

Spring 5-2015

White Privilege: A Study of White Students' Racial Awareness at a Predominantly White, but Historically Inclusive Institution

Quincy Elizabeth Snellings
Bates College, qsnellin@bates.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scarab.bates.edu/honorsthesis>

Recommended Citation

Snellings, Quincy Elizabeth, "White Privilege: A Study of White Students' Racial Awareness at a Predominantly White, but Historically Inclusive Institution" (2015). *Honors Theses*. 133.
<http://scarab.bates.edu/honorsthesis/133>

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Capstone Projects at SCARAB. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of SCARAB. For more information, please contact batesscarab@bates.edu.

White Privilege:
A Study of White Students' Racial Awareness
At a Predominantly White, but Historically Inclusive Institution

An Honors Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
Bates College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelors of Arts

By
Quincy Snellings
Lewiston, ME

March 30, 2015

Acknowledgements:

This thesis would not have been possible without the brilliance and love of those who supported me throughout the process.

Prof. Emily Kane, you have fundamentally transformed the way I think and interact with the world. In 2011, you planted within me a seed of knowledge that set me on an academic and personal quest to discover and expand my intellectual capacity in both the classroom and Lewiston-Auburn community. Moreover, you encouraged me to think critically about how I want to be in the world as a person and scholar. Now, four years later, your energy, time, intellectual encouragement and patience have allowed the seed to blossom. Words cannot express my gratitude.

Mom and Dad, thank you for teaching and encouraging me to question the world around me. You were my original sociology teachers. I love you.

The Bates Sociology Department, especially, Prof. Taylor, Prof. Duina, and Prof. Rocque, thank you for helping to shape my sociological lenses! They are much more clear and focused as a result of your guidance and knowledge.

Friends, thank you. You stood by my side throughout this process and reminded me that I was enough.

Last but not least, a huge thank you to my survey respondents for sharing their views and time with me. I am lucky to be part of such a helpful and supportive intellectual community.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements:	2
Abstract	5
Introduction	6
Chapter One: The Literature	11
The Context of Race on College Campuses	14
Critical Race Theory, Critical Whiteness Studies and White Privilege	17
Racism and Color-Blind Racism	20
Cultures of Whiteness	21
People of Color at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities	23
White Students' Perceptions of Whiteness and Color-Blind Racism	26
Reducing Racism Through Education and Diversity	29
The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender at Predominantly White Institutions	31
Implications for Further Research	34
Chapter Two: Measuring Awareness	36
An Overview of Bates College	36
Why Bates? A Unique Predominantly White Institution	37
Research Instrument	39
Data Collection	40
Quantitative: Concepts and Measures	40
Qualitative: Understanding Awareness	41
Ethical Considerations	42
Generalizability and Subjectivity	43
Charting Respondents' Demographics	44
Distribution by Class Year	44
Gender Distribution	45
Distribution by Race	46
Distribution of Class Background	46
Distribution of Parental Educational Attainment	47
Distribution of High School Racial Heterogeneity	49
Distribution of Proportion of Current Friends and Close Friends of Other Races	50
A Homogenous Sample of White Students	50
Chapter Three: Charting a Privileged Landscape: Awareness of White Social, Cultural and Academic Privilege	52
White Social Privilege	52
White Cultural Privilege	54
White Academic Privilege	57
The State of Race and Racial Awareness at Bates	59
Chapter Four: Thoughts on Whiteness: White Students Negotiate White Privilege	60
Students of Color Speak about Race	62
The Deniers	64
The Racial Minimizers	64
Racially Aware	69
A Wide Range of Racial Awareness	71

Chapter Five: Predicting Racial Awareness.....	73
The Variables	73
The Deniers, Minimizers and Racially Aware	74
Regression Models.....	77
Predicting Social Privilege Awareness.....	79
Predicting Cultural Privilege Awareness.....	80
Predicting Academic Privilege Awareness	81
Privilege Awareness Across the Three Domains	81
Implications for Increased Racial Privilege Awareness at Bates and Beyond.....	83
Conclusion.....	84
Methodological Limitations	87
Implications and Suggestions for Further Research	89
Bibliography	92
Appendix I.....	97
Appendix II.....	98

Abstract

Since its founding in 1855, Bates' doors have been open to women and people of color, setting it apart from the exclusively white- male institutions of its era. As a predominantly white, yet historically inclusive institution Bates is a particularly compelling study of a "white campus." Most of the existing literature investigates race at predominantly *and* historically white institutions and focuses on the experiences of students of color on these campuses. In contrast, this thesis investigates white Bates students' perceptions and awareness of white racial privilege and its impact on their and others' college experiences. Using quantitative and qualitative data, gathered via a survey distributed to the Bates student body, I quantitatively examine students' awareness of white privilege in three "clusters:" social privilege, cultural privilege and academic privilege. I qualitatively analyze their awareness by categorizing them as racial deniers, racial minimizers or racially aware. From this vantage point, I propose that white students, although aware that race may impact their college experience, are hesitant to fully acknowledge the extent to which whiteness works to privilege them. This thesis illuminates the tension that exists between Bates' egalitarian foundation and students' understanding of the salient role race continues to play on their campus, suggesting that institutional interventions may be warranted. Situated in the broader context of race on college campuses in the United States, this thesis proposes that racial inequity is not isolated to historically exclusive institutions but is instead a broader social issue that extends beyond the boundaries of these campuses.

Introduction

I was drawn to Bates because of its egalitarian roots; it has always accepted women and people of color. I expected Bates to be a racially diverse and radical institution that was a bastion of social progress. Yet, as a student it has become clear that Bates' liberal legacy does not ensure an especially progressive or diverse racial climate in the present. While few people on campus seem explicitly racist, I have found that many white students are uncomfortable discussing or even acknowledging race, embodying what Bonilla-Silva (2010) refers to as colorblindness. They act as if noting their whiteness and someone else's blackness makes them racist. Yet, ironically, their colorblindness serves to perpetuate potentially problematic racial dynamics on campus, by allowing them to remain unchallenged.

However, this fall, as I began this thesis, many students were forced to reconcile with race, racism and its role at Bates College. Following the decision not to indict Darren Wilson and capitalizing on the building momentum of the "Black Lives Matter" movement, a group of Bates student activists marched into Commons, the student-dining hall, and lay down throughout the food service area. Yik Yak, an anonymous messaging forum tied to geographic location, exploded. Students posted about the inconvenience the protestors caused to their lunch routine and expressed bewilderment at the purpose of such a protest at school that was not involved with Ferguson, while others implored the public to remember that "all lives matter." However, mixed amongst these more benign Yaks that were seemingly fuel by apathy and ignorance rather than maliciousness, were racist messages that questioned the validity of the black lives matter movement and referred to fellow black Bates students as slaves. Pre die-in, students could claim that race

was not an issue because they did not have to confront it. Yet, after the explosive and ignorant Yaks it became clear that the promise of Bates' progressive legacy is not realized. Instead, Bates College harbors some students with racially problematic opinions.

Yet, what concerned me most, and this thesis explores more fully, were not the explicitly racist comments, but those that claimed race was not an issue at Bates, employing "color blind racism" (Bonilla Silva 2010). While explicit racism is problematic, color-blind racism is more insidious because it obscures the very real consequences race has for both students of color and people of color in the United States, perpetuating and encouraging existing social and legal racial inequities. As the die-in made clear, and my thesis investigates, Bates may not be free from the fetters of racial apathy, which works to protect and promote racial inequity.

Racial inequity pervades institutions of higher education in the United States; students of color attend and graduate from 4-year institutions at lower rates than their white peers (U.S Department of Education 2012). Perhaps as a result of this documented inequity and the United States problematic issues with racial inclusion, scholars have paid particular attention to students of color's experiences on predominantly white campuses, which they propose are often more difficult and tiresome than those of white students. However, scholars have directed less attention towards the way white students think about and acknowledge their own white racial privilege and they way in plays out in their own and others' college experiences. Moreover, predominantly white, but historically inclusive campuses, like Bates, have been largely ignored by the literature. In this thesis I work to begin filling this gap. I seek to understand how white Bates students

think about the role race and racial privilege plays out on a campus that has always been racially inclusive but also predominantly white. To this end, I ask the following research question: How do white students, who attend a predominantly white but historically inclusive institution, demonstrate awareness of, and negotiate their cultural, social and academic white privilege?

I answered this question by distributing a close-ended survey that measured awareness of race and racial privilege to the Bates student body. I received responses from N= 338 students, where N= 263 were white. I created three indices to measure students awareness of social, cultural and academic privilege, analyzed white students' awareness based on their comments to my open responses question, and ran a regression to determine the impact gender, class year, class status, parental education, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendship at Bates have on white students' awareness of racial privilege.

Through my quantitative analysis I found that compared to students of color, white Bates students are not as aware of cultural, social or academic privilege. The difference in white students' and students of color's responses suggest that white privilege does exist at Bates and documents that white students are less aware of their white racial privilege than students of color are. In my qualitative analysis, where I divided respondents into racial deniers, racial minimizers and racially aware based on their comments, I discovered that, despite some white students' explicit racial awareness, many students seem uncomfortable and unwilling to acknowledge the extent of their racial privilege. When I ran a regression to determine if gender, class year, class status, parental education, racial heterogeneity of high school and close interracial friendship

impacted white students' awareness, I found that class year and gender had large and significant impacts on racial awareness, while the other variables did not consistently or significantly influence awareness.

In this thesis I argue that despite Bates' egalitarian roots and historic inclusion, it still harbors many white students who are not racially aware or aware of white privilege. However, as my regression shows, I propose that upperclassmen are more racially aware, as are women. These findings suggest that students' education and experiences at Bates may be vital in increasing racial awareness. Furthermore, it suggests that students who occupy more marginalized social positions (like women) are more aware and that increasing the number of these students may influence awareness. In this thesis I suggest that regardless of historic inclusivity, predominantly white institutions, like Bates, still perpetuate cultures of whiteness and white privilege. These institutions must take ownership over their contemporary racial climates, rather than rely on the past, and take steps to foster more equitable and hospitable campus cultures.

In this thesis I begin with a review of the scholarly literature concerning race at predominantly white institutions. Next, I present my methods section, which is followed by my three analysis chapters. The first, "Charting a Privileged Landscape," quantitatively explores students' awareness of white social, cultural and academic privilege. The second, "Thoughts on Whiteness," qualitatively examines how white students demonstrate awareness of white privilege by categorizing them as racial deniers, racial minimizers, and racially aware. The third, "Predicting Racial Awareness" documents the demographic differences and similarities between the deniers, minimizers and aware and uses a regression to determine if certain variables may predict racial

awareness. Lastly, I present my conclusion where I connect my findings and offer implications for further research.

Chapter One: The Literature

This literature review offers an overview of the scholarly literature on race at predominantly white institutions. I outline the history of racial exclusion at many colleges and universities in the United States as well as the gaps in achievement and access to higher education between students of color and white students. Next, I summarize and define Critical Race Theory, Critical Whiteness Studies and white privilege to contextualize the role of whiteness in the scholarly conversation around race. From this foundation, I define and delineate between, racism, a systematic structure that privileges certain racial groups at the expense of others, and color-blind racism, a set of beliefs that relies on denying the existence of racism, thus insidiously upholding and perpetuating racist structures. Next, I outline cultures of whiteness and white habitus before exploring the literature on people of color's experiences at predominantly white institutions, which, scholars argue, are often impacted by the exclusive nature of white habitus. In comparison, I examine the scholarship on white students' perceptions of whiteness and color-blind racism at predominantly white institutions. I then sketch scholars' suggestions for racism reduction through education and increased institutional diversity and integration. Lastly, I explore the intersection of race, class and gender at predominantly white institutions. This literature review offers a summary of the contemporary climate of race at predominantly white institutions, and suggests that more research needs to be done on white students and their perceptions of whiteness in an effort to adequately address the needs of white students and students of color.

Within the academic community there is extensive literature on college/ university students and their experiences with race, racial integration and racial

interaction on college campuses. Much of this literature explores black students' academic and social experiences at predominantly white institutions (Carson 2009; Deidre and Wade 2007; Guiffida and Douthit 2010; Jaret and Reitzes 2009; McCabe 2009; Reitzes and Jaret 2007; Schofield et al. 2010; Smith 2013; Tatum 1997; Torres 2009, Willie 2003) or white students' perspectives on white privilege, their racial whiteness and their attitudes about racial minorities (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Brunnsma, Brown and Placier 2012; Cabrera 2012; Dinh 2008; Donovan 2011; Fisher 2011; Ford 2012; Foster 2009; Poteat and Spanierman 2012). White privilege is explored extensively, with Bonilla-Silva (2010), McIntosh (2013) and Wise (2010) focusing on whiteness's unearned advantage and the way it is perceived as "raceless." Brunnsma et al. (2012), Cawthra (2013), Guiffida and Douthit (2010) and the U.S Department of Education (2012) explore historic and current campus culture, providing evidence for the legacy of racial inequities today by illuminating the discrepancies in access to, and attainment of, higher education.

Critical Whiteness Studies and Critical Race Theory frame whiteness, racial inequity, and racism as socio-historical processes and are used to explore topics pertaining to race (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Cabrera 2012; Poteat and Spanierman 2012). These lenses allow scholars to use colleges' white habitus and historical whiteness to explicate the cultures of whiteness at predominantly white institutions (Willie 2003). This same lens is used to understand and deconstruct white students' perceptions of their whiteness (awareness vs. ignorance), and color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Poteat and Spanierman 2010).

A smaller section of the literature explores the challenges Latino/a and Asian students face at predominantly white institutions because of cultures of whiteness (Cerezo et al 2013; Dinh 2008; McCabe 2009). However, most of the literature focuses on black students' experiences of intense isolation, exhaustion, and anxiety at predominantly white institutions (Deidre and Wade 2007; Guiffrida and Douthit 2010). Scholars propose that multicultural centers and academic supports help to alleviate students of color's challenges on white centric campuses (Harper 2009; Jaret and Reitzes 2009).

Some of the literature examines intersections between race, class and gender (Costello 2005; Jack 2009; Rheinschmidt and Mendoza-Denton 2014; Sanders and Mahalingham 2012; Schoefield et al. 2010), proposing that class, gender and race are often linked in the experiences they afford students at predominantly white institutions. Across these intersections is an underlying narrative about white privilege, racism and classism and the role they play in facilitating both the attitudes and experiences of white students' and students of color.

Finally, I want to note that because most of the scholarly research focuses on black and Latino/a students, I generally refer to black and Latino/a students in my literature review when I use the term "people of color," unless I explicitly state otherwise. Asian American students occupy a slightly different space and conversation in higher education because of their delineation as the "model minority" (Wing 2007). Moreover, compared to black and Hispanic students they do not have as difficult a time accessing higher education and graduate at much higher rates (Kao and Thompson 2003; U.S Department of Education 2012).

The Context of Race on College Campuses

Historically, many colleges and universities in the United States only accepted and educated white men. Brusma et al. (2012) propose that this foundational whiteness began with Harvard University, the first university in the United States. Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, colleges and universities were required to open their doors to people of all races and ethnicities (Cawthra 2013). Yet, 50 years later, despite increased access to higher education for all racial and ethnic groups, racial inclusion and integration still remains a significant issue for predominantly white colleges across the United States (Guiffrida and Douthit 2010). Kao and Thompson (2003: 417) sum up the current state of higher education and educational achievement in the United States:

Racial and ethnic gaps in educational achievement and attainment have narrowed over the past three decades by every measure available to social scientists. Educational aspirations are universally high for all racial and ethnic groups as most adolescents expect to go to college. However, substantial gaps remain, especially between less advantaged groups such as African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans and more advantaged groups such as whites and Asian Americans. The racial and ethnic hierarchy in education achievement is apparent across varying measures of the academic experience.

Despite interventions and policy, higher education is less accessible for black and Latino/a students, contributing to predominantly white student bodies at some elite institutions.

In 2012, the U.S Department of Education (2012) released a brief outlining the gaps in educational outcomes along racial lines. The report found that white and Asian students graduate high school, enroll in college, and graduate from college at higher rates than their black and Hispanic peers. However, white and black ninth graders reported aspirations for higher education at comparable rates (U.S Department of Education

2012). Despite universally high aspirations, only 43 percent of students (ages 18-24 years) who graduated from high school were enrolled in a college or graduate school. By race, 47 percent of white high school graduates, 37 percent of black high school graduates, and 31 percent of Hispanic high school graduates were enrolled in college in 2010 (U.S Department of Education 2012: 163), though white and black students applied to college at comparable rates. The U.S Department of Education's (2012:150-151) data suggests that this gap may be fueled by concerns about the fiscal viability of college: 30 percent of white women named a low-expense college as important to their post-secondary plans, while 54 percent of black women identified college cost as a major consideration. Moreover, accessing financial aid was a concern for only 57 percent of white women, but 80 percent of black women. Financing college may prevent high school graduates, especially black and Hispanic students, from pursuing higher education.

Kao and Thompson (2003) suggest that varying SAT and ACT test scores, high school grades and tracking may also hinder access to higher education. Asian and white students outperform black and Hispanic students on both the SAT and ACT and have higher high school GPAs (Kao and Thompson 2003). Tracking is also a serious concern: "Research shows that low-income and minority students participate at higher rates in vocational curricula and at lower rates in academic curricula than do affluent and white students" (Kao and Thompson 2003:423). Students of color must combat these factors in an effort to successfully apply to, and be accepted by, colleges and universities. These academic obstacles prevent many students of color from attending, or excelling in high education.

On college campuses black, Hispanic and Asian students are in the minority, but their attendance at institutions of higher education generally mirrors that of their races' representation in the United States. According to the U.S Department of Education (2014) in 2011, 61 percent of students enrolled in colleges or universities in the United States were white, 14 percent were Hispanic, and 15 percent were black. The 2010 U.S Census reports that the United States' racial makeup is as follows: 72.4 percent white, 12.6 percent black and 12.5 percent of the population identifies as Hispanic (Humes, Jones and Ramirez 2011). Although black and Hispanic students attend colleges/ universities in proportion to their representation in the general population, inequity in access and graduation still persists.

Education inequity along racial lines is made clear by students' attendance at certain colleges and 6-year degree completion rates at 4-year colleges/ universities. White students attend moderately and highly selective colleges at a higher (+ about 23 percentage points) rate than their black peers (U.S Department of Education 2012:170). White students also participate in college sports at higher rates than their black and Hispanic peers and, overall, appear to be more involved and integrated into campus life and activity. However, graduation rates exemplify education inequity most profoundly. After 6 years at a 4-year institution, 62 percent of white students graduated compared to only 39 percent of their black peers and 50 percent of their Hispanic peers (U.S Department of Education 2012:206). In 2010 around 39 percent of 25 -34 years olds had received a bachelors degree, but only half as many young black adults, and only a third as many Hispanic young adults had college degrees when compared to their white peers (U.S Department of Education 2012:215).

The data presented is strong evidence that race plays a role in predicting an individual's access to colleges and universities and their ability to obtain a degree. The literature I go on to present indicates that these discrepancies in access and attainment are connected to cultures of whiteness and social structures that perpetuate racial inequity on college campuses, privileging whiteness at the expense of non-whites.

Critical Race Theory, Critical Whiteness Studies and White Privilege

Critical Race Theory and Critical Whiteness Studies are particularly useful for analyzing race (Babbie 2007; Bonilla-Silva 2010, Brunσμα et al. 2012; Cabrera 2012; Cerezo et al. 2013; McCabe 2009; Poteat and Spanierman 2012). Critical Race Theory “examines the disadvantaged positions of social groups and offers a different vantage point through which to view society” (Babbie 2007: 57). Poteat and Spanierman (2012) expand on this definition by proposing that Critical Race Theory concerns the “centrality and intersectionality of race and racism, the challenge to dominant ideology, the commitment to social justice, the centrality of experiential knowledge [and] the interdisciplinary perspective” (35). Delgado and Stefancic (2012) explain the function and purpose of Critical Race Theory through three major tenants. First, racism is ordinary. Second, white people are rewarded for not challenging existing structures of racial inequity. Third, race is a social construction with tangible consequences.

Critical Whiteness Studies, a field that emerged in the late 1980's, specifically focuses on whiteness and its role in perpetuating and constructing racist structures. It is defined as “a growing body of work intending to reveal the frequently invisible social structures that continually recreate white supremacy and privilege” (Poteat and

Spanierman 2012: 34). Generally, whiteness studies focus explicitly on exposing and studying whiteness and its implications. Bernardi and Green (2014:np) state that,

Evolving in part from the writing of such key intellectuals as Franz Fanon and Edward Said, whiteness studies began to focus on three areas: 1) whiteness as race, 2) race outside of “nature” and thus in the context of social history, 3) the applicability of critical paradigms used to investigate questions of whiteness... Scholars have worked to illuminate the historical formation of meaning and attendant practices situated as being “invented” by early American Anglo-Saxon elites as a way of controlling labor, faith, and privilege, and maintaining power and privilege for those that pass as white.

This field is foundational in facilitating a better understanding of whiteness, white privilege and the historical relevancy of race and whiteness by defining and exploring whiteness and its origins. This lens clarifies racism’s structural nature and whiteness’s culpability in perpetuating these structures.

Within the literature on whiteness I focus on white privilege, cultures of whiteness and colorblind racism. Critical Whiteness Studies creates a foundation that allows scholars to analyze and explain white privilege. White privilege is the unearned benefit and power people derive from simply having, or appearing to have, white skin in a society where whiteness is privileged and supported (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Brunnsma et al. 2012; Poteat and Spanierman 2012; Smith 2013; Soles 2011; Stewart et al. 2012; Tatum 1997). Peggy McIntosh (2013), a white woman, famously explores this phenomenon in her essay “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack” by outlining the many things she can expect from, and do in, society that would be more challenging if she was a person of color. McIntosh (2013:121) states: “I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was ‘meant’ to remain oblivious.” The invisible nature of

white privilege is echoed throughout the literature, demonstrating how challenging it can be for certain people to understand that whiteness carries privilege.

In *Dear White America*, Tim Wise (2012: 12) argues that, “whiteness is a social and institutional force -- a social category created for the purpose of enshrining a racially divided polity.” Wise (2012) clearly employs a view forwarded by Critical Race Theory and Critical Whiteness Studies to examine the social ramifications whiteness has for both white people and people of color. Bonilla-Silva (2010:112) further emphasizes whiteness’ invisibility when he proposes that many white people do not think about their race, or ignore the privileges it gives them. Bonilla-Silva (2010) draws on his analysis of qualitative interview data to outline many white peoples’ views on race and racism in the United States. He uses Sue, a white woman, to exemplify the indifference some white people demonstrate towards racial discrimination and racism in the United States: “Sue, like most whites, ignored the effects of past and contemporary discrimination on the social, economic and educational status of minorities” (Bonilla-Silva 2010: 31). Sue’s whiteness enables her to be apathetic about inequities that work to uphold her contemporary status and privilege. In short, her whiteness makes it more challenging for her to see inequity at work because she does not directly experience explicit or implicit racism. Moreover, to acknowledge this structure would challenge her privilege, incentivizing ignorance.

In contrast to whiteness’s socio-cultural invisibility, Bonilla-Silva (2010: 2) proposes that people of color are hyper-visible, and suffer legal and social consequences as a result of their racial visibility. He uses criminal persecution and the U.S Justice System to clarify their visibility:

Blacks and dark skinned Latinos are the targets of racial profiling by the police, that, combined with the highly racialized criminal court system, guarantees their overrepresentation among those arrested, prosecuted, incarcerated, and if charged for a crime, executed. Racial profiling on the highways has become such a prevalent phenomenon that a term has emerged to describe it: driving while black.

People of color are disproportionality represented in the criminal justice system in part because they are more visible and more negatively stereotyped than white people.

Brunsmas et al. (2012: 729) support Bonilla-Silva's argument, claiming that black, Latino and Asian people are seen as "raced" while white people are perceived to be colorless or race-less. White privilege is especially powerful because it is rooted in understandings of racialized visibility and invisibility, allowing power structures to remain untouched.

Racism and Color-Blind Racism

It is challenging to adequately understand the complex social structures surrounding race in undergraduate institutions without discussing and defining racism. A standard dictionary definition of racism, which I and many other scholars believe is overly simplistic, is "the belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a different race" (Merriam-Webster 2014). In the context of much of the literature I explore here, racism is understood to be more complex and nuanced. It is a systematic social structure, rather than just an individually-held belief, that privileges certain races at the expense of others, upholding racial hierarchies. Bonilla-Silva (2010: 9), a leading scholar on racism, elaborates:

Racialized social systems, or white supremacy for short, became global and affected all societies where Europeans extended their reach. I therefore conceive a society's racial structure as *the totality of social relations and practices that reinforce white privilege*. Accordingly the task of an analyst interested in studying racial structures is to uncover the

particular social, economic, political, social control and ideological mechanisms responsible for the reproduction of racial privilege in society.

This conceptualization of racism and racist systems, allows for racism to exist without individuals doing, thinking or believing overtly racist things. Instead, it becomes clear that both historical inequity and apathy about contemporary racial issues perpetuate racial privilege as a form of racism. Thus, because racism is based not only on actions, but also on internalized thoughts and practices, it is important to consider the role perceptions of others plays in creating crafting and perpetuating racism in the United States. Although Bonilla-Silva (2010) firmly defines racism as structural, he does acknowledge the ways in which white people interpret racial structures plays a part in perpetuating racism.

Colorblind racism upholds contemporary manifestations of racism. While racism is thought of as more explicit, color-blind racism upholds racists structures and hierarchies by claiming that race and racism do not exist. Bonilla-Silva (2010), in his widely influential work, defines colorblind racism (CBR) as racism that exists because people claim they do not see race, thereby perpetuating white privilege. I will define and examine this concept more thoroughly later in this chapter, in a section reviewing the literature on “People of Color at Predominantly White Institutions” and “White Students’ Perceptions of Whiteness and Color-Blind Racism.”

Cultures of Whiteness

Much of the literature about higher education and race uses white privilege to explore the cultural dynamics of whiteness on college campuses (Brunsma et al. 2012; Cabrera 2012; Davis et al. 2004; Donovan 2011; McCabe 2009; Poteat and Spanierman 2012; Smith et al. 2013; Willie 2013). These cultures of whiteness are often linked to historical practices of racial exclusion and discrimination on both socio-cultural and

institutional levels. Brunnsma et al. (2012) and Cabrera (2012) propose that remnants of white supremacy entrench white institutions' structures because of their historic exclusion. Willie (2003: xi) explains more succinctly: "the racial hegemony of most white colleges was not accidental. Like historically black colleges, they had a historical mission, if usually informal, to educate white people." Even though the universities may not be overtly racist now, and do not openly harbor white supremacists, the structures of racism that built them still linger. It is important to consider the way legacies of white supremacy are related to contemporary manifestations of white privilege. McCabe (2009: 136) suggests that inclusion and exclusion are influenced by the "historical legacy of [the] inclusion and exclusion of racial groups" both on and off college campuses. Bates College serves as somewhat of a counter example to McCabe's (2009) claim because, as I discuss in more detail in my methods section, Bates did not historically exclude people of color, nor did it only educate white men. However, despite its progressive founding principles, Bates very much exists as a predominantly white institution today.

White habitus plays a crucial role in facilitating cultures of whiteness at predominantly white universities. Bonilla-Silva (2010:104) explains that white habitus and cultures of whiteness are extremely intertwined:

I explore how whites' high levels of social and spatial segregation and isolation from minorities create what I label as a "white *habitus*," a racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that *conditions* and *creates* whites' racial tastes, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters.

When white students (who have been predominantly socialized around and exposed to other white people) enter college they carry a culture, or "habitus," of whiteness with

them. Brunnsma et al. (2012: 722), citing some of Bonilla-Silva's earlier work, expand further:

The 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1997) is a useful concept for explaining the connections between the construction of white spaces and white cognition. It is a complex concept, but in its simplest usage can be understood as a set of acquired patterns of thought, behavior, and taste...Whites have a white habitus.

White habitus shapes the predominant culture on white campuses. Thus, these campuses have cultures that privilege and understand whiteness, at the expense of students of color. The "cultural" and racial whiteness of predominantly white campuses, both currently and historically, influences students' college experiences. Willie (2002: 7) observed,

That predominantly white colleges, especially those that are elite- need to examine the ways in which their admission policies, assumptions held by faculty and administrative staff, and campus cultures retain vestiges of exclusive social clubs and continue to perpetuate institutional racism.

People of Color at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities

Cultures of whiteness are not benign because they negatively impact students of colors' experiences and success at college and university (Brunnsma et al. 2012; Davis et al. 2004; Deidre and Wade 2007; McCabe 2009; Poteat and Spanierman 2012; Reitzes and Charles 2007; Smith 2013; Stewart et al. 2012). In his discussion of a "distinguished liberal arts college in the Northeast" (Steele 2010: 24), Steele (2010: 25) underlines black students' negative experiences with white habitus on their campus:

Campus culture—its ideas of who and what were "cool," its prevailing values, social norms, preferences, modes of dress, images of beauty, musical preferences, modes of religious expression, and the like—was dominated by whites, the most numerous group on campus and the group most historically identified with the school. Against this backdrop, black students worried about belonging, about whether they could find a valued place in campus life.

Predominantly white campuses facilitate cultures that are molded around whites' preferences and norms and are deeply rooted in history that privileges and normalizes whiteness.

Color-blind racism has salient consequences for people of color. Poteat and Spanierman (2012) posit that subtle forms of racism explain why many students of color feel uncomfortable at predominantly white universities. Tatum (1997: 78) elaborates: "white students and faculty frequently underestimate the power and presence of the overt and covert manifestations of racism on campus, and students of color often come to predominantly white campuses expecting more civility than they find." These subtle forms of racism leave many students of color feeling isolated and out of place (Bonilla-Silva 2010; McCabe 2009; Mitzi et al 2004; Smith and Moore 2000; Torres 2009). Carson (2009) found that many of the racial tensions and conflicts that exist at predominantly white institutions could be traced to a dissonance between the whiteness of campus culture and non-white students' cultural and racial backgrounds.

Even on campuses that work to combat color-blind racism, students of color, most specifically black students, have more challenging experiences than their white peers (Banks et al. 2014; Brunsma et al. 2012; Cabrera 2012; Carson 2009; Cerezo et al. 2013; Davis et al. 2004; Deidre and Wade 2007; Dinh 2008). In her study of black students at predominantly white institutions, Willie (2003:47) found that:

The problems that black students faced on predominantly white college campuses in the post-Civil rights movement era were usually not experiences of explicit racism. Rather, they faced racial insensitivity and racial ignorance on a daily basis...it was exhausting just to digest such experiences.

These subtle forms of racism, often stemming from cultural whiteness and ignorance, make many black students uncomfortable. Ray (2012) claims that black students feel more visible on predominantly white campuses than their white peers and are often asked to represent their entire racial group. Moreover, Harper (2006), McCabe (2009) and Reitz and Jaret (2007) found that many black students felt that they faced harsher repercussion for their actions than white students did. Students of color reported frequently encountering micro-aggressions, racial jokes and other subtle acts designed to exclude or put down. Micro-aggressions are especially harmful because they “exact a toll on the recipient’s psyche” (McCabe 2009:135). Black students’ challenges also extend to the classroom. Black students who graduate from predominantly white colleges have, on average, lower GPAs than their white classmates and have a more difficult time connecting with white faculty members (Guiffrida and Douthit 2010).

However, black students have found ways to cope on predominantly white campuses by forging close relationships with other students of color and finding spaces away from the dominant white culture. Carson (2009), Cerezo et al. (2013), Guiffrida and Douthit (2010) and McCabe (2009) propose that mentors and cultural centers can make students of color’s experiences smoother and less alienating. A space separate from the predominantly white institution’s cultural whiteness allows black students to decompress (Carson 2009; Cerezo et al. 2013; Guiffrida and Douthit 2010; McCabe 2009; Tatum 1997). Guiffrida and Douthit (2010) propose that involvement in a black student organization or cultural center helps students adjust to life at a predominantly white institution. Willie (2003) suggests that for many students of color this “segregation” is not based on personal choice, but necessity. Ford (2012), Harper (2006) and Smith and

Moore (2000) found that these centers allowed students to pursue social relationships with other black students, and helped them to be more successful in school. However, Willie (2003) notes that they also worked to isolate some students of color from their white peers.

White Students' Perceptions of Whiteness and Color-Blind Racism

Now that I have established that students of color have more challenging experiences than their white peers, I turn to the literature on white students' experiences of whiteness. Two possibilities emerge when looking at white students' relationships to, and understandings of, their whiteness and racial privilege: one, they are generally unaware of their white privilege and deny this privilege (using colorblind racial ideology); or two, they understand the extent of their white privilege, which often results in feelings of guilt or, conversely, agency.

I start by examining the first theme: apathy and ignorance (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Brunnsma et al. 2012; Cabrera 2012; Poteat and Spanierman 2012). Frequently, white students are unaware that social structures exist that benefit whiteness. Brunnsma et al. (2012:718) implicate universities, and, more broadly, society in fostering this ignorance arguing that, "white students enter historically white college and universities (HWCU) surrounded by invisible walls that protect them from attacks on white supremacy." Outside of the university, many social and cultural spaces that white people move through are protected by "walls of whiteness:" their friends are white, their culture is white and their racial spaces are white (Brunnsma et al 2012: 721-722). Students who work to minimize their white privilege often claim color-blindness or use elements of

color-blind racism to explain their privileged place in society (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Cabrera 2012; Fisher 2012; Stewart et al. 2012).

Color-blind racism is especially insidious because it is harder to identify than past forms of overt racism. Today, white supremacist groups are less active and most young people espouse more liberal and open-minded views than their parents or grandparents. However, as Poteat and Spanierman (2012) and Bonilla-Silva (2010) demonstrate, racism, although less violently explicit, still exists. Color blind-racism leads to subtler, but equally harmful, forms of racism (Bonilla-Silva 2010). Poteat and Spanierman (2012) echo Bonilla Silva's (2010) research stating that the "color-blind racial ideology...[is the] denial, distortion or minimization of racism" (759), which leaves current power structures untouched. The literature emphasizes that the minimization and denial of racism is especially dangerous because it makes it more difficult to directly challenge racism's existence.

Color-blind racism allows white students to minimize the amount of racism that occurs around them, protecting their privilege. In his research, Bonilla-Silva (2010:26) identifies four frames of color-blind racism: "abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism and minimization of racism." Abstract liberalism uses liberal ideology regarding equal opportunity and free choice to explain existing inequities; naturalization minimizes racism and racial inequity by allowing people to claim that it occurs "naturally" through individuals' personal choice; cultural racism places the responsibility of existing inequities on individuals' choices and cultures rather than structural and historic inequity; the minimization of racism is based on the principle that racism does not really exist or impact people. Both Bonilla-Silva (2010) and Poteat and Spanierman (2012) propose that

many white students create narratives to explain why they do not benefit from white privilege, contributing to a culture that privileges whiteness.

White students use color-blind racism to shield and protect their white privilege. Cabrera (2012:44) found that white students used “individualized definitions of racism... minimization of racism... and white victimization/ minority privilege” to refute their privilege. Some white students debate the merits of affirmative action claiming that it is discriminatory against whites (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Brunsma et al. 2012; Cabrera et al. 2012; Tatum 2010). White students also diffuse their privilege by claiming that cultural values or deficits led to other races’ lack of success, rather than historical and contemporary inequity (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Cabrera et al. 2012; Foster 2009). Others propose that non-whites have really “made it,” using the number of people of color in the media and President Barack Obama as proof that racism is no longer a salient issue in the United States (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Brunsma et al. 2012:720). Foster (2009: 685) found that white students use “race talk” and “acknowledge racial difference only in contexts in which it favors whites” to deny their privilege. Cabrera et al. (2012) and Foster (2009) suggest that many white people deny that they can be racist if it is unintentional. Thus, they negate the existence of the structural racism they participate in. As a result, stereotypes, even those that are unintentional, contribute to a culture of racial hostility and exclusion. It is clear that a lack of racial awareness, internalized biases, and structural racism create a culture that can exclude and alienate students of color.

However, there are white students who acknowledge that both their privilege and racism are part of greater social structures (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Cabrera 2012). In many cases, these students initially feel guilty because of the oppressive policies and social

orders white people have implemented and participated in (Stewart et al. 2012; Tatum 1997). Yet, scholars have found that once this guilt is addressed, students are able to embrace their whiteness with positivity and work to combat racism. Stewart et al. (2012) found that “racial attitudes...improved as a function of white participants believing that they could be effective in combating a particular manifestation of racial inequity” (22). Developing an awareness of whiteness and its privilege allows white people to create a more positive white identity and develop less biased attitudes towards people of other races (Banks 2014; Ford 2012; Fisher 2011; Tatum 1997). Stewart et al. (2012) argue that, “heightening white American college students’ awareness of the ways in which they benefit from such societal advantages, and that African American students are harmed by their lack of social privileges, resulted in participants holding more positive attitudes towards African Americans” (22). Awareness can decrease implicit and explicit racism.

Reducing Racism Through Education and Diversity

Poteat and Spanierman (2012), Brunsma et al. (2012) and Cabrera (2012) argue that despite educational interventions white students still behave in racist ways. Yet, not all scholars agree. As I have outlined, Critical Whiteness Studies, a “growing body of work intending to reveal the frequently invisible social structures that continually recreate white supremacy and privilege,” has emerged, in part, as an attempt to educate students about whiteness (Cabrera 2012:34). The scholars emphasize the importance of teaching students about white privilege in an effort to raise awareness about existing power structures and work to change students’ racial attitudes (Cabrera 2012, Stewart et al. 2012). Ford (2012) and Soules (2011) found that courses about white privilege can increase student awareness, which allows them to work against structural racism. Without

them, many students continue to carry their implicit biases and unknown privilege with them (Brunsma et al. 2012; Foster 2009; Tatum 1997). Banks et al (2014: 232) succinctly summarizes why this kind of education and intervention is so important: “research suggests that whites who are more aware of privilege are more willing to support policies that lessen racial inequities.” The literature argues that by increasing education students will be better equipped to actively fight racism. While awareness is certainly better than ignorance, the literature does not propose that it eliminates structural inequity.

Greater campus diversity can help to minimize racial bias. Fisher (2011), Smith et al. (2000) and Schofield (2010) contend that the most important indicator of a change in racial attitude and a decrease in bias is students’ exposure to, and friendships with, people of other races. However, these friendships can be challenging to cultivate. White students are often distant from black students because they lack racial awareness, perpetuating a cycle of segregation and unintentional racism (Smith and Moore 2000). It is important to focus on increasing diversity and meaningful interracial integration, as the literature suggests that students with close interracial friends or romantic partners are less racially biased (Dihn 2008; Fisher 2011). Interracial friendships are also positive for students of color. Deidre and Wade (2007) establish that racialized friendships and socialization increase academic success for black students. It is clear that integration and meaningful inter-racial friendships and relationships are important elements of anti-racism efforts on college campuses.

Despite the impact of inter-racial friendships and education on the micro level, they do not eliminate the social structures that perpetuate racism. Steele (2010: 213) applauds racial progress in the United States, but warns there is still a long journey ahead:

Our racial attitudes are indeed improving. Surveys show we oppose interracial marriage less; whites report being more comfortable working for a black boss; more Americans would be happy living next door to a person of a different race; and there is the election of an African American president. But it is contingencies in our lives, not racial attitudes alone, that count. And just because these contingencies are increasingly social psychological doesn't mean they're gone.

Racism may be less visible, but it is still present and has serious social, cultural, political and economic implications.

The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender at Predominantly White Institutions

While often thought of in isolation, class, race and gender intersect to shape students' experiences and culture at predominantly white institutions. Privilege extends across class, race and gendered lines impacting student's experiences in ways that are difficult to disentangle. The literature suggests that women, students of color, and students of low socioeconomic status often experience marginalization in higher education (Costello 2005; Jack 2014; Rheinschmit and Mendoza-Denton 2014). Moreover, the intersection of these traits serves to doubly disadvantage certain students.

Class privilege, much like white privilege, has a significant impact on undergraduates' experiences at colleges and universities (Costello 2005; Jack 2014; Sanders and Mahalingham 2012). Jack (2014:453) proposes that "existing research shows...that disadvantaged undergraduates' low stock of capital... hamper their ability to integrate into, and successfully navigate, their universities." Thus, much like whiteness, higher socioeconomic status facilitates an easier experience.

Class and race are often discussed interchangeably on university campuses, linking students of color with lower income levels. Sanders and Mahalingham (2012:120-121) argue that, "class issues are embedded in racialized language, both by the students

themselves and by the media at large. Often class issues, such as low-income housing, lack of healthcare or welfare, are more strongly associated with low-income minorities than low income whites.” At many predominantly white institutions, students of color (especially Hispanic and Black students) are less affluent than their white peers. However, regardless of their background, Jack (2014:469) proposes that, “black undergraduates...still face racism and discrimination when they arrive on campus.”

Much like cultures of whiteness, which marginalize non-white students, cultures of class work to marginalize those without money and access to the language of wealth and affluence. Torres (2009: 888) argues that, “social class differences push black students further to the margins of campus life, particularly at schools that have traditionally catered to affluent students.” Not surprisingly, as low-income students experience socioeconomic marginalization, they are better equipped to understand students of color’s experiences (Sanders and Mahalingham 2012). Sanders and Mahalingham (2012:115) found that: “many low income students begin to feel marginalized as the differences between them and better off students become more and more obvious.” Both black and low-income students may have similar experiences of rejection at college, with many students of color being doubly impacted (Rheinschmit and Mendoza-Denton 2014).

Just as lower socioeconomic status and race impact student experience, gender’s intersection with race influences both men and women on predominantly white campuses. For both white women and women of color the classroom and the campus can be a more hostile space (Costello 2005; McCabe 2009). In a study on graduate schools, Costello (2005:210) proposes, “students...were sent messages through their professors’

dress that conveyed it was easiest to be a white male.” However, as this example makes clear, women of color face two disadvantages: their gender and their race. Outside of the classroom gender and race intersect to make women of color more uncomfortable. Many women of color report feeling overly sexualized because of their race. While women, regardless of race, class or ethnicity, report unwanted sexual attention, race and gender intersect to create an environment that is doubly hostile for women of color.

In stark contrast with white male privilege, the literature suggests that black men are hyper-aware of the way their gender and race intersect to make others feel uncomfortable (McCabe 2009). In a personal anecdote, Steele (2010:6) underscores many black men’s experiences:

I became an expert in the language of fear. Couples locked arms or reached for each others hands when they saw me... I’d been walking down the streets grinning good evening at people who were frightened to death of me. I did violence to them just by being.

Often, black men are made to feel hyper-conscious of both their maleness and their blackness because of stereotypes that cast black men as violent. Moreover, black men are especially visible on predominantly white campuses.

While gender often intersects to negatively impact students of color, the literature suggests that gender can positively influence white students’ racial attitudes and understandings of white privilege. Just as students from lower-socioeconomic positions are better equipped to understand the experiences of students of color, both Banks et al. (2014) and McIntosh (2013) argue that by becoming more aware of their subordinate characteristics (like discussing feminism or female liberation), white women are able to better understand their racial privilege. Bonilla-Silva (2010:134) supports this argument in an interview with a young, white, woman who states that, “maybe its hard to see what

these people go through their whole life and, I mean—me too, being female, what you go through, just the slightest discrimination here and there, like this common slur, you just don't understand that.” Because of their more marginalized position, women are better equipped to understand the experiences of other oppressed groups and, as a result, the impact of their white privilege.

Implications for Further Research

The literature shows that racial inequity exists and is pervasive at institutions of higher education. Moreover, scholars propose that colorblind racism plays a huge role in perpetuating this inequity. However, research has largely focused on black and Latino students' experiences on predominantly white campuses, with fewer scholars writing about white students' perspectives on, and attitudes about, race at predominantly white institutions. Furthermore, scholars have largely ignored predominantly white, but historically inclusive, institutions in their research. Further research needs to be done to determine the way in which white students at predominantly white, but historically inclusive, institutions think about and engage with white privilege in an effort to determine how these institutions can better address and mitigate the cultures of whiteness and racial apathy that the literature shows permeates their campuses, alienating students of color. I address part of this gap with this thesis. While Bates College is a predominantly white institution it was not historically white, which allows me to study white students' perspectives on race at a college that has always admitted students of color and considers itself more progressive. Until further research is done on the way white students think about race and white privilege at predominantly white institutions, these institutions cannot work to challenge their students' views in an effort to make their

campuses cultures more inclusive and welcoming to all. Institutions of higher education are charged with producing the next generation of leaders; this task is significantly more challenging if they are unable to produce a diverse and racially aware group of students that are willing and able to challenge contemporary inequity.

Chapter Two: Measuring Awareness

In this chapter I am primarily concerned with examining Bates College as a predominantly white institution and justifying the research instruments and methods I use in this thesis. I explore and answer the question “Why Bates?” before outlining my survey instruments, concepts and measures, qualitative data, ethical considerations and subjectivity.

An Overview of Bates College

Bates College is a small, elite, residential, liberal arts college nestled along the Androscoggin River in Lewiston, Maine. It attracts students from across the United States and around the world. In 2014, Bates College was ranked number 19 on U.S News and World Reports’ list of top liberal arts colleges (U.S News and World Reports 2014). Bates is a highly selective college; in the 2013-2014 admissions cycle, only 24.2 percent of applicants were admitted. Most accepted students were enrolled in honors and advanced placement courses, had exceptional secondary school records and graduated in the top fifth of their class (Bates College Office of Institutional Research and Planning 2014). Enrollment fluctuates around 1,700 with men and women represented equally on campus (Bates College Office of Institutional Research and Planning 2014). In 2014, 20.5 percent of the student body identified as a historically underrepresented minority. The tuition for the 2014 to 2015 year is \$60,720, making Bates one of the most expensive colleges in the country (Bates College 2014). Forty-seven percent of students receive some type of financial aid and twelve percent receive Pell Grants (Bates College Office of Institutional Research and Planning 2014).

There are numerous extracurricular activities and opportunities at Bates. The college hosts over 100 student organizations, ranging from the Outing Club to the Bates Authors' Guild. The college also makes an effort to facilitate a positive experience for students of color: there are 13 student clubs (part of an organization called MOSAIC) that are designed to "support students' initiatives while focusing on the critical issues of intercultural understanding and respect" (Bates College 2014). The College also created the Office of Intercultural Education (the OIE), an office focused on serving traditionally underrepresented students at Bates. The OIE's mission is stated as follows:

We endeavor to increase intercultural competence through ongoing dialog and academic engagement. The OIE also aims to bolster students' intellectual growth and personal development by providing access to resources; space for meetings, quiet study and reflection, and opportunities to celebrate the richness of our differences (Bates College Office of Intercultural Education 2014).

Many students are also involved in physical and athletic activities: the College is a member of the New England Small College Athletic Conference (NESCAC) and thirty-five percent of the student body plays a varsity sport (Bates College 2014). Bates students have a wide range of interests and many opportunities to pursue them.

Why Bates? A Unique Predominantly White Institution

Through similar in many ways, Bates College is set apart from its peer institutions (generally, other small, elite, New England, liberal arts colleges) and other predominantly white institutions because of its unique history. As an institution, Bates is fiercely proud of its egalitarian legacy. The Bates College (2014) "About Bates" webpage heralds that, "Since its founding in 1855 by Maine abolitionists, Bates College has welcomed men and women from diverse racial, ethnic, religious and economic backgrounds" (Bates College 2014). Furthermore, Bates stresses the role it played in educating Benjamin E. Mays '20,

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s most influential mentor, tying itself to the civil rights movement. Although it is certain Bates opened its doors to all students regardless of race or gender, how welcomed and supported they felt as members of the college is disputed. In his history honors thesis, Larson (2005) acknowledges that while Bates was the first college in New England to accept women, neither the administration nor the male students were especially supportive of them. The first female student, Mary Mitchell, graduated 14 years after the college was founded. She recalled her experience to be slightly isolating, demonstrating that Bates' open doors were not synonymous with complete integration and acceptance. Henry Chandler, the first African American graduate, received his degree in 1874 and by 1877, 9 "colored students" were enrolled (Larson 2005). Like the women, many of these African American students also reported their experiences at Bates to be enriching but socially exhausting.

The majority of the Bates student body has always been white, yet unlike other predominantly white institutions Bates' whiteness is not bolstered by historically discriminatory policies and practices. In 2014, only 20 percent of the student body identified as part of a historically under-represented racial group: 6 percent identified as Hispanic, 5 percent identified as Asian, 5 percent identified as black, 4 percent identified as multiracial and 72 percent identified as white. International and students of unidentified racial origin make up the remaining 8 percent. Yet, compared to 1996, when only 9 percent of Bates students were students of color, Bates has become more diverse. It is clear that despite the college's egalitarian history, Bates has remained a predominantly white institution. None-the-less, the narrative surrounding Bates' legacy of acceptance remains prominent in the institutional psyche. I rarely hear white students

discuss the limited diversity here; instead, students (and the administration) discuss Bates' historic commitment to people of color as justification for considering Bates racially progressive. These narratives may change the way students think about and engage with conceptualizations of diversity and whiteness at Bates, making it an important locale to investigate. Throughout this thesis, I have considered the role Bates' historic narrative may play in shaping Bates students' perceptions of race and white privilege on campus. As a predominantly, but not historically white campus, Bates is uncharted territory in the study of predominantly white institutions.

Research Instrument

I used an electronic survey to collect my data in an effort to capture a broader picture of awareness about whiteness at Bates.¹ All of my questions, except for an optional comments box at the end of my survey, were close ended. I examined white students' racial awareness through both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the survey, using respondents' optional comments to expand upon my quantitative analysis. Including students' comments allowed me to "focus on human subjectivity and the meanings attached by participants to events and to their lives" (Chambliss and Schutt 2010:222), in addition to the broader trends presented by the quantitative data.

After examining the previous research on perceptions of race and privilege, I crafted 26-questions to measure students' awareness of white privilege at Bates College. I used the U.S Census (2010) to standardize my demographic questions/ independent variables and reviewed the "Privilege and Disadvantage Index" (McGown and Kern 2007), the "Privilege and Oppression Inventory (Adapted Version)" (Adam et al. 2014),

¹ Ragin and Amoroso (2011: 54) state that this goal is best achieved through a quantitative approach.

and Bonilla-Silva's Detroit Area Survey (1998) to generate ideas for the dependent variables included in my survey.

Data Collection

I administered the survey using Qualtrics, survey software available to Bates students and faculty, and transferred the results to SPSS, for quantitative data analysis, and NVivo, for qualitative data analysis. I conducted my survey as a self-administered multiple-choice questionnaire, which allowed me to reach a greater number of students because I did not have to personally interact with all of them, and administered it to the student body using an availability sample. I sent the survey out twice using the Bates College announce email system (separated by one week each), posted a link to the survey on my personal Facebook page and other relevant Bates College Facebook pages, and sent it to the coaches of all varsity male sports teams at Bates to increase my male response rate. Men at Bates College typically respond to surveys at lower rates than women, which was already apparent within the first week of my data collection.

Although I was primarily concerned with white students responses, my announce emails and Facebook posts did not specify white students as my chief focus.² The final value for surveys from students of all races was N= 338 (17 percent of the student body), with N= 263 for white students and N= 75 for students of color.

Quantitative: Concepts and Measures

My survey is broken into four thematically related sections. Section one, eleven questions, is demographic information; section two, four questions, perceptions of racial separation at Bates College; section three, ten questions, is perceptions of ease of life for

² The body of my announce email can be found in Appendix I.

white students versus students of color; and section four, the optional comment box. I present an overview of concepts and measure here, with the complete survey available in Appendix II.

Using the literature as a guide, I chose independent variables that were likely to impact awareness of whiteness and white privilege. Bonilla-Silva (2010) and Poteat and Spanierman (2012) emphasize that race, gender, social class (measured by income and parental education), hometown diversity (racial and socioeconomic), and interracial friendships (measured by proportion of friends and number of close friends of another race) may impact perceptions of whiteness, white privilege and racial awareness.³ Next, I created dependent variables to measure students' awareness of whiteness at Bates.⁴ I measured students' awareness of white privilege through 3 categories: social privilege, cultural privilege and academic privilege. I expand upon the explicit construction of my indices for measuring social privilege, cultural privilege and academic privilege in "Charting A Privileged Landscape." Finally, I ran a regression to determine demographic influence on awareness. I expand on this in "Predicting Racial Awareness."

Qualitative: Understanding Awareness

As previously mentioned, I included an optional comment box as part of my survey. I did not expect many responses, but 75 students, 52 of whom were white (70 percent), wrote thoughtful comments. As the focus of this thesis is white students' racial awareness I chose to primarily use white students' comments in my qualitative analysis, but I also briefly address students of color's comments . I thoroughly examined the white

³ Please see the demographics section for further elaboration

⁴ Although survey questions measure awareness of racial separation and white privilege, the scope of this thesis is concerned only with white privilege awareness.

students' comments to find common themes concerning racial awareness. This initial analysis produced three distinct groupings of awareness: the deniers, the racial minimizers, and the racially aware. Following the coding criteria laid out by Rubin and Rubin (2005), I developed these groups by examining themes in the literature that pertained to both racial awareness and apathy. Keeping these themes in mind as I coded the comments I began to notice patterns, which allowed me to recode sections of the data into more pertinent groupings of awareness. As a collective, these groups represent the range of white students racial awareness as well as the narratives they use to explain their awareness. I will discuss these groups further in "Thoughts on Whiteness."

Ethical Considerations

Before distributing my survey, I completed the Bates IRB flowchart (Bates College Institutional Review Board 2014) to ensure I had all necessary ethical safeguards in place:

1. "Does your project involve human participants and receive federal funding?"

My project does involve human participants, but does not receive federal funding.

2. "Are any of your participants minors (under 18 years of age)?"

My survey was directed at Bates students, most of who are 18 and older.

3. "Does the research present a mental and/or physical risk to your participants?"

My research does not pose a mental or physical risk. However, because discussing and thinking about race can be challenging and concerning for some students, I included my contact information and the contact information for the Office of Intercultural Education (OIE) at the end of the survey. I encouraged

student to reach out to me or to the OIE if they had any concerns or wanted to discuss their reactions to, or experiences with, race at Bates.

4. “Can you guarantee your participants either anonymity or confidentiality?”

My survey was completely anonymous and, should identifying information come to light, confidential.

5. “Is deception part of your research design?”

My survey was not designed to deceive. I made it clear that I was studying race at Bates College.

6. “Do your participants know they can withdraw at anytime with no penalty?”

Yes, there was no consequence for withdrawal.

Upon completion of the above referenced flow chart, I determined that my research met all of IRB’s requirements and therefore did not require formal review.

Generalizability and Subjectivity

There are limits to the generalizability of my research. Because I sent my survey through the Bates announce email system and posted it on Facebook, those who took it are a self-selecting population; some may have strong feelings about race at Bates, which could skew the results. It is also important to consider that students taking the survey may have chosen the “politically correct” answer, rather than express their actual views and experiences of race at Bates College. Moreover, there are limitations to the extent this research can be generalized because of the small sample size and potential sampling biases, which I consider more fully when I present sample demographics in the next section. Despite these limitations, the trends that appear in Bates’ student body may also be representative of the upper quartile of racial awareness that occurs in other small, elite,

predominantly white liberal arts colleges in the Northeast. However, it is important to note that regional variation may play a role in awareness and that Bates is considered a more liberal institution. The Princeton Review (2014) writes: “One student describes the majority of students as “upper-middle-class Caucasians with a major in the humanities and a more left-wing political view.”

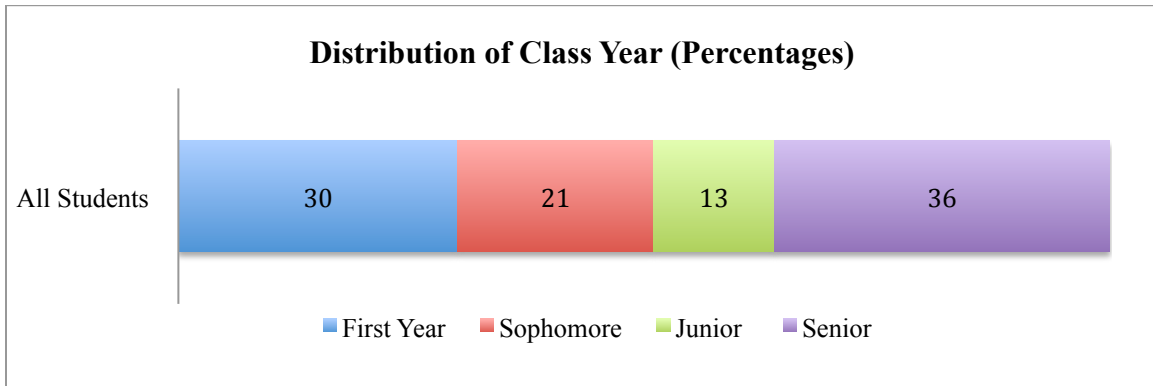
My subjectivity merits mention as well. As a white student at Bates College, I am an active participant in the culture of predominant whiteness. My personal experiences and conversations with other white students and students of color have led me to believe that, generally, white students significantly underestimate the degree to which their whiteness increases their ease of life at Bates College. Although I attempt to be aware of my subjectivity, it may impact the way I code, analyze and identify elements and themes in my data and research.

Charting Respondents’ Demographics

This section offers an overview of the demographics of my survey respondents, which allows me to comment and address sampling bias that may impact the generalizability of my findings. It outlines the distribution of class year, gender, racial groups, class background, parental educational attainment, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendships, all of which may impact awareness of race and privilege.

Distribution by Class Year

I received responses from all class years.



I attribute my high response from seniors to my membership in the senior class. The large number of senior responses may be a positive: after 3 years at Bates, the seniors may have a more nuanced and clear perspective on the culture at Bates. My low junior response rate is expected because many juniors participate in a Junior Year Abroad (JYA) and are unsubscribed from the announce list serve. These response rates are not representative of the student population, but they do document that I received responses from all 4 years, which are fairly evenly distributed between upper and underclassmen. While the literature does not posit explicit suggestions for the relationship between class year and racial awareness, I hypothesize that upperclassmen may be more racially aware because of increased opportunities for interracial friendship, course work related to race and greater involvement in wider social networks.

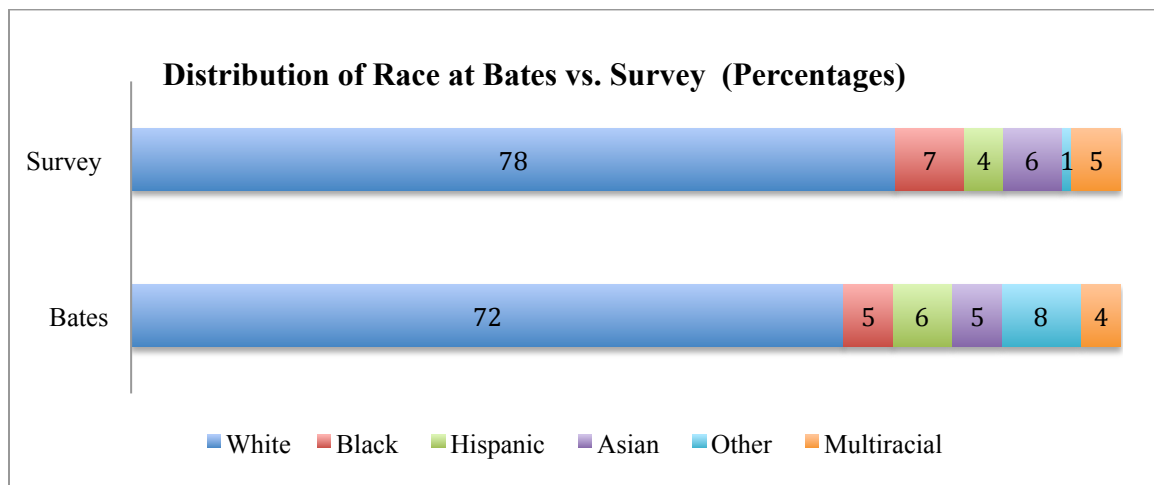
Gender Distribution

More women (58 percent) responded to my survey than men (42 percent) despite my concert effort to get an even gender distribution. This gender discrepancy has implications for my analysis; women are often more aware of discrimination and racial bias than men (Banks et al. 2014; Bonilla-Silva 2010). My gender variable is

dichotomized with female = 1, male=0. Only 2 students identified outside the gender binary; their responses were removed.

Distribution by Race

My respondents are relatively representative of Bates College’s racial distribution, even though I did not send my survey out with the intention of collecting a high number of responses from students of color.

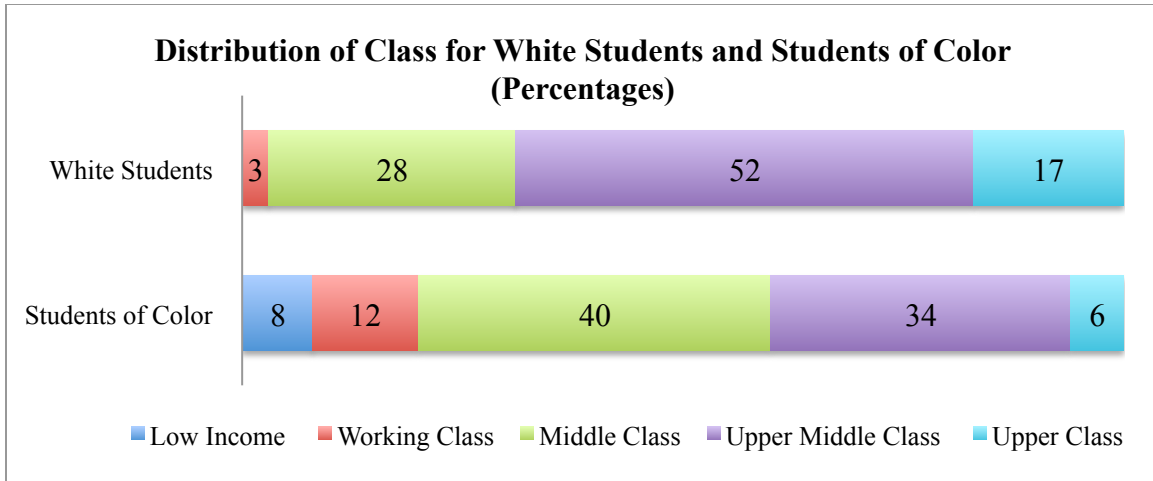


I dichotomized my race variable (RACE2) into white (1) and nonwhite (0) because my N-values for individual racial groups, other than white, are too small. Moreover, I am primarily concerned with white students’ awareness, but I anchor my analysis of by first comparing the awareness levels of white students and students of color. In RACE2 white student make up 78 percent (N= 263) and students of color make up 22 percent (N=75). Respondents who identified as “other” were coded as non-white. Respondents who marked “prefer not to answer” were excluded from my analysis (N= 4).

Distribution of Class Background

The Bates College Office of Institutional Research and Planning reports that in 2014, 47 percent of Bates students receive some type of financial aid and 12 percent of

Bates students receive Pell Grants (which denotes low-income status).⁵ Most of my respondents (92 percent) are self-identified members of middle, upper middle or upper class families and only 8 percent reported low-income or working class backgrounds.



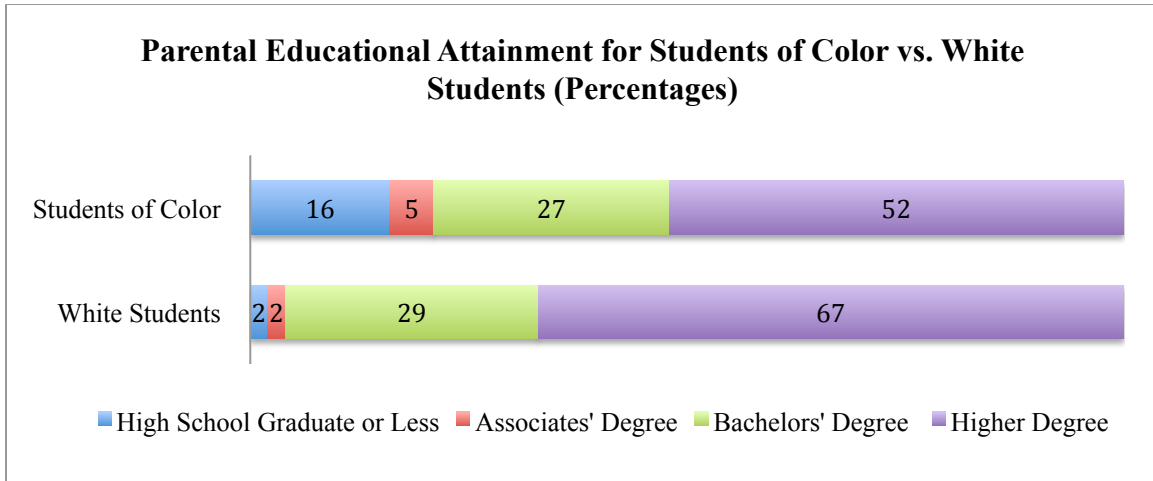
The large number of affluent white respondents may influence my findings. Sanders and Mahalingham (2012) and Bonilla-Silva (2010) propose that class background can impact perceptions and understandings of privilege; often times people from more disadvantaged backgrounds have an easier time recognizing and understanding systems of oppression, such as racism. Moreover, as I show in the distribution of parental educational attainment, the difference between white students’ and students of color’s reported class backgrounds mirror that of their parent’s educational attainment, implying a connection between income and education.

Distribution of Parental Educational Attainment

I measure parental educational attainment by the parent with the most education because even one parent’s education status influences cultural capital and status. Ninety percent of my survey respondents come from a family with a parent who has at least a

⁵ Please refer to “An Overview of Bates College.”

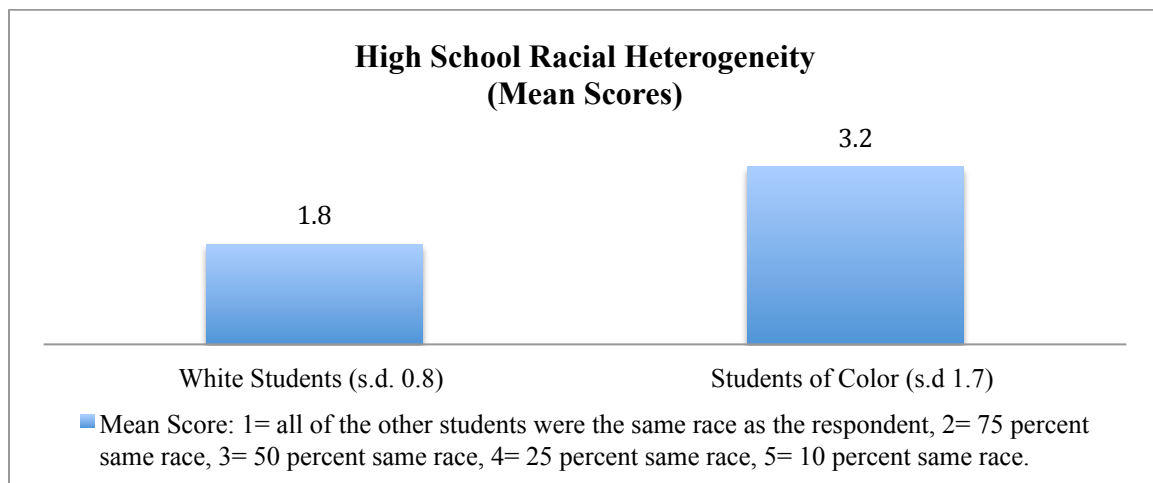
bachelors' degree. White students come from families with higher educational attainment, and as the above chart documents increased fiscal capital, than do students of color.



The racial variations in parental education attainment mirror wider national trends in access to higher education (U.S Department of Education 2012). Because fewer students of color's parents (with the exception of some students of certain Asian origins) graduate from college many may not have the same institutional knowledge about 4-year institutions as their white peers, making it more difficult for them to navigate the system. Although education, wealth and whiteness are in no way an exclusive set, it is important to consider the role cultures of wealth, whiteness, and education play in perpetuating access to (and exclusion from) higher education. The literature does not explicitly address parental education's impact on racial awareness. However, as most of my white respondents come from affluent families, increased educational attainment may be associated with greater awareness, as academia is often associated with more liberal ideology.

Distribution of High School Racial Heterogeneity

The literature proposes that the racial makeup of students' high schools may shape the way students approach, and think about, race at college and, more broadly, society. Generally, my white respondents went to high schools where most people shared the same racial background as them, while students of color attended more diverse schools.



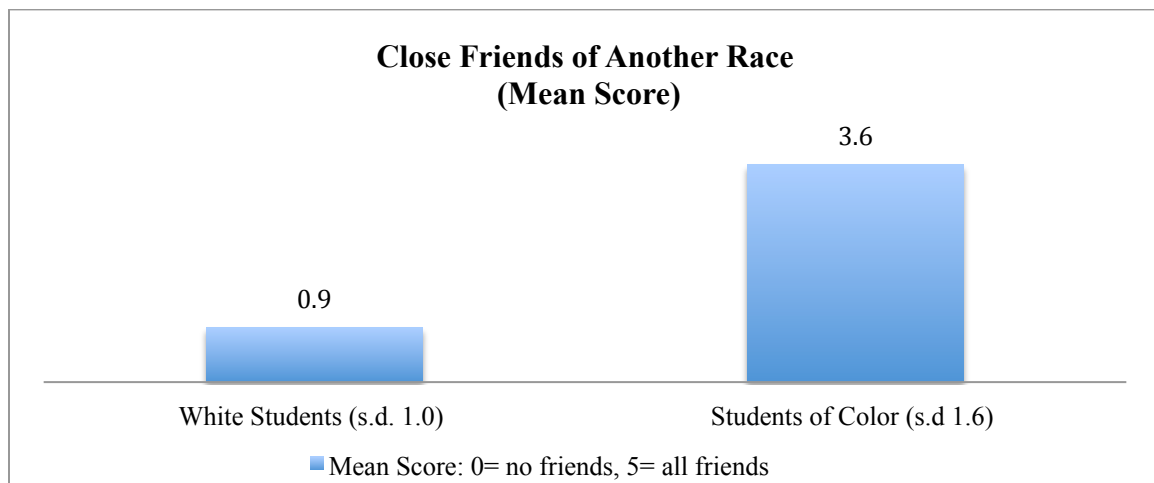
The average white student attended a high school where between 75 and 100 percent of the other students were white (mean 1.84), while the average students of color went to a high school where about 50 percent of the other students were a different race than them (mean 3.23).

The literature suggests that students who attend more homogenous schools are often less racially aware (Diedre and Wade 2007) and that interracial friendships can decrease racial bias (Dihn 2008; Fisher 2011; Smith et al. 2000; Scholfield 2010). They suggest that high school homogeneity may produce white college students who are unaware of white habitus and its dominance because it has been “normalized” throughout their educational experience. Exposure (or the lack there of) to racial diversity in high

school may positively impact white students' awareness of whiteness, which I explore in "Predicting Racial Awareness."

Distribution of Proportion of Current Friends and Close Friends of Other Races

Dihn (2008), Fisher (2011), Smith et al. (2000) and Scholfield (2010) contend that interracial friendship can decrease racial bias. I measure interracial friendship both through the proportion of friends and the number of close friends of another race respondents report. Only 11 percent of white students reported that half or more of their friends were of another race, while 83 percent of students of color reported that half or more of their friends were of a different race. Looking more specifically at the number of each respondent's five closest friends shows that students of color have more close interracial friendships than white students do.



The average white student has less than one close friend of another race while the average student of color has over 3.

A Homogenous Sample of White Students

As I outline in this section, on average my white respondents are from wealthy, highly educated families, attended racially homogenous high schools and have few close

friends of another race. As a collective, there is only limited variation within my white respondents' backgrounds, which may make it challenging to determine which demographics impact awareness of white privilege.

Chapter Three: Charting a Privileged Landscape: Awareness of White Social, Cultural and Academic Privilege

The literature documents that students of color have more challenging social, cultural and academic experiences at predominantly white institutions, establishing that white students are privileged. At predominantly white institutions, like Bates, whiteness is ingrained in the institution and student experience, perpetuating cultures of whiteness and white privilege, making it more difficult for white students to acknowledge. In this chapter I outline the landscape of racial awareness at Bates. I quantify white students' racial awareness by comparing it to students of color's. I measure white privilege awareness through three categories: social privilege, cultural privilege, and academic privilege. My results show that white students are less aware of white privilege than students of color for all indices and, according to students of color's scores, white students do experience social, cultural and academic privilege at Bates.

White Social Privilege

The literature shows that whiteness carries social privilege at predominantly white institutions and gives white students greater social capital. This privilege is made more explicit when compared with students of color's experiences; many students of color report feeling socially exhausted as they navigate the terrain of white campuses where micro-aggressions are a daily occurrence and students of color are constantly visible in a sea of whiteness (McCabe 2009; Willie 2003). The literature insists white students are socially advantaged at predominantly white institutions, suggesting that the same pattern would exist at Bates.

I measure awareness of white social privilege using the following three questions:

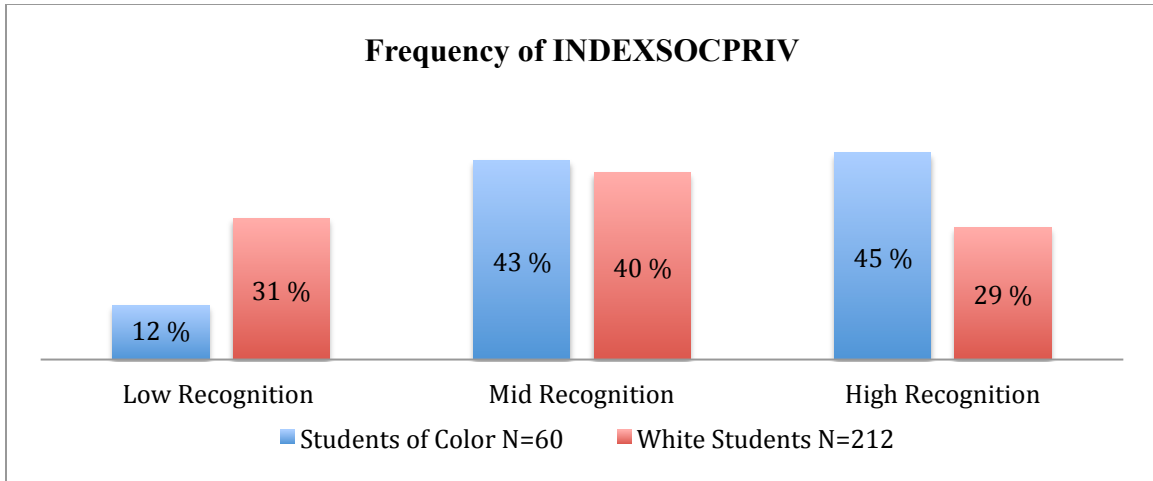
1. At Bates College, being a white student is socially advantageous (WSOCADV)
 - a. 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= agree 5= strongly agree
2. To what extent do students of color face additional obstacles in social opportunity (SOCOPP)
 - a. 1=no extent, 2= to a small extent, 3= to some extent, 4= to a large extent.
3. To what extent do students of color face additional obstacles in extracurricular activities (EXTRACURR)
 - a. 1=no extent, 2= to a small extent, 3= to some extent, 4= to a large extent.

I measure overall awareness of white social privilege with an index of these three items. I correlated the three measures based on white students' responses. They are all positively and significantly correlated. Correlations among the three items vary from .46 to .63 and the index has a Chronbach's alpha of .801.

I reverse coded "being a white student is socially advantageous" so that a score of 5 (strongly agree) indicated full awareness (in the original survey 1 denotes strong agreement). On the combined index, respondents could score from 3, a low awareness of white social advantage across all items, to 13, a high awareness of social advantage across all items. Students of color had a mean score of 8.2 (s.d. 2.2) and white students had a mean score of 7.1 (s.d. 2.4). The difference in mean values shows that white students are less aware of white social privilege than students of color.

Next, I examined the distribution of scores in the index and grouped the responses into rough thirds to measure awareness. For all respondents, a score of 3 to 5 indicates a low recognition of privilege; a score of 6 to 8 indicates a mid-level recognition; a score of

9 to 13 indicates a high level recognition. I split the file by RACE2 (the dichotomized variable of race 1=white, 0=student of color) to compare white students' and students of color's responses.



The index of social privilege awareness shows that students of color have a higher recognition and awareness of white social privilege than white students do. Compared with students of color, three times as many white students have a low recognition of social privilege. Moreover, students of color score over 15 percentage points higher than white students for a high recognition of white privilege. These scores suggest that many white students either do not want to acknowledge or are unaware of the extent to which their race impacts their social experiences at Bates as students of color's responses suggest that white students are socially privileged because of their race.

White Cultural Privilege

Although often placed in conversation with social privilege, white cultural privilege is distinct. Because of the large number of white students, predominantly white institutions encourage cultures of whiteness and breed white habitus (Brunnsma et al. 2012; Cabrera 2012; Davis et al. 2004; Donovan 2011; McCabe 2009; Poteat and

Spanierman 2012; Smith et al. 2013; Willie 2013). White habitus is fostered in racially homogenous neighborhoods where white people are only exposed to other white people and white cultures. As my demographics overview outlines most white Bates students come from racially homogenous schools, suggesting their neighborhoods are also relatively white. Thus, Bates students may bring this habitus with them. Although not intentionally exclusive, white habitus places value on whites' "racial tastes, perceptions, feelings, and emotions on racial matters" (Bonilla-Silva 2012: 104). These tastes, perceptions, feelings and emotions value white cultural characteristics, marginalizing those who are not part of this culture. Scholars suggest that this culture makes daily life easier and less exhausting for white students (McCabe 2009; Mitzi et al. 2004; Smith and Moore 2000; Torres 2009; Willie 2003).

I measure awareness of white culture privilege with the following three questions:

1. Daily life is easier for white students at Bates College (WDAYEASE)
 - a. 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= agree 5= strongly agree
2. At Bates College, white cultural characteristics are more valued than those of people of color (WCHARVAL)
 - a. 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= agree 5= strongly agree
3. Here is a list of a few things some people think may contribute to racial separation at Bates College: Bates' predominantly white student culture (WCULTURE)
 - a. 1= no contribution, 2= somewhat important contribution, 3= important contribution, 4= very important contribution

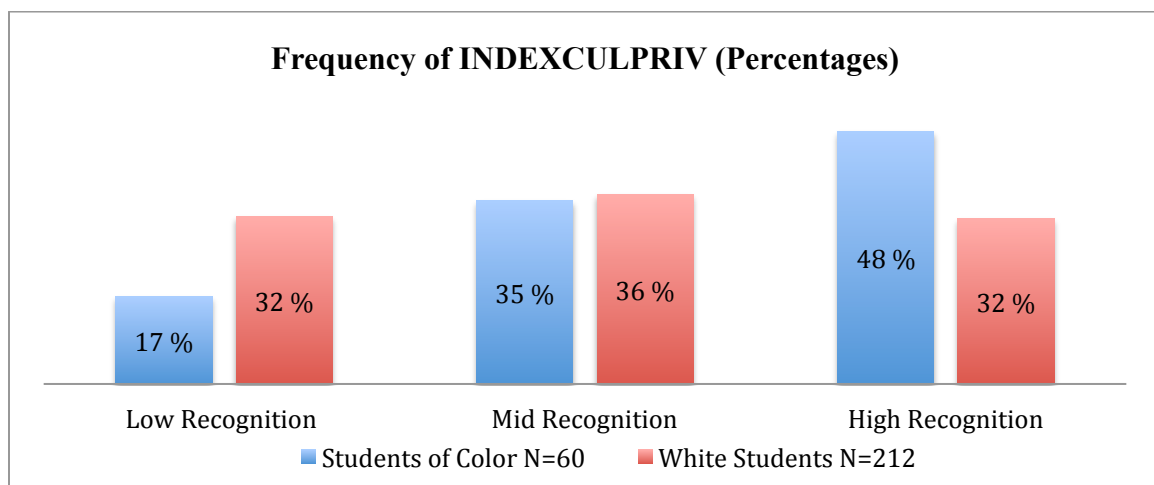
I made an index of these three items to measure overall awareness of cultural privilege (INDEXCULPRIV). I ran correlations between the three measures based on white

students' responses only. All are positively and significantly correlated. Correlations among the three vary from .42 to .54 and the index had a Chronbach's alpha of .754.

To ensure that a high score indicates awareness I reverse coded "daily life is easier for white students" and "white cultural characteristics are more valued." In the new coding 5 equals agreement (and higher awareness), while in the original survey 1 was coded as agreement. As with INDEXSOCPRIV, a high composite score indicates a high awareness of white daily privilege while a low score indicates low awareness.

Respondents' scores could range from 3 to 14. White students have a mean score of 8.9 (s.d. 2.6) and students of color have a mean score of 10.2 (s.d. 2.3). As with social privilege, students of color are more aware of cultural privilege than white students are.

After examining the index's distribution for both white students and students of color, I grouped the index into thirds. Scores 3 to 7 mark low awareness; scores 8 to 10 mark mid-level awareness; scores 11 to 14 mark high awareness. I split the file by RACE2 to compare white students' and students of color's groupings.



As the mean values suggest, the index shows that white students are less aware of cultural privilege than students of color are. Two times as many white students have a

low level of cultural privilege awareness, while students of color are notably more likely to score in the high recognition category. Moreover, the discrepancy in mean values between students of color and white students as well as their conflicting distribution across the index suggests that white students do experience cultural privilege and are less aware of it than students of color are.

White Academic Privilege

The U.S Department of Education's (2012) data outlines the challenges many students of color must overcome to enter a 4-year institution. However, once accepted, the literature emphasizes that academia is still difficult to navigate for many students of color. They face additional obstacles achieving academic success and meaningful student-faculty relationships (Guffrida and Douthit 2010). This section examines awareness of white students' academic privilege.

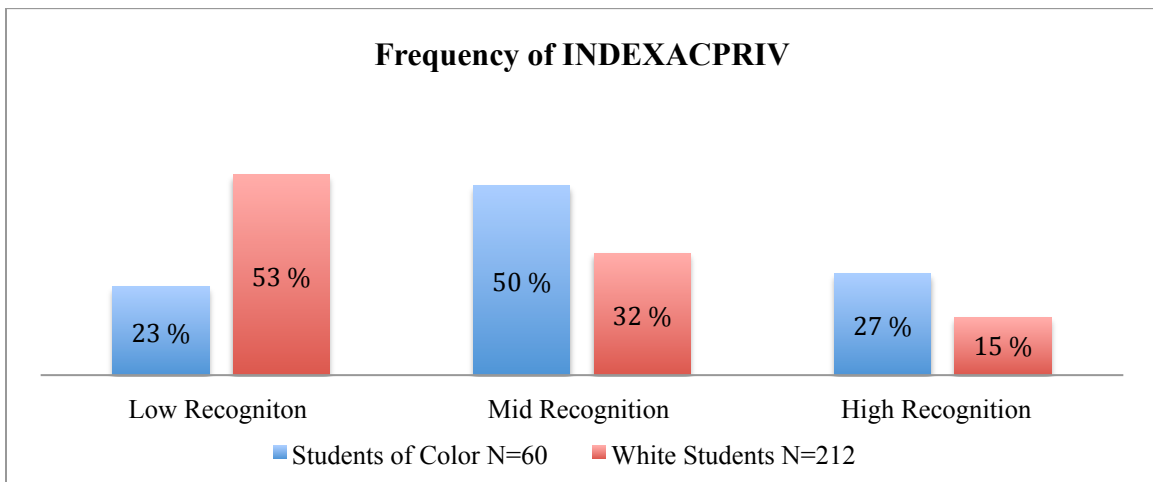
I measure awareness of academic privilege with the following questions:

1. To what extent do you think students of color face additional obstacles in faculty-student relationships? (FSRELATE)
 - a. 1=no extent, 2= to a small extent, 3= to some extent, 4= to a large extent.
2. To what extent do you think students of color face additional obstacles in academic success? (ACSUCCESS)
 - a. 1=no extent, 2= to a small extent, 3= to some extent, 4= to a large extent.

INDEXACPRIV is a composite measure of FSRELATE and ACSUCCESS and measures awareness of white academic privilege. For white respondents, these two items are positively and significantly correlated at .65 and have a Chronbach's alpha of .785.

Respondents could score from 2 to 8. Students of color's mean score is 3.7 (s.d 1.5) and white students' is 3.1 (s.d 1.5). As with the other measures of racial awareness, the difference in means shows that students of color are more aware of white academic privilege than white students. The difference in values between the white students' and students of color's mean scores, albeit small, suggests that white students are academically privileged.

As with the other indices, I created the index based on all students' responses and divided it into thirds (low, mid and high recognition of privilege). A score of 2 indicates a low recognition of privilege, 3-4 a mid-level recognition and 5- 8 a high awareness of white academic privilege. I split the file by RACE2.



As with the other measures of privilege, students of color are more aware of white academic privilege than white students are. While about 50 percent of white students have low recognition, over 75 percent of students of color have at least a mid-level recognition of white academic privilege. The lower distribution of high recognition suggests that it is more difficult for white students to recognize or admit their academic privilege, perhaps because it may challenge their sense of personal achievement.

The State of Race and Racial Awareness at Bates

Taken together, the three indices⁶ demonstrate that white students do experience racial privilege at Bates and that they are less aware of this privilege (in all areas) than are students of color. Moreover, the gamma values below demonstrate that being white is negatively correlated with white privilege awareness in all areas, documenting what the previous bar charts reveal, but simplifying the comparison of racial differences across the three indices.

Gamma Values of INDEXSOCPRIV, INDEXCULPRIV and IDEXACPRIV by White (or not)

<u>Index</u>	<u>Gamma Value</u>
INDEXSOCPRIV	-.376
INDEXCULPRIV	-.329
IDEXACPRIV	-.451

Whiteness is most negatively associated with recognition of academic privilege and least with cultural privilege. It is easier for many white students to see and acknowledge white privilege in the cultural arena than in academia. When I examine the mean scores in proportion to one another this trend is true for both white students and students of color. While Bates' historic commitment to diversity would be suggestive of a more racially aware and progressive white-student body, this chapter documents that many white students lack awareness about the role race plays in shaping both their and other students' experiences at Bates. Moreover, the difference between white students and students of color's perceptions of race on campus indicates that Bates is not truly racially equitable. In the following chapter I will explore this tension further using white students' thoughts and comments to explain how they think about race and white privilege at Bates.

⁶ The indices are correlated from .58 to .70

Chapter Four: Thoughts on Whiteness: White Students Negotiate White Privilege

As I document in the previous section, white Bates students are less racially aware than students of color. In this section I briefly examine students of color's comments to contextualize the conversation of privilege awareness before primarily exploring the ways in which white students engage with and negotiate their white privilege at Bates. Using white students' comments from the optional comment box in my survey, I show how white students demonstrate (or do not demonstrate) racial awareness by investigating the strategies they use to mitigate or expose their privilege. I draw attention to the myriad ways white respondents think about the role whiteness plays at Bates College.

The 52 white students who commented are fairly representative of my sample of white students. As with the overall sample, most of the respondents reported being from middle class or more affluent families. Working class students were slightly over-represented (+3 percent). However, it is unlikely that their slight overrepresentation changes the results of my quantitative analysis. Underclassmen are underrepresented (-7 percent), while upperclassmen are overrepresented (+6 percent), which may bias commentary in favor of the racially aware. Gender was the least representative of my sample: 55 percent of white men commented, while they make up about 45 percent of my sample

After carefully analyzing the comments from my survey, I categorized white students into three groups, the deniers, the racial minimalists and the racially aware, based on the way they framed their racial privilege:

- **The deniers** believe that white students are discriminated against, embodying what Cabrera (2012) calls “White Victim[ization].” I coded students who discussed reverse racism and disagreed with affirmative action as deniers.
- **The racial minimalists** (Bonilla-Silva 201; Cabrera 2012) minimize race’s role on campus. Though I consider this a single category, there were several specific response types that I include in this broader group.
 - **Racial minimizers** claim that race is not an issue at Bates because everyone is willing to be friends with everyone. Moreover, they suggest that discussing, and thereby drawing attention to race is the only thing that makes it an issue. They use a frame of colorblind racism that Bonilla-Silva (2010:26) calls the “minimization of racism.”
 - **Privilege deflectors** use mitigating variables, such as socioeconomic status or institutional programming, to explain existing racial patterns at Bates, rather than acknowledge white privilege. Students with comments that focused on socioeconomic status or institutional policies and practices (such as orientation or Commons, the student dining hall) were labeled privilege deflectors.
 - **Inflexible observers** claim that they cannot fully speak about race at Bates because they are white and do not know what students of color experience. I coded comments that used whiteness as an excuse for awareness (e.g. I’m white so I don’t really know if it would be harder to be a student of color) as inflexible observers.

- **The racially aware** explicitly demonstrate awareness of race and/ or white privilege at Bates College. Within this group I noted two levels:
 - **The racially aware** explicitly acknowledge whiteness as a force that impacts student experience at Bates or note that there are problematic racial issues at Bates (such as racial separation).
 - **The anti-racists** acknowledge that cultural whiteness and students' apathy about it are problems and recommend steps the college can take to addresses them.

These three framings capture a wide range of racial awareness among white students at Bates, allowing me to explore the way white Bates students describe and grapple with their privilege.

Students of Color Speak about Race

Before I analyze white student comments, I contextualize them by briefly outlining students of colors' thoughts about race at Bates College. The majority of students of color who commented noted that race does impact their (and others') college experiences and demonstrated a nuanced awareness of the role racial privilege plays on campus, marking them as racially aware. Moreover, their comments explicitly suggest Bates does harbor cultures of whiteness and white privilege. One bi-racial student wrote:

“The predominantly white culture at Bates makes it difficult for non-white students to feel included. I am a bi-racial student (half-white) and still don't feel like I fit in completely.”

Another black student emphasized the pervasiveness of Bates' white campus culture. He remarked:

“Bates is a predominantly white school with white interest. The popular dances at dances cater to the music preferences of the majority which is pop and rarely display different types of music like Spanish reggaeton [sic] or rap music”

Both students emphasize the exclusive nature of Bates predominately white campus culture and its negative ramifications for students of color. Some students of color were also disenchanted with what they perceived as white students’ apathy about racial privilege. A black student noted that,

“At Bates, most white men are completely unaware of their privilege.”

As a collective, students of color appear to be very aware of race and how it intersects with daily life at Bates.

However, it is important for me to note that not all students of color who commented demonstrated complete racial awareness. A few discussed race using the frame of a privilege deflector. One black student suggested that socioeconomic status the most important factor in racial division on campus. A multi-racial student said, “I don’t really notice the ethnicity of people I hang out with.” Thus, she employs colorblindness, which the literature suggests perpetuates racial inequity and racism. Despite these outliers, this sampling of students of color’s voices demonstrates that most are acutely aware of whiteness and the privilege it carries at Bates. Their comments propose that white privilege plays a salient (and often, negative) role in student experiences, bolstering “Charting a Privileged Landscape’s” findings.

The Deniers

The deniers negate the existence of white privilege at Bates College by claiming that white students, rather than students of color, face racial discrimination. They assert that white students face the brunt of discrimination through admissions policies and on-campus institutional racial favoritism. One denier posited that white students face “reverse racism” at Bates, while another was concerned about the role she perceives affirmative action to play in Bates’ admission practices. These students refute the suggestion that white privilege exists at Bates, demonstrating a lack of awareness about structural racism and the reach of white habitus. Moreover, their concern with institutional “favoritism” for students of color reveals a lack of awareness about historical inequities and their contemporary consequences. Ironically, the deniers negotiate their white privilege by arguing that it disadvantages them.

The Racial Minimizers

The theory of racial minimization suggests that white people (specifically, white racial minimizers) dismiss the significance of race in daily life in an effort to negate the existence of racism and maintain their power (Bonilla-Siva, 2010:26). The racial minimalists I identify use three strategies to deny their privilege and race’s social consequences: by minimizing the role race plays on campus (racial minimizers), by deflecting their white privilege (privilege deflectors), and by claiming that they cannot fully understand or speak about race at Bates because they are white and do not know what students of color experience (inflexible observers).

The racial minimizers use multiple strategies to refute white privilege and the culture of whiteness at Bates. They argue that race is not a “real” issue on campus, that

students are willing to be friends with everyone so racism cannot be a problem, and that race is only an issue because it is discussed on campus. Racial minimalists point to the faculty and overly zealous students as the cause of any racial tension on campus. A white, upper-middle class male wrote:

“I think surveys like this are a HUGE factor in creating racial separation at Bates. I do not evaluate based on race but YOU making THIS STUDY creates an elephant in the room that does not otherwise exist on this campus.... people want to bring race into the discussion when it has no place there.”

This respondent blames racial issues on discussions and surveys, which allows him to minimize the role his whiteness plays in creating Bates predominantly white culture and the consequences his whiteness has for students of color at Bates. Another minimizer shared a similar sentiment:

“The political groupthink fostered by the Bates faculty is the greatest driver of non pre-existing racial tension amongst students.”

By blaming fellow students and faculty, racial minimizers negate their whiteness’ privilege, thereby maintaining the status quo. Their narrative demonstrates that they are either unaware or unwilling to acknowledge how whiteness shapes their opportunities and experiences and impacts students of color. By minimizing the role race plays in student experiences they perpetuate current racial power structures by leaving them unchallenged.

Privilege deflectors minimize the role white privilege plays by focusing on other mitigating variables or institutional policies, rather than explicitly acknowledging race.

Some respondents focus on socioeconomic factors over race, diminishing the role whiteness plays on campus. Others blame racial separation on orientation policies and the layout of Commons, rather than Bates' predominantly white (and potentially exclusive) campus culture. The privilege defectors are aware that areas on campus are raced and that racial separation exists, but they are not willing to implicate whiteness as a cause. A white, upper class, male illuminates this point:

“At least at Bates, a disproportionate amount of the students of color come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than white students. I think this may play more [of] a role than race as it more closely ties to shared values and activities, which determine friendships and thus the campus' social fabric.”

By using socioeconomic status as a mitigating variable that leads to racial separation, this deflector minimizes the role whiteness plays in shaping Bates “social fabric.” Thus, although this respondent demonstrates awareness of race at Bates, he works to diminish its significance by claiming that socioeconomic status primarily drives racial separation and exclusion.

Other defectors blame racial separation on the institution. One woman firmly attributed racial separation to first-year orientation, an institutionally run program:

“Orientation starts the separation, and I cannot understand why Bates would do that.”

She blames Bates, rather than its white culture, for initiating racial separation, which allows her to exonerate whiteness from culpability. Another deflector also implicated the institution as the driving force behind racial separation:

“I feel Bates is trying too hard to promote racial equality by intervention. In almost a year and a half here, I have met nobody with a direct problem with human beings because of race, yet the school takes extensive measures that unintentionally create a notion of separation. In short, we as a community feel so compelled to accommodate students of color that we unintentionally make the entire student body excessively aware of it when all along, we already have the equality that the school is trying so hard to push for.”

First, he proposes that because no one has a “direct problem with human beings because of race” race cannot be an issue, suggesting that only explicit racism has consequences. His proposal demonstrates a limited understanding of how both structural racism and white privilege work. By using intent as the driving force of racial division and tension he protects whiteness from blame. Second, like the racial minimalists, he blames the excessive focus on race and “accommodations” for students of color for causing an artificial racial divide. Thus, it is clear that he does not think white habitus or whiteness helps create this divide. He blames the institution in an effort to mitigate (consciously or unconsciously) the role whiteness plays in creating racial tension and privilege on campus.

While the racial minimalists and privilege deflectors feel comfortable making assertions about the cause of racial separation at Bates, the inflexible observers use their whiteness to deflect responsibility for racial awareness. Inflexible observers argue that their whiteness makes it difficult for them to speak to or empathize with students of color’s experiences. Although this concern initially appears logical, if students

demonstrated a real awareness of white privilege they would be able to surmise the challenges students of color must face at a predominantly white institution; privilege cannot exist without disadvantage. The inflexible observers' comments suggest that they fail to see that privilege is not only defined by the number of obstacles students of color's face but by the relatively few obstacles white students experience as a result of their race. Moreover, while some white students felt uncomfortable or unable to acknowledge the potential obstacles students of color may face, no students of color reported that they were uncomfortable commenting upon white students' experience and privilege, suggesting they are more aware of privilege's relationship to disadvantage.

Inflexible observers are uncomfortable or even indignant when asked to reflect on students of color's potential experiences at Bates. A white, upper middle class woman's response is a clear example:

“As a white student, I didn't really feel like I could answer all of these questions without assuming. I really do not know how separated people of color feel, therefore I do not want to assume things.”

As a white student she emphasized her discomfort with making assumptions about students of color's experiences. By thinking about race as something that only students of color engage with, she ignores the role her whiteness, and the overall culture of whiteness, plays in shaping students of color's and white students' experiences in college.

Another inflexible observer addressed this point more explicitly:

“Many of these questions I CANNOT answer because they compare being white and non-white. I have only been one of those, and do not pretend to

understand the advantage, disadvantages, nor the everyday details of being something that I am not.”

This woman’s inflexible mental framing discourages her from acknowledging the role race plays in facilitating her college experience. She claims that she cannot “understand the advantage [or] disadvantages...of being something that I am not,” demonstrating that she is unaware of the way structural racism works to create both advantage and disadvantage. If she acknowledged white students’ advantage she would see it reflected in students of color’s disadvantage. Like the other privilege deflectors, this woman’s mental framing about race allows her to ignore that fact that her white privilege fuels other students’ handicap.

Racially Aware

In a departure from the deniers and minimizers, the racially aware fully recognize the role whiteness plays in racial politics on campus. Within this category I label those who note white privilege or racial discrimination as “racially aware” and those who actively want to challenge the system and propose solutions as the “explicit anti-racists.”

Racially aware respondents are adamant about the significant role whiteness (and white privilege) plays on campus. A white, upper class female states:

“I believe that white privilege is a highly important issue here at Bates and also one that frequently goes unnoticed and unremarked upon.”

Her commentary draws attention to the relatively invisible space white privilege occupies for many white students (represented by the deniers and racial minimizers). Another racially aware woman expands upon the impact Bates’ whiteness has on the student experience:

“I believe that Bates has the opportunity to have a diverse community more so that it currently has. I don’t think that students of color sit in the green room because they only want to be with like people. I think situations like this stem from the large prejudicial views that white students have consciously and non-consciously.”

This woman’s recognition of Bates’ lack of diversity emphasizes her awareness of whiteness’ dominance within the student body. Moreover, she demonstrates a nuanced understanding of why some students of color may chose to eat in the Green Room,⁷ implicating whiteness as part of the problem, rather than the institution. While the inflexible observers would not have felt comfortable making this inference and the racial minimizers would deny the existence of a problem, this racially aware respondent demonstrates an understanding of whiteness’ impact on the Bates experience.

The anti-racist takes the racially aware a step further by advocating for educational opportunities to increase racial awareness and mitigate some students’ racial apathy and ignorance. One woman suggested that,

“Though Bates is a relatively liberal and accepting community, there is still much room for improvement. I took a psychology course...that gave me enormous amounts of insight into the culture of diversity at Bates and I truly think that this, or a similar type of course, should be a general education requirement.”

She recognizes that Bates students could benefit from institutional intervention around race through a mandatory “general education requirement” demonstrating both an

⁷ The Green Room is a small dinning room within the larger student-dining hall, Commons. Many students of color and international students choose to eat in the Green Room.

awareness of the current racial landscape and a desire to intervene. Another anti-racist built upon her suggestion. He observed that,

“...the same students take the classes that talk about race and there is not enough discussion...many students could benefit from a diversity requirement. Students do not really realize the privilege that white people have not just at this school but in society.”

This student is both aware of white privilege’s consequences and is invested in improving the dialogue surrounding white privilege at Bates, and more broadly, society. Moreover, his recommendation that students could benefit from what he calls a diversity requirement underscores his understanding that structural racism requires intentional intervention. The racially aware and the anti-racists’ comments show that, while there are some white students who are racially unaware, others’ are eager to engage with and challenge the culture.

A Wide Range of Racial Awareness

The narratives these respondents use to discuss race and white privilege show white students have a wide range of racial awareness and their awareness cannot simply be explained by a collective mean value. The deniers claim to be “white victims” (Cabrera 2012), the racial minimizers claim race is only problematic when addressed, the privilege deflectors blame racial issues on institutional meddling, the inflexible observers use whiteness as an excuse for racial apathy, and the racially aware show us that Bates does have students more firmly inline with its egalitarian foundations. While this chapter documents the myriad ways white students engage with white privilege, documenting that their opinions vary widely, it does not explore the variables, like class year, class

status, gender, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendships that could partially explain why some white students are more aware than others. Determining what increases student awareness could help Bates find ways to increase racial awareness and allow us better understand the dynamics that foster or hinder awareness of cultures of whiteness and white privilege at Bates and other predominantly white institutions. In the next chapter, I will quantify the deniers, minimizer and racially aware in an effort to identify the distribution of traits may predict racial awareness or racial apathy across the 3 groups. Additionally, using a regression I will outline the impact these variables have on awareness of white social privilege, cultural privilege and academic privilege.

Chapter Five: Predicting Racial Awareness

Building upon the proceeding chapters' documentation of white students' racial awareness at Bates, I quantify the deniers, minimizers and racially aware students' levels of racial awareness by creating an index of overall privilege awareness and then identifying score ranges that roughly correlated with the stated positions of the deniers, minimizers and racially aware. I ran the index as the dependent variable in crosstabs with gender, class year, class status, parental education, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendship to examine their distribution. Next, I examine the impact these variables have on all whites students' awareness of social, cultural and academic white privilege. As a collective, these measures allow me to examine the factors that may lead to, or be associated with, increased awareness of racial privilege among white Bates students.

The Variables

As my literature review documents, gender, class year (through education), class status, parental education, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendships may influence racial awareness. The literature proposes that women, because of their experiences with gender discrimination, are more perceptive of white privilege, as are students from less affluent families, because of their experiences with economic inequity. While class status and education attainment are often coupled, the literature does not posit many suggestions for parental education's impact on racial awareness. As most of my white respondents come from similar class backgrounds (middle, upper middle and upper class families), higher parental education attainment may increase racial awareness

(as academia is often considered to espouse liberal ideology), which may influence their (and their children's) social liberalism and racial awareness.

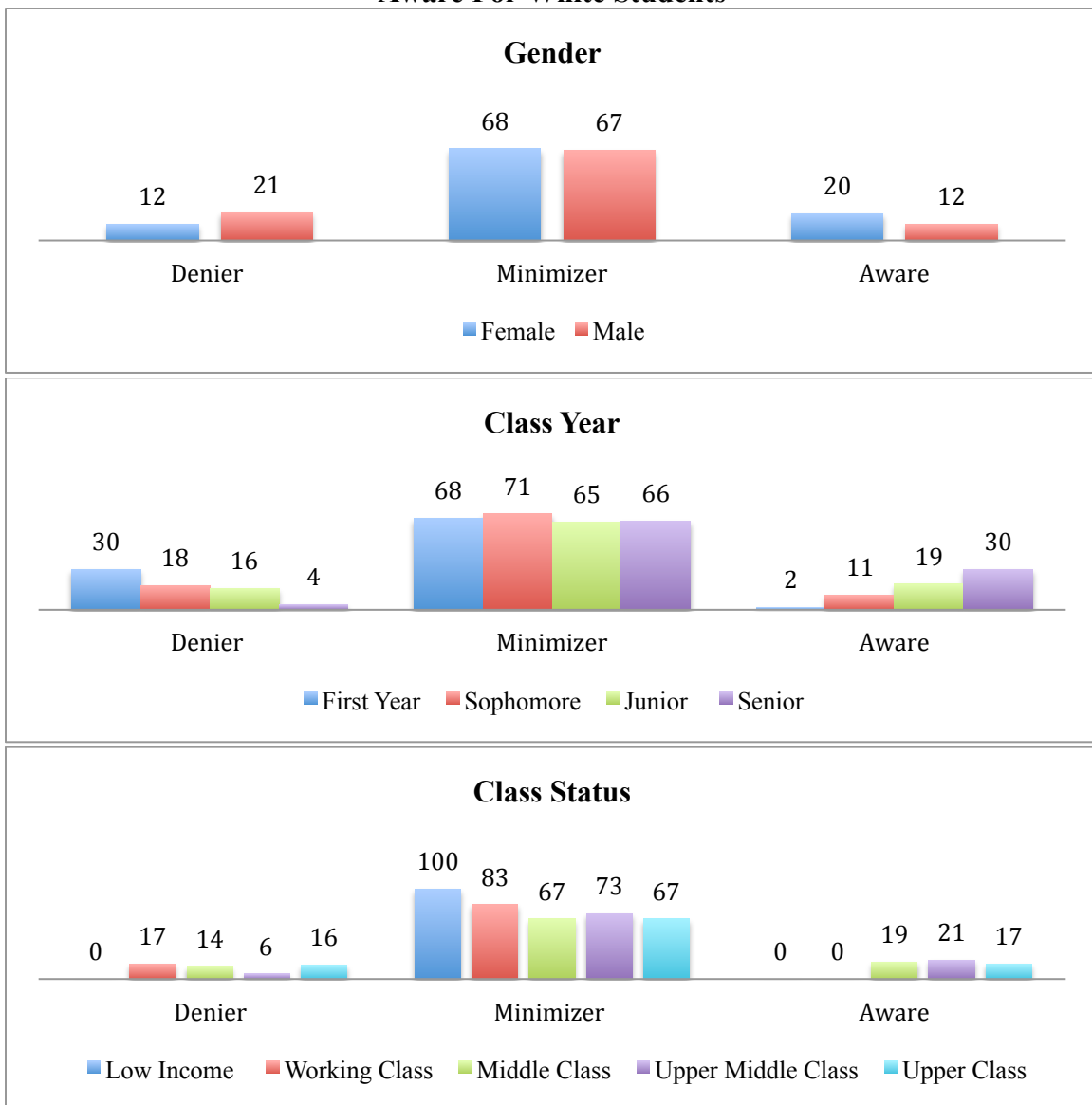
The literature does not posit suggestions for awareness across class years, but does suggest that education, which increases with each year at college, can positively influence white students' racial awareness. The literature suggests that interracial exposure and friendship may also increase racial awareness. I use the racial heterogeneity of respondents' high school and number of non-white close friends at Bates to measure interracial exposures' impact on racial awareness. I use the respondent's number of close friends as my primary measure of interracial friendship for two reasons. One, for white respondents, the proportion of friends of another race and number of close friends they have is positively correlated (.571), making the proportion of friends a somewhat redundant measure. Second, as Bates students pride themselves on being outgoing and friendly, the proportion of friends of another race they report may not adequately reflect authentic and/or meaningful relationships. Thus, their number of close friends is a more valid measure.

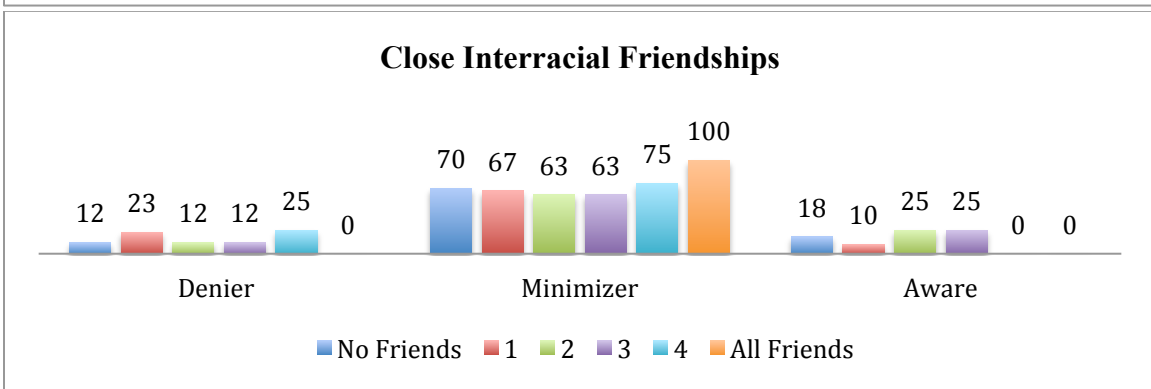
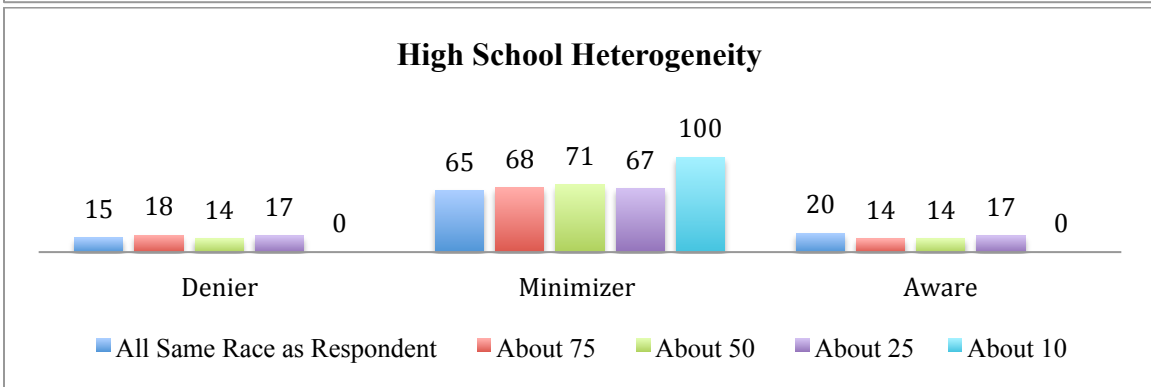
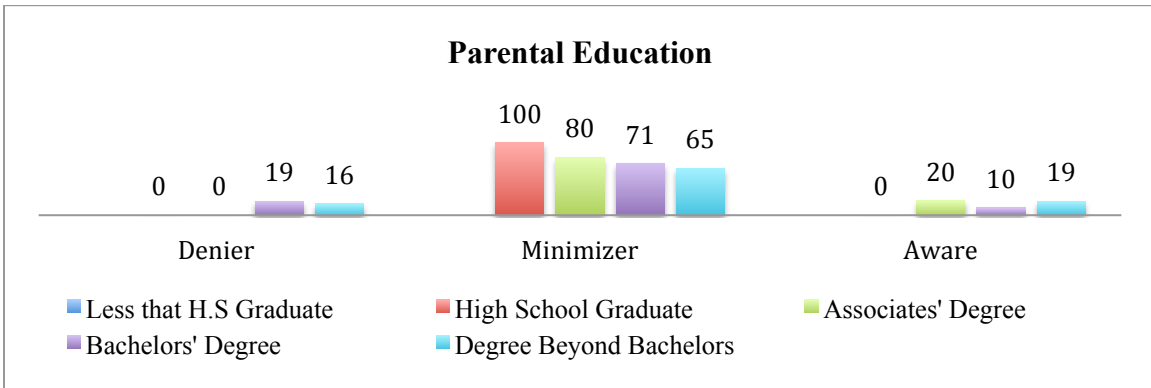
The Deniers, Minimizers and Racially Aware

To examine how the various independent variables are associated with the three categories' potential differences, I created an overall index of privilege awareness by creating a composite measure of the social privilege, cultural privilege, and academic privilege indices. Respondents could score from 8 (low awareness) to 35 (high awareness). Based on the distribution of respondents' awareness, I broke the index in three parts to quantitatively represent the deniers, minimizers and racially aware. Deniers (8-13 = the lowest score possible for all questions) represent 13 percent of the sample, the

minimizers (14-25) 68 percent and the racially aware (26-35 = a score that indicates awareness for at least 3 of 8 questions) 19 percent. Then I ran a crosstab for each independent variable with the 3 categories (deniers, minimizers and aware) as my dependent variable.

Percentage of Gender, Class Year, Class Status, Parental Education, High School Heterogeneity, and Close Friends of Another Race by Deniers, Minimizers and Aware For White Students





The distributions demonstrate that there is little variation between the demographics of the deniers, minimizers and racially aware, aside from gender and class year. The average racially aware student is almost a senior, while the average racial denier is not quite a sophomore. The notable difference in class year suggests that experience at Bates (be in the classroom, the campus or the community) may have an effect on awareness. Moreover, these results suggest that identifying and capitalizing on the experiences that are associated with awareness could help increase awareness in

underclassmen. After class year, gender has the most variation from the racial deniers to the racially aware; those who are racially aware are much more likely to be women. Awareness remains relatively evenly distributed for class status, parental education, high school heterogeneity, and close friendships suggesting that they are not strongly associated with the awareness of white Bates students.

It is important to note that the consistency of independent variables' distribution across the deniers, minimizers and racially aware for class status, parental education, high school heterogeneity and close interracial friendships may be a result of the homogeneity of my white student sample. If my respondents (and the general Bates student body) had greater diversity in socioeconomic status, parental education attainment, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendships, the mean scores may have had greater variation amongst these variables and patterns more inline with the literatures' findings.

Regression Models

While the mean scores visually represent the distribution of variables and their association with relative awareness across the deniers, minimizers and aware, this regression documents the variables' overall influence on awareness. I use a linear regression to determine the impact gender, class year, class status, parental education, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendships have on white students' awareness of social, cultural, academic and overall white privilege. I also measure the impact race has on the three areas of awareness when controlled for the same independent variables.

Standard Regression (Beta) Coefficients Estimating the Effects of Gender, Class Year, Class Status, Parental Education, High School Heterogeneity and Close Friends of Another Race on White Students' Awareness of Social Privilege, Cultural Privilege and Academic Privilege.

<u>Independent Variables:</u>	<u>Social Privilege</u>	<u>Cultural Privilege</u>	<u>Academic Privilege</u>
Female:	.066	.243*	.119
Class Year:	.384*	.313*	.235*
Class Status:	.019	.030	-.037
Parental Education:	.020	.006	.104
High School Heterogeneity:	.043	.011	-.028
Close Friends:	-.037	.077	.027
R-squared	.159	.178	.091
N=	212	212	212

**p < .05 * p< .001

Standardize Regression (Beta) Coefficient Estimating the Effects of Race on Social Privilege, Cultural Privilege, and Academic Privilege When Controlled for Gender, Class Year, Class Status, Parental Education, High School Heterogeneity and Close Friends of Another Race.

<u>Independent Variables:</u>	<u>Social Privilege</u>	<u>Cultural Privilege</u>	<u>Academic Privilege</u>
<i>Race:</i>	<i>-.197**</i>	<i>-.149</i>	<i>-.173**</i>
R-Squared:	.202	.223	.106

**p< .05

Perhaps due to the small sample size and general homogeneity of my Bates student sample, class year has the only consistently significant variables, with gender significant for one of the three indices. However, as my second (simplified) regression shows, when I ran the same regression with the addition of race, being a student of color was a significant (with the exception of cultural privilege) and strong predictor of all types of racial awareness. However, class year was still the strongest predictor. The R-squared values were larger when race was included. Regardless of only two variables having significance in the regression of white students only, the regression still offers insight into the extent to which these variables impact white students' awareness of social, cultural and academic privilege.

Predicting Social Privilege Awareness

Social Privilege Awareness is influenced most strongly and significantly by class year. In other words, students who have spent more time at Bates (measured by class year) are more aware and willing to acknowledge the social privilege attached to whiteness. Compared to class year, gender, class status, high school heterogeneity and close interracial friendships have negligible impacts on awareness of social privilege and none are significant. I was surprised by the small impact interracial friendship and high school heterogeneity have on student awareness as the literature suggests that interracial friendships can play a large role in increasing racial awareness. However, as the average Bates student has less than one friend of another race (mean .9), these results may have been more in accordance with the literature if white Bates students had more close friends of other races, which would create more variation. These results indicate that simply increasing diversity at predominantly white institutions does not necessarily increase

white students' racial privilege awareness and that alternative interventions are needed. Class year's strong impact implies that increased education and exposure to the Bates social scene over four years may be important for increased awareness, suggesting that early educational or social interventions could work to increase students' racial awareness on campus. Similar interventions may work at other small predominantly white institutions.

Predicting Cultural Privilege Awareness

Class year and gender have the largest and most significant impact on awareness of cultural privilege. As with awareness of social privilege, students who have been at Bates longer are more aware of both its culture of whiteness and the way in which that culture facilitates their Bates experiences. In agreement with the literatures' proposal, this regression shows that generally, women are more aware of white cultural privilege than men.

Despite the literatures' suggestion that class may impact awareness, both class and parental education have only slight influences that are very close to zero. It is possible that I may have gotten more intriguing results if I had a more socioeconomically diverse sample, as white working class and low-income students (who are limited in my sample) may be more racially aware than their more affluent peers.

High School heterogeneity and close interracial friendships only slightly influenced awareness of cultural privilege, with both values close to zero. As with social privilege, the negligible impact both high school heterogeneity and interracial friendships have on awareness and the large impact class year has demonstrate that Bates cannot

achieve racial unity and awareness by simply increasing diversity as other less concrete experiences (as measured by class year) appear to be more important.

Predicting Academic Privilege Awareness

As with the other indices, class year has the strongest and most significant effect on academic privilege awareness demonstrating that older students tend to have a greater awareness of racial privilege and its impact on academic experience. Gender and parental education also have strong (although not significant) influences on awareness. Women and students with more highly educated parents are more aware of white students' academic privilege. Although this regression does not prove causation, students with highly educated parents may be more mindful of the advantage their parents' education has given them academically. Moreover, as I previously hypothesized, their parents may be more progressive and pass this ideology to their children. Perhaps because of parental education's larger influence, class has only a negligible impact. Finally, as with the other indices, high school heterogeneity and interracial friendships have only a small impact on awareness of academic privilege. Its small impact demonstrates increased diversity at Bates may not definitely change students' racial awareness.

Privilege Awareness Across the Three Domains

Across all measures (social, cultural, and academic) of white privilege awareness, class year has the largest and most significant impact on awareness; older students at Bates are more aware. This suggests students' experiences at Bates (educationally, socially or otherwise) may influence and improve white students' racial consciousness. Gender is consistently the second largest and most significant predictor of racial awareness. Women are more aware of social, academic privilege and especially cultural

privilege, which is consistent with the literatures' findings on gender and awareness. Women's awareness suggests that increasing the number of socially marginalized students on campus may also increase awareness. Although not significant, parental education levels very slightly impact awareness for social and cultural privilege, but have a stronger impact on academic awareness. This implies that education may help determine awareness within a relatively wealthy and homogenous sample of white students. No other variables remained consistent across the indices, demonstrating that white students' awareness is not consistently influenced by class status, high school heterogeneity, or close interracial friendships.

Regardless of the correlation between class identification and education in my sample (.107), which would suggest congruency in their impact on awareness, class status negligibly impacts all areas of awareness, which was not the case for parental education. Parental education is associated with increased awareness of academic privilege.

In contrast with research that suggests interracial interactions can decrease racial bias, interracial exposure (as measured by high school heterogeneity) and interracial friendship (as measured by close friends) do not consistently or strongly increase white students' awareness of privilege. As I outline in my demographics section, most white students in my sample attended fairly homogenous high schools (Mean 1.84), which may make the differentiation between a homogenous (almost all students were white) and heterogeneous (about 75 percent of the students were white) high school fairly superficial for most white students. The negligible impact of interracial friendships on awareness suggests that increased diversity may not be an effective means of facilitating racial

awareness at Bates; it seems that attitudes about race and privilege will not simply change because of interracial interactions and that alternative interventions are needed.

Implications for Increased Racial Privilege Awareness at Bates and Beyond

Both the regression and the quantification of the deniers, minimizers and racial aware show that, within the variables I control for, class year has the largest and most significant influence on awareness. Upperclassmen tend to be more racially aware, suggesting that over their four years at Bates students may make gains in their racial awareness. These findings propose that students' social, academic and extracurricular experiences may play a role in increasing their awareness. This pattern may also occur at other small predominantly white institutions. Investigating the cause of this increased awareness is especially important given that both the regression and distribution suggest that increased exposure to racial diversity and interracial friendships do not significantly increase white students' awareness or recognition of privilege, making it difficult to actively change students' awareness once they have arrived on campus. Increasing white students' awareness and identifying effective means to do so is important as it may improve students of color's experiences in institutions of higher education.

Conclusion

My findings are situated within a broader scholarly conversation concerning race at predominantly white institutions, and more generally, U.S American society. As I have explored in my literature review, predominantly white institutions harbor cultures of whiteness that privilege white students, while making students of color's experiences more challenging and alienating. Scholars propose that white students are generally unaware of their racial privilege and the extent to which it impacts their own and students of color's experiences on predominantly white campuses. Moreover, the literature suggests that white students often perpetuate these power structures by utilizing colorblindness, a form of racism that rests upon ignoring race and its social consequences. These studies rest upon Critical Race Theory (primarily concerned with disadvantaged social groups and the intersectionality of racism) and Critical Whiteness Studies (interested in exploring and exposing the consequences of whiteness), which work, as I do in this thesis, to expose race's tangible effects on social life.

As a sociology student at a predominantly white, but historically inclusive institution, I sought see if these same patterns of racial inequity and white privilege apathy pervaded the Bates College campus. Using quantitative (my close ended survey) and qualitative techniques (the survey's comment box), I investigated white Bates students' racial awareness of social, cultural and academic white privilege, how they negotiate racial privilege in the Bates context, and the influence specific demographic variables have on racial awareness. I conducted this analysis by creating three indexical measures of white privilege awareness (social privilege, cultural privilege and academic privilege) and compared white students' and students of color's responses. Next, based

on respondents' qualitative comments, I coded white students as racial deniers, racial minimizers or racially aware to demonstrate and explore the range of white students' racial privilege awareness. Next, I quantified the deniers, minimizers and racially aware based on an index of overall white privilege awareness and used a crosstab to determine the distribution of gender, class year, class status, parental education, high school heterogeneity, and close interracial friendships across the three categories. Finally, I ran a regression to determine the influence the above mentioned independent variables have on awareness of social, cultural and academic racial privilege.

While Bates' egalitarian history would be suggestive of relatively racially aware white students, I found that this was not the case. My quantitative analysis documents that white students are less aware of racial privilege than students of color for all measures of racial privilege (social, cultural and academic), while my qualitative analysis uncovers the strategies many white students use to explicitly protect and negate their privilege, rather than acknowledge it. My quantitative analysis of the deniers, minimizers and aware as well as my regression suggest that upperclassmen and female students are more racially aware. In this thesis I have argued that, despite Bates College's egalitarian and progressive roots, white privilege does exist at Bates. Moreover, many white students are unaware or apathetic about its impact. When compared to students of color, in both my quantitative and qualitative analysis, white students are not as aware of cultural, social or academic white privilege. Yet, older students appear more racially aware which suggests that experiences at Bates may positively influence racial awareness.

My indices of social, cultural and academic privilege show that white students are consistently less aware of racial privilege than are students of color. As I state in my

analysis, this suggests that white privilege does impact students of color's social, cultural and academic experiences at Bates, illuminating that white privilege does have consequences. Moreover, it proposes that generally, white Bates students are unaware or (or unwilling to admit) the extent to which their racial privilege impacts their own and other students' experiences at Bates. However, awareness levels are not consistent across the three indices implying that certain areas of privilege are easier for both white students and students of color to acknowledge.

In my hierarchy of privilege awareness white students are most attuned to cultural privilege and least mindful of white academic privilege. While my results do not definitely explain why this occurs, I hypothesize that students are most aware of cultural privilege and least aware of academic privilege for three reasons: First, acknowledging cultural privilege does not explicitly challenge white students' individual achievements (as an acknowledgement of academic privilege does). Instead, it suggests that collectively white students have an easier time navigating Bates. Second, students may believe that the institution mitigates racial bias in academics (e.g. a professor is not racially biased, so white students are not privileged), but not implicate it as mitigating factor in cultural privilege. Third, acknowledging their racially influenced privilege directly challenges white students' sense of personal academic merit in ways that cultures of whiteness and social privilege may not. Thus, while the literature proposes that it is difficult for students to see cultural privilege, as they are the ones who bring and perpetuate it, at Bates white students are most aware of racial cultural privilege, which suggests it is important to increase awareness of other areas of racial privilege.

However, as my qualitative (and quantitative) analysis demonstrates, that white students may be more aware of cultural privilege does not suggest that all white students are aware of white privilege. My analysis of the deniers, minimizers and racially aware makes it clear that Bates students encompass a wide range of perceptions and interpretations of race and privilege on campus. Some are concerned with what they perceive to be institutionally discriminatory practices against whites, while others propose that Bates must take steps to educate students about white privilege in an effort to ameliorate what they perceive to be white students' general racial apathy and a culture that can be alienating to students of color.

My quantified analysis of the deniers, minimizers and racially aware and my regression show that being an upperclassmen and being female are the only significant predictors of racial awareness for white students at Bates. In conversation with the racially aware's commentary about the role they perceive courses to have on increased awareness, these findings suggest that institutional educational interventions may help increase racial awareness. Additionally, women's higher level of awareness suggests that increasing the number of students from marginalized social positions, like women, students of color, LGBTQ+ students and students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, could increase overall campus awareness.

Methodological Limitations

Though my survey documents a variety of interesting patterns with important implications, like any time-limited project it also has limitations. First, the survey does not have a concrete measure of the extent to which students actually experience racial privilege on campus, as I ask about their perceptions rather than their personal

experience. To have a concrete measure of white privilege, future researchers should measure the presence of white privilege through questions that first reference students' personal experience and then their perception of what students of other races may experience. Second, it would have been beneficial if I had measured several additional independent variables. Given the chance to revise this research I would measure political affiliation, sexual orientation, academic experience in terms of major and minor, number of courses completed that discuss issues of racial inequality, and participation in extracurricular activities on campus. While my research suggests that older students are more racially aware, seeing the relationship between extracurricular activities, course work and awareness of racial privilege may offer insight into certain activities, courses or majors that seem to catalyze awareness. The literature argues that women are more racially aware because of their subordinate position in society, so it is possible that members of the LGBTQ+ community would also be more racially aware. Political ideology and affiliation may also impact awareness, and though Bates students are generally left-of-center in their politics I believe there is considerable variation in their political perspectives.

While I consider my large number of senior respondents a positive, and I did not explicitly target my friends or fellow sociology majors to take my survey, it is possible that because I am a senior sociology member and am friendly with many seniors who appear to share my liberal views, my senior respondents may be more liberal and racially aware than the average Bates student. If possible I would have worked to get a larger response rate, However, students are limited in the number of times they may solicit respondents through the announce email system.

Implications and Suggestions for Further Research

My findings demonstrate that Bates College is neither as racially equitable nor racially aware as its egalitarian history would propose. As a predominantly white institution it still harbors a culture that privileges white students at the expense of students of color. While some white students, such as the racial deniers and racial minimizers, are unaware of the extent to which race shapes the Bates experience, it is promising that other white Bates students demonstrate awareness of white privilege, suggesting that the college can facilitate and encourage greater racial awareness. Making predominantly white campuses more inclusive and effective for all students is especially important given the disparity between the graduation rates of white students and students of color that are documented in the literature. While outside of the scope of this project, further research is needed to determine how and if this can be done effectively.

Further research needs to be done to determine if a more socioeconomically diverse white population does lead to increased awareness of racial privilege, and if so, its impact on the experiences of students of color at predominantly white institutions. The homogeneity of the white Bates student body makes it difficult to determine if white students from lower income families or more diverse areas might increase awareness. However, my results may have been different if Bates (and thus, my study) included more working class and low-income students as the literature suggests they are often more racially aware. While this study does not offer explicit evidence for this hypothesis, it is possible that increasing the number of low-income and working class white students may shift the distribution of white students' awareness.

While my study shows that upperclassmen are more racially aware, further research is needed to determine what causes upperclassmen's increased awareness. Is it related to course work, experiences, increased opportunities for interracial exposure or a combination of the three? Or is it related to something particular to the Bates classes of 2015 and 2016, or to differential sampling bias by class? Determining more about the cause would allow Bates (and other small predominantly white institutions) to implement institutional policies that could work to increase racial awareness and potentially improve all students' experiences. Additionally, as upperclassmen appear to be more racially aware than underclassmen, Bates (and other institutions) may be able to capitalize on upperclassmen's awareness to help educate underclassmen about race and privilege on campus by sharing their own experiences. Second, although further research needs to be done to determine if there is a relationship, upperclassmen's racial awareness may be a result of their coursework and not just extracurricular involvement and campus experiences. If so, a mandatory diversity requirement for first year students may catalyze awareness earlier in their Bates career, and could be effectively implemented at other similar institutions. Some research suggests that educational interventions that teach white students about racial privilege and empower them to make changes decrease their racial bias. However, not all scholars agree. Further research should be conducted to determine if educational interventions could work effectively.

Interracial friendships appear to have a negligible impact on white Bates students' awareness of white privilege, which suggests that increasing privilege awareness among white students is not a matter of simply increasing diversity. Further research is needed to determine if interracial friendships are more effective influencers of racial awareness

on more racially heterogeneous campuses, which would suggest an increase in awareness is contingent on a drastic increase in racial diversity, rather than any increase. My findings advise that Bates, and other predominantly white institutions would be prudent to consider increased avenues for education about racial privilege and spaces to facilitate more meaningful conversation and interactions around race and racial privilege.

While Bates College should be proud of its past progressivity, it is clear that the college and its students have a significant path to travel before they can claim to be truly egalitarian. As a college that should be a hallmark of racial progress, Bates is representative of the larger failings concerning race and higher education, demonstrating that institutions of higher education must work to be more inclusive and supportive. As the die-in at Commons demonstrated, despite the fervor surrounding the “Black Lives Matter” which places racial inequity on a more public stage, many white Bates students are unaware or unwilling to acknowledge their privilege and its complicity in perpetuating inequity on their own campus. Institutions of higher education are responsible for educating their students so that they can effectively engage with and work to transform their communities. As such, it is important that institutions of higher education understand the ways in which their students think about, engage with and negotiate racial privilege so that they can empower their students to challenge the very structures that perpetuate the inequity that devalues and disenfranchises people of color in the United States.

Bibliography

- Adams, Mauranne, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin. 2007. *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*. New York: Routledge.
- Babbie, Earl. 2007. *The Practice of Social Research*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Banks, Kira Hudson, Tracey Murry, Nadia Brown, Wisdom Powell Hammond. 2014. "The Impact of Feminist Attitudes on the Relation between Racial Awareness and Racial Identity." *Sex Roles* 70: 232- 239.
- Bates College. 2014. "About Bates." Retrieved September 25, 2014 (<http://www.bates.edu/about/>).
- Bates College Office of Institutional Research Analysis and Planning. 2014. *Bates Facts 2013-2014*. Lewiston: Bates College.
- Bates College of Institutional Research Analysis and Planning. 1996. *Bates Facts 1996-1997*. Lewiston: Bates College.
- Bates College Office of Intercultural Education. 2014. *Welcome to the OIE*. Lewiston: Bates College.
- Bernardi, Daniel and Michael Green. 2014. "Whiteness." *Oxford Bibliographies*. Web.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2010. *Racisms without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and Racial Inequality in Contemporary America*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Brunsmas, David, Eric Brown and Peggy Placier. 2012. "Teaching Race at Historically White Colleges and Universities: Identifying and Dismantling the Walls of Whiteness." *Critical Sociology* 39 (5): 717- 738.
- Cabrera, Nola León. 2012. "Exposing whiteness in higher education: white male college students minimizing racism, claiming victimization, and recreating white supremacy." *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 17 (1): 30 – 55.
- Carbado, Devon and Daria Roithmyr. 2014. "Critical Race Theory Meets Social Science." *Annual Review of Law and Social Sciences* 12 (32): 11.1- 11.19.
- Carson, Leslie R. 2009. "'I am because we are:' collectivism as a foundational characteristic of African American college student identity and academic achievement." *Social Psychology of Education* 12 (3): 327- 344.

- Cawthra, Benjamin. 2013. "Civil Rights Act (1963)." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Social History*, edited by Lynn Dumenil. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cerezo, Alison, Benedict T. McWhirter, Diana Peña, Marina Valdez, and Cristina Bustos. 2013. "Giving Voice: Utilizing Critical Race Theory to Facilitate Consciousness of Racial Identity for Latina/o College Students." *Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology* 5 (3): 1- 24.
- Chambliss, Daniel and Russell Schutt. 2010. *Making Sense of the Social World*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forage Press.
- Costello, Carrie Yang. 2005. *Professional Identity Crisis: Race, Class, Gender, and Success at Professional Schools*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Davis, Mitzi, Yvonne Dias-Bowie, Katherine Greeberg, Gary Klukken, Howard Pollio, Sandra Thomas and Charles Thompson. 2004. "'A Fly in the Buttermilk': Descriptions of University Life by Successful Black Undergraduate Students at a Predominantly White Southeastern University." *The Journal of Higher Education* 75 (4): 420-445.
- Deidre, Anglin and Jay Wade. 2007. "Racial Socialization, Racial Identity and Black Students' Adjustment to College." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13 (3): 207 -215.
- Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefancic. 2012. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- Dinh, Khan. 2008. "The Effects of Contact with Asians and Asian Americans on White American College Students: Attitudes, Awareness of Racial Discrimination, and Psychological Adjustment." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 43 (3/4): 3-14.
- Donovan, Roxanne A. 2011. "Tough or Tender: (Dis)Similarities in White College Students' Perceptions of Black and White Women." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 35 (3): 458- 468.
- Fisher, Mary J. 2011. "Interracial contact and changes in racial attitudes of white college students." *Social Psychology of Education* 14: 547-574.
- Ford, Kristie. 2012. "Shifting White Ideological Scripts: The Educational Benefits of Inter- and Interracial Curricular Dialogues on the Experiences of White College Students." *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 5 (3): 138 – 158.
- Foster, John D. 2009. "Defending whiteness indirectly: a synthetic approach to race discourse analysis." *Discourse Society* 20 (6): 685-703.

- Guiffrida, Douglas and Kathryn Z. Douthit. 2010. "The Black Experience at Predominantly White Colleges: Implications for School and College Counselors." *Journal of Counseling and Development* 88: 311- 318.
- Harper, Shaun. 2006 "Peer Support for African American Male College Achievement: Beyond Internalized Racism and the Burden of "Acting White." *Journal of Men's Studies* 14 (3): 337- 358.
- Humes, Karen, Nicholas Jones, and Roberto Ramirez. 2011. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*. U.S Census Bureau.
- Jack, Anthony Abraham. 2014 "Culture Shock Revisited: The Social and Cultural Contingencies to Class Marginality." *Sociological Forum* 29 (2): 453-475.
- Jackman, Mary and Marie Crane. 1986. "Some of my best friends are black..." Interracial Friendships and Whites' Racial Attitudes." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50: 459-486.
- Jaret, Charles and Donald Reitzes. 2009. "Currents in a Stream: College Students Identities and Ethnic Identities and Their Relationship with Self-Esteem, Efficacy and Grade Point Average in an Urban University." *Social Science Quarterly* 90 (2): 345- 367.
- Kane, Emily and Kimberly Whipkey. 2009. "Predictors of Public Support for Gender-Related Affirmative action: Interests, Gender Attitudes and Stratification Beliefs." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73.2: 233-254.
- Kao, Grace and Jennifer Thompson. 2003. "Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Educational Achievement and Attainment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29: 417-42.
- Larson, Timothy Wayne. 2005. "Faith By Their Works: Our Progressive Tradition at Bates College from 1855 to 1877." Undergraduate Thesis, Department of History, Bates College.
- McCabe, Janice. 2009. "Racial and Gender Microaggressions on a Predominantly-White Campus: Experiences of Black, Latina/o and White Undergraduates." *Race, Gender and Class* 16 (1-2): 133- 151.
- McGown, Shannon and Anne Kern. 2013. "Pre-Service Foreign Language Teachers' Attitudes of Privilege and Oppression." *Journal of Education and Training Studies* 2 (1): 31- 42.

- McIntosh, Peggy. 2013. "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." *White Privilege: Essential Readings on the Other Side of Racism*. Ed. Paula S. Rothenberg. New York: Worth Publishers: 121-126.
- Poteat, Paul and Lisa Spanierman. 2012. "Modern Racism Attitudes Among White Students: The Role of Dominance and Authoritarianism and the Mediating Effects of Racial Color Blindness." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 152 (6): 758-774.
- Princeton Review. 2015. *Bates College, Student Body*.
<http://www.princetonreview.com/schools/college/collegestudents.aspx?iid=1024055>.
- Rubin, Herbert and Irene Rubin. 2005. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ray, Rashawn. 2012. "Fraternity life at predominantly white universities in the US: the saliency of race." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (2): 320- 336.
- Reitzes, Donald C and Jaret Charles. 2007. "Identities and Social-Psychological Well-Being among African American College Students." *Sociological Focus* 40 (4): 392- 412.
- Rheinschmidt, Michelle and Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton. 2014. "Social Class and Academic Achievement in College: The Interplay of Rejection Sensitivity and Entity Beliefs." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 107 (1): 101-121.
- Sanders, Melissa R. and Ramaswami Mahalingam. 2012. "Under the Radar: The Role of Invisible Discourse in Understanding Class Based Privilege." *Journal of Social Issues* 68 (1): 112-127.
- Schofield, Janet Ward, Leslie R.M Hausman, Feifei Ye and Rochelle L. Woods. 2010. "Intergroup friendship on campus: Predicting close and casual friendships between White and African American first-year college students." *Group Processing Intergroup Relations* 13 (5): 585-603.
- Smith, Annie. 2013. *It's Not Because You're Black: Addressing Issues of Racism and Underrepresentation of African Americans in Academia*. New York: University Press of America.
- Smith, Sandra Susan and Jennifer Anne Meri Jones. 2011. "Intraracial harassment on campus: explaining between-and within-group differences." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34 (9): 1567-1593.
- Smith, Sandra and Mignon Moore. 2000. "Interracial Diversity and Relations among African Americans: Closeness among Black Students at a Predominantly White University." *American Journal of Sociology* 106 (1): 1-39.

- Smith, Justin, Mary Senter, and J. Cherie Strachan. 2013. "Gender and White College Students' Racial Attitudes." *Sociological Inquiry* 83 (4): 570- 590.
- Soles, Diane R. 2011. "First Day Activities for Teaching Race and Ethnicity: Chipping Away at Colorblind Ideology." *Sociological Imagination* 47 (2): 48-62.
- Steele, Claude. 2010. *Whistling Vivaldi: How Stereotypes Affect Us and What We Can Do*. New York: W.W Norton and Company.
- Stewart, Tracie, Ioana Latu, Nyla L. Phillips and H.Ted Denney. 2012. "White Privilege Awareness and Efficacy to Reduce Racial Inequity Improve White American's Attitudes Toward African Americans." *Journal of Social Issues* 68 (1): 11-27.
- Tatum, Beverly Daniel. 1997. "Why are all the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?" *And Other Conversations about Race*. New York: BasicBooks.
- Torres, Kimberly. 2009. "'Culture Shock': Black Students account for their distinctiveness at an elite college." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32 (5): 883- 905
- U.S Department of Education. 2014. *Fast Facts: Enrollment*. Institution of Education and Science: National Center for Education Statistics. Web.
- U.S Department of Education. 2012. *Higher Education: Gaps in Access and Persistence Study*. NCES 2012-046. Institution of Education and Science: National Center for Education Statistics. <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2012/2012046.pdf>. Web.
- U.S News and World Reports. 2014. *National Liberal Arts Colleges, Bates College*. <http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/bates-college-2036?int=colleges:arrow>
- Wise, Tim. 2012. *Dear White America*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.
- Willie, Sarah. 2003. *Acting Black: College, Identity and the Performance of Race*. New York: Taylor and Rutledge.
- Wing, Jean Yonemura. 2007. "Beyond Black and White: The Model Minority Myth and the Invisibility of Asian American Students." *The Urban Review* 39 (4): 455- 487.

Appendix I

Hey Batsies!

Wanna get some good karma??

Please take my **VERY BRIEF** sociology thesis survey (less than 5 minutes, I promise!).

I need **YOUR** help to understand how race shapes the student experience at Bates.

Here's the

link: https://bates.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_bEjd2RW5QiHdHRX

Got questions? Email me at qsnellin@bates.edu

Thanks!

Quincy

Appendix II

Race at Bates

Q1 Thank you for expressing interest in my sociology thesis survey! I am conducting this research in an effort to better understand how race plays a role in everyday life at Bates College. This is a VERY brief survey that should take no more than 7 minutes to complete. Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. Your participation is completely voluntary and your responses will be collected anonymously. If you would like more information regarding this study or its results please email Quincy Snellings at qsnellin@bates.edu. If you would like to find a safe place to discuss race at Bates, please contact the Office of Intercultural Education at oie@bates.edu or 207 786 8303. Please note that throughout this survey the term students of color is used define all non-white students.

Q3 What is your class year?

- First year (2018) (1)
- Sophomore (2017) (2)
- Junior (2016) (3)
- Senior (2015) (4)

Q4 What is your race?

- White, non-Hispanic (1)
- Black (2)
- Hispanic/ Latino (3)
- Asian (4)
- Biracial/ Multiracial (5)
- Other (6)
- Prefer not to answer (7)

Q5 What gender do you identify with?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3)

Q6 Please pick one of the following: I am a

- United States Citizen (1)
- United States Permanent Resident (2)
- Non-United States Citizen or Resident (3)

Q7 Have you lived in the United States for more than 12 years?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q9 What class do you identify with?

- Low -income (1)
- Working Class (2)
- Middle Class (3)
- Upper Middle Class (4)
- Upper Class (5)
- Unsure (6)
- Prefer not to answer (7)

Q10 What is the highest degree or level of school your most educated parent has completed?

- Less than high school graduate (1)
- High school graduate or G.E.D (2)
- Associates' degree (3)
- Bachelors' degree (4)
- Other degree beyond a bachelors' (5)

Q12 Which statement come closest to describing the racial make-up of your high school:

- Almost all the students were the same race as me (1)
- About 75 percent of the students were the same race as me (2)
- About 50 percent of the students were the same race as me (3)
- About 25 percent of the students were the same race as me (4)
- About 10 percent of the students were the same race as me (5)

Q13 Which statement comes closest to describing the socioeconomic class make-up of your high school?

- Almost all of the students were of the same socioeconomic status as me (1)
- About 75 percent of the students were of the same socioeconomic status as me (2)
- About 50 percent of the students were of the same socioeconomic status as me (3)
- About 25 percent of the students were of the same socioeconomic status as me (4)
- About 10 percent of the students were of the same socioeconomic status as me (5)

Q12 At Bates College, what proportion of your friends are a different race than you?

- None (1)
- A few (2)
- About half (3)
- Most (4)

Q13 Now, think of your five closest friends at Bates College. How many of them are a different race than you?

- None (1)
- 1 (2)
- 2 (3)
- 3 (4)
- 4 (5)
- All (6)

Q20 Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

Q16 At Bates College, the student body is racially diverse.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q25 At Bates College, students often eat meals and socialize with people of their same race.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q26 At Bates College, students of color separate themselves from white students by only "hanging out" with other students of color.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q27 At Bates College, white students separate themselves from students of color by only "hanging out" with other white students.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q28 Bates College is a good place for students of color

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q29 At Bates College, daily college life is easier for white students.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q30 At Bates College, white cultural characteristics are more valued than those of people of color.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q31 At Bates College, white students experience discrimination because of their race.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q32 It is easier to gain admissions to Bates College if you are a student of color.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q33 At Bates College, being a white student is socially advantageous.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q34 At Bates College, students of color are stopped by security more frequently than white students.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q35 At Bates College, being a student of color is socially advantageous.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q38 To what extent do you think students of color face additional obstacles in the following areas at Bates?

	to no extent (1)	to a small extent (2)	to some extent (3)	to a large extent (4)
Academic Success (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Faculty-Student Relationships (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social Opportunity (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Extracurricular Activities (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Varsity Athletics (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q29 Here is a list of a few things some people think may contribute to racial separation at Bates College. For each, please mark how much you think it contributes to racial separation at Bates.

	no contribution (1)	somewhat important contribution (2)	important contribution (3)	very important contribution (4)
The Green Room in Commons (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Office of Intercultural Education (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Admission policies (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Separate orientation programs for international and first generation college students (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Individual preference/choice (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bates' predominantly white student culture (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q31 This survey may bring to mind thoughts and comments you have about race at Bates. Please share them here: