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Men at the Intersection of Race and Class: Identity, Centrality, and Privilege Attitudes

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Abstract

While previous research has determined that people who have subordinated identities in one domain are more likely to view their dominant identity in another domain as a privilege (Rosette & Tost, 2013), the effect of class identity on privilege awareness at the intersection of race, class, and gender, has not been investigated. Additionally, the centrality of these identities has not been considered as a possible moderator, despite the fact that identity centrality has been shown to moderate the relationship between stereotype appraisals and disidentification with an ethnic or racial identity such that people whose racial or ethnic identities were more central were more likely to disidentify with their identities on days that they were affected by stereotypes related to their identity (Yip, 2016). Using a quasi-experimental, two-study design and survey about race, class, gender, identity centrality, and male privilege attitudes, I found no main effect of race or class on male privilege awareness but main effects of and interactions between race, class, and their centralities on perceived cost of addressing privilege and privilege attitudes, more broadly. There was a main effect of gender centrality as well as a significant interaction between racial centrality and class identification and three-way interactions between race, class, and class centrality. Future research should continue to explore the relationship between identity, centrality, and privilege awareness beyond cis men.

Men at the Intersection of Race and Class: Identity, Centrality, and Privilege Awareness

Inequality functions in multiple levels and dimensions. Individuals experience inequality through their identification with different social identities and their subsequent experiences of identity-based advantages and disadvantages. These experiences are complicated by the fact that people exist at the intersections of all of their social identities, experiencing the world through their race, class, gender, and sexual orientation all at once. These intersections make understanding advantage and disadvantage, privilege and oppression, more difficult but no less important.

Dominance and Privilege

Identities operate within systems of oppression and marginalization, meaning every dimension of identity (race, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation etc.) has dimensions of privilege and marginalization. Psychological research has focused on addressing identities in terms of ingroup and outgroup relations, and research about systemic inequity have focused on how an "outgroup" (such as People of Color) experiences and is affected by disadvantage (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). When people who hold dominant identities, such as White people, focus on the "other's" disadvantage without recognizing that not facing those disadvantages is a privilege, they can distance themselves from systems of oppression and lessen their own guilt (Powell et al., 2005). Privilege attitudes encompass cognitive, behavioral, and affective levels including privilege awareness—the cognitive recognition of one's own systemic privilege and the existence of systemic inequity—willingness to address privilege, perceived cost of addressing privilege, and remorse for having privilege (Pinterits, Poteat, and Spanierman, 2009).

Peggy McIntosh (2008) illustrates what it means to be aware of privilege as she details her attempts to integrate Women's Studies into the curriculum at her institution. McIntosh notes that her focus was convincing the men that she worked with that they should acknowledge male privilege and gender oppression in their work, but through this work, she realized that she herself was benefitting from her Whiteness (2008). Not only does McIntosh identify twenty-six personal examples of White privilege, she also explains how her White privilege was invisible to her until she contemplated her oppressed gender identity (2008). While McIntosh's article is not empirical, it has laid the groundwork for an understanding of privilege awareness that is necessary to this work. Further, McIntosh's work beautifully illustrates how the complicated nature of possessing multiple identities, of residing at an intersection, can influence perception and awareness of privilege.

Research on privilege awareness has largely focused on White privilege awareness and how White privilege awareness influences other factors such as White guilt (Powell et al., 2005) and support for policy change (Rosette & Tost, 2013). For example, in one study, participants who were presented with a prime that framed inequality as dominant social group privilege felt more collective guilt than participants who were presented a prime that framed systemic inequality as marginalized group disadvantage (Powell et al., 2005). Collective guilt (one aspect of remorse) mediated the relationship between the framing of inequality (privilege vs. disadvantage framing) and racism such that participants who were in the privilege framing condition felt more collective guilt and expressed less racism (Powell et al., 2005). Further, viewing inequity

as dominant-group privilege increases support for policies aimed at decreasing social inequalities (Rosette & Tost, 2013).

 While research supports the importance of privilege awareness and advocates for increasing people's privilege awareness through formal courses and seminars (Case, 2007), little is known about who is most likely to be aware of systemic privilege without already having participated in a privilege awareness course. Rosette and Tost (2013) addressed this gap in the literature through a series of surveys that investigated White privilege and male privilege, comparing White men and women in their White privilege awareness and White men and Men of Color in their male privilege awareness. In this study, identity was divided into two domains, race and gender, and the participants identities were identified as either dominant (White and/or cis man) or subordinate (Man of Color or woman) (Rosette & Tost, 2013). Overall, participants who had a subordinate-group identity in one dimension were more likely to view their dominant-group position in another dimension as a privilege, such that White women had higher White privilege awareness than White men and Men of Color had higher male privilege awareness than White men (Rosette & Tost, 2013). Rosette and Tost argue that their study supports the hypothesis that experiencing subordination or systemic inequality generally increases the likelihood that an individual will view one of their dominant identities as a privilege.

 However, the relationship between experiencing subordination and increased privilege awareness was moderated by the participants' individual level of success, such that highly successful White women and Men of Color had lower privilege awareness than less successful members of these groups (Rosette & Tost, 2013). This moderation raises the question of how seemingly meritocratic or attained identities, such as class,

might operate differently. The operationalization of success in this study does not directly map onto class; however, both success and class identity or status are seemingly earned positions that are clearly hierarchical (Rosette & Tost, 2013). It is possible that different experiences of oppression, marginalization, and subordination that are based in different intersecting identities increase the likelihood of privilege awareness to different degrees or even decrease the likelihood of privilege awareness. Rosette and Tost (2013) propose a simplified and additive model for understanding the role identity plays in privilege awareness. A more intersectional approach to this issue might illuminate previously unseen nuance.

Intersectionality in Psychology

In the early 1980s, race and gender scholarship by woMen of Color expanded greatly, and discussion began to shift from these fields being entirely separate to being inherently and uniquely connected. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1993) coined the term "intersectionality" to describe the way that experiences are differentiated based on the unique coalescence of identities within an individual. Crenshaw drew attention to the way that Black women experience racism and sexism in unique ways from Black men and White women, who are most commonly the topics of discussion about racism and sexism (1993). As otherwise privileged members of these marginalized groups, the dominance of White women in the discussion of gender and sexism and Black men in the discussion of race and racism obscures the unique experiences of Black women (Cole, 2009). This invisibility in conversation and framing of issues has left Black women and other WoMen of Color stuck between anti-racism and feminism, without being fully protected by either; in fact, Crenshaw notes a number of times in the legal history of the United

States where Black women were unable to claim protection from antidiscrimination laws and constitutional amendments because those statutes protected "Blacks" and "women" but not "Black women" as a unique group (1993). Cole (2009) argues for the importance of intersectionality in the psychological literature not as a way to solely increase inclusiveness or equity but also as a way to "...[offer] the possibility to repair misconceptions engendered by the erasure of minority groups and the marginal subgroups within them."

Intersectionality allows for nuance in analysis and can help eliminate misconceptions about groups by accounting for subgroups of an identity that have been erased or obscured by other members of a group. Researchers cite intersectional research as the only solution for the "intersectional invisibility"—the idea that people who have multiple stigmatized identities are not prototypical of their marginalized identities and are therefore erased in research that fails to account for multiple intersecting identities— of certain populations within the literature (Remedios & Snyder, 2018). Research that has attempted to take an intersectional approach in order to decrease intersectional invisibility or reveal the nuance that has been hidden has largely focused on how intersecting identities influence perception of discrimination rather than perception of systemic advantage or privilege.

Race, class, gender, and privilege

While literature suggests that possessing marginalized identities increases the likelihood of viewing a dominant identity as privileged (Rosette & Tost, 2013), the intersection of race, class, and gender has not been explored. Research on privilege focuses mainly on White privilege awareness and its relation to gender identity (Case,

2012; McIntosh, 2008). White women understand White privilege and systems of racial oppression through their own gender oppression (Case, 2012). When thinking or learning about racial oppression, White women often think about their gender oppression and map their experiences onto a racial framework in oder to understand how a Person of Color might experience oppression or marginalization (Cole, 2012). The inverse relationship between race and understandings of male privilege remains unexplored. It is impossible to generalize that all people will rationalize systems of inequality and their own identities in the same way that White women approach racism through their gender oppression; further, we do not yet know if all subordinated identities have the same impact on privilege awareness as race and gender do on these prototypical groups (White women and Men of Color).

Hypotheses related to class identity, White privilege, and male privilege are further complicated. Rosette and Tost's (2013) findings would lead us to assume that White working class people would be more privilege aware than middle class White people; however, while working class people experience classism and class based oppression, White working class people are more likely than White middle class people to express racial prejudice (Foster, 2018). Acknowledging White privilege can be difficult for White working class people who have navigated economic oppression and experienced classism (Foster, 2018). It is possible that working class White people would be more inclined to acknowledge White privilege or male privilege because of their experiences with oppression, but it is also possible that working class White people would deny experiences of privilege based on salient experiences of classism. While White women might use their gender oppression to understand and increase their White

privilege awareness (Case, 2012), conceptualizing systems of oppression through experiences of classism might not result in the same White or male privilege awareness. The intersection of race and class could be especially interesting among men because of the prototypical status of men within different dimensions of identity.

Sanders and Mahalingam (2012) exemplified the nuance of intersectional research that considers class when they analyzed the intersectionality of race, class, and gender in relation to Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and John Henryism— wherein a person expends a high level of effort in order to cope with stressors such as discrimination or oppression. Their analysis of status and location in relation to these identities draws from intersectionality and an understanding of privilege and oppression; however, Social Dominance Orientation, while conceptually linked to privilege awareness, does not directly represent an awareness and understanding of systemic privilege (Sanders & Mahalingam, 2012). The interaction between class and race on Social Dominance Orientation and John Henryism such that upper class People of Color had the highest SDO and lowest John Henryism and middle and working class People of Color were more likely to describe their experiences using John Henryism (Sanders & Mahalingam, 2012) supports the hypothesis that there may be a similar relationship between intersecting class and racial identities and personal privilege awareness. Higher status class identity might actually lead to a more structural or systemic view. Sanders and Mahalingam (2012) exemplify how intersectionality can be integrated into psychology and why it is beneficial to investigate intersections of identity rather than individual identities. Further, the conceptualization of some identities as prototypical is useful for

analyzing the intersectionality of privilege awareness and supports the need for research on class identity in relation to race, gender, and privilege awareness.

Disidentification and centrality

People who hold dominant identities in one domain likely resist privilege awareness in another domain because framing inequality as a dominant privilege can threaten that identity and lead to disidentification (Phillips & Lowery, 2015; Powell et al., 2005; Rosette & Tost, 2013). Highly successful women are less likely to view themselves as disadvantaged and are more susceptible to identity threat than highly successful men because highly successful women in male dominated fields likely attribute their success to their own hard work (Powell et al., 2005). If disidentification with an identity is an unwanted outcome of orienting inequality around understanding privilege, it is possible that identifying strongly with an identity, having that identity be central, encourages or inhibits awareness and acknowledgement of privilege.

If being privilege aware could cause someone to disidentify with their dominant social identity, then privilege awareness might be influenced by how important or central each intersection of identity is to an individual because the perceived cost of addressing privilege might be inflated based on the centrality of the identity or deflated by the centrality of others. Identity centrality has been shown to moderate the relationship between stereotype appraisals and disidentification with an ethnic or racial identity such that people whose racial or ethnic identities were more central were more likely to disidentify with their identities on days that they were affected by stereotypes related to their identity (Yip, 2016). In contrast, Black women who had high gendered racial centrality had fewer negative health outcomes related to discrimination, indicating that

identity centrality can also act as a buffer (Lewis, Williams, Peppers, & Gadson, 2017). Identity centrality could either protect against the threat of disidentification and therefore increase privilege awareness, or identity centrality could decrease privilege awareness by exacerbating the identity threat.

Men who focused on the privileges that their gender provides them are more disidentified with their gender identity (Branscombe, 1998). Focusing on disadvantage regardless of ingroup or outgroup status increases the strength of identification (Branscombe, 1998). If framing inequality as dominant group privilege is related to identification with a dominant group identity, it is possible that any relationship between an intersection of identity and privilege awareness relies on how central each dimension of the intersection is to the person. The centrality of these identities could moderate this relationship because the importance of the intersecting subordinated and dominant identities could change how they interact.

This Study

This study will analyze how race and class relate to male privilege attitudes and whether the centrality of racial, gender, or class identities functions as a moderator in this potential relationship such that identity centrality facilitates or impedes the relationship between intersecting identities, privilege awareness, privilege remorse, willingness to confront privilege, and perceived cost of acknowledging privilege. I chose to study male privilege because in order to examine three intersecting identities in a quantitative study with the limited time and resources available to me as an undergraduate honors student, I had to control for one axis of identity. The literature is already saturated with research on White privilege, and one goal of this study is to resist the intersectional invisibility of

working class White people and working class People of Color in the literature. Studying cis men allowed me to examine how race and class together might create unique experiences of masculinity and maleness and therefor lead to different levels of privilege awareness.

Study 1 explores this relationship with only privilege awareness as a dependent variable to determine the validity of the initial hypothesis: the intersection of race and class predicts gender privilege awareness but this relationship is moderated by the centrality of those identities. Study 2 examines privilege attitudes more broadly as awareness, willingness, remorse, and perceived cost in order to further explore the relationships in Study 1 with a broader sample. Study 2 also focused in specifically on the perceived cost of addressing male privilege, as it was the most distinct of the dependent variables included in the privilege attitudes measure.

The primary hypothesis of these studies comes from Rosette & Tost (2013). Based on their work, we would expect an additive outcome of identity where men, regardless of race, from lower class backgrounds are more privilege aware and have more positive privilege attitudes, and Men of Color are more privilege aware and have more positive privilege attitudes than White men. In this model there would not be any interactions between race and class identity. Instead, I am proposing that while Men of Color who have lower status class identities might be more privilege aware and have more positive privilege attitudes than higher class Men of Color and White men in general, White working class men will have lower privilege awareness and less positive privilege attitudes than middle class and upper class White men. Further, this relationship might be moderated by the centrality of these men's race, class, and gender. One

hypothesis is that men who have higher gender centrality will be less privilege aware and have more negative privilege attitudes because they have more to lose by acknowledging the privilege of a highly important identity (Yip, 2016). In contrast, high gender, racial, or class centrality could actually protect against negative effects of acknowledging privilege, as gendered racial centrality has protected Black women from negative outcomes related to gendered racism (Lewi et al., 2017).

Study 1

Method

Participants. 119 participants completed this study. Participants were recruited through email and posts on the researcher's social media accounts. Participants were also recruited through word of mouth and snowball sampling. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 77 with approximately 86% being under the age of 30. Because this study analyzes personal awareness of male privilege, participants who did not identify as cis men were excluded from the survey and redirected to the end of the survey. Overall, 78.2% of the participants identified as White. 16.8% identified as Asian American, Asian, or Pacific Islander, and 5.9% identified as Hispanic or Latino. The remaining 4.2% identified as Black or African American. 2.5% of participants identified as another racial identity, including Arab American. 9.2% of participants identified as upper class, while 72.3% identified as some form of middle class (38.7% Upper middle, 24.4% middle, and 9.2% lower middle). 12.6% identified as working class, and 1.7% identified as poor.

The analysis of race was conducted in a two-pronged approach to allow for a more intersectional design. First, participants were sorted into a dichotomous racial category: white vs. person of color. An analysis was conducted at this level, and the

results are presented below. Lastly, the researcher compared white participants to Asian,

Asian American, and Pacific Islander participants, the two most represented racial groups

in the sample. The results of each level of analysis for this variable are below.

Design. This study utilized a quasi-experimental 2(racial identity: White vs.

Asian) x3(class identity: poor/working class/lower middle class vs. middle class vs. upper

middle/upper class) factorial design. Participants were sorted into variable levels through

their own identification rather than group assignment or manipulation. Race and class

were the quasi-independent variables, such that participants self-identified with a racial,

gender, and class identities. Participant awareness of male privilege was the dependent

variable, and the researcher analyzed the centrality of the participants gender, race, and

class identities as a moderating factor. This study proposes that the intersection of race

and class predicts gender privilege awareness but this relationship is moderated by the

centrality of those identities.

Materials.

Privilege awareness. Male privilege awareness was measured using a five-item

scale adapted from Swim and Miller's (1999) White Privilege Scale (Cronbach's α = .72)

and the four item Privilege Awareness subscale of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale

(Pinterits et al., 2009) (Cronbach's α = .84). The adapted scale measured awareness of

male privilege in 9 questions with a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *completely*

disagree to 9 = *completely agree* to determine participants' beliefs in statements like,

"My gender identity is an asset to me in my everyday life" and other statements that are

reverse coded like, "I do not feel that men have any benefits or privileges due to their

gender." Participant scores were averaged, and a score from 1 to 7 was obtained for each

participant, where higher numbers represent higher male privilege awareness.

   Identity centrality. Identity centrality was measured for each participant's gender,

racial, and class identity using centrality scales adapted from the Flanders (2015) Identity

Centrality Scale. The centrality scales consist of 8 items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging

from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*. Three of the items are reverse coded:

"Overall, being _____ has very little to do with how I feel about myself," "Being ____ is

unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am," and "Being _____ is not a major

factor in my social relationships." Participants were presented with centrality measures

that corresponded with the identities that they had self-identified with; for example,

participants who identified as working class answered items that were phrased in

reference to that identity: "I have a strong attachment to other working class people."

   Procedure. Participants completed a survey comprised of a series of demographic

questions, the privilege awareness measure (adapted from Swim & Miller, 1999 and

Piterits et al., 2009), and identity centrality measures (adapted from Flanders, 2015). The

survey took participants between 10 and 15 minutes to complete. Participant identity was

measured by self-identification with a gender identity, racial identity, and class identity.

Gender identity was assessed by two questions multiple response questions: What is your

gender identity? Do you identify as trans or transgender? Participants who identified as

men and did not identify as trans completed the rest of the measures. Participants who did

not identify as cis men were redirected to the debriefing form. Race was assessed by a

multiple response question that allowed for multiple responses so that participants could

select all of their racial identities if they had more than one. Finally, social class identity

was assessed with as subjective class identity, meaning participants selected their class

identity from six options: poor, working class, lower middle class, middle class, upper

middle class, and upper class. After completing the demographic section, participants

completed the identity centrality measures and privilege awareness scales. The order of

these two components was randomized for each participant.

Results

Participants' social class identity was recoded into a three-level independent

variable. Participants who identified as poor, working class, or lower middle class were

grouped as the lower income level of the new variable, while middle class participants

were grouped as the middle level, and upper middle class and upper class participants

were grouped as the high income level. For the racial independent variable, I created two

new binary categorical variables, separating participants who identified solely as White

from participants who identified in any other way (White and another racial identity, two

non-white racial identities, or one other non-white racial identity). This variable

compared White men to an aggregated Men of Color. Next, I separated participants who

identified as Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander from other Men of Color to

compare Asian men to White men in a more specific, intersectional analysis. Men who

identified as both White and Asian were included in both the Men of Color category and

the Asian men category because multiracial people in the United States are systemically

treated as People of Color regardless of whether they also identify as White or could

claim whiteness as part of their identity.

Items 3 and 6 (See Appendix A) of the gender centrality scale were excluded from

the analysis as they decreased the reliability of the measure for Asian men. All other

items in all four scales were reliable for White men, Asian men, and Men of Color,

overall. These scales were aggregated, then standardized, to create an overall racial

centrality, gender centrality, class centrality, and male privilege awareness score for each

of the participants. In order to accommodate the ANOVAs used to test Model 1, the

aggregated centrality scores were recoded into dichotomous low vs. high centrality

variables using a median split. Scores that were identical to the median value were

systematically categorized as low centrality.

Identity and Identity Centrality. I conducted separate ANOVAs with race and

class as predictors of each of the three centrality measures.

Comparing White men and Men of Color. *Class* identity predicted class

centrality ($F=5.119$, $p<.05$) such that class centrality decreases as class status increases.

In other words, class is less central for upper class people ($M=3.466$, $SE=.191$) than it is

for lower class people ($M=4.459$, $SE=.245$). Neither race nor class significantly predicted

gender centrality. Racial identity significantly predicted racial centrality ($F=43.15$,

$p<.001$) such that Men of Color ($M=4.928$, $SE=.226$) had higher racial centrality than

White men. Additionally, there was a main effect of class identity ($F=3.799$, $p<.05$) on

racial centrality such that middle class men ($M=4.606$, $SE=.271$) had higher racial

centrality than upper class ($M=3.723$, $SE=.185$) or lower class men ($M=3.842$, $SE=.224$).

Comparing White men and Asian men. Class identity did not significantly

predict class centrality in this analysis, though the relationship was approaching

significance ($p=.082$). Again, neither race nor class predicted gender centrality. Racial

identity predicted racial centrality in this phase ($F=9$, $p<.05$) such that Asian men had

higher racial centrality ($M=4.432$, $SD=.343$) than White men ($M=3.274$, $SD=.136$).

Unlike in the previous analysis, class identity did not predict racial centrality; however, this relationship was approaching significance (*p*=.075).

Privilege Awareness. This stage of the analysis relied on ANOVAs to establish the relationship of the independent variables to male privilege awareness. To test the relationship between identity, centrality, and privilege awareness, I conducted two phases of analysis. One analysis (White men vs. Men of Color) analyzed the relationship between race, class, and identity centrality as predictors of privilege awareness. The second analysis analyzed this relationship among White and Asian men, excluding participants who did not identify with either of these identities. First, I conducted an ANOVA with race and class as predictors and privilege awareness as the dependent variable. Then, I added class centrality to this model. Next, I conducted an ANOVA that included race, class, and racial centrality as the independent variables.

Comparing White men and Men of Color. Race and class did not significantly predict privilege awareness, nor was there a significant interaction effect between these two variables. Neither class centrality nor its interactions with racial and class identity were significant. There was a main effect of gender centrality such that men with high gender centrality (*M*=6.968, *SD*=1.477; see *Figure 1*) were less aware than men with lower gender centrality (*M*=7.375, *SD*=1.424; *F*=4.939, *p*<.05, *Partial Eta Square*=.06)). There were no significant interactions between gender centrality, class identity, and racial identity.

Figure 1. The Effect of Gender Centrality on Male Privilege Awareness
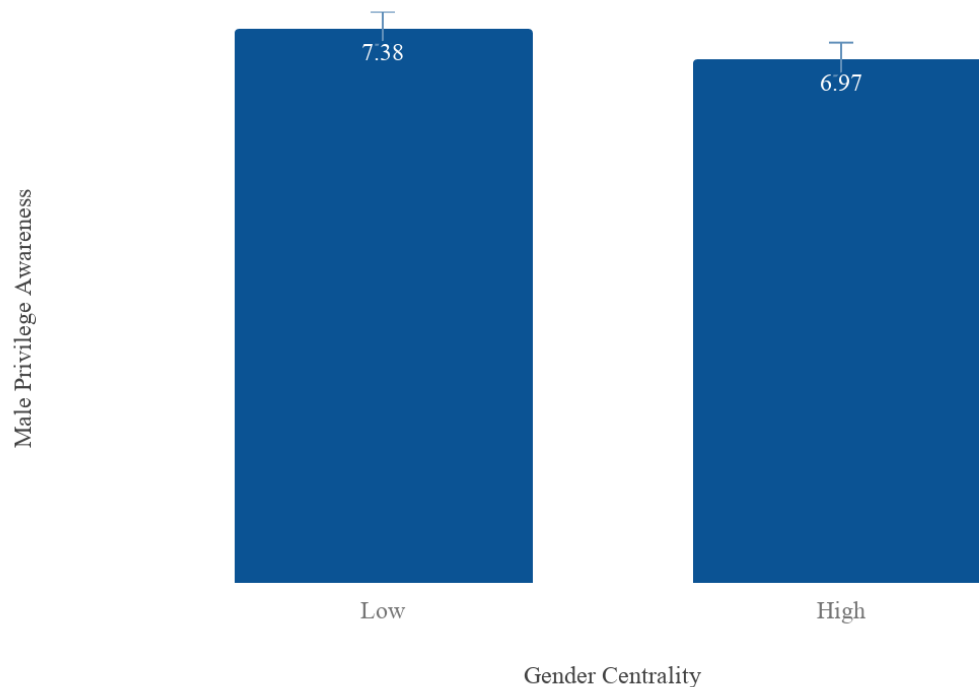
Race centrality. Racial centrality itself did not significantly predict privilege awareness, nor did the interaction between racial identity and the centrality of that identity. However, there was a significant interaction between racial centrality and class identity ($F=4.164$, $p<.05$, *Partial Eta Square*=.093) such that inspection of the pattern suggests that people who had high racial centrality did not differ in their privilege awareness by class but middle class people with low racial centrality ($M=8.049$, $SD=0.559$) were more privilege aware than their upper class peers ($M=7.084$, $SD=1.460$). Further, people who had low racial centrality and identified as a lower class were less privilege aware ($M=5.989$, $SD=1.607$;See *Figure 2*). It is important to note that none of the middle class Men of Color in this sample had low racial centrality, but there were Men of Color in this sample in the lower and upper class groupings who were low in racial centrality.

Figure 2. The Effect of the Interaction Between Class Identity and Racial Centrality on

Male Privilege Awareness
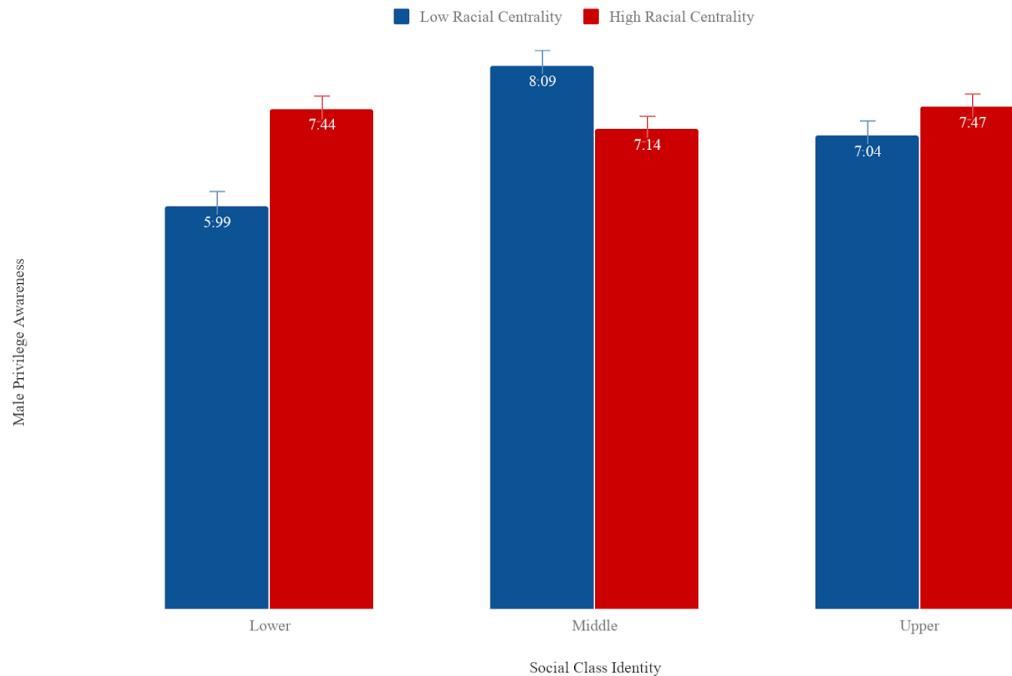
Comparing White men and Asian men. This phase of the analysis followed the

same protocols as Phase 1, relying on ANOVAs to establish the relationship of the

independent variables to male privilege awareness, and the ANOVAs were executed in

the same way. Race and class did not significantly predict privilege awareness, nor was

there a significant interaction effect between these two variables. Neither class centrality

nor its interactions with racial and class identity were significant. Gender centrality did

not predict male privilege awareness in this phase, nor did the interactions between

gender centrality, race, and class. While neither racial identity nor racial centrality

significantly predicted privilege awareness, the interaction between racial centrality and

class identity significantly predicted male privilege awareness (*F*=3.856, *p*<.05, *Partial*

Eta Square=.094) such that men who have a high racial centrality do not differ in

privilege awareness by class but middle class men who have a low racial centrality have

the highest privilege awareness ($M=8.049$, $SD=0.559$), while lower income men who

have a low racial centrality have the lowest privilege awareness ($M=6.025$,

$SD=1.700$;See *Figure 3*). Once again, it is important to note that none of the Asian men

who identified as middle class had low racial centrality.

Figure 3. The Effect of Class Identity and Racial Centrality on Male Privilege Awareness

Among White and Asian Men
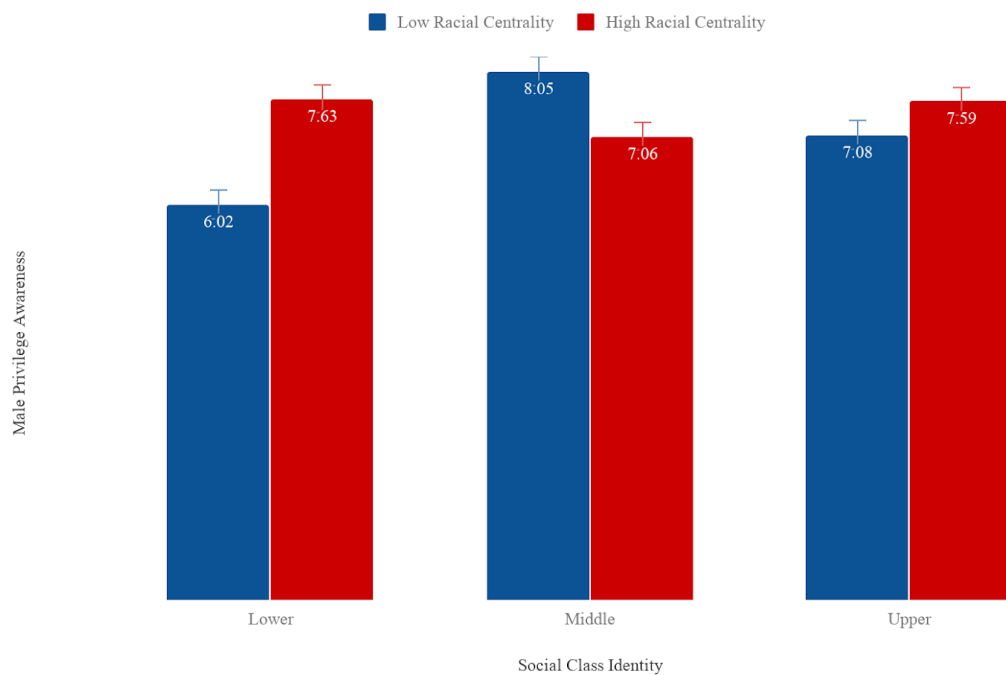
Discussion

Male privilege awareness did not differ between White men and Men of Color,

nor did it differ between lower, middle, or upper class men. The lack of main effects for

race and class challenges previous research on privilege awareness, implying that having

a subordinated identity is not enough to increase the likelihood of being privilege aware

(Rosette and Tost, 2013). Based on previous literature Men of Color should have been more privilege aware than White men, but they were not. To support an additive model of identity there would have needed to be a main effect of race such that Men of Color were overall more privilege aware, a main effect of class such that lower class men were more privilege aware, and ultimately that lower class Men of Color were the most privilege aware, White lower class men were equally privilege aware to middle and upper class Men of Color, and middle and upper class White men were the least privilege aware. The lack of main effect challenges previous findings.

Though race and class did not predict male privilege awareness or gender centrality, race and class did relate to class centrality and racial centrality. Race did not predict class centrality, but class identity did predict class centrality such that as class identity went up in status the centrality of that identity decreased. Thus, social class was more important to members of the lower class, who were more likely to have experienced classism and class-based oppression and therefore might have more reason to recognize and prioritize their class identity (Foster, 2018). There were main effects of race and class on racial identity such that Men of Color had higher racial centrality than White men and middle class men had higher racial centrality than lower or upper class men. The main effect of race on racial centrality supports the idea that an identity is generally more important to people who experience oppression or marginalization in relation to that identity; however, the direction of the class effect implies that class operates differently than other identities. Rather than supporting the concept that subordination increases importance and thereby might influence privilege awareness, this relationship indicates that there might be something peculiar about being middle class that is associated with

increased male privilege awareness. This finding contradicts an additive hypothesis and supports an intersectional model wherein class identity has unique and differentiated effects on experiences and perceptions.

There was significant interaction between class identity and racial centrality on privilege awareness. Men who had high racial centrality did not differ in their privilege awareness by class, but middle class men who had low racial centrality were significantly more privilege aware than lower class men who had low racial centrality. This interaction supports the idea that the relationship between identity and privilege awareness is more complicated than has been previously acknowledged. The interaction of racial centrality and class identity is particularly interesting as it highlights the way that the intersection between class and race has unique impacts on individuals' cognitive understandings of their gender identity. Additionally, it might be a noteworthy finding in and of itself that none of the middle class Men of Color had low racial identity centrality; this might indicate a unique relationship between class identity and its relationship to the way that people understand and prioritize their racial identity.

The relationship of gender centrality to privilege awareness wherein men with lower gender centrality were more privilege aware reinforces the hypothesis that the more important an identity is to the individual the higher the stakes of privilege awareness might be. Because men who had higher gender centrality had lower male privilege awareness, we can reject the hypothesis that gender centrality might protect against identity threat and therefore encourage privilege awareness. The results indicate that the more important an identity is the less likely a person might be to frame that identity as a privilege.

However, these findings, especially the interaction between racial centrality and class identity, might not hold true in a similarly designed study that has more participants. The main limitation of this study is the distribution of participants, as the men in the sample were overwhelmingly white and identified as middle and upper middle class. The clustering of the class identity variable has limited the statistical variance of this variable and therefore the likelihood of finding statistically significant main or interaction effects. Further, I relied entirely on convenience and snowball sampling, meaning that my sample is in no way representative. Other limitations of my study include the phrasing of my class identity variable, which asked participants to identify the label that most reflects the social class that they were raised in. This phrasing is an appropriate way to inquire about the class identity of young and emerging adults, especially college students, who are newly establishing their independence and career trajectories but probably have not yet solidified their own class identities outside of their parents. However, approximately 15% of my sample were more than 30 years old, so this class identity question probably has a very limited validity for 15% of my sample. Additionally, the scale for the racial centrality measure was mistakenly reversed due to a technical error so that participants responded to a scale that ranged from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree," while the rest of the centrality measures had scales moving in the opposite direction. Nonetheless, the reliability for the racial centrality scale remained high, and the results, that Men of Color have higher racial centrality than White men, were consistent with previous findings and my predictions. Thus, flipping the direction of the racial centrality scale does not appear to have jeopardized the validity or reliability of the study as a whole.

This is especially crucial as the interaction between class identity and racial centrality was the most persistently significant finding in the study as this interaction was significant in both race subset analyses. This interaction validates the primary motivation for this study as it illustrates how identities and their meaning interact in people's lives to influence their experience and their cognitive understanding of their experiences. However, there were opportunities for many different interactions that were not significant, so future research should investigate why the importance or centrality of racial identity might be more important to privilege awareness than racial identity and why class identity would interact in this specific way with that construct.

Class identity is only predictive of privilege awareness when racial centrality is low. This might imply that racial identity is entirely separate from this interaction; however, as I previously mentioned, none of the Men of Color who participated in this study had low racial centrality. In this way there is a descriptive impact of racial identity on this interaction as this implies that there might be something particular in the middle class experience of Men of Color that requires higher racial centrality. Middle class Men of Color might be socialized to think about their race more frequently and more positively. Additionally, class identity does predict racial centrality among men in general, indicating that something about being middle class makes men more likely to view their race as important to their identity. While we must acknowledge that racial identity was not a significant predictor, as we interpret these findings, we must also bear in mind the peculiarities of the sample.

Study 2

Study 2 addresses some of the limitations of Study 1, investigating privilege more broadly beyond awareness through a longer survey that was administered via Mechanical Turk and has more class diversity on the lower status end of the spectrum.

Method

Participants. 403 participants completed this study. Participants were recruited through Mechanical Turk and compensated $1.20 after completing the survey. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 73. Because this study analyzes personal attitudes towards male privilege, participants who did not identify as cis men were excluded from the survey and redirected to the end of the survey, where a debriefing form explained that the study was only for cis men. This survey was administered twice on Mechanical Turk, first to gather a preliminary sample and then a second time in order to specifically recruit Black men, the second most represented racial group after White men in the initial sample. Overall, 60% of the participants in the final sample identified as White. After the second round of recruiting, Black men made up 33.7% of the sample. 6.3% identified as Asian American, Asian, or Pacific Islander, and 4.7% identified as Hispanic or Latino. The remaining 0.7% identified as American Indian or Native American. 0.7% of participants identified as upper class, while 66.8% identified as some form of middle class (0.7% Upper middle, 42.9% middle, and 18.4% lower middle). 29% identified as working class, and 3.5% identified as poor.

The analysis of race was conducted in a two-pronged approach to allow for a more intersectional design. First, participants were sorted into a dichotomous racial category: white vs. person of color. An analysis was conducted at this level, and the results are presented below. Lastly, the researcher compared White participants to Black

participants, the two most represented racial groups in the sample. The results of each

level of analysis for this variable are below.

Design. The overall design of the second study mirrors the first, though there was

some alteration to scales and statistical procedures. Participants were sorted into variable

levels through their own identification rather than group assignment or manipulation.

Race and class were the quasi-independent variables because participants identified and

self-selected their own racial and class categorization. Participant male privilege attitudes

were the dependent variable, and the researcher analyzed the centrality of the participants

gender, race, and class identities as a moderating mediator factor. This study proposes

that the intersection of race and class predicted gender privilege attitudes but this

relationship is moderated by the centrality of those identities.

Materials.

Privilege attitudes. Male privilege attitudes were measured using an adapted

version of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (Pinterits, Poteat, and Spanierman, 2009)

(Cronbach's α = .84). The adapted scale contained four subscales: Willingness to

Confront Male Privilege, Anticipated Costs of Addressing Male Privilege, Male Privilege

Awareness (four items), and Male Privilege Remorse (six items). Each of these scales

was measured on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly

agree. The Willingness to Confront Male Privilege scale included 12 items such as "I

intend to work toward dismantling male privilege" and "I have not done anything about

male privilege." Anticipated Costs of Addressing Male Privilege was measured with 6

items including, "I am anxious about stirring up bad feelings by exposing the advantages

that men have" and "If I were to speak up against male privilege, I would fear losing my

friends." Male Privilege Awareness was measured with 4 items including "Everyone has

equal opportunity, so this so-called male privilege is really man-hating" and "Men people

have it easier than women and people of non-binary gender identities." Lastly, Male

Privilege Remorse was measured with 6 items, including "I am ashamed that the system

is stacked in my favor because I am a man" and "I am angry that I keep benefiting from

male privilege."

     Identity centrality. Identity centrality was measured with the same mearurement

from Study 1. Identity centrality was measured for each participant's gender, racial, and

class identity using centrality scales adapted from the Flanders (2015) Identity Centrality

Scale. The centrality scales consist of 8 items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 =

strongly disagree to 7 = *strongly agree*. Three of the items are reverse coded: "Overall,

being _____ has very little to do with how I feel about myself," "Being ____ is

unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am," and "Being _____ is not a major

factor in my social relationships." Participants were presented with centrality measures

that corresponded with the identities that they had self identified with; for example,

participants who identified as working class answered items that were phrased in

reference to that identity: "I have a strong attachment to other working class people."

     Procedure. Participants completed a survey comprised of a series of demographic

questions, a privilege awareness measure, and identity centrality measures. The survey

took participants between 10 and 15 minutes to complete. Participant identity was

measured by self identification with a gender identity, racial identity, and class identity.

Gender identity was assessed by two questions multiple response questions: What is your

gender identity? Do you identify as trans or transgender? Participants who identified as

men and did not identify as trans completed the rest of the measures. Participants who did

not identify as cis men were redirected to the debriefing form. Race was assessed by a

multiple response question that allowed for multiple responses so that participants could

select all of their racial identities if they had more than one. Finally, social class identity

was assessed with as subjective class identity, meaning participants selected their class

identity from six options: poor, working class, lower middle class, middle class, upper

middle class, and upper class. Participants were also asked for their age, their own

educational attainment, and their parental educational attainment. After completing the

demographic section, participants completed the identity centrality measures and

privilege attitudes measure. The privilege attitudes measure contained all four of the

subscales, with all of the questions randomized within the block. The order of these

components was randomized for each participant.

Results

I centered the social class identity variable in order to simplify the regressions.

For the racial independent variable, I created two new binary categorical variables,

separating participants who identified solely as White from participants who identified as

White and another racial identity, two other racial identities, or one other non-white racial

identity. This variable compared White men to an aggregated Men of Color. Next, I

separated participants who identified as Black or African American to compare Black

men to White men in a more specific, intersectional analysis. Men who identified as both

White and Black were included in both the Men of Color category and the Black men

category because multiracial people in the United States are systemically treated as

People of Color regardless of whether they also identify as White or could claim

whiteness as part of their identity. Class identity was centered around the mean (middle class identity) in order to better support the use of linear regression in this analysis. Class identity was not aggregated into new groups for this analysis.

The centrality scales were aggregated and then transformed into new, centered centrality scores. Each of the privilege attitudes subscales were aggregated into individual scores for Willingness, Awareness, Cost, and Remorse. After running a series of regressions, the four subscales proved to be highly correlated with each other and demonstrated nearly identical relationships with the independent variables, with the exception of the Cost dependent variable. Thus, these four scores were aggregated into one Privilege Attitudes score by averaging the aggregated scores of the four variables together. I chose to aggregate from the means rather than from the individual items in order to balance the weight of the four subscales within Privilege Attitudes and prevent subscales that had more items from skewing the Privilege Attitudes scores. Interaction terms were also created to test the interactions between race, class, and each of the centralities.

Identity and Identity Centrality. I conducted separate linear regressions with race, class, and the interaction between race and class as predictors of each of the three centrality measures.

Comparing White men and Men of Color. There were no significant relationships or interactions between race and class identity on class centrality. Race significantly predicted (B=-.206, p<.01) gender centrality such that Men of Color had higher racial centrality than White men. Class (B=.208, p<.01) also significantly predicted gender centrality such that as class status increased, gender centrality increased.

The interaction between race and class did not significantly predict gender centrality. Race (B= -.573, p<.001) predicted racial centrality such that Men of Color have higher racial centrality than White men, and class (B=.245, p<.001) predicted racial centrality such that as class status increased, racial centrality increased. There was not a significant interaction between race and class for racial identity centrality.

Comparing White men and Black men. There was a significant effect of race (B=-.161, p<.05) on class centrality such that Black men had higher class centrality than White men. There was not a significant effect of class identity or an interaction between race and class on class centrality. Race predicted gender centrality (B=-.150, p<.05) such that Black men had higher gender centrality than White men. There was also a significant, positive relationship between class and gender centrality (B=.186, p<.01). There was not a significant interaction between race and class on gender centrality. Race predicted racial centrality (B=-.594, p<.001) such that Black men had higher racial centrality than White men. Class positively predicted racial centrality (B=.204, p<.01). There was not a significant interaction between race and class for racial identity centrality.

Privilege Attitudes. The aggregated Privilege Attitudes variable was analyzed using linear regression. This analysis had two levels of analysis, comparing White men to the aggregated Men of Color then to only Black men. Three regression models were used in order to analyze the relationship between privilege attitudes and racial, gender, and class centrality.

Model 1. This model examined race, class, class centrality, and their interactions as predictors of Privilege Attitudes. See *Table 1* for a full report of statistics.

Comparing White men and Men of Color. Race predicted privilege attitudes (*B*=-.295, *p*<.001) such that Men of Color (*M*=3.341) had higher privilege attitudes than White men (M=2.683). There was a positive relationship between class identity and privilege attitudes (B=.253, p<.001) such that men who held higher status class identities had greater privilege attitudes. There was not a significant interaction between race and class. Class identity centrality positively predicted privilege attitudes (B=.298, p<.001) such that as class identity status increased, privilege attitudes also increased. There was a significant interaction between race and class identity centrality (B=.099, p<.05) such that the relationship between class centrality and privilege attitudes was stronger for Men of Color. There was also a significant interaction between class identity and class identity centrality (B=.099, p<.05) such that the relationship between class centrality and privilege attitudes was stronger for people with higher status class identities. There was also a three-way interaction between race, class, and class centrality (B=-.098, p<.05). The relationship between the class by class centrality interaction was stronger for Men of Color than White men.

Comparing White men and Black men. There was a significant main effect of race (B=-.342, p<.001) such that Black men (M=3.441) had higher privilege attitudes than White men (M=2.689). Class identity positively predicted privilege attitudes (B=.290, p<.001). There was a significant interaction between race and class such that the relationship between class and privilege attitudes was stronger for Black men than White men (B=-.148, p<.05; See *Figure 4*).

Figure 4. The Interaction Between Race and Class on Privilege Attitudes
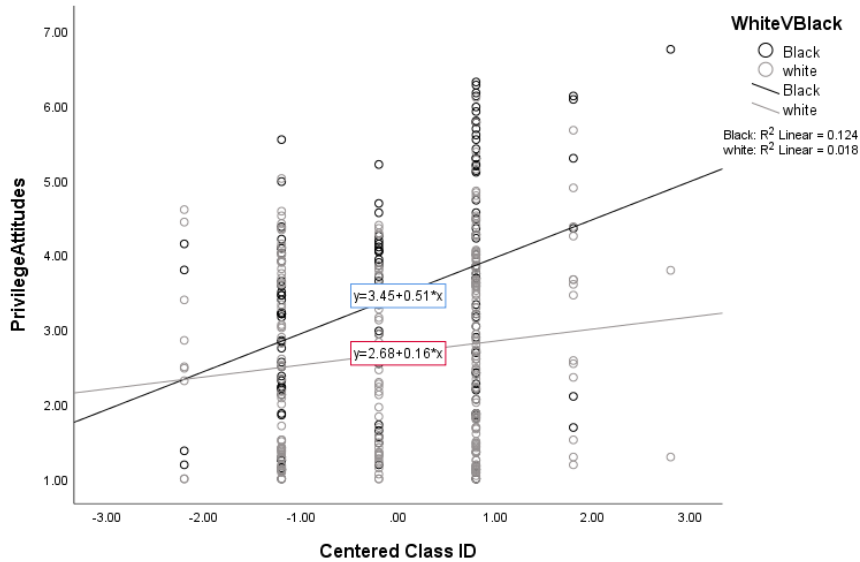
There was a significant relationship between class centrality and privilege

attitudes such that as class centrality increased so did privilege attitudes (B=.292,

p<.001). This relationship was stronger for Black men than White men as there was a

significant interaction between race and class centrality (B=-.132, p<.05). There was also

a significant interaction between class and class centrality such that as class identity

status went up, the relationship between class centrality and privilege attitudes became

stronger (B=.152, p<.005). There was also a significant three-way interaction such that

the relationship between privilege attitudes and the class by class centrality interaction

was stronger for Black men (B=-.143, p<.01).

Table 1. Identity and Class Centrality as Predictors of Privilege Attitudes

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized *B*	Standardized *B*
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.065	-.295***	-.208***
Class	.189	.253***	.189***
Race x Class	.047	-.107	-.079
Class Centrality	.051	.298***	.282***
Race x Class Centrality	.051	-.149**	-.141**
Class x Class Centrality	.047	.099*	.101*
Race x Class x Class Centrality	.047	-.098*	-.100*

White men vs. Black Men

Race	.069	-.342***	-.236***
Class	.067	.290***	.218***
Race x Class	.067	-.148*	-.111*
Class Centrality	.056	.292***	.273***
Race x Class Centrality	.056	-.132**	-.123**
Class x Class Centrality	.052	.152**	.152**
Race x Class x Class Centrality	.052	-.143*	-.143*

*indicated p<.05
** indicates p<.01
***indicates p<.001

Model 2. This model examined race, class, gender centrality, and their

interactions as predictors of privilege attitudes. See *Table 2* for full report of statistics for

this model.

Comparing White men and Men of Color. The relationship between race and

privilege attitudes remained consistent with Model 1 (B=-.360, p<.001). The relationship

between class and privilege attitudes was also consistent with Model 1 (B=.314, p<.001).

The interaction between race and class significantly predicted privilege attitudes (B=-

.137, p<.05) such that the relationship between class and privilege attitudes was stronger

for Men of Color. There was not a significant relationship between gender centrality and

privilege attitudes, and none of the interactions between gender centrality, race, and class

were significant.

Comparing White men and Black men. The relationship between race and

privilege attitudes remained consistent with Model 1 (B=-.382, p<.001), as did the

relationship between class and privilege attitudes (B=.341, p<.001). The interaction

between race and class remained significant (B=-.172, p<.05). Gender centrality did not

significantly predict privilege attitudes, and none of the interactions between gender

centrality, race, and class were significant.

Table 2. Identity and Gender Centrality as Predictors of Privilege Attitudes

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.070	-.360***	-.253***
Class	..066	.314***	.234***
Race x Class	.066	-.137*	-.102*
Gender Centrality	.057	-.048	-.045
Race x Gender Centrality	.057	.024	.023
Class x Gender Centrality	.049	-.001	-.001
Race x Class x Gender Centrality	.049	.033	.035
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.072	-.382***	-.263***
Class	.069	.341***	.256***
Race x Class	.069	-.172*	-.129*
Gender Centrality	.060	-.009	-.008
Race x Gender Centrality	.060	-.010	-.009
Class x Gender Centrality	.052	.050	.052
Race x Class x Gender Centrality	.052	-.024	-.025

*indicated p<.05
***indicates p<.001

   Model 3. This model examined the relationship between Privilege Attitudes and

race, class, racial centrality and their interactions. See *Table 3* for a full report of statistics

for this model.

   Comparing White men and Men of Color. The predictive nature of race remained

consistent (B=-.307, p<.001), as did the predictive relationship between class and

privlege attitudes (B=.308, p<.001). There was not a significant interaction between race

and class. Racial centrality did not predict male privilege attitudes, nor were there

significant interactions between racial centrality, race, and class.

   Comparing White men and Black men. The predictive effect of race remained

consistent (B=-.327, p<.001). The predictive effect of class remained consistent (B=.317,

p<.001). There was not a significant interaction between race and class. There was not a

relationship between racial centrality and male privilege attitudes, nor were there

significant interactions between racial centrality, race, and class.

Table 3. Identity and Racial Centrality as Predictors of Privilege Attitudes

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized *B*	Standardized *B*
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.076	-.307***	-.216***
Class	.071	.308***	.230***
Race x Class	.071	-.117	-.087
Racial Centrality	.052	.082	.090
Race x Racial Centrality	.052	-.012	-.012
Class x Racial Centrality	.048	.027	.031
Race x Class x Racial Centrality	.048	.045	.052
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.081	-.327***	-.226***
Class	.076	.317***	.238***
Race x Class	.076	-.138	-.103
Racial Centrality	.055	.102	.111
Race x Racial Centrality	.055	-.017	-.018
Class x Racial Centrality	.051	.067	.076
Race x Class x Racial Centrality	.051	-.003	-.003

***indicates p<.001

Perceived Costs of Addressing Male Privilege. When I aggregated the four

subscales into the Privilege Attitudes variable, I noted that the perceived cost subscale

had weaker correlations when compared to the other subscales. Perceived cost was also

the only subscale that demonstrated a different relationship with the predictors than the

general privilege attitudes dependent variable. The perceived costs dependent variable

was the only variable that had more significant relationships than the aggregated privilege

attitudes scale. As such, the perceived cost analyses are reported and analyzed below.

Model 1. This model examined the relationship between perceived costs of

addressing male privilege and race, class, class centrality and their interactions. See *Table*

4 for full report of statistics.

Comparing White men and Men of Color. There was a main effect of race (B=-

.359, p<.001) such that Men of Color (M=3.211) perceived higher costs to addressing

male privilege than White men (M=2.422). Class positively predicted perceived cost of

addressing male privilege such that as class identity status went up, perceived cost also

increased (B=.311, p<.001). The interaction between race and class was also significant

(B=-.131, p<.05) such that the relationship between class and perceived cost was stronger

for Men of Color. Class centrality positively predicted perceived cost of addressing male

privilege (B=.351, p<.001). There was a significant interaction between class and class

centrality such that the relationship between class centrality and perceived cost was

stronger for men with higher status class identities (B=.178, p<.001). There was not a

significant interaction between race and class centrality, nor was there a significant three-

way interaction between race, class, and class centrality.

Comparing White men and Black men. Race predicted perceived cost (B=-.422,

p<.001) such that Black men (M=3.343) perceived higher costs to addressing male

privilege than White men (M=2.421). There was also a significant positive relationship

between class identity status and perceived cost (B=.333, p<.001). There was a

significant interaction between race and class such that the relationship between class

identity and perceived cost was stronger for Black men than White men (B=-.157, p<.05).

Class centrality positively predicted perceived cost of addressing privilege (B=.365,

p<.001). There was an interaction between race and class centrality such that the

relationship between class centrality and perceived cost was stronger for Black men than

White men (B=-.115, p<.05). The relationship between class centrality and perceived cost

was also stronger for people with higher class identity status (B=.198, p<.001). Lastly

there was a significant three-way interaction between race, class, and class centrality such

that the relationship between perceived cost and the interaction between class and class

centrality was stronger for Black men than White men (B=-.117, p<.05; see *Figure 5*).

Figure 5. Perceived Cost of Addressing Privilege as Predicted by Race, Class, and Class
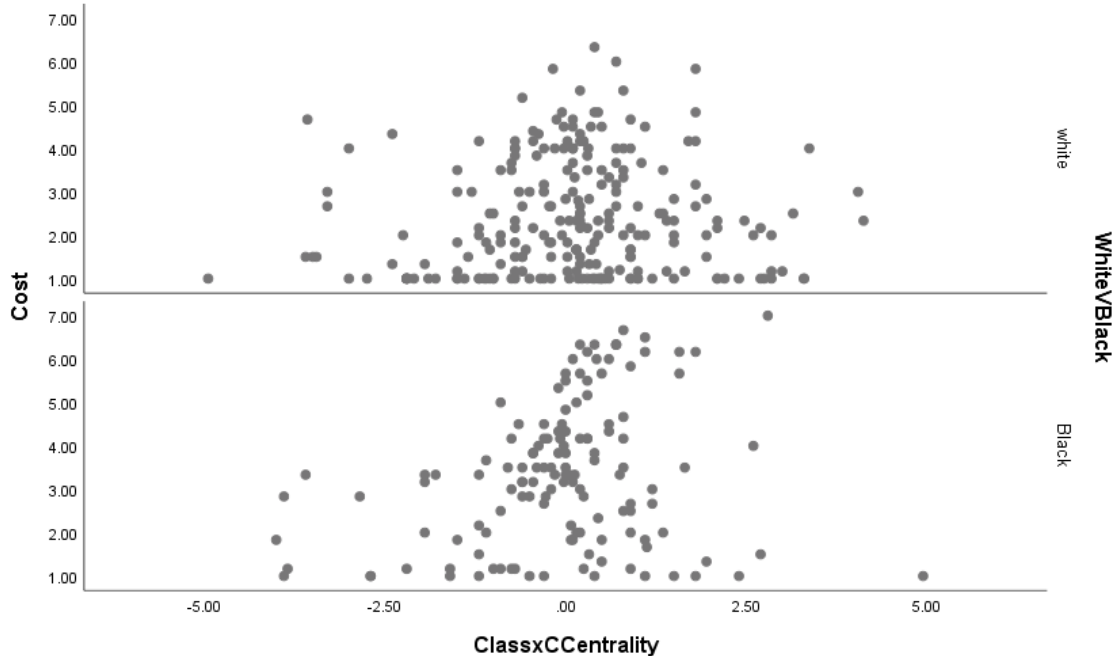Centrality

Table 4. Identity and Class Centrality as Predictors of Perceived Cost

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.068	-.359***	-.235***
Class	.065	.311***	.216***
Race x Class	.065	-.131*	-.091*
Class Centrality	.054	.351***	.309***
Race x Class Centrality	.054	-.098	-.086
Class x Class Centrality	.049	.178***	.169***
Race x Class x Class Centrality	.049	-.088	-.084
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.072	-.422***	-.269***
Class	.0709	.333***	.231***
Race x Class	.070	-.157*	-.109*
Class Centrality	.058	.365***	.315***
Race x Class Centrality	.058	-.115*	-.099*
Class x Class Centrality	.055	.198***	.183***

Race x Class x Class Centrality	.055	-.117*	-.108*

*indicated p<.05

***indicates p<.001

   Model 2. This model examined race, class, gender centrality, and their interactions as predictors of perceived costs of addressing male privilege. See *Table 5* for a full report of the statistics for this model.

   Comparing White men and Men of Color. The relationship between race and perceived cost remained consistent with Model 1 (B=-.389, p<.001), as did the relationship between class and perceived cost (B=.349, p<.001). The interaction between race and class from Model 1 was also evident in Model 2 (B=-.166, p<.05). There was not a significant relationship between gender centrality and perceived cost of addressing male privilege. None of the interactions between race, class, and gender centrality were significant in Model 2.

   Comparing White men and Black men. The relationships between race (B=-.445, p<.001) and class (B=.360, p<.001) on perceived cost remained consistent with Model 1. The interaction between race and class from Model 1 was also evident in Model 2 (B=-.178, p<.05). There was a significant positive relationship between gender identity centrality and perceived cost of addressing male privilege (B=.158, p<.05). There were no significant interactions between race, class, and gender centrality.

Table 5. Identity and Gender Centrality as Predictors of Perceived Cost

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized *B*	Standardized *B*
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.073	-.389***	-.255***
Class	.069	.349***	.253***
Race x Class	.069	-.166*	-.115*
Gender Centrality	.060	.117	.102
Race x Gender Centrality	.060	.029	.025
Class x Gender Centrality	.051	.027	.027

Race x Class x Gender Centrality	.051	.003	.003
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.077	-.445***	-.284***
Class	.073	.360***	.250***
Race x Class	.073	-.178*	-.123*
Gender Centrality	.064	.158*	.139*
Race x Gender Centrality	.064	-.017	-,014
Class x Gender Centrality	.055	.043	.042
Race x Class x Gender Centrality	.055	-.013	-.013

*indicated p<.05
***indicates p<.001

Model 3. This model examined race, class, racial centrality, and their interactions as predictors of perceived costs of addressing male privilege. See *Table 6* for a full report of the statistics for this model.

Comparing White men and Men of Color. The relationship between race and perceived cost of addressing male privilege remained consistent with Model 1 (B=-.335, p<.001). The relationship between class and perceived cost also remained (B=.362, p<.001). The interaction between race and class remained significant in Model 3 (B=-.159, p<.05). Racial centrality positively predicted perceived cost of addressing male privilege (B=.178, p<.005). There were no significant interactions between racial centrality, race, and class.

Comparing White men and Black men. The relationships between race (B=-.374, p<.001) and class (B=.361, p<.001) and perceived cost remained consistent with Model 1. The interaction between race and class from Model 1 was also evident in Model 3 (B=-.172, p<.05). Racial centrality positively predicted perceived cost of addressing male privilege (B=.201, p<.005). There were no significant interactions between racial centrality, race, and class.

Table 6. Identity and Racial Centrality as Predictors of Perceived Cost

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized *B*	Standardized *B*
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.079	-.335***	-.220***
Class	.073	.362***	.252***
Race x Class	.073	-.159*	-.110*
Racial Centrality	.053	.178***	.182***
Race x Racial Centrality	.053	.104	.099
Class x Racial Centrality	.049	.050	.054
Race x Class x Racial Centrality	.049	.060	.065
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.084	-.374***	-.238***
Class	.078	.361***	.251***
Race x Class	.078	.361*	.251*
Racial Centrality	.057	.201***	.204***
Race x Racial Centrality	.057	.093	.087
Class x Racial Centrality	.053	.062	.065
Race x Class x Racial Centrality			

*indicated p<.05
***indicates p<.001

Discussion

Study 2 found no significant impact of class on class centrality. This counters the findings from Study 1 that having a lower status class identity predicted higher class identity centrality. Study 1 relied on convenience sampling and recruited mostly college students who identified as middle class or upper middle class; whereas, participants in Study 2 identified primarily as middle class and working class, with few identifying as upper middle class or upper class. It is possible that these conflicting findings are due to issues of sampling, or it could be that young men who are in predominantly White, middle class institutions but come from lower class backgrounds are more aware of and concerned about their own class identity. Race was only related to class centrality when comparing White men to only Black men. Black men had higher class centrality than White men did, but Men of Color as an aggregated group did not have a higher class

centrality than White men. This indicates that this relationship between racial identity and class centrality might be unique to Black men.

Both Men of Color and Black men, specifically, had higher gender centrality than White men, and gender centrality increased as the class identity status of the participant increased. Similarly, at both levels of analysis, race predicted racial identity centrality. The impact of race and class, seemingly independently, on gender centrality highlights how simultaneous identities work in different ways to influence how individuals perceive and conceptualize their identities. Men of Color and specifically Black men had higher class, racial, and gender identity centrality. However, in Study 1 race did not significantly predict class or gender centrality for Asian men. Black men might place more importance on their social identities in general than White men and Asian men, but that statement would require research into how central Black men view other identities such as religious or sexual orientations.

Across models and phases of analysis, Men of Color and specifically Black men had more positive privilege attitudes than White men, and privilege attitudes became more positive as class identity status increased. As in Study 1, the main effect of class counters Rosette and Tost's (2013) claim that people who hold subordinated identities will be more privilege aware. Unlike in Study 1, there was a significant interaction between race and class in Models 1 and 2, meaning that the relationship between class and privilege attitudes was stronger, or more present for Men of Color and Black men. Having a more central class identity predicted having more positive privilege attitudes. Men of Color and Black men, specifically, had stronger relationships between class centrality and privilege attitudes than White men did. Men with higher status class

identities also had stronger relationships between class centrality and privilege attitudes, and Black men and other Men of Color had a stronger relationship between the class by class centrality interaction and privilege attitudes than White men did. Thus, while class identity influences privilege attitudes in general, class identity has a stronger impact when class is more central. Class identity and the experiences that come with it influence the ways that cis men understand their gender identity and structural positionality, but class has a stronger impact for men who highly value their class identity or background and actively believe it is foundational to whom they are. Black men's privilege attitudes are even more strongly linked to their class identity and class centrality. Unlike in Study 1, gender centrality did not affect privilege attitudes.

The above main effects and interaction between race and class were also evident across the models when perceived cost of addressing privilege was the dependent variable. Perceived cost was also positively predicted by class centrality and racial centrality. While there was not an effect of gender centrality on privilege attitudes overall, Black men and White men who had higher gender centrality perceived greater costs to addressing their male privilege. This study does not analyze how perceived costs actually influence willingness to confront privilege, but this higher perception of costs could explain the inhibitive role gender centrality appears to play in part of Study 1. Future research should investigate the relationship between gender centrality, perceived cost, and willingness to confront privilege. Class centrality behaved as it did above in this phase of the analysis, interacting with class, race and the interaction of class and race. However, the class by race and three-way interaction were only significant when

comparing only Black men and White men. Again, there is a statistical difference between Black men and Men of Color as an aggregated group.

Conclusions

The influence of class in relation to racial centrality in Study 1 highlights the complex positionality of White working class, poor, and lower middle class men. These men navigate a unique balance between privilege and marginalization as their Whiteness is in contrast to their relative economic deprivation and marginalization; they have a highly salient dominant racial identity that obscures their oppression and marginalization that is associated with their class positionality. Further, these men are often viewed as pinnacles of masculinity or true "mens' men" with their rugged labor based employment leading to a valorization of the intersection of their class and gender (Coston & Kimmel, 2012). Coupled with Foster's insights about her reluctance to acknowledge her white privilege because of the economic and class based disadvantage she had faced growing up (2018), this assessment of the peculiarities of White working class men's experiences with masculinity might be incredibly relevant to understanding the interaction between low racial centrality and class such that lower class men with low racial centrality have lower rates of male privilege awareness. While this interaction was not between racial identity and class, White men had lower racial centrality overall, and the middle class low centrality group was entirely comprised of White men. Men who do not highly value their racial identity might be more likely to value their class identity, especially among the lower classes; however, this relationship should be investigated in future studies. The conflicting findings in Study 2 related to class centrality do not negate the need for more

research, rather they inspire the question of how might a college sample differ from middle aged adults on understanding and importance of any identity, but especially class.

Foster's observation combined with this unique insight about white working class masculinity raise the question, how would women at these intersections understand their privilege differently? The primary motivation for this study was to analyze a dominant identity as it intersects with other identities that could either be dominant or marginalized. However, the socialization of masculinity in young men might be more intensive or have more impacts on privilege awareness than the socialization of femininity on young women. Rosette and Tost's findings could be rephrased as White men are less privilege aware than both White women and Men of Color (2013), and an intersectional interpretation of this finding could be that there is something about being a White, cis man in the United States that does not encourage a privilege framing of identity. White working class women, for example, might have particular experiences of classed gendered oppression or gendered class based oppression that do in fact lead them to have higher White privilege awareness than White men of the same class background or potentially even middle and upper class White men. Future research should examine the intersections of these identities as they relate to other privileges, such as white privilege or class privilege, in order to cultivate a more holistic, intersectional theory about the relationship between identity, its meaning, and the cognitive positioning of those identities.

These studies demonstrate simultaneous independent and interactive effects of identity and identity centrality on privilege attitudes. However, future research, quantitative and qualitative should explore how class identity operates in unison with

other identities to impact the way that individuals view themselves and how they navigate

structures. Researchers should focus on developing intersectional identity centrality

scales to further explore how cis men at different intersections of race and class

understand, behave, and feel in regards to their male privilege (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016;

Lewis et al., 2017). Future research should investigate how working class, middle class,

and upper class identities and experiences might shape Black, White, and Asian men's

privilege attitudes differently.

These studies push back against previous research on how experiences of

marginalization in one domain of identity influence understandings of dominant or

privileged identities. Future research should continue to explore the complexities of

identity centrality especially as it relates to privilege attitudes. This study also

demonstrates how intersecting identities and their centralities have different impacts

when aggregating all men who do not identify as only White into one group or focusing

in on comparing White men with Black men or Asian men. There were findings that are

unique to each of these phases of analysis, indicating that a more intentional and

intersectional analysis is necessary to furthering identity research in psychology.

Further, this study illustrates how unique, intersectional experiences of

marginalization influence understandings of structural positions and personal identities,

simultaneously and, possibly, reflexively. While privilege awareness and privilege

attitudes might seem abstract, it is important to remember that this privilege can be used

in positive ways to affect change. Men can step in on behalf of women and gender

nonconforming folks in the workforce to intervene if they realize there is a discriminatory

hiring practice in place or a confrontation between a customer and a coworker. White cis

men have privilege in multiple domains that could protect them from repercussions, and while this study does seem to indicate that these men perceive lower costs to addressing their privilege than Black men, they are also have less positive privilege attitudes in general and indicate less willingness to confront their own privilege or dismantling systems of oppression that grant them privilege. These abstract concepts have real life implications not only for policy support, but also for every day ally behaviors, such as defending a Black woman's position in a meeting.

Because privilege attitudes can result in changes in political beliefs, and because politics in the United States are highly polarized and pressurized around issues of identity and oppression, it is crucial to consider what forces are leading people to acknowledge their own systemic positionality. It is crucial that we question what makes some men more privilege aware than others, and it is imperative that we acknowledge the simultaneous experiences of oppression, marginalization, and privilege that all people, even cis men, experience and that these political intersections incentivize certain political orientations and actions. This study is a call for more nuanced and intentional understandings of how oppression and privilege influence lived experiences, and future research growing out of this project should intentionally, and thoroughly investigate how actual experience and socialization that are assumed by self-identification influence these processes.

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Appendix A
Adapted Privilege Awareness Measure (Swim & Miller, 1999; Pinterits et al., 2009)
9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *completely disagree* to 9 = *completely agree*

1. Men have certain advantages that people of other gender identities do not have in this society.
2. My status as a man grants me unearned privileges in today's society.
3. I feel that manhood in the United States opens many doors for men during their everyday lives.
4. I do not feel that men have any benefits or privileges due to their gender. (R)
5. My gender is an asset to me in my everyday life.
6. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called male privilege is really man-hating. (R)
7. Men have it easier than people of other gender identities.
8. Our social structure system promotes male privilege
9. Plenty of women are more privileged than men. (R)

Adapted Centrality Measure (Flanders, 2015) (Blanks will be filled in with specific identities: working class, white, African American, middle class, etc.)
7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*

1. Overall, being _____ has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)
2. In general, being _____ is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other _____ people.
4. Being _____ is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (R)
5. Being _____ is an important reflection of who I am.
6. Being _____ is not a major factor in my social relationships. (R)
    a. Relational   Identity
7. I have a strong sense of belonging to _____ people.
8. I have a strong attachment to other _____ people.

Adapted Privilege Attitudes Scale (Pinterits et al., 2009)
6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 =*strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*

1. I intend to work toward dismantling male privilege.
2. I want to begin the process of eliminating male privilege.
3. I take action to dismantle male privilege.
4. I have not done anything about male privilege. (R)
5. I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes male privilege.
6. I'm glad to explore my male privilege.
7. I accept responsibility to change male privilege.
8. I look forward to creating a more equitable society for people of all genders.
9. I take action against male privilege with people I know.
10. I am eager to find out more about letting go of male privilege.
11. I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being male. (R)
12. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down male privilege.

13. I am anxious about stirring up bad feelings by exposing the advantages that men have.
14. I worry about what giving up some male privileges might mean for me.
15. If I were to speak up against male privilege, I would fear losing my friends.
16. I am worried that taking action against male privilege will hurt my relationships with other men.
17. If I address male privilege, I might alienate my family.
18. I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself to eliminate male privilege.
19. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called male privilege is really man-hating. (R)
20. Our social structure system promotes male privilege.
21. Plenty of women are more privileged than men. (R)
22. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am male.
23. I am ashamed of my male privilege.
24. I am angry knowing I have male privilege.
25. I am angry that I keep benefiting from male privilege.
26. Men should feel guilty about having male privilege.
27. I feel awful about male privilege.

Appendix B

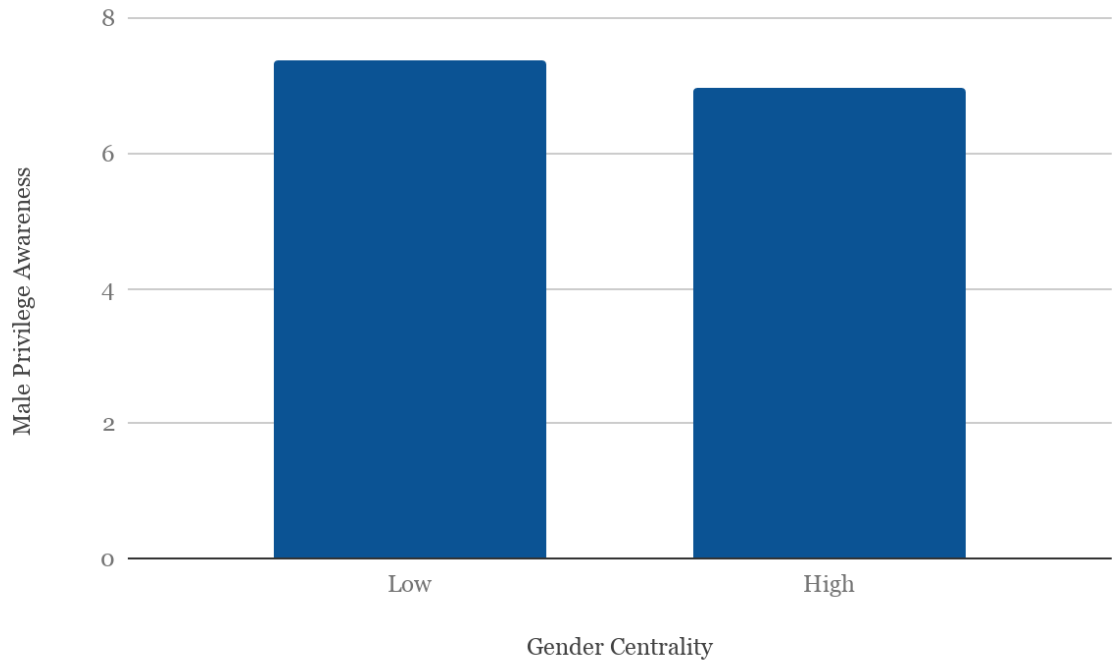*Figure 1*. The Effect of Gender Centrality on Male Privilege Awareness

Figure 2. The Effect of the Interaction Between Class Identity and Racial Centrality on
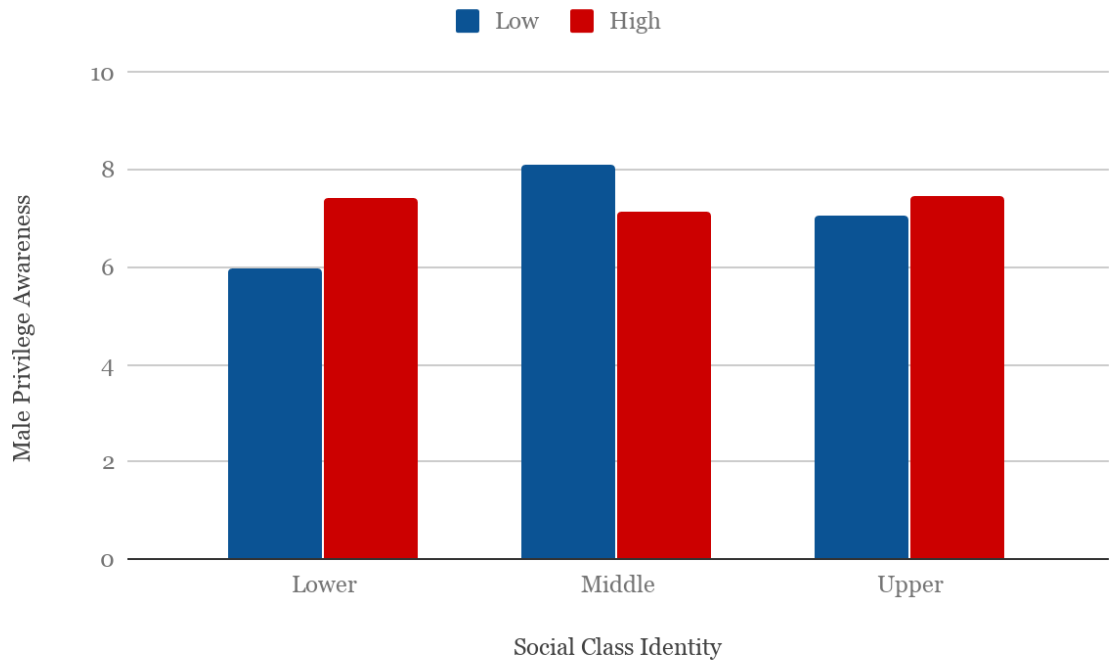
Male Privilege Awareness

Figure 3. The Effect of Class Identity and Racial Centrality on Male Privilege Awareness

Among White and Asian Men
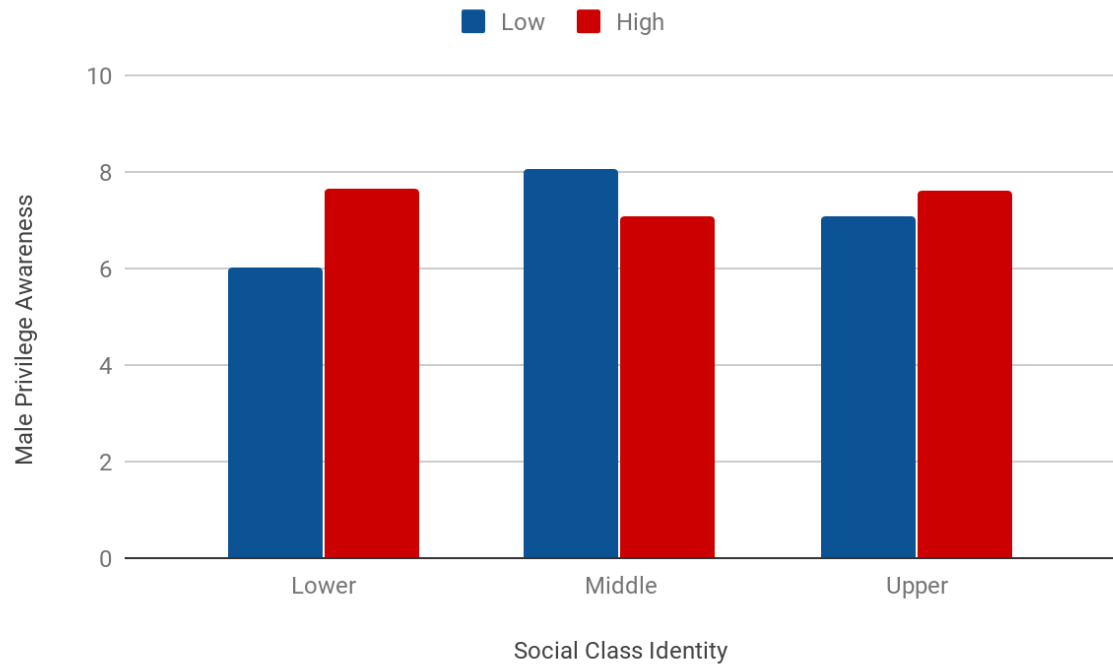
Figure 4. The Interaction Between Race and Class on Privilege Attitudes

Figure 5. Perceived Cost of Addressing Privilege as Predicted by Race, Class, and Class Centrality

Table 1. Identity and Class Centrality as Predictors of Privilege Attitudes

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized *B*	Standardized *B*
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.065	-.295***	-.208***
Class	.189	.253***	.189***
Race x Class	.047	-.107	-.079

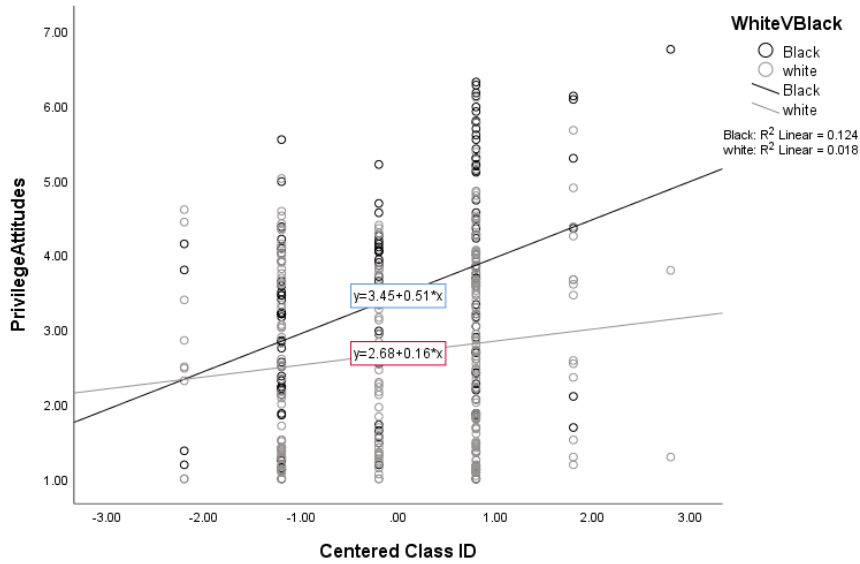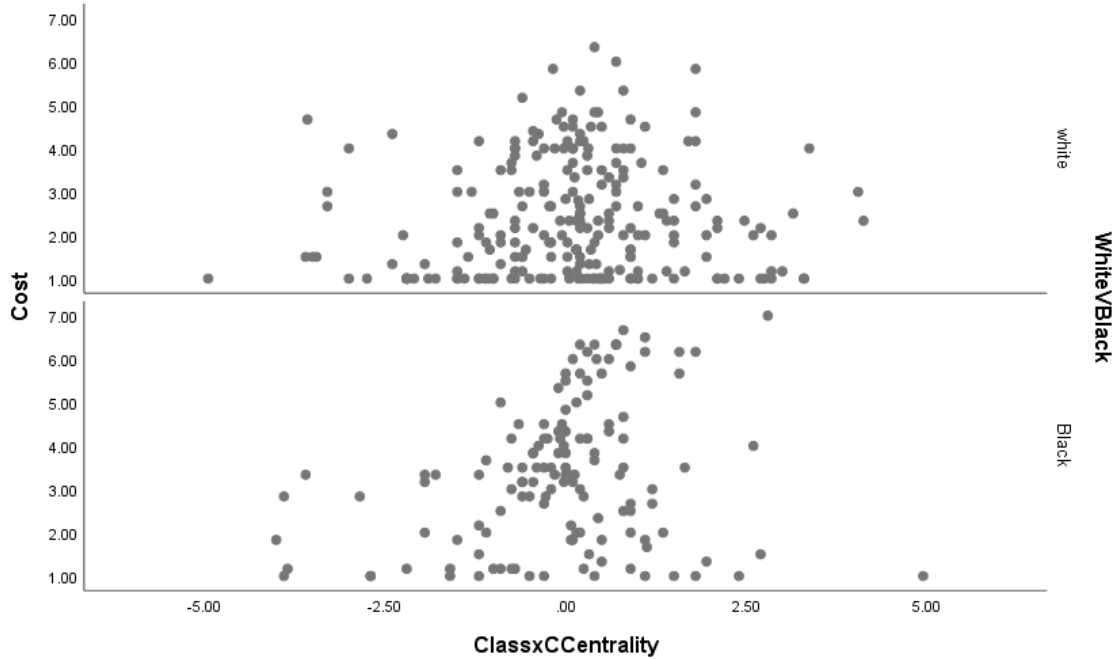|	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
Class Centrality	.051	.298***	.282***
Race x Class Centrality	.051	-.149**	-.141**
Class x Class Centrality	.047	.099*	.101*
Race x Class x Class Centrality	.047	-.098*	-.100*
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.069	-.342***	-.236***
Class	.067	.290***	.218***
Race x Class	.067	-.148*	-.111*
Class Centrality	.056	.292***	.273***
Race x Class Centrality	.056	-.132**	-.123**
Class x Class Centrality	.052	.152**	.152**
Race x Class x Class Centrality	.052	-.143*	-.143*

*indicated p<.05
** indicates p<.01
***indicates p<.001

Table 2. Identity and Gender Centrality as Predictors of Privilege Attitudes

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.070	-.360***	-.253***
Class	..066	.314***	.234***
Race x Class	.066	-.137*	-.102*
Gender Centrality	.057	-.048	-.045
Race x Gender Centrality	.057	.024	.023
Class x Gender Centrality	.049	-.001	-.001
Race x Class x Gender Centrality	.049	.033	.035
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.072	-.382***	-.263***
Class	.069	.341***	.256***
Race x Class	.069	-.172*	-.129*
Gender Centrality	.060	-.009	-.008
Race x Gender Centrality	.060	-.010	-.009
Class x Gender Centrality	.052	.050	.052
Race x Class x Gender Centrality	.052	-.024	-.025

*indicated p<.05
***indicates p<.001

Table 3. Identity and Racial Centrality as Predictors of Privilege Attitudes

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.076	-.307***	-.216***
Class	.071	.308***	.230***
Race x Class	.071	-.117	-.087
Racial Centrality	.052	.082	.090
Race x Racial Centrality	.052	-.012	-.012

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
Class x Racial Centrality	.048	.027	.031
Race x Class x Racial Centrality	.048	.045	.052
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.081	-.327***	-.226***
Class	.076	.317***	.238***
Race x Class	.076	-.138	-.103
Racial Centrality	.055	.102	.111
Race x Racial Centrality	.055	-.017	-.018
Class x Racial Centrality	.051	.067	.076
Race x Class x Racial Centrality	.051	-.003	-.003

***indicates p<.001

Table 4. Identity and Class Centrality as Predictors of Perceived Cost

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.068	-.359***	-.235***
Class	.065	.311***	.216***
Race x Class	.065	-.131*	-.091*
Class Centrality	.054	.351***	.309***
Race x Class Centrality	.054	-.098	-.086
Class x Class Centrality	.049	.178***	.169***
Race x Class x Class Centrality	.049	-.088	-.084
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.072	-.422***	-.269***
Class	.0709	.333***	.231***
Race x Class	.070	-.157*	-.109*
Class Centrality	.058	.365***	.315***
Race x Class Centrality	.058	-.115*	-.099*
Class x Class Centrality	.055	.198***	.183***
Race x Class x Class Centrality	.055	-.117*	-.108*

*indicated p<.05

***indicates p<.001

Table 5. Identity and Gender Centrality as Predictors of Perceived Cost

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized B	Standardized B
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.073	-.389***	-.255***
Class	.069	.349***	.253***
Race x Class	.069	-.166*	-.115*
Gender Centrality	.060	.117	.102
Race x Gender Centrality	.060	.029	.025
Class x Gender Centrality	.051	.027	.027

	.051	.003	.003
Race x Class x Gender Centrality			
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.077	-.445***	-.284***
Class	.073	.360***	.250***
Race x Class	.073	-.178*	-.123*
Gender Centrality	.064	.158*	.139*
Race x Gender Centrality	.064	-.017	-,014
Class x Gender Centrality	.055	.043	.042
Race x Class x Gender Centrality	.055	-.013	-.013

*indicated p<.05
***indicates p<.001

Table 6. Identity and Racial Centrality as Predictors of Perceived Cost

Predictor	Standard Error	Unstandardized *B*	Standardized *B*
White men vs. Men of Color			
Race	.079	-.335***	-.220***
Class	.073	.362***	.252***
Race x Class	.073	-.159*	-.110*
Racial Centrality	.053	.178***	.182***
Race x Racial Centrality	.053	.104	.099
Class x Racial Centrality	.049	.050	.054
Race x Class x Racial Centrality	.049	.060	.065
White men vs. Black Men			
Race	.084	-.374***	-.238***
Class	.078	.361***	.251***
Race x Class	.078	.361*	.251*
Racial Centrality	.057	.201***	.204***
Race x Racial Centrality	.057	.093	.087
Class x Racial Centrality	.053	.062	.065
Race x Class x Racial Centrality			

*indicated p<.05
***indicates p<.001