Sociological Insight

Sociological Insight

Volume 7 | May 2015

Editors & Staff

Address for Correspondence

Contents

From the Editor

My tenure with Sociological Insight has been three years in the making. I applied as a sophomore for the position of undergraduate associate editor looking to immerse myself in the world of sociology and improve my writing skills by looking at what/ how other undergraduates were writing. My junior year I sought an executive staff position to understand the background workings of managing an academic journal. Now as a senior I find myself writing this letter as Editor-in-Chief getting ready to leave the journal in the hands of remarkable undergraduates who will surely see Sociological Insight to its eighth edition.

Providing undergraduates from around the globe with a platform on which to publish research and become a recognized junior scholar includes many moving parts. Founded in 2008 on the goal of publishing the highest quality of undergraduate research, *Sociological Insight*'s inaugural executive staff laid the foundation for the internal workings of the journal. This included securing funding from the College of Liberal Arts and the Department of Sociology, contacting 125 Sociology departments form around the nation to advertise the journal, and finally, leaving behind these connections for future staff to continuously build on institutional networks. Since then, *Sociological Insight* has published over thirty competitive articles from outstanding undergraduates from around the world.

In order to produce a top-tier journal, every article goes through a rigorous review process. In the Fall semester *Sociological Insight* sends out its general call for submissions by emailing and calling over 100 Sociology departments throughout the nation, and abroad. After the deadline for submissions has passed, the executive staff quickly goes through and takes out the articles that do not follow our suggested formatting guidelines. The submissions that have made it past the initial desk-reject then get sent to an undergraduate and graduate editor duo. At this stage the duo reviews the submission and come together to write an argument on its merits for publication and classify the articles as "accept as is," "revise and resubmit," or "reject". Those papers that have been considered for R&R then get sent back to the author with specific suggestions on how to improve their submission. The revised article gets sent to a professor who specializes in the topic for a final "acceptance" or "rejection". The result of such a strenuous review process is the publication of the highest-quality submissions. As a journal, we hope that our feedback promotes fruitful revisions that allow for junior sociologists to advance their writing and publishing skills.

Sociological Insight's associate editors, both undergraduates and

graduates, allow for this process to happen every year. Therefore, it is critical that we not only increase the number of submissions but also the number of undergraduates who are willing to learn and be a part of the review process. *Sociological Insight* is an atypical organization in that it meets with its full staff only when needed, which is roughly 2-3 times a semester. These meetings are scarce but crucial to keep everyone up-to-date as well as keeping the executive staff transparent and accountable. Furthermore, allowing for the undergraduates to be part of the process maintains the hope that these undergraduates will take over the executive staff positions for *Sociological Insight*.

Of course, this journal is made possible because of institutional support from multiple entities. The journal is heavily indebted to the continuing financial support from The University if Texas at Austin's College of Liberal Arts and the Sociology Department, without which the production of this journal would never be possible. In addition, we would like to thank the Liberal Arts Affiliated Student Organizations program, located within the Liberal Arts Council, for their recent financial contribution, which will allow us to continue to plan more events centered on undergraduate research.

The staff would also like to thank the chair of the Sociology department, Dr. Robert Crosnoe, for allowing *Sociological Insight* to continue under the moniker of this fine Sociology program. Additionally, we owe particular thanks to our faculty advisor, Dr. Ekland-Olson, who has always been there for us in times of need. Your continuous support and mentorship in all facets of the journal allow for its existence.

The seventh edition of *Sociological Insight* would not have been possible without the time of all the faculty reviewers that worked to edit our final round of articles, including: Dr. Ekland-Olson, Dr. Pettit, and Dr. Haghshenas. Taking time out of their already busy lives to review undergraduate research is a commitment not seen in many professors. *Sociological Insight* thanks you for your continuous support and mentorship.

Debbie Rothschild deserves all the praise. *Sociological Insight*, and sociology students in general, would be lost if Debbie did not advise us. Debbie ensures that packages are mailed, funds are managed, and professional letters processed. *Sociological Insight* owes so much to Debbie for her guidance and will continue to survive because of her dedication to her undergraduates.

Finally, I would like to extend a heart-felt thank you to my fellow executive staff members: Andrew Messamore, Christine Ku, Samantha Heinly, and Rebecca Bielamowicz. Without these individuals the journal would not be published. Each person fulfilled his or her role and duties better than I could have hoped.

Sociological Insight began as a platform on which to publish high-quality undergraduate sociology research. Although we continue to uphold that mission, the journal also works to provide skills and experiences to those involved in the creation of the journal. Inspired by my own journey throughout these past three years, *Sociological Insight* is a platform on which I learned how to edit, to write competitively, and to manage

an academic journal. These skills have proven to be invaluable as I continue to pursue a life in academia. And I hope this journal can continue to be a source of learning for both the author and editors.

Jonathan Cortez
Editor-in-Chief

"I do something different and extraordinary": U.S. Abortion Workers and Restorative Identity Work

Amanda Baldiga
University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill

Abortion workers in the United States claim two distinct and conflicting identities: the stigmatized identity of an individual involved in 'dirty' work and the esteemed identity of a physician. The experience of stigma as a result of being an abortion worker, and the transformation of stigma into positive self-identity, has been documented in several qualitative studies. However, we know little about the mechanisms of identity work that facilitate this positive transformation of stigma, particularly as an unprecedented number of legal restrictions on abortion have been adopted by many U.S. states in the last two years. Through interviews with physicians who provide abortions, I find that abortion workers valorize their work and construct it as a necessary and normal part of health care. I interpret these mechanisms of identity work as 'restorative', an attempt by abortion workers to restore the status accorded to medical professionals who do not provide abortions.

A bortion is a highly stigmatized medical procedure in the United States and individuals involved with abortion as providers, employees of abortion clinics, or women who have had abortions, are highly stigmatized as well (Norris et al. 2011). Much research on abortion in the U.S. has focused on the political, religious and social discourses surrounding abortion, violence by anti-abortion activists, and the effects of stigma on women seeking abortions. Relatively little research has focused on abortion workers. In this study, I examine abortion workers' experiences of abortion-related stigma and identity work.

Research on abortion workers is especially timely in light of recent and wide-sweeping legal restrictions on abortion in the United States. In 2013, 70 restrictions on abortion were adopted by 22 different states, with legislation ranging from limits on medication abortions to restrictions on insurance coverage for abortion care (Guttmacher Institute 2014). Over 200 abortion restrictions were enacted during 2011-2013, while just 189 were enacted during the entire previous decade, 2001-2010 (Guttmacher Institute 2014). Currently, 32 states ban the use of state funds for abortion

except when federal funds are available, 26 states require a waiting period between counseling and the abortion procedure, and 17 states require women receive non-medical counseling prior to their abortion. Under the new healthcare law, popularly known as 'Obamacare,' 23 states have passed laws banning private insurance coverage of abortion in any exchanges in their state (National Women's Law Center [NWLC] 2014).

RESEACRH OBJECTIVE

This study contributes to the previous literature exploring the experiences of stigma and the positive identity work of abortion workers in light of recent unprecedented legal restrictions on abortion. What mechanisms of identity work facilitate the positive transformation of stigma? I find that abortion workers normalize the work that they do and the abortion procedure, frame abortion as a necessary medical procedure, and valorize abortion providers, positively transforming abortion-related stigma. I identify these tactics as examples of restorative identity work, through which abortion workers seek to reclaim the status and respect accorded to physicians who are not stigmatized due to their association with abortion.

In the section that follows, I review the existing literature on abortion-related stigma and positive identity work. I begin by discussing atitudes towards abortion in the U.S. and how they apply to abortion workers. I then trace abortion workers' experience of stigma in several social and cultural contexts. I end with a discussion of how occupation-related stigma is transformed by abortion workers into positive identities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Stigma
Despite the fact that elective abortions are among the most commonly performed surgical procedures in the U.S. (Guttmacher 2014), stigma regarding abortion is present in a broad array of cultural, social and political contexts. Goffman (1963:3) describes stigma as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" which leads to a reduction of the possessor from a whole, 'normal' person to a tainted one in the eyes of non-stigmatized individuals. Link and Phelan (2001) conceptualize stigma as existing when "elements of labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination occur" (Link and Phelan 2001:377). Abortion stigma is then created when an 'exceptional' category of people (women who have abortions, abortion workers or providers) are considered deviant in comparison to a normative category (mothers, doctors in other practices). Labels and generalizations are then applied to the deviant category: in the case of abortion workers, labels like murderer, baby-killer, dirty, selfish, and morally corrupt abound (Kumar, Hessini, and Michell 2009). Once an exceptional, deviant category is defined, discrimination against individuals within that category is enacted.

Abortion work meets the criteria of a stigmatized occupation by being associated with all three taints as defined by Hughes (1951) and expanded upon by Ashforth and Kreiner (1999): physical (blood, fetal matter); social (contact with stigmatized clients who are seeking abortions); and moral (ambiguous definition of the beginning of 'life,' conflicting ideologies about the morality of pregnancy termination) (Harris et al. 2011; O'Donnell, Weitz, and Freedman et al. 2011). Kumar et al. (2009) posit that abortion stigma is constructed and carried out through the following cultural and social contexts: framing discourse/mass culture; governmental/structural; organizational/ institutional; community/interpersonal; and individual. I extend Kumar et al.'s categories to include Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) to show how abortion workers experience stigma.

Framing discourse/mass culture

Since the 1980s, abortion clinics have been targeted both physically and rhetorically by anti-abortion activists as epicenters of evil, and abortion providers as corrupt manipulators of innocent women (Hayden 2011). Anti-abortion activists, rooted in conservative Christianity and the political right-wing, seek to negatively sway cultural values and beliefs about abortion through public tactics such as picketing, holding vigils outside clinics, and distributing flyers to the neighbors of abortion providers about the providers' occupation (Norris et al. 2011; Hayden 2011). The construction of the fetus as an independent person, aided by technological advances in fetal photography and ultrasound, frames abortion workers as committing murders of children (Norris et al. 2011). Abortion activists also contribute to abortion stigma by highlighting 'good' and 'bad' reasons for seeking abortion services. Invoking the mantra "safe, legal, and rare" perpetuates stigma, framing abortion procedures as exceptional and only valid in certain circumstances (Weitz 2010).

Governmental/Structural

The stigmatization of abortion is not limited to mass cultural discourse or ideological frames. Political and legalized stigma against abortion work is evident in the U.S. Supreme Court decisions in cases such as Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1980) and Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (1992). Both decisions undermined the initial strength of Roe v. Wade (1973) by enabling state governments to restrict abortion access. The ability of state governments to enact restrictions on abortion such as mandatory consent laws reflect an ideology where abortion is considered, if not illegal, close to criminal activity (Kumar et al. 2009). Research shows that state abortion laws significantly deter "physicians/organizations from becoming or remaining abortion providers resulting in less access for women to abortion services" (Medoff 2009:235). During a 2007 workshop in which 17 U.S. abortion workers met to discuss their experiences, several participants disclosed fears that abortion procedures will be entirely recriminalized in the near future (Harris et al. 2011).

Organizational/inStitutional

Stigma towards abortion workers is present even in the institutions that provide abortion training. Abortion is marginalized within medical setings, with limited training available for willing clinicians and institutional policies that restrict abortion provision. Indeed, about half of trained providers do not ultimately provide abortions (Steinauer et al. 2009; Freedman et al. 2010). Moreover, most abortions in the United States are provided in free-standing clinics, isolating the procedure from mainstream healthcare and marginalizing providers (Joffe 1995; Norris et al. 2011). About 87% of U.S. counties and 31% of U.S. metropolitan areas do not have an abortion provider (Finer and Henshaw 2003; Jones and Kooistra 2011). On average, abortion work is less profitable than similar out-patient procedures, leading to economic disparities between abortion providers and other physicians (Grimes 1992; Wear 2002). Within the medical community, abortion providers are cognizant of the stereotype that they are unable to practice other forms of medicine, and report experiencing feelings of shame and inadequacy (Harris et al. 2011, 2012).

Community/interperSonal

Stigma towards abortion workers is also apparent in community and individual relationships. There is little space for abortion workers to discuss their work in the public sphere without risk of being ostracized, denigrated, or subjected to violence. This leads abortion workers to avoid discussing their employment or to intentionally conceal their involvement in abortion provision (O'Donnell et al. 2011; Harris et al. 2011). In O'Donnell et al.'s (2011) in-depth interviews with abortion workers, most participants described a screening process they employed with acquaintances and strangers before choosing to disclose their employment. Other abortion workers cited friendships that ended once their occupation was disclosed, family members who considered them murderers, and close friends and family who were supportive of abortion rights but reluctant to discuss the abortion worker's occupation (Harris et al. 2011; O'Donnell et al. 2011). Silence and disclosing abortion work selectively protects abortion workers from harassment and preserves relationships; however, this silence reinforces the distorted image of abortion providers as illegitimate and deviant, and abortion procedures as rare (Harris et al. 2012).

individual

The stigma of abortion is deeply felt by individual abortion workers. In both O'Donnell et al. (2011) and Harris et al.'s (2012) studies, the same respondents who refrained from discussing their occupation outside of work expressed a sense of isolation and disconnection from being unable to share their occupation in public spaces. Most abortion workers expressed frustration with having to be wary of being 'outed' as an abortion worker. In a 2002 study, Ohio providers reported living in fear, experiencing vandalism, high speed chases, stalking, and death threats; one participant admitted to wearing a bulletproof vest to and from work (Wear 2002). Interpersonal stigmatization creates a disincentive for physicians to become involved in abortion

care and perpetuates a sense of shame, isolation, and fear (O'Donnell et al. 2011; Norris et al. 2011). Furthermore, studies find that concealment of a stigmatized aspect of one's identity leads to stress, anxiety, and other health consequences and psychological disorders, including internalization of stigma (Major and Gramzow 1999; Quinn and Chaudior 2009; Norris et al. 2011).

POSITIVE AND RESTORITIVE IDENTITY WORK

As we know from previous research, stigmatization is a process that can be actively resisted and transformed by the stigmatized population. To create and maintain positive identities, members of stigmatized professions often engage in the following identity work: reframing the meaning attached to the stigmatized profession into a positive value; recalibrating the standards that assess the value of their profession; and refocusing on non-stigmatized aspects of their occupation (Hughes 1958; Ashforth and Kreiner 1999). The findings from several studies of abortion workers are consistent with Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) claim that work-based stigma fosters a strong occupational culture and identity among people who do "dirty work." Studies of abortion workers show that positive identity work is successful: participants have positive self-image, belief in the importance of their work, and feelings of occupational satisfaction (Joffe 1995; Wear 2002; Harris et al. 2011; O'Donnell et al. 2011).

In contrast to individuals who are members of other stigmatized occupations (such as sanitation workers, for example) abortion providers are part of an occupation that is otherwise highly regarded. Physicians, including OB/GYNs, are part of a highly-respected professional class that is associated with high status and prestige in the U.S. (Treiman 1976; Nakao and Treas 1994; Fujishiro, Xu, and Gong 2010). It is only their provision of abortion and association with its physical, moral, and social taints that relegates physician participants to a stigmatized occupation.

This distinguishes the identity work in this study from that undertaken by the homeless and prison populations explored by Snow and Anderson (1987) and Brown and Toyoki (2013), respectively. OB/GYNs are not "at the margin or bottom of status orders," nor have they "fallen through the cracks of society and linger at the very bottom of the status system" (Brown and Toyoki 2013:877; Snow and Anderson 1987:1338). The identity work performed by homeless or imprisoned individuals attempts to promote liveability in a context in which their entire identity is devalued and discriminated. Unlike the correctional oficers in Tracy and Scott's (2006) study of taint management, abortion providers are members of an occupation viewed by U.S. society as worthy of esteem and respect, allowing abortion providers to have something to 'restore.'

In this study, I focus on the process of restorative identity work employed by individual abortion workers in the midst of the passage of abortion legislation that fundamentally changes how abortion workers provide abortion care.

METHODS

I utilize qualitative methods, specifically semi-structured interviews, to explore the identity of abortion workers. This method allowed participants to frame their experiences, responses, and feelings on their own terms. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed, then coded and analyzed.

Interviews began with questions designed to capture participant knowledge of state abortion legislation and its impact, how they experience stigma, and their identity as an abortion worker. Sample questions include:

- *How did you first begin this work? What has changed since you first started?*

- *Do you discuss your occupation outside of the workplace? With whom?*

- *How important is providing abortions to your work as a physician?*

I allowed participants to guide the direction of the conversation based on the focus of their responses. As such, I asked unscripted questions based on participant responses to initial questions.

recruitment

Because of the stigmatized nature of their work and history of violence by anti-abortion activists, abortion workers are often wary of participating in research studies (Wear 2002). Acknowledging this obstacle, I used a variety of methods to contact potential interview subjects, including snowball sampling techniques. I provided each participant interviewed in person with a consent form detailing the project and their rights as a participant, which was signed and dated before the recorded interview began. For phone interviews, I read the consent form aloud and participants verbally consented. To ensure anonymity, participant names, places of work, and identifying information were not used in interviews. In subsequent transcriptions and analysis, participants are referred to by their occupation and a number ordering their interview. For example, the first interview was with "Physician 1," the second was with "Physician 2," and so on.

Participants

This research is part of a larger study of 12 abortion workers. For the purposes of this analysis, I focus only on the physician participants, each of whom live and work in a state that has passed restrictive abortion legislation. All participants were interviewed between September 2013 and April 2014. Each interview lasted between a half-hour and an hour. I conducted both in-person and phone interviews, depending on the location of the participant. Table 1 identifies the states

where individual participants reside and practice abortion work.

All of the eight abortion workers interviewed in this study are physicians, U.S. citizens, and between the ages of 25 and 70. The majority of participants are white and between the ages of 30 and 50. Only one participant is male. Participants include individuals doing abortion work in several states, in different medical contexts (including clinics, hospitals and private practices), and under different state abortion laws. This allows for a broader discussion of the concerns and identity work mechanisms of abortion providers. Due to risk of identity exposure, respondents' exact age, the name of their place of work, and their race was not recorded.

table 1

Participant State of Residence

PARTICIPANT	STATE
Physician 1	North Carolina
Physician 2	Pennsylvania
Physician 3	Virginia
Physician 4	Pennsylvania
Physician 5	Virginia
Physician 6	Georgia
Physician 7	Texas
Physician 8	Texas

Key Concepts

The concepts of identity and identity work are ambiguous and can be interpreted a number of different ways. I draw on Snow and Anderson's (1987) ethnographic study of the homeless to inform my definition of identity and identity work. By identity work, I mean mechanisms "individuals engage in to create, present and sustain personal identities" and that provide them

with a "measure of self-worth and dignity" (Snow and Anderson 1987:1348). The definition of identity in this study closely follows Snow and Anderson's definition of self-concept, "one's overarching view or image of her- or himself" (Snow and Anderson 1987:1348). However, I analyze participant identity in terms of their decision to join a stigmatized occupation rather than a social group. The physician participants in this study are located in an otherwise highly respected profession but choose to do specific work that is stigmatized. In accordance with the methodology of Tracy and Scott's (2006) study of "taint management" among correctional oficers, I focus on the discursive processes and verbal construction of identities of abortion workers. I also draw on Brown and Toyoki's study of identity work among prisoners as "activities [that] involve people maneuvering in relation to available discourses in order to formulate, maintain, evaluate and revise self-narratives which promote liveability" (Brown and Toyoki 2013:875).

results

All eight physician participants reported having a positive occupational and self-identity. They made statements such as, "Out of all the things I do, I consider providing abortions to be probably the most important, if not the most rewarding"(Physician 8); "I love my work and…the passion that I have for it" (Physician 7); and "It's some of the most satisfying work that I do" (Physician 3). Despite facing pervasive stigma, no physicians reported past or future plans to stop abortion provision. For example, one physician stated: "[Not providing abortions] is nothing I've seriously considered" (Physician 8). What identity work do physicians who provide abortions employ to maintain such positivity even as members of a stigmatized occupation in an era of intense political regulation of abortion? I find that physician participants utilize three mechanisms of identity work to maintain positive work and self-identities. They normalize abortion work, valorize it, and frame it as necessary. I argue that these mechanisms are specifically available to individuals who are members of an otherwise high status occupation but choose to join a stigmatized group.

Normalizing

Physician participants normalize their provision of abortion in two primary ways, by emphasizing that abortion is (1) a common procedure and (2) an integral part of healthcare. The normalization of the provision and procedure of abortion is a way that physician respondents restore and reclaim the respect given to physicians and OB/GYNs who are not stigmatized or 'dirtied' by association with abortion.

"It's just another surgery": Abortion as a common procedure

Physician participants referred to themselves and other abortion providers as normal physicians who perform an everyday procedure by emphasizing the number of women who have received abortions. The majority of participants cited abortion as "common" at some point in their interviews, and nearly all referenced the statistic that one third of American women will undergo

abortion at some point in their lives. Physician 4 stated, "It's a part of people's lives as much as childbirth." Physician 5 specifically mentioned normalizing providers as well as clients, remarking, "We have to not only normalize the circumstance to say that a number of women go through this, and you probably know some of them, but also…the provider is a thirty-something-year-old female with kids." Physician participants emphasized the ease of the surgical procedure itself with statements such as, "It's just another surgery…it's orders of magnitude safer than geting your gall bladder out," (Physician 4) and "[it's a] three minute procedure" (Physician 8). Physician 3 went further, saying abortion is "much easier and much better than geting a tooth pulled. Ask anyone who's had a tooth pulled and anyone who's had an abortion how they feel the next day."

"That's part of healthcare": Abortion as Healthcare

Physician participants normalized themselves by discussing abortion as integral to healthcare in general. Physician 7 stated, "[Abortion is] part of healthcare and that's part of women's health." Each physician participant is an OB/GYN and the majority expressed strong opinions that abortion care should be a normal part of OB/GBYN training and duties even though "OB/GYN programs don't offer [abortion training] generally" (Physician 2). Physician 1 remarked, "The American College and the American Board of OB/GYN say [OB/GYNs] should at least know how to take care of complications. Well, how do you know how to take care of complications if you don't know how to do the procedure?"

Other participants disapproved of OB/GYNs who do not provide abortion care: "[If] you're an OB/GYN, there's no reason this shouldn't be a part of what you're doing, and the reason it's not part of what you're doing is because people aren't willing to work through the political boundaries that exist to make it happen for people" (Physician 5). Several physician participants remarked that providing abortions is, for them, a realization of what it means to provide comprehensive healthcare. Physician 4 expressed surprise that her willingness to provide abortions was notable, saying, "I certainly don't mean to minimize the importance of abortion to a woman's life but I didn't realize it was going to sort of define me."

Another manifestation of normalization utilized by certain physician participants was to emphasize the aspects of their work that do not involve abortion, in an effort to show themselves as more than 'the abortion doctor.' The majority of physician participants provide abortions in clinics while also teaching residents, operating private practices, or working in hospitals.

Physician 6 remarked:

> I'm not just an abortion provider. I'm an OB/GYN who provides abortions—just like a cardiologist is not a person who does CATS. He's a cardiologist who also does heart CATS. The abortions are just some of the procedures I do as an OB/GYN. But

unfortunately in the world, it's one of the only procedures where if you do that, you become the abortion provider.

Two participants, however, started out as general OB/GYNS and now dedicate most of their careers to abortion provision and advocacy and did not attempt to normalize themselves by discussing occupational duties beyond abortion. These physicians (1 and 3) are older than the rest of the participants and their careers gradually became more centered on abortion provision.

Physician participants normalized their occupation as abortion workers by discussing abortion as an everyday medical procedure and themselves as typical doctors doing their best to provide healthcare to patients. The mechanism of normalization corresponds with Kumar et al.'s (2009) discussion of abortion workers and women who have had abortions as an 'exceptional' category that is considered deviant in comparison to a normative category. Physician participants' normalization of themselves as abortion providers is a way to combat the idea that abortion is an exceptional procedure, and thus combat stigma against themselves and abortion in general. Through normalization, physician participants effectively communicate a positive image of themselves as normal and their work as acceptable, even conventional, despite lawmakers, other doctors, and Americans who (according to the physician participants) mistakenly think otherwise. The image of 'normality' allows physician participants to maintain positive identities, even while experiencing stigma on social and institutional levels.

Framing Abortion as Necessary
"What she needs": Necessity
Another identity work mechanism used by physician participants was the framing of abortion as a necessary healthcare procedure. This can be viewed as a subset of normalizing: participants frame abortion as medically and socially necessary to combat the stigma of abortion as something outside the purview of 'normal' physicians. Physician participants repeatedly discussed abortion provision as necessary, emphasizing its importance as an accessible medical procedure and as a service uniquely needed by women. As Physician 1 stated, "[abortion]'s an exceedingly vital service. It's probably the best healthcare that you can provide to women." Other physicians stressed that truly caring for patients necessitated providing patients with abortions. They made statements such as, "The actual surgery isn't what it's about. It's about patient care" (Physician 4). Physician 5, reflecting on working as a resident in a hospital that did not provide elective abortions, said, "we couldn't provide women with the services they needed." The experience of not being able to adequately serve patients led Physician 5 to seek out abortion training.

Physicians framed their provision of abortions, not as a decision, but as a requirement of their field: "[Abortion is] something that people need, that I [am] willing to do, and that's what I should be doing" (Physician 2). Physicians 7 and 8, working in Texas under newly implemented

and unusually restrictive laws, framed their provision of abortion as doubly necessary because abortion access in their state has been severely limited. Physician 6 emphasized patient needs above physician desires: "The physicians should see themselves first and foremost as their patient's advocate in their own health and also in the public health sphere" (Physician 6). This understanding of abortion as a necessary medical procedure frames physician participants as providing abortions not due to personal preference or gain but because abortions are an essential part of healthcare and what it means to be an OB/GYN. Physicians also emphasized that abortion is often the last resort for women who have no other option: "If you don't provide for this patient then that patient's not ever going to get what she needs" (Physician 5). Physician participants also reported that restrictive state abortion laws magnify the need for accessible abortion: "I knew that I wouldn't be able to come to a place like Texas that is so in need of abortion providers and not be providing" (Physician 7). It should be noted that in the case of Physician 7, laws restricting abortion provision and access in Texas did not serve to dissuade abortion providers but instead increased their resolve to continuing providing abortions in the state.

By stressing the necessity of providing abortion care to patients, physician participants framed abortion as something they have to provide in order to be good, moral doctors and effectively serve their patients. Stressing the necessity of abortion provision is a tactic utilized in response to the elements of labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination that are leveled against stigmatized groups (Crocker, Major, and Steele 1998). By illustrating how essential abortion provision is, physician participants strive to combat stigma that relegates abortion providers to a category separate from normal physicians providing necessary medical care. This tactic of identity work, as a subset of normalizing, shows physician participants framing themselves as normal doctors providing a vital healthcare procedure.

Valorizing
"It's a calling and a cause": Abortion provision

Physician participants valorized abortion provision by emphasizing the unique nature and heroism of being an abortion provider in a country with limited physicians willing to provide abortions, and in states with restrictive abortion laws. Physician 6 remarked, "[I] do something that's different and extraordinary," while Physician 8 stated, "There's something to be said about providing a service that's going to change someone's life and you being one of few people who can actually do it." Other physicians remarked that restrictions on abortion lead to a scarcity of abortion providers in their state, leaving them as part of a special and irreplaceable group of physicians: "If I'm not providing, there's no one to do it in my place" (Physician 8). Physician 7, who is taking time off for family reasons, stated, "Taking leave right now is totally the worst time in so many ways because I'm needed more now that I have been before." Several physicians discussed how their fellow abortion workers were inspired, impassioned, and doing abortion care for the right reasons: "And we're not a bunch of bottom feeders. Once again, most of the people who work in these places,

for the most part, it is not a career, it's a calling and a cause" (Physician 1).

Many physician participants discussed abortion through a human rights or ethical perspective. Physician 7 reflected, "Providing abortions is one of the most humanitarian aspects of medicine that I have participated in." Physician 5, reflecting on her residency, recalled having to transfer women seeking abortions to a hospital in a nearby city: "I really felt like that was grossly inadequate, and quite frankly I felt like it was unethical." Physician 3 reported she was originally unhappy with the elitism she saw among her peers in medical school, but providing abortions allowed her to impact women's lives directly and focus on community and patient health. Three physicians mentioned their conviction that providing abortion is not just a part of women's health but can hold direct impacts on the health of entire communities. Still others valorized abortion simply: "Out of all the things I do, I consider providing abortions to be probably the most important" (Physician 8).

"It's about the patients": Patient care
Physician participants further valorized themselves and their work by discussing how their abortion provision positively impacted patients. All physician participants framed their dedication to continue to provide abortions as a decision made for their patients: "It's about the patients, and it's hard to constantly try to protect your patients. We protect them medically, clinically, to keep it safe" (Physician 2). Physician 1stated, "I help more people in a tangible way in one week here than I would help in three months in my general OB/GYN practice."

Physicians have also valorized the effort and the sacrifice necessary to provide quality care to patients under restrictive state abortion laws: "You have such insurmountable barriers just to get one patient, it doesn't matter even how far she is, just to give that one patient what she needs and to work out her finances and everything else that goes along with getting her what she needs" (Physician 5). "Providers have been bending over backwards to try to make [regulations] work" (Physician 2). Physician 5 emphasized the singularity of her ability to provide abortions to women who most likely have no other option: "In this area you have to be so much more of an advocate for your patients because if you don't provide [an abortion] for this patient then that patient is not ever going to get what she needs." Physicians emphasized their power to affect change in women's lives: "It's huge, and the impact it has on these people's lives, I mean the relief rather than the regret, is unbelievable" (Physician 4).

Physician participants frame themselves as valiant and heroic doctors in the face of intense stigma and restrictive state laws. By framing abortion work in moral and ethical terms and themselves as unique among medical professionals, physician participants combat stigma that devalues their work and their identities. The mechanism of valorizing shows participants working to combat the devaluing and deviant labels that are associated with stigmatized groups (Crocker et al. 1998;

Kumar et al. 2009). Valorization is particularly interesting when juxtaposed with normalization, as the two tactics are seemingly at odds. However, the examples above show participants framing abortion provision and themselves as normal and that they should be considered as such, ostensibly in the future. Physician participants' valorization of themselves and their work regards the present state of abortion, which is stigmatized and highly regulated in the states in which they practice. The marked difference between seeking the eventual normalization of abortion providers, while valorizing their present abortion provision, was visible in each physician participant interview.

In sum, physician participants exhibited three distinct tactics of identity work: normalizing abortion provision, framing their work as necessary, and valorizing themselves and other providers. While participants varied in the degree they referenced these types of identity work, all three were visible in each interview. Through employing a combination of normalizing the procedure of abortion and its place in healthcare, valorizing their own work as abortion providers and as patient advocates, particularly in light of restrictive state abortion laws, and stressing the necessity of abortion services, physician participants create and maintain positive occupational and personal identities.

DISCUSSION

Physician participants exhibited the identity work mechanisms of normalizing themselves and other abortion providers, framing abortion provision as necessary, and valorizing abortion providers. These tactics are examples of what I call 'restorative' identity work, resulting from physician participants' membership in an otherwise respected occupation. The results of this study have implications both for abortion workers specifically and for the study of identity work in general.

Restorative Identity Work
I refer to the mechanisms of identity work undertaken by physician participants in this study as restorative. The tactics of framing themselves and other abortion providers as heroic, normal physicians providing a necessary medical service are ways in which physician participants attempt to restore the status and respect accorded to medical professionals performing vital medical procedures, such as OB/GYNs who do not provide abortions. The physician participants in this study willingly made the choice to become abortion providers and accept the stigma associated with abortion because they believe the work is essential and valuable. Through normalizing abortion care as a standard medical procedure, valorizing themselves and their colleagues as unique among physicians, and emphasizing the necessity of abortion to healthcare, these participants do not disassociate from their stigmatized occupation. Instead, they seek to restore the respect accorded to other medical professionals by U.S. society to themselves and their work.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study aims to explore the mechanisms through which abortion workers in states with restrictive abortion legislation create and maintain positive identities. It is not mean to generalize to the entire population of U.S. abortion workers, or all abortion workers in states with restrictive abortion legislation. Participants were individuals who volunteered to take part in the research study. This sets the study sample apart from the population of abortion workers, the vast majority of whom were not contacted for this study, and those who were contacted but did not agree to be interviewed.

The analysis of abortion workers' engagement in restorative identity work has broad implications. This study shows how individual choice and chosen membership in a stigmatized group shapes identity work. Unlike homeless or imprisoned populations, or occupations that are not widely respected, abortion providers are part of a respected and high-status occupation, but choose to take on work that is highly stigmatized. The physician participants in this study also chose to continue providing abortions in politically hostile states. Therefore, while the stigma faced by abortion providers is very real, the physician participants accept being 'tainted' because of their belief in the necessity of abortion work. Thus, they try through tactics of valorization and normalization to restore the respect and esteem accorded to physicians who do not provide abortions.

Further research on the identity work among abortion workers in states with politically liberal or neutral atitudes towards abortion may reveal distinctions between identity work performed under restrictive state laws and identity work performed by abortion workers generally. Studies with larger sample sizes and distinguished by type of abortion law in effect may yield more specificity about the types and mechanisms of identity work undertaken by abortion workers. Finally, further research is needed to explore how choice to assume membership in a stigmatized group affects individuals and resulting positive identity work. The decision to take on a role that is stigmatized within an otherwise highly respected professional class deserves continued attention.

References

Ashforth, Blake E. and Glen E. Kreiner.1999. ""How Can You Do It?": Dirty Work and the Challenge of Constructing a Positive Identity." *The Academy of Management Review* 24(3): 413-434.

Blake, Judith & Jorge Del Penal. 1981. "Negativism, Equivocation, and Wobbly Assent: Public 'Support' for the Prochoice Platform on Abortion." *Demography 18.*

Brown, Andrew D. & Sammy Toyoki. 2013. "Identity Work and Legitimacy." *Organization Studies* 34(7): 875-896.

Cook, Elizabeth Adell, Ted G. Jelen, and Clyde Wilcox. 1992. "Catholicism and Abortion Atitudes in the American States: A Contextual Analysis." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 32(3): 223-230.

Crocker, Jennifer, Major, Brenda & Claude Steele. 1998. "Social Stigma." Pp. 504-508 in *The Handbook of Social Psychology Vol. 2*, edited by D.T. Gilbert, S.T. Fiske. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Finer, Lawrence B. and Stanley K. Henshaw. 2003. "Abortion Incidence and Services in the United States in 2000." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 35(1): 6-15.

Fitzpatrick, Kevin M. and Michele Wilson. 1999. "Exposure to Violence and Posttraumatic Stress Symptomatology Among Abortion Clinic Workers." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 12(2): 227-242.

Freedman, Lori, Uta Landy, Philip Darney, and Jody Steinauer. 2010. "Obstacles to the Integration of Abortion into Obstetrics and Gynecology Practice." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 42(3): 146-151.

Goffman E. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Fujishiro, Kaori, Xu, Jun, & Fang Gong. 2010. "What Does 'Occupation' Represent as an Indicator of Socioeconomic Status?: Exploring Occupational Prestige and Health." *Social Science & Medicine* 71(12): 2100-2107.

Goldberg, Carey & Janet Elder. "Public Still Backs Abortion, But Wants Limits, Poll Says." New York Times. 1998. <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/01/16/us/public-still-backs-abortion-but-wants-limits-poll-says.html> (March 23, 2014).

Granberg, Donald & Beth W. Granberg. 1980. "Abortion Atitudes, 1965-1980: Trends and Determinants." *Family Planning Perspectives* 12(5): 250-261.

Grimes, David A. 1992. "Clinicians Who Provide Abortions: The Thinning Ranks." *Obstetrics & Gynecology* 80(4): 719-723.

Guttmacher Institute. "Induced Abortion in the United States." Guttmacher Institute: Fact Sheet. 2014. <http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb_induced_abortion.html> (March 23, 2014).

Guttmacher Institute. "More State Abortion Restrictions Were Enacted in 2011-2013 Than in the Entire Previous Decade." Guttmacher Institute: Media Resources. 2014. <http://www.guttmacher.org/media/inthenews/2014/01/02/index.html?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+Guttmacher+(New+from+the+Guttmacher+Institute> (March 23, 2014).

Harris, Lisa Hope, Michelle Debbink, Lisa Martin, and Jane Hassinger. 2011. "Dynamics of Stigma
in Abortion Work: Findings From a Pilot Study of the Providers Share Workshop." *Social
Science & Medicine* 73(7): 1062-70.

Harris, Lisa H., Michelle Debbink, Jane Hassinger. 2012. "Physicians, Abortion Provision and the
Legitimacy Paradox." *Contraception* 87(1):11-16.

Harris, Richard J. and Edgar W. Mills. 1985. "Religion, Values and Attitudes toward Abortion."
Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 24(2): 137-154.

Hayden, Tiana Bakic. 2011. "Private Bleeding: Self-Induced Abortion in the Twenty-First
Century United States." *Gender Issues* 28(4):209-225.

Hughes, E. C. 1951. "Work and the Self." Pp. 13-323 in *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*,
edited by J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Hughes, E. C. 1958. *Men and Their Work.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Jelen, Ted G. 1988. "Changes in the Attitudinal Correlations of Opposition to Abortion,
1977-1985." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 27(2): 211-228.

Joffe, Carole E. 1995. Doctors of Conscience: *The Struggle to Provide Abortions Before and
After Roe v. Wade.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Joffe, Carole and Tracy A. Weitz. 2010. "Abortion Attitudes and Availability." *Contexts* 9(2):
64-65.

Jones, Rachel K. and Kathryn Kooistra. 2011. "Abortion Incidence and Access to Services in the
United States, 2008." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*
43(1): 41-50.

Kreiner, Glen E., Blake E. Ashforth, David M. Sluss. 2006. "Identity Dynamics in Occupational
Dirty Work: Integrating Social Identity and System Justification Perspectives."
Organization Science 17(5): 619-636.

Kumar, Anuradha, Leila Hessini, and Ellen M. H. Michell. 2009. "Conceptualising Abortion
Stigma." *Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research,
Intervention and Care* 11(6):625-639.

Luker, Kristin. 1984. "The War Between the Women." *Family Planning Perspectives
16(3):105-110.*

Link, Bruce G. and Jo C. Phelan. 2001. "Conceptualizing Stigma." *Annual Review of Sociology*
27: 363-385.

Major, Brenda and Richard Gramzow. 1999. "Abortion as Stigma: Cognitive and Emotional
Implications of Concealment." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*
77(4):735-745.

Medoff, Marshall H. 2009. "The Relationship Between State Abortion Policies and Abortion
Providers." *Gender Issues* 26:224-237.

Medoff, Marshall H. 2012 "State Abortion Politics and TRAP Abortion Laws." *Journal of
Women, Politics & Policy* 3(3):239-262.

Maxwell, Carol J. C. 2002. *Pro-Life Activists in America: Meaning, Motivation and Direct Action.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Nakao, Keiko & Judith Treas. 1994. "Updating Occupational Prestige and Socioeconomic Scores: How the New Measures Measure Up." *Sociological Methodology* 24: 1-72.

Norris, Alison, Danielle Bessett, Julia R. Steinberg, Megan L. Kavanaugh, Silvia De Zordo, Davida Becker. 2011. "Abortion Stigma: A Reconceptualization of Constituents, Causes, and Consequences." *Women's Health Issues* 21(3):S49-S54.

National Women's Law Center. "2013 State Level Abortion Restrictions: An Extreme Overreach into Women's Reproductive Health Care." National Women's Law Center: Expanding the Possibilities. 2014. <http://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/2013_state_legislation_factsheet_1-27-14.pdf> (March 23 2014).

O'Donnell, Jenny, Tracy A. Weitz, and Lori R. Freedman. 2011. "Resistance and Vulnerability to Stigmatization in Abortion Work" *Social Science & Medicine* 73(9):1357-1364.

Quinn, Diane M. and Stephanie R. Chaudior. 2009. "Living with a Concealable Stigmatized Identity: The Impact of Anticipated Stigma, Centrality, Salience, and Cultural Stigma on Psychological Distress and Health." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97(4):634-651.

Roe v. Wade 1973. Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

Sahar, Gail and Kaori Karasawa. 2005. "Is the Personal Always Political? A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Abortion Atitudes." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 27(4):285-296.

Snow, David A. & Leon Anderson. 1987. "Identity Work among the Homeless: The Verbal Construction and Avowal of Personal Identities." *American Journal of Sociology* 92(6): 1336-1371.

Siegel, R., & Sara, B. 2006. Mommy dearest? *The American Prospect.* 17 Sept.

Steinauer, Jody, Uta Landy, Heidi Filippone, Douglas Laube, Phillip D. Darney, and Rebecca A. Jackson. 2009. "Predictors of Abortion Provision Among Practicing Obstetrician-Gynecologists: A National Survey." *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 198(1): 39.e1-39.e6.

Taylor, Janelle S. (2008). *The Public Life of the Fetal Sonogram: Technology, Consumption, and the Politics of Reproduction.* Rutgers, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Tracy, Sarah J. & Clifton Scott. 2006. "Sexuality, Masculinity, and Taint Management among Firefighters and Correctional Oficers: Geting Down and Dirty with 'America's Heroes' and the 'Scum of Law Enforcement." *Management Communication Quarterly* 20(1): 6-38.

Treiman, Donald J. 1976. "A Standard Occupational Prestige Scale for Use with Historical Data." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7(2): 283-304.

Wear, Delese. 2002. "From Pragmatism to Politics: A Qualitative Study of Abortion Providers." *Women & Health* 36(4): 103-113.

Weitz, Tracy A. 2010. "Rethinking the Mantra that Abortion Should Be "safe, legal, and rare"." *Journal of Women's History* 22(3): 161-172.

Zucker, Gail Sahar. 1999. "Attributional and Symbolic Predictors of Abortion Atitudes." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 29(6): 1218-1245.

Do You Want to Be My Ally? Exploring White Involvement in Student Organizations Historically Serving Students of Color

Andrew Greenia
Loyola University Chicago

Higher education provides many white students their first opportunity to interact with students of color. One way that white students engage in interracial relationships is through participation in organizations historically serving students of color. This research study examines the inter-racial relationships found within three cultural and ethnic organizations on a college campus in order to further investigate the ways in which white students make meaning of interracial relationships, conceptualize race, and construct goals for and with the organization. Data from the study reveal that there is a clear difference in how students of color and white students place value on their involvement and relationships. Students of color were explicit in saying they sought white student participation with an expectation that they share their involvement with other white students. However, white students did not share this same expectation, despite identifying as "allies." In order to uphold this accountability to confront white hegemony, I propose a reframing of how the term "allyship" is conceptualized. Rather than being merely a credential held by whites to voluntarily participate in social justice or having to be initiated by individuals with oppressed identities, I suggest that allyship must incorporate systemic accountability from both dominant and oppressed identities.

E ntering higher education is a time in which many young adults are exposed to new concepts, perspectives, and cultures other than their own, and for many white students, this might be the first time they interact with students of a different race (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman 2000). In regards to the experience of students of color resulting from the large percentage of white students in higher education, universities often offer resources to students of color on campus that facilitate cultural education and dialogue for themes significant to the experiences of underrepresented populations. Although interracial interactions have been shown to be valuable, they also have the possibility of harmful side effects for underrepresented

populations if not approached appropriately (Antonio 1998). When white students approach their involvement in resources aimed at students of color self-servingly and are unaware of the privilege, prejudice, and power they bring into these spaces, students of color are tokenized and forced to adapt to a white normative culture.

CROSSING RACIAL BARRIERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Being in an environment with individuals who have varying experiences, viewpoints, and identities provides college students many opportunities to interact. Higher education places a large emphasis on fostering diversity while adhering to a white normative center (Bell & Hartmann 2007). Although legislation has been passed to facilitate integration, education continues to be plagued by racial discrimination as Feagin (1991) reveals through his research on sites of discrimination, types of discriminatory acts, and responses of victims. This is not the overt racism prior to the Civil Rights Movement; rather, it is more implicitly expressed through systems of racial oppression engrained in institutions and covert actions.

Lewis, Chesler, and Forman (2000) reveal that many white students report having had very little to no contact with people of color before arriving on a college campus. As a result, white students often enter higher education with stereotyped notions of students of color. Some of these perceptions are shaped through media reports or lack of exposure to non-white populations, and Gallagher's (2003) research reveals that white middle-class college students, due to their positions of privilege and power, have the ability to "ignore or not 'see' the extent to which race continues [to] shape life chances." Further research has also found that white students in higher education often question why students of color will not just assimilate or "blend in" to the culture (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman 2000).

Even in cases where white individuals have had intimate, romantic relationships with people of color, O'Brien's (2007) research on contact hypothesis reveals that only one in three romantic relationships result in a white individual's transformed racial ideology. The criteria of sharing a similar social status, articulating common goals, and having contact supported by social norms must be wholly present in order for one's racial ideology to be changed. In terms of higher education, rarely are these three factors present in interracial relationships, and because peer groups often sanction interracial contact, the remaining criteria of sharing social status as college students as well as personal and organizational goals must be present for one's racial ideology to be influenced.

Steward's (2012) research analyzed black students' perceptions of their experience and targeted support services on a predominantly white college campus. Her findings discovered that "black students perceived targeted support services as vital and relevant to their college experience at a

predominantly white institution in higher education." With cultural and ethnic organizations being the support services for students of color, the participation of white students in these spaces may adversely affect students of color by limiting the ways in which students of color are able to engage in open dialogue with others that possess a shared cultural or racial experience.

Though many universities lack these support services for students of color, Midwestern Urban University (MUU), where this study was conducted, has made it a priority to support organizations aimed at serving marginalized student populations. MUU demonstrates working toward a varied racial composition of the student body by accentuating its location in a diverse neighborhood. In the Common Data Set for 2011-2012, MUU disclosed that their undergraduate student population was about 63% white, 11% Asian, and 4% black, while 4% were two or more races.

While many students remain in racially homogenous peer groups, others expand social boundaries and explore interracial relationships. Antonio (1998) states that there is a benefit to interracial relationships because studies reveal that higher levels of academic development and satisfaction with college are associated with frequent socialization across race. However, when entering these relationships, white students possess a dominant racial perspective that is often at the expense of students of color and rids opportunity for a mutually beneficial relationship. Feagin (2010) discusses this dominant white racial frame, anti-oppression counter-frames, and home-culture frames that Americans of color have drawn on while developing their counter-frames. He also takes into account institutionalized racism, which is very evident in higher education. As white students navigate interracial relationships, an anti-racist frame must be constructed that counteracts the overarching white racial frame.

As a result of these varying frames, the interactions of white students operating from the imposed white racial frame with students of color often generate microaggressions. Microaggressions are brief and commonplace verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual orientation, and religious insults to the target person or group (Sue 2010). Because of their subtlety, microaggressions can be overlooked or unseen by the agent of these discriminatory actions with privilege and power. Perry's (2001) research on how the invisible nature of white culture impacts white students' making sense of otherness as "cultural" described when white students disassociate their racial identity from also being "cultural." In these cases, whiteness is the "norm" background against which all others are measured.

White individuals sometimes approach interracial interactions without explicitly acknowledging another's racial identity through the concept of "color-blindness." This term is defined by Bonilla-Silva (2001) as "supporting equality, fairness, and meritocracy as abstract principles but denying the existence of systematic discrimination and disregarding the enormous and multifarious implications

of the massive existing racial inequality (particularly between blacks and whites)." Rather than completely disregarding race, Gallagher (2003) insists that color-blind ideology "acknowledges race while disregarding racial hierarchy by taking racially coded styles and products and reducing these symbols to commodities or experiences that whites and racial minorities can purchase and share." Color-blind ideology inhibits white students from engaging in color-conscious behavior while simultaneously leading to perpetuating stereotypes, and Bonilla-Silva (2010) asserts that even the ways in which whites make use of digressions, long pauses, and repetitions in racial dialogues is a form of the linguistic modalities of color-blind racism.

Meanwhile, some white students enter relationships with students of color with an acknowledgement of their own racial privilege. McIntosh (1990) defines white privilege as "an invisible knapsack of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious" and makes an allegory to white privilege being a pack of survival items that grant advantages useful in navigating social interactions. A very common reaction to realizing one's white privilege is "white guilt," which can either elicit a response of wanting to "help" by engaging in a "savior mentality" or utilizing one's privilege to advocate for underrepresented populations as an ally. It is this framework from which many white students enter "cultural and ethnic" organizations, and as white students participate in these organizations, the cultures and experiences of students of color become appropriated.

The research of Hughey (2012) specifically calls white individuals' motives into question through his work detailing the concept of "stigma allure," which depicts the appropriation of stigma and reproduction of identity. This term claims that stigmas provide a moral commitment and political authenticity. Hughey (2012) makes the claim that "white antiracists" often manage a self-imposed stigma, and privileged white individuals perpetuate stigmatized white and antiracist identities.

DATA AND METHODS

Meet the Students

Since My data explore the experiences of white students and students of color in cultural and ethnic organizations predominantly serving students of color in higher education through use of a qualitative study. The students that participated in the study include the following: James (of color) and Ben (white) from the Black Students Association (BSA), Michelle (of color) and Daniel (white) from the Filipino Students Association (FSA), and Jamie (of color) and Megan (white) from the South Asian A Cappella Organization (SAAO). These organizations shared missions that focused on the sharing of cultural practices and were spaces in which students were able to be in social in the context of cultural and ethnic dialogue.

James is a student of color and event coordinator on the executive board of BSA. He is in his junior year after transferring one year ago and grew up on the South Side of Chicago before moving to a predominantly white neighborhood in late adolescence. Ben is a white student and general body member of BSA. He is a freshman and grew up in a very homogenous white community and had no experience working with black students prior to his involvement in BSA. Michelle is a student of color and co-president on the executive board of FSA. She is a junior and has been involved with FSA for over three years. Daniel is a white student and the chair of the photography and technology committees. He is a senior and has been involved with FSA since his freshman year. Daniel also grew up in a predominantly Filipino community on the West Coast of the U.S. Jamie is a student of color and president of SAAO. She is a senior and has been involved in SAAO since it began in the fall of 2012. Jamie also grew up in a predominantly white community in the Midwest. Megan is a white student and general body member of SAAO that grew up in a predominantly white community. She is a junior and has been involved with SAAO since it began.

Process of Gathering Data

The research strategy included participant observation and interviews because my focus is on natural social life and relationships. The data were collected at Midwestern Urban University over a period of six weeks, usually focusing on one organization every two weeks through conducting one participant observation and two interviews in that time. Permission to observe the organizational meetings was scheduled by e-mail correspondence with executive board members of the organizations and interviews were scheduled by talking to members after the meetings. At the beginning of each meeting, I gave a brief introduction to my research so all members of the organizations were aware that I would be doing participant observation. Times for interviews were decided upon by the participants and were held in private study rooms at the university library. Each participant observation lasted for approximately 1.5 hours while each one-on-one interview lasted approximately 25 minutes. Open-ended interview questions were directed at participants that prompted them to rely on personal views and experience. All data were collected by the primary author who is someone that possesses a white racial identity. While the race of the interviewer certainly has the ability to influence the responses of the participants, the resulting findings should not be dismissed. Merton (1972) assessed that framing the results in this way diminishes the implications of racial 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness.' Therefore, the racial identity of the interviewer leads to responses from participants that simply reflect different types of qualitative data. Interviews were digitally recorded using a voice recorder and transcribed into a digital document. Transcriptions were coded by grouping participant responses to each question and then highlighting common words and themes to derive common threads.

FINDINGS

Paths to Involvement

A majority of all the students interviewed revealed that their involvement was due to the involvement of their friends and through word of mouth. Michelle (of color) described her path by saying, "I had friends that joined FSA, and then I think like two months into school I joined along with them…It's not that easy to explain you get so involved in an org," and Megan (white) of SAAO echoed this narrative by sharing that she was friends with one of the founding members her freshman year. Whether students had prior experience with the population, such as Daniel (white), who grew up in a predominantly Filipino community, or had no experience, such as Ben (white), who grew up in a vastly white community, friends with connections to the organizations were paramount in their initial involvement. Daniel described his path by stating, "I started as your average white freshman, and then I met Rachel, one of my best friends here, and basically she was like, just come with me to an event." While Ben made friends as part of a summer college-preparation program and was told to attend a BSA event "by chance," James (of color) was direct in stating that his involvement was a self-motivated action in looking for a leadership opportunity and support system after transferring to the university. Overall, the narratives of how the students became involved in these cultural and ethnic organizations shared many of the same sentiments.

Interpretations of Organizational Mission

When asked to define the mission of the organization in their own words, students of color consistently emphasized the importance of these organizations as a "family" and "community." Michelle (of color) spoke to how FSA provided personal support when she said, "It's almost my home away from home…and the emotional support system is the biggest draw for most students." She then added, "FSA is kind of like a little family. You don't really want to leave it." Jamie (of color) expressed SAAO's role as a family for students by stating, "We create a sense of family between people. People find in this space they can feel comfortable in doing or saying whatever they want to." Jamie went on to explain one benefit for her is being a mentor to freshmen and said, "I can call myself a mentor for them whenever they need help with anything. It doesn't have to be musically related at all. Just more of like a personal thing." When asked to explain what BSA meant to him, James (of color) firmly asserted, "BSA is a community. It's the black community. That's what it stands for to me…It's a place where people can come and be themselves and also find themselves within their skin color." James reinforced the role of these organizations as emotional support for students of color by stating, "We try to basically form this community that cares about minorities…it provides a community base to help support you when you need it."

While students of color referred to these organizations as being a "family," white students described their involvement in the organizations as "fun," "a good time," and opportunities to learn. When asked what he would say to other white students looking to join FSA, Daniel (white) confidently stated, "Just learn and enjoy. It's a really nice, really great experience…It's really nice, kind of refreshing." Megan (white) declared that the organization was about "having fun, and just geting together to just do music," which is at odds with Jamie's (of color) statement that the role of SAAO extends beyond music to relationship building and mentorship. Megan later described SAAO as "a community I haven't really found before…like a family," though she came to recognize the organization in that way only after her parents separated and was in need of social support. Still, even in the case where Megan refers to the organization as a "family," it was a result of a situational need of her parents separating instead of a perpetual strain.

Throughout the interviews, there was also a distinct difference between the perceived roles of students of color versus those of white students in the mission, which is shown in the language they used to describe their involvement in the organization. Students of color used more first-person terms including "my" and "our" while white students used more second-person terms including "their" and "they." This finding relates to students' differences in personal relationships with these spaces and their perception as being support services, and it also uncovers the differences in how students of color and white students claim ownership of these organizations. It also reveals how much students are willing to invest and place value in these organizations and interracial relationships. The students of color were mindful that their organization was viewed as a family, and this resulted in being determined to increase the size of this "family" and expand their presence on campus. James (of color) explained his goals by saying:

> My end goal with BSA is to make it, to expand it, so I want it to be larger than it is right now. We have actually grown substantially since last year, especially in terms of involvement. I think that's the most important thing before I graduate, just providing more numbers.

Building a community through collaboration that extended to other organizations serving students of color was evident as all three organizations allotted the first portion of their meetings to highlight the events and accomplishments of other organizations on campus and at other universities. For example, SAAO watched a video from another university's a cappella team to demonstrate proper singing technique and remarked on how well they did in a recent competition. BSA also stressed at their meeting that members attend an upcoming sex & gender talk and other events sponsored by multicultural-based organizations and placed an emphasis on campus collaboration to support other cultural and ethnic organizations, which aligns with goal of expansion and increasing a campus presence. Michelle (of color) expanded on the concept of increasing a campus presence by mentioning:

One of the biggest issues is just getting recognition or representation in the faculty and student body. We don't have an Asian American studies program. We have an Asian Studies minor, it's interdisciplinary and it's mostly theology based. My goal for FSA this coming year is to find a support system within faculty.

Meanwhile, the goals of the white students greatly contrasted and maintained a strong focus on singular superficial goals. For example, Megan (white) expressed that "it'd be cool to go to a competition definitely, but I think like musical goals for the group would be to try and have like a more choir-like sound" while Ben (white) said:

Obviously they want to get involved with the school. They're doing a lot of stuff. They're doing this dodge-ball thing. They want to make it fun but they also want to stick to the mission, I guess. Trying to break down stereotypes, I guess.

Sharing Experience of Participation

Daniel (white) described a balance between his "white friends" and "Asian friends" and stated, "I just basically have my two groups, and they're like, 'You're always with your Asian friends,' and it's like, yeah, whatever… You have people that are like, 'Oh, that's awesome,' and then you have people who are like, 'Oh, why?'" Then after being asked how he would usually respond to these reactions, he stated, "'cus it's fun. They're nice. It's interesting. It's different. That's half the reason we get involved with other people." Daniel insisted that it goes both ways with his friend groups. For example, when his "Asian friends" ask where he is going, he says, "I'm going to a party with my white friends." Still, he admits, "It's an easier way to categorize stuff. It's not being PC on both sides, it's an easier way with all of them." Megan (white) of SAAO shared that she jokes about it mostly and says:

Yeah, I do this thing with a bunch of brown people…they think it's funny, and they think it's cool. A lot of Indian people especially that I tell that I'm in this group, they're like, 'That's so interesting that you're enjoying it.'

The majority of Megan and Daniel's social circles were involved in the organizations, but there was little interaction between their "white friends" and their friends in the organization. While Megan (white) and Daniel (white) intentionally compartmentalized their friend groups, Ben (white) said that he didn't have any friends outside of BSA more than "acquaintances."

When white students did share their involvement with friends outside of the organization, there was a clear limitation in their description of the organization. Labeling their involvement as merely being with "brown people" or "Asian friends" was a normal occurrence and was justified by the white students as just being "easier." As white students used these terms as well as

digressions and self-corrections when referring to students of color, Bonilla-Silva's (2010) notion that incoherent talk is the result of talking about race in a world that insists race does not exist is shown. Still, because of its overwhelming presence in whites' racial discussion, it must be considered a facet of the linguistic modalities seen in color-blind racism. The data also failed to show any convincing correlation to Hughey's (2012) concept of stigma allure. In the responses of the participants, the research was inconclusive whether the white students sought a self-imposed stigma as a result of their participation in these cultural and ethnic organizations.

The responses of the white students also seemed to reveal elements of exoticization, which superficially quantifies and confines culture, when discussing how they engaged the organizational culture and the way in which that related to their personal goals. This is most readily shown in Megan (white)'s response when she stated:

> I have become really interested in Eastern philosophy on psychology. And I have this new thought that I want to try to apply for a Fulbright scholarship to study psychology in some Asian country. Probably not India, but I'd definitely like to visit India some day, and I don't know, I just really like talking to people in SAAO about their culture and also their faith, like, because we have a lot of Hindu people and then we had a Muslim last year, but he's not on the team anymore, and then a lot of Christians and I don't know, it's just really cool to talk to them about that kind of thing. And like, I guess taking that context into whatever career I decide to do, like, in psychology, keeping in mind that not all people have this Western mindset, yeah, I don't know it.

As a child, Megan's (white) family hosted exchange students from Ireland and Japan, and she traveled to Rwanda a few years ago. She went on to explain her passion by saying, "I've kind of realized that I've always been a person that kind of seeks out these different cultural things, and SAAO just happens to be one of them." Megan's longing to seek out "cultural things" and multicultural experiences directly aligns with Perry's (2001) assertion that as white students view multicultural events as "add-on" practices, they have the ability to participate without puting themselves on the line, which reinforces a sense of whiteness as center and standard or cultureless and non-whiteness as eclectic and peripheral.

Effects of Whiteness on Organizational Settings
When the students of color were asked to share their thoughts on whether white students should participate in organizations aimed at students of color, they were clear in saying that their organizations were open to people of all backgrounds, but their self-interest behind this reasoning was the following: educating white students on the experiences of students of color. James (of color) of BSA commented on white students' involvement by saying, "I actually encourage it. Not

only because it provides us with a different viewpoint, but I encourage it because I want people to understand us. I want people to understand we're not what you see on TV." He adds, "It's very important for people to come and observe us as a people, rather than as a stereotype." James is clear that white students should join the organization but then holds them to a responsibility of helping to rid these stereotypes as a result. The expectation for white students to operate from an anti-racist counter-frame supports Feagin's (2010) notion that the white racial frame must be altered in order for systems of institutionalized racism to be dismantled. As a bicultural individual, James understands the dominant white-determined culture as well as his own home-culture and sees the experience of white students in BSA as an opportunity to realize the white racial frame and counteract from within white peer groups.

Although students of color encourage the involvement of white students in these organizations, the question of how much the organization feels the need to reshape their salient identities in order to appeal to a white normativity remains. When asked if she feels pressured to diminish FSA's cultural identity when describing the mission to white students, Michelle (of color) said, "We don't draw on being a Filipino organization because that sounds exclusive. So we mainly focus on those [other parts]…Yeah, we just feel smaller when we are at other events or when we're surrounded by other student organizations." Jamie (of color) of SAAO reiterated this concern by revealing:

> We mix Bollywood music with Western music, so we're clear about that we have that kind of aspect involved and this other aspect involved so that, so I guess we do say it in a way so that people can relate to both sides, so like the Bollywood side is the south Asian and then the Western side so like, 'Oh, I can relate to that too.'

If students of color feel the need to lessen their organization's cultural identity in order to adhere to a white normative culture, then there must be an outlet for students of color to express these desires. Michelle of FSA commented on how a diverse range of individuals with varying interests could all get involved, but while recognizing the organization's versatility to draw various audiences can be useful in expanding the organization's presence on campus, the question of at what cost should this be maintained as the organization's cultural identity lessens must be asked.

James (of color) described the need for both a space where students of color are given the exclusive time to engage in dialogue with other students sharing similar experiences as a well as a space in which racial integration occurs. James describes these two spaces by saying:

> It's a time I think of reinforcement. It's a time for reflection. It's a time of togetherness when you just have people of the same culture of like idealism, you get them in this space and you have them come and conforming together, I think that's very important because

without a strong base, you can't go outward and try to do things externally outside of your community.

James then further articulated the meaning of the spaces when he revealed, "We can be ourselves at times. When we're just chilling in the BSA room, that's our time of conforming. When we're handling business, when we're throwing events, that's our time to integrate." While acknowledging that white students provide alternative perspectives when engaging in dialogue, James' statements regarding the role of white students in these organizations stressed that white student involvement should be directed toward the purpose of listening to the experience of students of color and the expansion of the organization.

This inability of students of color to be fully authentic in the presence of white students was even recognized by Ben (white) of BSA when he stated, "If they bring up white people, they're just like, they have to rethink what they say so they don't hurt anybody's feelings, I guess. But it doesn't bother me." In this case, even when made aware of the effect being white has on the ability of students of color to openly engage in racial dialogue, Ben framed the statement in a way that maintained an internal focus rather than becoming aware of the external implications of his presence as a white student in that space.

White students' concern for only their own comfort level extended to their responses when asked how they would react if a student of color shared that they were uncomfortable with white student involvement. All three said that they could never conceptualize that happening. Yet, they revealed that they would reply by asking the student of color why they thought that way. Daniel (white) said that he would reply, "I'm here for my friends. I enjoy your culture. I always felt like that. I don't see, if you have such a problem with me being white, what's wrong with me being white?'" and Megan (white) said that she would attempt to "lay out the logic behind that," or just default to saying, "fuck you." Ben (white) described his response by stating:

> I would feel a little hurt. I don't know if I would... I'm not very confrontational, so I don't know if I would be right away, that's not right. I would probably have to think it over and after a while they would see that, but I would definitely be crushed.

These findings reveal that white students are not directly confronting cycles of racial and ethnic barriers, as the white students involved in the organization didn't show that they were using their expanding knowledge to educate their white peers. At times, their involvement appears to be self-serving and not in alignment with being allies with underrepresented populations. The unwillingness of white students to seriously consider the others' point of view when given the scenario of a student of color sharing that they were uncomfortable with white students' involvement seemed to stem from the risk of losing the friendships they had formed in the organization. While this is a positive sign of the relationships white students are forming, a strain

of rightness or disregard for emotional responses of students of color seemed to resonate as another example of white privilege in these spaces.

ConcePtualizinG ᴦace

While most of the participants openly used terms such as "white" or "Asian" to name their and others' racial identities, some participants, particularly James (of color) of BSA, were hesitant to speak in racial terms all together. Throughout the interview, James insisted on using terms like "dark-skinned individuals" or "light-skinned individuals" rather than "black" or "white." However, James was explicit in using "black" and "white" in saying that education on racial injustice and understanding cultures formed as a result of racial experiences were essential to creating change. He described this notion by stating, "I think that you have a color of your skin, but I think that culturally, you can identify, I think that you could say your skin is white, but you can very well say that your culture is black." This separation of one's race and culture was common amongst my interactions with both white students and students of color; however, whereas students of color saw racial culture as variable and resulting from social interactions on an individual level, white students associated racial culture with a broader, stereotypical scale.

When white students were asked to share their thoughts on how their white racial identity might influence the organization, a typical response associated race with certain cultural norms, atitudes, or abilities. Megan (white) replied that not knowing the music or having the ability to sing certain consonant sounds were the main hindrances that being white had on the organization. Ben (white) also remarked that race signified something more than skin color by stating the following:

> It's just, like, they're intelligent. I wasn't shocked because it's MUU obviously, but I was surprised at how they know so much about their own culture, like for me, I feel like it's just whatever. And they're just really into it. It was interesting to see…. that's like basically my group of friends now, and so it's, I feel like maybe I'll be a part, not that I'm saying I'll be part of their culture, but I'll be able to defend it when seen in a bad light in other people's eyes, and I can be like, well I've experienced it and I don't think what you're saying is right.

When asked what he meant by "it's just whatever," Ben replied by saying, "My own culture. It's just white" and later revealed that he doesn't believe anything is attached to whiteness. As Ben, the agent with privilege and power in this case, displays a non-acknowledgement of his privileged identity and its connection to dominant culture, he has the opportunity to have subtle, detrimental effects known as microaggressions on interracial relationships.
When asked about the role of race in how students engage the organization, Daniel (white) asserted, "race doesn't really matter," and then reduced the impact of race in the organization by specifying:

> You don't have to be the same race to enjoy the same things. We're all human. We're all people. It's a comfortable experience to notice that. It's kind of eye opening to be like, we're all the same. We're all just people who like to eat, hang out, all that stuff. I have fun. I really like this. That's why I stayed.

White students exhibited a lack of awareness between the relationship of race and how one interprets their surroundings. Instead, they overwhelmingly codified race with broader cultural themes or stereotypical views including singing, intelligence, or minimized its impact as a whole.

Ben revealed a non-acknowledgement of his privileged identity and its connection to dominant culture, and as a result, this sentiment has the opportunity to have subtle, detrimental effects known as microaggressions on interracial relationships. In his statement regarding his surprise at the intelligence and awareness of black students, Ben revealed a strong racial ideology that correlated race and level of intelligence. Though this assumption is most likely the result of his lack of experience with students of color prior to attending university, there must be ways in which other spaces on campus can facilitate necessary dialogue to prompt an awareness of privilege and identity. Ben's homogenous upbringing demonstrates a key relationship between identity formation and their conceptualization of race.

The differences in the conceptualization of race resulted in white students exhibiting racially prejudiced or, in the case of Daniel (white), color-blind ideologies. As Daniel stated that "race doesn't matter" and "we're all humans," he was devaluing the identities that Michelle (of color) and other members of FSA have very strong ties to, and the implications of this color-blind ideology has the ability to create negatives waves in the social fabric of the organization. Daniel's conceptualizations of race that ste from his upbringing in a predominantly Asian environment show an intriguing relationship to his emphasis on race not mattering. As a result, Daniel is exemplifying Gallagher's idea that a post-race, color-blind perspective allows whites to both acknowledge the existence of race while also disregarding racial hierarchy and commodifying a cultural and racialized experience.

As students of color alter their behavior for a white-dominated environment in higher education, Ben feels confident in knowing that his actions are of his own choosing without the influence of societal pressures to adapt to a white culture. Although Ben's experience incorporated a shared social status, it was clear that his goals neither aligned with those of students of color in BSA nor was supported by social norms. Therefore, O'Brien research around contact hypothesis was upheld and supported by the experiences of white students in the study.

CONCLUSION

One way to understand "allyship" is to define it as a "member from a dominant group that joins and unites with a member of the oppressed group because that dominant member understands and appreciates the struggles of the oppressed member" (Washington & Evans 1991: 195). This is problematic. Because this definition invites members of a dominant group to unite with the struggle of the oppressed, it disregards the inherent participation in the perpetuation of racial inequity by individuals possessing dominant identity traits. Instead, this definition seems to look to "allyship" as a participatory credential for those individuals wielding the most privilege. Privilege allows individuals the ability to remain unchecked, unaccountable, and untargeted as participants in systems of oppression. Because of this, rather than being an isolated credential, allyship must be reframed as an ongoing, dynamic and accountable process in the context of larger systemic processes.

The statement "I am an ally" implies a static, unmoving qualification. Meanwhile, the phrase "I am working to become a better ally" should be utilized to convey a commitment to growing and developing one's sense of this identity. As individuals further understand their own privilege, the ability to exercise allyship will continue to evolve. For example, as a white student continues to understand the implications of her or his whiteness in all-white spaces, she or he will be able to more acutely pinpoint acts of racial discrimination. As a result, they will be able to hold white peers accountable by interrupting and confronting racial prejudice through acts such as verbal interjections, facilitated dialogue, and pointed questions.

All individuals, especially members within the dominant group, must ask the question: "Do you want to be my ally?" The understanding that allyship is initiated only at the invitation of people of color constructs a burden on the shoulders of people of color to reach out to white individuals. Under these standards, social change sits as the inherent undertaking of people of color while white individuals, if not given a clear invitation from a person of color, feel that they are not participating in racial oppression or the perpetuation of a racial hierarchy. This is essentially impossible because the burden on change then falls solely on the most disempowered. As white individuals take ownership for their role in the perpetuation of racial hierarchies and understand their power in influencing social systems, asking others to become their ally in order to be held accountable has the ability to be very impactful.

Building allies within a dominant identity begins with validating relationships with students of color in the predominantly white context of higher education. As shown in the study, many white students use terms such as "Asian friends" or "brown friends" to describe their interracial relationships, but while this may be "an easier way" to identify people of color, it maintains a distance by reducing an individual to their racial identity and inhibits further dialogue around the

specific qualities of the relationship. By using names instead of racial group terms, it provides the foundation for a personal narrative that is not present if a person of color is associated with a seemingly homogenous racial group.

While breaking cycles of oppression does not rest on the shoulders of people of color, people of color challenging white people to step outside of a comfortable, white normative culture is important. Though there can be pressures and social sanctions present that inhibit students of color from feeling comfortable to acknowledge racism, white individuals can create space for these responses through self awareness and displaying a willingness to grow as this can be very beneficial in challenging white normative culture. The emphasis in these conversations is that racism is not isolated to individual actions but is part of a much larger social system.

References

Antonio, Anthony L. 1998. "Student Interactions Across Race and Outcomes in College."
    Stanford University: 1-30.
Bell, Joyce M. and Douglass Hartmann. 2007. "Diversity in Everyday Discourse: The Cultural
    Ambiguities and Consequences of 'Happy Talk.'" *American Sociological Review* 72
    (December): 895-914.
Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. Racism Without Racists: *Color-Blind Racism & Racial Inequality
    in Contemporary America.* United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2001. *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post Civil Rights Era.*
    New York, New York: Lynne Reinner Publishers.
Feagin, Joe R. 1991. "The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public
    Places." *American Sociological Review* 56(1): 101-116.
Feagin, Joe R. 2010. *The white Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and
    Counter-Framing.* New York, New York: Taylor & Francis.
Gallagher, Charles A. 2003. "Color-Blind Privilege: The Social and Political Functions of
    Erasing the Color Line in Post Race America." *Race, Gender, & Class* 10(4): 1-17.
Golab, Art. 2011. "Census Shows Minorities Moving Outward, white Closer to Loop."
    Suntimes.com. Retrieved November 19, 2012 (http://www.suntimes.com/news/3203107-
    417/percent-group-census-hispanic-hispanics.html).
Hughey, Matthew W. 2012. "Stigma Allure and white Antiracist Identity Management."
    Social Psychology Quarterly 75: 219-241.
Lewis, Amanda E., Mark Chesler, and Tyron A. Forman. 2000. "The Impact of 'Color-blind'
    Ideologies on Students of Color: Intergroup Relations at a Predominantly white
    University." *The Journal of Negro Education* 69(1/2): 74-91.

McIntosh, Peggy. 1990. White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. *Independent School,* 49(2), 31-35.

Merton, Robert. 1972. ''Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge.'' American Journal of Sociology 78(1): 9–47.

O'Brien, Eileen. 2001. *Whites Confront Racism*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

O'Brien, Eileen and Kathleen Odell Korgen. 2007. "It's the Message, Not the Messenger: The Declining Significance of Black-white Contact in a 'Colorblind' Society." *Sociological Inquiry*, 77(3), 356-382.

Perry, Pamela. 2001. "White Means Never Having to Say You're Ethnic: white Youth and the Construction of 'Cultureless' Identities." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 30(1): 56-91.

Steward, Kendra Danika. 2012. "Understanding Black Students Perceptions of Targeted Student Support Services on a Predominantly white College Campus." (http://search.proquest. com/docview/1018353203?accountid=12163).

Sue, Derald Wing. 2010. *Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation.* New York, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Washington, Jamie & Nancy J. Evans (1991). "Becoming an Ally." *Beyond Tolerance: Gays, Lesbians and Bisexuals on Campus.* American College Personnel Association. 195-204.

Being Upward Bound: A Qualitative Analysis of How the Upward Bound Program Fosters Academic Success Among First Generation Students

Julia Hollingsworth
Southwestern University

This paper explores Upward Bound (UB), the biggest and longest running federal program designed to enhance college recruitment and academic success among lower income, first generation students. Relying on theoretical work from Pierre Bourdieu and empirical research on educational inequalities, the current exploratory study uses interviews and organizational materials collected in fall 2013 to examine the ways UB helps to promote the academic success of its students. Findings indicate that the Upward Bound program focuses most of its programmatic efforts on helping to nurture students' cultural capital and social capital. Specifically, the program provides students with a variety of cultural experiences, academic support and guidance, SAT exam course preparation, and college tours where they meet university faculty, students, administrators, and Trustees. These experiences are crucial in helping low-income, first generation students successfully navigate the college application process and the expectations and demands of the academy.

> "If it wasn't for Upward Bound, I will tell you this right now, I would be in jail or dead because at that time in middle school [right before joining the program,], I was hanging out with older guys- they were gang members, drug dealers, and thugs. I was just making poor decisions. Once I got into Upward Bound, it was a reality check at a young age. I have changed so much from the way I dress to the way I talk. If I wasn't in Upward Bound, I wouldn't be where I am at right now."
>
> -Gregario, a twenty-one year old alumnus

Gregario credits his participation in the Upward Bound Program with turning his life around from one that he believes would have certainly ended in tragedy. Although other interview respondents did not share such dramatic accounts, they, too, acknowledge Upward Bound, a program that seeks to increase the likelihood that low-income first generation students will get into and graduate from college, as a positive force that allowed them to successfully navigate the expectations and demands of the academy. Particularly given the fact that universities often reward and reinforce the types of social and cultural capital embodied more readily among members of the upper middle and upper classes (DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Wolfgang 2012), programs like Upward Bound are especially important in helping to level the playing field.

Upward Bound is the biggest and longest running federal program developed to assist economically disadvantaged students get ready for academic success in college (Myers et al. 2004). Previous research has examined the effects of Upward Bound, but most of these were conducted in the 1960s and 1970s (Hunt and Hardt 1969; Egeland et al. 1970; Paschal and Williams 1970) and more recently in the early 2000s (Myers et al. 2004; Domina 2009). In addition, most of these studies have relied on quantitative assessments of outcomes and have not utilized theoretical concepts or qualitative data that may shed more light on the processes at work in the Upward Bound initiatives. Using Pierre Bourdieu's works on cultural and social capital and semi-structured interviews with Upward Bound alumni, students, and staff, the current paper addresses these gaps.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This paper relies on two concepts initially coined by Pierre Bourdieu and later expounded on by researchers across a variety of disciplines -- cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu 1979, 1986a, 1986b, 1990; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Lareau and Weininger 2003; Palomar-Level 2012; Putnam 1995; Portes 1998). According to these scholars, cultural capital and social capital are central factors in the reproduction of social inequality both within the educational and occupational arenas (Potter and Roska 2011; Wolfgang 2012; Stranton-Salazar and Sanford 1995). Thus, pre-college programs like Upward Bound are particularly relevant for sociological analysis because they may serve to disrupt these processes.

Much of the previous work on Upward Bound has focused on analyzing the history, mission and entrance criteria of Upward Bound and its effectiveness on educational equality amongst low-income first generation college students in high school (McElroy and Amesto 1998; Coles 1998). Some find that Upward Bound did not make a significant difference in academic success of its students (McElroy and Amesto 1998; Mclure and Child 1998), while others argue that the

program boosts academic success in high school (Paschal and Williams 1970; Domina 2009) and college (Myers et al. 2004). Additional studies have examined the non-academic benefits of participating in Upward Bound, including personal empowerment and confidence (Zulli et al. 1998; Cole 1998). However, previous research does not incorporate qualitative insights from Upward Bound students and alumni themselves about the aspects of the program that they found most rewarding. In particular, Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and social capital help us to better understand the reported impact that Upward Bound has had on these students' academic trajectories.

Cultural Capital

If economic capital is based on what you produce then, in many ways, cultural capital can be viewed as what you consume. Specifically, cultural capital includes the types of cultural knowledge and tastes you have acquired during your life. It can also be defined as tastes in "highbrow" art, literature, food, and music and incorporates the art of conversation, a sense of propriety, etiquette, and confidence when talking about ideas, all resulting from "good breeding" (Lareau and Weininger 2003; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Greene et. al 2013; Lareau 2002; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985).

These dispositions and forms of knowledge are initially transmitted from one generation to the next within the family context and are thus closely tied to one's economic class (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The formal educational system is also a major venue that recognizes, reinforces, and rewards certain types of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986a; Maimer 2003). For instance, Lareau and Weininger (2003) argue,

> Despite the fact that cultural capital is acquired in the home and the school via exposure to a given set of cultural practices—and therefore has a social origin—it is liable to be perceived as inborn 'talent,' and its holder 'gifted,' as a result of the fact that it is embodied in particular individuals.

Indeed, the varying degrees and types of cultural capital within families of different socioeconomic backgrounds have been found to disadvantage students from working class families in school settings starting as early as pre-kindergarten (Streib 2011).

Kalmin and Kraaykmap (1996) find a strong positive correlation between cultural capital and educational attainment and test scores. Higher levels of cultural capital, particularly the types valued by formal educational institutions, are linked to increases in academic successes and higher education levels (Potter and Roska 2011; DiMaggio 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr1985; Kalmin and Kraaykmap 1996; Jaeger 2011; Winkle-Wagner 2010). Thus, schools can amplify the cultural, and eventually economic, advantages of individuals from higher income families by reproducing and

rewarding the types of cultural capital they are more likely to embody (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1979, 1986a; Bowels and Gintis 1976; DiMaggio 1982, 1985; Jaeger 2011; Kalmin and Kraaykmap 1996; Potter and Roska 2011; Winkle-Wagner 2010; Bryan et al. 2011; Lareau 2003).

The works of Kalmin and Kraaykmap (1996) and Streib (2011) help to shed light on this relationship. They argue that teachers, including pre-school educators, may perceive working class students to be less verbal, not as interested in class activities like reading, and less capable of doing academic work than their upper middle class peers. These perceptions are largely influenced by students' verbal and negotiation skills, abilities that are greatly impacted by family economic class (Kalmin and Kraaykmap 1996; Streib 2011). Even Rosenthal's (1968) classic study shows the power of teachers' expectations on student academic performance. Teachers' perceptions of their students' academic promise and levels of engagement, whether accurate or not, can influence the ways that they interact with their students and the amount of attention and encouragement they give them. These differential expectations and treatment are influenced by socioeconomic class and can, in turn, contribute to differential experiences in the academic seting for children as young as four (Streib 2011).

The cultural gap in academia is also rooted in the difference between parent-school relationships. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) attribute this difference to class capital, which they believe, turns into a form of cultural capital in academic setings. Class capital is the difference between working class parents and upper class parents home life, expectations, and aspirations for their children. For example, while upper class parents see the school as a partner in educating their children, working class parents depend on the teachers to "teach him [sic] to learn" (Lareau 1987: 79). The separation of learning from the home as well as the differences in cultural capital levels among parents from divergent classes (differences in confidence levels when talking with "authority" figures, for instance) may contribute to lower involvement rates among working class parents, making them appear less engaged and concerned about their children's academic successes (Lareau 1987). These parent-school relationships can affect their children's relationship to their teachers and schools and may also impact their levels of academic confidence.

Precollege programs, like Upward Bound, may be able to disrupt or at least minimize the reproduction of such class-based cultural capital hierarchies in the academic arena. One way they can do so is by enhancing the cultural capital of working class students (Maimer 2003). Research suggests programs that focus on parental involvement and non-academic participation in addition to academic support lead to increased college enrollment rates (Karp 2011; Perna 2005). Although previous research has explored the effectiveness of Upward Bound since its inception in 1965, there have been no studies, known to the author, that examine the specific ways that Upward Bound may facilitate the enhancement of their students' cultural capital and

the consequences of these developments on their academic experiences. Specifically, this paper addresses these gaps.

Social Capital

The term social capital refers to the types of social networks to which one has access. The kinds of social networks to which people have access are greatly impacted by their socioeconomic class; those in the upper classes have access to more powerful social ties (Bourdieu 1986b; Coleman 1988; Portes 1998). In fact, Briggs (1998) argues that social capital is not simply about how many people you know or how close you feel to them, but about how they are positioned in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Coleman 1988).

Given that social capital is differentially distributed across classes, it has historically been a mechanism that helps to reproduce inequality (Bourdieu 1986b). For instance, upper class individuals have more connections with high-powered, elite social networks, which in turn, can enhance their access to prestigious educational, employment, and social arenas. However, there can be flexibility in the relationship between one's socioeconomic class and access to social capital. Briggs (1998) finds that knowing at least one white collar employed adult or college graduate outside the home increased working class individual's chances for success in the academy and workforce by increasing social capital.

Educational attainment and integration among students is powerfully shaped by social capital and a continued "presence of social capital has been linked to various positive outcomes, particularly in education" where there is high social capital, there is also a high education performance (Putnam 2000: 296). This disparity often leads to lower college enrollment rates and levels of academic and social integration among working class students (Dumais 2010; Maimer 2003). Increased social capital makes a significant difference in the ability of low income and working class students to get into, and succeed in, college (DiMaggio and Mohr 1985). Stranton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995: 117) argue "the analysis of social networks reveal how success within the educational system, for working-class and minority youths, is dependent on the formation on genuinely supportive relationships with institutional agents". Community social capital, which is defined as values transmitted through media, community activities, and anywhere outside the school or home is manifested through institutional agents like pre college programs (Israel 2001). Such programs offer young people an opportunity to engage in positive relationships with peers and adults, teach students important life skills, and nurture self-competence. These supportive relationships and communities are necessary for advancement in the education system and ultimately, success in the occupational structure.

Previous studies have examined the role of cultural capital and social capital in college students' educational attainment and success (Dumais 2010; Maimer 2003; Potter and Roska 2011).

Notably, they have found that overall gains in both social capital and cultural capital lead to higher collegiate enrollment rates, some go as far to say that precollege programs can institute these gains. There have also been a number of studies that have quantitatively examined the outcomes of Upward Bound (Laws 1999; Maimer 2003; Mclure and Child 1998; Myers et al. 2004), finding that there is not a significant improvement in first year collegiate scores compared to colleagues from similar backgrounds.

However, there is a dearth of qualitative research that has explored the reported experiences and perceptions of Upward Bound students and how they believe the program has enhanced their academic achievements. This paper fills these gaps and addresses the following questions: Do Upward Bound students and alumni themselves report that their experiences in the Upward Bound Program helped them through the college application process and during their undergraduate careers? Are these experiences ones that served to enhance students' social capital and cultural capital? If so, how and what are some tangible ways that their Upward Bound-enriched social capital and cultural capital helped them to navigate college expectations more successfully?

ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY

Upward Bound is one of the oldest and largest federally funded programs assisting low-income students to get ready for, enter, and thrive in college (Myers et al. 2004). It was established in 1965 as a result of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Federal TRIO Programs 2013). The program has 816 chapters located at colleges and other qualified institutions across the United States focused on guiding and supporting high achieving, lower income high school students through the college application process and provide them with tools to succeed in their college careers (McElroy and Amesto 1998; Federal TRIO Programs 2013). In 2013, the low income cut off for Upward Bound for a family of three was $29,295 and $35,325 for a family of four (Federal TRIO Programs 2013).

Students apply during the eighth grade and undergo a rigorous application process including teacher recommendations, essays, and parent and individual interviews (Myers et al. 2004; McElroy and Amesto 1998). Upward Bound provides scholars fiting these criteria with programs and opportunities "to succeed in their precollege performance and ultimately in their higher education pursuits" (Federal TRIO Programs 2013:1) and in some cases full tuition college scholarships (Interview, October 4, 2013).

The program prepares students for college through academic classes, college guidance counselors, mentoring, cultural enrichment, financial and economic literacy classes, and entrance exam prep courses (Federal TRIO Programs 2013; Myers et al. 2004). It is a four-year program that typically consists of bimonthly Saturday classes and a six-week residential summer academic program for rising high school juniors on the chapter's college campus (Interview October 17, 2013). During these academic sessions, scholars take math, science, and English classes as well as attend college information sessions, which focus on the SAT, college essays, and scholarship applications (Interview October 13, 2013). The program uses the term "scholars" to describe students selected to participate in the program their eighth grade year based on their family's income, first generation status, middle school achievement, outcome of scholar and parent interviews, and motivation to go to college. If admitted, scholars begin the program their freshman year in high school and finish the summer after their senior year in high school (Myers et al. 2004). Students in the program are called "scholars" in an effort for students to see themselves as scholars and act accordingly (as a type of self-fulfilling prophecy).

METHODOLOGY

The current paper is based on data from two qualitative research methods: semi-structured interviews with Upward Bound (UB) alumni, students, and staff and an analysis of organizational materials. I employed these methods because they allowed me to understand the resources Upward Bound provides and get a highly nuanced sense of the ways that Upward Bound students and alumni view their own experiences in the program.

To begin, I contacted local Upward Bound programs to get names of UB alumni. I then used snowball sampling to contact additional potential interviewees. While such a sampling technique has a few limitations, most notably that the sample is nonrandom and therefore not representative of the larger population, there are also important strengths, particularly when the group is relatively homogenous which is the case in the current study. In fact, all of the respondents attended private liberal arts universities in central Texas. Also, given that some of the respondents attended the same university during overlapping time periods, their reflections of events could be verified by cross-checking interview statements. Taken together, the sample allows for conclusions that provide a deeper understanding of this network of Upward Bound alumni. I chose the respondents with three main objectives in mind: 1) to gather respondents from both UB scholars and staff, 2) to interview Upward Bound alumni to gage sustaining capital and 3) to obtain a sample representative of the overall demographics of Upward Bound.

I then conducted seventeen semi-structured interviews with Upward Bound students and staff members between September and November 2013. Of the interviews conducted, six were over the phone and eleven were face-to-face, all were digitally recorded and transcribed by the author

in ways to ensure anonymity. Interviews ranged in length from eighteen to sixty-three minutes long and focused on scholars' experiences with Upward Bound's programs and trips, mobility for themselves and their family, and relationships with staff and peers. In many of the interviews, follow-up questions were asked when a point required additional clarity or when a particularly relevant issue was raised.

My sample included ten women and seven men ranging in age from eighteen to forty-eight with an average age of twenty-four. All of the respondents attended or worked at an Upward Bound chapter at small private liberal arts universities in Central Texas. I interviewed three staff members and fifteen scholars (one interviewee fit both categories). Five of the students had been out of the program for at least four years, and the other ten were more recent UB graduates and were still in college. Of the seventeen interviewees, thirteen self-identified as Hispanic, three as white, and one as Asian. Ten of seventeen respondents identified as working class and seven identified as middle class. For my analysis, I grouped those that identified as working class and lower middle class into the working class category to allow me to make broader comparisons.

My analytic strategy included reading through the transcriptions four times. I initially looked for patterns and then took notes in the margins. I then began focusing on patterns across interviews. Once I had developed the thematic categories, I reread the interviews looking for quotes that best illustrated those themes.

The second type of research method employed was an analysis of organizational materials. I analyzed the federal website for Upward Bound. I mostly used this source of information to better understand the purpose and types of programs Upward Bound offers and the ways in which they frame these programs. This material was also used to understand Upward Bound's mission and to see how it relates to the students' reported benefits of participating in the program.

In terms of our respective backgrounds, my respondents and I had points of commonality and difference. I am a white upper class woman and most of my interviewees are working class Latinas. We all are approximately the same age and we all were either currently enrolled in college or recently received a degree. All of these factors influenced the interview process in numerous ways. Although we have different racial and class experiences, I found that our mutual interest in and passion for the program as well as our common age and status as college students, helped to facilitate an open and friendly rapport.

There are a couple of limitations to note. First, I do not use a control group so comparisons between Upward Bound students and those not in the program can only be general and exploratory at best. Secondly, I only analyzed Upward Bound programs at small private liberal arts schools, which makes generalizations to other types of university campuses dificult. However,

the homogeneity of the sample can also be viewed as a strength because it allows for an in-depth analysis of the nuances of UB students' reported experiences in this type of seting, one that has traditionally been associated with high levels of cultural capital. I now turn to a discussion of the results.

RESULTS

The findings are organized in two sections. First, I discuss the specific ways that Upward Bound (UB) works to increase the cultural capital of its students. Secondly, I explore the Program's various efforts to enhance the students' social capital (reviewer took out the period here, does that make sense? If they took it out, leave it out) Note: In the findings section, I will use the term "scholar" to describe Upward Bound students.

Cultural Capital

Upward Bound focuses on developing the cultural capital of UB scholars, and it does so in three main ways. First, they regularly take students to cultural events – some of which can be classified as "high brow". Secondly, they concentrate efforts to build students' levels of confidence as well as their leadership skills specifically in the academic arena. Finally, they provide support for college entrance test preparation.

According to Bourdieu (1979) and other scholars, having some experience with cultural events and knowledge of the high arts, being able to converse in the world of ideas, and knowing how to take tests are requisite elements for success in the academy (Bourdieu 1979; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Dumais 2010; Kalmin and Kraaykmap 1996). Importantly, these three areas are also the central foci of the Upward Bound Program. Each student is in the Program for four years, and during that time, Upward Bound provides numerous opportunities for their students to enhance their knowledge and skill set in these fields (Cabrera and La Nasa, 2001; Chaney 1999; Davies and Guppy 1997; DiMaggio 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Horvat 2001; McDonough 1997; Perna 2002; Steelman and Powell 1989; Winkle-Wagner 2010). Upward Bound's focus on these areas is particularly important because their students are less likely to have exposure to them in their families, yet colleges still expect this type of knowledge base and reward those students who have such cultural and academic repertoires. Thus, by providing these types of opportunities, Upward Bound may be working to disrupt the social reproduction of class in the academic seting.

Cultural Events

Prior studies find that participating in field trips, particularly those to cultural events help students in many ways, including by enhancing their critical thinking skills, empathy and tolerance (Greene et al. 2013). They can also lead to a greater appreciation of art, and an increased desire to attend future cultural events (Greene et al. 2013). Fourteen out of fifteen scholars (93%) mention that Upward

Bound provided numerous opportunities to attend various types of cultural events throughout their involvement in the program. Of these fourteen, three (21%) discuss "high brow" events (going to the symphony or a play) and eleven (73%) talk about their senior trip which is typically to Washington D.C. or New York where they go to national historical monuments and museums. These cultural events, particularly the senior trip, are opportunities they would not have been able to experience without Upward Bound's resources. Moreover, these experiences represent opportunities for students to build their cultural capital, which can be beneficial in both formal and informal settings when they are in college.

In the summer residential program, scholars attend a variety of "high brow" cultural events and discuss the experiences with the group. For example, Kurt, a UB alumnus, remembers:

> One of the RAs on the staff was also involved in the local theater production in San Antonio so we got to go to their final dress rehearsal, so we basically got to see the whole show and we were the only members of the audience, so that was really fun, really cool. I remember them taking us to the Institute of Texan Cultures in San Antonio. We had different kinds of movie nights during the summer where we would watch movies that we probably wouldn't have seen like Camelot. But I do remember that they were showing us things and having us do things that we might not have otherwise done (Interview, October 22, 2013).

By exposing the Upward Bound scholars to museums, taking them to "higher brow" cultural events, and exposing them to "classic" movies like Camelot, Upward Bound helps to build the scholars' cultural capital, which can be quite beneficial to them in college.

For the senior trip, many respondents discuss how it was the first time they had been outside of their home state, the majority explain that it was the first time they had ever been in a plane or train, and all state that they had never been to Washington D.C. or New York City before.

Monica reveals that the trips,

> Made me have a more open minded about the world and I got to travel, I got to learn more. We went around and traveled to Washington, […], [I saw] a lot of places that I never thought I would see […]. It made me more open-minded culturally (Interview, October 19, 2013).

Monica's comments reveal that not only were the trips important in terms of being able to see and experience places, sites, and cities that she had not previously experienced, but that they led to a change in the ways she viewed the world. She says that they facilitated her becoming "more open-minded culturally," a mindset that is extremely important in the college setting when being

exposed to new ideas, perspectives, and theories in course readings and classroom discussions. Also, in informal discussions with faculty members during office hours or with other students, being able to discuss one's travel experiences to Ellis Island, the Museum of Modern Art, the Smithsonian American History Museum, or the National Art Gallery are likely to help students project a more refined and learned sense of self – one that is positively rewarded in the academic setting. Thus, in myriad ways, being able to travel out of state helps to enhance the success of UB scholars in the academic arena in subtle yet profound ways (Greene et al. 2013).

Confidence in the Academic Arena

Nine of the fifteen scholars (60%) discuss gaining confidence in their academic skills and their ability to talk with authority figures in the school setting. Upward Bound works to build scholars' "self-esteem and emotional competence" (Rutherford 2011: 407).

Gryleen talks about the lasting effect Upward Bound has had on her, even four years after completing the program. She states,

> Character building, kind of generic sounding, but they really did help me develop into a better person. We did a lot of character building exercises, a lot of leadership opportunities, so you know you can really step up (Interview, October 4, 2013).

By providing a holistic approach to learning, Upward Bound encourages students to develop interpersonal and leadership skills as well as emotional intelligence that will serve them well in and beyond the academy.

Andrew, an Upward Bound alumnus working on his Master's degree, explains why these classes were so important to his current success. He passionately states:

> If it wasn't for Upward Bound, I wouldn't have advocated for myself because I wouldn't have believed in myself, there was no one else who was willing to do that for me [...] The staff has been pushing me since high school and continue to do so (Interview, October 20, 2013).

Similarly, Jessica explains aspects of the program that her new confidence has manifested:

> I definitely gained a bunch of self-confidence in my experience in Upward Bound in different aspects whether it be being president or speaking in front of the scholars or other people (Interview, October 18, 2013).

Andrew's and Jessica's quotes illustrate the importance of building scholars' confidence levels

and providing a culture of high expectations for them. Melody, a staff member, explains the reason why Upward Bound focuses so much on confidence building. She reveals, we make "sure that kids feel respected, they feel valued, and when they feel that, they are more engaged in their academics" (Interview, October 18, 2013). Melody goes on to say that scholars feel more valued and respected because there is someone holding them accountable to high academic and behavioral standards. This non-academic support from pre college programs needs to be intrusive so students are forced to encounter them (Karp 2011). Karp (2011) defines intensive non-academic support as advising, holding students accountable for their actions, mandatory success classes, and warning systems. In addition to their bi-monthly academic sessions, scholars are required to participate in weekly individual sessions where they go over teacher comments, grades, attendance, and eventually college counseling (Federal TRIO Programs 2013). These weekly sessions are direct non-academic intrusive support, which builds cultural capital because the staff creates a bridge between the class capital gaps through support similar to that provided by higher income parents.

Enhancing the confidence levels and leadership skills of Upward Bound scholars also help working class students to feel comfortable talking with university staff and faculty.   It has been suggested that working class parents sometimes emphasize to their children the importance of obedience to authority (Lareau 2003; Reay et. al. 2009). Charlotte highlights how Upward Bound helps to counter these types of messages. She says, "One of the things they always mentioned was to be open and to speak to people…it is OK to ask questions, it is ok to maybe challenge an administrator or two every now and then, that it is OK, that's expected, it is not taboo" (Interview, October 22, 13). In fact, challenging colleagues and professors within the academy is rewarded and seen as a demonstration of higher level thinking (Tsui 2001). These rewards lead to increased academic confidence within the elite academy leading to more attention from professors and higher expectations for the student, increasing educational attainment (Rosenthal 1968).

College Entrance Preparation

Upward Bound also helps its scholars by providing key support as they prepare to take college entrance exams. When talking about how Upward Bound helped them as they started the college application process, forty percent of scholars (6) discuss the fact that Upward Bound provided them with SAT prep courses and college courses. Reflecting on the SAT, Sarah, a scholar states,

> Most of the students did not have the resources to get them to like to SAT, 'cause some of them might not have anyone to help them with the test, or they might not have the money (Interview, September 25, 2013).

Sarah's comments are insightful in terms of how class may influence the amount of test preparation

students from different socioeconomic backgrounds have prior to taking the SAT. Indeed, she highlights some of the hidden valued resources that students from higher income families are more likely to have access to: not only do they have the financial resources to be able to take the SAT test let alone SAT preparation courses, they are also more likely to have family members who have taken the test who can provide invaluable insights into what the experience is like, how they should study, and even why it is important to do well on the test.

Freedle (2003) and others have revealed the cultural biases embedded in the SAT and how they negatively affect working and lower class students. For example, a common question on the SATs in the 90s was:

> RUNNER: MARATHON:
> (A) envoy: embassy
> (B) martyr: massacre
> **(C) oarsman: regatta**
> (D) referee; tournament
> (E) horse: stable

The correct answer is C, marathon is to runner as oarsman is to regatta. Knowing what a regatta or oarsman is culturally biased and disadvantages individuals from the working class. To overcome these disadvantages, Upward Bound provides scholars with knowledge and skills so they can be better prepared to take the SAT. Kurt describes the help he received regarding the SAT and ACT,

The Upward Bound staff, they were honest from our sophomore year in high school and by the time we got to the end of our first year in the program, we were already taking PSAT practice exams, we were being informed about the SAT and what you need to do to prepare for it. Taking some SAT practice exams, ACT practice exams, being informed about financial aid, being shown different college options (Interview, October 22, 2013).

The program gives scholars other ways to practice and prepare for these tests through their entrance exam preparation courses, which are incorporated into the Upward Bound Saturday program. Here, they talk about and prepare for the tests, what to expect, and why it is important to do well. Upward Bound also pays for the exam fee up to three times (Chase, Interview, October, 17, 2013), allowing scholars to experience some of the advantages generally more likely to be found among families in higher income brackets. Without the cultural and economic capital that Upward Bound provides, scholars would not be nearly as well prepared when they take college entrance exams. Ultimately, these types of experiences also help to reduce gaps in SAT scores between the working and upper classes (Sackett et al. 2013).

Residential Summer Academic Program

Another key component of the Upward Bound Program that provides scholars with experiences that benefit them when they are in college is the residential summer academic program. Prior to starting college, scholars are given the opportunity to enroll in college courses and reside on a university campus, allowing them to experience college life before the fall semester of their freshman year. These experiences are valuable because, among first generation students, college can seem particularly daunting since no one in their immediate family can tell them, from their own experiences, what to expect (Lubrano 2004). This opportunity allows scholars to build confidence navigating a higher academic real and leads to higher enrollment and involvement rates among first generation college students (Lareau 1987). Sarah states, "they helped show me how to study, they showed me how to succeed here in college, and they helped me get a job here on campus" (Interview, September 25, 2013). These resources ease the transition into college for first generation students, ultimately giving them a better chance of succeeding in college.

Cultural experiences, enhancing confidence levels and leadership skills in the academic arena and SAT test preparation are three ways that Upward Bound counters structural disadvantages that many low-income and first generation college students experience. By bridging the cultural capital gap between working class and upper class students, Upward Bound works to increase the likelihood that scholars will apply to, be accepted by, and be successful in, college.

Social Capital

Upward Bound promotes social capital in two ways: fostering supportive relationships and taking students on college tours. These types of experiences and connections can be critical for student success in college and after they graduate (Aronson and Hodge 2012; Putnam 2000).

Relationships

Fully 100% of the scholars mention the strong relationships they formed during their time with Upward Bound as important for their success. They discuss the relationships they formed with staff and other scholars through the program. James, an alumnus of the program, remembers,

> It was definitely a really strong support team with the staff. [...] I personally tried to fail my way out of college [...] I went to the ofice [...], talked to [the staff] and they encouraged me to stay [...], there was that spark again (Interview, October 18, 2013).

The staff members serve a particularly important function because, as Bryan et al. (2011) suggest, parents of Upward Bound scholars may not be able to provide guidance to their children on how to navigate the academy because they themselves did not attend college, leading to a lack of academic confidence. The staff at Upward Bound, many of whom have college or postgraduate degrees, are able to serve as mentors throughout the college application process. Sam explains,

"They [the staff] are what make you want to be there" (Interview, October 19, 2013). Lerner (1985) calls these types strong relationships a "village response", which encompasses the creation of social capital in the community, leading to integration and subsequently higher academic confidence.

Ten out of fifteen scholars (67%) cite that they were friends and interacted regularly with scholars both during program activities but also "after hours," often spending time together outside of Upward Bound scheduled events. These types of relationships foster social capital because they give scholars a network to rely on both inside and outside the classroom (Karp 2011). This network is invaluable to many scholars as seven out of fifteen (47%) state that they would not be where they are today without the support of their Upward Bound peers and support staff.

The bonds connecting scholars with other members of the program are very strong and extend beyond the students' participation in Upward Bound. In fact, eight of fifteen (53%) scholars refer to other scholars and staff at Upward Bound as their family. Analasia recalls her relationships with other scholars: "we are a big family, I know I can go to you even if you are a freshman and I am a senior" (Interview, October 23, 2013). Scholars who attend the same university often have peer mentoring between scholars, building a robust support network which can be beneficial, especially for first-generation students. Gryleen, an alumna of the program explains,

> I will have them over to my apartment sometimes, […] sometimes we will just talk, sometimes we will have discussions together. […], this year's freshman that got the scholarship has already called me like three times for advice (Interview, October 4, 2013).

By providing younger Upward Bound scholars with support and advice on navigating the academy, Gryleen is continuing the social capital fostered by the program. The way Gryleen looks out for the younger scholars is akin to having an older brother or sister at university, closely resembling a family. These relationships lead to an even stronger network of community social capital that cause direct increases in social capital and therefore educational attainment. These relationships are vital to create a supportive network that helps to facilitate a smoother transition from high school to college and during college, promoting confidence and success.

College Tours
The importance of college tours is another theme discussed by the respondents. Seven out of fifteen scholars (47%) argue that college visits were crucial in their college selection process. James recalls,

> The college visits, when I was in high school I don't think I could've done that as far as go to a college and being alone, and touring a campus. I know I would love to, but just not

really knowing anything about it and they were there to definitely help push me (Interview, October 18, 2013).

These trips included more benefits than just tours, they often involved meetings with University personnel in order to form bonds that will provide support while attending the university. For example, Chase explains, "They took us on college tours and they would get us one on one meetings with the board members of these colleges, get us where we needed to be to talk to people" (Interview, October 17, 2013).

The campus visits provided scholars with invaluable knowledge about universities and gave them opportunities to interact and begin to form connections with different university personnel. Stranton-Salazar and Dornbusch argue "the analysis of social networks reveal how success within the educational system, for working-class and minority youths, is dependent on the formation on genuinely supportive relationships with institutional agents" (1995: 117), which Upward Bound is directly facilitating. Such trips and relationships are directly linked to increased academic confidence in navigating the academy, building further confidence and integration within the academy.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Relying on semi-structured interviews conducted with Upward Bound (UB) scholars and staff conducted from September to December 2013 as well as an analysis of organizational materials, this paper has examined the role Upward Bound plays in mediating educational inequality. While previous quantitative research has found that UB has been successful in achieving some of its stated goals (Mclure and Child 1998; Myers et al. 2014), there have been no qualitative studies that have examined how Upward Bound students and alumni themselves feel about their experiences and the ways they helped them prepare for, attend, and do well in college. While quantitative studies on Upward Bound's contributions to first generation college students certainly shed light on important patterns and outcomes, they tell us little about the processes by which the program helps to convey, support, and build cultural capital and social capital among scholars. For instance, by relying on qualitative analysis, we uncover that the program helps to build scholars' cultural capital by taking them to cultural events, helping to build their confidence levels and leadership skills in the academic arena, and provide support for college entrance test preparation. We also discover how Upward Bound fosters the social capital of its scholars, namely by cultivating supportive networks and taking students on college tours.

The type of information garnered from qualitative studies such as this one can provide richer and more highly nuanced understandings of why the program is an essential lifeline for some first generation students. Such knowledge is particularly important because it serves as a counterpoint

to budget cuts, which only serve to hinder the Program's ability to provide skills and knowledge that are essential for academic success. By listening to the actual voices of Upward Bound alumni, we gain a much better appreciation for the value and significance of Upward Bound on first generation and low-income college students.

The current study has shed light on the ways Upward Bound, a precollege program for economically disadvantaged high school students, uses both cultural capital and social capital to enhance the UB scholars' chances of geting into, and being successful at, college. In Upward Bound's efforts to promote high school and collegiate success for low-income and first-generation students, they appear to focus almost exclusively on enhancing the cultural capital and the social capital of their students. The program fosters the development of cultural capital by offering cultural events, college preparation opportunities, and classes that focus on building self-confidence and leadership skills in the academic seting, all of which help to increase the likelihood of academic success. Upward Bound also helps to build the social capital of their students by helping to promote connections with university faculty, administrators, students, and admissions staff. These efforts to increase the cultural capital and social capital of low-income students are particularly important and serve as important mechanisms that help to disrupt some of the normative ways that social inequalities are reproduced through the family and formal education.

The findings point to the benefits of the program and the success of its mission:

> to provide first-generation college bound high school students with academic support services and activities that will enhance their academic skills, thereby ensuring that they will complete high school and enroll in and complete a program of post-secondary education and prepare them academically and socially for enrollment and completion of higher education (Federal TRIO Programs 2013).

Of the 17 scholars interviewed, 14 or 82% stated that they would not have applied to or attended college had it not been for Upward Bound. They also discuss how their experiences in Upward Bound helped to prepare them to do well academically in, and graduate from, college. Utilizing the resources and opportunities provided by Upward Bound, ten interviewees are currently enrolled in undergraduate programs, two are enrolled in graduate programs, and two joined the workforce after obtaining their bachelors degree.

The findings of this paper indicate that by helping to enhance the cultural capital and social capital of its scholars, Upward Bound works to disrupt some of the usual ways that socioeconomic class is socially reproduced through the educational system (Bourdieu 1986a; Bowles and Gintis 1976). Implications for future organizations should focus on academic confidence and increased

parental involvement and education in addition to academic programs in order to achieve higher educational attainment. By improving the cultural and social capital of its scholars, Upward Bound helps them to more successfully navigate the oftentimes-invisible yet important rules and expectations of the academic world. In essence, the program helps to "level the class playing field" within the academy by providing scholars with some of the social and cultural capital that students from other classes may already possess and is oftentimes rewarded within the academy. Without Upward Bound, many of these scholars report that they would not have even thought that attending college was possible. As Kim states,

> Upward Bound gave me the tools and the information that I needed to get there so it does make a difference. Geting more people from the working class into college is such a big thing to me because college is almost your only way out, the only way to move to another social class. So, programs like Upward Bound are essential to give us the skills and the knowledge that we need to get to that next level (Interview Kim October 23, 2013).

References

Aronson, Pamela and Ashleigh Hodge. 2012. "Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood". *Adolescent Development and School Achievement in Urban Communities: Resilience in the Neighborhood* 239-248.

Bourdieu, Pierre. and J. C. Passeron. 1977. "Reproduction in Education, society and Culture". Sage Publications, London.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. *The Inheritors, French Students and their relations to Culture.* University of Chicago Press. Chicago.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986a. *The Aristocracy of Culture.* Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986b. "The Forms of Capital" *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (1):241-58.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The logic of practice.* Stanford University Press.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. 1976. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life.* Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza. 1998. "Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital". *Housing Policy Debate* 9(1):177-221.

Bryan, Julie, Norma L. Day-Vines, Cheryl Holcomb-McCoy, and Cheryl Moore-Thomas. 2011. "School Counselors as Social Capital: The Effects of High School College Counseling on College Application Rates". *Journal of Counseling & Development* 89(1):190-199.

Cabrera, A. and S. La Nasa. 2001. "On the path to college: Three critical tasks facing America's disadvantaged". *Research in Higher Education* 42(2):119–149.

Chaney, B.,L. Lewis, & E. Farris. 1995. "Programs at Higher Education Institutions for

Disadvantaged Precollege Students". *National Center for Education Statistics.*

Coleman, James. 1988. "Social capital in the creation of human capital". *The American Journal of Sociology* 94(1): 95-120.

Coles, Ann S. 1998. "TRIO Achievers: The Promise of the Future". *Journal of Negro Education* 67(4): 432-443.

Davies, S., and N. Guppy. 1997. "Fields of study, college selectivity, and student inequalities in higher education". *Social Forces* 75(4):1413–1438.

DiMaggio, Paul. 1982. "The Impact of Status Culture Participation on the Grades of U.S. High School Students". *American Sociological Review* 47(2):189-201.

DiMaggio, P. and J. Mohr. 1985. "Cultural capital, educational attainment and marital selection". *American Journal of Sociology* 90(6):1231–1985.

Domina, Thurston. 2009. "What Works in College Outreach: Assessing Targeted and Schoolwide Interventions for Disadvantaged Students". *American Educational Research Association* 31(2):127-152.

Dumais, Susan A. 2010. "Cultural capital and first-generation college success" *Poetics* 38(3): 245-265.

Egeland, Byron, David E. Hunt, Robert H. Hardt. 1970. "College enrollment of Upward Bound students as a function of atitude and motivation". *Journal of Educational Psychology* 61(5):375-379.

Federal TRIO Programs. 2013. "Upward Bound Program". Retrieved August 20, 2013 (http://www2.ed.gov/programs/trioupbound/index.html).

Freedle, Roy. 2003. "Correcting the SAT's Ethnic and Social-Class Bias: A Method for Reestimating SAT Scores." *Harvard Educational Review* 73(1):1-43.

Greene, Jay, Brian Kisida, and Daniel Bowen. 2014. "The Educational Value of Field Trips." *Education Next* 14(1):78-86.

Horvat, E. M. 2001. "Understanding equity and access in higher education: The potential contribution of Pierre Bourdieu". *Higher education: Handbook of theory and practice.*

Hunt, David E. and Robert H. Hardt. 1969. "The Effect of Upward Bound Programs on the Atitudes, Motivation, and Academic Achievement of Negro Students". *Journal of Social Issues* 25(3):117-129.

Israel, Glenn, Lionel Beaulieu and Glen Hartless. 2001. "The Influence of Family and Community Social Capital on Educational Achievement". *Rural Sociology* 66(1):43-68.

Jaeger, Mads Meier. 2011. "Does Cultural Capital Really Affect Academic Achievement? New Evidence from Combined Sibling and Panel Data". *Sociology of Education* 84(4): 281-298.

Karp, Melinda. 2011. "Toward a New Understanding of Non-Academic Student Support: Four Mechanisms Encouraing Positive Student Outcomes in the Community College:. *Community College Research Center* 28:1-34.

Lareau, Annette. 2002. "Invisible Inequality: Social Class and Childrearing in Black Families and White Families. *American Sociological Review* 67(5): 747-776.

Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhood: Class, race, and family life.* Berkeley: University of
California Press.

Lareau, Annette and Elliot B. Weininger. 2003. "Cultural Capital in Education research: A Critical
Assessment". *Theory and Society* 567-606.

Laws, James. 1999. "The Influence of Upward Bound on Freshman Grade Point Average, Drop-out
Rates, Mathematics Performance, and English Performance". *The Western Journal of Black
Studies* 23(3):139-143.

Lerner, R.M. 1995. America's Youth in Crisis: Challenges and Options for Programs and
Policies. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lubrano, Alfred. 2004. Limbo: Blue-collar Roots, White-collar Dreams. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley

Maimer, Pamela. 2003. "Cultural And Social Capital Transmission In Pre-College Programs And Its
Impact On Educational Attainment." *Sociology of Education* 54(4):1-24.

McDonough, P. M. 1997. *Choosing colleges*: How social class and schools structure opportunity.
Albany: State University of New York Press.

McElroy, Eldward J and Maria Armesto. 1998. "TRIO and Upward Bound: History, programs, and
issues--Past, present, and future". *Journal of Negro Education* 67(4):373-381.

Mclure, Gail and Roger Child. 1998. "Upward Bound Students Compared to Other College-Bound
Students: Profiles of Nonacademic Characteristics and Academic Achievement" *Journal of
Negro Education* 67(4): 346-363.

Myers, David, Rob Olsen, Neil Seftor, Julie Young, and Christina Tuttle. 2004. "The Impacts of
Regular Upward Bound: Results from the Third Follow-Up Data Collection". *Mathmetica
Policy Research, Inc.* 1(1):1-210.

Paschal, Billy and Richard Williams. 1970. "Some Effects of Participation in a Summer Upward
Bound Program on the Self-Concept and Atitude of the Disadvantaged Adolescent"
Journal of Negro Education 39(1): 34-43.

Perna, Laura. 2002. "Precollege outreach programs: Characteristics of programs serving
historically underrepresented groups of students". *Journal of College Student
Development* 43(1):64-83.

Perna, Laura and Marvin Titus. 2005. "The Relationship Between Parental Involvement as Social
Capital and College Enrollment: An Examination of Racial/Ethnic Group Differences.
Journal of Higher Education 76(5):485-518.

Potter, Daniel and Josipa Roska. 2011. "Parenting and Academic Achievement: Intergenerational
Transmission of Educational Advantage". *Sociology of Education* 84(4): 299-321.

Portes, Aljenadro. 1998. "SOCIAL CAPITAL: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology."
Annual Sociology Review 24(1):1-24.

Putnam, Robert D. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of
Democracy* 6(1): 65-78.

Reay, Diane, Gill Crozier, and John Clayton. 2009. "Strangers in Paradise?: Working-class Students
in Elite Universities". *Sociology* 43(6):1103–1121.

Rosenthal, Robert and Lenore Jacobson. 1968. "Teacher Expectations for the Disadvantaged". *Scientific American* 218(4):4-9

Rutherford, Markella. 2011. "The Social Value of Self-Esteem." *Sociology* 48(1):407-412.

Sackett, Paul, Adam Beatty, Thomas Kiger, Nathan Kuncel, Jana Rigdon, and Winny Shen. 2013. "The Role of Socioeconomic Status in SAT Grade Relationships and in College Admissions Decisions." *Journal of the Association of Psychological Science* 23(9):1000-1007.

Steelman, L. C., and B. Powell. 1989. "Acquiring capital for college: The constraints of family configuration". *American Sociological Review*, 54(5), 844–855.

Stranton-salazar, Ricardo and Sanford Dornbusch. 1995. "Social Capital and the Reproduction of Inequality: Information Networks among Mexican-origin High School Students." *Sociology of Education* 68(4):116-135.

Tsui, Lisa. 2001. "Faculty Atitudes and the Development of Students' Critical Thinking". *The Journal of General Education* 50(1):1-28.

Streib, Jessi. 2011. "Class Reproduction by Four Year Olds". *Qualitative Sociology* 34(2):337-352.

Winkle-Wagner, Rachelle. 2010. "Foundations of Educational Inequality: Cultural Capital and Social Reproduction". *ASHE Higher Education Report* 36(1):1-21.

Wolfgang, Lehmann. 2012. "Extra-credential experiences and social closure: working-class students at university." *British Educational Research Journal* 38(2):203-218.

Zulli, Rebecca A., Henry T. Frierson, and Joyce D. Clayton. 1998, "Parents' Perceptions of the Value and Nature of Their Children's and Their Own Involvement in an Upward Bound Program" *Journal of Negro Education* 67(4): 364-372.
Places." *American Sociological Review* 56(1): 101-116.
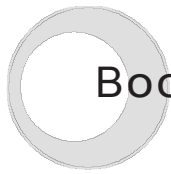
Book Review

Ain't No Trust: How Bosses, Boyfriends, and Bureaucrats Fail Low-Income Mothers and Why It Matters by Judith A. Levine. University of California Press, 2013. $29.95 USD (paper)

Ain't No Trust is a thorough, well-written book that makes important contributions to the literature on social class inequalities and the American welfare system. In her interviews with 95 Chicago-area women pre- and post-1996 welfare reform, Levine found that reform's individual-level solutions changed how one could qualify for welfare but did little to change the reasons that led one to it in the first place. Her book details how policies inspired by culture of poverty ideologies, where the poor are seen as victims of their own laziness or moral inferiority, played out in the lives of low-income mothers stuck at the bottom of the U.S.'s stratification system. Levine dedicates five out of six chapters to thoroughly detailing the experiences of low-income mothers, who were either currently or had been involved in the welfare system. She spoke to women about their interactions with caseworkers, bosses, child care providers, romantic partners, and family and friends and found that, in attempt to combat the overwhelming lack of control they felt they had over their lives, they wielded distrust.

> The social world of the poor is complex, misunderstood, and often pathologized.

different areas of low-income mothers' social spheres treats their lived realities with a nuance and respect it rarely receives. Levine draws on women's accounts to show how welfare has become a reliable supplement to jobs that no Levine's skillful, multifaceted analysis of

longer pay a living wage. This stopgap solution - a bandage on a severed limb - is a response to the larger, structural disappearance of low-skill, living wage work (Wilson 1996). The book's strength lies in its detailing of the experiences of women who find themselves forced to navigate interactions with caseworkers who are themselves incentivized to push women off of welfare as quickly as possible; bosses who see their work as dispensable and replaceable at any time; boyfriends, friends, and family whose job prospects are equally abysmal; and child care providers whose acceptance of below-market payments renders their quality questionable. Levine shows how, across all of these interactions, women experience an absence of trust in the spheres that middle-class Americans take for granted: job security and benefits, economically stable life partners, and safe, reliable child care that makes working possible. By focusing on trust, Levine is highlighting a usually overlooked variable, which she shows to be integral for the reproduction of both privilege and inequality. Social networks void of trust heighten the risk taken by these mothers on a daily basis. Can they trust that they will have their job tomorrow? Can they trust their partners to be there for them? Can they trust that their children will be safe at daycare? The answer, according to Levine, is a resounding no. Levine concludes that this distrust matters because it inhibits the likelihood of their and their children's chances for mobility.

America's hegemonic 'bootstraps' narrative has, for too long, enabled those not affected by poverty the luxury of turning a blind eye to the realities of the poor. Levine's book is an important refutation to this belief and is an essential read for voters, politicians, and policy makers for changing the discourse in how the poor are discussed, perceived, and decided on. After reading this book, one would find it hard to continue to believe the myth those low-income individuals, and mothers in particular, have only themselves to blame.

Rebecca Bielamowicz
The University of Texas at Austin

Biographies

Amanda Baldiga
University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill

Amanda Baldiga graduated from the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill in 2014, majoring in sociology and women's and gender studies. She is currently living and working in Kelantan, Malaysia, as a Fulbright English Teaching Assistant.

Andy Greenia
Loyola University

Andy Greenia graduated Magna Cum Laude in the fall of 2013 from Loyola University Chicago with a B.A. in Sociology (with honors) with minors in Urban Studies and Peace Studies as well. He is a member of Alpha Sigma Nu and Alpha Kappa Delta honor societies. He also studied with the School for International Training in a Peace & Conflict Studies program in Rwanda & Uganda in the summer of 2013. This research project evolved from his sociology senior capstone, which he completed under the guidance of Dr. Marilyn Krogh. Andy cultivated an interest in race relations after growing up witnessing the glaring racial polarization existing between Detroit and its suburbs, and his research interests include race and ethnic relations, white identity development, and urban environments. Andy currently works as a community organizer in Detroit, MI. He would like to thank Kasey Henricks for his extensive support, mentorship, and guidance throughout his research project and academic career at Loyola University Chicago.

Julia Hollingsworth
Southwestern University

Julia Hollingsworth is a 2014 graduate of Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, where she double majored in sociology and business. The current paper is a product of her senior sociology capstone class at Southwestern. Since graduating, Julia has worked in the tech industry as a recruiter. She plans to pursue her MBA in the new few years to further her career in the sales and marketing fields.