me, you know? And I guess, somewhere around 60% of students are on financial aid, which means there are like 40% paying the full \$60,000 per year or whatever. And good Lord, that just blows my mind. So that was certainly, you know, something that surprised me. And in terms of [Institution D's] reputation, you know, for a long time, I guess the sense I got was that it was like an highly selective school for like wealthier, New England [people]. And I think to some degree, that remains the same in some circles. In a lot of ways, that's changed to allow for more diversity. But certainly the wealth surprised me.

Samuel also struggled with the wealth gap at Institution D. He said:

I think at [Institution D] 60% of students are on financial aid of some sort, but even so like, thankfully most, almost every event on campus is free. So it hasn't really been an issue with doing that kind of stuff but, but more of realizing that I don't have the same, I haven't shared the same experiences as some of my peers, like traveling to Europe every year or like going on nice vacations...

Campus climate issues around race, gender, sexuality and socioeconomic class were prevalent in the participants' reflections upon their connections with diversity. In each interview (100%), the researcher found that the men felt compelled to act after experiencing or witnessing problematic issues within their campus environments. This theme is further explored in the conclusions chapter.

Social interactions. The students' recounting of campus incidents around racism, gender discrimination, sexual violence and class disparity were mostly followed by discussions of the ways they chose to get involved on campus. They all described various social interactions

outside of the classroom that helped them continue along their paths toward social justice advocacy. The participants referenced involvement or leadership within student clubs or organizations, participation in activist initiatives, and friendships with women, people of color, and LGBT students as the main experiences providing diverse social interactions (Figure 6).

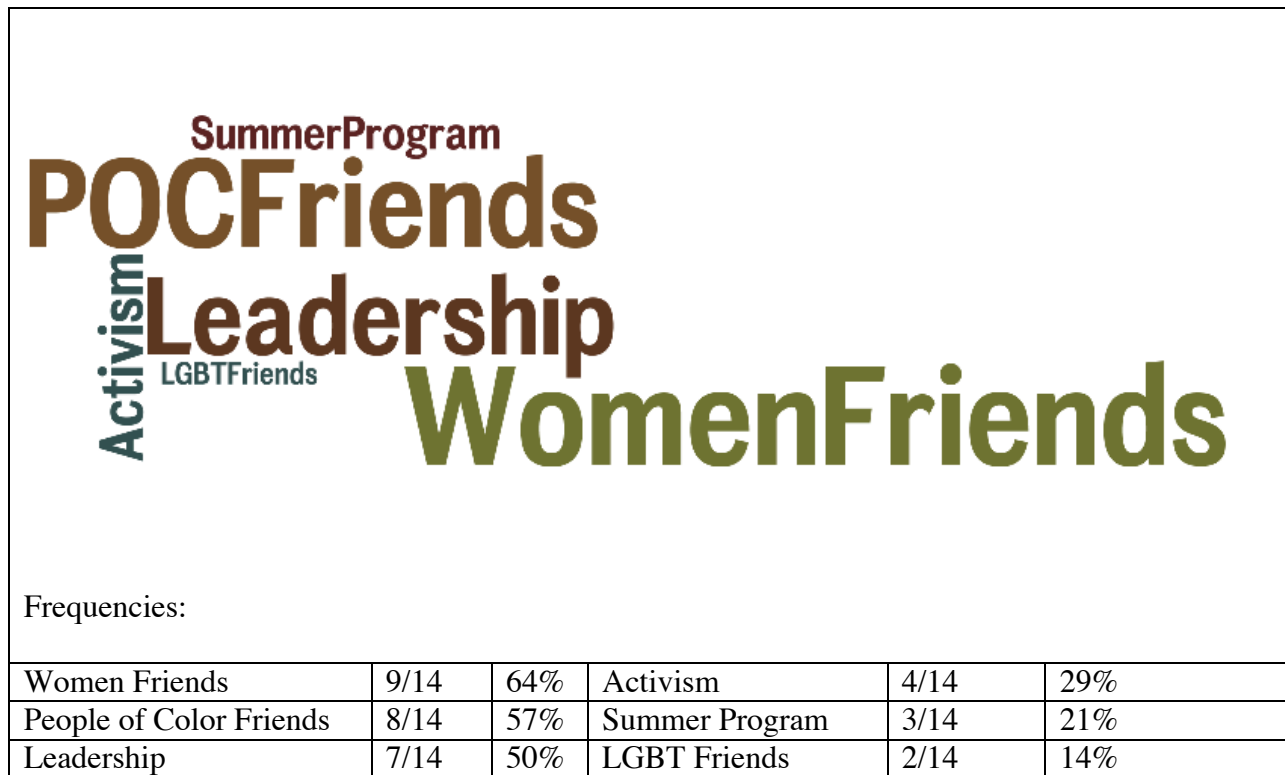


Figure 6. Social Interactions.

Anthony, Wayne and David from Institution B all showed campus leadership by helping to form and serving on a committee within student government to help address the bias-related incidents happening on their campus. Anthony, the participant in this study with the least amount of pre-college marginalization or exposure to diversity issues, found himself at the center of the leadership team for the newly established diversity committee. He said:

During my senior year, I was president of student government and a committee that I founded during my time in that role was called the [diversity] committee. And what we

focused on with that committee was to look at some of the cultural challenges that we felt that [Institution B] faced as far as having an open and inclusive and accepting of diversity type of community... and how, in the academic arena, maybe we could get some changes implemented through talking to deans and professors and provosts and what not that could maybe help educate students in some arenas we felt they weren't sufficiently educated in across the board... So for me, definitely all that experience and learning really happened in our student government [diversity] committee because that's where we spent a lot of time really talking to different student groups and, uh, different interest groups on campus, people like [the director of multicultural affairs], about how different people perceive [Institution B], or problems of [Institution B], or lack thereof in some cases... So I think that was really where I experienced a big slice of diverse opinions and schools of thought on what was or was not going on and how we should or shouldn't solve it.

David summarized the committee's efforts in the following way:

The work of the committee has been two fold. It's been both an educational policy and a vandal program; so what we can get the institution to do, and what we can do ourselves, was the two branches that we focused on. What we can do ourselves was things like mentorship programs for new students; looking at the ways we can help low income students; analyzing past research that the university had done on harassment; sharing that knowledge, you know we do studies on this stuff and it's not public!... at my [high] school, I never had a vehicle to take action. Now with the committee, there's people that are there to help, there's people with similar mindsets. And there's a bureaucracy, which sometimes you're fighting against and sometimes you're working with to combat these

issues. So, it's kind of a political process figuring out who's on your side, and trying to make things happen whether it be events or policy change.

As earlier mentioned, Wyatt displayed leadership in choosing to apply for the resident advisor position in Institution B's multicultural house. When he was not selected for that position, he became the resident advisor for a [multicultural] community within a residence hall... which he referred to as a "sort of the junior [multicultural house] is how they've coined it."

Robert's leadership was in the form of having joined a diverse group of peer educators focused on promoting multicultural dialogue. He described his interactions through this program as having been the most beneficial part of his advancement of social justice knowledge and skills. He said:

I was shocked to find that whether it was a White kid or a Black kid, we all had the same stories in common. We all had heard about a racist person who said this on campus and these types of conversations were not being had in my dorm rooms. I just didn't have that type of experience. Nobody was talking about these issues and I came to [the peer educators], and after having a couple of these conversations, I just kind of got hooked on it, you know? I was really for the idea of educating myself about all of these different ideas and working for it. I just kind of took off from there.

After helping a friend who had experienced sexual assault, Cain played a leadership role in helping to revise the sexual misconduct policy. Michael served an elected official on Student Government at Institution D. In this role, he saw an opportunity to make policy adjustments in order to support student organizations in a more equitable fashion. He recalled:

Yeah, so as the VP for finance, I'm responsible for our [significant] budget; that gets divided up between 2/3 of the organizations and we keep a 1/3 of it to disperse

throughout the year. So people, every week, will submit us applications for funding and we'll grant them. We give out anywhere between \$3,000 and \$15,000 a week. All of that is decided by the committee. So that committee meets on Sunday afternoons. So what I've done this year, I've restructured the section of the [student government] entirely. So it used to be that the committee was an internal committee. Only people who are elected to student government could sit on it. This year we opened it up so that anyone could apply to be on it. So as you would expect, a committee that previously was staffed only with members of student government was predominately White and male, because it's a very big barrier to entrance. So by having applications we created the most diverse finance committee in history; thirty students across almost as many organizations, with more than equitable representation by the college standards of every factor that we could think of. We thought that this was important because it's the student's money.

All of these various forms of leadership gave the students social interactions to further their social justice interest, awareness and skill development.

Activism provided another space for social interactions with diverse peers and ideas. Several participants engaged in efforts on and off campus to bring about social change. Gary was complimentary of his experiences with activism on campus as having provided positive social interactions. He said:

Since I came to [Institution D], I think the activist scene here, at least for my first two years, easily lent itself to interconnection between different activist groups. And primarily, I would say for my first two years, there was a group, the group still exists although it's changed a lot... that was just sort of an amalgamation of different activist efforts that would convene once a week and everyone would sort of go around and say

what was going on in their respective groups. Probably about half or even more of the group was made up of people of color, so it was like one of the, I would say, one of the more diverse activist groups on campus. Like, non-affinity activist groups I would say. And that was, that for me was like a wonderful way to just connect with the work that other students were doing and pitching in as I could. Staying involved with what was going on. So I would say I definitely learned a lot from fellow students and folks who have different perspectives and backgrounds.

Both Gary and Aiden participated with numerous other Institution D students in the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York City. Aiden reflected on the incident in great detail, stating:

I went down with a group of other [Institution D] students on Sept 17 when it began. We went down the very first day and stayed for a bit. And then so I kind of felt a little attachment to it. This is pretty much the first protest I ever went to, and it was like an interesting space. I [later] did some self-reflection work in my thesis, which was fun... It was about 9 am we tried to shut down the bell, actually shut down the functioning of the market. There were three entrances and groups of us went to try to shut down each entrance. I went to one, and I was with the same kind of [Institution D] students that went the first day. And so we kind of all sat down in the streets and the riot police came and essentially arrested a bunch of people. And since we were on the sidewalk, I was on the sidewalk, and the police basically said no one is allowed in the street, and anyone on the street will be arrested... And so the police in riot gear came, with the shields and the batons, and were starting to push. So some of the occupiers were literally grabbing people and holding them on the bare edge of the ledge to try and help them not be arrested. And essentially being there, just a foot away from the riot police, that was like a very different

relationship to the state than I was used to in the upper west side of Manhattan. I've never had that very antagonistic, very repressive, totalitarian, fascist relationship with authority... I'd never had that racial discrimination; I've never had that gender discrimination, as like a very privileged middle upper class White male. So being in that space confronting those riot police just looking in the eyes of a riot gear visor was very profound to me.

In the aftermath of the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO and the choking death of Eric Gardner in Staten Island, NY, a group of Institution D students decided to engage in local protests and demonstrations. Tim reflected on his personal involvement in those protests as well as on-campus ones, saying:

A bunch of women of color on campus organized a protest at the [local] jail, that myself and a lot of other students went to... There was a lot of energy behind it. And then there was an incident on campus where a student had gone through the Title IX process and then the perpetrator had be found not responsible, even though it was pretty clear, like, they were responsible... Anyway so there was an article about that, it had gone national too. And there was a big protest on campus for, like, it was supposed to be an intersectional protest for racial and sexual violence justice, which a ton of people came to and that led to some promises made, by [Institution D] administration, as to like steps moving forward. I have a lot of feelings about that... I was there as a listener from my organization in case somebody wanted to talk; it could've been a triggering experience for them. I marched but didn't chant with people. A lot of the people I was with didn't do the same thing. I really think that it was co-opted; there was a lot of people centering their voices that didn't need to be centering their voices, a lot of like the tall White men, who

were already like were actively being the loud ones... so I don't know. It felt really hollow to me. It got stuff done, though, so like there's that side of it. It's like being there and knowing some of the folks involved, it felt really hollow.

The idea of White men centering their voices in activist causes also came up in Samuel's interview. He'd started engaging with activist causes like animal rights and ended up looking more holistically at issues like farm workers' rights and food deserts. He talked about his social interactions with others in various forms of protest, saying:

I think personally in terms of my race that's what I've become most aware of. Being a White person trying to equitably and justly navigate social justice spaces and learning how to stand in solidarity with oppressed people and not be in the forefront of these kinds of movements. So asking like, 'what you want me to do, where should I be, tell me what to do and I'll do it. I will be a body.' I realize this isn't about me at all. But I can be there to lend support, to be a helping hand, just to be there and I think that's crucial. Cause every day is about me as a white person so it's important to... to make it about someone else instead.

Robert questioned the role of White males in anti-racist movements as well. He said:

Just in terms of what was going on with Ferguson, stuff like that, and the marches that were going on here. There were students on campus that were going to marches, some of which were White males, others were people of color, whatever, so everybody's kind of going. But what I'd understood was that some of the White males had made their way up to the front of the pack, and kind of like leading chants and stuff like that, they were being an ally. And from what I heard...there were a couple of people that were upset that the spotlight was being stolen by these White males... the fact that the White man has to

... speak is in of itself negating the fact that Black lives matter... when I heard that comment I had to think twice about how I am perceived as a White male, in terms of how I interacted with people.

Chase shared the same sentiments regarding navigating activist spaces as a White ally to students of color. He said:

You have to acknowledge your privilege, you have to acknowledge that you're not coming in with like solutions for other people, and that you have to support the people there, and like pulling yourself back, because there's all these social justice issues associated with going into a foreign situation, and thinking you know what's right for the people there... Um, so yeah, so I realized, it wasn't, I couldn't be in leadership; I could support people, but I wasn't gonna be the one to lead the revolution or whatever and that just wasn't my place. And, yeah, so I think that... and also there are spaces myself as a White person, I shouldn't, if I really want to support the people in that space, I should not be in that space. This is like, this is a Black space; this is a Latino space; this is an Asian space. And if you put yourself in there, even if, no matter how I act, no matter how I try to take myself out, the fact that I'm there means that people can't have conversations they would have otherwise. Um, which is always a dynamic I'm struggling with... I think going outside your community has just a lot of issues with it and, um, so that's the place where I'm in now. Maybe it's okay that, like, the biggest impact I have is talking to other White students about their privilege or talking to other White students and like, in that space where we're at an equal level, and like talking about these issues. And supporting my friends who are doing it in their communities but not going into that community and changing things.

Evan, Tim and Chase, referenced their participation in summer transition programs as having launched their social connectedness with diverse peers. Evan was not recruited to the summer program. He said:

I entered through a diversity initiative. It wasn't marketed toward, they were using race and sort of geography to, sort of, market, but I found it online. I was like, 'holy shit I need to get, this is the way to get in here.' So I went, got connected to those people, and then I felt obligated to give back so I worked there the next year.

Tim said of his summer transition program experience:

So I was lucky to be part of a really great program here... our Res Life director...started [it] up the year before I came in as a freshman for low income and first gen students. And so like, from the get go that at least gave me some what of a network of people I knew I would be able relate to really well...I received an email from [the Res Life director], the summer before [Institution D]... It was basically an email to all the first year students that was coming into [Institution D], and those on the lower end of the financial aid scale, asking them if they wanted to be a part of a program. There was a one-page application, and the first 40 people that filled it out and submitted it got into the program. There's, like you had to fill out the application but he wasn't going to say no to anyone... I got an intern who I met and then we had four other people in my group and then, there was like 8 different groups once we got here. It was a pre-orientation program. We got here, we were here for 4 days, we had 7 mock classes, got mock homework, did a bunch of activities, went on a subsidized trip to the movies and out to dinner all paid for by the school. Just to like give us a little bit of a leg up before orientation.

Chase participated in a similar summer initiative. He recalled:

So, [the summer program] originally started as a place for students of color who were coming into [Institution C and two other nearby institutions] to learn about, to connect with each other, to talk about issues of like, people are going to be adjusting to college and what that's like, and issues of race, class and privilege and other identities and how those play out in college. It changed, I don't know, like four or five years ago, they began letting White students into the program. There's actually alumni who feel very strongly that that shouldn't have happened, because like, that safe space that I was talking about earlier, it changed that from a safe space where the anger could be expressed to a space where sometimes it was about educating White students just as much as meeting the needs of those students of color who really needed that space going into college and I think really needed those conversations. But for me that space was really important, and, yeah... the learning I got through that week, the friendships that continued from that.

The most frequently cited social interactions in college were with women, people of color, and lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender peers. These interactions happened in both structured and informal settings. Anthony, who identified as straight, had a best friend from childhood come out of the closet as gay during college and this experience affected his interest in associating with more LGBT persons at Institution B. Similarly, Robert was a part of a gay-straight student alliance at Institution A that, he said, prepared him to be an effective ally to his roommate who later came out of the closet as bisexual.

Social interactions with women were plentiful and many of the men in the study, 9 of 14 (64%), attributed their sensitivity to gender inequality and other social issues to their close friendships with women. The straight men in the study were particularly descriptive when discussing their friendships with women. Chase said:

So I still have a lot of female friends, probably 75 to 80% of my friends are female, despite being straight... I find it hard to connect with other guys... And I think, also because I was raised in this family around two very sensitive, emotional parents, and I'm very emotionally aware, I think sometimes, because of that, I'm not always able, like, I sometimes bridge the distance that's supposed to exist between two straight men, and I sometimes bridge that distance just because I'm more aware of it, and I like wanna talk about things, and they may be like, 'I don't want to talk about this, like, we're not going there.' So yeah, so I think I feel a little bit uncomfortable. I think that I'm just, I feel like a poser sometimes when I'm hanging out with a group of guys and they're talking about whatever because I usually don't identify with whatever, like if it's sports, or whatever.

Robert and Wyatt both described themselves as serving primarily as active listeners with their women friends. Wyatt said:

Most of my friends are women or girls or whatever you want to call them. So I get a lot, I hear a lot from them. Especially since they're engineers for the most part. It's pretty rough for women in engineering. So I think it's almost like a therapist role... My mom always tells me that I have a mind like a woman. I don't know what that means.

Wayne was close with a lot of women, and in particular, women of color. He said he sometimes feels that he "pushes women's issues more than most women do."

Several men in this study, 8 out of 14 (57%) were also very connected to students of color on their respective campuses. Brian spends time almost exclusively with people of color saying, "The only White friend I have is my roommate." Chase said, "having friends of color here, I think, is like, I've become very aware of situations where I clearly have some power or

when I got away with things that I shouldn't have.” Michael said the following about his multicultural friend group:

I do have a lot of friendships across race and across gender, and that's important to me in my personal life... [There's] so much diversity it's so easy to make friends with people regardless of where they're from or who they are, or any of those things.

The data suggested that White males who consider themselves allies to various causes are often motivated to do so as a result of various kinds of social interactions within and outside of their campus communities. Through various informal and formal connections with diverse peers, the men in this study were able to bolster their commitment to demonstrating ally behaviors. This finding is discussed in greater detail in the conclusions section of this report.

Intellectual stimuli. The third and final major category of college experiences shared across the men in this study was knowledge acquisition or intellectual stimuli. Participants cited numerous types of encounters with new information or diverse perspectives that provoked their further engagement with diversity. Some of the experiences were academic in nature such as taking relevant coursework, having a particularly powerful faculty mentor, participating in a study abroad program or completing a senior thesis. Other experiences sparking intellectual curiosity included having an opportunity for collaboration or teamwork within a diverse group and working closely with offices of multicultural affairs, women's centers or LGBTQ centers (Figure 7).

Many of the participants, 10 of 14 (71%), indicated that courses they took in college helped them to refine their thinking about particular social issues and take new perspectives. Evan described himself as having a primarily academic interest in social justice issues. Most of

his responses to the interview questions referred to theories and concepts he had learned in various courses. For example, when asked to define social justice as a concept, he replied:

I mean if we were talking about subjective definition this is on the grid its real but, I guess it's sort of like that feeling, holistic sort of a belief in rights, and in action. Oh my God I've taken this professor too many times. Perry's Stage 4 basically, right? Commitment and all the stuff that goes with that, I can see the slide in my head.

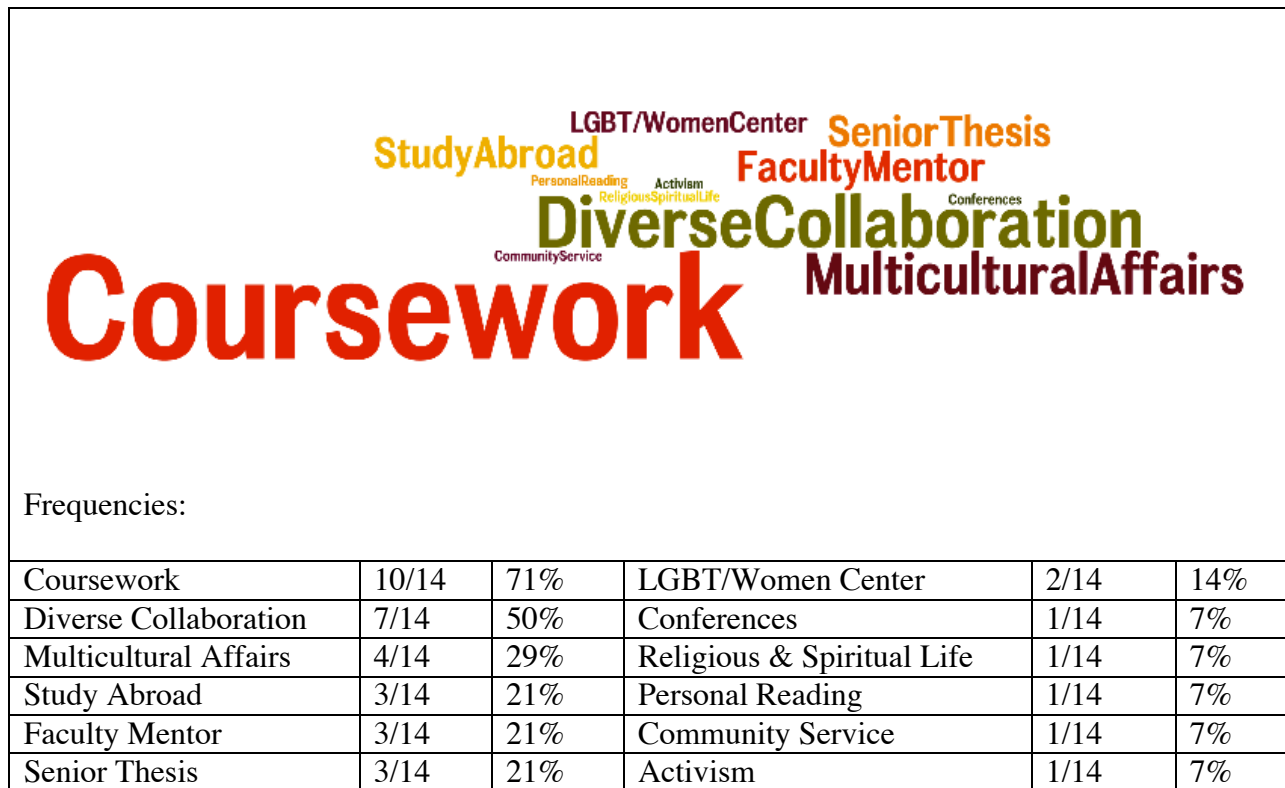


Figure 7. Intellectual Stimuli.

Though Cain was an economics major, he took a few courses in anthropology and political science and believed those helped him to explore diversity issues. Wayne had taken a number of courses in political science, with titles like, “Social Movements... Propaganda... and American Politics.” He listed a number of favorite professors he’d taken over the years and

described one in particular as “an incredible professor who was sort of a rock star.” Chase took numerous relevant courses and even reflected upon his reading assignments in each:

I took a political science course freshman year that was really, really good on this front. The professor's not at [Institution C] anymore. But it was about freedom and obedience and disobedience and power, was the core theme of the course. So we read, like, *1984* and a couple other, like Nietzsche, and a couple other classics. But then we also read like a book about queer sexuality and, like, the power that comes into play when thinking about that. We read a book about, um, like, Chicano/a, Latino/a identities and like the relationship between the U.S. and Latin America. Actually, [the multicultural affairs director's] class, I took a class with [her] freshman year; that was great. We read, um, it's called *American Autobiography*, we read Malcolm X's autobiography, we read, um, I'm not gonna remember the names right now, *The Woman Warrior*? I don't remember who wrote it right now. But, um, a lot of really great texts.

Samuel started college with the intent to major in women's and gender studies and soon decided he wanted to broaden his scope. He said:

I'd taken intro to women studies and I realize I actually didn't like this very much. I thought it was too narrow and too focused on, only on using gender as a lens, not everything else that I thought. I like, I enjoy the complexity of looking at everything all together and that was most interesting to me, looking at race, gender, sexuality, social economic status, looking at everything altogether as one huge messy system, and so I picked international studies instead.

Gary thought his coursework matched well with his involvements outside the classroom in terms of providing him the language of social justice. He said:

I think certainly coursework more in my freshman year was when I was, like, I took my first sociology class and that sort of thing and then was taking this class on environmental justice. And was situated towards that type of social justice language earlier on. And, but then, a lot of the activists groups on campus the language used in those activist groups I would say was like academic in a way. It's very like, 'social justice and allyship and how can you, what's the intersectionality between the different activist groups,' and I think, so I felt well informed of those definitions partaking in activist groups.

Aiden found symbiosis between what he experienced as a first year student participating in the Occupy Wall Street movement and what he was learning in his courses. Three years later as a senior, he chose to write a thesis on the subject. He elaborated on the thesis, saying:

Essentially my thesis was a response – so in that moment in that year for 2011/2012, one of my friends who I was very close to in high school, he went to [a different college]. We were very close, very ideologically the same, and over Occupy Wall Street we were very much different. It was the first schism of our political differences. So he kind of was really adamant against it and he thought it was a farce and thought it was kind of misdirected... I kind of always wondered if I was kind of being an apologist or something like that. And it's actually in response to that question, 'so you're saying it's a failure,' so many things for me, 'it's not a failure,' but I couldn't articulate it. So essentially my thesis was trying to find, 'well what was it being in that space that to say it was a failure it just misses it.' Not only misses it but erases whatever was created in that space? So a lot of what I found was that being in that space working, the space of like conversations, knowledge production, what I call kind of political subjectivation... and like this idea of love, and like this idea of solidarity... But yes essentially being in that

space with people, and quite frankly being with people who I would not normally have a conversation with, I definitely had conversations about race and class or gender for that matter that I did not have otherwise, especially as a freshman in college. Obviously I would be having them in the course of my [Institution D] career.

Evan, too, was writing a thesis that very much connected with his personal interests. Near the beginning of the interview, he started discussing his research interests and sharing his plans for post-graduation. He said:

I want to go into marketing, market research particularly. Researching particularly like gay male identity construction with even more particular respect to masculinity... this capstone thing that I am working on right now, about that topic is probably going to be the base of my master's degree. But I realize the whole theory that I've been resting on that hegemonic masculinity is just, it doesn't fit, I never liked it. I just figured out the whole thing I wanted to say this past weekend... Hegemonic masculinity, a lot of the research, the theory of hegemonic masculinity *is*, effectively, established hegemony within literature in the sense that everybody wants to point to something else, but all roads keep going back there. I was thinking like in terms of masculine identity formation, right, hegemonic masculinity made sense in a time of maybe like Fordism or like early ninety's sort of like capitalism where you can have these more clear cut hierarchies within masculinities in the gay community. So you had like the straight acting male, you had like the gay clone, right, these identities you can point to. Now looking at social media and stuff, there is no hegemonic masculinity; they're relational. It's a constellation of masculinities that seem to float about the top and the research that I'm reading right now, the theory just doesn't seem to capture that and people can switch back and forth it

still seems too thin. Like the gay bro or the skater or the surfer right, things that borrow from heterosexual masculinity still float to the top, right, but there is no, it's not really a hypermasculinity or like a hegemonic one.

Tim was also writing a senior thesis on safety and comfort and trying to understand “how willing people are to put themselves in a risk space or brave space and be able to let their preconceived notions be challenged and transform them.”

Other academic experiences that provided intellectual stimuli included Wyatt's relationship with a faculty mentor who challenged him in interactions outside of class to unpack his thoughts about being a White ally. He said:

I was talking to one of my professors about why I was interested in a lot of sustainable development work. And he said, ‘Have you heard of White guilt? Have you heard of the Messiah complex? You have both of those things.’ ... ‘Okay, thanks?’ ... I've been in a lot of courses with him; I've done independent studies with him... He does a lot of development work. He's an interesting guy... So I just set up a meeting and talked to him for a few hours and he convinced me that I should do sustainable development work and he was right. I think it's a really fascinating subject.

Though several participants had an opportunity while in college to study abroad for an extended time period, three mentioned specific learning that occurred on their respective trips. Brian visited Latin America and participated in service projects while there. He'd also visited Haiti with one of his aunts and witnessed extreme poverty, but made memorable connections with the people he met there. Samuel mentioned the impact of his study abroad experience on his knowledge acquisition, particularly in support of his study of Arabic language and culture. He spent eleven months abroad split between Jordan and Morocco.

Chase, who had taken a gap year abroad, continued to immerse himself in other cultures throughout his college experience. He lived in Ghana after his first year and studied in China the semester prior to being interviewed for this study. In both cases, he acquired new knowledge and information that supported his development as an ally. He reflected on his abroad experiences in the following manner:

“In Ghana, I was interning at a non-profit that was all Black women except for me... And that just got me really thinking a lot and exploring a lot. And then, in China, to some extent too, yeah, I think there's a very, being a White man in China, like the privileges you get are unbelievable. I mean a crazy example I can give is that, Chinese people who go to night clubs don't like to dance, they like to see White people dancing. So they have these people who get paid to bring White people to the nightclubs and they get paid for every person they bring. It's unbelievable. It's insane...So yeah, I think I was very, became very aware of my privilege, very like, because it was so obvious in that sense, it was just so clear. Especially when I had like, I had a Black friend who was with me in China, and just seeing how differently we got treated and then like, there was no subtlety, in America it can be subtle sometimes; there's no subtlety abroad, and so that was really interesting.”

Students in this study also referenced co-curricular involvements as sources of intellectual inspiration for continuing the work of ally development. Participants had experiences working as student assistants in multicultural affairs, women's centers and LGBTQ centers. Robert's connection to the peer education group was supported entirely through multicultural affairs, and that involved required training sessions and social justice focused retreats. He recalled having been referred to the program by the counseling center on campus:

I'd been in and out of the counseling center for the first and second year...my counselor told me to go, to go talk to [the assistant director of multicultural affairs] kind of just in passing, and after talking to him he said, 'you're not the only one; a lot of kids on campus are doing this whole social isolation [thing]. They're engaging in these activities because they don't like what they see in the culture.' I did want to learn about other cultures and be able to kind of understand what I was going through, and I think that the [peer education program] really helped me understand what I was going through, understand those social cues, things like that.

Cain worked in the Women's center at [Institution C] where he focused primarily on working with the staff and other community members to revise sexual misconduct policies. Tim described his work in the LGBTQ center at [Institution D] as having greatly contributed to his knowledge, particularly on matters of gender and sexuality. He said:

A lot of my friends have really influenced me... especially from having worked in the LGBTQ center. I would just like sit there doing work for the center and listening to conversations in the space. I feel like just even doing that without necessarily talking, but just listening; I've learned quite a lot from that. And then after all of that I feel like I've become much more comfortable being able to have these conversations within the space where I feel pretty okay getting challenged or if I am feeling defensive, I can take a step back for a little bit and be able to think about it and be able to figure out how to change from there.

Another category of co-curricular intellectual stimulus to emerge from the data was diverse collaboration, which included experiences like serving on committees together with other students, attending conferences, or co-sponsoring events. As earlier noted, Michael was very

proud of his accomplishments on Student Government for his institution. He was intellectually stimulated by the apparent lack of diversity within student government and the imbalanced representation in the budgeting process. He said:

There's this kind of I – it goes back to what I was saying before. It's just one of the institutions that was crafted for a different time, it was crafted to serve the needs of White students and it wasn't serving the needs of the students with the shifting of our student body with the shifting demographics, so that's something I'm very proud of. My position [as VP of Finance] has also been a White man since 2007, and before that it was more likely a White man from when the school went co-ed. I would probably, I would like to make the assumption, there are probably issues with correlation here, but because we opened up the community to so many people we got a lot more people involved with finances and now this year the elections have been decided and it will be a woman of color or a man of color. And I think there is something to be said about the diversity of the committee this year contributing to that kind of change.

Samuel thought that while classes were hugely important in laying theoretical foundations, it was also important to take advantages of opportunities to attend various student conferences. He stated:

Through my advocacy in other spaces... so I've been to the National Students for Justice in Palestine Conference, that was at [a New England university] this past fall, and also the Open Hillel Conference, also the Jewish Voice for Peace Conference; they were all this school year. And getting a chance to use this vocabulary and see it happening in action, and having intense discussion about this kind of stuff.

The men in this study provided a wealth of information about intellectual stimuli, both inside and outside of the classroom that assisted in their ally development processes. Their curiosities about various social identities and differences aided them in finding co-curricular opportunities to gain new knowledge and take different perspectives. This theme is further explored in the conclusions section of this report.

Meaning-Making

The third research question in this study is how do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies? The interviewer posed questions that required participants to reflect upon their lived experiences as White men in a society that has given them advantages on the basis of race and gender. Three categories of information emerged from a review of the meaning-making data:

1. White male definition (To be a White man is...)
2. Self-definition (But I am...)
3. Social justice ally motivation (Ally motivation)

Each participant was asked a series of questions near the end of the study that attempted to hone in on what they learned about their Whiteness and Maleness in relationship to other White males and how they saw themselves developing as social justice allies (Appendix C). The data in this section are summarized in Table 12.

White male definition. The researcher asked each participant the question, “What does it mean to be a White man at your institution?” intentionally leaving the question broad and open-ended to draw a variety of responses. Responses included the idea that White males were the normative category on their campuses, that they were indistinguishable, that they held many

privileges and advantages, that they were generally unaware, and that they were uninvolved or disconnected (sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally) from social causes (Figure 8).

A common definition for White maleness in the context of a highly selective college campus was the idea of being either normative or indistinguishable, or both. Several participants grappled with the idea of overrepresentation in terms of the racial and gender composition of their respective campuses. Evan described it as being the “default” on campus. David talked about White maleness in terms of fitting in, saying:

What does it mean to be a White man? It means you fit in, it means you're just like everyone else... I don't know. If you look around everyone seems to be White. I mean, I would say that put simply, its like, you're like the mass.

Wyatt had similar thoughts, responding to the question about being a White man by saying:

I feel very comfortable. I do feel a sense of, I don't know, part of the pack almost. Because you look left, you look right, you're standing between two White men at [Institution B] at least it seems like that. But it doesn't really; I don't think it has really affected how I behave at all.

Cain tied his thoughts on the contemporary experience of White men on his campus to the institution's history, saying:

Wow, I don't know. To have a lot of people look like you on campus. It's sort of like, it's like who the school was made for, I guess. This was like originally, and for like a very long time, just a male institution and just a White male institution before that, so...

[Question: And, what does that mean in terms of the social experience here?] Having that accepted as, like the default or like the neutral.

Table 12

Meaning-Making

	Name	To Be a White Man is...	White Male Definition... Example	But I am...	Self-Definition... Example	Social Justice Ally Motivation	Ally Motivation Example
1	Brian	Indistinguishable	"I think that a lot of White people are comfortable in being in that position where they are undistinguishable on campus...a nameless person in a crowd."	Individual	"I feel like I've always kind of felt the opposite way, I've always wanted to stand out, I've always wanted to be an individual."	Empathy Exposure Confidence	"My mom, like I told you, she is a caring person...I think that seeing that and, as much as genetics can...you know pass that caring gene down to you."
2	Evan	Indistinguishable Normative Uninvolved Unaware	"It means to be the default. You're not a marked category... You're viewed as sort of a challenge... like how can we get men involved?"	Engaged Aware	"If I wasn't gay, I'd probably be on the conveyor belt, being gay kicked me off the conveyor belt and I fell on the ground and I saw the machinery for a little bit."	Intellectual Morality	"If I could right now, I would clear out my schedule and lock myself in the social science area where no one goes and work on my capstone and build stuff off
3	Robert	Uninvolved Unaware	"When I would ask my friends, 'do you guys want to come to a [peer educator] panel...they're like, 'isn't that only for Black people? lack of involvement	Engaged Aware	"I think I've come to understand my privilege. Something very important that I think a lot of White people struggle with is really understanding privilege."	Morality Empathy Exposure	"I don't know if it's because I've had more exposure with it, I really do think that's it because I came from a more diverse high school."
4	Anthony	Normative Indistinguishable Advantaged	"I guess it kind of felt like I was the norm almost...and that kind of gave me some advantages there...I fit into a crowd, there was nothing different about me."	Normative Indistinguishable Advantaged Engaged Interested	"I was trying to make change...and from my position, which was distinct from theirs, I saw that there were issues and I was trying to do something..."	Empathy	"There were others who weren't in that position who I felt sometimes suffered because they didn't have that advantage... It was very troubling."
5	David	Indistinguishable Normative	"It means you fit in, it means you're just like everyone else... I don't know, if you look around, everyone seems to be White... It's like you're the mass."	Mature Individual	"Fit in is an interesting way to put it. I don't think I fit in with the majority of White men here. I think there's definitely a divide."	Empathy Morality Confidence	"I think that's probably one of the keys is confidence - So I had empathy and then confidence and really the two things together made me engage."
6	Wyatt	Normative Indistinguishable	"I think, the majority. I feel very comfortable. I do feel part of the pack, almost. You look left, you look right, you're standing between two White men."	Normative Indistinguishable Comfortable Engaged	"It doesn't really, I don't think it has really affected how I behave at all."	Empathy Morality	"I'm close with my friends and they were upset and that made me upset. That made me want to help them in some way."
7	Wayne	Unaware Uninvolved	"There are a lot of conversations to be had. Generally they are open to having them, but they've been kept away from spaces to have them."	Indistinguishable Aware Engaged	"I drive my dad's old BMW and wear polo shirts... But I'm very self-aware and want to have uncomfortable conversations."	Empathy Confidence Political Intellectual	"My faculty members probably think I'm obnoxious... too into it in class; I talk too much and raise my hand too much; annoyingly over-interested."
8	Cain	Normative Indistinguishable Advantaged	"Wow, I don't know. To have a lot of people look like you on campus. It's sort of like, it's like who the school was made for, I guess."	Normative Engaged Advantaged	"[I'm perceived as] like as a White guy probably... a person who gets a certain level of, I don't know if acceptance is the right word, from the institution."	Empathy	"I think it's being conscious of this type of difference and the way in which you can make things worse for people...and trying actively not to do that."
9	Chase	Well-intentioned Sensitive Unaware	"[Small] White students are super sensitive... they want people of color to give them answers... they're like 'oh, can you tell me how to do better?'"	Cultured Curious Aware	"I don't think it's something about me that makes me different. I think I've just had access to a lot of opportunities..."	Exposure Confidence	"I already had experience putting myself outside of my comfort zone...Since I've been a kid, I've known what it was like to stick out from the crowd."
10	Aiden	Advantaged Unaware Uninvolved	"I think a lot of White men think, 'oh people on this campus hate White men.' A lot of White men, especially on sports teams, they definitely aren't involved."	Advantaged Aware Engaged	"I don't have to deal with racial politics. I don't have to deal with gender politics... but I don't care, I'm like, 'yeah... fuck the white man.'"	Intellectual Political	[Asked about motivation...] "Academics is definitely primary, inside the course setting, definitely."
11	Gary	Unaware Uninvolved Powerful	"The White men are the ones dominating conversations in politics and in the classroom, by in large, and here in the administration..."	Advantaged Aware Engaged	"I think for me it would be... trying to understand that I have been handed quite a few more privileges... but taking those and trying to do what is right."	Marginalization Empathy Morality	"I think maybe if people are able to tune into those places where they have been marginalized ...tuning into that helps you gain empathy..."
12	Michael	Advantaged Aware	"I'm very hesitant to speak on behalf of every White man, it would be surprising if it doesn't give this demographic a sense of awareness of its privilege."	Advantaged Engaged Aware	"It's pretty great. I do feel a lot of shame for how great an experience I've had... I know the institution is structured in a way that it's looking out for me."	Empathy Exposure	"I think its about really pursuing equity, just trying to treat everyone equally and pursuing any instance that you have with empathy..."
13	Samuel	Advantaged Unaware	"I think some White men are just so blinded by their own privilege that they're not able to see other people who don't have the same privileges."	Advantaged Aware Engaged	"I think [people of color] see me as a White male activist especially because I'm very vocal in Jewish Voice for Peace... they see me as a figure head."	Intellectual Exposure Morality	"How can I create more equitable spaces? How can I create communities? How am I contributing negatively and positively to this space?"
14	Tim	Normative Indistinguishable Unaware Advantaged	"I was ultimately working to not be what many students of color think of as the typical White [Upstate] student."	Aware Engaged Open Introspective Intentional	"Being a White person at [Upstate] meant that I needed to always be intentional when I navigated spaces to figure out what my place was..."	Empathy Exposure Confidence	"I think...how willing people are to put themselves in a risk space or a brave space and be able to let their preconceived notions be challenged..."

Some of the comments about the normalcy of White maleness were closely related to another concept, that of the indistinguishable nature of White maleness. Seven of the 14 participants (50%) expressed not only that White men were overrepresented on their campuses, but also that they were too similar in terms of their thinking and behaviors. Anthony said, “I fit into a crowd and there was nothing different about me.” Brian said:

It’s kind of like you are undistinguishable on campus from anyone else. So, and I think that a lot of White people are comfortable in being in that position where they are undistinguishable on campus where they are just being, like a nameless person in the crowd as long as they have like their certain friends, they’re fine just fitting into that group that doesn’t make them look weird.

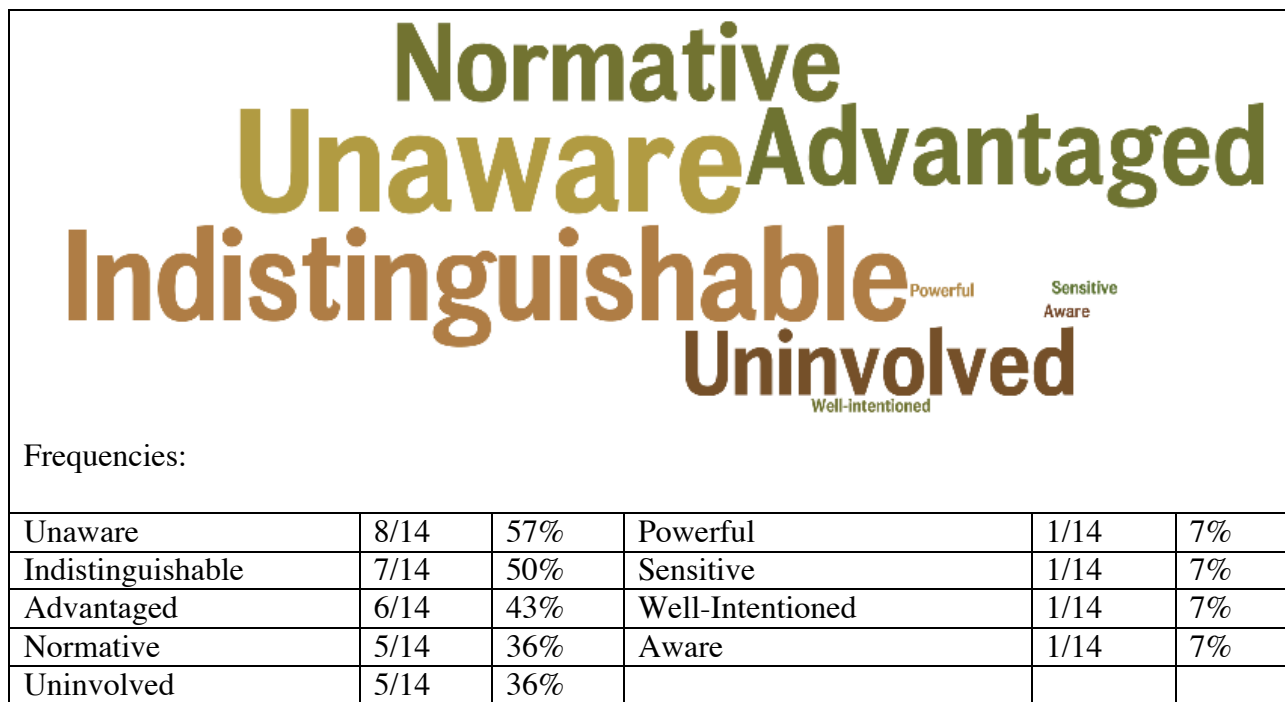


Figure 8. White Male Definition (To be a White man is...)

Students in this study clearly understand White males to be a privileged group who were advantaged in various ways within their campus communities. For Aiden, the definition of White maleness was that he didn’t have to experience or think about certain types of issues saying, “I

don't have to deal with racial politics; I don't have to deal with gender politics.” Michael expressed some guilt at having had such a positive experience as a White male within his institution and at the recognition that others may have had different experiences. He responded to the question about the meaning of being a White man in the following manner:

I mean it's pretty great. I do feel a lot of shame for how great an experience I've had. I mean everyone has their ups and downs in college. I've had my downs as well. But I know that the institution is structured in such a way that its looking out for me. I know that's what the school wants, I know the school wants to look out for all the students, but just systematically, I'm the most likely to be helped and because of that my experience has been really positive. But, I also think that being a White male at [Institution D], I don't know, I'm very hesitant to speak on the behalf of every White man, it would be surprising if it doesn't give this demographic a sense of awareness of its privilege because it is really shocking to see students who can move through this a lot easier, especially the transition, and then see students who it's not so easy for and wonder why, like where these differences are coming from? I mean, yeah I mean, I really like it here.

Samuel spoke about White male advantage, too, saying:

I think some White men are just so blinded by their privilege that they're not able to see that other people don't have the same privileges. I think it comes to that. I think no one, very few people actively want to be a horrible person. But I think they're just blinded by their privilege, by the power behind that privilege. And I think that the concept of the American dream plays into that in the American context as well. And that 'if you could just pull yourself up by your bootstrap you can – I can do this, you can do this, too.' Not realizing that other factors apply. It's bigger than just working hard; it's more than that.

Gary mentioned the ideas of power and privilege as well saying:

If you're asking for like the role of White men on campus, that's like a different thing. It's different because I feel, I just feel like, a lot of this also comes from just talking to my girlfriend who's also involved in a lot of, has done a lot of social justice issues on campus, and, she's getting shut down or ignored all the time by White dudes. And I think that's not particular to [Institution D], of course, it's a much larger social problem in the U.S. The White men are the ones who are dominating conversations in politics and in the classroom, by in large, and here the administration. And it's just sad, I don't know, it's just sad. It can be pretty frightening.

Many of the participants, 8 of 14 (57%), used language to describe how generally unaware of bias, discrimination and various oppression White men on their respective campuses seemed to be. Robert expressed frustration at having invited White male friends to attend multicultural programs and events and having them respond with ignorance. He said:

They're like, 'Isn't that like only for, like, black people or something'? I was just like, 'Are you serious? No, that's not what it is at all; it's social justice issues.'" You know? 'You should care about these things.' But, yeah that kind of surprised me, just the lack of involvement and support that was around my immediate friends, and I guess since then I've actually changed friend groups because of maybe those differences in culture. I think I've found more culturally tolerant people today.

Chase felt that White students at [Institution C] believed themselves to be more progressive in their thoughts and ideas on social justice than they actually were. He elaborated on this idea, saying:

[Institution C] is a very unique place, so the White students are already, not [that they] have a chip on their shoulder, but they feel like they're different; they're not like everybody else, you know? Because [Institution C's] a very specific campus and a very specific culture and people choose it for very specific reasons. And a big part of that is social justice and the honor code and integrity... But then, if you zoom in to within that space, I think that, um, sometimes that's used, so at a school like [a big state school]... I think they already wouldn't have this complex like we're different from everybody else. So it's easier to have those tough conversations about race and class and privilege... And I think the problem with that is the people who are really, like, the people who you really want to get that message out to don't come to the events... And [Institution C] students, [Institution C] White students are also like super sensitive... And I think the problem is that sometimes people at [Institution C] want answers. They want people of color to give them answers. They're like, 'Oh, I'm so sorry I'm hurting you or I'm doing this bad thing; can you tell me how to do better?' But the problem is, you have to figure that out for yourself. You can't ask people to give you answers. And so I think that's where a lot of people on campus are now. And there are some people that still don't care or are completely outside of it. But I think people need to evolve to the point where they figure things out for themselves.

Wayne said the White men on his campus very much needed to increase their collective awareness of these kinds of issues but felt it was because they lacked opportunities to learn about these issues. He said, "There are a lot of conversations to be had. Generally, they are open to having them, but they've been kept away from the spaces to have them."

Self-definition. Most of the students in this study considered themselves to be quite different from their White male peers within their campuses in terms of their affinity for engaging with diversity. Though they agreed with the general sense that White men are an advantaged group and some admitted that being White and male in their environments was normative and indistinguishable, in direct opposition to the ideas presented in the former section, participants defined themselves primarily as being aware and engaged (Figure 9).

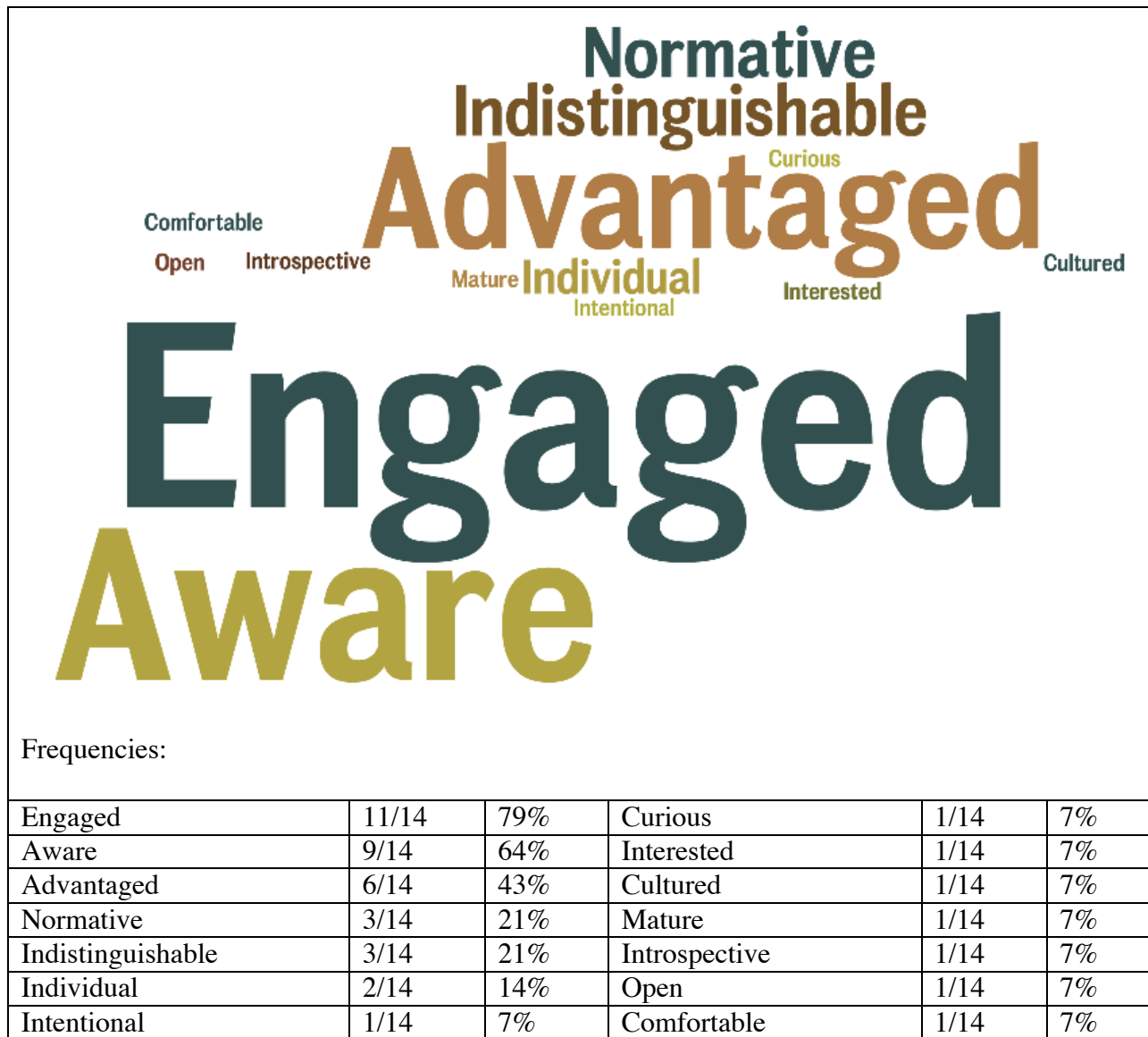


Figure 9. Self-Definition (But I am...).

Brian expressed a sense of pride as his active engagement with diversity initiatives and attributed some of it to his self-definition as an individual. He said:

I've always wanted to be an individual. Not like a part of the group, and I think I have become that, I don't really know how. I have an orange backpack, so a lot of people know me through that. But I feel like the culture among White people on campus is to be, what's it called? Like, Ralph Lauren.

Similarly, David said, "I don't think I fit in with the majority of the White men here. I think there's definitely a divide." When asked how he felt he was different, he replied:

Maturity, personality, just so many things. I tend to get along with graduate students much more than I do with undergrads and I think, I kind of think I'm an old soul now. I feel older than I am.

Like many others, Aiden acknowledged his privilege and still felt that he was different from his peers. He said:

I don't have to deal with racial politics; I don't have to deal with gender politics. A lot of White men think... 'oh people on this campus hate White men.' I don't care, I'm like, 'Yeah, let's go for it. Fuck the White man.' But I think a lot of White men especially on sports teams are not, they definitely tune out, they definitely aren't involved.

Others also felt different from their peers because of various personality traits. Chase felt that his and his family's depth of experience with international travel made him a bit more cultured and more curious than the majority of his White male peers. Wayne described himself in the following way: "I drive my dad's old BMW and wear polo shirts... But I'm very self-aware and want to have uncomfortable conversations."

Both Gary and Tim positioned themselves in relationship to their peers at Institution D in terms of an ability to recognize privilege and to be mindful of their interactions with underprivileged communities. Gary spoke about this issue in the following way:

I think I would give a different response from me personally on what it means to be a White man than for what it means, like, than what is the role of White men on this campus. I think for me what it means to be a White man on [Institution D's] campus... I think for me it would be like, making sure I'm stepping back more and listening more in classes where there are different voices to be heard, especially people of color. And it means trying to understand that I have been handed quite a few more privileges, you know. And I think grappling with those privileges is important in terms of not feeling guilty about the way that I grew up or the way that I am in the world, but taking those privileges and trying to do what is right and talk to other folks and talk to my family about social justice issues and that sort of thing.

The researcher originally failed to ask Tim the question about his ideas of what it meant to be a White male within his institution. When asked the question in a follow-up email exchange, Tim responded in a self-reflective manner, writing:

Being a white person at [Institution D] meant that I needed to always be intentional when I navigated spaces to figure out what my place was and how I could best contribute to those spaces. It meant that I was not always welcome, and that I would not always be called out if I slipped up. It meant doing a lot of self-work and listening and that I was ultimately working to not be what many students of color think of as the typical white [Institution D] student. It meant going beyond being well intentioned but learning that I had to take in a language in which I could express my thoughts best. It also meant that I

had a certain capital because I was a White man who had been engaged in social justice work, so I also knew there were spaces I felt more comfortable challenging others that students without my identities were not necessarily in. I had to be a very introspective person and reorient the way I thought about life in order to feel like my personal philosophies were ones that best helped others rather than serving my own self-interest. Being a white man who is an accomplice to social justice causes at [Institution D] was tough but necessary work, and it also meant knowing that my presence had to be welcomed into spaces deemed acceptable to other identity communities. I'm not going to lie, it took a bit to accept the necessity of this, but being a White man at [Institution D] meant that I came into the school seen a particular way by others, which meant that I always had to be actively thinking about how my presence and contributions changed the spaces I was in for better or worse.

The students in this study were introspective in their self-definitions of White maleness within their private college contexts. In most cases, they drew clear distinctions between how they defined White maleness broadly and how they saw themselves as White males who were demonstrating ally behaviors.

Ally motivations. The final area of meaning making in the study was for participants to think about their personal characteristics and to consider how those translated into motivations for choosing to develop and demonstrate social justice ally behaviors in college. The main traits to emerge as motivational factors for pursuing these opportunities were empathy, exposure, morality and confidence (Figure 10).

In the students' self-estimation, empathy turned out to be the single most important trait to serve as motivation for their social justice ally behaviors in college. Ten out of the 14

participants (71%) used language that suggested empathy to be a key factor in determining their decisions to become engaged as allies.

Brian felt that he inherited some of his empathy from his mother saying, “My mom, like I told you, she is a caring person... I think seeing that and, as much as genetics can... you know, pass that caring gene down to you.” Anthony, too, realized in college that he was advantaged over racial minorities and expressed his own form of empathy, stating, “there were others who weren’t in that [privileged] position who I felt sometimes suffered because they didn’t have that advantage... it was very troubling.” Wyatt was mostly concerned with his friends’ responses to negative occurrences on campus and very simply stated, “I’m close with my friends and they were upset and that made me upset. That made me want to help them in some way.” Regarding the difference between those who choose to act and those who do not, Cain responded, “I think it’s being conscious of this type of difference and the way in which you can make things worse for people... and trying actively not to do that.”

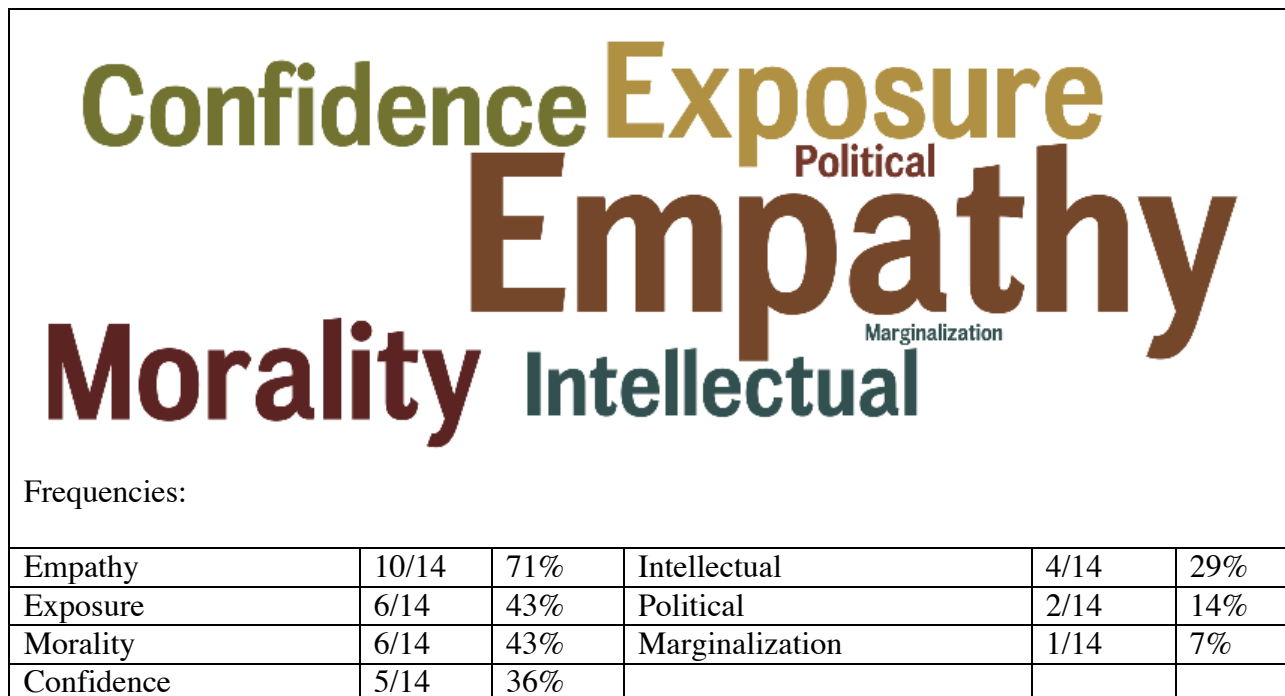


Figure 10. Ally Motivation.

Gary, who had been marginalized by his personal experience with a serious illness, felt particularly connected to others experiencing various kinds of marginalization. He said:

I think maybe if people are able to tune into those places where they have been marginalized, cause I think even a lot of people have, regardless of their race or class or gender, there are a lot of other possibly more subtle ways of like being on the periphery, being on the social periphery. And I think, tuning into that helps you gain empathy and gain understanding of what other people are going through.

Michael also reflected on the importance of empathy, saying:

I think [an ally is] someone who in every aspect of their time here at [Institution D] is looking for change; everything that I was saying before about these systems and institutions that we have in place that are advantaging some students and disadvantaging other students. I think that everyone needs to actively identify them, and to find ways to take them down. I think it's more than just attending events and I'm not sure what other students do. But to also think its about really pursuing equity, just trying to treat everyone equally and personally any instance you have with empathy, try to understand that people don't come from the same background as you and people have different experiences and that will influence what they're doing here and how they are doing it.

Exposure, which was a pre-college factor, was another key component in the participants' meaning-making processes concerning their motivation for social justice ally development.

Several of the students in the study referred back to some of their earlier conversations about diversity exposure when reflecting on personal motivations to engage with diversity in college.

An example was Chase's comment that he already had experience throughout his childhood of living outside of his personal comfort.

Six participants talked generally about morality as another motivating factor for becoming involved. While they may not have used the specific word, morality was the general sense that pursuing justice and equity was the right thing to do. Robert was one of the best examples in the way he often spoke of right and wrong ways of engaging. He said:

Yeah, I've talked to some of my peers about [why some people engage and others don't], and they just weren't as bothered by it, but I'm not exactly sure why... When you talk to these students about why they said something [inappropriate], they can immediately respond and say, 'okay I understand that, that's wrong.' But then they'll say it again. So they realize that something is wrong; they realize that, according to society, it's against the rules, but they don't really care. I don't know so, I really struggle with that question a lot.

Wyatt, who was primarily motivated by empathy for his friends who struggled with racism on campus, also felt a sense of a moral obligation to get involved. He spoke of this feeling in the following way:

The more moral reaction, or whatever you want to call it, is that, going back even further actually, the reason I, one of the reasons I wanted to get involved in U.N. work and things like that was born from White guilt.

The fourth major theme to emerge from the data in terms of meaning making was the idea that confidence was essential to the men's decisions to act. In general, students felt that a person's level of confidence determined her or his ability to move from having an intellectual curiosity about a particular social issue to engaging in conversation or participating in an activist initiative. David was particularly strong on the idea of confidence as a key factor and he also

connected it with a sense of morality. When asked what prevents people from acting, he responded:

Two things, I think fear of being judged, and a lack of understanding what they can do. I think those two things could be bundled into confidence, and your actions of going up to someone and saying, 'that's wrong.' And with that same confidence you can stand your own against retaliation... [Question: To what would you attribute the confidence you have now?] I think both age and just experiences that I have gained, through diversity, which has kind of made me numb to insult. I don't feel like anyone can put me in a place that was worse than I put myself [during the coming out process], so that's definitely very important. I'm not afraid to say what I believe because I don't care what you think. And then secondly, just knowing how to interface with people, knowing how to communicate is probably the single most skill.

David elaborated on his sense of confidence as having been the result of his business venture in high school and college. He said:

I think having a little business experience makes you more significantly better able to communicate with people that are also in business, people that appreciate formal language. I think I've gotten quite good at that over the years, so things like that really helped and have continued to help with interfacing with faculty preparing suggestions, proposals. I don't think it really affected me as a person, in the sense that it helped with social justice. But I think it certainly enabled me to become more confident about myself. But I think that's probably one of the keys is confidence. So I had empathy and then confidence and that was really the two things together made me engage.

Participants in this study felt strongly that their personal traits like empathy, diversity exposure, morality and confidence were motivational in their decisions to act as social justice allies in college. As they were asked to make meaning of their ally development process, it was evident that they felt these traits set them apart from White male peers within their institutions whom they described as subscribing to more hegemonic notions of masculine identity. These considerations are further explored in the discussion section of this report.

Chapter Summary

The researcher in this study sought to answer the following three primary research questions:

1. What pre-college factors do White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education opportunities while in college?
2. What college experiences do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education see as instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development?
3. How do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies?

Through semi-structured interviews with 14 White males enrolled at four different highly selective, private institutions in the Northeastern region of the United States, the researcher was able to construct knowledge directly from their reflections about their social justice ally development processes.

The data revealed three primary pre-college factors that participants believed impacted their interest in, and ultimately decision to connect with, various co-curricular social justice education opportunities: personal or vicarious marginalization; diversity exposure or cultural immersion; and intellectual curiosity or academic interest. There were also three primary categories of college experiences that participants felt advanced their social justice ally development: campus climate issues and controversies; social interactions with diverse peers and ideas; and knowledge acquisition and intellectual stimuli. Finally, the largest themes in meaning making centered around three ideas: the definition of White maleness; participants' self-definitions; and social justice ally motivations.

This chapter organized the data into useful categories that will allow the researcher, in the next section, to discuss the impact of this information on the interdisciplinary fields of multicultural education, higher education, and leadership studies. In the next chapter, the researcher will also draw final conclusions on this topic and offer suggestions for society at large, for higher education, and for further research.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

White males in college have traditionally been underrepresented in social justice and diversity education programs and initiatives (Cabrera, 2014). However, some White males demonstrate ally behaviors while in college, pursuing opportunities to engage with diverse peers and to explore and learn about cultures outside of their own. The researcher in this study sought to construct knowledge about White men enrolled in highly selective colleges and universities in the Northeastern United States who voluntarily engage in activities outside of the classroom that promote diversity education and social justice ally development. The specific research questions in this study were:

1. What pre-college factors do White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education opportunities while in college?
2. What college experiences do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education see as instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development?
3. How do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies?

The researcher employed qualitative methods, interviewing 14 participants who were nominated by multicultural educators at four private, highly selective, small to medium-sized colleges and universities in the Northeastern region of the United States.

The data collection and analysis processes employed in this study yielded results that helped the researcher to answer the research questions and to contribute knowledge to the fields of multicultural education, higher education or student affairs administration, and leadership studies. Additional fields of study, like sociology, Whiteness studies and men's studies, may also derive meaning from the results of this study and pursue research studies to more broadly investigate this topic. In this chapter, the researcher draws conclusions by comparing the results of this study with others on this topic; discusses how these data inform broader conversations about White men as social justice allies; lists the limitations of the study; and provides recommendations for multicultural educators and student affairs practitioners in particular, for society at large, and for future research.

Findings

The men in this study had very different backgrounds and life experiences. However, there were enough similarities to offer meaningful findings about what that they believe has contributed to their interest in and engagement with diversity in college. What seemed to matter most to these men in their early years were their own feelings of marginalization or observation of the marginalization of friends and loved ones, the degree to which they were exposed to diversity, and their own intellectual curiosity about identity differences. Once enrolled in college, they believe their ally development processes continued as a result of their reaction to campus controversies and climate issues, the friendships and social interactions they established with peers from diverse backgrounds, and the experiences inside and outside of the classroom that stimulated their critical thinking about social issues. Finally, the men made meaning of their ally development by defining themselves in relationship to other White males and by honing in on

personal traits and characteristics that they believed to be the main ingredients for producing social justice allies. Each of these findings is further explored below.

Pre-College Factors

Most studies on this specific topic (Bridges, 2011; Bridges & Mather, 2015; Broido, 2000; Broido & Reason, 2005; Edwards, 2006) found that White males who exhibited social justice ally behaviors in college did so in large part because of their pre-college attitudes about fairness and egalitarianism. Broido (2000) probably explored these ideas most closely, finding that participants in her study had little knowledge of theoretical notions of oppression but deeply valued the idea that all humans are “fundamentally equal” (p. 7). Findings in the present study supported this notion. Participants reflected on their childhood memories of growing up in diverse cities and towns, reading about social differences for pleasure, or traveling abroad extensively, and witnessing what they perceived to be massive differences between themselves and homeless people on the streets; between themselves and the African American students in their classes; or between themselves and the girls in their lives. Like the participants in the Bridges (2011) and Bridges and Mather (2015) studies, participants in this study were able to retroactively speak to differences in lived experiences that they observed as youth and label them as having to do with social inequality.

An important finding in this study was that White men in college, described as a hyperprivileged population because of their advantaged gender and racial identities (Cabrera, 2011), were able to clearly articulate personal or vicarious experiences with some form of marginalization in their childhood or early adolescence. This supports the Reason, Roosa Millar and Scales (2005) model which suggested that Whites who experienced being the numerical minority were likely to develop sensitivity to the minority status of others. This finding also

expounds upon Cabrera's (2012) conclusion that White male college students who were developing as racial justice allies were aided in their racial cognizance because of personal marginalized identities that they carried. Though they may have lacked an ability to clearly articulate it in their youth, as college students, participants in the present study were able to name early experiences with social discomfort, like being gay around mostly straight peers, Jewish in a mostly Christian neighborhood, chubby around mostly athletes, or socially awkward around so-called cool kids, as experiences that provided a window to peer into the lives of those who experience racial and gender-based oppression. Though the researcher would not suggest based on the findings that White men would have defined their childhood experiences as forms of oppression, they definitely expressed feelings of marginalization, which they felt pre-disposed them to act as allies to women and people of color in college.

This study also found that early exposure to racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, gender and sexual diversity played an important role in setting up participants to become allies in college. Every participant in this study referenced diversity exposure in their youth as having been illuminating or transformative. This is in keeping with Cabrera's (2012) study which found that his participants' cross-racial interactions contributed to both an increased awareness of the lived experiences of people of color and a greater sense of self-awareness around racial identity and several other studies in the literature review section (Broido, 2000; Edwards, 2006; Hall, Cabrera, & Milem, 2011).

Several of the men in this study interacted in meaningful ways with different kinds of people throughout their youth; however, an important distinction is that participants in this study expressed intellectual curiosity about these differences. The men in this study had their interest piqued by personal experiences or events they witnessed as youth. Many reflected upon their

pre-college days as having been filled with questions about identity. Several chose to take coursework in high school to further their knowledge about cultural difference; many traveled abroad, some doing so for extended periods of time; and quite a few delved deeply into their own family histories, trying to understand how their ethnic heritages and economic conditions did or did not assign certain privileges.

College Experiences

This study sought to understand which college experiences White males most commonly associated with their social justice ally development. A strong finding of this study was that the men were aware of and negotiating their relationships to campus climate issues or controversies involving racism, gender discrimination and/or sexual violence, and disparities based on socioeconomic statuses. This finding is key, particularly in highly selective private colleges and universities that have long been considered “bastions of privilege” (Bowen, Kurzweil, & Tobin, 2005). Other studies in the literature more loosely described campus climate or controversy as a factor. Perhaps the closest mention of this phenomenon was in a study by Bridges and Mather (2015), which listed “recognition of oppression” and “experiencing tension” as important processes experienced by White men who were constructing ally identities, but did not explicitly describe campus environments as contributing to this process. Similarly, Reason, Roosa Millar and Scales (2005) presented a model in which “invitation and opportunity to demonstrate ally behaviors” were important factors. Certainly, campus climate concerns would create such opportunities, and some of the men in this study felt invited into action because of friends they knew to be experiencing personal discomfort. As institutions that have historically been attended and socially dominated by White males from wealthy families seek to expand access to students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and to increase racial, gender and sexual diversity, the

campus climate often suffers psychologically (Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005). Milem, Chang and Antonio (2005) described this psychological suffering as being evident when individuals within the institution hold dramatically different views of the health of cross-cultural relationships, and behaviorally, referring to the social interactions that do or do not happen across cultures.

Participants in this study described in great detail personal experiences that demonstrated psychological and behavioral issues with campus climate. One of the institutions in this study had recently experienced a string of racially motivated bias incidents and hate crimes that were widely publicized. Another institution was dealing with the aftermath of a controversial outcome of a sexual assault hearing that gained national attention. The men in this study reflected on these campus wide issues and other, smaller controversies as hugely impactful in their processes of becoming social justice allies. Broido (2000) referred to these sorts of encounters as “chance,” but the present study submits that there is a strong likelihood of campus climate issues being prevalent within small, private, highly selective institutions, and that these issues present opportunities for White male engagement with diversity and social justice ally development.

Another closely related college experience shared by virtually all participants in this study was close personal contact and a high level of engagement with diverse peers. Not surprisingly, this conclusion supports much of the established literature on the topic, including studies by Bridges and Mather (2015), Broido (2000), Cabrera (2012), Hall, Cabrera and Milem (2010) and Reason, Roosa Millar and Scales (2005). An important distinction in this study, however, is that many of the participants in this study displayed deep thinking and intentionality in establishing their proximity to peers from diverse backgrounds, particularly in moments requiring social action. For example, several of the men in the study said that while they have

women, LGBT people and students of color as personal friends, they carefully navigated those relationships so as to avoid burdening their friends with the task of becoming their primary educational source on diversity matters. They were also careful in their approaches to activism so as to not dominate conversations or take control of important social movements on campus. This is a noteworthy difference from the studies that seek to describe (Broido, 2000; Bridges & Mather, 2015) or critique (Cabrera, 2012) cross-racial interactions on college campuses.

The third conclusion regarding experiences in college was that White men benefited greatly from opportunities to be intellectually stimulated around concepts of diversity and that such stimulation helped to continue their personal development as social justice allies. Many of the participants in this study (71%) recalled courses they had taken that they believe expanded or deepened their thinking about these topics or completed senior theses or capstone projects. This academic commitment to advancing cultural knowledge, skills and awareness shows up in much of the literature that suggests coursework and structured educational opportunities as greatly contributing to social justice ally development (Broido, 2000; Broido & Reason, 2005; Reason et al., 2005). This study also found, however, that activities outside of the classroom context were considered as having equally stimulated students' intellectual interest in diversity. The men in this study participated in various activist causes on and off campus; established connections with offices of multicultural affairs and LGBT or women's centers; collaborated with diverse peers on team projects and in student organizations; and connected with faculty or staff mentors one-on-one in non-instructional contexts.

Meaning-Making

This study sought to examine the ways in which participants made meaning of their commitment to functioning as allies for various social justice causes. The researcher found that

most participants placed emphasis on defining themselves in opposition to the general definition of what they felt it meant to be a White male in college. The majority of the men felt strongly that their White male peers in college were indistinguishable from one another, that they were uninvolved, unaware and advantaged within their campus communities. In contrast, they mostly described themselves in all of the opposite ways: as White men who were individualistic, engaged, and aware. This is an important consideration that aligns with Pleck's (1995) ideas on discrepancy-strain, characterized by the feelings of self-doubt when men did not feel they were exhibiting typical male behaviors. The literature on White men who are working to understand their Whiteness (Cabrera, 2012) and on those who are developing ally identities (Edwards, 2006) also describes this dichotomy of White men trying to define themselves against other members of the dominant group.

Though they drew distance between themselves and other White males, there was a noticeable hesitancy or refusal of several men in this study to describe themselves as effective allies. They were also unsure whether they had been fully accepted into communities of people with marginalized identities. These are important findings because some of the literature challenges the notion of White people self-defining as allies as it could be considered problematic if members of underrepresented or targeted populations would disagree with those self-assessments (Cabrera, 2012; Edwards, 2006). Those who did self-describe as allies still acknowledged that they were progressing along in their understanding of the issues as well as seeking to further their effectiveness in demonstrating ally behaviors. The researcher believes this level of understanding among some participants was as a direct result of the depth of their training and experiences learning about ally development.

The participants in this study attributed their ally motivations to a number of personal experiences and traits, including: empathy, confidence, exposure and morality. This study found that each of those characteristics and experiences were pre-college factors that were further explored in college through various forms of meaning-making, including opportunities for self-reflection and successful engagement with diversity and social justice education initiatives. To employ Astin's (1993) input-environment-output (I-E-O) model, the men felt strongly that their upbringing, family dynamics, and life circumstances were important inputs that were developed in their respective college environments, with social justice ally behaviors as outputs.

Conclusions

In summary, this study resulted in several conclusions that affirmed and expounded upon the current literature regarding White males in college seeking to support people from marginalized groups and/or to eradicate various forms of oppression. The researcher believes the following nine conclusions provide the most meaningful and useful contributions to the literature on this topic:

1. White males in highly selective colleges and universities, generally considered to be hyperprivileged, have often personally experienced or closely witnessed marginalization before attending college.
2. The level of early exposure to various forms of diversity is a strong factor in determining the degree to which White men in highly selective institutions will engage with diversity in college.
3. Intellectual curiosity about identity and social differences at young ages fueled White men in selective institutions to engage with diversity in college.

4. Campus climate issues and controversies surrounding racism, sexual violence and class disparities within highly selective institutions strongly influenced White males to demonstrate ally behaviors in college.
5. Though White males in highly selective institutions established friendships with diverse peers, most were intentional and cautious about the extent to which they expected those friendships to directly contribute to their ally development processes.
6. Intellectual stimuli both inside and outside the classroom in highly selective institutions contributed to White males' continuation of ally development processes.
7. White males in highly selective institutions who demonstrated ally behaviors were likely to distance themselves from the standard hegemonic definitions of White college men.
8. White males in highly selective institutions demonstrating ally behaviors were hesitant to describe themselves as allies because of an understanding that they could not accurately or fully describe how they were perceived by underrepresented or historically marginalized people.
9. White males in highly selective institutions made meaning of their motivation to engage with diversity as having resulted from the empathy, confidence, morality and exposure they gained from life experiences before and during college.

The researcher submits these conclusions with the belief that they will significantly contribute to the fields of multicultural education and student affairs administration as well as potentially

influence broader discussions about the involvement of White men in the ongoing struggle to create a more inclusive and equitable society.

Discussion

In spite of the progress that has transpired over generations, divisive social issues are an apparent mainstay in the United States. There is a perpetual need for critical analysis of myriad social inequalities, with notable examples including the persistent gender wage gap, the pervasiveness of sexual and gender-based violence, the disproportionate impact of mass incarceration on racial minorities, and massive gaps in educational outcomes based on race and class. One of the most prominent recent examples is the resurgence of racial turmoil brought on mostly in the aftermath of several consecutive years of controversial deaths of unarmed Black men and women caused by police and citizens at large.

In 2012, George Zimmerman, a volunteer neighborhood watchman in central Florida, shot and killed unarmed teenager Trayvon Martin after a verbal altercation in which he felt his life was threatened. Similarly, questionable circumstances surround the deaths of African American citizens Michael Brown (Ferguson, MO), Eric Garner (Staten Island, NY), Rekia Boyd (Chicago, IL), Sandra Bland (Waller County, TX), and numerous others over the course of the last several years. These unfortunate events and the subsequent riots, prayer vigils, protests, meetings and many other displays of activism have sparked nationwide conversations on the apparent permanence of racial discrimination in this country. Some have begun to attribute these unfortunate incidents to what they believe to be the real threat, an especially dangerous and uniquely American problem: angry White men.

Angry White Men

In his book, *Angry White Men* (2013), prominent sociologist Michael Kimmel describes this era as a time in which political and business leaders, men's rights activists, college students, and working class White men are expressing collective outrage that they are losing grasp of what they believe to be *their* country. Kimmel paints a disturbing portrait of White American males in the 2010s who have struggled to cope with the progress exemplified by having elected the first Black president, improving access to opportunities for women, and most recently, legalizing same-sex marriage in every state. Kimmel highlights as examples several news pundits whose ratings soar after making outrageous statements, like Bill O'Reilly quoting one of his viewers who said, "We have lost our American way of life" or Dennis Miller saying, "I liked [America] the way it was" (p. 35). Similarly, the extremely right-wing Tea party candidates used as a campaign slogan in 2012 the tagline "we want to take back our country" (Kimmel, 2013), begging the questions "*who's we*" and "*take back from whom?*" The same questions could have been asked of 21-year-old Dylann Roof who proclaimed in an internet-based manifesto that his decision to murder Black churchgoers in Charleston, S.C. was because he felt he had "no choice" given that Black people were "raping our women and taking over our country" (Apuzzo, 2015); perhaps this was a message intended more for Black men specifically, even though six of the Charleston nine were women.

All of the unrest and uncertainty of the so-called era of "angry White men" serves as an unfortunate and urgent backdrop for the present study. The nation appears to be experiencing a racial crisis akin to that of the 1960s civil rights movement. It is against this backdrop that the researcher questions the role of White males, and particularly those with private college educations, in enacting social change. Movements like the grassroots Black Lives Matter campaign, the White House's My Brother's Keeper initiative, and numerous others are

attempting to turn these critical conversations into action, but the fact remains that even with an African American president, White men still dominate nearly every professional field, including higher education, a field in which White men are extremely overrepresented in high-level academic administrative positions (Kimmel, 2013).

The motivation for this study stemmed largely from an understanding that a unique population of White men, those currently being educated in highly selective colleges and universities alongside rapidly growing numbers of people of color and international students, are most likely to obtain future positions of power, wealth and status in the United States (Bowen, Kurzweil & Tobin, 2005; Hearn & Ochs, 2014). Therefore, the fields of multicultural education and higher education or student affairs administration have an obligation to challenge young White males to explore and challenge their areas of privilege, and to learn skills that will enable them to lead society toward greater social, political, educational, and economic equity for people of all races, religions, genders, sexual orientations and other identities. The researcher in this study sought to understand more about White men in these contexts who were voluntarily choosing to do so outside of their academic requirements.

(Re)defining White Maleness

Whiteness in this country has been so enlarged over such a long period of time (Painter, 2010) that it is difficult to imagine what will happen when Whites are no longer the racial majority. How will White people, men in particular, adapt to the new normal; a society in which immigrants and people of color are competing for positions in every field, moving into mostly White neighborhoods, and taking on leadership roles? Will there be another civil war? The present researcher submits that White males, like every other identity group, must participate in these critical conversations and prepare for these dramatic shifts. Just as the men in this study

made meaning by distinguishing themselves from their White male peers, perhaps there is a need to redefine what it means to be White and male in contemporary American society, as was suggested in the Hardiman model of White racial identity development (Hardiman, 2001); a society that is undergoing dramatic changes in racial and ethnic composition, in social issues, and in threats to safety, both foreign and domestic.

As referenced in the literature review, Harris (1995) listed several messages that young boys hear as they approach adulthood about what it means to be a man. Some of the messages about becoming a “classic man” include that men are supposed to be in control, to make as much money as they can, to gain power and status, and to be stoic, emotionless and tough (Harris, 1995). The men in this study noted that their White male peers were succumbing to “classic man” ideals in ways that they believed to be problematic. They described their peers as being overly aggressive in their relationships with one another and with the women in their lives. They lamented about their peers’ general and somewhat blissful lack of awareness of perspectives and experiences outside their own. They spoke of men whose inability to emote would sometimes result in bouts of verbal or physical violence. Most of the men in this study made an effort to distance themselves from their peers because they were uncomfortable, generally speaking, with the current state of affairs for White men.

Perhaps the results of this study can contribute to the national dialogue on race and gender in important ways. First, it is important to know that some White males are far more aware than their peers of social injustices and systems of oppression. This notion likely holds true not only in the context of colleges and universities, but also in society at large. Second, even some of the most privileged White men in the United States, those enrolled in highly selective private colleges and universities, have often had experiences with marginalization and therefore

have the capacity to show empathy for the lived experiences of women and people from underrepresented groups. If college students at top institutions can viscerally understand marginalization, in theory, so too can those who are less well educated who may have had more direct or overt experiences of marginalization. Third, though they may not perfectly understand how to be effective allies to women, people of color, and other marginalized groups, there are a few men in the hallowed halls of higher education who are actively seeking greater knowledge, awareness and skills at doing so.

When these men can connect their empathy to a sense of morality, increase their diversity exposure and find confidence, they are likely to take actions that promote greater justice and equity. If they can continue along their ally development paths post-graduation, they are likely to enter professional spaces that will benefit from their advanced knowledge and skills, thereby moving society slowly toward fulfilling its own promise of liberty and justice for all. In other words, the hope is that White men like the ones in this study who will go on to become school administrators, attorneys, elected officials and corporate leaders can employ their ally skills and behaviors in facilitating social change through policy development and professional practice.

Though it has historically been true that White men have collectively served as oppressors of other racial and gender groups (Freire, 1970; Mead & Baldwin, 1971), it may be time to redefine White males as capable of recognizing and empathizing with the suffering of others and seeking ways not to participate in or further perpetuate suffering. Maybe in the new definition, they, too, are suffering from the effects of nearly 240 years of racial and gender dominance in the United States. A critical redefinition of White maleness would likely help society to create more spaces for individual White men who are challenging themselves to understand the deeply rooted and longstanding impact of centuries of oppression and to actively

seek ways to eradicate it. In the tradition of Brazilian educator and theorist Paulo Freire (1970), the present researcher submits that such a redefinition would liberate White men and bring them into a more suitable relationship to the rest of humanity.

Assumptions, Delimitations and Limitations

The major assumption made in this study that may impact its applicability beyond the immediate context is that student affairs diversity educators in the United States are teaching the same basic concepts of privilege, inequity, racism, sexism, homophobia, and other types of discrimination. These are fundamental aspects of any comprehensive diversity or social justice curriculum and should be included (Adams, Bell & Griffin, 2007). Also, most educators are teaching through exploration of theoretical and practical rationales (Hurtado, 2007). Though methods and approaches may differ, this study was conducted upon the premise that students were privy to the same basic ideas and information about social differences in American society.

Another assumption of the study was that the White males engaged in co-curricular diversity education opportunities in college did, in fact, display social justice ally attitudes and behaviors. There is potential for students' self-perception to be different from how they are perceived by peers. To address the assumption, the researcher posits the unlikelihood that participants in the study can demonstrate a prolonged commitment to such programs and initiatives without advancing along a path of social justice ally development. Also, since multicultural educators nominated them, there is a reasonable assumption to be made that they are demonstrating ally behaviors at a sufficient level.

This study has several delimitations that should be considered as readers seek to apply its conclusions in other contexts. First, there are delimitations in the ability to widely generalize the results of this study because of the purposive sampling methods employed. The researcher

intentionally selected four private, highly selective, Northeastern colleges and universities that were known to the researcher to have strong opportunities for active engagement with social justice or diversity education initiatives outside of the classroom. White men in these institutions were the population of interest for the study, but their selection may make the results less applicable to White males in other types of colleges and universities and to White males not enrolled in colleges. A related delimitation is that the researcher sought nominations only from peers and colleagues in the field of multicultural affairs and may, therefore, have attracted only student participants who are known to professional multicultural educators.

Another delimitation of the study was the researcher's decision to collapse racial and gender identities in observing pre-college factors contributing to social justice attitudes and behaviors, potentially conflating motivations for pursuing ally development. The decision to do so was based largely upon Cabrera's (2011) argument that the intersectionality of White racial and male identities gives this population "hyperprivilege" and suggests that they are least likely to engage with diversity and social justice education opportunities. The researcher opted out of looking at socioeconomic status and sexual orientation as additional factors, though those considerations became relevant in the analysis of the data. Another delimitation was that most participants in the study were actively engaged in the social justice education activity during the period of study and could therefore have been less capable of discerning between pre-college and current social justice attitudes and behaviors.

Another delimitation is that the researcher is an African American male who described to the participants his wishes to construct knowledge about White males who were actively seeking opportunities to commit long-term to demonstrating social justice ally behaviors. This framing of the study may have led participants to censor or tame their comments, or to respond to the

interview questions in a manner to impress the researcher with their social justice knowledge, awareness, and skills. Perhaps a future study could address this delimitation by having co-researchers with varying racial and gender identities.

There are also important limitations preventing this study from being wholly generalized. The researcher acknowledges the inherent limitations of having a small number of participants in a qualitative study. Similarly, there are limitations with self-reported data, particularly given that participants were asked to recall memories from early childhood and adolescence. This limitation is important to consider given that the men in this study were expected to reflect upon thoughts and feelings from earlier points in their lives though they now have more complex thinking skills, new frameworks and different perspectives that may have altered those memories.

An unintended, though perhaps unavoidable, selection outcome was that 6 of the 14 men in this study (43%) self-identified as gay or queer, and were therefore overrepresented in this study, which represents a limitation to its wide applicability. Gay or queer identity is most often considered to be marginalized and an assumption is that gay men are more readily able to demonstrate ally behaviors. It is important to note that one of the four institutions has a strong reputation for attracting gay men and providing a supportive climate for people with that identity and that this reputation was previously unknown to the researcher. Several participants from this particular institution who were gay said they felt they were in the majority in terms of sexuality on their campus and therefore did not feel it was a marginalizing experience.

Another limitation of this study was that two of the four institutions had recently experienced significant campus controversies that attracted the attention of a large number of campus constituents as well as gained the interest of national news media. One institution was dealing with the after effects of a string of racially motivated bias incidents and the other had a

fairly public case of sexual misconduct that the student body believed to be poorly handled by the institution. These incidents may have generated a level of interest in social justice advocacy that would not have otherwise occurred.

Recommendations

In spite of its limitations, the researcher feels confident in making recommendations for practice based on the findings and conclusions in this study. There are three categories of recommendations presented in this section: recommendations for society at large, for higher education institutions and personnel, particularly multicultural educators, and for future researchers.

For Society at Large

This study offers several key themes for society at large to further consider. First, while it is not the goal to create experiences of marginalization for more people in society, this study suggests that feelings of marginalization are already prevalent among even privileged White males and that such experiences strongly relate to their desire to engage with diversity and social justice initiatives in college. Parents, families, K-12 educators, youth organizations and communities of faith should be more attentive to the ways in which White boys are feeling marginalized within their homes, schools and local communities. Boys who are coming to terms with their sexuality, feeling ostracized based on their religious identities or faith affiliations, or struggling with various aspects of their physical appearances or personality traits should be better supported through these processes as opposed to being told or expected to just ignore or suppress their emotions or to adapt their behaviors to fit in with hegemonic notions of masculinity. In the process of better supporting young White boys throughout their adolescent development, there are opportunities to connect their feelings of marginalization to the experiences of racial and

gender minorities, helping to develop a sense of empathy and curiosity about social differences. This is also an opportunity to redefine White maleness for young boys, making it appropriate to express feelings and emotions, to show empathy, and to stand out from the crowd when others are acting in inappropriate or oppressive ways.

A strong finding was that greater exposure to diversity at a young age was a contributing factor to engagement with diversity in college. Of course, it is widely known that American citizens are especially segregated in their residential neighborhoods, schools, places of worship and other parts of society (Bishop & Cushing, 2008). Though it is perhaps ambitious, a key inference from this study is that local communities should seek ways to tear down the divides that have been established by race, class, religion and other identity traits. There is great promise and potential if the United States can create opportunities for its youth to regularly engage with diverse peers. Parents of White boys who wish to promote cultural knowledge and social justice ally behaviors in their sons should actively pursue opportunities for their interaction with diverse peers. Perhaps involvement in racially diverse athletic teams, scout organizations or other civic clubs would help to accomplish this goal. In extremely homogenous residential environments, parents can expose their children to diversity through travel, community service, assigned readings, or various cultural experiences.

For Higher Education

Institutions of higher education are uniquely poised to provide environments for young people to continue their growth and development processes in the areas of diversity engagement and social justice ally development. If the desire is to involve more White college men in these opportunities, there are several philosophical shifts to be made within the field of higher education generally as well as specific changes at the program level. At the institutional level,

colleges and universities must redefine diversity to include White males as part of the conversation. Though they do, in fact, represent a historic legacy of racism, oppressors have a critical role to play in liberating everyone from the bondage of oppression (Freire, 1970). To continue to isolate White men from conversations about diversity is to normalize and center their experiences as the dominant or most valid within institutions of higher education. Just like society at large, institutions of higher education are adapting to the rapidly changing racial and social demographics in the United States and White males within these institutions need preparation for the diverse new reality.

There are numerous practical ways to involve White college men at the programmatic level. Colleges and universities can broaden their promotions to prospective students and their families to include more nuanced rhetoric about diversity. Rather than to flood their websites with stock photos of campus scenes filled with White students and students of color in equal proportion, communications teams can define diversity broadly and talk about the value of having people of all identities coming together to experience the full cognitive, social and behavioral benefits of living and learning in a diverse environment. Similarly, offices of admissions can certainly change their expectations for how prospective students will reflect upon and talk about diversity in their applications. It should be clear in application materials that diversity engagement in college is deeply valued by the institution and is, therefore, an expectation for those who are applying.

Courses or co-curricular initiatives aimed at increasing awareness of diversity should put forth many narratives, including those of White males, in developing a sense of cultural awareness. Institutions might consider including diversity and social justice content as a required component of first year seminars that are compulsory for all students. Additionally, multicultural

educators should make a special effort to recruit White males to participate in retreats and trainings intended to address issues of diversity of inclusion or to attend programs and events that will create opportunities for engagement with diverse peers. Housing and residence life professionals may wish to apply greater intentionality in making room and hall assignments so as to widely disperse racial, class, and gender diversity within campus housing. Perhaps, there is a need for multicultural educators or student activities professionals to establish one or more organizations specifically for White males to come together to discuss how they fit into larger conversations on diversity. This may be best accomplished within the safety of a closed counseling group facilitated by licensed psychologists who carry the professional privilege of confidentiality.

There are clearly a number of specific experiences White males can have in college that are likely to promote greater engagement with diversity, social awareness and inclination to demonstrate ally behaviors. One such experience is travel abroad, particularly to non-Western or non-English speaking countries. The strongest outcomes of travel abroad programs resulted from immersive experiences in which the men had to situate their identities as White American males within a different cultural context. Students who may not have opportunities to study abroad may still find ways for meaningful cultural immersion. White men should be specifically targeted for community service trips, participation in cultural clubs and activities, and involvement in recreational activities with women and diverse peers.

The institutions in this study were all found to have campus climate issues or controversies around racism, sexual violence and/or class disparity. In response to this finding, a recommendation is that administrators who are charged to lead campus responses to these sorts of issues should intentionally create spaces and opportunities for White males to reflect upon

their points of connection to the issues, or to note the lack thereof. Though there may be grassroots efforts to organize in moments of campus crisis, and White men may choose to engage, this study suggests that several will choose not to engage for fear that their presence will center White maleness in ways that are damaging to the cause or hurtful to members of targeted groups. Perhaps hosting conversations by affinity group in the aftermath of incidents is an approach that would capitalize on the attentiveness White males display in these controversial situations. Multicultural educators or carefully selected student leaders might, for example, reach out to fraternity chapters, athletic teams, or well-known friend groups and offer to facilitate closed group discussions about how White males can best show their support and advocacy for the targeted group members.

Another recommendation for multicultural educators is to put before White college men examples of professional White males who have a proven track record of demonstrating ally behaviors in their professional work. When there are opportunities to collaborate with faculty on campus or to invite external speakers, artists and performers to share their work, multicultural educators should include narratives from White male allies who are leading social change within their professional or personal lives.

Finally, though it is admittedly a difficult task, highly selective institutions of higher education must find ways to promote leadership values in all students, including empathy, confidence, morality or ethicality, and individuality. Leadership programming that encourages students to develop these traits will have the unintended consequence of instilling in participants values and skills that will better prepare them to engage with diverse peers. Since leadership programs are likely to attract White males, and they represent a key opportunity to recognize and reward inclusive practices, they are primed to help advance social justice ally behaviors.

For Future Research

The findings from this study offer several recommendations for areas of further study. First, there is an opportunity to expand the applicability of the findings in this study by replicating it with a larger sample and/or within other institutional types. Perhaps the methodology might also be adapted to include participant nominations from other higher education professionals outside of multicultural affairs, like professors, mentors and athletic coaches. There may also be further applicability in a replication of the study that would involve older White professional men as the sample.

In addition to the opportunities to replicate the study with slight variations, the researcher believes there are numerous opportunities for multiple disciplines to pursue greater knowledge about White men in general and White college men specifically and will offer a list of potential research questions to emerge from this study as well as academic fields that seem best suited to investigate these ideas:

- What role does family political affiliation play in predisposing White males for engagement with diversity or social justice education in college? (Political science; sociology; education)
- What role does family socioeconomic status play in predisposing White males for engagement with diversity or social justice education in college? (Economics; sociology; education)
- Are there differences in how White males and Black or African Americans, women and other marginalized groups demonstrate ally behaviors? (Sociology; multicultural education)

- Are there differences in the social justice ally motivations and/or behaviors of White males at access institutions (e.g. public universities, community colleges, online institutions) and those at highly selective colleges? (Education; psychology)
- What are the psychological effects on White males in college who are actively pursuing diversity engagement or social justice education? (Counseling psychology)
- Are there gaps between how White males perceive themselves as social justice allies and how members of targeted groups perceive them? (Education; sociology)

The researcher presents these questions knowing that there are many others pertaining to the place of White men in the long-term struggle for greater equity in society. This understudied area would greatly benefit from additional attention within the academy.

Chapter Summary

This study sought to contribute to the fields of multicultural education, educational leadership and student affairs administration knowledge about White males in highly selective colleges and universities who voluntarily seek opportunities to develop their multicultural competencies through engagement with diversity and social justice education. In this chapter, the researcher summarized key conclusions from the study, including that White males in selective colleges had in their youth experienced or closely witnessed marginalization; gained exposure to diversity; and expressed intellectual curiosity about social differences. The study also concluded that while in college, White males reacted strongly to campus climate issues and controversies; took advantage of opportunities to interact socially with diverse peers; and were intellectually stimulated by interactions and experiences inside and outside of their classrooms. Finally, the

researcher found that White males in this population made meaning of their ally development processes primarily by distinguishing themselves from their White male peers; and by reflecting on personal traits and experiences they believed to be motivational for their decision to engage with diversity and social justice education.

After presenting these conclusions, the researcher discussed several broader themes, including the idea presented in Kimmel's (2013) work that the United States is experiencing a problematic era of "angry White men" wherein the focus is on repositioning White males as powerful and dominant members of American society. The researcher discussed some of the most extreme examples of this phenomenon, including ongoing national conversations on race in the aftermath of a string of questionable deaths of Black and African American people in various parts of the country over the past several years. The researcher shared thoughts on the urgent need to redefine White maleness in the American context and to include this population in the critical process of preparing for dramatic demographic shifts over the next several decades.

The researcher gave assumptions, delimitations and limitations of the study, including: the ability to widely generalize the findings being hindered by various aspects of the chosen population of study; the potential for error when asking participants to self-report memories from early childhood and adolescence; and the ways in which the researcher's personal identities as an African American male may have influenced participants' responses.

The researcher concluded with a number of recommendations: that society at large to would find ways to better support the psychosocial needs of White boys as they are developing and experiencing feelings of marginalization; that families and communities would be more diligent in creating opportunities for White boys to engage with diverse peers; that higher education would reframe its philosophical approaches on promoting diversity and inclusion to

include narratives of White males who are exhibiting ally behaviors; that higher education professionals would be more intentional in designing programs that allow White males to further their knowledge and skills in demonstrating ally behaviors; and that administrators who coordinate responses to campus controversies be mindful of ways to include White males in processing such circumstances, allowing them to further their commitment to ally behaviors. The researcher then presented several questions for further investigation that would continue to expand societal knowledge about White men.

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Appendix A

Researcher's Epoche

Again, it is important in a phenomenological study for the researcher to outline personal experiences, biases, assumptions and worldviews that have played a role in shaping the study and the research questions; a process referred to as an epoche (Groenewald, 2004; Merriam, 2009). I will begin this process with a recollection of my experiences as a student in high school and in college and then summarize my time as a professional diversity educator in two private colleges and universities.

My Education

I attended a predominantly Black high school in a mid-sized, college-town in the state of Florida. There was an International Baccalaureate (IB) program in the school, a college preparatory program considered more academically rigorous than traditional honors and AP programs. There was an intensive admissions process for the IB program, and somewhat predictably, the program attracted many upperclass and White students from the opposite side of town, some who lived as far as 45 minutes away. They would drive across town, many of them in expensive vehicles, to be a part of this program, and there was a noticeable distance between their lived experiences and those most of the underrepresented students in the school.

I was the only Black male IB student in my class year from ninth through eleventh grades, at which point I elected to drop the program and opted into a dual enrollment program at the local community college. Many of the neighborhood kids who were Black wondered where I would disappear to all day because we were never in the same classes. Conversely, White classmates wondered where I spent my time during the lunch hour because I chose mostly to eat with Black friends I knew outside of school. This was an education, in and of itself about race

and class, and I am fairly certain that it started me down the path of Psychological Nigrescence, a theoretical model for Black racial identity development (Cross, 1991).

I can recall from that experience two key observations that are important considerations for the present study. First, it was in high school that I began, unintentionally and erroneously, equating Whiteness with socioeconomic wealth and privilege. I was not equipped with the tools at that time to nuance my understanding of those as separate social identities. It should be noted that I was not from an underprivileged socioeconomic class myself; rather my family was quite comfortable and financially stable. In retrospect, it may be true that I was better off financially than many of my White peers. Nonetheless, in my high school, with very few exceptions, the words White and wealthy were interchangeable synonyms.

The second key observation from my time in high school was that White people had no interest in knowing about or relating to Black people or any other cultures outside of their own. While I was intellectually curious about ancient world empires, African literature, and South American music, to me, my White peers only seemed invested in attaining good grades, staying fashionable, getting admitted to top colleges, and drinking together on weekends. There were very few substantive social exchanges with White classmates, and whenever they did occur, I surmised that they were out of sheer curiosity about my background, values and experiences. As described in Turner (2003), I felt like a guest in someone else's house; or as in Ralph Ellison's (1952) important work of fiction, like an invisible impostor in their world. There was no attempt to establish authentic relationships outside of class where mutual learning and social support could occur.

As a first-year student at a large, public, state-funded, research institution, I was firmly planted in the *immersion* stage of Cross' Nigrescence model, which meant that I spent almost all

of my social time with other Black and African-American students and concerned myself primarily with Black issues. I was extremely proud of my Black heritage and identity, and began to exclusively adopt behaviors, attitudes, language and other cultural norms that believed to be squarely in line with my Black identity. It is worth noting that not all of these stereotypical behaviors and attitudes were positive.

Toward the latter part of my first-year, and into the sophomore year, I started pursuing leadership opportunities on campus outside of the classroom. I began to meet people from a variety of racial and class backgrounds that challenged previous assumptions that lingered from my high school experience. Still, whenever that happened, I believed it was because they were exceptions to the rules about Whiteness, wealth and privilege. One person remains firmly planted in my memory as the model exception to the rule, and the catalyst for a lifelong quest I have undertaken to better understand class, race, and other social identities, and to develop an intellectual curiosity about White men. To protect his anonymity, I will refer to him as Ryan.

Ryan, only a year or two older than me, was a White male who served as the undergraduate student coordinator of the orientation program for our University. I had been selected as one of fewer than 30 students to serve as an Orientation Leader, and this was a prestigious leadership role within our institution because of its size. Ryan served as our leader, and he led us with intellect, passion and incredible energy. I realized that summer that he was truly interested in knowing each of us as people, and in my case, he believed I was a smart, caring person who had valuable contributions to make to our team. It stands out as the first time I felt truly heard, understood and valued by a White male peer.

My Professional Career

After attaining a master's degree in higher education from a well-respected graduate program at a large, public Mid-West university, I took my first professional position working in residential life at a small, private institution on the east coast. I wanted to gain hands on experience in a smaller environment where administrative tasks were shared across the student life division. While working in residence life, I spent dedicated time working to support multicultural affairs, and in time, I became the director of that office. One of the first observations I made in that role was there was a handful of White college men who reminded me of my undergraduate friend, Ryan. They were consistently showing up to talks I had organized, attending various club meetings, and speaking publicly about their discontent with the lack of diversity on campus. Even though I was exposed in my graduate education to racial identity development theories, some of which are referenced in the literature review, and I had a better understanding of the stages of White identity development, these young men still struck me as exceptions to the rule. Quite a few of them were wealthy, most were straight, and almost all came from Christian households. Why, then, would they want to spend their free time pursuing deeper knowledge about injustices in the world?

I established a social justice peer education group at the University, which I called Kaleidoscope, and invited several of these White males (and many other students) to join. The group was charged to facilitate conversations with their peers about power, privilege and injustices in society and on campus. In doing so, I hypothesized that White straight men might be more effective at delivering messages about social justice than I would be as a Black male. Program evaluations and my own assessments supported this hypothesis. These men were incredibly effective, particularly at educating other White men. I started sending them to fraternity chapters, athletic teams and other stereotypically hypermasculine spaces to lead

conversations about racism, feminism and homophobia. They did so with great enthusiasm and boldness, and thus began my curiosity about their motivations.

I am now employed at a much smaller, liberal arts college, still in the Northeastern region of the U.S. and have established another Kaleidoscope chapter. This time, however, I went into the recruitment and selection processes with confidence that I would be able to find a group of White men who carried the same passion, energy and intellectual vigor as those I'd come to know in previous experiences. I was confident that there would be many "Ryans" to choose from, and I was right. Almost a decade after I began my professional career, I have come to know many "Ryans," and I always find them inspiring. It is my goal in this study to bracket all that I have experienced and imagined about this group of individuals, and to replace those assumptions with knowledge that I will construct through sound qualitative methodology.

Appendix B

Co-Curricular Social Justice Programs / Educational Opportunities

Institution Type / Enrollment / State	Type of Social Justice Program(s)	Description
Private/ Liberal Arts; 2900 undergraduates; New England Region	Peer Educators	Specially trained student volunteers who assist in programming, work with staff and residence assistants, and informally engage other students on topics of diversity.
Private/Liberal Arts; 1200 undergraduates; Mid-Atlantic Region	Social Justice Pre-Orientation Program	A weeklong orientation for first-year students who are interested in exploring issues of identity, power, privilege and social justice.
Private/research; 5000 undergraduates, 2000 graduates; Mid-Atlantic Region	Student Government Inclusive Excellence Subcommittee	Our mission is to create a community where all are included and diversity is celebrated.
Private/Liberal Arts; 2400 undergraduates; Northeastern Region	Social Justice Dialogue Program / Activist Organizations	Social Justice Dialogues for students from different backgrounds who meet for a half-day to explore questions of identity and social justice. Activist student organizations exist for a number of issues.

Appendix C

Questions for the Semi-Structured Interviews

Research Questions:

1. What pre-college factors do White males associate with their voluntary engagement in co-curricular social justice education opportunities while in college?
2. What college experiences do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education see as instrumental in advancing their commitment to social justice ally development?
3. How do White males who voluntarily commit to co-curricular social justice education opportunities in college make meaning of their development as social justice allies?

Interview Questions:

1. Demographics / Background
 - a. Where were you born / where did you grow up? (RQ1)
 - b. What was/is your family like? (RQ1)
 - c. What was your family's faith tradition (if any)? (RQ1)
 - d. What is your family's social class? (RQ1)
 - e. How do you currently identify? (e.g. race, class, sexual orientation) (RQ1)
 - f. Would you describe your parents or guardians as social justice allies? Please use examples to discuss why or why not. (RQ1)
2. Pre-college vs. College Attitudes about Social Justice Ally Development
 - a. What are you studying in college? What classes are you taking? (RQ2)
 - b. When did you first begin to care about diversity? (RQ1)
 - c. When did you first establish friendships across social identity groups (e.g. race, gender, class, sexual orientation)? (RQ1)
 - d. What does it mean to you to be a social justice ally? (RQ3)
 - e. What have you learned in college that has informed your definition of social justice ally development? (e.g. courses, personal reading, experiences) (RQ2)
 - f. Based upon your own definition, would you describe yourself as a social justice ally right now? (RQ3)
 - g. If so, were you an ally before you arrived at college? (RQ3)
 - h. If you have developed an interest in becoming a social justice ally since starting college, what led to your decision to do so? (RQ2)
3. College experiences
 - a. What does it mean to be a White man in college? (RQ2)
 - b. How frequently do you interact with people who are not like you? (RQ2)
 - c. Please describe the circumstances in which you most often have those interactions. (RQ2)
 - d. How do racial minorities perceive you? (RQ3)
 - e. How do women perceive you? (RQ3)
 - f. How do faculty members and administrators perceive you? (RQ3)
 - g. Please describe your experience being involved in [insert program name]. (RQ2)
 - h. What diversity topic or issue is of greatest concern to you? Why? (RQ3)

Appendix C

Questions for the Semi-Structured Interviews (continued)

RQ1. Pre-college factors	RQ2. College Experiences	RQ3. Meaning Making
Where were you born / where did you grow up?	What are you studying in college? What classes are you taking?	What does it mean to you to be a social justice ally?
What was/is your family like?	What have you learned in college that has informed your definition of social justice ally development?	Based upon your own definition, would you describe yourself as a social justice ally right now? If so, were you an ally before you arrived at college?
What was your family's faith tradition (if any)?	What does it mean to be a White man in college?	If you have developed an interest in becoming a social justice ally since starting college, what led to your decision to do so?
What is your family's social class?	How frequently do you interact with people who are not like you?	How do racial minorities perceive you?
How do you currently identify? (e.g. race, class, sexual orientation)	Please describe the circumstances in which you most often have those interactions.	How do women perceive you?
Would you describe your parents or guardians as social justice allies?	Please describe your experience being involved in [insert program name].	How do faculty members and administrators perceive you?
When did you first begin to care about diversity?	What have been the most meaningful experiences within this organization to aid you in the process of becoming a social justice ally?	What diversity topic or issue is of greatest concern to you? Why?
When did you first establish friendships across social identity groups (e.g. race, gender, class, sexual orientation)?		What prevents other White men from learning about diversity?

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form

Title of study:

Brothers in the Struggle: A Phenomenological Study of White Male College Student Development as Social Justice Allies

Principal investigator: John F. McKnight, Dean of Intercultural Development at Lafayette College; Doctoral Candidate

Institute: Department of Professional and Secondary Education, East Stroudsburg University

Introduction:

I am interested in learning more about the pre-college and in-college experiences of White males who voluntarily participate in co-curricular diversity programs and social justice education initiatives. Specifically, this study seeks to understand how students within this population make meaning of their development as social justice allies.

Purpose of this research study

The purpose of this study is to closely examine White male college students who are connected to social justice causes on their campuses in order to understand their motivations and unearth patterns that will give faculty and practitioners insights into how to effectively engage more White men in diversity and social justice education.

Procedures

This research study is qualitative in nature and I aim to construct knowledge about the topic through 60-90 minute interviews with participants and follow-up fill-in-the-blank narrative forms.

Possible risks or benefits

There is no physical risk involved in this study except your valuable time. There are potentially emotional risks associated with being asked to recall memories of experiences that were hurtful or uncomfortable. However, the results of the study may help the researcher to contribute knowledge to the field of multicultural education about how to engage other White males in social justice ally development opportunities outside of the classroom.

Right of refusal to participate and withdrawal

You are free to choose to participate in the study. You may refuse to participate without any loss of benefit that you are otherwise entitled to. You may also withdraw any time from the study without any adverse effect. You may also refuse to answer some or all the questions if you feel uncomfortable doing so.

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form (continued)

Confidentiality

The information provided by you will remain confidential. You will be given a pseudonym for the study and your name and identity will not be disclosed at any time. However, the data may be published and accessible to the general public without disclosing your identity.

Available Sources of Information

If you have questions about the study at any time, you may contact Mr. McKnight by phone at 610-844-6178 or by email at mcknighj@lafayette.edu. You may also contact the IRB Chair, Dr. Shala Davis at 570-422-3336 or by email at SDavis@po-box.esu.edu.

AUTHORIZATION

I have read and understand this consent form, and I volunteer to participate in this research study. I understand that I will receive a copy of this form. I voluntarily choose to participate, but I understand that my consent does not take away any legal rights in the case of negligence or other legal fault of anyone who is involved in this study. I further understand that nothing in this consent form is intended to replace any applicable Federal, state, or local laws.

Participant's Name (Printed or Typed): _____

Date: _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Principal Investigator's Signature: _____

Date: _____