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Assessing the Relationship Between White Privilege, White Fragility, and Masculine Gender Identity and Stressors in the Workplace

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

As systemic racism continues to disproportionately impact millions of individuals in the U.S., the systems which perpetuate inequities need to be examined from an intersectional lens. One key aspect of understanding systemic racism is the exploration of White privilege and White fragility. White privilege, or illegitimate and unearned advantages White people receive based on their race, has been an ongoing reinforcement of racial inequity to White individuals within the United States for centuries (Kolber, 2017). While many White individuals faced with knowledge of White privilege may feel guilt or anger, these emotional experiences are shown to spur desire for social change (Knowles et al.,2014). Research suggests that a shift in the current power homeostasis can range from uncomfortable to threatening for White individuals (Conway at al., 2017). As a way to maintain the current racial structural hierarchy, White people have been found to engage in a variety of behavioral, cognitive and affective strategies to distance themselves from engaging with topics of race, and more specifically, White privilege (Conway et al., 2017). The term "White fragility," or the reduced ability for White people in the United States of America to cope with racial stress, has recently arisen as an answer to the phenomena of defense mechanism of individuals in power when confronted with systems of power and oppression (DiAngelo, 2018). One such defense mechanism, or strategy, is White privilege information

avoidance, in which White people avoid learning information about White privilege for a variety of reasons, including a perceived threat to their view of themselves as well as their way of making sense of the world around them (Conway et al., 2017). For example, White people have been found to endorse a merit-based perspective of their own accomplishments as well as their familial accomplishments and resources as opposed to recognizing the role of intergenerational racial advantage (Mueller, 2017). One experiment suggests that even when faced with direct evidence about the role of White privilege in their ancestors' achievements, many White people engaged in intentional cognitive deflections to avoid this challenge to their personal family narrative (Mueller, 2017).

However, identities do not exist singularly, and consideration of additional structural identities is necessary when analyzing systems of power and oppression (Liu, 2017). The relationship between White privilege and gender has been an overlooked area of scholarship within the study of privilege in the field of counseling psychology (Liu, 2017). White men and women often react differently to tension around White privilege, with women responding with increased openness or empathy when compared to men (Pinterits et al., 2009). Spanierman et al., (2012) found White men were more likely than White women to experience an insensitive and afraid "racial affect", or emotional patterns of empathy, guilt and fear, when asked about the psychosocial costs of racism they experience. The racial affect pattern found more frequently in White men was the lowest in empathy and guilt, and the highest in fear, out of five racial affect patterns (Garriott et al., 2016; Greenwood & Christian; 2008; Spanierman et al., 2012). Garriott et

al., (2016) found that an increase in White guilt mediated the impact of various multicultural interventions on White privilege awareness. Thus, their findings suggest that in order to understand the role of White privilege and White privilege awareness or ignorance in perpetuating racial inequity, affective mechanisms must be explored in addition to cognitive mechanisms. When these findings are considered alongside decades of research identifying male restrictive emotionality as a result of masculine socialization (O'Neil, 2008), the need for an analysis of the intersection of multiple privileged identities regarding racial inequity is clear.

One salient environment where both race and gender are visible within a hierarchical structure is in the work environment. Disparities are still common among individuals who hold positions of power, with the vast majority of higher-level staff identifying as White men (Kuchynka et al., 2018). People who hold minority identities continue to experience stereotyping and prejudice within many workplaces, in part theorized to be due to masculine organizational norms which focus on dominance and competition (Glick et al., 2018). However, lack of diversity/multiculturalism has been inversely associated with corporate success (Bradford, 2017; Orenstein, 2005). The corporate environment, therefore, is a key setting in which gender socialization, racial attitudes, and White privilege all intersect, at times in a manner which is negative both for individuals holding marginalized identities as well as the company itself.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory and Critical Whiteness Studies

Critical Race Theory

This dissertation utilizes the constructs of White privilege and White fragility to better understand defensive behaviors or reactions when experiencing racial threat or discomfort. As this research focuses on the overlapping racial and patriarchal ideologies which maintain racial and gender inequities, Critical Race Theory (CRT) provides additional context and framing to the study. CRT was first developed in response to the lack of legal scholarship on the structural components of inequity of marginalized populations, specifically African American individuals (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Seiler, 2003). The primary goal of CRT scholarship is to elevate the voices and experiences of people of color while dismantling racial inequity across various social, legal, and political spaces (Johnson-Ahorlu, 2017). CRT acknowledges that racism is a structured aspect of everyday life for everyone in the U.S. and emphasizes the intersectional nature of holding multiple marginalized identities (Cabrera, 2018). Racial inequity in current society, through the lens of CRT, is reproduced in a systematic manner across numerous domains, including education, housing, legal system, and politics (Christian et al., 2019). In order to fully understand these systemic domains which perpetuate racism and oppression, additional considerations such as patriarchal values and ideology must be considered (Christian et al., 2019; Crenshaw et al., 1995). Therefore, as the themes of White privilege and masculinity are jointly examined throughout the following study, CRT continues to guide the theoretical operationalization of that these constructs (Liu, 2017).

However, as this study is not explicitly examining the experiences of people of color, it is essential to note that while CRT is informing and enhancing the theoretical underpinnings of this study, this study does not utilize a CRT approach to the research questions and method.

One area in which CRT informs this study is the critique of research neutrality as historically harmful to minoritized populations (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014). CRT literature clearly identifies various systemic ways in which a neutral stance towards race, or other minority identities, has resulted in excluding these individuals from consideration, thereby ignoring the issue of structural inequity (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014). While this study does utilize a quantitative design and thereby is in some ways aligning with preexisting categories and knowledge around race and gender, the operationalization of all constructs has been informed by critical race theory's emphasis on systemic intersections of power and privilege (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014; Christian et al., 2019). Clare Crawford (2019) argues that quantitative date cannot be divorced from political and racial norms within a society and advocates for the use of a Quantitative Critical Race Theory (QuantCrit) to better bridge advance CRT objectives. This approach to CRT research has laid out several core tenets, including the centrality of racism, the lack of neutrality of quantitative data, recognition that categories such as race and gender are socially constructed, and the commitment to engaging in research to further social justice (Crawford, 2019; Gillborn et al., 2012). These tenets have also guided the present research study.

Critical Whiteness Studies

As the frame of racial and patriarchal ideologies in the United States are grounded in Critical Race Theory in this study, Critical Whiteness Studies is also utilized to ground the identity of Whiteness as a socially constructed identify which promotes a white racial ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Critical Whiteness Studies "unpacks" the hidden privileges of Whiteness as well as studies how White privilege causes harm to communities of color (Matias & Boucher, 2021; McIntosh, 1989). Matias & Boucher advocate for the use of Critical Whiteness Studies to explore the relationship between Whiteness and racism, writing, "Because global white supremacy elevates whiteness as the prevailing, normalized condition for which racial others are denied, the intricacies of racial analyses should always consider the power structures of whiteness and how it intersects with racism" (2021, p. 6). Cabrera (2018) introduced the concept of "hegemonic Whiteness" as a theoretical supplement to Critical Race Theory, in order to provide an operationalized perspective on structural racism while naming the ongoing harm White supremacy enacts on racial and ethnic minorities. Hegemonic Whiteness explores how the invisibility yet dominance of Whiteness, planted in a White supremacist society, allows for racial inequity practices to appear normal and natural (Cabrera, 2018). Bonilla-Silva's (2015) description of color-blind racism as the dominant racial ideology further supports this perspective of hegemonic Whiteness as a subtle and covert mechanism to maintain systemic racial advantages and disadvantages.

Workplace Social Inequity

Despite social and civil movements promoting equity and federal legislation mandating open opportunities for all races, inequities in the workplace regarding women, people of color, and lower socio-economic class still exist (Dobbin et al., 201l). Research into the reproduction of inequity in the workplace has centered on Organizational Theory (Acker, 2006). According to Acker (2006), organizations are unique and influential systems which sustain inequality. She defines structural inequality in organizations as:

> Systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes; workplace decisions such as how to organize work; opportunities for promotion and interesting work; security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards; respect; and pleasures in work and work relations. (p. 443)

She named these complex, mutually reinforcing patterns of disparities "Inequality Regimes" to better conceptualize the intersectional nature of oppression within organizations (Acker, 2006). As with any system, inequality in organizational structures is fluid and influenced by the societal norms and politics they exist within (Acker, 2006). Within recent history, gender was an explicit sphere of stratification in the workplace, with men holding higher, managerial positions and women engaging in day-to-day, lower-level administrative support (Blau & Kahn, 2017; Goldin, 2006; Huffman et al., 2010). Similarly, as already described later in sections on industrialization and racialization, people of color were excluded from all but the lowest level positions within most organizations (Nkomo & Ariss, 2013). While norms have shifted, the historical context of allocation of power based on gender and race is still extremely visible in current organizational inequality (Acker, 2006).

It is well supported in the literature that implicit bias and in-group favoritism are mechanisms which reproduce gender and race disparities within organizations (Healy et al., 2018; Smith, 2002; Stainbeck et al., 2010). According to Stainbeck and colleagues (2010) individuals in power are often influenced by bias, or "status beliefs". These status beliefs are cognitive schemas which categorize an individual's abilities or competence based on social identities such as gender or race (Stainbeck et al., 2010). When activated during hiring decisions or managerial decisions, status beliefs cause stereotyping of individuals based on culturally categorical differences (Stainbeck et al., 2010). For example, these status beliefs, or implicit biases, are more clearly observed in a study by David Martin (2011) in which participants were presented with the same job description but were told the labor pool was different based on two dimensions of gender (male and female) and race (Caucasian and African American). They were then asked to determine the importance of specific aspects of the position, and Martin (2011) found that White women were perceived to be significantly more responsible than any other gender/race combination within an administrative role. Furthermore, a recent study by Lyons-Padilla and her colleagues (2019) found that professional financial investors expressed increased confidence in a White-led, all White investing team over a Black-led, racially diverse investment team.

In-group favoritism, or the tendency to select and reward individuals who are part of one's identity group even if no negative feelings towards out-group populations exist, also plays a significant role in organizational race and gender disparities (Conway et al., 2017; Stainbeck et al., 2010). People may automatically develop a framework for

judging others based on their own identities, and more favorably evaluate individuals similar to them (Stainbeck et al., 2010). From a sociological perspective, the more authority a position holds, the higher risks a hiring manager or team takes in assigning someone that position. Traditionally, research has shown that the more prestigious a position is, the less regulated the hiring processes are (Smith, 2002). Therefore, due to the inherent risk and lack of hiring policies, individuals are often hired into powerful positions based on shared characteristics they hold with the individuals already in power, including gender and racial identities (Smith, 2002). High-status individuals have been shown to receive additional benefits within workplaces (Stainbeck et al., 2010). For example, DiTomaso et al. (2007) found that White men were more likely to have more favorable job reviews as well as have access to more challenging and advanced opportunities while women and people of color received average job ratings and opportunities. Thus, in-group preferences contribute to the reproduction of current systems of organizational inequities in addition to implicit bias.

The nature of racial inequity and disparities in workplace hiring and opportunities can be tracked from Black Americans' early experiences in forced labor to the present day (Nkomo & Ariss, 2013). A recent review of entrepreneurial opportunities for Black individuals identifies low involvement with entrepreneurship compared to other races, both nationally and internationally (Gold, 2016). An analysis of this disparity suggests Critical Race Theory's perspective of systemic racism, modern racism, and long-term systemic White supremacy provides the most comprehensive and accurate explanation (Gold, 2016). In-group preferences, implicit bias, and reduced access to higher

opportunities within the workplace are all symptoms of a larger ongoing systemic issue of racial inequity.

White Identity

The Racialization of Whiteness

The racial identity of Whiteness stems from early colonialization efforts of what is now the United State of America (Fenelon, 2016). Colonial and capitalist forces in Anglo-America created legal frameworks to engage and slavery and genocide of Native and African populations within North American (Fenelon, 2016). Nkomo and Ariss (2013) identify the historical forces of colonization and racialization as the two main contributors to the development of Whiteness as an identity. European colonizers framed themselves as a civilized race in contrast to any native populations in lands they conquered, setting the stage for White supremacy over other races or identities (Rabaka, 2007). The advent of the industrial revolution emphasized White racial superiority ideology, with theorists leaning on Darwinian Theory as support for White racial supremacy (Rabaka, 2007). While White supremacy has been a central aspect of modern global development for the past 500 years, throughout the industrial revolution a scientific rationalization was created to subjugate groups of people into industrial labor via racialization (Bonnett, 2002; Fenelon, 2016). White workers within factory positions were frequently paid higher salaries and assigned safer duties than Black workers, receiving an increase in privilege based solely on skin color (Nkomo & Ariss, 2013). Individuals with access to wealth such as landowners and factory owners during the European colonization era maintained a stand that a “free” market as they had designed it

led to a natural economic balance, while in fact it led to the ongoing subservience of local populations to supply goods (Halley et al., 2010). This justification for the unequal distribution of resources echoes themes in current scholars' work in color-blind racism (e.g. "everyone who works hard has an equal chance to be rich") (Bonilla-Silva et al., 2004). Jim Crow laws enacted in this time further legalized occupational segregation, repression, and violence towards African American individuals. As industrialization and labor exploitation progressed, Whiteness became synonymous with financial and economic superiority, creating ongoing systems of privilege and oppression which still function today (Bonilla-Silva, 2019, Nkomo & Ariss, 2013). While these industrial, post-civil war racist policies were extremely overt, White supremacy as it exists in modern times continues to be enacted, albeit at times through less explicit systems (Rabaka, 2007).

White Racial Identity

For all individuals living in the current racialized society, the dominant social ideology of White Supremacy and mechanisms of structural racism interact to influence one's racial identity (Frankenburg, 1993; Helms, 1995). An individual's racial identity provides a schema to understand and ascribe meaning to racially informed experiences, events or interactions (Hays & Chang, 2003). Janet Helms (1995) proposed a model of racial identity development which suggests one's racial identity provides an internal orientation of the self towards race, as well as directs an individual's attitudes, beliefs, and values towards aspects of race in their society. Helm's (1995) model of White Racial Identity Development (WRID) provides a framework for White individuals to reject

White privilege and move towards a non-racist White racial identity (Hays et al., 2008). The initial stage WRID is of "contact", in which White individuals typically hold worldviews of fairness and meritocracy and view racism as individual acts of prejudice as opposed to structurally ingrained systems within society (Helm, 1995). In this contact stage White individuals automatically "other" Black individuals and hold Whiteness as the invisible norm (Thompson & Carter, 2012). Individuals with higher levels of societal privilege are often blind to their power as well as to the biases they hold (Pronin, et al., 2002), and it is not until they move into the "disintegration" stage that they begin to have a more conscious awareness of racism and White privilege (Thompson & Carter, 2012). At the disintegration stage, White individuals begin to develop an awareness of race and racism through personal experience as well as struggles with conflictual emotions including shame, anger, and guilt around White privilege (Hays et al., 2008; Helms, 1995). White individuals will then move into the "reintegration" stage. At the reintegration stage a White person now has a clear understanding that they are White, and often experiences a pendulum swing from their shallow rejection of racism to feelings of frustration and discomfort that they hold a White identity (Helms, 1995; Thompson & Carter, 2012). Often, White individuals at this stage feel an underlying sense of wrongness, or guilt, associated with their White identity and therefore engage in defensive cognitive strategies to protect their preferred self-image that they are a good, moral person (Thompson & Carter, 2012). Many people stay at this stage, as the next three stages of WRID require White individuals to undertake a difficult and psychologically painful process of acknowledging and abandoning the racist aspects of

one's White identity (Helms, 1995). These stages include pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy, in which a White individual moves from a more intellectualized perspective of racial inequity while still maintaining some internalized White supremacy to holding an internalized positive white racial identity and actively engaging in flexible and open anti-racist work (Helms, 1995; Thompson & Carter, 2012).

Research on the relationship between WRID and White privilege awareness in counseling students indicates that the contact and reintegration stages of WRID are significantly negatively associated with White privilege awareness (Hays et al., 2008). Additionally, the immersion/emersion stage was positively associated with White privilege awareness (Hays et al., 2008). These results suggest that as White individuals move through the stages of WRID, they become aware of their privilege, and of the role White privilege plays in enacting racial inequities (Hays et al., 2008). This is in part thought to be a function of increased awareness of racism and development of a positive racial identity as White individuals progress through their own WRID (1995). While this study does not employ an explicit measure of WRID, all individuals hold a racial identity which interacts with their awareness of and discomfort (or lack thereof) of systemic racial privilege and disadvantage (Helms, 1995).

White Privilege

Whiteness is considered to be a privileged structural identity in which individuals are located not only racially, but politically, socially, and economically as well (Kolber, 2017). White privilege is an observable product of the structural advantages of Whiteness (Kolber, 2017; Nkomo & Ariss, 2013; Rabaka, 2007). White privilege refers to

illegitimate, or unearned, advantages White people receive based on their race (Conway et al., 2017; Stewart et al., 2012). According to Peggy McIntosh's (2019) framework of White privilege, privilege is an unescapable aspect of one's life. White people have been found to experience privilege in numerous areas of life in ongoing research. For example, a recent meta-analysis on data from 1989 - 2015 found White people to consistently receive interview and job offers over Black and Latinx individuals with matching experience and qualifications (Quillian et al., 2017). Furthermore, racial bias to the detriment of Black individuals and people of color has been observed in health disparities in birth outcomes for children and mothers (Orchard & Price, 2017), an overrepresentation in the criminal justice system with Black individuals incarcerated at a 5:1 ratio of White individuals (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018), and a racial achievement gap between Black and White students (Gershenson & Papageorge, 2018).

White privilege, as with most examples of privilege, is often not acknowledged by those who hold it until explicit attention is brought to it (Addy, 2008). One mechanism which contributes to the lack of awareness is viewing Whiteness as the "norm" and automatically categorizing all other racial identities as "different" or "other" (Addy, 2008). Racial Identity Theory suggests that many White people struggle to identify a racial identity or deny race as a salient aspect of their identity development (Ambrosio, 2014). By denying a White racial identity, White people are able to view themselves as "innocent of race" (Helms, 1995l DiAngelo, 2018, p. 62). This individualistic perspective is deeply rooted in American ideology, as viewing oneself as unique often

leads White individuals to ignore the influence of structural identities such as race, ethnicity, gender, and social class (DiAngelo, 2018; Kolber, 2017).

White ignorance, according to Mueller, allows White individuals to view racism as an individual trait and therefore deny any association or responsibility for racist acts, as opposed to viewing racism as a racial structure perpetuated by race denial (Mueller, 2017; Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Another way to understand this phenomena is through Dr. Bonilla-Silva's racial ideology of color-blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Color-blind racism refers to the ingrained ideology which defends and perpetuates the systemic and systematic policies and attitudes, minimizing and delegitimizing the significance of race (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Byrd, 2011; Kolber, 2017; Neville et al., 2000). Colorblind racism allows for the rationalization of White privilege through denying, avoiding, or rationalizing racial inequities (Mueller, 2017). Utilizing qualitative analysis of students' writings from a grounded theory perspective, she found generational patterns in both students and parents of evading direct discussions around White racial identity in White students. Additionally, she identified a pattern she coined as "willful colorblindness", described as a tendency to find alternate explanations or interpretations of very clear examples of White privilege they or their family experienced throughout time, often citing a more merit-based perspective. Lastly, she identified cognitive patterns of assuming clear examples of oppression and White privilege are only enacted by White people who are completely ignorant of systemic racism, as well as distancing from any personal responsibility or action to address racial inequity (Mueller, 2017). These themes address the phenomena of how individuals consciously reproduce White ignorance by

identifying creative and consistent strategies to defend current and historical systems of oppression (Mueller, 2017).

An additional perspective on the perpetuation of colorblind racism, or purposeful denial of White privilege via oppressive systems, comes from DiAngelo's "White Fragility" (2018). She discusses the intentional geographic creation of "White spaces", in which White people live, work, and engage in a community in which the vast majority of their interactions are with other White people. Furthermore, coded language places value on spaces which are majority occupied by White people, often called "good neighborhoods", and spaces which are majority occupied by people of color are called "dangerous neighborhoods". Through this racial segregation White people tend to normalize their lived experiences, and only notice race when they engage with people who are not White (DiAngelo, 2018). Thus, White people are able to maintain a self-image which aligns with color-blind racism, allowing themselves to exist in racially created structures which benefit them without sacrificing their "moral" self-image (Bonillo-Silva, 2015; DiAngelo, 2018).

White Fragility

Robin DiAngelo coined the term "White fragility", which describes the defensive practices White people employ when faced with truths around the system of racism which they benefit from and exist in (DiAngelo, 2018). White fragility is theorized to occur when a small amount of racial stress becomes overwhelming for a White individual, leading to a variety of defensive behaviors to escape the current situation causing the discomfort (DiAngelo, 2018). These behaviors allow White people to

maintain a positive sense of self while benefiting from White privilege (Applebaum, 2017). Furthermore, these socially normed defensive behaviors which allow White people to escape racial tension are enacted at the cost of ignoring and perpetuating the oppression of people of color (Applebaum, 2017).

Many theorists and activists understand White to be an emotional reaction to racial discomfort, with a classic example being when a White individual becomes angry or tearful when they are informed they have microaggressed against a person of color (DiAngelo, 2018; Srivastava, 2006). This is certainly one aspect of White Fragility, and emotional reactions of fear, anxiety, and irritation have all been identified as reactions to White racial threat or stress (Conway et al., 2017; DiAngelo, 2018; Spanierman et al., 2012). However, White Fragility has been theorized to encompass behavioral and cognitive responses to racial threat in addition to emotional responses ((DiAngelo, 2018; Langrehr et al., 2021). Cognitive mechanisms such as distance, or exceptionism, which separates ones' self from the dominant White group in order to avoid negative implications of Whiteness, have been observed as reactions by White individuals to protect their self-image (Knowles et al., 2014; Langrehr et al., 2021). Another White Fragility reaction which is typically behavioral or attitudinal is the demand of White individuals that their psychological comfort be protected by seeking comfort from people of color or preferring for discussions of racism to avoid any White privilege language (DiAngelo, 2018; Langrehr et al., 2021). The recently created White Fragility Scale employed in this study aligns with this more expansive definition of White Fragility, which also allows for greater understanding of the varied ways individuals' complex

constellation of identities and personalities may influence their response to racial threat (Langrehr et al., 2021).

Matias and DiAngelo (2013) theorize that many White Americans live and work in predominantly "White spaces," thereby creating expectations of comfort, and decreasing the frequency which White people experience racial stress. Bonillo-Silva (2015) attributes these "White spaces" to a new form of racism, in which ongoing segregation and bias negatively impact Black people but in a subtle and systematic manner as opposed to explicit acts of exclusion. When racial stress or threat does occur, White individuals will often rationalize their societal advantages due to fears of being labelled a racist or having to personally acknowledge the unfair system which they continue to benefit from (DiAngelo, 2018). Again paralleling this with Bonillo-Silva's (2015) work, this emphasis on being a good and moral person without actually critically engaging with racism and racial inequities is a form of "abstract liberalism," which is a core tenet of color-blind racism. White individuals are steeped in a society which provides undeniable benefits, and the ensuing anxiety which results from any potential change in their place in the system can result in an attempt to maintain sameness (Matias & DiAngelo, 2013). Furthermore, systems justification theory suggests that "high-status" individuals in a system tend to rationalize group norms in order to protect their privileged status (Kuchynka et al., 2018).

White people's denial, or willful ignorance, of societal privilege is not new to White fragility (Applebaum, 2008). A wealth of research and scholarship from Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) has examined the practice of White peoples' denial of White

privilege as a mechanism of upholding structural racism. Knowles et al., (2014) highlights the threat White privilege holds to the commonly held White American value of meritocracy. White privilege challenges the belief that an individual's successes (or failures) have been bolstered by structural privilege and negates pure personal hard work and achievement as the sole cause of success (Knowles et al., 2014). Through denial of White privilege, "Whites alter their beliefs about social reality such that their accomplishments are once again clearly indicative of self-competence," (Knowles et al., 2014, p. 599). Additionally, Lowery et al., (2007) examined the impact of different types of framing of racial inequity on White participants' responses to racial inequity and found that White individuals with a higher need for positive self -regard were more likely to deny a White privilege frame for racial inequity. When racial inequity was presented through a frame of racial disadvantages facing Black individuals, White people did not feel that their current accomplishments were invalidated by excess privilege and did not experience self-image threat or denial of racial inequity (Lowery et al., 2007).

Robin DiAngelo (2018) believes the psychological root of White Fragility to be lack of racial stamina of White people which restricts them from acknowledging the racial violence in which they continue to engage through denying White privilege and engaging in systems of structural racism. However, in a complementary explanation of this phenomena based in Critical Whiteness Studies, Dr. Applebaum suggests White fragility is not in fact a lack of stamina but is instead an active act of invulnerability (Appelbaum, 2017). From this lens, White fragility is no longer a weakness but instead an active form of complicity with maintaining societal norms and systems (Applebaum,

2017). When White fragility is seen as a weakness it allows for the denial of responsibility for one's reaction. However, Whiteness is a socially constructed identity which often serves to affirm and reproduce one's power, and the use of White fragility as an escape from racial tension may be a socially accepted form of maintaining said power (Appelbaum, 2017; Butler, 1999; Gilson, 2011).

Information Avoidance

A common strategy when faced with threats to one's self-image or worldview is information avoidance (IA), a defensive technique to avoid or delay receiving information which is perceived to be potentially harmful or uncomfortable (Howell & Shepperd, 2016). Information avoidance has been well documented in health behaviors, such as the decision to avoid undergoing a specific test which will inform someone of an increased risk in various genetic disorders (Melynk & Shepperd, 2012, Hightow et al., 2003). For example, Hightow et al. (2003) examined IA as related to HIV testing and found that up to 55% of people who get tested for HIV never return for their results. Howell & Shepperd (2016) created a broad and general information avoidance measure designed to be adapted to specific situations to assess individuals' situational information avoidance. Through rigorous analyses on a total of 4,393 participants they were able to conclude that their self-report information avoidance measure has good predictive validity of avoidant behavior. Additionally, they suggest that avoidance tendencies in individuals tend to be fairly stable, and the variation between people in engaging in information avoidance speaks to how threatening each individual finds that specific scenario to be (Howell & Shepperd, 2016). Information avoidance has been found to

fluctuate based on how threatening, inconveniencing, or uncomfortable individuals perceive the costs of learning the information to be (Feiler, 2014; Howell & Shepperd, 2013). For example, participants who were led to believe that high-risk medical results on a fictitious medical issue would result in a more invasive procedure chose to avoid learning their results at a rate of 66%, whereas participants who were told they would need to engage in a minor procedure if they were at a high risk avoided learning their results at a rate of 45% (Howell & Shepperd, 2013). The researchers of this study were attempting to understand the role of information avoidance in threats to one's autonomy, and determined individuals significantly modified their behaviors to increase their information avoidance when a higher threat to autonomy was present (Howell & Shepperd, 2013).

Conway et al. (2017) applied Howell & Shepperd's information avoidance model (2016) to White peoples' avoidance of information about White privilege. Per their work, White privilege information avoidance is thought to be a defensive tool to protect White people's world view as well as sense of self when they may be faced with the awareness that they are unfairly benefiting from social inequity (Knowles & Lowry, 2012). Through investigating the role of in-group and out-group racial attitudes in White privilege information avoidance patterns, they determined that White privilege information avoidance is caused by multiple factors, including but not limited to: White people's belief that they do not have the ability to cope with the impact of the information, fear of changing one's behaviors due the information learned, and social norms and pressures which both inhibit and encourage information avoidance (Conway et

al., 2017). The various causes of information avoidance are not mutually exclusive, and often individuals may report several motivations for White privilege information avoidance. For White people, engaging in information avoidance is thought to protect them from cognitive and affective threats to their sense of self and world view, and often is a sufficient defense mechanism to avoid engaging in any other defense responses (Conway et al., 2017; Howell & Shepperd, 2016).

In addition to causes of White privilege information avoidance, Conway et al. (2017) also concluded that White people who report more positive attitudes towards White people have been found to be more defensive to learning about White privilege (Conway et al., 2017). White privilege was found to be maintained through White people's in-group preferences, without negative or hostile attitudes towards people of color. These results support the proposed mechanisms of systemic racial inequity, which state it is perpetuated not only through negative attitudes towards people of color, but maintenance of White-centric policies and attitudes (Kolber, 2017). Furthermore, Conway et al (2017) investigated the reasons why White individuals may choose to engage in White privilege information avoidance. They found that a confidence in one's current worldview, distrust in new information, and external social pressures were consistent predictors of a participant's desire to avoid learning about White privilege and desire to change White privilege (Conway et al., 2017).

White racial identity development theory suggests that many White people are hesitant to learn about White privilege and the privileges it grants them, similar to White privilege information avoidance (Ambrosio, 2014; Conway et al., 2017). They may be

motivated to remain ignorant of their privileges due to the threat to their worldview (such as "meritocracy" or an internal sense of responsibility) or may be motivated to remain ignorant due to the threat to their self-image (Conway et al., 2017). Individuals' hesitancy to question or face their racial identity may be due to a fear of facing their complicities in ongoing oppression, which is counter to their sense of self (Ambrosio, 2014). In order to raise one's critical consciousness as a White person, they may have to face that their achievements are not due solely to their own hard work and skills, but to their position in a system of power within society (Ambrosio, 2014). Thus, White privilege information avoidance may also be an observable cognitive and/or behavioral indication of White individual's White identity development, or lack thereof (Ambrosio, 2014).

Masculinity

Masculinity as a Social Identity

As with other identities discussed such as race and class, masculinity as a gender identity is a socially created and reproduced identity of power for the beholder (Berdahl et al. 2018). The current given definition of traditional masculinity in the U.S.A in research is fairly narrow and traditional, often ignoring the way in which privileged identities endorsed by hegemonic norms interact uniquely with various other structures of power (Christenson & Jensen, 2014). For instance, Christenson & Jensen (2014) suggest that an intersectional approach to exploring the complexities of masculinity will yield a more nuanced understanding of how "different social categories mutually constitute each other as overall forms of social differentiation or systems of oppression." (p. 69). Aligned with Christenson & Jensen's intersectional analysis of masculinity, the

examination of hegemonic masculinity within the U.S. yields undeniable interconnectivity with White supremacy (Liu, 2017). Whiteness as a well of power springs from the history of White patriarchal values, laws, and policies which have shaped our current society (Liu, 2017). Lui suggests, "Because oppression and marginalization work by simultaneously subjugating multiple identities (e.g. women of color who are poor) privilege should also be defined as the simultaneous multi-identity (White male) assertion and exercise of power." (p. 351, 2017). Whiteness is one of several identifies which connote privilege, and the history of White privilege cannot be untangled from patriarchal attitudes, values, and policies (Lui, 2017). White supremacy, therefore, is a structural ideology which intersects with sexism, racism, and classism to "other" anyone separate from the high-status individuals with the largest access to power (Rabaka, 2007). Furthermore, White men are thought to actively maintain their power and privilege through regulation of others' access to power. Liu describes societal patterns of behavior of White men as concurrently experiencing benefits from and threats to their identity, that is, any gain experienced by someone other than a White male was a loss to them (Lui, 2017). Therefore, regulation of others' access to power is seen as a societally normative behavior to maintain and protect White men's on-going experience of privilege (Liu, 2017).

Theories of Traditional Masculinity

The Gender Role Strain Paradigm, as defined by Joseph Pleck (1981) in *The Myth of Masculinity* introduced the first socially constructed strain model of gender. Pleck suggested that, despite biological differences between sexes, the current experiences of

masculinity are based in social construction. Through this review of research on sex differences, Pleck (1981) challenged the belief that male aggression and violence are biologically based, instead arguing that much of what is interpreted as traditional masculinity is in fact learned and reinforced throughout a young man's development. Gender roles, according to Pleck (1995), are based on gender stereotypes and norms, are contradictory, very difficult to maintain complete adherence to, and often contribute to psychological dysfunction. Additionally, he discussed the experience of masculine gender role strain, or men's experience of failing to fulfill traditional masculine gender roles. Pleck (1995) proposed that most men experience gender role strain, and even when they are able to meet these expected gender norms, the process of achieving these norms can be stressful or even traumatic. When men do conform to or internalize traditional masculine norms there may be negative psychological consequences, for example, being "tough and independent" can lead to isolation and loneliness (Pleck, 1995).

James O'Neil (1981) further explored the experience of failing to meet dominant masculine norms or roles, in his model of Gender Role Conflict (GRC). His model was influential in addressing the narrow confines of traditional gender roles, and the psychological consequences often associated with them (O'Neil, 2008). O'Neil (2008) hypothesized that men's experience of gender roles was oppressive, and through conforming to them men are disconnecting from their authentic selves. GRC is hypothesized to occur when "rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles result in restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self" (O'Neil, 2008). O'Neil (2008) has conducted and supported a wide array of research which supports the negative consequences

associated with gender role conflict. He found GRC to occur across cognitive, affective, behavioral, and unconscious psychological domains (O'Neil, 2008). Four GRC patterns, or common outcomes of gender role strain, have been identified throughout over thirty years of research (O'Neil, 2008; O'Neil, 2012). These four patterns are named by O'Neil (2008) and his colleagues as Success/Power/Competition (SPC), Restrictive Emotionality (RE), Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM), and Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR). In a review of the research on GRC, 12 out of 15 studies found GRC to be significantly related to men's psychological well-being, specifically stress and anxiety (O'Neil, 2008). Additionally, GRC has been found to be significant in an interpersonal context, for example, in heterosexual relationships higher levels of specific GRC patterns has been negatively associated with the female partner's psychological well-being and marital satisfaction (Rochlen & Mahalik, 2004).

Pleck (1995) also hypothesized that male role strain is associated with masculine ideologies, or the overall belief system an individual adheres to and internalizes about how men should engage with the world. Masculine ideology is theorized to be a co-factor with male role strain, as masculine ideology addresses attitudes and beliefs towards masculinity (Pleck, 1995). One prominent early theorist of masculine ideology, Brannon (1985), described "traditional" masculinity in the U.S. (or hegemonic, see above section for more information) into four categories. These include (1) "No Sissy Stuff": the antifeminity ideology, (2) "The Big Wheel": the focus on status and success, often through dominance, (3), "The Sturdy Oak": the ideology of being tough, macho, and unemotional, and (4) "Give 'em Hell": the endorsement of physical violence and

aggression (Brannon, 1985; Kilmartin & Smiler, 2015). These four categories are aligned with various masculine ideology theories and measures today, with their focus on success, power, emotional restrictively, dominance, and aggression (O'Neil, 2008; Parent & Moradi, 2009). Levant (2011) suggests that dominant or traditional masculine ideologies maintain power hierarchies which prop up White, heterosexual men in the United States. Thus, aspects of traditional masculine ideology as they are experienced in current society are an additional mechanism which contributes to furthering social inequities along various minorized identity groups (Liu, 2017).

Masculinity and Privilege

White men and women have been found to respond differently to topics of race and privilege (Bezrukova et al., 2016; Cabrera, 2014; Holladay et al., 2003). Research on White privilege and racial identity suggests that White men and women may actually form racial identities in a qualitatively different manner due to the influences of gender identities (Ellison et al., 2019, Spanierman et al, 2012). Men's gender norm socialization of power and dominance is unique to their racial identity as compared to women development (Spanierman et al., 2012). Typically, White men are thought to be less open to learning about White privilege and overall racial awareness than White women (Spanierman et al., 2012). Additionally, White men have been found to be significantly less open to both cognitive and affective components of developing awareness of White privilege (Pinterits et al., 2009).

Purpose and Justification of the Current Study

The present study utilizes an experimental design to examine men's White privilege, masculinity, and defensive practices around racial stress. Participants viewed online video vignettes with the intention of priming participants for racial discomfort or threat and were then assessed on their affection reaction after viewing the video vignette and measures of White Fragility and White privilege information avoidance. Only participants who self-identify as White, male, and working full-time were eligible to participate. Men were not required to be cisgender in order to meet inclusion criteria. There has been no known study at this time examining the role of intersecting identities of Whiteness and manhood on mechanisms of White privilege and White fragility (Liu, 2017). This study attempts to respond that that need in order to move the science regarding White privilege forward.

Research Hypotheses

Table 1.1

Hypotheses, Variables, and Statistical Procedures

Hypothesis:	Variables	Statistics
Hypothesis 1a: Participants in the experimental condition will engage in more White privilege information avoidance behaviors compared to participants in the control group. **Hypothesis 1b:** Participants in the experimental condition will report more White privilege information avoidance attitudes compared to participants in the control group	1. Video Intervention 2. Behavioral Information Avoidance 3. White Privilege Information Avoidance Measure	*t*- test

Hypothesis 1c: Participants in the experimental condition will report more White fragility attitudes compared to participants in the control group.		
Hypothesis 2a: Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher frustration and anger than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Winning. **Hypothesis 2b:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher frustration and anger than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Primacy of Work. **Hypothesis 2c:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher frustration and anger than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Self Reliance. **Hypothesis 2d:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher frustration and anger than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher adherence to traditionally masculine organizational norms.	1. Video Intervention 2. Conformity to Masculine Norms – 46 Subscales of: Winning, Primacy of Work, and Self-Reliance 3. Masculine Culture Contest 4. Video Evaluation Items	Linear Regression, Interaction Term

Hypothesis 3a: Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher levels of White Fragility than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Winning. **Hypothesis 3b:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher levels of White Fragility than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Primacy of Work. **Hypothesis 3c:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher levels of White Fragility than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Self Reliance. **Hypothesis 3d:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher levels of White Fragility than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher adherence to traditionally masculine organizational norms.	1. White Fragility 2. Masculine Norms Subscales* 3. MCC	Linear Regression, Interaction Term
Hypothesis 4a: Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher levels of White Privilege Information Avoidance than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Winning.	1. White Privilege Information Avoidance 2. Masculine Norms Subscales* 3. MCC	Linear Regression, Interaction Term

Hypothesis 4b: Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher White Privilege Information Avoidance than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Primacy of Work. **Hypothesis 4c:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher White Privilege Information Avoidance than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher conformity to the traditional masculine norm of Self Reliance. **Hypothesis 4d:** Participants in the experimental condition will experience higher White Privilege Information Avoidance than participants in the control condition, and this effect will be stronger for those with higher adherence to traditionally masculine organizational norms.		
Hypothesis 5a: White privilege information avoidance (both behavioral and self-reported) will be positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Winning. **Hypothesis 5b:** White privilege information avoidance (both behavioral and self-reported) will be positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Self-Reliance. **Hypothesis 5c:** White privilege information avoidance (both behavioral and self-reported) will be	1. White Privilege Information Avoidance 2. Masculine Norms Subscales* 3. MCC	Pearson's r correlation

positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Primacy of Work. **Hypothesis 5d:** White privilege information avoidance (both behavioral and self-reported) will be positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Emotional Control. **Hypothesis 5e:** White privilege information avoidance (both behavioral and self-reported) will be positively associated with higher gender role conflict in the area of Success, Power & Competition. **Hypothesis 5f:** White privilege information avoidance (both behavioral and self-reported) will be positively associated with higher self-reported subjective masculine stress. **Hypothesis 5g:** White privilege information avoidance (both behavioral and self-reported) will be positively associated with higher traditionally masculine organizational norms.		
Hypothesis 6a: White fragility will be positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Winning. **Hypothesis 6b:** White Fragility will be positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Self-Reliance. **Hypothesis 6c:** White Fragility will be positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Primacy of Work.	1. White Privilege Information Avoidance 2. Masculine Norms Subscales* 3. MCC	Pearson's r correlation

Hypothesis 6d: White Fragility will be positively associated with higher conformity to the masculine norm of Emotional Control. **Hypothesis 6e:** White Fragility will be positively associated with higher gender role conflict in the area of Success, Power & Competition. **Hypothesis 6f:** White Fragility will be positively associated with higher self-reported subjective masculine stress. **Hypothesis 6g:** White Fragility will be positively associated with higher traditionally masculine organizational norms.		

** Masculine Norms Subscales consist of: CMNI-46 Winning, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Emotional Control; GRC-SF Success, Power and Competition Issues; and the MCC*

Chapter Two: Methodology

Method

Participants

Participants in this study included individuals who are 18 years of age or older, identified their race as White, lived in the United States of America, identified their gender as male and spoke English fluently. Additionally, the participants were required to work full-time; with full-time employment as defined by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) of an average minimum of 30 hours a week (IRS, 2020). Participants were provided informed consent before participating in this study and electronically consented to participate.

Sampling Method & Power

The participant characteristics of male gender has been shown to be associated with lower response rates to engage in research (Patel, Doku & Tennakoon, 2003). Therefore, this study utilized targeted snowball sampling as well as Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) to increase recruitment opportunities for men. Amazon's MTurk is an online work sourcing platform. Through the use of Amazon's MTurk, researchers are able to recruit participants for a variety of research-based tasks through posting a brief description, inclusion criterion, and completion reimbursement on the platform. A recent assessment of peer-reviewed research which utilized MTurk as a sampling method concluded that MTurk provides research access to a diverse, affordable,

and accessible participant pool who produce valid and generalizable results (Mortensen & Hughes, 2018). While some researchers have questioned the quality of data collected with MTurk, research shows that with appropriate validity checks and thorough data screening these risks are mitigated (Chmielewski & Kucker 2020).

An a priori power analysis was conducted utilizing G Power software. The primary hypothesis will be analyzed via a t-test, therefore, G Power software reported n = 176 as the minimum number of participants necessary to produce a medium effect size at an alpha of 0.05. In order to account for participant attrition, incomplete data, or other unanticipated challenges to data collection, an additional 20% was added to this number, producing a goal sample size of 212 participants per best practice recommendations (Heppner et al, 2015). A medium effect size (Cohen's d = 0.50) was selected for this study based on previous experimental research examining general information avoidance. Howell & Shepperd (2013) found effect sizes of d = 0.39 and d = 0.74 in several studies in which they manipulated the perceived threat of various types of health information and then assessed the individual's information avoidance.

Measures

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory - 46 (CMNI-46). Mahalik and colleagues (2003) proposed a taxonomy of traditional masculine norms based on the understanding of gender roles as socially constructed outputs of gender ideology. These gender role norms are thought to operate in a similar manner to social norms, that is, reinforcing acceptable behaviors for men or women through social learning, observation, reward, and consequence (Mahalik et. al., 2003). Social norms theory states that it is

often the most dominant or powerful force in one's social environment which contributes to internal representations of gender and gender expression (Mahalik, 2003). As such, the societally accepted traditional model of masculinity which promotes power and authority has a significant influence on men's development of gender identity and expression. These norms are shaped and defined by the most dominant and/or powerful group in a society and the interpretation and expression of these norms is influenced by individual factors (e.g. racial identity) and group factors (e.g. socioeconomic status) (Mahalik et al., 2003). Conformity to gender role norms is not necessarily a negative thing, according to Mahalik (2003), and can be adaptive or maladaptive depending on the circumstance. Therefore, Mahalik and his colleagues created the CMNI as a measure of conformity to these societally shaped masculine norms, as opposed to pre-existing measures of masculine stress or conflict, such as the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, 2008).

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory - 46 (CMNI-46) is a 46 item self-report measure designed to measure the level of an individual's conformity to common masculine norms in American culture (Parent & Moradi, 2009). Mahalik's original Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) was first published in 2003 and was based on his gender role norms model (Mahalik et al, 2003). The original CMNI was designed to assess not only behavioral components of adherence to masculine norms, but cognitive and affective components as well. However, the CMNI had two key limitations, (1) no factor analyses had been conducted beyond an initial exploratory factor analysis (EFA) which prevented clear theoretical progress on the CMNI and surrounding

constructs; and (2) the instrument contained 94 items, which curtailed it's utility in many research settings (Parent & Moradi, 2009). Parent & Moradi (2009) conducted extensive factor analytic work on the CMNI to address these concerns, which resulted in the removal of two subscales as well as the removal of 48 items. The final measure has nine subscales which address specific masculine norms, each with 4 - 6 items, and had superior model fit to the original CMNI (Parent & Moradi, 2009).

Parent and Moradi (2009) conducted a comparison of the consistency of Cronbach's alpha of the retained subscales and found that the Cronbach's alpha scores for all nine retained subscales remained stable from Mahalik's (2003) original measure to the shortened form. Via a series of CFAs, fit indices once again suggested adequate, supporting the original CFA in 2009 with a new sample of participants (Parent & Moradi, 2011). The alpha coefficients for all nine subscales ranged from .78 - .89, displaying adequate internal reliability. Subscales from the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984), Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant et al., 1992), and the Gender Based Attitudes Towards Marital Roles Scale (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995) were administered to examine convergent validity with the nine CMNI-46 subscales. A range of significant positive correlations were found for all nine subscales, with the majority relationships medium to large effect sizes which suggested adequate convergent validity.

Despite the lengthy psychometric validation of the CMNI-46, there are still concerns if the CMNI-46, among other measures of masculine ideology or stress, measures the construct of masculinities appropriately (Hammer et al., 2018). Two recent studies presented mixed results regarding the use of a bifactor model vs a correlated

factor model of the CMNI-46 (Heath et al., 2017; Levant et al, 2015). Therefore, a recent study examined the fit of four competing models of the CMNI- 46 (unidimensional, second order, bifactor, and correlated factors models) (Hammer et al., 2018). They concluded the correlated factors model is the most appropriate model for researchers to use at this time and cautioned against using an overall "conformity to masculine norms" score despite previous research utilizing then overall CMNI score (Hammer et al., 2018). Therefore, it is acceptable to only examine specific subscale scores to analyze conformity to specific traditional masculine norms (Hammer et al., 2018).

This study utilized four of the nine subscales of the CMNI-46: Emotional Control, Winning, Self-Reliance, and Primacy of Work. Winning has been found to be negatively associated with personal control and autonomy, and positively associated with sexually aggressive behavior (Hammer & Good, 2010; Locke & Mahalik, 2005). Emotional control has been found to be negatively associated with positive relationships with others, and positively associated with avoidance of stress, anger, and increased depressive symptoms (Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006; Tager & Good, 2005). Self-Reliance has many negative correlates, including negative correlations with character strengths, motivation, interpersonal traits, and holding traditional views of gender and sex (Bachus & Mahalik, 2011; Hammer & Good, 2010; Kahn et al., 2011). Lastly, Primacy of Work has been shown to have positive associations with many desired traits, including intrinsic motivation and health promotion (Kahn et al., 2011; Levant et al., 2011). However, research also suggests Primacy of Work is associated with traditional or regressive views of women and sex (Bachus & Mahalik, 2011). These four subscales were selected as

research indicates they are correlated or associated with variables thought to be of consideration within the workplace (Gerdes & Levant, 2018).

G**ender Role Conflict Scale Short Form.** The GRC-SF is a 16 item self-report measure which assess the conflict men may feel regarding prescribed social roles across four theoretical domains, Success, Power & Competition (SPC), Restricted Emotional (RE), Restricted Emotional Behavior Between Men (RABBM) and Conflict Between Work and Family Relationships (CBWFR) (Wester et al., 2012). Participants are instructed to indicate their agreement with each item, such as "I strive to be more successful than others", on a 6-point Likert scale, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) (Wester et al., 2012).

The GRC-SF is a shortened version of the Gender Role Conflict Scale, a 37 item self-report measure (GRCS, O'Neil et al., 1986). The four subscales noted above, SPC, RE, RABBM, and CBWFR emerged from exploratory factor analyses of the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986). Early research supports the empirical reliability of the GRC, with summaries of alphas of the subsets from eleven studies ranging from .84 to .88 (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). The convergent validity of the GRC-SF is supported by significant medium correlations with various masculinity measures including the CMNI (Mahalik et al., 2003) (O'Neil, 2008).

The GRC-SF was developed in response to the need for a more culturally responsive form of the GRCS, as well as some doubt as to the amount of conflict measured by the GRCS is truly due to masculine ideology, as opposed to situational demands on the individual (Wester et al., 2012). Therefore, the GRC-SF was developed

on a fairly diverse sample across race (57% Caucasian, 19% African American, 21% Asian American, 3% other) and sexuality (47% heterosexual 50% nonheterosexual) to address these concerns, with 15 items of cultural concern ultimately removed in the GRC-SF (Wester et al., 2012). After the initial GRC-SF form was developed, correlations were conducted with the previous subscales from the fill GRCS. Correlations were high across subscales on the GRC-SF and GRCS (.93, .94, .96, and 90, respectively), with decreased shared variability across the GRC-SF as compared to the GRCS (Wester et al., 2012). Thus, the GRC-SF may more accurately assess experienced gender role conflict in each theoretical domain as compared to the GRCS (Wester et al., 2012).

This study administered one subscale of the GRC-SF to assess masculine norms and variables related to work, the Success, Power, and Competition Issues (SPC) subscale. The SPC subscale was found to have a reliability coefficient alpha of .80 for the GRC-SF (Wester et al., 2012). Men experiencing issues with success worry persistently about career achievements, personal success, failure, etc. (O'Neil et al., 1995). A study done by Dodson and Borders (2006) supports the theory that men in more traditional careers, such as engineers as opposed to schoolteachers, experience higher levels of gender role conflict. Research also shows that men who experience intense anger reactions score high on the success, power, and competition (SPC) subscale (Blazina & Watkins, Jr, 1996) and associations have been found between high interpersonal hostility and high scores on the SPC subscale.

Masculine Culture Contest. The last measure of traditional masculinity, the Masculine Culture Contest scale (MCC), a 20 item self-report measure to assess how

strongly an organization adheres to rigid masculine patterns within a work environment (Glick et al., 2018). Masculine Culture Contest (MCC) assesses specific norms often associated with hyper competitiveness, primacy of work, dominance, and anti-femininity (Berdahl et al., 2018). Dominance has been shown to be a performative component of masculinity, and the fear of losing dominance may encourage men to engage in increasingly oppressive attitudes and behaviors (Kuchynka et al., 2017). Dominance as defined by MCC has been observed both from men to women (Kuchynka et al., 2017) and men to men (Alonso, 2018). Thus, dominance is not only a sexist concern, but is also perpetuated in racial and class hierarchies as well, with the hegemonic masculine norm of power and status motivating dominant attitudes and behaviors (Berdahl et al., 2019) Within an organizational culture, men have traditionally enacted dominance to maintain and secure access to resources and power (Berdahl et al., 2018). The MCC assesses for hegemonic, dominant forms of masculinity within an organizational culture, and defines workplace norms as characteristics that individuals respect and reward and are perpetuated through pressure to conform to these norms (Glick et al., 2018).

The MCC has four subscales as determined per a series of factor analyses: Strength and Stamina, Show No Weakness, Dog Eat Dog, and Put Work First (Glick et al., 2018). Participants are asked to assess how true an item is of their work environment on a five-point Likert scale, from 1 (not at all true of my work environment) to 5 (entirely true of my work environment). For example, an item in the Put Work First subscale may state, “If you don’t stand up for yourself people will step on you” (Glick et al., 2018). The MCC was found to have an overall reliability coefficient alpha of .93 while each

subscale had scores ranging from .81 to .87, demonstrating high reliability (Glick et al., 2018). To assess convergent validity, the MCC was administered alongside several measures of workplace culture and was found to have significant associations with decreased psychological safety for employees, higher heterosexist culture, and decreased support for a healthy work-life balance (Glick et al., 2018).

Subjective Masculine Gender Stress. Wong and his colleagues (2013) created the Subjective Masculine Stress Scale (SMSS) based their measure on the Subjective Gender Experiences Model (Shea & Wong, 2012). The SMSS (Wong et al., 2013) will be utilized in this study to identify a global measure of men's subjective masculinity stress. In addition to assessing men's overall subjective masculine stress, themes from the open-ended nature of this measure will be identified to explore White men's experience of masculinity and what aspects of their masculinity they find stressful. The Subjective Gender Experiences Model identifies gender experiences as a result of personal meaning making, as opposed to automatically ascribing personal traits such as a restrictive emotionality to one's gender identity (Wong et al., 2013). Thus, an individual actively participates in the creation of their own gender socialization, both by identifying subjective gender definitions which align with their own understanding of what it means to be a man or a woman as well as identifying subjective gender experiences personal to them (Wong et al., 2013). Specifically examining men's gender experiences, the Subjective Gender Experiences Model conceptualizes masculinity as a "function of individual men's subjective perspectives", as opposed to socially constructed masculine norms (Wong et al., 2013, p. 149). Lastly, the Subjective Gender Experiences Model

proposes that men's subjective experience of masculinity can be stressful. The broad theoretical underpinnings of O'Neil's Gender Role Conflict theory are congruent with the Subjective Gender Experiences Model, in that men may experience stress or conflict around their gender identities (O'Neil, 2008; Wong et al., 2013). Shea & Wong, (2012) theorize that specific experiences for men can be both gendered and stressful, and the centrality of one's gender to their identity means these stressful experiences may be prominent enough to negatively influence men's well-being.

The SMSS consists of ten incomplete statements, all with the stem, "As a man…" Participants are asked to describe their personal experience of what it means to be a man by completing these sentence stems. They are then asked to identify how often each experience they identified is stressful to them on a five-point Likert scale, from 1 (Never/Almost Never) to 5 (Always/Almost Always). The reliability coefficient alpha for the SMSS during development and validation was .88 (Wong et al., 2013). Wong and his team (2013) found positive significant relationships between the SMSS and the CMNI-46 as well as GRCS to demonstrate convergent validity.

White Privilege Information Avoidance. An information avoidance scale was developed by Howell & Shepperd (2016) as a general measure to assess information avoidance. The scale was designed to be administered to assess both a general pattern of information avoidance as well as to be tailored to assess for information avoidance in specific scenarios (Howell & Shepperd, 2016). For example, an item to assess broadly for information avoidance is "I would avoid learning information about myself", and when assessing information avoidance specifically for something such as breast cancer

risk a measure item may be, “I would avoid learning my risk for breast cancer” (Howell & Shepperd, 2016).

This original information avoidance scale is an 8-item self-report measure in which participants report how strongly they agree with each item on a seven-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) (Howell & Shepperd, 2016). While developing the broad information avoidance, Howell & Shepperd (2016) tailored the broad scale to information avoidance in specific domains including health, romantic relationships and physical attractiveness. The tailored information avoidance measures displayed adequate test-retest reliability, with correlations ranging from .50 to .83, with a mean r = .73. (Howell & Shepperd, 2016). Additionally, the information avoidance scales were assessed alongside measures of information blunting, uncertainty tolerance and openness to new experiences (Howell & Shepperd, 2016). Information avoidance was significantly positively associated with blunting and uncertainty tolerance, and negatively associated with openness to new experiences, demonstrating support for convergent validity (Howell & Shepperd, 2016).

Conway, Lipsey, Pogge & Ratliff (2017) applied the construct of White privilege to Howell & Shepperd’s (2016) information avoidance scale, while maintaining the original structure of the information avoidance measure (eight items, seven-point Likert scale). Higher scores on the measure are indicative of a stronger desire to avoid additional information about White privilege (Conway et al., 2017). While reliability scores were not reported for this study, the White privilege information avoidance scale was significantly negatively associated with attitudes towards Black people and implicit

race attitudes, demonstrating additional support for the use of information avoidance to assess White privilege attitudes (Conway et al., 2017).

Behavioral Information Avoidance. While Howell & Shepherd's (2016) self-report information avoidance measure has been shown to be a predictor of behavioral avoidance, no research has examined Conway et al.'s (2017) self-report measure of desire to avoid White privilege information in conjunction with behavioral avoidance of White privilege information. In order to assess behavioral avoidance of White privilege information, participants were provided an opportunity to identify additional information they would like to know about the situation provided in the video they were assigned to. There were ten available entries for participants to indicate what aspects they would like to learn more about. To clarify, after watching the video and completing the post survey, participants were directed to a screen which states, "It can be difficult to truly judge a situation like the one you saw without more information. What additional information would you like to learn to help you make a more informed decision about the situation? Please let us know in the spaces below." See Appendix I for the complete instrument. The total number of entries (out of ten available) were calculated to be representative of the participant's behavioral information avoidance, with higher numbers of entries associated with decreased information avoidance and few entries associated with increased information avoidance.

Video Evaluation Items. All participants completed a brief survey which assessed their reaction to the video they are assigned. Participant's affective response to the video was assessed through four items which ask the participant to indicate on a

sliding scale how they felt. For example, one sliding scale item ranges from “Extremely Frustrated” to “Not at All Frustrated.” These items were modeled after Marcus, Neuman, & Mackuen’s (2017) work on assessing affective responses to specific stimuli. The affective items will be assessed on a continuous scale from 1 – 10, based on the position of the slider. As each item reflects a specific affective response, no summative score will be calculated. Participants were also asked to provide their level of agreement to eight specific items assessing their overall opinion of the video such as, “John’s feelings seem justified” and “John’s superiors were fair in promoting his coworker over him.” See Appendix H for the complete instrument.

White Fragility Scale: The concept of White Fragility is based on Robin DiAngelo’s (2018) work which theorizes White fragility as a phenomena which occurs when the amount of racial stress a White individual experiences becomes overwhelming and leads to a range of reactions to restore racial comfort. While previous research has studied similar constructs, the authors of this measure suggest that White fragility refers to a broader range of reactions than constructs such as White guilt or White shame, including behavioral, cognitive, and affection reactions.

White Fragility was assessed through the White Fragility Scale (WFS), a 21 item self-report measure which assesses the behavioral and emotional expressions of White Fragility (Langrehr et al., 2021). When administered, participants read the following prompt, “In today’s society, White people are rarely asked about racial issues in the United States. Therefore, we would like to get your input about some of these issues. Please read the following items and rate how much you agree with each statement.”

Participants are then asked to respond on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

Items for the WFS were originally generated by a small team of psychologists and graduate students with expertise in scale construction and White privilege (Langrehr et al., 2021). Items which tracked onto six themes were identified through the development process, including denial of privilege, avoidance, emotional reactivity, victimization, exceptionism and accommodation. After a round of internal feedback as well as expert review and recommendations, 47 items remained. An initial exploratory factor analysis on data collected via Amazon's Mechanical Turk suggested a three-factor model would best account for the variance in the scores. After removing items which were redundant in content or had low factor loading or high cross factor loading and reanalyzing the content of the 21 items remaining, the three subscales were labeled Emotional Defensiveness, Accommodation of Comfort, and Exceptionism. A second study utilized a confirmatory factor analysis to validate the three-factor model, and adequate fit was found. Additionally, fit statistics for the three-factor model of White fragility, a one-factor model, and a bifactor model were compared, and the bifactor model of White fragility accounted for the most variance in the data. Thus, one overarching latent variable of White fragility explains the variance between all 21 items, and three latent variables of emotional defensiveness, accommodation of comfort, and exceptionism account for the variance within the subscales. The WFS was found to have an overall reliability coefficient alpha of .95 while each subscale had scores ranging from .89 to .95, demonstrating high reliability (Langrehr et al., 2021). To assess convergent validity, the

WFS was administered alongside measures of modern racism, colorblind racial attitudes and social dominance orientation and was found to significantly predict modern racism, colorblind racial attitudes, and social dominance orientation (Langrehr et al., 2021).

Condition Development and Administration

Two video vignettes were developed with the intention to prime participants to experience racial tension. In order to create the scripts, an informal review of first-hand experiences of Black workers in America was conducted through searching for blogs, non-peer reviewed articles, and journal articles online. Through reading these, several common themes of bias or microaggressions were identified, including being considered untrustworthy, doubt in their abilities to perform in their position, White in-group preference, and difficulty aligning with the social groups in a majority White work environment (Caver & Livers, 2002; Gatwiri, 2021; Yuan, 2020). Two vignette scripts were then written by the principle investigator: a control vignette with no coded racial language and an experimental vignette with coded racial language aligning with the racial themes noted above. These vignette scripts then went through three rounds of review and edits with the Relationship and Psychotherapy research lab under the guidance of Jesse Owen, PhD, made up of master and doctoral level students in the Counseling Psychology Department at the University of Denver. Lastly, the scripts and a brief feedback survey were sent to White professional men known to the dissertation advisor of this study, many of whom are experts in psychological research but also several who worked in finance and business positions. The brief survey asked reviewers for their feedback on the validity and realistic nature of the vignettes as well as offer any edits deemed appropriate.

(See Appendix K for the exact instructions provided to volunteers). A few volunteers identified a phrase which did not seem realistic in the control script and this phrase was ultimately removed. Comments such as “I would imagine a lot of people can relate to John. Everything isn't fair all the time and it's easy to identify with that,” and “I think a lot of men would feel some sort of understanding with the second script and feel it’s more reasonable to be upset because biases they have. Its more of an us vs them feel now which triggers a "black people will get handouts to take my job" feel if that makes sense,” were common in the feedback and suggested that the scripts were both realistic and also introduced racial tension in the experimental video vignette. After the scripts were finalized, they were filmed in an office, with two actors dressed in business attire. The actors were not professional but were known to the principle investigator and fit the demographic requirements of White men who appeared to be between 30 – 50 years old.

Participants who were placed into the experimental condition watched a two-minute video vignette in which a White man in a workplace setting expresses frustration that a colleague received a promotion over him, with coded language to indicate the participant is Black. The control video vignette was identical to the experimental condition, but without any coded language, and efforts were made to substitute all coded language with similar content. Thus, all identified potential confounding components were held constant, in order to control the hypothesized effect of the independent variable. See Appendix G for the complete scripts for Videos A and B.

Procedures

This study was approved by the University of Denver IRB prior to beginning any participant recruitment or data collection. Two different IRB projects were submitted for ease of approval and amendment, one for the snowball sampling method (IRBNet # 1732944) and one for the MTurk sampling method (IRBNet # 1829131). The only differences between the two protocols consist of information specific to MTurk workers compensation and consent as well as three validity checks embedded in the MTurk version of the survey.

The snowball sampling was conducted via several different forms of online communications. Emails were sent to multiple listservs the PI was a member of, including the University of Denver's Counseling Psychology Department listserv and the American Psychological Association's Division 51 listserv. Social media postings were made on Facebook and Instagram, with the request that individuals who came into contact with the post forward the recruiting information to eligible participants (White, working, men living in the U.S.). The PI sent emails to colleagues and peers asking them to forward the survey recruitment materials to anyone who may be eligible. Additionally, a brief description of the study and recruitment information was posted in three forums, or subreddits, on Reddit. Reddit is an online community that allows users to post information, links, images, etc., and share these with other interested users. The PI contacted the moderators of each potential subreddit and asked for permission to post research recruitment materials. The three subreddits which allowed the PI to post the

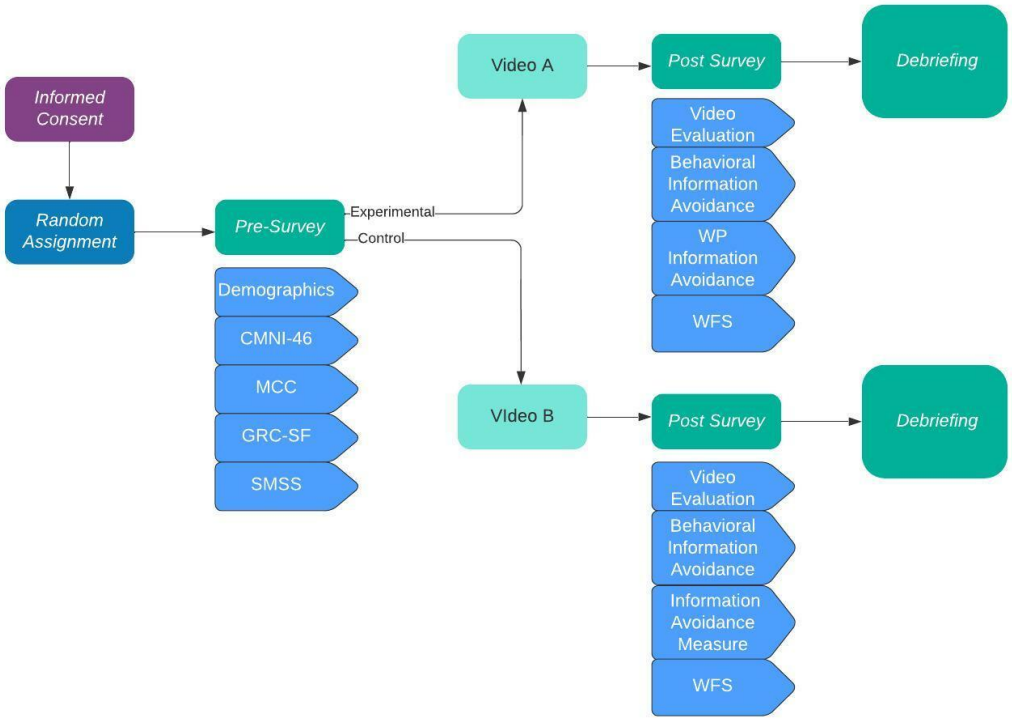
recruitment materials were focused on the following topics, respectively: feminism, psychology, and data collection.

An explanation of the study, the contents of the questionnaires, and study procedures were provided in the recruitment email and posting. For participants recruited via MTurk, all MTurk workers can see a list of potential jobs (referred to as HITs) when they log into their MTurk account. Reimbursement is provided next to the name of the HIT along with the approximate length of time that the HIT will take. Participants are free to choose the HITs that they are interested in taking, from a long list of available tasks. The name of this HIT was titled "Assessing Masculinity in the Workplace" with a posted reimbursement of $0.70. Potential participants in MTurk were able to see a brief list of inclusion criteria and description of the study before clicking on the link to view the Qualtrics survey.

For all participants, completion of the pre and post questionnaires (see Figure 2.1 for visual flow of experimental procedures) and watching the video (two-minutes) was estimated to take approximately thirty minutes or less. After reviewing the completion times in MTurk, the majority of participants completed the study in under thirty minutes. Participants electronically consented to participate in the research study by reviewing consent information, time expectations, and inclusion and exclusion criteria on the first page of the pre-intervention questionnaire, and then selecting "I agree to participate", which then directed them to the first survey measure. If they selected "I decline to participate", they were taken to a webpage that thanks them for their time and completes their participation. After consenting, participants were randomly assigned to intervention

level 1 or 2 through the Randomizer tool in Qualtrics. All participants completed the same survey items prior to the intervention. Participants who were assigned to intervention level 1 were prompted to watch the experimental video vignette, and those assigned to level 2 were prompted to watch the control video vignette. Participants then completed the video evaluation items, the White privilege information avoidance measure and the White Fragility measure. Lastly, they viewed debriefing and contact information upon the completion of the study.

Figure 2.1. Detailed flow chart of experimental procedures and specific measures administered.



Random Assignment Method

Simple random assignment is thought to be the superior method to controlling covariates among participants (Suresh, 2011). Therefore, simple random assignment was utilized to ensure even distribution of participants across both levels of the intervention while still maintaining random assignment of participants.

Data Analyses

Data analyses included independent samples *t*-tests, correlation, and moderated linear regression analyses. All data analyses were conducted using SPSS Statistics for Windows, version 28.0 as well as Hayes Process Macro (Hayes, 2018) These analytic methods were chosen based on the experimental nature of the design as well as the continuous nature of the dependent variables. All statistical analyses used to examine the data were determined to be significant at an alpha level of 0.05.

Descriptives

After the data was exported into SPSS, all data was analyzed for missing data, outliers, collinearity, and normality of data. Individual participants were removed from the analysis if a significant percentage of data was missing (< 20%). Descriptive statistics of all participant demographics were be analyzed using SPSS. All data was assessed for assumptions of normality, linearity and homogeneity of variance. All appropriate items were reverse scored, and subscale and total scores were calculated for the four subscales of the CMNI-46, GRC-SF, four subscales of the MCC, SMSS, WPIA, and three subscales of the WFS. Additionally, a behavioral avoidance variable was

calculated through creating a numeric value of 1 – 10 to indicate how many additional pieces of information the participants wanted to learn about the brief video they watched.

Chapter Three

Results

Preliminary Analyses

A total of 282 participants began the study by consenting to participate and submitting a completion code if they were recruited through MTurk. 42 participants were recruited through snowball sampling, and 240 participants through Amazon's MTurk. 16 participants from the snowball sample had more than 20% missing data and were excluded. Additionally, six participants were excluded from the snowball sample for working less than 30 hours a week. Regarding MTurk data collection, 71 participants who entered a completion code were rejected for having missing data and/or entering random or nonapplicable responses to open-ended prompts. Another 33 participants were later excluded from the MTurk data after a more thorough review of the responses for entering random or non-applicable responses to open-ended prompts. Per best practices for studies conducted via MTurk, three attention check items were included throughout the study (Gummer, Roßmann, & Silber, 2021). No participants were excluded based on failed attention checks after steps were taken above to clean the data. The remaining sample included 156 White men who work over thirty hours a week.

Outliers were identified in the data, as assessed by inspection of a boxplot for values greater than 1.5 box-lengths from the edge of the box. However, they were examined and were considered to be valid responses and therefore were retained in the

data. Normality was assessed by the Shakiro-Wilk test and eight outcome variables violated the assumption of normality when grouped by the independent variable. The three largest violations of normality were the White Fragility subscale of Accommodation of Comfort (W = .984, df = 141, p = .106), Masculine Cultural Contest Total Score (W = .983, df = 141, p = .474) and the Conformity to Masculine Norms Winning subscale (W = .991, df = 141, p = .072). Per the central limit theorem, when the sample size of a data set is over 20, statistical analyses are likely to be unaffected by violations of normality. Additionally, skewness and kurtosis for all variables were analyzed and found to be within normal limits. Thus, no variables were transformed.

To assess what, if any, influence demographic variables may have on the results, a bivariate correlational analysis was conducted. Age, yearly income, and sexual orientation were included as well as key predictors and dependent variables. This analyses suggested that age and sexual orientation are negatively associated with the Masculine Culture Contest Show No Weakness subscale (r = -.222, p = .006 and r = -.261, p = .001, respectively). Thus, age and sexual orientation were included as covariates for all hypotheses which include the Masculine Culture Contest, and results are presented with and without controlling for these covariates. Moderation analyses were also conducted to determine if age, income, or sexual orientation moderated any of the relationships between the predictor variables and outcome variables. No demographic variable was found to significantly moderate these relationships. Lastly, as two different sampling methods were employed which may be sampling different subpopulations (a snowball method initiating with colleagues, peers, and friends of the PI and an Amazon

MTurk convenience sample), a one-way ANOVA was conducted to test for demographic differences between participants recruited from the two different methods. There were no significant differences between the two sample groups on demographic variables.

Demographics of the Study Sample

A total of 156 participants were included in the final analyses. The average age of participant was 36 years old, with ages ranging from 22 to 69 (SD = 11.4). 81% of participants reported their sexual orientation as heterosexual, 15% selected bisexual, 2.5% selected gay, and .5% selected queer as their sexual orientation. Participants worked in various industries, with the most popular being construction (n = 30), education (n = 27), finance (n = 22), and healthcare (n = 16). 31% of participants reported an annual household salary under $40,000, and 67% of participants reported an annual household salary under $70,000. The remaining 23% of participants reported an annual household salary between $70,000 to over $200,000 a year. Table 3.1 provides frequencies of reported annual household income ranges. Table 3.2 provides frequencies of reported industries of all participants. Table 3.3 provides descriptive statistics for key study variables.

Table 3.1

Annual Household Income Frequency

Income	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Cum. Percentage*
<10,000	3	1.9%	2.2%

10,000-20,000	11	7.1%	10.3%
20,000-30,000	14	9.0%	20.6%
30,000-40,000	14	9.0%	30.9%
40,000-50,000	24	15.4%	48.5%
50,000-60,000	15	9.6%	59.6%
60,000-70,000	10	6.4%	66.9%
70,000-80,000	8	5.1%	72.8%
90,000-100,000	18	11.5%	86.0%
100,000-200,000	12	7.7%	94.9%
>200,000	7	4.5%	100.0%

Table 3.2

Participants' Industry Frequencies

Variable	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Cum. Percentage*
Construction & Manufacturing	30	19.2%	19.2%

Education	27	17.3%	36.5%
Finance	22	14.1%	50.6%
Healthcare	16	10.3%	60.9%
IT/Software	14	9.0%	69.9%
Business	10	6.4%	76.3%
Retail Trade	10	6.4%	82.7%
Science & Research	6	3.8%	86.5%
Hospitality & Food Service	4	2.6%	89.1%
Engineering	3	1.9%	91.0%
Arts & Entertainment	3	1.9%	92.9%
Legal	3	1.9%	94.9%
Aeronautics	2	1.3%	96.2%

Agriculture	2	1.3%	97.4%
Government	2	1.3%	98.7%
Postal Service	1	0.6%	99.4%
Unknown	1	0.6%	100.0%
Total	156	100%	

Table 3.3

Descriptive Statistics for Key Study Variables

Scale	Variables	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*Potential Range*
CMNI-46	Winning (W)	148	2.53	0.51	1 - 4
	Self-Reliance (SR)	155	2.37	0.50	1 - 4
	Primacy of Work (PW)	155	2.60	0.65	1 - 4
	Emotional Control (EC)	155	2.47	0.47	1 - 4
GRC-SF	Success, Power, and Competition (SPC)	155	4.08	1.30	1 - 6

Scale	Variables	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*Potential Range*
MCC	Total	152	3.23	0.85	1 – 5
	Show No Weakness (SNW)	154	2.86	1.15	1 – 5
	Strength and Stamina (SS)	156	3.46	0.90	1 – 5
	Put Work First (PWF)	154	3.36	0.91	1 – 5
	Dog Eat Dog (DED)	156	3.32	0.96	1 – 5
SMSS	Total	153	3.36	1.08	1 – 5
WFS	Total	149	3.80	1.00	1 – 6
	Emotional Defensiveness (ED)	151	3.74	1.07	1 – 6
	Accommodation of Comfort (AOC)	154	3.98	1.08	1 – 6
	Exceptionism (E)	152	3.76	1.20	1 – 6
WPIA	Total	149	3.55	1.28	1 – 7

Hypothesis Testing

Means Comparisons Between Video Conditions

To investigate the mean differences in outcomes including White privilege information behavioral avoidance (BA), White Privilege Information Avoidance Scores and White Fragility Scores, six independent *t*-tests were conducted. See Table 3.4 for a comparison of all Independent Samples *t* test statistics.

Hypothesis 1a: An independent *t*-test was utilized to test the hypothesis that participants in the experimental group would engage in more BA compared to participants in the control group. There was no significant difference between the two groups on White privilege information avoidance behaviors. ($t(154) = 0.54$, $p = 0.294$, one-tailed).

Hypothesis 1b*:* An independent t-test was utilized to test the hypothesis that participants in the experimental condition would report higher White privilege information avoidance attitudes compared to participants in the control group. There was no significant difference in means between the two groups on WPIA attitudes. ($t(147) = 0.82$, $p = 0.208$, one-tailed).

Hypothesis 1c*:* Four independent t-tests were utilized in order to test the hypothesis that participants in the experimental condition will report more White fragility attitudes compared to participants in the control group. For overall WF, there was no significant mean difference between the experimental group ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .95$, $N = 77$) and control group ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.06$, $N = 72$, $t(147) = -0.06$, $p = .48$, one-tailed). There was no significant mean difference for WF ED between the experimental group (*M*

= 3.78, *SD* = 1.03, *N* = 78) and the control group (*M* = 3.70, *SD* = 1.11, *N* = 79, *t*(149) = 0.47, *p* = 0.318, one-tailed). There was no significant mean difference for WF AOC between the experimental group (*M* = 3.95, *SD* = 1.01, *N* = 79) and the control group (*M* = 4.02 , *SD* = 1.15, *N* = 75, *t*(152) = -0.43, *p* = 0.334, one-tailed). Lastly, there was no significant mean difference for WF E, in which the experimental group had a mean of 3.67 (*SD* = 1.14, *N* = 78) and the control group had a mean score of 3.84 (*SD* = 1.27 *N* = 74, *t*(150) = -0.93, *p* = 0.176, one-tailed).

Table 3.4

Independent Samples t Tests Comparing White Fragility and White Privilege Information Avoidance across Experimental and Control Groups.

Variable	Video	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
WFS Total	1	77	3.80	0.95	-0.058	0.477
	2	72	3.80	1.06		
WFS ED	1	78	3.78	1.03	0.473	0.318
	2	73	3.70	1.11		
WFS AOC	1	79	3.95	1.01	-0.431	0.334
	2	75	4.02	1.15		
WFS E	1	78	3.67	1.14	-0.932	0.176

	2	74	3.85	1.27		
WPIA	1	76	3.64	1.17	0.816	0.208
	2	73	3.47	1.38		
BA	1	79	2.22	2.62	0.542	0.294
	2	77	2.00	2.32		

Note. WFS T = White Fragility, WFS ED = White Fragility Emotional Defensiveness Subscale, WFS AOC = White Fragility Accommodation of Comfort Subscale, White Fragility Exceptionism Subscale, WPIA = White Privilege Information Avoidance, BE = Behavioral Avoidance, Video 1 = Experimental condition, Video 2 = Control condition

Moderation Effects of Masculine Norms on the relationship between Condition and Affective Responses

To investigate if conformity to traditional and organizational masculine norms moderates the relationship between participants' video group (experimental or control) and their reported affective experiences of anger and frustration, eight simple moderation analyses were performed using PROCESS (Hayes, 2018). The results of these moderation analyses are reported below, and a summary of all moderation analyses can be found in Table 3.5.

Hypothesis 2a*:* With CMNI Winning as the predictor to affective experiences of anger, the model was significant, $R^2 = 0.05$, $F(3,136) = 2.38$, $p = .072$. CMNI Winning did not significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, with a low effect of $\beta = -.14$. The interaction of participants' video condition and CMNI Winning was not

found to significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, (b = -0.02, β = -.004, t(136) = -0.02, p = .985).

With CMNI Winning as the predictor to affective experiences of frustration, the model was significant, R^2 = 0.059, F(3, 139) = 2.95, p =.035. CMNI Winning did not significantly predict participants' reported experiences of frustration, with a low effect of β = -.15 . The interaction of the video condition and CMNI Winning was not found to significantly predict participants' reported experiences of frustration (b = -.129, β = -.02, t(136) = -0.131, p = .895).

Hypothesis 2b: With CMNI Self Reliance as the predictor to affective experiences of anger, the model was not significant, R^2 = 0.043, F(3,143) = 2.16, p = .094. CMNI Self Reliance did not significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, with a low effect of β = .19. The interaction between participants' video group and CMNI Self Reliance was not found to significantly predict participants' affective experiences of anger (b = -0.32, β = -0.06, t(143) = -0.34, p = .730).

With CMNI Self Reliance as the predictor to affective experiences of frustration, the model was not significant, R^2 = 0.047, F(3,146) = 2.41, p = .069. CMNI Self Reliance did not significantly predict participants' reported experiences of frustration , with a low effect of β = .14. The interaction between participants' video group and CMNI Self Reliance was not found to significantly predict participants' affective experiences of frustration (b = -0.10, β = -.02, t(146) = -0.10, p = .920.

Hypothesis 2c*:* With CMNI Primacy of Work as the predictor to affective experiences of anger, the model was significant, R^2 = 0.057, F(3,143) = 2.89, p = .037.

CMNI Primacy of Work did not significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, with a low effect of β = .32. The interaction between participants' video group and CMNI Primacy of Work was not found to significantly predict participants' affective experiences of anger, b = -0.485, β = -.11, t(143) = -0.687, p = .493.

With CMNI Primacy of Work as the predictor to affective experiences of frustration, the model was significant, R^2 = 0.065, F(3,146) = 3.40, p = .019. The interaction between participants' video group and CMNI Primacy of Work was not found to significantly predict participants' affective experiences of frustration b = -1.21, β = -.25, t(146) = -1.55, p = .123.

Hypothesis 2d*:* Prior to adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation, with Masculine Culture Contest as the predictor to affective experiences of anger the model was significant, R^2 = 0.07, F(3,140) = 3.40, p = .019. Masculine Culture Contest did not significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, with a low effect of β = .29. The interaction between participants' video group and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, b = -0.23, β = -.07, t(140) = -0.44, p = .657. After adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation to the moderation model, the model remained significant, R^2 = 0.32, F(5,138) = 3.28, p = .008. Masculine Culture Contest did not significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, with a low effect of β = .20. The interaction between participants' video group and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict participants' reported experiences of anger, b = -0.28, β = -.08, t(138) = -0.53, p = .59.

Prior to adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation to the mode;, with Masculine Culture Contest as the predictor to affective experiences of frustration the model was significant, $R^2 = .076$, $F(3,143) = 3.91$, $p = .01$. Masculine Culture Contest approached significant prediction of participants' reported experiences of frustration , with a medium effect of $\beta = .49$ ($p = .051$). The interaction between participants' video group and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict participants' affective experiences of frustration, $b = -0.79$, $\beta = -.22$, $t(143) = -1.35$, $p = .178$.

After adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation to the moderation model, the model remained significant, $R^2 = 0.32$, $F(5,141) = 3.38$, $p = .007$. Masculine Culture Contest did significantly predict participants' reported experiences of frustration, with a low effect of $\beta = .26$. The interaction between participants' video group and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict participants' reported experiences of frustration, $b = -0.83$, $\beta = -.23$, $t(141) = -0.55$, $p = .156$.

Moderation Effects of Masculine Norms on the relationship between Condition and White Fragility

To investigate if conformity to traditional and organizational masculine norms moderates the relationship between participants' video group (experimental or control) and their reported White Fragility (WF) four simple moderation analyses were performed using PROCESS (Hayes, 2018). Additional exploratory moderation analyses were conducted using subscales of White Fragility and results were reported if significant interactions were found. The results of these moderation analyses are reported below , and a summary of all moderation analyses can be found in Table 3.5.

Hypothesis 3a*:* With CMNI Winning as the predictor to White Fragility, the model was not significant, $R^2 = .01$, $F(3, 135) = 0.576$, $p = .63$. CMNI Winning did not significantly predict White Fragility scores, with a low effect of β = .29 The interaction of participants' video condition and CMNI Winning was not found to significantly predict participants' White Fragility, b = -0.21, β = -.07, $t(142) = -1.27$, $p = .203$.

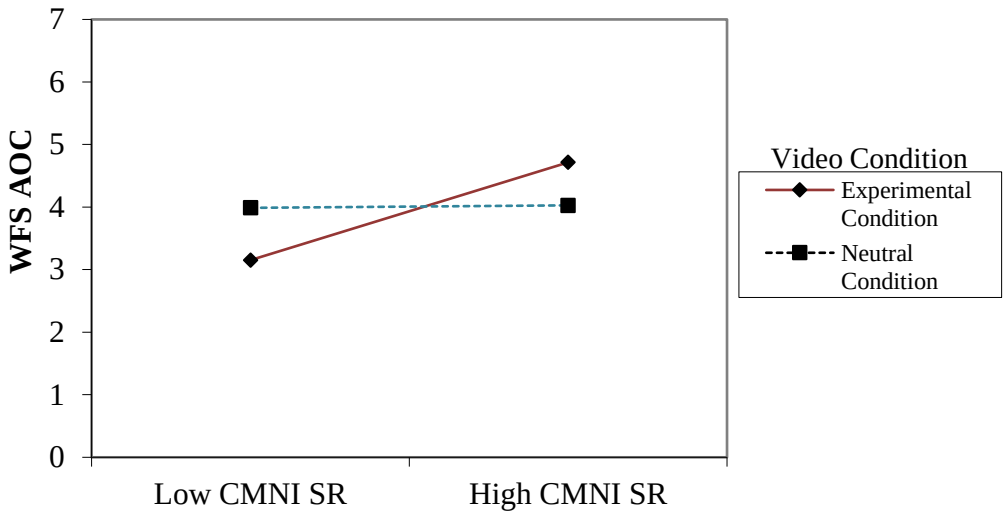
Hypothesis 3b: With CMNI Primacy of Work as the predictor to White Fragility, the model was significant, $R^2 = .225$, $F(3,142) = 13.74$, $p < .001$. CMNI Primacy of Work significantly predicted White Fragility scores, with a medium effect of β = .53. The interaction of participants' video condition and CMNI Primacy of Work was not found to significantly predict participants' White Fragility, $b = -0.04$, β = -.03, t(142) = -0.19, $p = .847$.

Hypothesis 3c: With CMNI Self Reliance entered as the predictor, the overall model significantly predicted White Fragility, $R^2 = .07$ $F(3, 142) = 3.71$, $p = .013$. CMNI Self Reliance significantly predicted White Fragility scores, with a medium effect of β = .54, The interaction of participants' video condition and CMNI Self Reliance was not found to significantly predict participants' White Fragility, $b = -0.419$, β = -.21, $t(142) = -1.28$, $p = .203$. One White Fragility subscale, Accommodation of Comfort, was found to have a significant interaction between the video group and CMNI Self Reliance, $b = -.759$, β = -.35, $t(147) = -2.16$, $p = .032$. This interaction accounted for 2.95% of the variance in WF Accommodation of Comfort. See Figure 3.1 for the two-way interaction plot.

A Johnson-Newman's significance region analysis was conducted. When scores on the CMNI Self Reliance are 1.753, the video condition and White Fragility Accommodation of Comfort scores become significantly related, $b = .5539$, $t(147) = 1.97$, $p = .05$. As CMNI Self Reliance scores decrease, the more positive the relationship between video condition and White Fragility Accommodation of Comfort becomes, $b = .9689$, $t(147) = 2.16$, $p = .032$. Additionally, a simple slope analysis was conducted and when the video condition is evaluated at a value of 0 (experimental group) there was a significant difference in simple slopes, $t(147) = 3.41$, $p = .001$. When the video condition was evaluated at a value of 1 (control group), there was no significant differences in simple slopes.

Figure 3.1

Conditional Effect of CMNI Self Reliance on the Relationship Between Video Condition and White Fragility Accommodation of Comfort



Hypothesis 3d: Prior to adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation, with Masculine Culture Contest as the predictor to White Fragility the model was significant, $R^2 = 0.62$, $F(3,139) = 29.76$, $p < .001$. Masculine Culture Contest significantly predicted White Fragility scores, with a medium effect of $\beta = .59$. The interaction of participants' video condition and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict participants' White Fragility, $b = 0.03$, $\beta = .03$, $t(139) = 0.219$, $p = .826$.

After adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation to the moderation model, the model remained significant, $R^2 = 0.39$, $F(5,137) = 17.67$, $p < .001$. Masculine Culture Contest did significantly predict participants' self-reported White Fragility scores, with a medium effect of $\beta = .62$. The interaction between participants' video group and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict participants' self-reported White Fragility scores, $b = .03$, $\beta = .03$, $t(137) = -0.19$, $p = .85$.

Moderation Effects of Masculine Norms on the relationship between Condition and White Privilege Information Avoidance

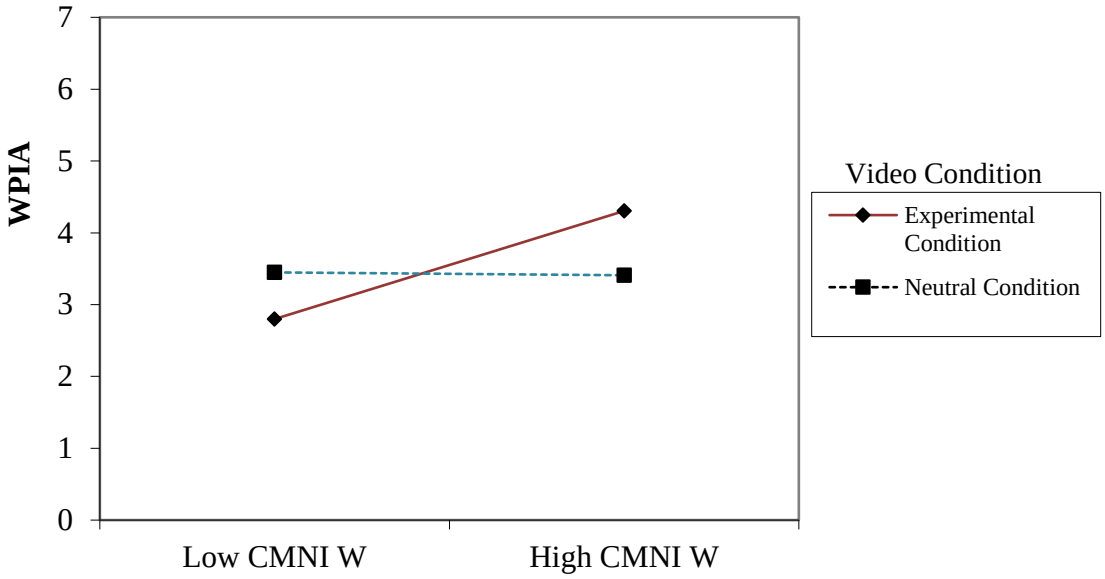
To investigate if conformity to traditional and organizational masculine norms moderates the relationship between participants' video group (experimental or control) and their self-reported reported White Privilege Information Avoidance (WPIA) four simple moderation analyses were performed using PROCESS (Hayes, 2018). The results of these moderation analyses are reported below, and a summary of all moderation analyses can be found in Table 3.5.

H**ypothesis 4a:** With CMNI Winning entered as the predictor to White Privilege Information Avoidance, the model did not account for a significant amount of variance in

R^2 = 0.05, $F(3,135) = 2.35$, $p = .076$. CMNI Winning significantly predicted White Privilege Information Avoidance scores, with a medium effect of $\beta = .60$. The interaction accounted for 2.26% of the variance in White Privilege Information Avoidance, $b = -0.77$, $\beta = -.30$, $t(135) = -1.79$, $p = .075$. Due to this analysis approaching significance, further exploration of the moderation was conducted. See Figure 3.2 for the two-way interaction plot. At high scores on the CMNI Winning subscale, the relationship between video condition and White Privilege Information Avoidance approaches significance, $b = .5169$, $t(135) = -1.65$, $p = .099$. At middle and low scores on the CMNI Winning subscale, there is no meaningful relationship between video condition and White Privilege Information Avoidance. A simple slope analysis was conducted and when the video condition is evaluated at a value of 0 (experimental group) there was a significant difference in simple slopes, $t(135) = 2.55$, $p = .012$. When the video condition was evaluated at a value of 1 (control group), there was no significant differences in simple slopes.

Figure 3.2

Conditional Effect of CMNI Winning on the Relationship between Experimental Condition and White Privilege Information Avoidance



Hypothesis 4b: With CMNI Primacy of Work entered as the predictor, the model significantly predicted White Privilege Information Avoidance, $R^2 = 0.11$, $F(3,142) = 5.88$, $p < .001$. CMNI Primacy of Work did not significantly predict White Privilege Information Avoidance scores, with a low effect of $\beta = .32$. The interaction of participants' video condition and CMNI POW was not found to significantly predict WPIA, $b = .013$, $\beta = .01$, $t(142) = 0.04$, $p = .967$.

Hypothesis 4c: With CMNI Self Reliance entered as the predictor, the model did not significantly predict White Privilege Information Avoidance, $R^2 = 0.19$, $F(3,142) = 1.53$, $p = .196$. CMNI Self Reliance approached significant prediction of White Privilege Information Avoidance scores, with a medium effect of $\beta = .48$ ($p = .062$). The

interaction of participants' video condition and CMNI Self Reliance was not found to significantly predict White Privilege Information Avoidance, b = -0.66, β = -.26, t(142) = -1.54, p = .125.

Hypothesis 4d: Prior to adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation, with Masculine Culture Contest entered as the predictor the model did account for a significant amount of variance in White Privilege Information Avoidance, R^2 = 0 .44, F(3,139) = 11.13, p < .001. Masculine Culture Contest significantly predicted White Privilege Information Avoidance scores, with a medium effect of β = .56. The interaction of participants' video condition and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict White Privilege Information Avoidance, b = -0.12, β = -.08, t(139) = -0.53, p = .595.

After adding the covariates of age and sexual orientation to the moderation model, the model remained significant, R^2 = 0.44, F(5,137) = 6.70, p < .001. Masculine Culture Contest did significantly predict participants' self-reported White Privilege Information Avoidance scores, with a medium effect of β = .48. The interaction between participants' video group and Masculine Culture Contest was not found to significantly predict participants' self-reported White Privilege Information Avoidance scores, b = -.12, β = -.08, t(137) = -0.52, p = .60.

Table 3.5

Summary of Moderation Analyses including all Predictors, Interactions, and Dependent Variables for Hypotheses 2a – 4d.

Dependent Variable	Predictor Variable	*b*	β	*p*
Anger				
	CMNI Winning	-0.74	-.14	.59
	VG x CMNI Winning	-0.02	-.004	.98
	CMNI Primacy of Work	1.37	.33	.23
	VG x CMNI Primacy of Work	-0.49	-.11	.49
	CMNI Self Reliance	1.06	.19	.45
	VG x CMNI Self Reliance	-0.32	-.06	.73
	Masculine Culture Contest	0.97	.30	.24
	VG x Masculine Culture Contest	-0.23	-.07	.65
Frustration				
	CMNI Winning	-0.89	-.15	.56
	VG x CMNI Winning	-0.13	-.01	.90
	CMNI Primacy of Work	2.4	.50	.06
	VG x CMNI Primacy of Work	-1.21	-.25	.12
	CMNI Self Reliance	0.89	.14	.57
	VG x CMNI Self Reliance	-0.1	-.02	.92
	Masculine Culture Contest	1.81	.50	.05
	VG x Masculine Culture Contest	-0.79	-.22	.18
White Fragility				

Dependent Variable	Predictor Variable	*b*	β	*p*
	CMNI Winning	0.59	.30	.26
	VG x CMNI Winning	-0.42	-.21	.20
	CMNI Primacy of Work	0.83	.53	.03
	VG x CMNI Primacy of Work	-0.04	-.03	.85
	CMNI Self Reliance	1.09	.55	.03
	VG x CMNI Self Reliance	-0.42	-.21	.20
	Masculine Culture Contest	0.7	.59	.005
	VG x Masculine Culture Contest	0.03	.03	.83
White Fragility AOC				
	CMNI Self Reliance	1.53	.71	.004
	VG x CMNI Self Reliance	-0.76	-.35	.03
WPIA				
	Masculine Culture Contest	1.52	.60	.02
	VG x Masculine Culture Contest	-0.77	-.31	.08
	Masculine Culture Contest	0.64	.32	.21
	VG x Masculine Culture Contest	0.01	.01	.97
	Masculine Culture Contest	1.22	.48	.06
	VG x Masculine Culture Contest	-0.66	-.26	.13
	Masculine Culture Contest	0.86	.57	.02
	VG x Masculine Culture Contest	-0.12	-.08	.60

Note: VG = Video Group; AOC = Accommodation of Comfort, WPIA = White Privilege Information Avoidance

Associations Between Masculine Norms and White Privilege Information Avoidance

Hypothesis 5a-5g: Bivariate correlations between masculinity variables and self-reported White Privilege Information Avoidance were generated to assess hypotheses 5a - 5g. See Table 3.4 for a full review of the correlations between the key variables in this study. CMNI Winning and CMNI Self Reliance were not significantly associated with White Privilege Information Avoidance (Hypotheses 5a, 5b). CMNI Primacy of Work and Emotional Control were positively significantly associated with White Privilege Information Avoidance ($r = .33$, $p < .001$; $r = .25$, $p = .002$) (Hypotheses 5c, 5d). The Gender Role Conflict subscale of Success, Power and Competition was positively significantly associated with White Privilege Information Avoidance ($r = .49$, $p < .001$) (Hypothesis 5e). The Subjective Masculine Stress Scale was not significantly associated with White Privilege Information Avoidance (Hypothesis 5f). Overall Masculine Culture Contest was significantly positively associated with White Privilege Information Avoidance ($r = .43$, $p < .001$) (Hypothesis 5g). All four subscales of the Masculine Culture Contest were significantly positively associated with White Privilege Information Avoidance (see Table 3.5). Thus, hypotheses 5a and 5f were not supported by the data while hypotheses 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e, 5g were supported by the data (See Table 3.6 for a correlation matrix of all key study variables).

Associations Between Masculine Norms and White Fragility

Hypothesis 6a-6g: Bivariate correlations between masculinity variables and White Fragility were generated to assess hypotheses 6a-6g. CMNI Winning was not significantly associated with White Fragility (Hypothesis 6a). The CMNI subscales of

Self Reliance, Primacy of Work, and Emotional Control were positively significantly associated with White Fragility ($r = .25$, $p = .002$; $r = .47$, $p < .001$; $r = .25$, $p = .002$) (Hypotheses 6b, 6c, 6d). The Gender Role Conflict subscale of Success, Power and Competition was positively significantly associated with White Fragility ($r = .60$, $p < .001$) (Hypothesis 6e). The Subjective Masculine Stress Scale was significantly associated with WF ($r = .25$, $p = .002$) (Hypothesis 6f). Overall Masculine Culture Contest was significantly positively associated with White Fragility ($r = .63$, $p < .001$). All four subscales of Masculine Culture Contest were significantly associated with White Fragility (see Table 3.5) (Hypothesis 6g). Parallel patterns of positive significant associations were found between all four subscales of White Fragility and the masculinity variables identified above. Thus, hypothesis 6a was not supported by the data while hypotheses 6b, 6c, 6d, 6e, 6f, and 6g were supported by the data.

Table 3.6

Correlation Matrix for Key Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. CMNI W	-														
2 .CMNI SR	-.10	-													
3. CMNI POW	.25**	.27**	-												
4.CMNI EC	-.10	.29**	.1	-											
5.GRC SPC	.33**	.26**	.56**	.02	-										
6. MCC SNW	0.00	.40**	.50**	.04	.69**	-									
7.MCC SAS	-.10	.17*	.33**	.10	.55**	.58**	-								
8. MCC PWF	-.21**	.26**	.35**	.11	.48**	.58**	.62**	-							

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
9. MCC DED	.10	.20*	.42**	.15	.60**	.61**	.72**	.65**	-						
10.MCC Total	-.10	.32**	.50**	.12	.70**	.84**	.86**	.82**	.87**	-					
11 .SMSS	-.10	.23**	.23**	-.12	.32**	.53**	.27**	.38**	.28**	.44**	-				
12. WPIA	.20	0.1	.33**	.25**	.49**	.40**	.32**	.32**	.36**	.43**	.10	-			
13. WFS ED	.00	.25**	.37**	.33**	.53**	.50**	.45**	.40**	.50**	.56**	.17*	.70**	-		
14. WFS AOC	.00	.21**	.45**	.21**	.59**	.54**	.51**	.48**	.50**	.61**	.22**	.54**	.82**	-	
15. WFS E	-.10	.17*	.50**	0.0	.53**	.59**	.40**	.43**	.43**	.56**	.38**	.41**	.60**	.75**	-
16. WFS Total	.00	.25**	.47**	.25*	.60**	.59**	.50**	.47**	.53**	.63**	.25**	.64**	.93**	.94**	.82**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

In summary, the findings from the current study provided support for hypotheses 5a-6g. While Hypotheses 1a- 1c did not find significant differences between the means of the two video groups, the data suggests non-significant trends in which participants in the experimental group had higher mean scores on WPIA and BA than these participants in the control condition. Additionally, there was partial support for Hypothesis 3c and 4a.

Chapter Four: Discussion, Implications and Limitations

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine how various iterations of traditional masculine identities in White working men may interact with behavioral and cognitive mechanisms which ultimately contribute to the perpetuation of racial inequity. More specifically, the study examined how White working men's adherence to traditional masculine norms, masculine organizational norms and gender role conflict influenced their experience of White Privilege Information Avoidance (WPIA) and White Fragility (WF) depending on their exposure to an experimental condition designed to activate White racial stress. This study utilized an experimental design to better understand some of the processes which activate protection strategies to insulate a person of privilege from racial stress. Participants were randomly assigned to either a control or experimental video condition which were identical except for a few key phrases in the experimental condition based directly on lived microaggressions of Black Americans in the workplace. Independent t-tests were conducted to analyze any significant differences in main effects of the video condition on participants' scores of White Privilege Information Avoidance and White Fragility. Additionally a series of moderation analyses were conducted to further investigate what moderating effects an individual's adherence to certain masculine norms may have on White Privilege Information Avoidance and White Fragility scores when primed with White racial stress.

Individuals in the experimental condition did not report or engage in significantly higher levels of White Privilege Information Avoidance or White Fragility. Similarly, they did not report higher affective experiences of anger or frustration as hypothesized. The lack of significant results has led to a failure to reject the null hypothesis for hypotheses 1a- 1c. Additionally, significant results were not found for the majority of the hypotheses examining the moderating effects of traditional masculine norms on self-reported White privilege and White fragility when exposed to the experimental video condition, also leading to a failure to reject the null hypothesis for hypotheses 2a - 2d, 3a, 3b, 3d, and 4a - 4c. Potential contributors to the lack of significant results will be explored in depth in this discussion, including methodological factors, possible sample bias, a shifting racial landscape in the U.S., and theoretical considerations. Following this, interpretations and implications of the significant and marginally significant results which were found in this study will be provided.

The experimental variable of this study was intended to activate racial threat for those in the experimental condition through exposure to a manipulated threat to racial hierarchy. The design of this study was based on previous research which has successfully activated threat in an experimental setting, including gender privilege threat (Kuchynka et al., 2018) and threat to self-beliefs resulting in increased information avoidance (Sweeny et al., 2010). For example, in Kuchynka et. al.'s 2018 study, men and women either read an article which identified a system threat to the traditional gender hierarchy or a control article, and when exposed to the gender hierarchy threat condition men reported reduced support for gender inclusive workplace norms while women did

not (Kuchynka et al., 2018). The video intervention for this study was designed to activate perceived threat to White privilege, as opposed to gender privilege like Kuchynka et al. 's research (2018). However, the intended experimental effect of priming participants to experience threat to White privilege may not have actually been effective or as effective as intended. Regarding the validity of the intervention, the video vignettes were developed for this experiment. While they were piloted to the highest level the PI was capable of given limited resources, a preliminary pilot study in which the video vignettes were administered alongside manipulation checks and a post-survey feedback measure on the vignettes and ensuing edits as needed would have allowed for higher confidence in the intended experimental effect. As such, there cannot be complete confidence in the internal validity of the experimental video vignette and its ability to elicit racial tension or distress. The actors were not professional actors, and this may also contribute to a decrease in internal validity, lessening the believability of the vignette and participants' ability to have a naturalistic response (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014).

One consideration regarding the null results of the main hypotheses of this study comes from the field of experimental political science, specifically racial priming theory. Racial priming theory suggests that individuals will have racial attitudes activated when they are exposed to implicit racial cues (Mendelberg, 2001). Expanding upon this, when individuals are exposed to explicit racial messaging these racial attitudes which influence their behaviors and opinions will not emerge, as this violates the socially acceptable belief of supporting racial equality (Mendelberg, 2001). Recent research in this field indicates this may no longer be an accurate depiction of White Americans'

reactions to explicit versus implicit messaging, potentially due to an increasingly racialized political messaging landscape (Huber & Lapinski, 2008; Valenzuela & Reny, 2021). In the experimental video vignette, the character "John" did not make direct negative statements about his coworker's character and link them to his coworker's racial identity, instead implying a lack of trustworthiness and ability to meet the demands of the job with coded language which alludes to his coworkers race. However, the language thought to be more implicit may in fact have been perceived explicitly by some or all participants due to this increased sensitivity to implicit racial messaging (Valenzuela & Reny, 2021). If the racial microaggressions were in fact perceived to be more explicit than implicit to the participants, then participants may have responded in unexpected patterns, leading to the null results.

Potential bias in the study sample also may have contributed to the lack of significant findings between experimental groups, both through self-selection as well as social desirability. As reviewed in more depth in the limitations, the length of this study placed a resource burden on the participants, and many dropped out after completing several initial measures. This was particularly relevant in the snowball sample group, in which individuals were not receiving any compensation and had no tangible motivation for completing the study. Participants were likely able to glean that this study examined aspects of masculinity in White men early on in the study, and there may be a self-selecting bias in participants who elected to complete the study versus those who prematurely terminated their participation. Individuals who chose to terminate early may be less comfortable or interested in discussing aspects of privilege. Participants who

completed the study and were included in the analysis may be less likely overall to engage in White Privilege Information Avoidance or White Fragility than the population this study intended to sample from, White working men in America. Additionally, there was no social desirability measure in this study due to the length of the study, and therefore there is no way to know if participants were truthful and open in their responses to the measures of masculinity, White fragility, and White privilege information avoidance. Both forms of bias could lead to underrepresentation or underreporting of the variables of interest in this study.

Lastly, it is possible that the theoretical underpinning of this study is not accurate, and exposure to racial stress does not provoke the defensive behaviors or attitudes assessed in this study in White men who are sensitive to racial tension. White men and women have previously been found to respond differently to topics of race and privilege, with men tending to be less open to learning about White privilege than women (Bezrukova et al., 2016; Spanierman et al., 2012), but individuals who hold both these identities have been less studied in psychological privilege research (Lui, 2017). As our knowledge of the complex intersection of race and masculinity continues to evolve, there may be key aspects of masculine socialization which promote alternative

Two interesting moderating relationships were identified, suggesting that direct effects of the video vignette groups on participants' White Privilege Information Avoidance and White Fragility scores may have been obscured by more complex relationships among the variables. After viewing the experimental video vignette, participants with high or low scores on the CMNI Self-Reliance subscale had

significantly different response patterns to the White Fragility Accommodation of Comfort Subscale. The moderation analyses showed that participants with lower scores on the Self-Reliance subscale also had lower scores on the Accommodations of Comfort subscale in the experimental condition. In other words, White men who were less inclined to endorse typical masculine self-reliance norms reported they were more open or comfortable with discussions around racial issues after viewing the experimental video vignette. Participants with high scores on the Self-Reliance subscale reported higher scores on the Accommodation of Comfort subscale after viewing the experimental video vignette. This interaction was significant for participants with lower scores on the self-reliance subscale and approached significance for participants with high scores on the self-reliance subscale (p = .06).

These results suggest that the masculine norm of self-reliance provides valuable insight into White men's response patterns to racial stress and ensuing comfort or discomfort with engaging in these critical conversations around race. The White Fragility Accommodation of Comfort subscale indicates a tendency to avoid the discomfort, or threat to their self-image, which may arise when White individuals are faced with the realities of racism (e.g. "I appreciate when a Person of Color does not bring race into everything that they talk about') (Langrehr et al., 2021). Current literature indicates that individuals who are less threatened by learning about White privilege are more likely to report an intention to reduce racial inequity (Conway et al., 2017; Knowles et al., 2014). Therefore White men who have lower self-reliance scores may be less sensitive to

threats to their racial privilege, and also may potentially have more openness towards taking action to address racial inequity.

A second notable moderating relationship was identified; as conformity to the masculine norm of Winning moderated the relationship between the video vignette groups and White Privilege Information Avoidance (WPIA) at $p = .075$. While this relationship is not significant at $p = .05$ it still describes a meaningful relationship and therefore is presented in this discussion. After viewing the experimental video vignette, participants with higher scores on the Winning subscale also reported higher scores on the White Privilege Information Avoidance scale. Meaning, White men who focus more strongly on success and winning may tend to report higher avoidance of learning about White privilege when exposed to White racial stress. This interaction was only marginally significant for participants with higher scores on the Winning subscale in the experimental condition, with no meaningful relationship noted for participants with lower scores. White privilege information avoidance has been shown to be activated when an individual perceives a threat to their view of themselves or their worldview (Conway et al., 2017; Howell & Shepherd, 2016). One possible explanation for the moderating effect of conformity to the masculine norm of Winning on White Privilege Information Avoidance is that White men who more heavily align with the values of success and winning are more prone to feeling threatened by a potential loss of privilege and status (Ambrosio, 2014). The White Privilege Information Avoidance measure asks if an individual would "rather not know that White people are more privileged than other racial groups." Thus, the perceived threat which was activated by viewing a video in

which a White male was passed over for a promotion by a Black colleague may have contributed to increased defensive mechanisms such as intentionally avoiding learning about White people's privilege.

A complementary lens to consider when interpreting the role of the masculine norm of Winning on White Privilege Information Avoidance may be the "zero-sum" nature of winning and competition. Kuchnyka and her colleagues (2018) found that zero-sum thinking mediated the relationship between traditionally masculine organizational norms and increased sexism towards women in a workplace. The researchers hypothesized that when zero-sum thinking is present, the male participants perceived women's success in the workplace as directly challenging their success, and therefore led to a defensive (i.e. hostile) stance towards their female coworkers (Kuchynka et al., 2018). Feelings of threat to one's social position can strengthen zero-sum thinking (Wilkins et al., 2015). Thus, when the White working men in this study who are high in conformity to the norm of winning perceive a member of their racial group to lose privilege to a member of a less privileged racial group, a form of zero-sum thinking may also be present and contribute to an increased sense of threat to their worldview.

Multiple significant correlational relationships were found between aspects of traditional and organizational masculinity and White Fragility and White Privilege Information Avoidance. Key relationship trends will be discussed here, and the complete correlation matrix can be reviewed in Table 3.5. Higher adherence to masculine contest norms in an organization was moderately positively associated with higher scores of White Fragility as well as White Privilege Information Avoidance. Similarly, increased

gender role conflict in the realm of Success, Power and Competition was moderately significantly associated with White Privilege Information Avoidance and White Fragility. Previous research on the Masculine Culture Contest scale supports a significant moderate relationship between higher adherence to Masculine Culture Contest and increased workplace bullying as well as more frequent harassment of individuals with minority identities (Glick et al., 2018). Masculine Culture Contest is also rooted in a dominance perspective, as within workplaces men have traditionally leaned on dominance to achieve and obtain access to power (Berdahl et al., 2019). Therefore these associational findings may be interpreted with a focus on the shared mechanisms of dominance, as White fragility and White privilege information avoidance both are proposed to contribute to the maintenance of a White male dominant social hierarchy (Conway et al., 2017; DiAngelo, 2018; Levant, 2011).

White men who adhere more strongly to the traditional masculine norm of self-reliance, who value work over other priorities or responsibilities, or who restrict their emotions were found to be more likely to endorse emotional, behavioral, and cognitive expressions of White fragility. The masculine norms of primacy of work and emotional restriction also had a small, positive association with White Privilege Information Avoidance. Traditional masculine ideologies within our society are hypothesized to maintain power hierarchies which elevate White, cisgender, heterosexual maleness (Levant, 2011). Through adhering to or aligning with these traditional masculine norms, White men are able to actively maintain their privilege and isolate power from those with an "other" identity (Lui, 2017). The significant relationships found here suggest that

White working men who align more rigidly with certain masculine norms may also engage in expressions of White Fragility or White Privilege Information Avoidance at a higher level.

Some of the moderating relationships proposed in this study were not significant. Of particular interest is that some traditional masculine norms (Winning and Self Reliance) meaningfully moderated the relationship between the video vignette groups and White Privilege Information Avoidance and White Fragility, and some did not (Primacy of Work and Emotional Control). These results support the theoretical and statistically supported understanding that conformity to masculine norms is multifaceted and cannot be seen as a unidimensional construct (Hammer et al., 2018). While this study has identified specific aspects of masculinity to examine in conjunction with White privilege, the nuance of how masculinity intersects with various other identities cannot be understated (Christenson & Jensen, 2014).

Limitations

This study had several limitations of note. The study design itself appeared to place a significant burden of time and mental resources on participants. There were two measures in the study which were open-ended responses, one of which required responses to continue in the study. A significant percentage of participants stopped participation when they reached this measure, the Subjective Measure of Masculine Stress (SMSS). The average time of completion, 20-30 minutes, combined with the task of reflecting on and sharing out subjective aspects of masculinity contributed to difficulties with data collection as well. Additionally, the use of MTurk contributed to

several significant challenges. Across all MTurk participation, there was a high rate of participant drop out as well as rushing through open-ended responses. While MTurk was utilized as one arm of data collection due to the historically low response rates for research requests from men (Patel, Doku & Tennakoon, 2003), there is still some concern that the participants who self-selected into completing the study may have a bias of increased openness to learning about White privilege or reduced conformity to traditional masculine norms. An analysis of differences between the two sampled groups shows significant differences on scores on some aspects of traditional masculinity as well as White Fragility and White Privilege Information Avoidance, with the snowball sample reporting overall lower means on these variables. Thus, there appears to be some pre-existing bias between participants sampled via snowball sampling and MTurk convenience sampling.

The current study has a sample size of n = 156, with some analyses closer to n = 141 due to missing data. The preliminary G-Power analysis for this study identified a required sample size of n = 176 in order to effectively identify significant relationships with a medium effect size or larger. The sample size of n =176 was not reached due to time constraints introduced by the MTurk data collection challenges and an ensuing pause of data collection. When creating the MTurk assignment, I unknowingly created a coding error which seemingly randomly caused difficulties for participants to submit their completion code on MTurk after completing the study. Within 24 hours 40 individuals reached out through email stating they attempted to submit their completion code on MTurk for review and subsequent payment but were unable to. Data collection

was immediately halted, and all participants were appropriately reimbursed. An IRB report was then submitted, and corrections were made to the coding to prevent this issue from repeating, however, data collection was significantly behind schedule due to this event. When data collection resumed, it was done in small batches (5 – 10 participants) to ensure that the previous issue with participants submitting their completion codes did not reoccur. When the data collection phase was finished, the total sample size was 189. However, a more thorough review of the responses in the data cleaning phase led to the complete exclusion of 33 additional sets of data, due to less obvious random or non-applicable responses to open-ended prompts which were not excluded at the initial review of data. Based on the unexpected challenges with MTurk which led to an extended data collection schedule, I was unable to reopen data collection to compensate for these excluded participants, and therefore moved forward with data cleaning and analyses with a smaller sample than originally planned. While some significant relationships were found, many that were initially hypothesized were not supported by the data. It is likely that if significant relationships with small to medium effect sizes were present, they were not revealed by the analyses, as this study was somewhat under-powered.

The experimental and control video vignettes were created for this study with the intention of manipulating or activating participants' racial stress if they are predisposed towards experiencing racial stress. While they were designed to control for all variables except John's racially biased language towards his coworker, there are still some validity concerns that the experimental video did truly activate racial stress. The experimental video pulled real life examples of microaggressions Black workers have experienced in

the workplace in America. Per a central tenet of Critical Race Theory research, personal narratives of minoritized individuals should be centered to promote experiential learning (Johnson-Ahorlu, 2017). While I conducted a thorough review across interdisciplinary fields for first-hand accounts of Black individuals' experiences in the workplace (Caver & Livers, 2002; Gatwiri, 2021; Yuan, 2020), the video vignettes could have been better grounded in personal narratives through small focus groups of Black individuals who work full time in various professional positions. If additional resources were available, the video vignettes would ideally go through a much more rigorous development and piloting phase to reduce any validity concerns.

Another potential limitation to this study is construct validity regarding masculinity as well as experimental design. Many measures of masculine identity are explicit self-report measures based on a concept of traditional, hegemonic masculinity (Parent & Moradi, 2011, Levant et al., 2013). While these measures themselves have been shown to have adequate levels of validity and reliability, they limit the respondent by assigning predetermined tenants of masculinity to the respondents. Wong et al., recently found a small but significant positive correlation between explicit and implicit masculine self-concept, implying they are measuring different but related constructs (2017). Additionally, explicit self-report measures regarding aspects of the self may be biased based on how self-aware the respondent is, and also may trigger social-desirability bias (Wong et al., 2017). In reality the existing measures of masculine self-concept are not inclusive of all men's experiences, so the construct validity of this independent variable is limited by the state of research in the field. Moreover, as all the measures are

administered via self-report and the majority of constructs were only assessed using one measure, the study is open to mono-method bias. Thus, the study may not fully represent the constructs being assessed by utilizing single measures for the majority of the variables or may limit generalizability (Heppner, et al., 2015).

Implications for Practice

While research has clearly identified ongoing racial and gender inequities in the work environment (Dobbin et al., 201l; Healy et al., 2018; Smith, 2002; Stainbeck et al., 2010), current intervention strategies of diversity trainings have produced minimal changes (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Berdahl et al., 2018). In fact, some researchers have identified some economic patterns of racial disparities which suggest that over the past 10-20 years Black individuals have lost some of the economic gains acquired since the civil rights era in the most recent economic recession (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Tayler et al., 2011). While preliminary, this correlational analyses provides some useful implications for efforts to identify, understand, and reduce racial inequity within the workplace.

White Privilege Information Avoidance as well as White Fragility scores were significantly associated with masculine norms which focus on emotional restriction, centering the role of work above all else, and organizational masculine norms which center a dominant, hierarchical approach to the workplace. It is believed that the ineffective nature of diversity training interventions in enacting positive change in organizations which maintain masculine culture contest norms may be due to workers' needs to maintain a positive sense of self and thereby engagement in defensive cognitive reactions to information and skills presented in these trainings (Rawski & Workman-

Stark, 2018). For example, if workplace culture includes norms of derogatory comments towards women couched in a joking manner, a workplace diversity training stating this is sexist and harmful may activate a defensive reaction or even backlash to the training. Rawski & Workman-Stark (2018) suggest utilizing a new form of intervention known of "sensemaking" to better navigate the complex nature of changing discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in the workplace without initiating outright resistance or backlash to critical information around diversity and equity. Sensemaking interventions invites individuals to reframe discriminatory practices within the workplace (gender or sex-biased interactions) to a frame which is less threatening (Rawski & Workman-Stark, 2018). Some examples may be to frame these behaviors as unprofessional as opposed to immoral, to frame a move towards less hostile work environment as having a positive impact on all employees including those holding privileged identities, or to offer positive alternative options which do not contradict masculine norms (e.g. "Be strong enough to admit to have made a mistake" or "Be brave enough to do the right thing") (Rawski & Workman-Stark, 2018). Thus, utilizing sensemaking as an intentional and tailored reframing of harmful White patriarchal workplace norms and practices after an assessment of what norms may be present could allow for more effective and lasting change than traditional diversity trainings in the workplace.

Future Directions

Critical Studies Informed Future Directions

Christian et al., (2019), put out a call to Critical Race scholars to further explore the process of the reproduction of racism and inequity, stating, "In considering CRT's

"new directions," we urge fellow scholars to move to new types of questions: investigating the mechanisms reproducing racial inequality and how these mechanisms transform in reaction to novel historical conditions" (2013, p. 1734). Through maintaining Critical Race Theory and Critical Whiteness Studies as theoretical foundations while designing and operationalizing this study, the results align with this emerging pool of research working to better understand how dominant ideologies of hegemonic Whiteness and traditional masculinity may interplay with systemic mechanisms of racism (Cabrera, 2018; Christian et al., 2019; Liu, 2017). This study suggests support for complex relationships and interactions between White men's adherence to various masculine norms and their tendencies to engage in White privilege information avoidance or expressions of White Fragility. Previous research on male privilege identified the role of traditional masculine norms in men's efforts to restore or maintain their male privilege while holding minoritized identities, suggesting that for White men, their racial and gender privileges are indelibly intertwined (Coston & Kimmel, 2012). No other known research studies have quantitatively examined White privilege information avoidance or White fragility in men through a workplace frame. As significant associational relationships between masculine organizational workplace norms and White fragility and White privilege information avoidance were found, further exploration of these relationships over time within naturalistic workplaces may help scholars better understand the "production (and permanence) of racism" (Christian et al., 2007, p. 1733).

While theoretical works rooted in Critical Whiteness Studies have been published about White privilege and male privilege as a critical social location in the reproduction of racism, little quantitative research has been produced to explore processes which contribute to this. (Lui, 2017; McIntosh, 2012). The results of this study suggest White men's alignment with masculine norms may be associated with their tendencies to engage in avoidant or defensive strategies when faced with racial discomfort. These results are very preliminary, and do not provide causal understanding of processes of systemic racism. Yet, there may be benefits of applying these quantitative results to a qualitative analysis of the phenomena of experiencing White privilege threat for men who align strongly with aspects of traditional masculinity. This study, by the nature of quantitative research, utilized limited definitions of masculinity as well as reactions to racial stress. Based on the known complexities of masculinity and racial identities (Christian & Johnson, 2014), this study in no way captured a complete understanding of the mechanisms it examined. Thus, a complementary qualitative study and analysis could provide critical knowledge to move this vein of research forward.

Future Research Directions

The White Fragility Scale was included in the study in efforts to better understand what types of reactions White working men may have when exposed to racial stress. The vignettes were not designed to directly activate or measure White Fragility, but instead activate racial stress in individuals who may already hold co-occurring traits or identity beliefs which predispose them to responding to racial threats in a defensive manner. The White Fragility scale was included as previous literature suggests White fragility

reactions are a possible response when White individuals are faced with racial stress or discomfort (Hays et al., 2008; DiAngelo, 2018; Knowles et al., 2014; Spanierman et al., 2012). While minimal significant effects were found from the video vignettes on White Fragility scores, correlational results suggest moderate significant relationships exist between self-reported White Fragility scores and aspects of traditional masculinity and masculine stress. Therefore, future research directions may involve creating a new priming intervention designed specifically to activate White fragility. Through the development and validation of a White fragility priming intervention for men in the workplace, delivered via video vignette or written materials, a more accurate understanding of White fragility expression in men who adhere to aspects of traditional masculinity across varying degrees may be found.

This analysis suggested that men's reported White privilege information avoidance is partially moderated by conformity to the masculine norm of winning when implemented to protect the individual from racial stress. Conway et al. (2017) developed a secondary White privilege information avoidance measure which examines reasons for desired White privilege information avoidance and found five potential reasons, including distrusting new information, increased social pressure, coping skills, perceived threat to one's world view, and an anticipated negative affect. Through their work, they found anticipation of a threat to one's worldview and anticipation of negative affect both to significantly predict a greater desire to avoid learning about White privilege. Additionally, external social pressure and higher coping resources predicted less desire to engage in White privilege information avoidance (Conway et al., 2017). They concluded

that individuals need to believe that new information around White privilege is valuable as well as communicated in a manner which does not activate a sense of individual threat (Conway et al., 2017). Research which assesses these reasons for White privilege information avoidance across various gender and racial identities could bridge the divide between research and practical applications of the knowledge found. For example, it may be that higher alignment or endorsement of certain traditional masculine norms correspond to different reasons for avoiding learning about White privilege, and the study of these associations may allow for a more individualized intervention plan for diversity and equity consultation within workplaces.

Based on the null results found for many of the hypotheses, one potential additional area of exploration would be to assess stages of White racial identity development in participants, according to Janet Helms' (2015) model of White Racial Identity Development (WRID). As all of the predictor variables in the current study focused on aspects of masculinity, it would move this vein of research forward to assess for participants' WRID status prior to assessing for White privilege information avoidance or White fragility. This would allow researchers to either control for stages of WRID to assess for the validity of racially priming interventions, or assess for the relationships between traditional masculinity, White fragility and White privilege information avoidance, and WRID stages.

Lastly, this study suggests that White fragility, whether as an active form of complicity with the current status quo or as stemming from poor racial stamina, (Applebaum, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018), is significantly associated with more rigid

adherence to workplace masculine culture contest norms. As no moderating relationships were found to be significant between these variables, additional inquiry into these relationships may be warranted. Although this study did not test any hypotheses of indirect, or mediating, relationships of workplace masculine culture contest norm on White fragility due to an effort towards a more parsimonious design, preceding research suggests mediation plays a significant role in workplace norms and functioning (Berdahl et al., 2018). Therefore, greater exploration into what variables may mediate the impact of workplace masculine culture contest on White fragility and White privilege information avoidance would also provide insight into more nuanced mechanisms which perpetuate racial workplace inequity. Additional factors such as presence of zero-sum thinking, presence of in-group favoritism or social dominance orientation may be implicated in these mechanisms (Ho et al., 2018; Kuchynka et al., 2018).

Conclusion

The present study was a novel approach to exploring the interplay of male and White identities on one's response to racial stress in a workplace setting, specifically assessing affective responses, expressions of White fragility, and desire to avoid learning about White privilege. It was predicted that White men who more strongly adhere to specific individual and organizational masculine norms would engage in higher expressions of White fragility and White privilege information avoidance if exposed to racial stress via an experimental video vignette, as compared to those who were exposed to a control video vignette. Direct effects supporting this hypothesis were not found, however, some moderating effects of aspects of traditional masculinity were found on

expressions of White fragility and White privilege information avoidance. There is also some evidence to support moderate relationships between adherence to masculine norms, alignment with organizational masculine norms and expressions of White fragility and White privilege information avoidance. Due to research design constraints, some relationships may have been obscured or better understood through additional analyses. Future research studies may gain greater understanding into specific mechanisms which contribute to expressions of White fragility or White privilege information avoidance through analyzing indirect relationships, qualitative explorations of White men's experiences with racial stress, and studying these same variables in a longitudinal workplace environment.

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Appendix A: Demographic Questionnaire

Instructions: Please respond to each of the following questions regarding your demographic information and your experience at work. Select the option(s) that best captures your experience. If none of the options apply, specify under "other". Thank you for your participation.

1	What is your age?	write in
2	What is your job title?	write in
3	What is your estimated yearly household income?	• < $10,000 • 10,000 – 20,000 • 20,000-30,000 • 30,000-40,000 • 40,000-50,000 • 50,000-60,000 • 60,000-70,000 • 70,000-80,000 • 80,000-90,000 • 90,000-100,000 • 100,000-200,000 • <200,0000
4	What is your relationship status?	• Single • Open Relationship • Polyamorous relationship • Married/Committed/Civil Union • Divorced • Widowed • Prefer not to answer
5	Please select the option that best describes your gender identity:	• Man • Women • Transgender Man • Transgender Woman • Non-Binary • Gender Fluid • Other _____ • Prefer not to answer
6	Please select the option that best describes your sexual preference:	• Heterosexual/straight • Homosexual • Gay • Lesbian

		• Bisexual • Pansexual • Queer • Asexual • Prefer not to answer • Other_____
7	What is your ethnicity? Please select all that apply:	• American Indian or Alaskan Native • African American or Black • Asian American • Hispanic or Latino • Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander • White • Other _____ • Prefer not to answer
8	About how many men and women work at your workplace? Please estimate the percentages of male coworkers and female coworkers	• ___ % men • ___ % women
9	About how many racial minority individuals work at your workplace? Please estimate the percentages of White coworkers and racial minority coworkers you have	• ___% racial minority • ___% White

Appendix B: Conformity to Masculine Norms – 46 (CMNI-46)

Instructions: Please indicate how much you agree with each item on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 4 (Strongly Agree).

	Item	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	*Subscale*
1	In general, I will do anything to win	1	2	3	4	*Winning*
3	I hate asking for help.	1	2	3	4	*SR*
7 (RC)	Winning is not my first priority	1	2	3	4	*Winning*
10 (RC)	I ask for help when I need it.	1	2	3	4	*SR*
11	My work is the most important part of my life.	1	2	3	4	*PoW*
13 (RC)	I bring up my feelings when talking to others	1	2	3	4	*EC*
15 (RC)	I don’t mind losing	1	2	3	4	*Winning*
18	I never share my feelings.	1	2	3	4	*EC*
22	It is important for me to win.	1	2	3	4	*Winning*
23 (RC)	I don't like giving all my attention to work	1	2	3	4	*PoW*
25 (RC)	I like to talk about my feelings.	1	2	3	4	*EC*
26	I never ask for help.	1	2	3	4	*SR*
27 (RC)	More often than not, losing does not bother me	1	2	3	4	*Winning*
31	I feel good when work is my first priority	1	2	3	4	*PoW*
32	I tend to keep my feelings to myself.	1	2	3	4	*EC*
33 (RC)	Winning is not important to me.	1	2	3	4	*Winning*
38 (RC)	I am not ashamed to ask for help.	1	2	3	4	*SR*
39	Work comes first.	1	2	3	4	*PoW*
40 (RC)	I tend to share my feelings.	1	2	3	4	*EC*

43	It bothers me when I have to ask for help	1	2	3	4	*SR*
45	I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings.	1	2	3	4	*EC*

Appendix C: Gender Role Conflict – Short Form (GRC-SF)

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number that most closely represents the degree that you Agree or Disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reaction is what is asked for.

Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

	Item	Likert					
2	Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	I like to feel superior to other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	I strive to be more successful than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix D: Masculine Culture Contest (MCC)

Instructions: Please respond to the following items on a scale of 1 (Not at all true of my work environment) to 5 (Entirely true of my work environment)

	Items	Likert					*Subscale*
1	Admitting you don't know the answer looks weak	1	2	3	4	5	*SNW*
2	Expressing any emotion other than anger or pride is seen as weak	1	2	3	4	5	*SNW*
3	Seeking other's advice is seen as weak	1	2	3	4	5	*SNW*
4	The most respected people don't show emotions	1	2	3	4	5	*SNW*
5	People who show doubt lose respect.	1	2	3	4	5	*SNW*
6	It's important to be in good physical shape to be respected.	1	2	3	4	5	*STS*
7	People who are physically smaller have to work harder to get respect .	1	2	3	4	5	*STS*
8	Physically imposing people have more influence.	1	2	3	4	5	*STS*
9	Physical stamina is admired.	1	2	3	4	5	*STS*
10	Athletic people are especially admired.	1	2	3	4	5	*STS*
11	To succeed you can't let family interfere with work.	1	2	3	4	5	*PWF*
12	Taking days off is frowned upon.	1	2	3	4	5	*PWF*
13	To get ahead you need to be able to work long hours.	1	2	3	4	5	*PWF*
14	Leadership expects employees to put work first.	1	2	3	4	5	*PWF*
15	People with significant demands outside of work don't make it very far.	1	2	3	4	5	*PWF*
16	You're either "in" or you're "out," and once you're out, you're out.	1	2	3	4	5	*DED*
17	If you don't stand up for yourself people will step on you .	1	2	3	4	5	*DED*
18	You can't be too trusting.	1	2	3	4	5	*DED*
19	You've got to watch your back.	1	2	3	4	5	*DED*
20	One person's loss is another person's gain.	1	2	3	4	5	*DED*

Appendix E: Subjective Masculine Stress Scale (SMSS)

Instructions: The following questions are about *gender* issues. Please describe your *personal experience* of what it means to be a *man* by completing the following sentence, "As a man . . ." 10 times. Just give 10 different responses. Respond as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. There are no right or wrong responses. Don't worry about logic or importance, and don't overanalyze your responses. Simply write down the first thoughts that come to your mind.

1. As a man . . .
2. As a man . . .
3. As a man . . .
4. As a man . . .
5. As a man . . .
6. As a man . . .
7. As a man . . .
8. As a man . . .
9. As a man . . .
10. As a man . . .

Please refer to your responses above. For each "As a man . . ." response, indicate how OFTEN this experience is STRESSFUL for you.

	Never/Almost Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always/Almost Always
"As a man . . ." Response 1	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 2	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 3	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 4	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 5	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 6	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 7	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 8	1	2	3	4	5
"As a man . . ." Response 9	1	2	3	4	5

“As a man . . .” Response 10	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F: Intervention Video Scripts

Video A – Experimental Condition

Speaker	Script
John	I don't know, I just really thought that promotion was mine.
Robert	Yea, you've been talking about it for a while. What happened?
John	What am I going to tell my wife? We were counting on this promotion for the mortgage since she started staying home with the kids. .... I've been with the company for the past three years. Devonte has only been here for two. I've been giving it my all and keeping my nose down, and somehow he's the new [job title]?
Robert	Did you have any idea they were going to go with him?
John	No, and it just seems weird to me, you know?...All this Black lives matter stuff going on...and they just happen to hire him.
Robert	I thought you were in for sure.
John	Right. This affirmative action crap is really starting to piss me off. I'm clearly a better fit. People respect me. They trust that I am honest and am going to follow through on my word. You think the same can be said of him?
Robert	I mean, I don't really know him, but I always thought it was a little strange how much he keeps to himself. You know, I don't really see him at happy hours and stuff.
John	I know. Sometimes, it's just hard to really know if you can trust a person, you know? Did he even get that management training certification he was talking about? I haven't seen any records. And another thing, I just don't get a "leadership material" vibe from him. I really don't know what management sees in him other than someone they can pat themselves on the back and look good on paper. So, how is a guy like me supposed to get ahead?
Robert	What are you going to do about it?

John	There's not much I can do now. I was told I need "more time" to "develop my skills". They are going to see they made a mistake. I know our partners; they have traditional values. I don't think they are going to take to working with Devante, at least for a while
Robert	So, he is going to be your boss now? That's going to be rough
John	He can try. I'm not going to take orders from a guy like him when I could do his job easily. I am just going to keep on doing my own thing and be there to pick up the pieces when he inevitable screws something up.

Video B – Control Video

**Highlighted language reflects content differences between Video A and Video B*

Speaker	Script
John	I don't know, I just really thought that promotion was mine.
Robert	Yea, you've been talking about it for a while. What happened?
John	What am I going to tell my wife? We were counting on this promotion for the mortgage since she started staying home with the kids. .... I've been with the company for the past three years. Rich has only been here for two. I've been giving it my all and keeping my nose down, and somehow he's the new [job title]?
Robert	Did you have any idea they were going to go with him?
John	No, and it just seems weird to me, you know?...He is the COO's college buddy...and they just happen to hire him.
Robert	I thought you were in for sure.
John	Right. This crap is really starting to piss me off. I'm clearly a better fit. People respect me. They trust that I am honest and am going to follow through on my word. You think the same can be said of him?
Robert	I mean, I don't really know him, but I always thought it was a little strange how much he keeps to himself. You know, I don't really see him at happy hours and stuff.

John	I know. Sometimes, it's just hard to really know if you can trust a person, you know? Did he even get that management training certification he was talking about? I haven't seen any records. And another thing, I just don't get a "leadership material" vibe from him. I really don't know what management sees in him other than someone they can pat themselves on the back and look good on paper. So, how is a guy like me supposed to get ahead?
Robert	What are you going to do about it?
John	There's not much I can do now. I was told I need "more time" to "develop my skills". They are going to see they made a mistake. I know our partners, they trust me. I don't think they are going to take to working with Rich, at least for a while
Robert	So, he is going to be your boss now? That's going to be rough
John	He can try. I'm not going to take orders from him when I could do his job easily. I am just going to keep on doing my own thing and be there to pick up the pieces when he inevitable screws something up.

Appendix G: Video Evaluation Items

Instructions: Please let us know: How does what you have just seen make you feel? Please move the slider up or down to indicate to the location that shows how you feel

- Extremely Frustrated ← → Not at all Frustrated
- Extremely Angry ← → Not at all Angry
- Extremely Hateful ← → Not at All Hateful
- Extremely Scared ← → Not at all Scared

If you felt something other than what is listed above, please let us know here:_____

Please respond to the following items according to the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

1. John's feelings seem justified.
2. John probably should have received the promotion over his coworker.
3. I understand John's feelings.
4. John's superiors were fair in promoting his coworker over him.
5. John seems like a nice guy.
6. John seems like he has a chip on his shoulder.
7. John seems like he has worked really hard to get to where he is in his career. OR John seems like he deserves the promotion based on how hard he has worked in his career.
8. I would get along with John if we worked together.

Appendix H: Behavioral Information Avoidance

Instructions: Above, we asked you your opinion on John and the video you watched. It can be difficult to truly judge a situation like the one you saw without more information. What additional information would you like to learn to help you make a more informed decision about the situation? Please let us know in the spaces below. While there are ten spaces, you can fill out as many or as few as you would like. We simply want to know what additional information you would like to know.

Space 1
Space 2
Space 3
Space 4
Space 5
Space 6
Space 7
Space 8
Space 9
Space 10

Now that you have listed this information, what is the likelihood that you would take the opportunity to learn this information if it were available to you? Share your likelihood as a percentage on the scale below.
0 ← → 100

Appendix I: White Privilege Information Avoidance Measure

Instructions: Please let us know how much you agree or disagree with the items below, on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Item	Likert						
1	I would rather not know that White people are more privileged than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	I would avoid learning if White people are more privileged than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3 (RC)	Even if it will upset me, I want to know if White people are more privileged than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	When it comes to knowing whether White people are more privileged than other racial groups, sometimes ignorance is bliss.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 (RC)	I want to know if White people are more privileged than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I can think of situations in which I would rather not know if White people are more privileged than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7 (RC)	It is important to know if White people are more privileged than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 (RC)	I would want to know if White people are more privileged than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix J: White Fragility Scale

Instructions: "In today's society, White people are rarely asked about racial issues in the United States. Therefore, we would like to get your input about some of these issues. Please read the following items and rate how much you agree with each statement." Participants were asked to rate their responses using a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

	Item	Likert					
1	I can not help but feel annoyed when hearing conversations about White Privilege.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	It is exhausting having to constantly hear people talk about White privilege	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	Stereotyping White people as racist is actually racist	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	People of Color usually want to make White people feel guilty	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	If I say something about race that offends a Person of Color, I would understand where they're coming from, even if my comment was well-intended	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	It is biased for a professor to assign readings about White privilege in a college course	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	White people are usually blamed for everything in discussions about racism	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	It does not bother me when people want to talk about White privilege	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	If a person is offended by a well-intended comment about race, they are being unreasonable	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	I struggle to articulate my thoughts and feelings during discussions about racism	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	I am most comfortable talking about racial issues with other White people	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	I avoid talking about racial issues with People of Color	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	I appreciate when a Person of Color does not bring race into everything that they talk about	1	2	3	4	5	6

14	I would block or unfriend a person who constantly talks about White privilege on social media	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	People of Color should make an effort to make me feel comfortable in discussions about racial issues	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	It would be unfair for People of Color to disregard my perspective on racial privilege	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	It is frustrating when people see me as a "White person" instead of an individual	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	I know People of Color who have assured me that I am not racist	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	I tense up when referred to as White	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	When meeting new people, it is important to let them know that I am not racist	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	On demographic forms, I prefer to list my nationality (e.g., American) or ethnic heritage (e.g., German, Dutch) instead of indicating that I am White	1	2	3	4	5	6

Note: Emotional Defensiveness: Items 1 – 10; Accommodation of Comfort: Items 11 – 16, Exceptionism: Items 17 – 21.

Appendix K: Video Vignette Script Piloting Instructions

Thank you for being willing to help us get feedback on an upcoming research study. We are going to ask you to take a look at two different scripts. These scripts will eventually be turned into brief videos as a part of a research study on men in the workplace. The first script you are going to read is our "neutral script". The second script is our "experimental script". In both scripts, the same two men are discussing a job promotion one of them did not get. They both are employees at a national insurance company, and work in the sales department. There are slight differences in the experimental script vs the control script. We want your feedback on a couple topics: 1) how realistic do each of the scripts feel? 2) What do you think of "Jon" in each script? 3) What do you think we are trying to learn more about in the experimental script?

Our goal is to get feedback on the intervention from volunteers who are representative of the proposed sample for this study. Inclusion criteria is: identifies as a man, over age 18, works full time (over 30 hours a week), and identifies their race as White. This is NOT research, we are getting feedback on an intervention.