THE MAKINGS OF MEN:
The Institutionalization of Class and Masculinity
at a Historically Black College for Men

by

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DEDICATION

On July 28, 2014, Only four days after the successful defense of this dissertation, the life of one of its most popular, beloved and contagiously gregarious respondents was cut short on a North Carolina highway. In this study, he is known as "Roy." In life, he was Myron Burney, a father, husband, friend to thousands, and the undisputed heart and soul of the Morehouse College Class of 1998.
This dissertation is for Myron and for the son he leaves behind.

…And for Ann & Chester Grundy, to whom I owe…*everything.*
…And to Garvey & Gibran Meadows, to whom I will pay forward the debt

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thinking Black women for a racist, sexist, patriarchal world that mocks and despises them is *required* to implant in their students. All of this was vested in me by the Scholar-Feminists of Spelman College. *Thy Name We Praise.*

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the experiences of men at Morehouse College, the nation's only historically Black college for men. While most of the literature on young Black males has emphasized the bleak conditions facing Black men at the social margins, this work hones in upon the understudied experiences of Black men who are poised to enter the middle class. At Morehouse, men experience a process of gender and class institutionalization that seeks to "make" them into culturally mainstreamed professional class Black men. Through multiple interviews with 32 Morehouse graduates, this work uncovers how the college experience was not merely a coming of age process, but an assiduously crafted race and gender project orchestrated by an institution with a distinct social and ideological mission. Where both the sociological literature and national discourse have repeatedly pointed to a cohort of young Black males as a national problem, this study found that respondents see themselves as having been made into men who are solutions to the problem. Men at Morehouse learn both formal and hidden cultural curriculums about manhood, mainstream cultural professionalism, and racial advancement that places both the institution and their experiences squarely within the context of a larger cultural project about gender respectability for the Black middle class. Previous studies of institutionalization have often emphasized that institutions function to uniformly impose rules and constrictions on their members. However, this study shows that the resources men bring with them into the institution, or acquire or lose within the process, actually determine how they engage institutional structures, and subsequently, determine how they are institutionalized into men. In addition, this study exposes how men think about an array of problems facing both the campus and Black men on through the ideological lens of the institutional process. Recurring campus-wide issues like homophobia, sexual assault, and an alarming attrition rate, then, are not necessarily viewed by the men as problems, but are often understood as sorting devices that allow the institution to promote an exclusive singular form of "respectable" Black masculinity while systemically weeding out men who do not or cannot fit the institutional prototype.

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION & REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It cannot be said that Black[1] men have been understudied within sociological research. To the contrary, the lives of Black men have been woven into the American sociological fabric, and the literature on Black men has been promulgated by an almost axiomatic relationship to studies of crime, urban poverty, unemployment, incarceration, academic underachievement, and widespread social marginalization[2] (Franklin 1984; Gibbs 1988; Legette 1999; Lemelle 1995; MacLeod 1995; Maurer 1999; Staples 1982; Young 2004). Both popular discourse and sociological inquiry have repeatedly mulled over the question of why Black men's lives are so out of step with mainstream society. These works, and those from the emerging field of Black masculinity studies, have responded to this question by asserting that these troubling and widespread conditions are, in part, a result of the historical, cultural, and structural constraints that have limited Black men's access to normative gender models and the participation in mainstream American culture (Lemelle 1995; Majors and Bilson 1992).

In much of this work, however, Black men have been treated as a homogenous group: a well-rounded portrait of Black men's experiences has not balanced the studies of

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[1] "Black" will be used throughout this paper as a proper noun. While African-American will also be used throughout, whenever necessary it will be noted when a distinction should be made between the two.

[2] This state of widespread social problems facing Black men has often been dubbed the "Crisis of the Black Male". See also: Madhubuti 1990

Black male marginalization. Many of these works overlook a simple but salient truth: Black men are a varied population; many Black men, in fact, are upwardly mobile and middle class. For the many aspiring-class and privileged Black men who operate *within* the margins of the mainstream, there remains a lacuna in the literature. Models of deviance from normative gender frameworks and of incongruence with the dominant culture are insufficient to explain how all Black men navigate their social worlds (Grundy, 2012). The question becomes: How do Black men perform and conceptualize gender and masculinity when they have the capital and resources necessary to participate in the middle class cultural mainstream? Where the literature to date has repeatedly addressed a cohort of young Black men as a national *problem*, this study asks how Black men make meaning of gender and manhood when they have attained, maintained, or exceeded middle class status, presumably *solving* this problem.

In order to help fill this gap, this work situates itself in the lives of thirty-two men who have attended Morehouse College[3], the nation's only historically Black college for men. Since its inception, Morehouse has been an institution specifically invested in moving Black men into the American professional middle class. In the era of Black male crisis, which began in the 1980s and resulted in substantial and consistent drops in college enrollment and graduation rates for Black males (a decline that continues today), Morehouse's national image became increasingly postured as an institution whose graduates overcame the troubling national statistics and racist stereotypes about young Black men and offered an alternative view of Black male mobility. This project delves into the life narratives of men who came of age during the height of so-called Black male

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[3] Because Morehouse College is the nation's only historically Black all-male college, and therefore readily identifiable, the name of the college has not been changed for this study.

decline in the United States. Their experiences of being groomed for upward mobility within the walls of Morehouse are not removed from the larger Black male condition, but are set against a backdrop of national race and class warfare against Black men. Higher education, as a process for making professional class Black men, has often been overlooked as a critical site of study (this context of higher education will be discussed in subsequent sections of this introduction). This project explores how the larger context of Black masculinity informs how men come to understand themselves as Black men, and the role of the college in shaping that understanding of Black manhood. Specifically, this work examines how Black men experience "institutionalization" (being situated within an institution), in this case resulting in their being pushed toward upward mobility when a college uses race, class, and gender as the sites upon which Black males can be assiduously crafted into remedies to a national Black male problem.

The following sections of this introductory chapter frame both the problem and this study's approach to this issue. First, the central research questions that guide this work are outlined. The second section frames this work within the context of the institution. The literature on institutions is presented, but also challenged with respect to its limitations. This work is situated in recent studies of gender, class, and institutionalization that offer opportunities to go beyond our classical understandings of institutions. After explaining the role institutions play in relation to larger cultural schemas, the third section identifies four forms of capital that help determine how men experience institutionalization. This section explains the theoretical context for the work, and it also provides the analytical devices for assessing how masculinity is informed by the class and gender resources men retain, lose or acquire within the process. A

discussion of the sociological literature on the Black middle class follows, and the

parameters of class that frame this work are addressed and defined. Finally, the current

national climate surrounding Black men in college is summarized including the literature

on Black masculinity and higher education pertinent to the subject.

1.1   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Previous studies on Black men have not substantively examined how within-

group class variation affects the resources men can access to navigate gender constructs.

Additionally, research on African-Americans in the middle class has overlooked the

mechanisms through which upwardly mobile Blacks learn and ideate normative gender

ideologies. By examining men at an institution that aims to propel them into the Black

middle class, the theoretical and empirical contributions of this project intersect the

literary camps of urban ethnographies on Black men and Black middle class studies by

helping to simultaneously fill gaps in both. By conducting in-depth ethnographic

interviews and brief life histories of Black men, this work does not fall back upon the

traditional approach of simply interpreting gendered behaviors. Rather, it uncovers how

class and gender ideologies are institutionalized, and how the manifestations of this

institutionalization influence men's conceptualization of middle class Black manhood.

In order to better understand this institutionalized acculturation process and the

subsequent meanings men make of race, class, and gender ideologies, this research

chiefly centers on two central questions. First: How do institutions inform certain types of

Black middle class gender ideologies for Black men? Second: When an institution is

itself responding to a national Black male "problem," how do men make meanings of

masculinity, patriarchy, and gender hegemony when they are institutionalized to become

"solutions" to the problem? In asking these questions I am interested in how men themselves see the institution as succeeding or failing in its mission, and perhaps more importantly, how they see classed meanings of Black male respectability succeeding or failing to "solve" the perceived Black male crisis.

1.2   THE CONTEXT OF BLACK MALES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

What is happening within the walls of Morehouse has much to do with the drastically changing conditions facing young Black men outside its walls. Morehouse's current issues and challenges are tethered to the larger context of Black males in higher education. Education scholars and policy analysts have propogated numerous studies and reports, mostly focusing on the dire circumstances of Black men and boys. They report that the conditions for Black boys in K-12 are abysmal. As the supply source for college enrollment, high schools are graduating Black boys in four years at a rate of only 52%, overall compared to 78% of White males. In 38 of the 50 states and the District of Columbia, Black males have the lowest graduation rates of any group[4,5].

As an obvious consequence of this emergency, U.S. colleges—Morehouse not least among them—are feeling the effects of decreased pools of academically high-performing Black men. Currently there is no college or university in America that does not have a Black male "problem" with regard to enrollment and retention. This Black male problem is critical given that four-year colleges are overwhelmingly responsible for providing Black men a pathway to the professional and managerial labor sectors. Since the decline of U.S. manufacturing and industrial jobs has eliminated many labor sectors

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[4] In 11 states, according to the Schott Report (2012), Latino males had the lowest graduation rate.
[5] "The Schott 50 State Report on Public Education and Black Males" 2012

that required only high school education or less, college attainment has become an increasingly necessary gateway to long-term employment.

Empirical studies documenting higher education for Black men chiefly focus on broad-scale outcomes and quantifiable measures of achievement such as enrollment, GPA, and completion rates. Only 6% of Black men aged 20 to 24 have a 2 or 4-year college degree. While 37% have some college education (less than two years). African-American males are overrepresented among the lowest performing college students, those who are forced to withdraw, and those who report negative college experiences (Allen, Epps & Haniff 1991a, 1991b; Fleming, 1984 in Davis 1994). The four year graduation rate for Black men in college is, perhaps tellingly, the exact same rate as Black male high school completion: 52% (Harris, 2013). Black male college completion rates are lowest of all groups in U.S. higher education (Harper, 2006; Strayhorn, 2010).

While completion rates and the overall percentage of Black male high school graduates who enroll in college is lagging, Black male college enrollment overall has surprisingly doubled since the 1970s, with a specific 7% jump from fall 1980 through fall 1990 (Davis, 1994; Harris, 2013). Part of the crisis of Black men in higher education, then, is being based on the widespread concern for the so-called "gender gap" among Black college students. For the first time since the 1970s, Black male collegians are being out-enrolled by their female peers. Black men made up 55% of Black undergraduates in 1955. Between 1976 and 2000, those figures saw a drastic shift that does not statistically reflect a decline in Black male enrollment, but rather a sharp increase in Black female enrollment. Currently, Black men account for 37% of African-American undergraduates, while black women are enrolled at nearly twice that rate (Brown & Hurst 2004). There is

no co-educational college or university in America today where Black men outnumber Black women in enrollment[6].

While all of this statistical data on Black male enrollment, completion rates, and post-secondary academic performance is important, few scholars have actually furthered the experiential data on Black men and college. Within this small pool of work most studies either compared the experiences of Black college students to their White peers or compared Black students at HBCUs to Black students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) (Allen, W.R. 1987, 1992; Anderson & Hrabowski 1977; Davis 1994; Fleming 1984; Jay & D'Augelli 1991; Matthews & Jackson 1991; Nettles 1987). What we do know from these comparative studies is that African-American men benefit more, both socially and academically, from attending HBCUs than PWIs. White colleges, in fact, seem to slow the development of Black men, and Black men at PWIs report more feelings of unhappiness and unfair treatment, and think less of their academic ability (Fleming 1984). These studies suggest that the social needs of Black college students are not fully provided by PWIs and that this deficit negatively affects academic success for these men (Nettles 1987).

With regard to Black colleges, research findings are mixed on the benefits and outcomes of attending an HBCU (Polite & Davis, 1999a). Constantine (1994) maintains that future earnings for Black college alumni are at least equal to the wages of Black students from other universities. Black college attendance was shown to have little to no effect on future labor market outcomes, although Black college students are more likely

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[6] In lay discourse about the crisis, this gender disproportion among Black undergraduates is rarely if ever framed or lauded as the rapid advancement of Black women; instead it is framed as the decline of Black men.

to earn a BA than their Black PWI peers (Erhenberg & Rothstein 1993 in Polite & Davis eds 1999). There are also innumerable cultural effects of HBCU attendance, only a small handful of which have been examined by empirical research. For example, Black men who attend HBCUs are more likely to be married than black men at PWIs. Two thirds of HBCU male grads were married in 1986 compared to one half of PWI grads (Erhenberg & Rothstein 1993). Such a finding has myriad implications with regard to sexuality, economics, and respectability in the experiences of college educated Black men that will be evident by some of the data in this study.

A camp of education scholars including M. Christopher Brown, Michael Cuyjet, James Earl Davis, T. Elon Dancy, Shaun Harper, and Frank Harris III has primarily promulgated the literature on Black men and their gendered experiences in higher education. These scholars have provided a context for gender and masculinity as definitive variables in Black men's differential college experiences. Harper (2004) notes that research on within-group variation for Black male collegians is virtually nonexistent and that research on the intersection of race and gender among this population is notably absent. Within-group examinations of masculinity negotiations and conceptualizations for college Black men is scarce, and what is available on the subject is typically limited to younger Black boys or comparatives studies to White males (Harper, 2004). What this small body of work has shown, however, is that while Black male collegians may have statistically predictable enrollment and retention rates, the experiential data are vastly differentiated by 1) the type of institution they attend (HBCU vs. PWI, 4-year vs. 2-year, etc), 2) the racial congruency the institution has with their K-12 background, 3) whether they are a student athlete or attend a university with high profile Black male athletes, and

4) whether they feel supported by their institution and peer groups. These studies have overwhelmingly documented that navigations and conceptualizations of gender and masculinity are an overarching feature of Black men's college experiences, particularly as these men conceive and negotiate how to be "good" Black men both on campus and in a larger ideological context of racial respectability (Brown & Davis, 2001a; Davis, 1994; Harper, 2004; 2013; Polite & Davis, 1999b).

While some of these studies have examined gender only to compare males to females (without discussing the intrinsic complexities and nuances of masculinity), other studies have quite directly confronted gender as a critical variable that informs college experiences. However, most of these studies have framed their inquiries to consider gender and race only as they pertain to outcomes and indications for Black male achievement and academic success. A focus on gender and masculinity in the life course of the men themselves is remarkably absent. Reflection on how college Black men conceptualize gender and masculinity as they relate to the ideologies regarding patriarchy, heteronormativity, homophobia, or within-group hegemony is further missing from these findings. There is also little reflection on class and mobility, even though college attendance is one of the most salient processes of class socialization known to most African Americans. By addressing these gaps, this study dives deeper into the narratives of Black male collegians and how they relate to Black manhood.

From these dire conditions of Black males in higher education, to the school-to-prison pipelines that railroad hundreds of thousands of young Black men away from colleges and into incarceration, to the daily presence of law enforcement harassment and surveillance, institutions currently have a significant role in determining the everyday

lives and outcomes of young Black men. While we know institutions increasingly influence the lives and worldviews of young Black men, there has been little qualitative examination of these experiences. Our understanding of the role institutions play in the lives of Black men who are privileged or are positioned to be privileged remains vastly understudied. Institutions provide important spaces for explorations of how ideologies, practices, and structures of race, class and gender become fused. In our everyday social world, colleges are the structural cauldrons that forge the intersections of race, class, and gender that become our social positions. By overlooking institutional processes in the upward mobility of Black men, current research has neglected to consider the salience of institutions as sites where Black men learn and come to understandings about class and gender. The next section provides a context for revisiting the ways we can think about this critical relationship between institutions and Black masculinity.

1.3 RECONSIDERING INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Previous studies of institutions relating to class acculturation (Cookson and Persell, 1985; Khan, 2010) and masculinity (Leyser, 2003) have used Goffman's (1961) concept of "total institutions" in which inhabitants are completely encompassed by regimented patterns of daily life. According to Goffman, the definitive attributes of total institutions include, but are not limited to, intense degrees of routinized and involuntary activity, loss of individuality, isolation from the outside world, and subjection to authority. What we already know sociologically is consistent with what Cookson and Persell (1985) found in their study of elite boarding schools: total institutions accomplish class solidarity by mandating their students sleep, eat, and study together. Such a regimen isolates them from their home communities, families, and the outside world making them into "soldiers for their class" ready to reproduce the collective identity of the American

elite. In a study of mental patients, Leyser (2003) found that where masculinity could not be accomplished in normative ways due to the constrictions of the hospital, male mental patients established identities around male dominance by sexually objectifying and touching female staff and performing stereotypically aggressive forms of male behavior such as rough-housing. Feminist sociologists have been noticeably quiet regarding the institutionalization of incarcerated males, and criminologists have been historically "gender blind" with regard to the central role masculinity has played in the socializing and institutionalizing of men into criminals (Sabo, Kupers and London 2001). Prison seems an obvious site for understanding the effects of the total institution on Black men. In understudying Black prison masculinity, feminist sociologists and criminologists have overlooked the reciprocal and mirrored effect that the institutionalization of Black men into the carceral state has on myriad other sites of Black male institutionalization.

Sociologists have explored how the constrictions, regimens, schedules, isolation, and forced group activity of total institutions fortify identities, ideologies, and behaviors around class solidarity and masculine hegemony, suggesting that the constrictive experience of institutionalization itself binds members together into collective class or gender identities (Cookson and Persell 1985; Khan 2011; Sabo, Kupers and London 2001). However, most studies have not examined how total institutions convey the larger social world to their members, arrange the relationships of their members, and send their members into the larger social world with a distinct ideological agenda. While recent attention to school-to-prison pipelines has provided an example for more thoroughly examining the roles institutions play in conveying notions of deviant Black masculinity to the outside world, sociologist still have much to contribute to the unveiling of the

relational activities between institutions and the larger landscape of gender and masculinity. How institutions structure themselves to carry out agendas about class and gender, and how this reflects the institution's relationship with larger social ideologies and conditions, has not adequately been examined.

Studies of total institutions have greatly contributed to our understanding of the actual processes through which our thoughts and behaviors around race, class and gender can be intentionally molded by constrictive ideological and structures. They have not, however, looked at some critical components of the institutionalization process and the relationship of the institution to its members in order to explain: 1) how institutionalization impacts interactions among culture, resources, and hegemony; and 2) the context under which members absorb and filter the larger society through the institution walls and emerge shaped by their institutionalization. An expanded, multilayered examination is needed of the role institutions play in socializing members *within and in direct relationship to* larger social contexts which cannot be accomplished by simply isolating members from the larger social and political schemas. New work needs to be done to uncover the processes of institutionalization that occur, and the sometimes revolving doors of cause and effect between the institution's every day functions, structures, and membership and the broader cultural climates that both shape and are shaped by institutions.

In *Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity* (2001), Ann Ferguson has re-imagined the relational space institutions occupy between their members and larger social schemas. Using participant observation at a suburban elementary school, Ferguson describes how Black boys in an integrated student population are continuously

relegated to the bottom of a race and gender hierarchy that repeatedly penalizes their conduct. For Ferguson, Black boys are *made "*bad" by the systemic use of punishment that penalizes the various strategies they use to counteract constrictive schooling practices. Ferguson notes that institutionalizing boys into "bad boys" requires faculty, staff and administrators to often attribute bad behavior to the influence of "dysfunctional" families (predominantly female headed) and "high crime" neighborhoods (predominantly Black). Ferguson posits that schools are aware of and participate in larger social contexts about Black masculinity and use the social interactions of their members in the outside world to determine how boys will be institutionalized. Ferguson's emphasis on elementary schools is an important ethnographic divergence from other studies focused on more constrictive total institutions that rarely if ever account for the role interactions outside of institution walls and members' social locations, resources, and various forms of capital have in the institutionalization process.

Some aspects of elementary schools closely resemble total institutions. Grade school class and activity schedules are regimented. Ferguson notes that classroom instruction most often takes the form of involuntary conformity. Instruction is most often carried out by asking students to read aloud in unison or work in silence individually on a worksheet. Even when they finish work early, they are prohibited from breaking conformity and working ahead. Children cannot opt out of routinized daily events like group meals and activities in an environment run by adults. What Ferguson finds is that behaviors such as daydreaming, nodding off, disruption, and fighting are actually used by Black boys to interrupt a schooling process that bores them.

Ferguson's approach to studying Black male institutionalization at a grade school is novel to the literature. The process in some ways resembles what men encounter at Morehouse. In both cases, the resources a student brings to school from their families and backgrounds and the resources they either do or do not acquire at school largely determine how they will experience institutionalization. Ferguson's acknowledges that educational institutions are not only agents and actors in relation to the social and political conditions around them, but also use their members' various positions and relationships to these social and political conditions to decide what the institutionalization process will be. Ferguson's work has established how these processes can be used to institutionalize Black males into "bad boys"; my project works to unveil how men at Morehouse experience being institutionalized into "good men".

Ferguson's work reveals an important and often overlooked truth: all but a few of the institutions most Americans encounter in their life courses, and that shape and influence their ideas about race, gender, and class, are not *total* institutions that isolate us from the larger social world. Instead, we are involved participants who historically and actively create and recreate our understandings of ourselves and our location in the world. The grade school boys in Ferguson's study are mostly limited to asserting their agency by acting out against classroom conformity. The men at Morehouse occupy a less regimented space where the role their backgrounds and cultural resources play in how they strategize and negotiate being institutionalized is more nuanced and ripe for in-depth ethnographic examination. By Goffman's criteria, Morehouse College is more *partial* institution than total because Morehouse does not completely dictate the lives of its students. Men are not isolated from the outside world but consistently interact with it

throughout their matriculation. They come and go as they please; in fact, most of the men in the study resided off campus in or near Atlanta at some point in their matriculation. Many men own vehicles, utilize public transportation, or have networks with access to a car, giving them wide mobility throughout the area. After freshman year, there are few if any daily regimented activities beyond class attendance for the majority of students. Morehouse men interact informally with thousands of co-eds at the surrounding campuses of Clark Atlanta University, Morris Brown College, and all- female Spelman College frequently, but contact is also formalized by an official consortium among the schools that is structured into official campus life activities. The college is not ideologically isolated from outside national discussions and welcomes public figures and community leaders to campus to serve as speakers and guest lecturers. Events outside the institution on the national stage, such as the OJ Simpson trials or Million Man March, have drastically shaped how the men in this study understand their time at Morehouse through their memory of the college's reaction to these events.

Unlike the boys in Ferguson's study who have little choice in navigating the strictly regimented routines of an elementary school, adult men at Morehouse have widely varying levels of agency with which to encounter and navigate the institutionalization process. In this college environment, which is at times strictly constructed and at others times observably lax, the resources men either do or do not bring with them, or acquire within their experience, more greatly determine the agency they can exercise throughout the experience of being institutionalized. What a study of masculinity and class offers in this "partial" institution of Morehouse College, then, is a chance to closely examine the interactive roles that resources, individual agency,

hegemonies, and meaning-making play in the institutionalization process, and bring a more nuanced lens to the institutional sites where our ideas about class and gender are most detectably forged. Such an approach has been missing from much of our previous literature on institutionalization, which has emphasized social processes of class and masculinity only where the constraining characteristics of total institutions were present.

With regard to partial institutions, which comprise most of the institutions that inform our messages about race, class, and gender, the process of institutionalization does not occur exclusively within exchanges between the members and the institutional staff, but also through the relationships among the members. Additionally, the composition of partial institutions is one of porous walls in which members both act upon and are acted upon by the larger social context in which they reside. It is at the site of partial institutions like Morehouse that we can more fully understand a threefold process where members are first institutionalized by the ideological and material structure of the institution itself; second by the webs of power, hegemony, and hierarchy always present when members are arranged in relationship to each other; and third via a revolving door relationship to the outside world in which institutions seek to both interpret larger social contexts for their members and transform these larger contexts by influencing their members. This relationship to the larger outside world is reciprocal. Institutions socialize their members to carry their mission to the outside world, while members use institutions to change their individual life stations and chart their location within larger social and political geographies.

1.4 CULTURE, HABITUS AND CAPITAL IN THE INSTITUTION

Because, in the literal sense, partial institutions hold their members to fewer daily structural constraints than total institutions, they are fertile ground for examining variation in the ways members navigate institutionalization. Such is the purpose of this work: to study within-group class and gender variation for Black men who are institutionalized through the same educational process. This section establishes the theoretical grounds for the research and, second, defines and explains the vocabulary that will be used to analyze the data.

In college, men's varying identities and resources meet and interact with an institutional culture of both material and ideological structures and specific cultural aims—what French sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu described as *habitus* (1990). Bourdieu believed the vast dimensions and interconnectedness among class, culture, stratification, and power could be thoroughly explored in school settings. Education occupied a central focus in Bourdieu's theories. He imagined schools as central regulatory devices for controlling the allocation of status and privilege (Swartz, 1997a). He viewed systemic schooling as the institutionalized context in which the intellectual habitus of any society first forms (Bourdieu, 1967); Swartz 1997:102).

In its many theoretical iterations, habitus has been used to describe myriad relationships between individual actions and external forces. Bourdieu demarcates the role of habitus in the social world by proposing that the realities of individual subjectivity and societal objectivity are not mutually exclusive but rather dependent on and interactive with each other (Swartz 1997). He defined habitus as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be

objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to maintain them" (1990:53). In essence, habitus is individual ingestion of socialized norms or thinking that guide behavior and thinking. It is the way structures are not only informed by an individual's agency to navigate them, but how our navigation is in turn mapped by the structures that are real and perceived in our social understanding of the world. Habitus is neither completely determined by social structure nor completely subject to individual free will, but exists at the site of interaction between the two; our conceptualizations of our social world are the outcome of how we think and behave at these sites of interaction (Bourdieu 1990). In resisting the oppositional subject/object binaries proposed by previous theorists, he insisted that individual activity and the social world are relational, not autonomous entities divorced into polarity (1990). Sociologist David Swartz describes habitus as accounting for the multitude of ways in which "social realities exist both inside and outside of individuals. Both in their minds and in things," and that Bourdieu stressed "this dual character of social reality must be preserved in sociological inquiry" (1997:96).

In this interplay between the actions of the individual self and social structures, Bourdieu centrally positioned the concept of agency in his sociological view. Subsequent to rejecting the deterministic effect of structure on the individual suggested by previous theorists, Bourdieu proposed that agency connected individuals to structures in a "dialectical relationship" that jettisoned the notion that structures have a direct and unmediated causal effect on human action. Nor did Bourdieu promote the popular psychological theories that human action was derived purely from internal factors of conscience and intention.

By loosening and nuancing the analytical space between structure and human action, the theoretical utility of agency is invaluable for examining both the dissonance and connection among structure, action, and individual thought. The space between what men do, and what men think about what they do is informed in part by the agency, context, and environment with which and within which they will act (Acker 1990; Britton 2000). With regard to the social constructions of race, class, and masculinity, it is analytically paramount to recognize the agency and diversity with which individuals negotiate and construct their own meanings of race, class, and masculinity. Such an approach is key because it allows for a critical examination of race, class, and gender that does not rely on the determinism of structural theories or upon rational-actor models of individual behavior. The theoretical groundings of this approach is to explore the interaction between the structural constraints of the institution and an individual's agency in constructing meaning out of their participation in the institution (Bourdieu 1990; Chavous & Cogburn 2007; Davidson 1996; O'Connor 1997, 2001; Weiler 2000).

It is my central hypothesis that the institution is the mechanism through which class ideologies become organized into imperatives about race, gender, patriarchy, and masculinity in this "habitusional" interplay of men's experiences. Morehouse employs dominant middle class ideologies that continue to shape men's ideations of manhood well into adulthood. Ideological instructions to men create the cultural structure of the process and are both explicit (e.g. dress codes, intolerance for broken English or hip hop slang, and decorum adages such as "Morehouse men always walk on the outside of a lady") and implicit (e.g. good students assume the etiquette and dress of the professional mainstream; Morehouse men have heteronormative relationships with women).

How men accomplish gender within this structure depends upon the resources available to them. Men enter the college having been equipped by their backgrounds with varying amounts of resources or with resource deficits. Within the institutional process, men can further acquire or lose resources that inform the construction of their narratives and worldviews. If they retain and/or gain resources through this process, they conceptualize themselves as men who have accomplished the masculinity ideals promoted by the college; if they lose resources, or if the resources they have ill-equip them to accomplish the college's sanctioned gender ideals, then their life narratives echo what Arlie Hochschild (1983) identifies as "gender strategies" and what Chen further describes as "bargaining" with masculinity (Chen, 1999). This gender "bargaining" can explain how, for example, men find ways to compensate for the resources they lack, or exploit resources that they have abundantly in order strategize their position within the institution and rank in masculine hierarchies.

Because African-American men have historically lacked the social and material resources needed to aspire to normative ideals of masculinity, all men in this study, to varying extents, have lost or failed to convert the resources necessary to accomplish hegemonic masculinity at differing points in their biographies. It is the core analytical claim of this work, however, that within the walls of the institution cultural resources determine how men navigate, understand, respond to, and barter with an institutional process designed to groom and order their masculinity. Men can choose to embrace or reject this process, but will complete it based on the kinds of cultural resources they bring to and acquire within the institution. While some men fully embrace the process and seek the resources to accomplish masculinity, other men reject the process ideologically,

although they employ their resources to remain structurally within it. It is this variation, this within-group differentiation between men who lose, gain, convert, and bargain with the resources needed to accomplish masculinity that this work will compare and explore.

Bourdieu aptly termed the means to accumulate these resources as "capital" (Bourdieu, 1986a), defined as a comprehensive term that identifies the resources one acquires—and must acquire—to secure future desires (Bourdieu, 1986b). Bourdieu maintains that capital "is what makes the game of society—not least, the economic game—something other than a simple game of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle" (1986b: 241). While capital can be gained in the form of materials such as money or property, it can also consist of intangibles such as beliefs, ideologies, directives, and emotions (Young 1996), both of which enable the pursuit of mobility (Calhoun, 1995).

In Bourdieu's view, capital possesses a regenerative property in which capital begets more capital in all its forms, but it also has a persistent property in which existing capital tends to sustain and maintain itself over time. Such fixed properties entangle the various forms of capital with structures of inequality in ways that Bourdieu posits exceed explanations of inequality as mere outcomes of lack of opportunities or limited resources. As he states:

> Capital, which in its objectified or embodied forms takes time to accumulate, and which, as a potential capacity to produce and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things that everything is not equally possible or impossible. And the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents immanent structure of the social world. (1986: 241)

While theorists continue to define and debate at length the forms of capital that commonly provide the vehicles for social mobility, Bourdieu, as the progenitor of the

concept, delineated three predominant forms of capital, cultural, social, and economic (1986). Bourdieu first invoked the concept of **cultural capital** when explaining a theory for the unequal scholastic achievement of children from stratified social classes that resisted theories to explain such differences as the outcome of natural aptitude. Based on historical trends, he projected that cultural capital would increasingly become the basis of social stratification (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1977:33). Cultural capital presupposes that social inequality can be materialized through noneconomic goods and resources such as verbal facility, aesthetic tastes, cultural awareness, and educational credentials (Bourdieu, 1984); Swartz 1997). Bourdieu stressed that culture, even in its broadest sense, can be used as a resource of power by both individuals and structures. Cultural capital is comprised of the understandings with which one navigates social life in ways that increase personal efficacy. At Morehouse, it is the adoption of social practices that contributes to this efficacy, such as the instructions on dress, decorum, and professional etiquette that men do or do not adapt from the institution. These social practices and understandings learned from the college are primarily intended to increase efficacy in navigating the White professional mainstream while simultaneously reinforcing scripts about Black male respectability.

      Social capital encompasses the sum of the real and/or potential resources allotted by lasting networks in which individuals acknowledge their membership and are recognized as members by other members of the group. Bourdieu notes that it is not sufficient to merely have a populated network; one's network must include members with other significant forms of capital. As he explains, "The volume of the social capital possessed by any given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he

can effectively mobilize and on the capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected) (1986:248). For the men in this study, social capital includes the familial and community networks with which they enter the college, as well as professional and institutional networks they do or do not attain within the institutional process and in the mainstream professional world. Because of the snowball nature of human networks, social capital compounds itself. Men who enter with more resource-laden networks will amass more social capital and, therefore, have more access to other forms of capital than men who enter with less resourced networks. As the data will show, there is, in effect, no means through which low resourced men can "catch up" when the social networks of well resourced men continually compound and convert social capital into countless other opportunities and resources for mobility.

One of the most tangible forms of capital into which social capital can be converted is **Economic capital,** also termed financial capital**. It is the most material of the four forms and is particularly salient in this project as college attendance is a highly costly endeavor. Due in part to its stability and universal currency properties, Bourdieu viewed economic capital as lying "at the root of all other forms of capital" (Bourdieu 1986:252-54). He suspected cultural and social capitals to be "transformed, disguised forms of economic capital" because economic capital allows for the time needed to accumulate social and cultural capital (1991:230). Within the college experience, economic capital encompasses both the economic resources with which men enter the college and the scholarships, fellowships, wages, or family contributions that help pay tuition, additional costs of living, and the costs associated with opportunities for mobility such as taking an unpaid internship. Economic capital in this study refers not only to

money men have to purchase goods or services, but also exchanges they may make to attain goods and services in lieu of money (Young 1996:25).

Human capital is not categorized alongside other forms of capital in Bourdieu's 1986 essay, perhaps because Bourdieu was highly critical of the functionalist perspectives of human capital (Becker 1964, 1976) which linked human capital to measures of individual accomplishment and talent and detached it from class privilege, family milieu, and economic resources (Swartz, 1997b). However, even with this critical filter applied to theories of human capital, such a category is necessary to provide the analytical vocabulary for how men understand their individual actions at various points in their life trajectories, particularly as they compare themselves and their life outcomes to other men. The skilled aptitude and training provided by their college education contributes to human capital, as well as other specific skills, accrued talents, and abilities that are either bestowed or learned. All of this contributes to desired paths of mobility.

These four forms of capital should not be considered mutually exclusive or exhaustive descriptions of how men navigate structures and avenues of mobility. They all work in conjunction, overlapping, compensating, and substituting for each other as men bargain for middle class masculinity. The forms of capital are not interchangeable and the exchanges between them cannot be transacted in all directions. For example, economic capital can, over time, fluidly convert into all other forms of capital; on the other hand, while some goods and resources can only be attained though economic capital, social, cultural, and human capital are often required to facilitate these acquisitions (Bourdieu 1986; Swartz 1997).

What is critical in this study is the structure these forms of capital provide to help describe the forms of hegemony that are institutionalized at the college. These forms of capital, which dictate and predict which resources men will retain, accrue, or lose during the institutionalization process, also determine the power relationship among them. It is over the course of their college years, particularly through institutionalization, that capital will diminish or limit resources and power for some men while bolstering and awarding power and resources to others. Bourdieu stated that power relations could only be understood to the extent that sociological inquiry could demonstrate the interchangeability of forms of capital at the intersection of human action and social structure. Power, then, as Bourdieu proposed it, can only be understood inasmuch as it is culturally and symbolically created, confirmed, and legitimized within this interplay of structure, agency and social actor.

Understanding the structures men encounter at Morehouse, however, cannot be achieved by theory alone. The socio-historical relationship of Morehouse to both the Black middle class and the century-old process of Black uplift also informs how men understand the institution and its influence on their lives.

1.5   LOCATING THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE RESEARCH

A: Higher Education and the Black Middle Class

Identifying the Black middle class is incomplete if done on economic terms alone; the literature has taken great strides, however, in establishing socioeconomic definitions for this group. White-collar employment has conventionally been used to mark attainment of middle class for post-Civil Rights Era African-Americans (Blackwell, 1985;

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Higginbotham & Weber, 1992; Kronus, 1971; Landry, 1987; Oliver, Oliver, Shapiro, Shap, 1995; Wilson:1995ww in Pattillo, 2000; Wilson, 1978). Wilson (1978) broadly defines the Black middle class to include skilled craftsmen and foremen alongside professional, managers, and small business owners, resting this definition on an understanding that Blacks in these occupations have the economic means to attain home-ownership, education, health care, and similar benchmarks of middle class America.

Oliver and Shapiro (1995) eliminated service and craftsmen occupations from their definition in favor of a stricter adherence to professional-managerial occupations. While there has been some discord regarding the involvement of blue collar and service occupations within the middle class for African Americans, preeminent works by Lacy (Lacy, 2007; 2002), Landry (1987), Gaines (Gaines, 1996), and Pattillo (1999;2007) have overwhelmingly acknowledged the inseparable role a college education plays in notions of Black class advancement.

If our most conservative sociological definition of the contemporary American middle class includes only those with a college degree, then colleges and universities serve as critical thresholds of class identity. For African-Americans, higher education has long been heralded as the single most critical cultural marker of upward mobility, and college educated Blacks have traditionally been viewed as bettering social conditions for the race as a whole (DuBois, 1903; Gaines, 1996; Green, 1977). To this extent, work on Black upward mobility and racial uplift is intellectually and politically inseparable from discussions of higher education. However, Black colleges, unlike predominantly White institutions, have long been criticized as double agents of acculturation. These colleges have charged themselves not only with the task of facilitating class mobility for a

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historically marginalized race, but also with racially assimilating Black students to a White normative culture (Brown & Davis, 2001b; Frazier, 1954).

Historically, Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) have held positions as agents of socialization and ideological indoctrination about middle class behavior for upwardly mobile African-Americans (Frazier 1954; Gaines 1996). These colleges have functioned not only as institutions serving the children of economically privileged Black families, but also as mechanisms of acculturation for upwardly mobile working class and low-income Blacks.

In what has now been over a century of research on race, class, and the role of higher education institutions in upward mobility, little work has been done to disaggregate gender in this acculturation process. Such an absence is curious given a little acknowledged fact about racial uplift discourse since it began after Reconstruction—it has been fundamentally hitched to the social trajectory of middle class Black men. Black men and Black masculinity have historically been situated at the center of discussions on Black racial advancement, due in part to the fact that Black men preceded Black women in suffrage, citizenship, and professional attainment and outpaced Black women in higher education for a century. The critical locus provided by examining class and gender at a historically Black male college, then, is an empirical ground zero for examining class ideology, acculturation, and meanings made of upward mobility for African-Americans.

B: Gendering racial uplift

More than any other group in U.S. history, African-Americans have had their advancement yoked to notions of gender morality, respectability, and sexual propriety. Prescriptions on black sexuality and gender performance have never been partitioned off

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from racial uplift ideology. As early as Reconstruction, both Black and White former abolitionists ran campaigns to politicize the sexual propriety of newly freed Blacks, thrusting the topic into public discussions of citizenship and labor as well as marriage and morality (Mitchell, 2004a). Throughout the Jim Crow era and well into the twentieth century, Black elites promoted a public discourse that conflated the advancement of the race with adherence to bourgeois morality and emphasized the patriarchal family as the cornerstone of Black progress (Gaines 1996).

Racial uplift has become synonymous with the expansion and stability of the Black middle class. Contemporary African-American leaders have articulated a "self-help" politics of securing class advancement by espousing the dominant values and behaviors of Whites, especially as they pertain to respectability and gender (Collins, 2004). Conversely, because Black leaders have been preoccupied with the ability of Black men and women to measure up to dominant standards of a patriarchal family, failure to subscribe to these gender models has been used to explain a host of social problems among African Americans including poverty, joblessness, and lack of educational attainment (Cohen, 1999; Collins, 2004; Gaines, 1996; Moynihan, Rainwater, and Yancey, 1967).

The emphasis on patriarchy within racial uplift ideology has repeatedly centered on Black male leadership as the political vehicle to class mobility and race betterment. The undeniably bleak increasing rates of Black male violence, incarceration, unemployment, and nonresidential fathering have spiked a moral panic that tethers the current condition of the race to a cohort of young Black men "in crisis." These issues have been seen as conditions suffered by the Black community collectively, subsuming

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the barriers encountered by educated, middle-class Black men and marginalizing the gender-specific problems faced by Black women. As political scientist Cathy Cohen explains, contemporary discussions have repeatedly emphasized the responsibility of communities, institutions, and racial leaders to embrace conformity to mainstream middle-class gender constructs to produce and sustain normative patriarchal citizenship and "respectable" Black males (Cohen, 1999; see also Price & Shildrick, 1999).

There has been a plethora of non-empirical and lay works on Black male respectability7 and studies of Black men whose lives are located squarely off the course of upward mobility (Young 2004, Macleod 1999), but empirical work on Black men who have attained middle class and see themselves as upholding the marks of patriarchal citizenship and racial respectability is limited. This project is an effort to address that oversight.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

In the next chapter, I provide a history of Morehouse College that situates the institution within over a century of racial uplift projects led by African-Americans seeking moral recognition and citizenship within a White dominated country. Chapter Three summarizes the methodological approach to the work, followed by three analytical chapters and a conclusion.

One aim of this work is to depart from approaches to the study of institutions that focus only on the relationship of the institution to its members. Instead, this work acknowledges that in partial institutions—those institutions which do not totally

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7 see: Neale, Mark Anthony. "Coming Apart at the Seams: Black masculinity and the performance of Obama-era respectability." *New Black Man (in Exile)*. N.p. 5 July 2014. Web. 7 Apr 2010.

encompass the lives of their members—multiple layers of relational experiences are at play in the institutional experience. This dissertation is organized not by topics of interest or even by a chronological unfolding of men's matriculations through the college; instead, I present three layers of the institutional process.

The first layer is the relationship of the men to the institution itself, which is examined in Chapter Four. This chapter explores the points in men's experiences when they understand the institution to be an active agent in grooming, arranging, and producing their masculinity in accordance with the college's ideologies about class and manhood. I term this experience "branding" as it encompasses the material and ideological constraints that "brand" men to the specific approach of the institution. First, I look at the process of New Student Orientation (NSO), the inaugural set of rituals, ceremonies, rules and traditions that inundates men with the archetypal forms of masculinity promoted by the institution. If branding is a factorial process, then NSO can be understood as the loading dock where the raw material of young high school graduates begins to be molded into Morehouse Men. At the NSO men first learn if they possess or lack the cultural resources required to conform to the institution's gender ideals. I then look at how men experience being made into the "products" of this branding process. Specifically, I examine the institution's ever-present emphasis on corporate professional decorum and how men understand this "corporatization" process as readying them for entry into the White professional mainstream, which will become the final phase of packaging Black masculinity for general market consumption.

Chapter Five focuses on the second layer of inquiry into partial institutions: the relationship of the men to each other. First, this chapter unveils how the institution

arranges men into relationships of competition with each other for resources, particularly for the limited resource of hegemonic masculinity for which men can only be eligible by completing the institutional process. The residue of this initial arrangement of hegemonic masculine competition is evident throughout the rest of this chapter, which focuses on how men use compulsory heterosexuality and homophobia to establish dominance over gay and transgender students at the college. Men structurally organize to suppress the visibility and representation of queer students, especially evident in a campus event in which several of the respondents participated to dismantle a campus group for gay and transgender students. Because men are institutionalized to understand themselves as in competition for representation of Morehouse Manhood, they experienced this incident as one that posed them in direct opposition to fellow students seeking queer inclusion in this masculine prototype.

Chapter Five looks at an area where men are not in direct competition with each other because they have abundant access to hegemonic masculinity via their universal ability to dominate women. This topic is explored through an incident of rape that several respondents recount from their years at the college. The ways men make meaning of this incident speaks volumes on how some men use sexual violence against women to demonstrate solidarity to each other and universal dominance over Black women.

Chapter Six opens explores how the institutionalization process occurs in the college's relationship to the outside world. First, this chapter delves into a relationship over a century in the making between the college and its immediately surrounding neighborhood of Atlanta's West End. In this section, men narrate their understandings of the agentic role the college plays in changing the economics, space, and housing

demographics of the West End and how they understand the ways the college is viewed by West End residents. Even as the institution takes on a masculine role in this community by consuming real estate, restructuring adjacent housing, and expanding the college's borders ever further into the predominantly Black, low income neighborhood, Morehouse students see their interactions with neighborhood residents as fraught with the constant threat of confrontation and physical violence. Students, then, encounter the West End as a space where they must reconsider how hegemonic masculinity is accomplished when they navigate spaces dominated by low income Black men.

The second half of Chapter Six examines the larger racial community repeatedly referred to within the institutional process. Men use this ideological construction of racial community to make meaning of how they have been institutionalized. Men understand their role in this community as an obligation to assume leadership and exemplify normative forms of masculinity. But in ideologically constructing these roles, men draw upon patriarchal gender scripts that minimize the role of Black women's leadership and infantilize the masculinities of other Black men.

Finally, this dissertation concludes with a summary and discussion of the work that draws overarching themes across the analytical chapters and posits the contribution of this work to ongoing discussions of the role institutions play in fusing issues of race, class, and gender together in the lives of Black men.

CHAPTER 2:
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION

2.1 THE HISTORY OF MOREHOUSE IN CONTEXT

Morehouse's life as an institution must be understood in the context of the

gendered history of post-Emancipation Black America. Institutions like Morehouse do

not idly exist in society. To the contrary, they are active participants in the race, gender,

and social uplift politics from which they not only receive their students, but into which

their students will be released. African-American institutions are not only formed in

response to systemic racism, but are also transformed and influenced by the persistent

climate of racism surrounding them as they set out to forward larger social agendas about

racial advancement and prepare their students for reentry into a racially hostile world.

This is particularly true for historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) which

were founded almost entirely during the precipitous years immediately following

emancipation, when formerly enslaved African-Americans found themselves thrust into a

citizenry still hostile to the novel idea of their humanity; as a result, Black colleges have

been historically inseparable from the larger agendas of racial uplift and assimilation for

African-Americans that explicitly informed their founding (Anderson, 1988). HBCUs

have been charged historically with conveying this racial agenda to their students and

producing students who are in step with the ideologies of sexual and gender conservatism

that underlie the social and moral call which their missions answered.

In 1867, just two years after the end of the Civil War and merely a year shy of the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, what would become Morehouse College was founded as August Theological Institute in Augusta, Georgia.[8] The college came into existence largely through the efforts of Reverend William Jefferson White, a mixed-race carpenter and undertaker who had been propositioned to bring a seminary to Georgia by an enslaved Black man who had traveled extensively throughout the free communities of the mid-Atlantic with his master. Similar to the start-up of many Black colleges, Augusta Theological Institute was founded in the basement of a Black church as a school for the instruction of ministers and clergy. In this sense, Morehouse's institutional origins diverge from the original charters of many HBCUs which were not commonly involved in instructing Blacks in literature, arts, or preparing newly Freedmen for professions, instead emphasizing practical skills, basic literacy, and husbandry; practical curriculums that were lauded as the avenue to racial advancement for the formerly enslaved by Booker T. Washington's famous "Atlanta Compromise" address.

In being chartered as a school of ministry, Morehouse would have immediately become a distinguished destination for aspiring Blacks, as the clergy was one of the most prestigious and learned 19th century professions to which Black men could ascribe.[9] Given the moral panic that shrouded Black advancement throughout Reconstruction, a school to instruct newly freed slaves in the ministry was an institutional linchpin for White Northern missionaries and upwardly mobile Black social activists who insisted

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[8] The college relocated to Atlanta, Georgia in 1879.
[9] It is historically salient to note that Morehouse was organized as a men's college because Black women in the 19th and early 20th centuries were prohibited from careers as schooled theologians.

that the social panacea for the next century's advancement of the Black race would rely both on the education of and the moral instruction of newly freed Blacks.

Such moral projects, which repeatedly compelled African-Americans to assume normative Victorian gender mores to achieve social and legal recognition, were inseparable from the class-based racial advancement projects promoted by an expanding Black bourgeoisie and the aspiring-class African-Americans who wished to join them at the helm of Black social prestige. Gender served as the site for achieving social and legal citizenship, and thus a chance at upward mobility, via racial assimilation. If sexuality was the site that White supremacists chose to morally impugn the ability of Blacks to assume normative gender roles—and therefore normative citizenship—then Reconstruction era Blacks would use sexuality and sexual respectability as the site to redress White racism. Gender and sexuality campaigns would be used by Reconstruction era Blacks as vehicles to demonstrate their morality and attempt to gain equal social and legal footing with Whites (Mitchell, 2004b).

Issues of masculinity were of the utmost consequence to these projects. Morehouse was founded at the dawn of a period in which the White citizenry was obsessed with paternalistic ideas of imperialism and social Darwinism that equated masculinity/superiority with White imperialist conquest and femininity/inferiority with conquered nations, including those of peoples of color. Newly freed Blacks continued to encounter the deeply culturally entrenched white supremacy that denied them citizenship and moral recognition even as Black men were enfranchised after the ratification of the 14th amendment. White supremacist attitudes of the day rationalized racial hierarchies by

using masculinity as the measure by which races were ranked. To be fit for citizenship and civilization was to be manly, and to be manly was to be white (Mitchell 2004).

Image 2-1 Morehouse Students on the Steps of Graves Hall (year unknown)

Given the century and a half of Morehouse's existence, understanding this historical trajectory is critical. Throughout its history, Morehouse has made concerted efforts to produce students who are equipped to culturally and politically navigate the racism of their day. This insistence on teaching normative manhood to Black men has not escaped racist resistance. During the 1906 Atlanta riots, two Morehouse students were murdered by a mob of irate white racists because they "dared to behave like men and not according to Southern tradition" (Jones 1967: 12). A formal commitment to producing Black men who seek access to the dominant forms of masculinity reserved for White men has been an act of ongoing resistance to White supremacy. From its nascent mission to produce Black men of moral and religious authority to its current effort to formally institutionalize a Black male leadership initiative, the college's institutional design has never been divorced from the extracurricular charge of preparing Black men to live lives that will counter the historical and racist efforts to deny normative masculinity to them.

In the college's first century—with a centennial that coincided with the height of the Civil Rights Movement—culturally and ideologically equipping men for their lives beyond Morehouse took the form of a vested interest in repairing Black men from the demoralizing and lingering effects of slavery and Jim Crow. As alumnus Edward Jones wrote in his extensive history of the college:

> Morehouse College, since its humble, inauspicious beginnings as Augusta Institute (1867) in Augusta, Georgia, has been dedicated to the task of building men: first by enlightening their minds, then by freeing them from the shackles of a psychological conditioning brought about by nearly two hundred and fifty years of slavery. The task of these first educators was not simply one of inculcating knowledge, which of itself tends to make men free, but also one of rehabilitation—of repairing the psychological damage done to the souls of enslaved men who needed to be taught self-respect and dignity even in a degrading environment where the social and political status quo, by laws and mores, was diametrically opposed to such teaching (1967:10).

Now, at the midpoint of its second century, Morehouse remains institutionally and culturally invested in many of the post-Civil Rights era uplift strategies that produced many of its most prominent alumni including Martin Luther King Sr. and Jr., Spike Lee, former Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson, social historian Lerone Bennett, former U.S. Surgeon General David Satcher, and former Republican presidential candidate Herman Cain. Morehouse has established a particularly complimentary relationship to the Black middle class. In the era of integration, Black middle class leadership has repeatedly applauded models of racial advancement through cultural assimilation into the White mainstream. With few exceptions, Morehouse's most celebrated alumni have been upheld as icons of assimilation strategy who have achieved professional success within White dominated fields.

2.2 THE DILEMMAS OF PRESENT DAY MOREHOUSE

It is critical to understand that, despite its singular status as the nation's only historically Black college for men, Morehouse is exempt from none of the national problems of Black male enrollment and retention that plague nearly all colleges and universities. The college enjoys a national reputation rare among Black colleges of consistently producing substantial numbers of distinguished and highly trained White-collar professionals. Located in Atlanta, Georgia, the college enrolls just over 2,300 undergraduates,[10] of whom 93% are Black or African-American.[11] It is the nation's largest college for men and has conferred more bachelor's degrees to Black men than any other college or university in the United States. Like many other HBCUs, Morehouse's student body reflects an array of cultural and economic backgrounds. While low-income and working-class students who seek upward mobility and introduction into the middle class largely comprise its student body, the college continues to enjoy its historical reputation as a favored school of the Black elite and an institution that prepares its students to become Black male professionals. Middle-class acculturation at the college is not just a process of introducing low-income men to normative middle class behaviors, as many Morehouse students' backgrounds are already congruent with the normative class ideologies promoted on campus. This project will show that, beyond mere class socialization, the college addresses race, class and gender ideologies. Informed by its history of gendered respectability politics as a strategy for countering White racism, Morehouse stands as a nexus in men's life courses where "doing" Black manhood becomes mapped onto "doing" middle-class culture (Fenstermaker & West, 1999).

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[10] Enrollment has declined 16% since 2007. The enrollment in 1998-2002, the period during which the men in this study were enrolled, was approximately 2,800.
[11] This demographic data on the college is for the years 2009-2013.

While Morehouse's storied history and legacy is still celebrated with pomp and tradition by students and faculty, Morehouse faces a set of problems and persisting issues that are drastically different from those in its past. Recent decades have found the college embroiled in a series of incidents that have rocked its reputation and signal that Morehouse, despite its reputation for exceptionality, is not immune to the factors that impact young Black men everywhere. Recent national news about the college has oscillated between extremes of achievement and abhorrence. While the college was celebrating the selection of its fourth Rhodes Scholar in 2003, a student was brutally beaten on the bathroom floor of his dormitory because of his suspected homosexuality.[12] In 2007, 101 years after the murder of two Morehouse students by angry Whites, a Morehouse student was found murdered and stuffed into the trunk of his own car by his fellow students.[13] The most common form of student violence, sexual assault of women, is a problem on campus, but the administration has no formal sexual violence prevention program in place.

Homophobic harassment and violence within the student body have exponentially increased in the last two decades, even as these incidents remain under-reported by victims and under-acknowledged by administrators. Despite this, gay students and a small number of transgender students have become increasingly visible and organized on the campus in recent years. As a result, the college formally implemented an "Appropriate Attire Policy" in 2009 that explicitly targeted and sanctioned students wearing "women's clothing" as well as fashions associated with Black youth street

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[12] See Chanel Lee, "Homos 101: Premier Black College is Study in Anti-Gay Discrimination," *Village Voice*, 12 August 2003.

[12] See Atlanta Journal Constitution, 28 March 2007

culture.14 The resulting discrimination, harassment, and discipline suffered by trans- and gender-bending students brought national media attention to campus policies driven by a long history of respectability politics.15 Morehouse's continuing efforts to strictly police a culture of normative masculinity among its students come at a time when the policies on gender and sexuality nationally are rapidly shifting across increasingly gender-liberal college campuses.

Unique challenges in academics and enrollment have also changed the structure and culture of Morehouse. While the college has always prided itself on conferring more bachelor's degrees upon Black men than any other institution in the country, that distinction has been challenged of late by the rise of for-profit colleges like the University of Phoenix and Ashford University who now confer more bachelor's degrees for African-Americans than HBCUS.16 While the academic performance of Morehouse students is still far above average for HBCUS, its four-year completion rate is an alarmingly low 40%. In keeping with the trend across HBCUs, Morehouse's appeal to college-bound students seems to be diminishing. In 2012, only a third of accepted students committed to Morehouse compared to nearly half in 2008.17 Increasingly, Morehouse finds itself losing top-performing applicants to top-tier, predominantly White institutions. As a result, Morehouse is increasingly forced to accept underprepared students who are harder to retain and more costly to educate. In response, the college quietly implemented a

[14]Unknown author. "Morehouse Takes a Page out of GQ." *The Root*. N.p. 5 July 2014. Web. 13 Oct 2009.

[15] King, Aliya. "The Mean Girls of Morehouse" *Vibe Magazine.* N.p. 5 July 2014. Web. 11 Oct 2010.

[15] Kelderman, Eric. "Morehouse College's Leader Seeks to Reverse Decline". *Chronicle of Higher Education*. N.p. 5 July 2014. Web 15 April 2013.

[17] Kelderman, Eric. "Morehouse College's Leader Seeks to Reverse Decline". *Chronicle of Higher Education*. N.p. 5 July 2014. Web 15 April 2013.

recruitment strategy of targeting Latino boys by attending college fairs at predominantly

Latino high schools—a decision that received backlash from many alumni.

The college's current recruitment strategy relies heavily upon its cultural appeal to

prospective students seeking a place where academically serious Black men are not the

minority. Since 2002, the college's recruitment materials have employed the imagery of

high achieving Black boys' isolation, including an extensive description of "the

Morehouse Mystique" which promises that "ignored, stereotyped or marginalized" young

men will find a home at Morehouse as "the heart, soul, and hope of a community. And

where you are not alone."18

This historical and contemporary context simultaneously dictates the institution's

mission and men's understandings of the mission. As I explore the dynamics of

masculinity, class, and institutionalization within the gates in the following analytical

chapters, it is paramount to continually consider the role this context plays in the life of

the institution and the lives of the Black men who are made by it. I now continue to the

empirical chapters of this dissertation, where the issues noted in this larger social context

are interwoven throughout the analysis of the data.

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[18] See: Morehouse College Website (www.Morehouse.edu)

CHAPTER 3:
METHODS AND DATA

Studies of colleges are heavily tied to our understandings of Black men's entrance

into and function within the middle class cultural mainstream. Recent quantitative data

has confirmed the grim statistics on Black male college enrollment and graduation rates.

Nationally, only 25% of Black men aged 18-24 attend college, and only 15% will earn a

four-year bachelor's degree (Harper 2004, 2006, 2007). Quantitative studies have

provided ample information on how *many* Black men matriculate through college and the

statistical patterns of these men's incomes and positions in the labor sector (Harris 2013),

while qualitative scholarship from education researchers has shown that race and gender

play salient roles in the academic achievement of Black men in college (Harper 2013;

Polite and Davis 1999; Davis 1994; Harper 2008; Brown and Davis 2001). The

scholarship on Black males in higher education, however, still lacks an understanding of

how Black men experience academic institutions, given the lasting longitudinal effects of

class and gender acculturation. One of the aims of research on Black college men is to

understand the processes that lead to 75% of college-aged Black men not being enrolled

in college and only 15% of Black men receiving a four-year college degree.

This project's contribution to the work on Black men in higher education is that

its qualitative phenomenological approach helps explain not only the nuances of how

men navigate the institutional process of being acculturated for the college-educated

professional middle class. This work further examines how they make sense of their

mobility after college as they face how this acculturation has or has not prepared them to

navigate the professional mainstream. As Goodwin & Horowitz (2002) argue, a

qualitative approach is empirically beneficial in studies of institutions because it allows

for a context to be established for what people think, say, and do and how this is reflected

in their interactions with the institution and with each other.

3.1 THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL AND ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO GENDER

Qualitative feminist methodology has long established the ethnomethodological

approach of observing how people "do" gender, a process whereby men and women[19]

obtain knowledge about appropriate gender display within context (West & Zimmerman

1987). Qualitative studies of how gender and masculinity are "done" have allowed

feminists to discern much of the constructions of gender and gender relations that men

encounter in their lives. From elementary schools to mental health hospitals, observing

how masculinity is done has greatly contributed to our knowledge of how men utilize or

are penalized by their behavior when it butts up against the structures that socialize them

(Ferguson 2001; Martin 1998; Leyser 2003). Even at Morehouse College, how men do

gender is important inasmuch as it is the institution's only means of evaluating and

rewarding (or penalizing) how well they do or do not perform masculine typologies.

Students are additionally rewarded or penalized by their peers based on their

performance.

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[19] "Doing" gender is not limited to cisgendered men and women, but also encompasses
the range of transgendered people who subscribe to myriad forms of femininity and
masculinity.

Still, these participant observatory approaches about gendered behavior only tell part of the empirical story because how men do gender is, in part, a result of the resources available to them (Leyser 2003). In this sense, the gendered behaviors of men offer an incomplete story of their relationship to masculinity. For men who are penalized by inequality—even Black men who are privileged by class and punished by racism— inquiries that solely assess behavior run the risk of over-representing the structural constrictions that limit and dictate forms of masculine performance. The emphasis on behavioral assessment too often fails to account for the space between how men do gender and how they actually conceptualize gender and masculinity for themselves and within their lives.

For example, observational studies of low income Black families have shown that, by necessity, male and female partners in low income Black households tend to practice more egalitarian divisions of labor and breadwinning than their White counterparts (CITE). What these studies do not account for is how these subjects understand their gendered differences in the household or how they cognitively negotiate gender role ideologies in the face of structural egalitarianism. A study of behaviors alone (or what they report the tasks they do) may leave us with the impression that the couples in these households are more gender-progressive than their peers. This is an assumption based on the constraints of their limited finances, capital, and resources; such studies say nothing of what they are *thinking* and how they make sense of their own subscription to normative gender ideologies.

For this reason, this work avoids a traditional participant observational approach, which would be inapposite for explorations of gender ideation. Instead, this work is

grounded in phenomenological and ethno-methodological approaches that allow for this type of query. In blending these methodologies, I will be able to assess the ways men think about their lives and how they continue to negotiate and re-negotiate their memories in relationship to the institution and their subsequent journey of upward mobility. In-depth ethnographic interviews are the most fitting and epistemologically rewarding approach to gathering data on how respondents interpret historical and biographical events, describe their perspectives and make meaning of otherwise complex experiences (Weiss 1994) at different points in their lives. By comparing and contrasting accounts from in-depth ethnographic interviews of the college years through their lives as young adults, professionals, fathers, and partners, this work pieces together the story of the culture of a place (Morehouse) as they remember it.

The implications of using recollection and the reconstruction of memories are complex for social ethnographers. Within any study where data is sourced from memories, there are always the questions of accuracy[20] and truth distortion—more crudely known as lying. In these brief life histories where men are recalling memories that have been logged anywhere from 8 years (for more recent graduates) to 16 years (for earlier graduates), it should be noted that men forget things[21]. Respondents can reconstruct experiences in ways that run counter to the facts of how they occurred, and can share their memories in ways that privilege what meant most to them about these

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[20] Anthropologist Sherry Ortner notes that the problem of accuracy in memory-based interviews is not a concern of the method itself. Ortner notes that the more pressing concern of accuracy involves how the memories presented and analyzed are ultimately interpreted by the reader, who can always interpret the text to say more (or less) than it does about recollections, patterns, and people.
[21] One of the benefits of using multiple interviews in this project is that men were given a second chance to revisit memories that are resurfaced by these interviews.

moments as opposed to how these events occurred in real time. Men also lie. They can lie

to themselves about why their lives have unfolded in the ways they have, they can

valorize points in their experience when they felt they did good deeds, and can minimize

their roles in experiences where they feel culpable. They can lie because they are self-

conscious of how I, a woman, will perceive their actions. Inaccuracies and lies are data

(Ortner 2003). In this project they are both useful in that they show us, in part, and at

times unintentionally, how men's ideas of themselves continue to inform how they recall

their institutional experience. My role as an ethnographer in this project was not to

uncover a singular undisputed truth and measure men's recollections against it. Rather,

my intention as a researcher was to discover an aggregated description of an institutional

culture, and to uncover the overlaps and/or contradictions between individual's accounts

of their memories (and even across memories from the same individual) (Ortner 2003).

The institution is the mechanism through which class ideologies become

organized into prescriptions about race, gender, patriarchy, and masculinity. In this case,

the ethnographic field is not Morehouse College itself, as the institution continually

evolves and has responded to shifts and historical changes that have occurred after these

men leave; rather, the field is a culture remembered and re-created by the memories of its

own graduates, and revisited, re-negotiated, and re-evaluated as they situate what the

experience means to their development as men. Phenomenology, as a methodological

tradition, allows room for exploring the lived experiences of research subjects and better

understanding the ways in which they make sense of their social relationships (Berger &

Luckmann 1966; Schultz 1967). Similarly, as explained by Garfinkel (1967),

ethnomethodology urges researchers to attend to the ways people make meaning of their

lives, experiences, and relationships both with other people and structures and *through*

other people and structures. For the respondents in this study, these meanings

subsequently inform how they do masculinity in their own lives as they compare

themselves to the institution's ideals of manhood. The use of these two methodological

tools is essential to understanding how men talk about themselves and their social

realities and how such awareness is informed by interactions with a structural "reality."

3.2   ABOUT THE RESEARCHER

I became familiar with Morehouse as an undergraduate at nearby, all-female

Spelman College. Spelman and Morehouse as neighbors and peer single sex HBCUs

enjoy a long and storied relationship as unofficial brother-sister schools that share an

array of institutional resources, allow students to cross-register for courses on either

campus for credit, and socially are often indistinguishable in terms of campus life and

student activities. Through my years of observing Morehouse, the men within it, and the

unique array of masculinities on campus, I became interested in how Black men come to

encounter class and gender through an institution that grooms them in both. As an

undergraduate, I was actively involved in Morehouse student life, serving as a columnist

and editor for *The Maroon Tiger*, the official student newspaper. In my senior year, I was

selected Miss Morehouse College,[22] a position that placed me at the epicenter of campus

life while requiring me to serve as a ceremonial representative of the student body to the

outside community. In many ways, I am an insider, having experienced the campus's

culture firsthand and having been actively involved in re-creating, challenging, and

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[22] Spelman and Morehouse students more commonly refer to this title as Miss Maroon &
White.

navigating that culture both as a student and as a member of the close-knit network of Morehouse and Spelman alumni. I am deeply connected to these men, not only because of our similar collegiate experiences, but also because of the interpersonal relationships I share with them as friends, colleagues, and members of my own family.

At the same time, I am also an outsider, being a woman, an unapologetic feminist, and an independent researcher now affiliated with a predominantly White research institution. In studying my race and class peers, I have negotiated my insider-outsider status at every turn. While ethnographic study has a long tradition of researchers who belong to the mainstream studying subjects on the margins, my position as a woman studying men who occupy positions of power in almost every realm of my social and professional life required a constant balancing of my social identities. While I acknowledge the risks my participants took in being honest and forthcoming about their experiences within a small and tightly knit community, I also felt a great risk of being ostracized from this community myself because I might tell an "unfavorable" story about the college. Indeed, I have been vocal about what I feel are Morehouse's very serious and long-standing issues with homophobia, patriarchy, and sexual violence; these opinions have put me in jeopardy of losing access to the college, alumni networks, and alumni network resources.

Most ethnographers of social problems tell the story of a community that also understands that it has a problem. The poor understand that poverty is a problem; the unemployed understand that unemployment is a problem. As a Black feminist, I came to question the way Morehouse men learn gender, which places me in direct opposition to the thousands of Morehouse men who don't think they have a gender problem. Doing this

work has frequently located me at the emotional cusp of telling a story about a community of men I love, but also being fiercely critical of what I feel are problematic class and sexual politics within that community.

My identity as a researcher and my relationship to this community and the respondents cannot be isolated or sectioned off from any phase of this research. It is my own experiences as an undergraduate witnessing rampant homophobia at Morehouse that fueled my interest in this topic. My background and networks with the respondents facilitated the identification and recruitment of participants for this study. This closeness, however, meant that some men may have censored and negotiated the experiences they would share with me and how they shared them with me. I noticed performativity, for example, in the gender posturing of many respondents' discussions of women. Few if any men reported experiences of doing anything sexually or socially inappropriate with young women, although nearly all of them were forthcoming in discussing how other men sexually exploited or manipulated young women. So, men were willing to share experiences with me, but often may have removed or deemphasized themselves as central actors when describing experiences that would indict their behavior or moral character. My identity and relationship to respondents also meant that many of them individually assessed the risks of revealing particular narratives and experiences to me. This occurred, for example, when men hesitated to expose some of the more secretive elements of Greek fraternity rituals. One respondent described his good friend's deviant and criminal behavior. After telling me that his friend's mother was a prominent Morehouse administrator, he drew back and wouldn't name her or divulge further details after considering I likely knew her. While each respondent was assured their anonymity while

participating in this study, I realize that their individual risk assessments were not based merely on my ability to keep their disclosure of these experiences anonymous, but was also an assessment of the risk of me, a peripheral member of this community, learning of some of this information at all.

3.3 SAMPLE RECRUITMENT

From April 2011 to July 2012, I conducted multiple interviews with 32 men, all of whom self-identified as Black or African-American and all of whom graduated from Morehouse between 1998 and 2002, the primary criteria for eligibility.[23] At the time these interviews were conducted, the men had been college graduates for between 9 and 14 years, and their ages a ranged between 31 and 37. Based on an average graduating class size of 425, the men in this sample represent 1.9% of the graduates during that time period.

This choice of age cohort was made for two reasons. First, as this study is an examination of the effects an institutional experience has on upward mobility into the professional managerial mainstream, it was important to examine the narratives of men who were far enough into adulthood and career trajectories to cover a breadth of young adulthood milestones and allowed for maturation, reflection, and assessment of how their college acculturation had been applied to the navigation of their lives as adult men. Second, there has been a historical interest in this cohort of men, specifically at it pertains to the appearance and widespread decline in educational attainment, employment, and rise in crime and mass incarceration that has been dubbed the "Crisis of the Black Male". If the beginnings of the crisis are thought to be when there began to be a rise in homicide,

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[23] Please see Appendix A for respondent demographic table.

crime, and mass incarceration rates for Black men under the Reagan drug laws of the early 1980s, then men born in the late 1970s and early 1980s represent the first cohort of Black men whose matriculation through schooling occurred entirely in this period of daunting national statistics and lingering stereotypes about violent, criminal, and underachieving Black men. In addition, these men represent the first generation of Black men who have been bested by Black women in educational attainment.

My status as a Spelman graduate allowed me easy access to Morehouse men, many of whom were already part of my network of friends and family. I began recruitment by asking men I already knew to distribute my recruitment email[24] to other graduates. Due in part to their career mobility, Morehouse alumni are spread across the country, making social networking and email recruitment a necessity for this project. I was surprised by how active the alumni email listservs were and how easily my gatekeepers accessed networks of both their classmates and alumni groups that clustered around major metropolitan areas. I was pleasantly surprised with how easily one graduate in Chicago, for example, forwarded the recruitment email to twenty other graduates in the Chicago area over the course of only one day. Just as easily, a Class of 1998 graduate almost instantly connected me to five fellow classmates with whom he kept in regular contact.

Again, my Spelman identity played a role in recruitment. It was commonplace for potential participants to address me in their replies as a "Spelman Sister" or to impress upon their fellow alumni that a Spelman Sister needed their help. When they understood this work was to be part of my dissertation, many were eager to assist a Spelman Sister in

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[24] See Appendix D

her pursuit of her doctoral degree. As a 2004 graduate, I was a twenty year-old sophomore when the youngest of these potential respondents graduated. However, several of them knew my older sister, a Spelman Class of 1999 alumna, and recalled me vaguely as a high school student on my many trips to visit her and as a frequent presence in photos and comments on her Facebook page. Even though she did not formally participate in the study, my sister served as an additional common ground of familiarity that greatly facilitated recruitment. As someone who many recalled fondly as a popular and well-known student and with whom several had kept in touch over the years, my sister provided me an "in" to this network and a stamp of social network authenticity for busy working men who may have been reluctant to make time for an interview with a stranger.

Within a week, I confirmed participation with eight respondents using this snowball method, through whom I recruited the rest of my sample by simply asking them if they could put me in contact with three other men who fit the criteria for the study. My assumption that men in college networks tend to have at least three close friends with whom they remain in touch proved to be true. One participant who immediately placed me in contact with his closest friends after his first interview explained via email, "This is Saida, the young lady I told you about with the dissertation. Holler at her, she good people." These types of within friend-group vouchers for my research intentions and reliability were typical of the snowballing emails on which I was copied.

I received replies from thirty-eight willing participants, thirty-two of whom I was able to schedule an interview.[25] The eagerness with which men wanted to participate surprised me, and the range of reasons for this eagerness was equally unexpected. Most of the participants were simply enthusiastic about Morehouse and wanted to represent the college to anyone interested in studying it, especially if such a study were to result in a book. Because I am a Spelman graduate, much of this enthusiasm may have been due to the favorable story they assumed I would tell about a college with which I am so familiar. On the other hand, some men wanted to be interviewed because they wanted their unfavorable experiences at Morehouse represented in the study. One participant had conducted human subjects research for his own dissertations and sympathized with my academic efforts, and others participated seemingly out of a sense obligation to the close friend who snowballed them into the study.

Such an active digital network of graduates posed an issue for anonymity. While my own recruitment emails assured respondent anonymity and I took all precautions to preserve it, most of the respondents themselves did not seem interested in preserving their anonymity. Percy,[26] with whom I conducted my first interview, replied to all members of a listserv on which men were being recruited and encouraged others to participate because his own interviews had been "fun" and "didn't hurt." Another potential respondent noted that he knew of two other men who had already participated who "spoke highly of [my] methods." Others immediately searched for and attempted to befriend me on Facebook—an act that would have undoubtedly hinted to others in our

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[25]Three did not graduate during the time period required for eligibility and I was unable to schedule an interview with the other three.

[26] All of the respondents have been assigned pseudonyms, which, as a subtle tribute to my father, are all the names of Be-Bop era Jazz legends.

college network that they had participated in the study. In this close knit, almost fraternal network of decade long friends, most men had very little interest in anonymity. This may indicate how low-risk they felt their participation in the study was or that they wanted to be known to each other for having participated in a study they assumed might result in a book about Morehouse.

3.4 INTERVIEW FORMAT

In-depth interviews allow researchers to explore experiences and personal histories and examine the rich analytical space between what men say and what they do. They are ideal for unmasking how people interpret and perceive events and express understanding of complex nuances in their lives (Weiss 1995; Morril & Fine 1997). All of the interviews were conducted by phone, using audio-only Skype software, which allowed me to call men directly on their cellular phones and land-lines, simultaneously record interviews to my hard drive, and keep my hands free for note taking. This method played a critical role in this study in ways I did not originally anticipate. One benefit of phone-based interviews is obvious: I could access men all over the country on a limited student research grant. In addition, men were much more flexible in scheduling interviews when they did not need to leave their work or family surroundings to participate. Another advantage of the phone interview was that I would not have to enter their work or family environment. Interviewing men as a female researcher is a careful negotiation of gendered space, sexual dynamics, and professionalism. Having a researcher on the phone meant not having to explain to their wives or partners why they spent hours alone with an unfamiliar woman. Having a researcher on the phone similarly meant not explaining to bosses or coworkers why they needed to be left alone in a closed

office with a young woman. Phone interviews muted much of this gendered and sexual dynamic.

On the other hand, phone interviews meant a loss of nonverbal data, which meant, in part, that I could not base probes and follow-ups on facial or bodily expressions and cues. Similarly, the interpretation of responses had to be based only on what respondents actually said and the tone in which they said it without the aid of the nonverbal cues that signal emotions and reactions. Relying on audio alone also meant that I could misread a long pause as the end of a thought; such misinterpretations led to more interruptions on my part than would have occurred face to face. While the data of nonverbal and facial expression was lost in this method, what was gained were lengthy in-depth interviews, on average twice as long as the one hour length I proposed during participant recruitment. With all the self-consciousness of in-person contact absent, phone interviews took on a nearly confessional tone, with men speaking at length about deeply intimate issues.

Because all of the men in the study were employed at the time of the study, phone interviews also greatly facilitated scheduling at the respondent's convenience. Weekend interviews were the most requested times. Since nearly half of them were not in my time zone, I conducted many early morning or late evening interviews. My longest interview was with Bird, from midnight to 4:00 am while he was at his Wall Street office. Fitzgerald, an accountant and father of two who stuck religiously to his schedule, asked I call him at 4:00 am PCT before his morning workout. Mort's son could be overheard splashing in his pre-bedtime bath, and Mingus asked me to call him back because he was going through airport security on a routine business trip. As an example of literal

mobility, phone interviews allowed for a more capacious means of accessing verbal data by not tethering busy working men to a sit-down interview format.

Each participant was asked to schedule two interviews plus a brief screening questionnaire, providing three points of contact that allowed me to delve deeper into personal narratives than I could have with a single interview. Because these interviews covered life histories, memories were often jogged by the first interview and shared in the second; it was commonplace for men to bring up an item or experience they had forgotten in the first interview or want to clarify a statement they had previously made during the second interview. I built rapport with respondents over these multiple points of contact. I had time to check the data for discrepancies or inconsistencies, and I was able to follow up on themes that needed further discussion.

Respondents could request to end the interview at any time or to decline a second interview. Some respondents ended up being interviewed only once: Two had first interviews that, at their preference, were so long they covered the entire interview schedule; one scheduled a second interview but could not be reached at the scheduled time or after many subsequent attempts. Audio recordings for Monk and Ramsey failed during their second interviews, so there are no transcripts for these interviews, only notes. The average lapse of time between the two interviews was one week, with a range of two days to two months. Interviews lasted two hours on average, for a total of four hours on average for each participant. The briefest interview was 50 minutes and the longest was four hours.

Screening questions[27] covered general demographic information: date of birth, racial makeup of home community, city of origin, parents' occupations and educations, current occupation, highest level of education, and marital status. I used these demographic data as points of reference to guide the interviews. My interview questions[28] were informed by the aforementioned methodological approaches of phenomenology and ethno-methodology and employed open-ended questions that cued descriptive and exploratory life histories and personal narratives from respondents; in keeping with the tradition of Brown & Gilligan (1992), I let the interviewees guide the interviews. In order to evoke detailed narratives, I often asked men to recount stories or descriptions. For instance, I asked them to *"tell me about your first impressions of the college when you arrived,"* then followed-up with more detailed inquiries such as *"was it similar or dissimilar to how you had imagined?"* The main interview questions were divided across the two interviews, with the first interview emphasizing life up to college graduation, and the second interview focusing on post-graduation adulthood and general reflections on the college experience as they viewed it a number of years after graduation.

I designed the interviews to move in chronological life. The first section assessed the familial and community backgrounds of respondents. I asked *"Can you describe the community in which you were raised?"* and about the racial makeup of this community. I also asked how similar or dissimilar their family was from other families in their home community, which respondents most often described in terms of class and culture markers such as income, parents' occupations, and parents' marital status. For example, respondents from lower middle class families who were raised in or near low income

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[27] See appendix
[28] See appendix for interview protocol document

communities often expressed an awareness that their household was one of only a few on the block with a residential father, or that their own family didn't seem to struggle as much financially as their neighbors.

The second section dealt with high schools years and college preparation. Sample questions include, *"How would you describe yourself academically in high school?, How would you typically describe other black men academically in your high school?",* and *"What did you feel you were you looking for in your college experience? What were your top criteria for selecting a college?"* I was surprised to find how in- depth men's high school narratives were and how long this section took as they were jogging their minds for twenty year-old memories. Often men wanted to discuss their experiences as high school athletes or as exceptionally high achieving students in high schools with few high achieving Black males. On a darker note, these high school narratives often dealt with racism and how these men as adults now make sense of the racist schooling they experienced as teens.

First impressions of Morehouse were discussed in the third section. I asked, for example, *"How did you first hear about Morehouse?"* and if they could describe their sense of Morehouse's reputation in those early years or why they were drawn to it. Such questions are important not only to capturing why these men were interested in Morehouse during these fledgling years of their manhood, but also provides a depth of data on how they understood Morehouse's image and mission.

The fourth section covered many of the most important features of the institution's culture including rituals and campus activities. These questions explored the most structural and institutionalized elements of their experience, where students are

often more constricted. These activities include only those officially conducted by the college such as New Student Orientation (NSO), weekly convocations, and other major ritualistic activities such as commencement exercises. Sample questions included, "*Tell me about parts of NSO that you did not enjoy or that made you uncomfortable*" and "*What did you learn about being 'A Morehouse Man' during convocations?*"

The fifth section on residential life asked many straightforward questions that addressed how men manage masculinity in close homosocial spaces. I asked men "*How was it to live communally with that many men,*" or "*Tell me about conflicts between men in the dorms. What kinds of conflicts were common? How were conflicts usually resolved?*" and, as a follow up question, "*Describe any incidents [in the residences] that escalated to violence.*" Given my knowledge of Morehouse's residential culture and incidents of homophobic dorm violence in recent years, I was actually not surprised to find that responses to questions on residential life often led to the topic of homosexuality on campus. Dewey wanted me to understand that he greatly disliked his untidy roommate and that he once walked in on his roommate naked with another man. He used this example to further explore the issue of closeted sexualities and homophobia on campus.

The sixth section on campus life emphasized how men navigated social elements of the process that are more nuanced and less structured than their encounters with official college rituals and activities such as NSO. In this section I was most interested in how men understood themselves in relation to other students. I asked them, "*Do you think your background is similar or different from the typical Morehouse student? How so?*" and "*Tell me about a time when you felt like you had power over other students.*"

Second interviews covered a shorter breadth of time but probed in-depth into reflections and evaluations of effects on their adult lives, careers, and ideations about manhood. These second interviews also covered a broader conversation about Morehouse's image and reputation as an institution, respondents' thoughts on Morehouse's mission, its institutional relationship to the larger issue of Black manhood, and their thoughts on how the college has changed since they were students.[29]

Silences were also important, or, more commonly in interviewing men, "shut-downs," the act of respondents dismissing a question or denying the experience or event in question has any relevance to him. This most often happened when I tried to assess their understandings of their own masculinity in homosocial spaces by asking *"Did you ever feel like you had to act masculine in the dorm environment?"* What masculinity theorists such as Connell, Donaldson, and Bird have found is that, for men, masculinity cannot be thought of as an inauthentic performance; in fact, asking men if they had to ever *try* to be masculine is the interrogative equivalent of asking them if they were ever feminine. Overwhelmingly, men gave short, terse, and dismissive answers to this question, like Roy: "Try to *act* macho? Nah. Never that."

At the conclusion of the first interview, I asked men if there were any questions they wanted to revisit; at the conclusion of the second interview, I asked them if there were any questions or topics they would like to discuss that I had not asked about. Percy asked me why I had not asked him more about his father, with whom he had not lived for most of his childhood, then told me a story of the day his father dropped him off at

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[29] Many respondents talked about experiences not pertinent to the aims of this dissertation; other responses were analytically useful but beyond the scope of this dissertation. These data will be revisited for future projects and empirical analysis.

Morehouse. Ornette wanted to know why I hadn't asked him more about gay men at Morehouse, as he assumed homosexuality was my intended subject of interest.

While interview experiences varied, I felt that overall my familiarity with Morehouse, my identity as a Spelman graduate, and my fluency in everyday Black cultural nuances allowed for an overwhelmingly good rapport to be established. As someone who walked the same campus as these men, who came from a similar background to many of them, and who shares firsthand the experience of journeying from a Historically Black college into the White professional middle class mainstream, most of the interviews took on a tone of cordial familiarity, even jocular friendliness. The men who already knew me through my sister or knew my reputation as someone just a few years behind them on campus often jested and joked with me and I reciprocated. As men became familiar with my tone, personality, and identity, the rapport of interviews became increasingly comfortable.

Lucky began as one of my more difficult interviews. He spoke in an unmistakable Atlanta accent and gave me short, unambiguous answers that at times made me feel like his sergeant in a military platoon. He was constantly deferential and ended all of his statements with "ma'am." This was further exacerbated by the fact that he was moving out of his apartment during the interview and was physically distracted. I asked if I could call him back at a better time, but he assured me this current time was fine. When I spoke to him a week later for his second interview, he took on a starkly different tone of familiarity and joviality, and the "ma'am"s were gone. I can only explain this change by speculating that during our first interview he assumed I was much older than I am and

was showing typical southern Black deference to someone older. When he learned my real age, our interview took on a much less formal tone and he spoke more freely.

Despite or because of the rapport experienced in most of the interviews, I often had to challenge men to not make assumptions about how much I already knew about their experiences. I often asked questions with the caveat of "please respond as though you were speaking to someone who knew nothing about Morehouse" because it was ordinary for answers about campus life or specific Spelman-Morehouse activities to trail off with something like, "well, you know, you were there." I also had to challenge myself not to make assumptions about their experiences, how much they had in common with me and others in the study, and to resist my tendency as a researcher with insider institutional knowledge to "correct" their narratives about the campus or social life that ran counter to my memories.

My interview with Dexter was by far my most difficult technically because I incurred frequent drops in Wi-Fi that disconnected the Voice Over Internet Protocol call and forced me to relocate several times to a working connection. Dexter's interview lasted over three hours, after which I felt physically and mentally drained by the grandeur with which he spoke of his life's accomplishments. In this case, it is important to note that Dexter's responses were saturated with Biblical scripture and Evangelical Christianity, and I am averse to religiosity. I found many of Dexter's claims to be incredulous and solipsistic. He told me of his many high-profile student leadership positions, about a full tuition scholarship he received after walking into a Dean's office unannounced and telling the Dean God had told him in a dream of a full scholarship awaited him. Moreover, Dexter's memories of the social and institutional structure of the

college were contrary to my own. For example, he spoke of nearly winning Student

Government Association elections that occurred during my years on campus; I knew the

entire field of candidates and the frontrunners personally, and he wasn't one of them.

During this interview and in my review of my notes and tapes from it, I had to

consistently remind myself that my empirical intention was not to authoritatively expose

fraud or truth in these narratives, but to examine how someone remembers themselves at

a stage in their life. Dexter's embellishments of his college career seemed uniquely out

of step with the other participants, both in the extent to which he touted his achievements

and the fact that, despite his claims of having been high profile on campus, no other men

spoke of him when describing the very student elections and organizations in which

Dexter had claimed he played a high-profile role. It was a challenge to remove my

personal biases and memories from the research process and to resist the urge to assume

knowledge that contradicted Dexter's version of his experiences.

3.5   SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS[30]

The ages of the men in this study ranged from 31 to 37,[31] with an average age of

33.5 years at the time of the interview. Twenty-four of the 32 men held a post-graduate

degree: eight held Masters in Business Administration degrees, five were Juris

Doctorates, four had earned Doctorates of Philosophy, and one held a Medical Doctorate.

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[30] Please see Appendix A for respondent demographics table.

[31] Sample demographics are accurate for the dates between April 20, 2011 and September 30, 2011. It is of note that demographic status for many of the men changed in the years shortly following their interview, including marital and parental status as well as post-graduate education.

The remainder had earned various terminal Masters degrees.[32] All but three of the men were employed in professional-managerial long-term occupations; of the three exceptions, one had just graduated from law school days prior to his interview and was working part-time while on the job market, and two were career police officers. Twenty of the men were married, one respondent was divorced, and five were in long-term committed relationships. Of the married respondents, ten were fathers of at least one child; among the unmarried, divorcee and one single respondent had one child.

I deliberately did not ask respondents directly about their sexual orientation, even though sexuality is a key variable of interest in this study. I judged, I think rightly, that such an inquiry would heighten the risk respondents associated with their participation and would not result in reliably honest answers given our overlapping social networks and the fact that how men identify sexually may have little or nothing to do with their actual sexual practices. All of the men in the study reported romantic or sexual involvement with women, and none reported romantic or sexual involvement with men or transgendered persons; however, given our overlapping social networks, I have reason to doubt this is the case for all of the men in the sample. What men report to me in terms of their romantic and sexual experiences is more important empirically than the accuracy of these reports, as it provides the analytical basis for thinking of how paramount certain displays of heterosexuality are for them in their understandings of manhood.

The discussion of Black class definitions in the introductory chapter guided how I categorically assessed class background for respondents. Given that all of the men had achieved markers of solidly middle class acculturation by the time of their interview, it

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[32] It is of note that these degrees are not mutually exclusive as some of the men had multiple degrees.

was unnecessary to differentiate their current class position. I chose not to use family of origin household income because income assessments alone are a poor determinate of class trajectories and because most of the men could only guess their parents' incomes. Instead, I relied on screening questions and narrative data from throughout the interviews to compile a profile of class resources that more accurately describes men's class origins. By merging Young's definitions of Bourdieu's forms of capital with the Black class definitions offered by Blackwell (1985), Kronus (1971), Lacy (2007), Landry (1987), Oliver and Shapiro (1995), Pattillo (1999), among others, I have divided respondents into three categories of class background:

Class A—Low Resourced Men (N_A=9): These men were the most likely to be raised in a single female-headed household in a community of high poverty, and thus had the least financial resources compared to other participants. These men were the most likely to attend predominantly Black K-12 schools and be raised in predominantly or almost entirely Black communities. Men in this group reported experiencing short or long-standing periods of abject poverty in their childhoods. Four of the men used terms like "poor," "poverty" or "welfare" when describing their childhood homes, but the remaining five did not describe themselves as being raised in poverty relative to the conditions of other families in their high poverty neighborhoods. Only three of these men had a parent with a four-year college degree, and two of them did not live with that parent. These men were much more likely to discuss their childhood neighborhoods and home communities throughout the interview than any other group. Men in this group were raised in the racially marginalized communities resulting in the least cultural and social capital to

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access privileged institutions and the professional-managerial mainstream (Young 2004). When asked how they or their families paid for tuition, all of the Class A men held either a full or partial scholarship with minimal or no contribution from their immediate families.

Class B—Moderately Resourced Men (N_B=9): All of these men were raised in two-parent households either with both biological parents (7 of the men) or with their mother and a stepfather (2). More than any other group, these men were likely to have a mother with a two or four-year college degree and a father with a high school diploma or some college education. Within this group, father's occupation included civil service, industrial labor, non-commissioned military service, or small business owning. Men in this group often used phrases similar to "not rich, but better off than many" to describe their families in relation to the other families in their communities with whom they had frequent contact. These men were more likely to attend racially mixed or predominantly White K-12 schools than their Class A counterparts, even though 7 of 9 of these men lived in working or lower middle class predominantly black neighborhoods.[33]

Respondents from this group nearly all described their families as having modest but adequate financial capital, and they were able to pay for Morehouse through savings, loans, work-study programs, part-time employment, and scholarships. While Class B respondents had more social capital and were less marginalized than their Class A counterparts, their social capital was most likely networks of other working and lower-middle class African-Americans. For example, when asked how they were made aware of Morehouse, Class B men had typically become familiar with the college during their high

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[33] These definitions are based on the class discussion provided in the introductory chapter.

school years, but rarely had a substantial or close relationship with any alumni, administrator, or donor. Most had been introduced to Morehouse through a member of their church, a high school coach, or someone not affiliated with the institution or a member of its broader white-collar professional networks.

  Class C—Well Resourced Men (N_C=14)**:** Compared to their peers in Classes A and B, men in this group represent the Black Upper Middle Class with regards to nearly all forms of capital. Eleven out of fourteen were raised in two parent households with married biological parents; the other three had divorced parents living separately but had lived with both parents for at least part of their childhood. All three of the men from divorced homes lived primarily with their mothers, but had fathers who remained actively involved in their lives financially and paternally post-divorce. Thirteen of these men had a college-educated father (the lone exception is the son of business owning immigrant parents), and 12 had two parents with four-year college degrees. Within this group, college educated parents were often far more likely to also hold advanced or professional degrees. Thirteen of the fathers in this group were white-collar professionals, and two had stay-at-home mothers. These men were the most likely to be familiar with Morehouse before enrolling and to have strong social, professional, or familiar relationships with Morehouse alumni, administrators, or faculty. Class C men were all products of predominantly White high schools where they were either one of only a few Black students or part of a small percentage of Black students (5-20% of the school).

  Class C men were the most likely to have parents who paid completely for their tuition out of savings or assets. Perhaps as a result of this parental involvement in their college finances, three of the respondents had fathers who discouraged them from

attending Morehouse; this was the only group where that had occurred. Of the small minority of men in this group with tuition scholarships, all were merit- based, competitive academic scholarships, only two of which covered full tuition.

3.6   CODING AND ANALYSIS

Voice-centered analysis guided my assessment of men's thoughts, experiences, and perspectives that fall both within and outside of dominant cultural narratives (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2009). Such an approach required I take inventory of the multi-layered contexts men discuss about themselves, including their worldviews, their social position, beliefs, and understandings of dominant discourses (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2009).

I transcribed twenty-five of the audio-recorded interviews. The remainder were transcribed by a professional and reviewed transcripts for accuracy. Most of the transcriptionists were White, presumably unfamiliar with Black vernacular or the proper nouns for buildings, professors, courses, or events at the college, correcting these professional transcripts often meant addressing specific institutional jargon as well as slang terms, idioms and syntax common to Black youth culture. This check of the transcripts was of utmost importance to preserve the integrity of verbal data and the contextual meanings intended by the respondents.

After listening to interviews and comparing them with the transcripts for accuracy, I listened to and read the interviews a second time in order to begin the initial stages of coding. This initial approach required beginning to categorize data with "open codes" for the first round interviews to identify broad themes and categories across the data (Emerson 1995; Glaser & Strauss 1967). Using Emerson's (1995) iterative approach

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to thematic coding, I dissected broad themes and sub-coded portions of the data into more specific themes and assembled interview excerpts into categories around specific topical narratives. For example, wherever men discussed their interactions with residents and spaces in the neighborhoods adjacent to Morehouse's campus, I coded these narratives as "Surrounding Community." When men discussed rituals, ceremonies and campus traditions that were authorized and organized by the college, I categorized these excerpts as "Rituals & Ceremony." In total, I used 27 codes for the first interviews, and added six more to address second interview content (33 codes in all). I hand coded these narrative excerpts into domain analysis tables (Spradley 1980), which allowed me to compare narratives and perspectives across participants. I could, for example, readily see the array of discord (or agreement) about a topic as it was distributed across respondents or contradictions/consistencies for a single respondent across various points in his life narrative. Domain analyses also made volume, silence and gaps in the data readily apparent. Attending to these silences, gaps, and contradictions is empirically essential when assessing where men had little or nothing to say about certain experiences and topics and what that meant for the data, and any questions that resulted in voluble or laconic answers. Such data provide critical insights into what respondents feel is important and merits narration (Young 2004).

Once interview excerpts were organized into these domain analyses tables, I created memos that framed and outlined the empirical narratives emerging from the data. These memos covered the empirical trends in the data and the sociological arguments within the existing literature, as well as potential new theories based on the findings in

this study. The initial outlines and selected data narratives from these memos were later

expanded into three analytical dissertation chapters.

3.7 LIMITATIONS

It was my original intention to include men in this study who were dropouts,

push-outs, and transfers from the college. My personal politics and interests have always

been invested in stories of men who do *not* graduate from Morehouse because low

income, low-resourced, and queer men are often overrepresented in the college's

alarming 40% attrition rate. However, as a study of how men understand the institutional

process that takes place at the college, this work empirically necessitates comparisons

only between men who have equally experienced that process from beginning to end. The

thousands of men who do not complete Morehouse, who are expelled, who are priced-

out, or who leave due to an unwillingness or inability to comply with the college's culture

and customs tell the other side of this story and deserve an ethnography of their

experiences.

With that in consideration, this work is limited in telling any whole story of

Morehouse, not only because it can only tell the story of its graduates, but because it also

only explores a fractional sample of a finite cohort of graduates. This small number, as

well as the screening process and voluntary snowball methodology I used to recruit

respondents contribute to the limited generalizability of this study.

Interviews and data were based on self-report. There may be unintentional recall

error or intentional misrepresentation of life events. Given that men are being asked to

evaluate their upward mobility—assessing their success in navigating into the middle

class—respondents may be prone to embellish professional accomplishments or

deemphasize experience they see as personal failures. Regardless, the claims in this study are not based on the factuality of respondents' life histories and memory narratives, but rather on how the respondents conceptualize memory and narrative. The narrative of interest here is not mere facts, but building an understanding of how respondents position themselves within their own memories in relationship to their class trajectories throughout the college experience and beyond (Young 2004). Despite these limitations, the method I used to recruit men and the data gleaned from them provide ample information to allow for an ethnographic inquiry into their lives.

Having framed the social and historical contexts for this issue, and having established the analytical and theoretical frameworks through which the data will be interpreted, the following chapters provide the first opportunity to make these contexts and frameworks visible within the data. The immediately following chapter—the first of three analytical chapters in this work—explores men's relationships to the institution and how they are "branded" to the institution through a series of material and ideological mechanisms. The remaining two analytical chapters explore men's relationships to each other, and to the world outside of the institution, respectively. We now proceed to this discussion of institutional branding.

CHAPTER 4:
"BRAND MANAGEMENT":
MEN'S RELATIONSHIPS TO THE COLLEGE

There is an air of expectancy at Morehouse College. It is expected that the student who enters here will do well. It is also expected that once a man bears the insignia of a Morehouse Graduate, he will do exceptionally well. We expect nothing less…May you perform so well that when a man is needed for an important job in your field, your work will be so impressive that the committee of selection will be compelled to examine your credentials. May you forever stand for something noble and high. Let no man dismiss you with the wave of the hand or a shrug of the shoulder.

--Benjamin Elijah Mays
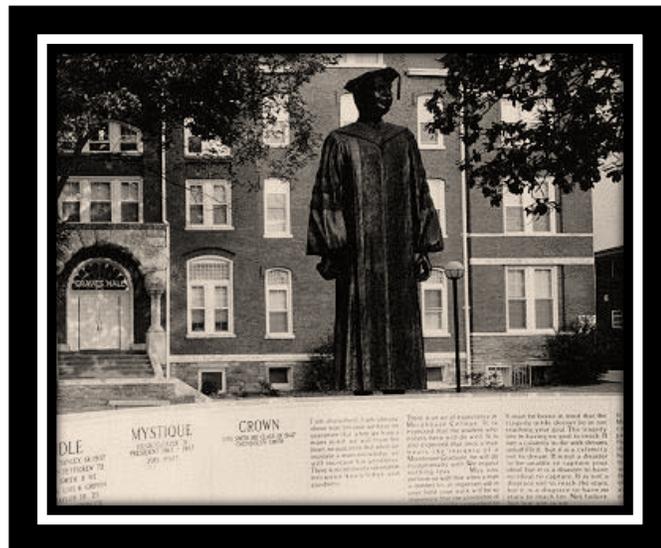
Image 4-1 Mays Memorial on Morehouse College Campus[34]

These are the words engraved in white marble under the towering copper likeness

of Benjamin E. Mays, the sixth president of Morehouse and its first African-American

president. The men who have walked Morehouse's hallowed central courtyard are

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[34] All photographs are credited to Morehouse College Archives Research Center.

confronted daily by these words and must determine for themselves what it means to meet the expectations of an institution that almost entirely defines itself on the terms of their manhood. Such a directive about Morehouse's expectations, and about the "insignia" borne by its graduates, follows men well into their post-collegiate lives as they negotiate what these instructions mean for them.

President Mays's expectation is a gendered prospect of how Morehouse graduates will comport themselves as men. His words have latent meanings laced throughout about what this expectation means for Black men seeking professional attainment and mainstream acknowledgement in a country that holds their Blackness against them. Most recognizably, this expectation is institutionalized into a set of imperatives that is understood and termed as the "Morehouse Brand." As the cumulative actualization of a series of ongoing instructions about gender and class ideology, the brand is imparted directly onto men via institutional rituals, traditions, rules, ceremonies, and ordinances, and indirectly vis-à-vis a hidden curriculum that reaches from interactions in the classroom all the way to the boardroom. Far from a mere shibboleth of college pride or an empty slogan, the brand is a set of behavioral scripts about gender, class propriety, sexuality, and Black male respectability that impose real hegemony upon the lives of men who are constrained by it.

This chapter is the first effort to connect the theoretical, historical, and social contexts explained in the introductory chapter to the data. This chapter explores the material and ideological mechanisms that men encounter in being branded to the institution. If branding can be understood as analogous to a factory system in which the raw material of recent high school graduates enters the college and is then assembled into

Morehouse Men, then this chapter can be understood, organizationally, as a factory tour which stops along the most critical points in the product's development. The first section of this chapter, entitled "Brand Identification" uses men's narratives and descriptions to identify what the brand is and how the men see themselves in relationship to it. The second section is entitled "Brand Compliance" and exposes a rift between how men see themselves as either ideologically compliant or noncompliant with the brand due to the material resources men have or lack. The third section continues to explore the consequences incurred by men who "fail" to achieve branding, and what happens when they are "out-branded" from the forms of masculinity promoted by the institution. This section is entitled "Quality Control." Lastly, if men are being branded into products, then one must ask, simply, for whose consumption? The fourth section, then, examines the point in the experience at which men are aware of the influence of the larger mainstream, professional, and predominantly White marketplace in institutional branding. This section is entitled "Consumer Awareness," as it speaks to the ideological (and sometimes literal) presence of corporate professional culture in the branding process. The discussion of the data across these sections concludes this chapter.

4.1   BRAND IDENTIFICATION

Brand Identification: Davis's Story

I don't recall having ever met Davis in person, or knowing much about his personality, and yet I had known of him for years as my sister's friend. From our initial point of contact until the end of our last interview, he was impeccably professional in his demeanor, and worked full time as a political public relations executive at one of the most high-profile firms in the country. Davis had been raised in a comfortable upbringing

with a father who was an HBCU professor and minister—a fact that had greatly

influenced Davis's own pursuit of a graduate degree in theology. Given his background,

it was easy to categorize Davis in the well-resourced group of respondents. When I spoke

to him, I immediately found him to be incredibly likeable, charming, and good-natured.

He manifested an undeniable and keen savvy in the ways he talked about networking

within his collegial relationships, navigating his career. He also strived to continually

perfect his sartorial and behavioral presentations of himself to both his work environment

and his interactions with similarly well-heeled Black professionals throughout his city.

Davis was fiercely loyal to his alma mater, and repeatedly described himself, almost

mockingly, as having not resisted the branding process. Throughout every phase of his

experience, he repeatedly referred to his congruence with the brand. "I'm not going to lie,

I was kind of your stereotypical Morehouse guy. You know, like how from the back we

all look alike? I was one of those guys, you know… If you look at it as broad strokes it's

not particularly unique. I come from a two-parent middle class household."

Davis was not only self-aware about how his years at Morehouse had influenced

his presentations of himself, it was also quite literally his job to be aware of others'

perceptions of him. "It's funny that I do PR now," he said. "Because I learned brand

management when I was at Morehouse." The Morehouse Brand, then, and the

maintenance of its integrity in the representation of its alumni, was something he

understood quite solemnly. "I live by three words," he explained to me, with deliberation

in his tone as though he were holding a press conference. He continued:

> DAVIS: And if you see me on Facebook every once in a while I'll put a
> hashtag and say '#ManagetheBrand'. And 'Manage the Brand' has to do
> with everything from how you look, how you carry yourself, the words
> that come out of your mouth, how you treat people. And it's reputation

management. And so it's all about people's experiences with you. So that happened in the classroom. How do your professors think of you? Because we learned that if your professors think well of you, scholarships start to fall in your lap. Internships and interviews start to get on your calendar. So these are the things you learn when you manage the brand

Along with associating where the brand is readily identifiable in the lives of men, what Davis contributes here is an insightful understanding of the exchange between the institution and the resources that men maintain, gain, or lose while navigating the institutional process. How men accomplish the brand, then, is an interaction between the institution and men's resources, which either contributes to or detracts directly from the forms of capital[35] required to gain entry and sustain positions in the professional-managerial mainstream. Davis is completely accurate here—how men embody the brand results in an institutional hegemony that privileges and empowers men who more closely resemble the brand over those who lack the resources to subscribe to it. In his description, the institution's recognition of this brand embodiment can result in actualized financial capital (e.g. in the form of scholarships) or actualized social capital (e.g. in the form of leadership positions or networking opportunities with recruiters and major donors). While some respondents like Davis enter with abundant forms of capital that allow them access to identification with the brand, other narratives, as will be discussed later, display how men must acquire different forms of capital as they navigate the institution. Still, others are reluctant to identify with the brand because they see it as out of step with their own concepts of masculinity, or are deficient in the resources required to participate fully in the branding process. Throughout this range of experiences, however, what is key is that

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[35] Please refer to the discussion and definitions of Bourdieu's forms of capital in the previous introductory chapter of this dissertation.

the forms of capital that men can access affect not only how they navigate the institution,

but also organize their positions within the institution as the brand decides who can and

cannot access the cultural and material benefits of Morehouse Manhood.

A: "The Morehouse Man"

The embodiment of the brand is best personified in the paragon of the "Morehouse Man", a

mythical icon that is simultaneously a prototype of the college's gender ideals, and a set of

attributes that men use to describe real graduates of the college who resemble the prototype. If

Morehouse is Marlboro, then the Morehouse Man is the Marlboro Man—an unattainable pillar of

archetypal masculinity that serves as the college's beau idéal of middle class Black male

respectability. While the term is, on one hand, an organizational jargon that is used in-house to

distinguish "Morehouse Men" who graduated from the college from "Men of Morehouse" who are

either current students or attended Morehouse but did not graduate, it is also ideological language

that pinpoints the site of the interactions of class and gender projects within the institution. The

term was not only pervasive throughout respondent interviews (all of the men used the term, 17 of

the 33 men offered distinct definitions of their understandings of the term) but as men narrated

their accounts of rituals, campus life, academic instruction, and behavioral policies at the college,

many described the term as being heard "everywhere" or that it was "talked about all the time."

Within the interviews, discussions of the Morehouse Man also emerged regularly alongside

reflections on how identified men feel with the archetype. While there is not an overwhelming

trend of direct correlation between categories of resources and identification with Morehouse

Manhood, it is of note that the table below shows that while both marginally and low-resourced

men were the only groups to weakly identify with the brand, only low-resourced men rejected the

identity. The table below provides a snapshot of men's identifications with the brand. Men who

were "most identified" were those who, like Davis, saw themselves as completely congruent with the brand's ideals. "Solidly identified" men also saw themselves as aligned with the brand, but to a lesser degree. "Somewhat identified" men were less positive about the image and its limited influence on their self-image. Weakly identified men were repeatedly critical of the brand's image and felt it had little to no impact on their lives. Men who rejected the identity were scathingly critical of the brand and felt the image impacted their lives only as much as they strived to counter it. It is of note that while men from all resource groups were nearly equally represented as "most identified," only low-resourced men rejected the identity outright. The reason that low-resourced men have the least access to brand identity has much to do with the resources and capital they lack in their interactions with the institution's branding mechanisms. The spectrum of these experiences and other findings will be further explored in the following discussions of men's narratives.

Table 4.1: Self-Identification with Morehouse Man
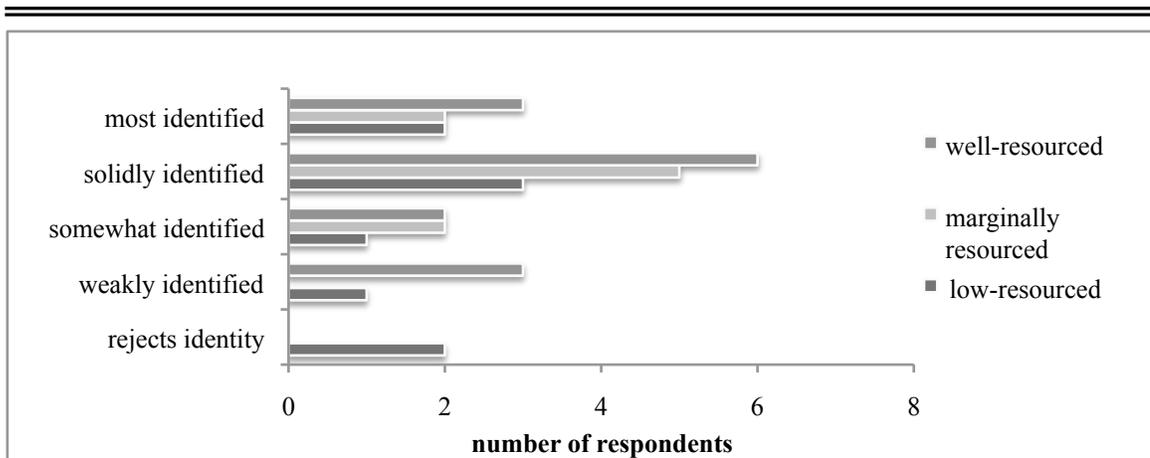
B: A Range of Branded Identities

Coleman, Roy, and Elvin had all spent overlapping years at Morehouse, but otherwise had never seemed to crossed paths. I found Coleman, who I identified as well-resourced, to be jovial

and good-humored. He had been raised in sparsely populated rural Georgia as the son of educators who had sent both him and his older brother to Morehouse. Coleman's father had been his high school principal, and, perhaps because of that presence, the way Coleman talked about his life seemed to waver between a recurring need to over-achieve and a mildly mischievous streak to cut as many corners as possible in pursuit of that achievement.

Roy spoke with a folksy southern drawl befitting of his small town rural roots. Roy had been a friend to my sister while in school and had earned his reputation as a well-known and popular social figure on campus. In contrast to Coleman, however, Roy described almost everyone he knew back home as either poor or slightly better off than poor. His schoolteacher mother and jack-of-all-trades handyman father, however, had provided him with a fairly comfortable upbringing relative to most of his childhood friends. When he arrived at Morehouse, though, he was met with an entirely new concept of comfortable upbringing from young men whose family resources far trumped his own. Given that context, Roy had reconsidered as an adult that his childhood class position had been better off than the rural poverty he witnessed back home but entirely modest compared to the financially cushy men he met at Morehouse. I categorized Roy to be moderately resourced.

Elvin was perhaps one of the men from the cushy families who Roy had initially encountered. Elvin was a member of a tight-knit circle of friends who had been honors students throughout all four years of college, and was not the only member of that group to participate in the study. The son of a school principal mother and an engineer father, Elvin had come to Morehouse against his father's wishes. As an exceptionally high achieving high school student, his father felt he should have applied only to prestigious top tier predominantly White universities. When he got to Morehouse he was relieved to almost immediately locate a group of similarly

academically precocious young men, with whom he shared not only a scholastic aptitude, but other

commonalities such as a love for heavy metal rock music that are rarely associated with young

Black men. All three men described their understandings of the Morehouse Man and their

relationship to the brand as follows:

> COLEMAN: It seemed like my life was all about the expectations: the
> expectations of a Morehouse Man, always going to be well spoken.
> Morehouse Men were leaders. Morehouse men were successful, knew
> how to treat not only themselves but knew how to treat ladies and how to
> treat the community. Morehouse men usually dressed a certain way when
> necessary. We cleaned up well. What else, just that we were really all
> about achievement. If there's anybody who's going to lead the way, it
> should be a Morehouse Man
>
> *******
>
> ROY: I look at the Morehouse Man as the complete package, the ultimate
> father, leader, academician. I look at the person as a well-rounded balance
> of all the facets of things you need to be successful. So do I see myself as
> that guy? Yes.
>
> *******
>
> ELVIN: [The Morehouse Man is] an archetype, a blueprint for what a man
> should be and what a man should do. A man should take care of his
> business, his family. A man should be a leader and be respectful. He
> should be knowledgeable, be able to communicate, to speak…Real
> students try to emulate this but they're constrained in many ways.

In the above statements, all three of these men use unambiguous class and gender

markers to describe the Morehouse Man. Notions of dominant racial leadership,

heteronormativity, and professional success are prominent here and were woven

throughout several more men's descriptions of the Morehouse Man and brand. Terms that

connote professional masculine norms like "refined", "confident", "well-dressed" (in a

suit), "gentleman", and "assertive" were also the most commonly used words associated

with the image. As the following discussions of the branding mechanisms employed by

the institution will show, this similarity in the ways men describe this masculine

prototype is not a consequence of a collectively limited vocabulary, but is an output of an assiduously crafted process that institutionalizes the brand.

4.2   BRAND COMPLIANCE

The introductory chapter explained the particular material and ideological structures that organize the lives of members of a partial institution. Most importantly that chapter addressed the structures, rules, spaces, and campus culture that men at Morehouse navigate and negotiate on a daily basis. This section aims to bring those experiences to life with data that shows how these structures, rules, spaces, and cultures either brand men to or out of the institution.

The branding of Morehouse Men is accomplished through a set of instructions that are both material (such as dress codes, academic and residential policies, and the spatial organization of how men move throughout the campus) and ideological (such as rituals, ceremonies, and oft-quoted adages about decorum and etiquette). The branding of men we can empirically expose through the partial institution of Morehouse, then, is quite similar to what Bourdieu described in his study of inequality reproduction in French schools (Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu makes clear that, "individuals who perform the institution's every wish because they are the institution made man (or woman), and who, whether dominated or dominant, can submit to it or fully exercise its necessity only because they have incorporated it, they are of one body with it, they give it body" (1989:3). Branding, then, is the interactive site through which individual habitus corresponds to the expectations of the institution (Khan, 2008). Men can only be branded, then, inasmuch as they enter with or gain access to the material and ideological resources that allow them to meet these institutional expectations.

Brand Compliance: Lucky's Story

In my five years lived in Atlanta, I had perhaps never come across an accent more quintessential of the almost exclusively Black low-income neighborhoods of Southwest Atlanta than Lucky's. Lucky had grown up in an apartment complex just a few miles from campus and had excelled his way through Atlanta Public Schools through a specialized magnet program for students interested in financial industry careers. A member of the low-resourced group, Lucky's widowed mother didn't have the money to financially contribute to his education and he attended Morehouse on a full scholarship. Even though he had lived his entire childhood within walking distance from Morehouse, he spoke about his first encounters with other students at the college as though he were on a foreign exchange. "In Atlanta, we don't really finish words," he tried to explain to me. "I mean that, not as a slight against my city, it's just I noticed that when I was talking to [fellow students] because they would enunciate *every single syllable* in every word. *An-entire-word*."

Immediately Lucky was aware of the stark contrast in cultural and financial capital between himself and other students. His roommate slept in designer pajamas and, when sharing with Lucky his bouts of deviance as a high school student, explained that he had been caught stealing his family's car by the family housekeeper. "Wait, you got caught by your *maid*?!" Lucky exclaimed to me, his tone emphasizing how incredulous he was in the moment. "Why would you steal a car when the fuck you got a maid?! I don't understand that…That was one of the stranger things. You had kids with money trying to act like kids with no money, based on their perception of what that is."

Rules and rituals at Morehouse can often make the environment seem to resemble a preparatory school or academy more than a four-year liberal arts college. Some rules are explicit. Unlike most liberal arts colleges, Morehouse imposes a dress code on its students that is more heavily enforced in spaces like classrooms, chapel, residence halls, and campus-wide events. Until recent years, residence halls forbade overnight female visitors and imposed curfews on residents, a rule that prompted Clifford, of the low-resourced group, to scoff, "They call us men, and here we have a curfew." Freshmen can't have cars on campus, and are required to attend weekly convocations, called Crown Forum, in a shirt and tie. But most rules are *implicit* and are only made known to students when they violate them. While the explicit dress code may only dictate simple guidelines like "no hats are to be worn inside the buildings" or "pajamas are not to be worn away from the residence halls," the implicit dress code means that some styles of hats, such as those that reflect hip hop culture, are more frequently corrected than more conservative styles like golfing visors. Implicit rules mean that while a student may arrive at convocation in a shirt and tie, he may be turned away for unbelted or baggy pants, for having cornrows, or for wearing sneakers.

Image 4-2 Students Participating in Crown Forum

Like many single-sex colleges, Morehouse has a multitude of traditions and conducts an ample number of ceremonies and rituals (including weekly Crown Forums) throughout the year that host speakers, colloquiums, recitals, and showcase student achievement. In keeping with the college's ubiquitous mission around Black male leadership, almost all of these events offer instructions, charges, and rhetoric to students about leadership and propriety. Respondents discussed these events as the places where they heard phrases like "The Morehouse Man" used and emphasized most frequently. But while participation in weekly convocations and frequent ceremonies and rituals is one of the most constricting and effective tools for branding students from all backgrounds into class-based ideas of Black male respectability, men with resource deficits like Lucky encounter frequent barriers to participation. Lucky explained that he was ideologically compliant with these constraints and rules, and willing to participate in all of them, but frankly just "wasn't able" materially.

LUCKY: You know, for me, I'm in some jeans and tennis shoes now, like, you telling me to put on some khakis? Are you going to buy those for me because I really don't have that kind of cash on me, you know what I'm saying? …Crown Forum, you had to go in a shirt and tie the first couple of weeks, that was what you did…Like as far as rules go though you realize that you are there and they know that you are going to make mistakes and that was the greatest thing about Morehouse. Especially for a cat like me. I made a lot of them. And, I never really—I won't say got in trouble, but it was always 'Listen, you know here's what you're doing wrong, here's how to correct it,' da-da-da-da-da. Yeah, so the rules were there, you abided by what you wanted to and you didn't what you didn't.

One might expect Lucky to be resentful or dismissive towards an institutional

culture organized around rules and rituals that amplified his resource deficits compared to

other students. But Lucky surprised me by defending this process of branding and class-

acculturation:

LUCKY: Morehouse has, you know, things they want you to do. And in hindsight, you look back on it and they were preparing you for a larger world than probably what you were used to than some of the cases of the kids that, you know, from a different socioeconomic background. This is just what they did, it wasn't rules to them. It's how you go to class. It's how you compose yourself.

Lucky's hindsight is intentional here. These rules and structures that limited the

institutional membership of his younger self are now understood from the vantage of a

man who was soon-to-be-married at the time of our interview and was long-term

employed as an auditing agent with a financial regulatory branch of the United States

Government. But in this reflection, stated by someone who views himself as having

benefited from a decade of upward mobility that began at Morehouse, Lucky is also keen

on another feature of the institutionalization process: the rules weren't rules to everyone.

The "kids from different socioeconomic backgrounds" he cites are students he means to

indicate had more resources than himself, those men this study mostly categorizes in the well resourced group.

A: Navigating the Rules

For men like Elvin and Davis there is a remarkable silence around discussions of rules, structures, and regulations because they entered Morehouse already class-compliant with the brand and flush with the forms of capital necessary to buffer the constrictions they would encounter in the institutionalization process. Well-resourced Milt, the son and nephew of Morehouse alumni, had no problem conforming to these decorum guidelines and recalls "nothing memorable" about Crown Forums. "It was treated like a class. We had to wear a suit and tie. I guess its relative, my dad had to go to chapel every day so I guess it's better than it used to be" he told me.

While some men were noncompliant, others were somewhat compliant or even fully compliant, reflecting a continuum in how men experienced the constrictions of branding. At one end of the spectrum, men are outwardly defiant and navigate constrictions by challenging them or avoiding them altogether by disengaging from the institution. On the polar non-resistant end of the spectrum, men, including self-described "stereotypical Morehouse guy" Davis, are able to be willingly compliant with the process. Contrastingly, low-resourced men like Bird readily contributed stories, particularly in the years they lived in the residence halls, in which they proudly scoffed at dorm policies about female guests, bucked up against constricting decorum policies, and asserted outward defiance towards any rules or rituals which they could not deem purposeful or logical. "Morehouse kind of had, it was more implicit," Bird described. "Whereas if you're here, we're just going to expect all this, kind of. There was no

punishment behind it like there was in [his elite boys' private preparatory] high school. But it's more so like 'you're here, we just expect more.'" Similarly, he recalls his frustrations with being made to comply with the campus-wide emphasis on gender-specific decorum: "Why do I have to take my hat off inside the building?[...]That makes no sense to me. Yeah, it's a tradition, but it's not my tradition."

But the most reoccurring experiences for respondents, like Monk, from the moderately resourced group, fell just slightly on the side of defiance, and are best described as "reluctantly compliant" with institutional constraints:

> MONK: In the beginning, it was just hard to kind of conform and follow rules. I'll follow rules but I need to understand why. I think in the beginning a lot of freshmen may not understand why. It's not until you interview for that internship or until it's time to, you know, apply for this program. Until these skills become applicable, until you can see how these skills are beneficial, it's kind of just like "why am I drinking the koolaid?"[…]Everybody got these [instructions about decorum]. Everybody got this. So like, it was, at Morehouse we had Crown Forums where we would all have to go and we would sit and listen to people speak, and they would have these lectures and you have freshman assembly. It's ingrained into the culture. And you can fight it all you want to, which we all did to a certain extent because nobody wanted to roll out of bed and go to Crown Forum. But you had to, or else you got an F and if you didn't, you didn't get to graduate, so.

It is key that these narratives of non-compliance with constraints are mostly concentrated in early college narratives, when fledgling students mostly understand the branding process through the vantage point of the forms of capital with which they entered. A man who enters with very little cultural capital, and who has achieved academically up to that point without it, may scoff at the idea that he need be culturally branded in order to advance further into a white professional mainstream. Low-resourced men who bucked at the constrictions of institutional branding were much more likely to

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emphasize the roles played by other forms of capital in their matriculation. Bird frequently referenced his diligence and "hustle" in clearing the hurdles he encountered to graduation during his senior year. Where these men lacked the financial and cultural capital that would allow them to comply with institutional constraints, they were much more likely to attribute their successful matriculation to a reliance on human capital (mostly in the form of academic work ethic, skills, or raw intelligence), or social capital (mostly in the form of personal relationships formed with administrators, faculty, and key staff). Lucky, in fact, prided himself on his human capital and ability to navigate registration and scholarship offices by knowing how to relate and talk to working-class staffers in these offices—a skill he felt more privileged Morehouse students lacked.

While material noncompliance was almost always involuntary and primarily limited to low-resourced men, ideological noncompliance explains a greater share of the variation in agency men have in negotiating the brand. Of the nine men identified in the low resourced group, only four could be described as offering narratives about ideological noncompliance with general institutional constrictions. One additional respondent in the moderately-resourced group and four more in the well-resourced group were similarly ideologically non-compliant. The four men of the well-resourced group who objected to constrictions did so for reasons that contrasted with their low-resource counterparts. For well-resourced men, non-compliance was not about lacking the material resources to participate in institutional branding, but about having the resources to evade it. When Yusef felt that living in a residential dorm under the authority of Resident Assistants made him feel like less of a man, his father bought him a house near campus. Chet repeated a complaint about the shirt and tie requirement many times over in his

interview, and, by his sophomore year, had completely disengaged from the culture of the college and was living with non-Morehouse friends off campus. As someone whose parents had the financial capital to pay for his education completely out-of-pocket, Chet didn't have to maintain social capital relationships with key administrators in order to fund his next semester, and wasn't subject to rules around Crown Forum attendance or community service fulfillments that are requirements for most scholarship recipients.

B: "Tissues of Constraint"

Goffman asserts that forms of authority such as those directed at correcting dress, manners, deportment, and those which give rights to any staff personnel to correct any member of the inmate class, combine within total institutions to form the "tissues of constraint" which envelope members in inescapable behavioral judgment from staff. Within the partial institution of Morehouse, however, these tissues of constraint expand and contract, resulting in times and spaces where men feel more constricted, and where the brand is managed more closely than at other points in the institutionalization process. For respondents, this meant that while moderately and wel- resourced men were mostly compliant with the general atmosphere of campus-wide constraints (indeed most of their narratives don't describe these explicit and implicit rules as "constraints" at all), narratives of constriction, reluctant compliance, and non-compliance with institutional branding were much more present during lengthy initiation rituals such as New Student Orientation (NSO).

NSO is a week-long intensive orientation that far exceeds the typical protocol of campus tours and presidential addresses for first year students. First-year and transfer students arrive on campus a week prior to beginning of the term for a series of intense

rituals and ceremonies that are meant to indoctrinate new students with Morehouse tradition and bond new classmates to each other and to the institution. A select number of administrators and upperclassmen volunteer to be NSO leaders during this week. Goffman's description of the relationship of "staff" to "inmates" in the total institution quite accurately describes the power-differentiation between upperclassmen and new students during NSO. Any administrator or upperclassman, at any time, has the right to discipline or correct any new student. Such "staff" authority allows, for example, upperclassmen and administrators to awaken new students in the middle of the night for group activities, or confront them at any point to drill them on facts of the college's history that are supposed to be memorized. New students are forbidden from leaving campus, having visitors, or wearing any college paraphernalia until they have completed this initiation.

Because of the prevalence and visibility of these institutional constraints during orientation activities, NSO was heavily emphasized within men's narratives as a focal point for understanding the immediate interference and influence of the institution in their lives. Other points of contact with the institution were much more nuanced, and even much more varied along lines of the resources men had to either engage or avoid institutional spaces and structures. And while some of these additional points of institutional contact will be discussed further in this and subsequent chapters, it is important to note that NSO recurs within the data frequently because it is a ritual where participation is mandatory and where men understood themselves universally to be institutionalized into Morehouse masculinity.

For low resourced men who already are more likely to lack the material resources

to comply with general institutional constrictions, this week of branding the raw material

of new students into men of Morehouse College can be a time of even more tightly bound

constraint. Ramsey, a low-resourced Atlanta native who, along with Bird, was the least

identified with the Morehouse brand of all of the respondents, was hesitant to speak to me

about NSO's most secretive elements. "It was a fraternity crossing, pretty much. Till this

day I'm not supposed to say what happened." He reluctantly explained:

> RAMSEY: The NSO emotions were fear, misunderstanding… like joining a
> cult or something. […]There was one night when we were up in the yard
> at like 3:00 a.m., and the old heads were yelling. It was like a cult-slash-
> fraternity. Like we're supposed to be bonding with the guy next to us or
> some crap. Yeah I don't get that at all.[…] We didn't have the option to
> not participate in NSO. I didn't want to be out there at four in the morning
> with a million dudes.

> SG: Did you get the sense there was punishment for not participating?

> RAMSEY: I don't think any of us would have tried that with the dudes we
> were dealing with. To my knowledge nobody tried that. Upperclassmen
> led the rituals and made them learn history, dates, names, founders, the
> charter, number of students in the first year, whatever. It was a whole book
> we had to read and learn. The impression I got was all of this was
> supposed to build "the mystique."

Ramsey was the only son of a single mother and grew up in one of the most

economically marginalized neighborhoods of Southwest Atlanta. He attended Morehouse

on a scholarship that he came close to losing after consecutive semesters of low academic

performance after his sophomore year. Throughout his interview he was not only highly

critical of how Morehouse matriculates its students, but shunned any notion that the

college had aided him in achieving his current social position as a married, childless

medical school administrative staffer. He offers a particularly emotionally intense

description that is tinted by years of rejecting the Morehouse brand throughout his life since graduation.

Like many low-resourced men, Ramsey already felt the institutional constraints elsewhere in his relationship to the institution. When recounting this experience through the phone, his volume rose slightly, became stern, and his pauses became longer. He sounded frustrated as though, in trying to explain these experiences to me, he was still attempting to make sense of incidents that still made little logical or emotional sense to him. The intensity with which he remembers NSO only highlights how much more tightly the tissues of constraint were bound around him in that experience. Three additional low-resourced men, one moderately-resource man, and three well-resourced men should be considered similarly noncompliant with NSO, but to a lesser emotional extent than Ramsey. But for other men, even those who were moderately- or well-resourced, or who are somewhat or fully compliant, rituals like NSO mark the first or only time in the data where their consciousness of these constraints is readily evident. Ornette, a moderately resourced native New Yorker, was overwhelmingly unaffected by the general institutional constraints, and yet still recalls being "hazed" by upperclassmen who stopped and drilled him on the school's mascot and colors. In our interview he vividly recalls "screwing up" the answer and the disapproval this provoked from NSO leaders. Chet, who aforementioned had the financial capital to disengage himself from the institution not long after his freshman year, recalled being made to wear shirts and ties in 100 degree weather and thought "man, this is some B.S. for real!"

Still other well-resourced men like Yusef and Archie were ideologically non-compliant with orientation because they experienced NSO as a confrontation between

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their own masculinity and the masculinities of NSO leaders. Archie, the son of a Georgia attorney and a former high school basketball player with multiple athletic scholarship offers, came to Morehouse after a very brief stint as a Division I basketball player at a nationally known university. I knew Archie in person as a buoyant, lively, physically imposing figure who had done business for years with my brother-in-law. For Archie, the physical resource of his athletic 6'5'' frame, coupled with the financial and cultural capital allotted him by his upbringing and athletic prowess, translated into masculine and physical dominance over many of the NSO leaders. Archie entered the institution with the forms of capital necessary to dismissively shrug off many of the constraints and exert his own power against the institutionalization process:

> ARCHIE: I just thought it was soft. The dudes who—when I did it, it was like hazing, like a fraternity type deal. Like it was a little bit rough. So the people who were trying to shit on you were dudes who I really knew I would never hang with you, you can't pull more girls than me, you can't beat me up, so why do I even care what you have to say?

With his physical stature, abundant class resources, and purported sexual dominance over women (and masculine dominance over other men who competed for those women), Archie already embodies many of the revered traits of the Morehouse Man. Perhaps because he enters the college congruent with traits of the masculine ideal, Archie rejects efforts to further institutionalize his masculinity into Morehouse Manhood.

There are points still where the tissues of constraint reach extremes. At these points, institutional branding can be so constrictive that even the most ideologically and materially compliant men are aware of how these tissues are bound around not just themselves, but also other men. At these moments, compliance is involuntary. Tadd, a physician from a solidly middle class suburban New York family, was unemotional when

recalling his own compliant experience with NSO, even as he discusses the seriousness

with which he took this rite of passage in the moment.

> TADD: You start to get indoctrinated and inculcated with the kind of, [do]
> you understand where you are? Do you understand who's walked these
> halls? Do you understand what your responsibility is as a Black man
> who's coming through this school in terms of what you're going to give
> back? […] I was absolutely in step with it. I was absolutely—well I was
> absolutely. We like to say Morehouse is the only school you have to
> pledge to get into. And it was true at the time. They've modified it a bit
> because there was some physical stuff going on.

I was slightly taken aback at Tadd's admission that NSO rituals had involved

physical altercations, given that he had been reluctant to disclose much of the ritual

activities to an outsider to the institution. His statement would lead a reasonable

investigator to think he was suggesting instances of violence during NSO, which is an

ethical and legal liability for the school. I pressed him further to explain the instances to

which he was referring:

> TADD: If you look back at it, it was hyper-masculinized. It was very much
> conforming to a mantra from the standpoint of, we had one chant, "Jherri
> Curls and shower caps, Morehouse Men don't look like that." So if
> anybody had a curl or anybody had anything like that, brothers were at the
> front with clippers under the tent and they cut it. And the peer pressure
> forced you to go up there and get your hair cut off.

A Jherri Curl is a hairstyle not only associated with the worst stereotypes of the

black lower class, but also outdated racial backwardness. Within a process that seeks to

initiate men into a brand that promotes middle class mainstream cultural attainment and

Black male professionalism, such a choice of bodily presentation is perceived as an

affront to the racial respectability and upwardly mobile stature vested in the Morehouse

Man. Tadd is culturally resourced enough to recall this otherwise alarming physical

altercation with an almost lighthearted tone. Tadd can be unemotional about an experience that surely humiliated any students subjected to it because Tadd understands himself to have forms of cultural capital that are incompatible with embodiments of such stereotypical working class images. Tadd's memory of the experiences of other students shows the extremes the institution takes to fasten men to the brand and bond them together into a collective brand identity. While outsiders to the institution may view these tactics as extreme, they are undeniable indicators of the lengths the institution will go to in order to produce men for a social world where they will be complicit with mainstream cultural norms.

4.3   QUALITY CONTROL

This branding process is not confined to NSO alone, and the structural and the cultural constraints men do and do not encounter within their experiences continues to organize men's relationship to the institution well past orientation. Throughout their remaining years at the college, men continue to negotiate and bargain for how and where they will engage the institutional structure. Some men learn to circumvent the role institutional structure plays in determining their experience, while others simply have less choice in deciding how and where they will engage the institution. There are points in the process where men are nearly universally unambiguous that these institutional structures influenced their understandings of their own masculinity. Still, at other points, men fall along a spectrum when making sense of the role the institution to plays in branding their masculinity. This section looks at this variation in branding experiences to examine more closely how and where the institution carefully manages the molding and grooming of masculinities.

The range of actions taken by the institution to produce compliance proves that from simply explicit rules to humiliation tactics, quality control of the brand is not left to happenstance. The use of constraints as a means to branding has proven to be effective. Nearly a third of respondents could be described as fully compliant with institutional constraints. This group was mostly comprised of moderately resourced men, followed by well and low resourced men, respectively. Responses like Milt's capture much of the sentiment of fully compliant men when he said, "There was a spirit of camaraderie [at Morehouse]…I felt like I was becoming part of something, not just going to college, but really just becoming part of a community." Terms like "fraternity" "community" and "brotherhood" were the most echoed in men's positive narratives around rules and rituals. This cohesion in how they describe the branding process is most likely a byproduct itself of the results of branding.

While Ramsey, Bird, Mort and Wes took issue with this process, they were outnumbered by men like Monk, Tadd, and Blakey, Mingus, Ibrahim, and Ornette who spoke in mostly positive terms about strict decorum policies and rituals, and were further outnumbered by the majority of men like Roy, Horace, Hubbard, Davis, Percy, Fitzgerald, and McCoy who were enthusiastically supportive of the extent of these decorum policies, and ardently defended and supported the steps taken by the college to brand its students. What is even more telling is that while one respondent, Ramsey, was unambiguously critical of the college's rules and rituals, nine times that many respondents could be described as being enthusiastically supportive of the use of constraints in branding men to the institution. For these men, who were varied in categories of resources, institutional constraints yielded the desirable effect of producing

men from the college who are complicit with normative middle class gender scripts and racial respectability. In this process, displays of working class and low-income masculinities are simultaneously effaced. Indeed these men understand keenly that the constraints of the institutionalization process serve not only the purpose of binding them to each other as "soldiers for their class" (as per the elite boarding school regiments of Cookson & Persell's study) but that these constraints represent the institution's own agenda to produce men in accordance with the college's mission around transforming and advancing Black men in the American mainstream.

What is clear from men's narratives around brand compliance is that the Morehouse brand is as much about what it is as what it is *not*. Brand adherence to the institution is achieved, in part, by casting certain types of masculinities outside of the brand. Brand identity is as much about complying with the institution as it is about distinguishing oneself from those who are unable or unwilling to comply with the institution. Identification with the brand is achieved at the point where men cast others outside of the brand.

Without even a question in the protocol to address it, this "out-branding" appeared frequently throughout the data, most readily in discussions around rules and decorum. Men who viewed themselves as brand compliant were often quick to take accusatory tones when citing out-branded Morehouse students as problems within the institution, and stereotypes of young Black men in crisis as problems within a larger context of Black manhood and racial advancement. In this context, out-branded students were those who noticeably performed or embodied traits that challenge the college's narrowly defined ideologies of Black male respectability. From men's accounts, this can

encompass a range of men, including those who in-branded students simply found juvenile or immature in their inability to adhere to constraints, to men who too closely resembled stereotypical elements of street culture, to men who were transgendered and wore "women's" clothing.

In her feminist theory of organizations, Acker (Acker, 1990) maintains that organizations and institutions not only gender their members, but are themselves gendered. To the extent that is can regulate its members into varying degrees of conformity, subordination, constriction, , and can sanction its members for dress, behavior, and decorum, Morehouse is a masculine institution. Tadd repeatedly refers to the environment as "hyper-masculinized" because he understands that control and dominance in that space felt masculine to him. Its members, then, are relegated to stereotypically passive feminine roles of being subordinated and constrained by institutional power, relative to their varying degrees of resources. One of the most effective ways they go about accomplishing masculinity for themselves under these feminizing constraints, is by out-branding men who fail to achieve the institution's criteria for manhood.

In a partial institution, however, power is not only about the relationship of staff to members, but also about how members must position their relationships to each other in order to locate their relationships to the institution (the relationships between members will be further discussed in the next chapter). The partial institution allows enough structural elasticity for its members' resources to interact with it in a way that produces power and privilege for some students more than others, and empowers and privileges some students *over* others. Out-branding, then, is an institutionally specific form of male

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hegemony that translates into ideologies about hegemonic masculinity that remain with men throughout their participation in cultural mainstream.

Out-Branding: Percy's Story

PERCY: There are brand names. There's Yale, there's Harvard, there's Morehouse. That's it.

Percy was one of the first respondents who reached out to me after receiving my recruitment flyer via a listserv of his closest classmates. At the time when I interviewed Percy he was a psychologist working in the juvenile justice system—a position that he felt was directly informed by his childhood coming of age in one of Southside Chicago's most notoriously violent and impoverished neighborhoods. Percy's divorced single mother was a medical technician and his father, with whom he and his many younger siblings lived only briefly, was a postal carrier for most of Percy's childhood. While his parents' blue-collar employment qualified Percy to be categorized moderately resourced, I considered him towards the lower-resourced end of this group because he grew up entirely in a community penalized by extreme racial and economic marginalization.

The fact that Percy jumped at the opportunity to be interviewed in a project about Morehouse is perhaps indicative of how invested he still feels in the institution. The Morehouse brand, in his view, had served him well and had been his source of instruction not only with regard to academics or career attainment, but about manhood and how he viewed himself as a husband and breadwinner for his first soon to arrive first child.

A semester of academic probation during his junior year left Percy in danger of losing his scholarship, and subsequently, the only means he had to remain enrolled at

Morehouse. He went into overdrive after being informed of his probation, taking 18 credit hours (6 courses) in one semester and raising his GPA enough to regain his scholarship and to subsequently graduate with his class. Instead of reflecting on this experience as an example of the deficiencies of his financial capital or defectiveness of an institution in which he and so many other nearly fell through the cracks—or did fall through the cracks—vehemently defended the college when detailing his struggles, and further understands these struggles as key features of the branding process. "If you want help, if you want to be there, I feel like they bend over backwards to keep you there. But if you don't, you know—and it's kinda I feel like their way of making you a Morehouse Man."

Because Percy tapped into the social capital that allowed him to lobby administrators and faculty into allowing his course overload, and the human capital which allowed him to manage the overwhelming work ethic and every day resources demanded by six concurrent college courses, he was able to successfully matriculate the process within four years—an accomplishment he spoke of quite proudly in our interview. Finishing in four years at Morehouse can be a show of not only academic achievement, but hints at class and gender status as well. Students who struggle financially through Morehouse overwhelmingly take more than four years to finish, if they finish at all. Within the interviews, stereotypical male traits about assertiveness, tenacity, work ethic, control, and charisma are also highly associated with graduating on time. Not coincidentally, these traits echo those that are most associated with successful men in the white-collar professional sector. Having met this definitive institutional

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marker against such great odds, and mustering just enough resources to do so, Percy very

clearly understands himself as in-branded with the institutionalization process.

But while he materially displays in-branding by successfully navigating the

structural constraints to completion, one of the most evident ways that he ideological

confirms this in-brand status is by out-branding others who fail to successfully complete

the branding process. I asked Percy to explain to me why he considers himself a

Morehouse Man. His reply was not only analytically rich, but interwoven with obvious

commercial branding themes:

> PERCY: I believe I embody the ideals and the standards, that, you know,
> the school represents. Like they taught me to be a professional, a leader, to
> hold myself, my family, God, you know, in certain lights and that's what
> you do. I represent the college well. I'm an ambassador of the college.
> [...]It's almost, like I said, a name brand, right? When you go out and you
> want a yard tool or implement you're going to get a John Deere. Like 'this
> is not going to fail me.' And I feel like it's the same thing. When people
> hire a Morehouse Man they are like "Okay, we've got a guy right here.
>
> SG: What do you think is the difference between a Morehouse Man and a
> Man of Morehouse?
>
> PERCY: Man of Morehouse is somebody that went there. Like you went
> there, but maybe you didn't graduate. Maybe you went there for a couple
> of semesters or maybe, you know, you just didn't quite [pause] you're not
> really [pause] you didn't get that this is bigger than you.

In a total institution, no inmate gets to access hegemony because inmates are

equally subordinated under the onerous authority of the staff. In a partial institution,

however, some members will gain hegemony over others, and so Percy's efforts to out-

brand students who are noncompliant with structures and constraints are direct evidence

of the ideologies that produce male hegemony within the institution. Percy can identify as

a Morehouse Man because he can point to others who cannot. While no one can truly *be*

the archetypal Morehouse Man, fewer still will get to resemble him. The tournament for who will more closely approximate this paragon is institutionalized within the branding process and carried out primarily by hegemonic competition between members.

The ability of men to distinguish themselves from out-branded "others" is a critical activity in their competition with other men for the finite resource of institutionally branded masculinity. In the interviews, discussions of out-branded men were repeatedly the points at which many men became audibly agitated in recalling men they felt did not belong at the college. Across all of the resource groups, many men who were both compliant and non-compliant, were adamant about their dissatisfaction with men who were ostensibly out of step with the brand.

Some of this dissatisfaction may be tinted by age. Respondents who are all now maturely in their early and mid 30s are actively perceiving the immaturity and lack of seriousness of men in their early 20s. But neither age nor memory nullifies the hegemony at play here. These respondents are also all men who completed the process, and who were, to varying extents, successfully branded by the institution. They have achieved degrees of upward mobility due in part to that branding, whether they themselves see that part as substantial or miniscule. All of the respondents who are out-branding other men, then, all do so from the vantage of men who have achieved the defining stamp of the brand: completion of the process.

> DEWEY: What they try to tell you is that this is a place where you can come and, you know, you can be molded into the young man that your parents always wanted you to be, and that the community needs. And while that's try, I absolutely agree with that, there are some fools on that campus…Your first, at least two years, are spent around these fools…At the time there were a lot of fake thugs. I'm sorry, real thugs do not take the SAT.

<div align="center">******</div>

DAVIS: I'll admit to you that for me I would judge what's the reason behind [not graduating]. Is this because money? Then can't nobody help that. But is it because you're fooling around? Or you're making babies, whatever? …So for me, 'didn't fit the prototype' means that you didn't kind of buy into what the college was about…Like it killed you to put a suit on and go to Crown Forum? When it's time to interview, you know we're going to the career placement center and you want to do an S&P [shirt and pants] combination with some khakis? Put on a suit. Get a haircut. That kind of stuff.

Dewey and Davis hail from starkly different backgrounds that endowed them with starkly different amounts and qualities of resources. Well-resourced Davis, as was discussed previously, entered the college understanding himself to already be congruent with the brand and put up little resistance to the branding process because it did not require any of him. Dewey, from the moderately-resourced group, was conversely much more critical of the institution throughout his interview, and frequently indicted its structural malfunctions and what he perceived as its cultural hypocrisies. In fact, Dewey was one of the respondents who least identified himself with the brand. In spite of this difference between the two men, their similar narratives here expose the opportunity that men take approximate themselves to the institutional brand by out-branding the types of masculinity that they reject.

Within these two statements, this out-branding can also be understood as the point in men's progression at which the Morehouse brand becomes internalized. It is key to note, here, that while rituals like NSO inaugurate men to the brand, the process of institutional branding continues to be carried out by men well into their upperclassman years. How Dewey and Davis articulate out-branding is a reflection of that progression. Dewey validates his repudiation of out-branded forms of masculinity by noting that, over the years of his matriculation, these masculinities are simply no longer visible within the

institution. Either by attrition or by conformity, Dewey is clear that this "problem" of out-branded men is concentrated to his freshman and sophomore years. At the point when Dewey reach upperclassman classification, he understood himself and the men around him to embody certain scripts of Black male respectability that are congruent with the Morehouse brand. Similarly, in Davis's statement, out-branded men who did not "buy into what the college is about" will be penalized not during the early phases of the process, but at the culmination, when they will be deficient in the forms of professionalized masculinity needed to secure white collar employment in their upperclassman and post-graduate years. In Davis's view an inability/unwillingness of out-branded men to be branded to the institution is a matter of behavioral and ideological resistance, and not a matter of resources in the same way that not graduating is, for many, a matter of material and economic resources. And, for Davis, the brand's emphasis on conforming men to the culture and aesthetics of the white-collar mainstream is one of its fundamental purposes. The following section more fully explores this conflation of the Morehouse brand with professional and corporate cultures.

4.4   CONSUMER AWARENESS

If we are to understand branding as a progression of gender institutionalization, where the raw material of high school boys is assiduously crafted into the product of Morehouse Men, then one must ask, simply, for whose consumption? This section examines how men experience the influence of corporate culture on the Morehouse brand. The tissues of constraint are highly constrictive during the early years when orientation inaugurates new students to the institutional culture of masculinity, but these same tissues contract again in the later college years when branded men are finally

packaged for entry into the professional mainstream. Tadd, a physician from the well-resourced group, explained this culture of corporate grooming fittingly when he stated:

> TADD: Morehouse was really a corporate indoctrination factory. But I'm not against that. Because you have to know what you need to do to survive in society, and then you make a decision to not do it, but if you don't know you can't make a conscious decision to not do it. And so it's fairly hyper-masculinized, very much conformity. And conforming to societal norms to create a thinking, assured, but acceptable Black man in society. Not one who's going to cower on his knees, but one in terms of presentation and decorum and deportment is going to be acceptable in a larger white society.

Men's experiences around professional and corporate grooming in the latter years can best be understood as a capstone to the institutional process on the whole. Where the men themselves do not provide this process with a name, I have termed it "corporatization" in an attempt to describe the almost inescapable influence of white-collar corporate culture on men who are preparing to exit the college. As we will see in men's narratives below, corporatization pertains to the almost entirely cultural and social curriculum that is both formal and informal, and through which men are groomed for entry into white color professions, with a weighted emphasis on business professions. It is the final stamp of the branding process, where men come to think of themselves not only as Morehouse Men, but as Morehouse Men who embody the scripts of masculinity and respectability that are appropriate for entrance into the cultural mainstream.

Again, the "tissues of constraint" from the previous discussions are evident here. The constrictive experiences of the early orientation days surface similarly when men discuss conforming to strict decorum and comportment guidelines that they are told are required for entry into corporate and professional environments. The following paragraphs will explore these constraints. First, men's narratives will describe the

mechanisms and structures the institution uses to corporatize men. Second, this section

interrogates how the mechanisms and structures of corporatization operationalize class in

men's experiences, and how men's varied levels of capital interact with a process that is

acculturating them, ostensibly, to the professional elite. It is at this point where we best

see how they view the influence of the process on their paths of mobility. Lastly, this

section examines how men understand themselves to be "consumed" by the professional

mainstream and how they make sense of the implications of race, class, and gender

therein.

A: The Mechanisms of Corporatization

In the popular imagination, present-day residential undergraduate colleges are

notoriously lax environments where student apparel in campus common spaces is barely

distinguishable from the pajamas and comfort attire they wear to lounge around their

dormitories. But the observable campus culture at Morehouse, especially for

upperclassmen, can be quite the opposite. On a daily basis, dozens of juniors and seniors

can be seen coming to and from classroom buildings in suits and ties, often carrying

leather or canvas business satchels instead of backpacks. Students who live off-campus (a

demographic that is comprised mostly of upperclassmen) often arrive to classes in slacks

and tucked in, buttoned-down collared shirts that are appropriate for business casual

settings.

The business culture men embody sartorially is not a nod to a fashion trend or

compliance with a campus-wide dress code, but a result of a formalized non-academic

curriculum called Leadership & Professional Development (LPD). As respondents

described it, LPD is at once a semester-long course on business etiquette and decorum

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required of all business majors, and a culture that extends the business culture environment to nearly all upperclassmen. The curriculum guides men through minute details of etiquette, decorum, grooming, public speaking, conversational speaking, and presentation for white collar and business environments that can be as exacted as advising the folding of a pocket square, to mandating the removal of facial hair. Students are required to attend LPD in suit and tie. The course requirements include mock interviews, mock dinners, simulated business trips, and each student is assigned a booklet on etiquette and decorum that was authored by the Business Department faculty. While there is no question in the interview schedule pertaining to LPD, seven of the respondents mentioned the class by name in their interviews, all of whom had taken it during their junior or senior year with the sole exception of Davis, who enrolled as a sophomore. Two more men alluded to the curriculum and mandates of the course without referencing it by name and it is unclear if they took the course.

Dexter was one of the men who referenced LPD by name. Having arrived at Morehouse from an impoverished household headed by his single mother, Dexter was one of the lowest-resourced participants in the study. LPD, for him, was his first experience where a formal curriculum spelled out the rules and norms of professionalism that are usually left unspoken and invisible to low-resourced men. Dexter described his LPD experience:

> DEXTER: I still have a little book that business students get in business classes on how to tie a tie, what fork to use, utensils at dinner, conversations to have. It's a physical book that I still refer to. As a church kid I knew how to tie a tie, but being poverty ridden I didn't have opportunities for dinners and things of that nature.

I was not surprised to learn that Davis, who worked in an elite public relations firm, and who mocked himself as the "stereotypical Morehouse guy," had also taken LPD. As the well-resourced son of a college professor, the lessons Davis learned from LPD had less to do with decoding the unspoken rules of class, and more to do with learning the mannerisms and behaviors that disarm potential white colleagues in the professional world. Davis also described his LPD experience:

> DAVIS: Okay so there was a class that I took called Leadership & Professional Development. I took LPD, I was the only sophomore in my class. They knew how to walk into predominantly white environments and make those folks—they might not love Black people but they love Morehouse Men.

Of the nine men who described or alluded to LPD it was Ibrahim, however, went into the most depth regarding his transformative experience in the class. Because he was raised in a suburban Michigan community with a college professor father, I categorized Ibrahim into the well-resourced group. However, his resources and capital are complicated by his family's identity as first generation immigrants. As a former Wall Street investment banker-turned-municipal assets manager, Ibrahim's adult life was involved daily in the elite professional climate that LPD inspirits students to imagine. But as a twenty-one year old, Ibrahim entered LPD a cultural outsider to western professional settings. As he began to tell me of his experiences in the class, Ibrahim began to unfold the very points at which he learned precisely the resources he lacked and cultural scripts he did not know. In recounting this memory, he began by describing an LPD lesson in business dinner etiquette:

> IBRAHIM: We were sitting down one time and Mr. MacLauren [Business Department faculty and LPD Instructor] made this, in Kilgore [student

center building] had a whole bunch of seating arrangements, and just the whole song and dance about how these work dinners and interviews are conducted. When you are supposed to sit, after you watch the lead, you want to watch the team leader, see when he sits, then you can sit. Which water is your water, which napkin is yours, how to use the silverware, don't make butter sandwiches with the little roll. He was like 'Don't take the roll and cut it in half and make a butter sandwich.' I was like, but I like butter sandwiches! Little things like that. And mind you, Sai, those are cultural things because I didn't grow up like that. Not in my household at all.

Above, Ibrahim is forthcoming about the specificity of the professional etiquette scripts he learned during LPD, and also about how unfamiliar he was with these unspoken rules prior to being enrolled. Without prompting, Ibrahim continued to unpack this story and his hindsight on the experience below:

> IBRAHIM: I think Mr. MacLauren [LPD's sole instructor of more than 25 years] did an excellent job phrasing it as 'There's a game out there. There's rules to the game we didn't make up. We didn't make these rules.' I won't necessarily say I agree with them or don't but they're out there and people live by them and judge you on them. And the way he laid that out to me was in a way that was receptive to me because he was just telling you whether you agree with it or not, someone's going to judge you on that.

Ibrahim makes meanings of this experience through his current vantage and as someone who upwardly mobilized through elite corporations and business occupations. In looking back on his path to mobility, he sees these "rules to the game" learned from Morehouse as critical contributions to his cultural capital. Despite hailing from a family of highly educated academicians, Ibrahim entered the college with inadequate forms of cultural capital required for participation in western corporate sectors. Yet, even in his early twenties he understood that the almost immediate material return he could gain from corporate salaries and benefits could make up the critical finances that he and his immigrant family so direly needed. Ibrahim understood that the institution, and the

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constrictive tissues of LPD, directly sponsored the forms of cultural capital he needed to attain economic capital. With these high stakes for his family and future in mind, it is perhaps no surprise that Ibrahim complied fully with LPD requirements when it came time for on-campus job interviews with Fortune 500 recruiters. He recounts this experience here:

> IBRAHIM: I wanted the job so bad I just conformed to all of the Morehouse guidelines/rules. I didn't look at it as losing an Identity. I looked at it as 'Yo, I want to play this game.' […] You kind of take that with you and you don't realize how much is ingrained in you by the time you leave. But when you get into the corporate world you just start to realize—first you start to realize you're as capable as anybody over there…You know you're as tight as anybody. If anything, Morehouse might—you might be overconfident by the time you leave Morehouse!…Our Business Department at that time definitely had people who taught us the game. People taught us the rules. You need to succeed.

In their final years at the institution, men like Ibrahim can find themselves within arm's reach of the internships, jobs, and graduate opportunities that will cement their arrival into the middle class mainstream as adults. The vantage point of men who are at the doorstep of cultural, social, and economic gains makes men's narratives around LPD distinct from the narratives of resistance many expressed around NSO. It should be no surprise that Ibrahim, who viewed LPD as an opportunity to unlock the hidden codes of cultural capital, was enthusiastically compliant with LPD. Men come to understand and accept NSO as a process that brands them to the institution in order to "make" them men, but LPD can be the pivotal point when men see themselves being groomed for a cultural mainstream in which they will *be* men.

As evidenced by above narratives of Ibrahim, and, before him, Dexter and Davis, men comply with LPD because they see it as more than a course on social instruction.

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These compliant men—as all but one of the men who referenced LPD were—understand the class as one of the mechanisms through which institutional constrictions make them congruent with cultural constrictions that are already in place in the professional mainstream. Ostensibly, LPD is designed to groom men for business trajectories, but latently it functions as the operationalization of bourgeoisie culture. To be upwardly mobile is to be willing and able to perform the scripts of professionalism dictated by the course; and to be successful at conforming to the course is to prove oneself capable of performing the gender scripts required for predominantly male industries and careers that reinforce masculine attributes like breadwinning, power, and assertiveness. To fail to comply, then, is to risk marking oneself as incapable or unlikely to achieve this form of normative masculinity in adulthood.

B: Corporatization as Masculinity

The culture of business at the college may be concentrated within courses like LPD, but it also permeates the culture of the institution on the whole. Notions of professionalism and white-collar career preparation were replete throughout the majority of interviews. Business was far and away the most common concentration among the respondents, with a total of eleven business majors in the sample. And yet, twenty-one of the respondents—nearly double the number of business majors—referenced the business curriculum or business-preparatory atmosphere that pervaded the campus. Ornette, an attorney, named Business the "default major" of Morehouse students. Dolphy, a police officer, remarked that "Morehouse produces businessmen, and I think that's the general perception." Tadd, a physician, noted that he and other pre-med majors were able to focus on medical school entry exams instead of prepping for admissions interviews

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because they learned the etiquette of professional interviewing "by osmosis" through classmates in the Business Department. Elvin, a scientist and college administrator, was concerned about the college's disproportionate number of business majors, noting that in its recent past these skewed numbers had raised alarm with the college's accrediting body.

What, then, is the reason for a four-year liberal arts college to be so heavily structured around business culture and curriculum? This campus-wide over-emphasis on business cannot be divorced from an understanding of the forms of masculinity, class, and respectability that the college seeks to promote. Corporate business, as a profession and as a culture, encompasses large swathes of the institution's idealized forms of masculinity. At face value, business promotes behaviors and gains stereotypically associated with masculinity, including competition, leadership, charisma, high earning potential, breadwinning, rank, and dominance. The image of the suited, well-heeled businessman closely resembles the traits of mainstream respectability that are embodied by the image of the Morehouse Man.

Emphasizing masculinized professions like corporate business, however, also depends on the de-emphasis of feminized occupations. The institution is structurally organized around this dichotomy in which feminized careers like early childhood education are not even offered as majors at the college. This de-emphasis is not due to lack of demand. Early childhood education was the second most popular concentration among respondents. Four men (all low or moderately resourced) completed the education requirements by cross-registering all of their core courses with the Childhood Education Department at neighboring Spelman.

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C: Class Differentiation in Experiences of Business Culture

The pervasiveness of corporate careers is not only an outcome of the similarities between business culture and the college's promoted gender ideals. The popularity of this career trajectory can also be attributed to the pragmatic material and economic considerations of the college's large enrollment of low resourced men. Business careers are simply more accessible to many resource deficient men than similarly potentially high-earning careers like law and medicine. Internships at Fortune 500 companies regularly pay in a summer what many working class parents make in a year. These internships commonly continue on to job offers where a bachelors degree can qualify a recent graduate for an income upwards of six-figures. Even for men who continue on to graduate business school after their required years of work experience can reap the perks of wealthy corporations that subsidize or pay for their graduate tuition entirely. Essentially, business careers pose more immediate returns on undergraduate degrees for low resourced men than tuition-heavy law and medical tracts that burden them with substantial debt for years before they are ever able to reap the rewards of high earnings.

The data regarding business concentrations and careers among respondents expose some of these class rifts. Low-resourced men were the most likely to major in business concentrations, with 5 of 9 low-resourced men graduating with a bachelor's degree in business. For moderately-resourced men, 3 out of 8 men were business majors, and well-resourced men (n=14) were the least likely to pursue a business concentration, and 3 men from this group pursued business degrees. Regarding respondent's current occupations, however, the numbers slightly changed. An equal proportion of men (one third) from both the low-resourced and well-resourced groups pursued business related professions. A fourth of moderately-resourced men were currently employed in business

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related occupations at the time of their interview. These numbers show a slight but noticeable shift that speaks to the variation in business career preparation along class lines. More low resourced men were trained for business occupations than were employed by them, and more well-resourced men were employed by business occupations than were trained for them. These data imply, possibly, that in spite of the institution's intention to acculturate resource-deficient men into business occupations by instructing them in the nuances and norms of business decorum, this curriculum does not appear to level the playing field across class backgrounds, nor is it apparently necessary for the pursuit of a business career when men are already resource-abundant.

Class variation regarding the ways men think about Morehouse's business-heavy environment also does not fall in neatly or directly correlated lines. Men who have the resources to be congruent with business culture don't necessarily speak more positively about the experience, nor do resource deficient men necessarily speak in critical or disengaged terms about corporatization. Across resource groups, the twenty-one respondents who mentioned the climate of business culture primarily spoke in positive terms about how this culture had groomed and advantaged them for their post-graduate careers. The few exceptions were Shadow (a talent agent), Dolphy (a police officer), Elvin (a scientist and university administrator), and Yusef (a financial sector entrepreneur), all from the well-resourced group, whose statements about the pervasiveness of business culture could best be described as mildly to substantially critical, and who were mostly indifferent about how this culture had prepared them for their own career paths. Chet, also well-resourced, took an apathetic tone about the institution in general having any effect on his life trajectory at all, but interrupted his

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narrative to insist that LPD and the overall business culture were the most valuable

preparations for his career that he received in college. With the sole exception of Ramsey

(who will be discussed later) over a dozen low and moderately resourced men who

described this business atmosphere not only spoke positively about it, but many were

insistent that the college had provided them and other men the critical tools of

professionalization that proved necessary to counter white mainstream racism in their

careers.

What is perhaps most interesting is that low resourced men were the most likely

to speak at length about corporatization and were the most likely to insist that

professional grooming was one of the processes Morehouse does best. For instance, low-

resourced Horace took on a very stern tone when describing how seriously students took

professionalism and the role he insisted this preparation had played in his ascension from

poverty in Detroit to the elite world of international finance. In his view, Horace saw

participating in and conforming to the culture of corporatization as one of the most

important ways he acquired the cultural and social capital he previously lacked. He

explained this and other trajectories he witnessed at the college:

> HORACE: I think freshman year you come in and people get to know
> you...As you move up from sophomore to junior, the people who have
> their shit, their careers together, whether you're going to medical school,
> law school, internships, Wall Street. Those students become the most
> respected because it becomes 'Okay, what's my move after I
> graduate?'...Because then you're getting invited to all the executive lecture
> stuff. You're getting invited to all the things the president is housing.
> You're getting invited to all the stuff the business department is having.
> Companies come on campus, they want to talk to you. If there's a
> presentation, you're doing it. And being able to have that--at that point
> either people are serious or they're going to be there forever.

For Horace, opportunities to participate in and be recognized by corporate-sponsored events on campus were not a matter to be taken lightly. Professional development activities were one of the few points in the institutional process where he could make up the lost ground of cultural and social resources he lacked from his background. This was a serious matter for Horace, and the tone he took describing these early seeds of his ambition continued to stress his desire to succeed in these competitive early career opportunities. Horace did not view the conformity required by business culture as constraint so much as he jumped at the opportunity to prove how adaptable and congruent he could be to the corporate climate. Corporatization is an experience that can allow low-resourced men to attain meaningful forms of capital that can directly aid in their upward mobility. Moderately-resourced Fitzgerald put it simply: "The more professional you were the more accepted; the more you fit into the Morehouse mold; the more you achieved."

For this reason, it is understandable that six of the seven low-resourced respondents who referred to corporatization did so with endorsement and enthusiasm. The sole exception to these positive reviews was Ramsey, of the low-resourced group, who struggled academically and emotionally his senior year and became increasingly disengaged from the institution and disillusioned by his post-graduate prospects. When I spoke to Ramsey, he was employed as a staffer at Morehouse School of Medicine, an independent medical school less than a block away from Morehouse College's campus. Ramsey saw the conformities required to participate in business career programs as excessive, and was unwilling to pursue a business career further after his early exposure to the institution's version of corporate culture. He explained:

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Ramsey: They either broke you or did something else. Literally made you give up whatever made you. There were guys who had twists and facial hair and they either got with it or they didn't. Like in LPD you actually lost grades if you don't shave a certain way or tone down your hair.

Ramsey was the only member of the low resourced group who was outwardly critical of the institution's mechanisms of business culture. He objects on the grounds that these forced conformities more directly affect men who are incongruent with images of mainstream acceptability. These incongruent men are more likely to be resource deficient. Compare this view, then, to the ways men discussed corporatization in the well-resourced group. Among the nine well-resourced men who referenced Morehouse's business culture, five spoke positively about the efforts Morehouse takes to professionalize its students. But the ways well-resourced men spoke about corporatization was drastically different from the ways that their low-resourced counterparts discussed it. Narratives by Horace, Bird, Dexter, and Percy, all of the low-resourced group, were deeply personal when discussing how courses like LPD or the presence of corporate recruiters on campus affected them personally. They tracked their personal mobility by these points at which they learned and acquired cultural capital. Conversely, while resource-abundant men such as Ibrahim, Davis, McCoy, and Chet also felt they personally benefited from the business curriculum, other men from this group including Dolphy, Yusef, Shadow and Elvin spoke at length about the business culture at Morehouse (including occasional criticisms) without ever revealing its effect on them personally.

Chet was one well-resourced respondent who spoke positively about the business curriculum's ability to teach him "the game" of business networking, and simultaneously

critiqued much of the curriculum's emphasis as passé. "LPD was the most useful

Morehouse class for career but the info is more relevant to the 80s," he told me. "You

don't need to be able to talk about Beethoven, you need to be able to mirror [your

interviewer]." What few criticisms I did hear of corporate grooming tactics I heard

echoed mostly in interviews with other well-resourced men as well. Yusef was an

economics major who later started his own profitable company after graduation. He

dismissed much of the business curriculum as "Ass-kissing," and Shadow felt the

business emphasis steered men from paths in the arts and humanities. "There was an

ethos and it was that whole time: be big on Wall Street…There weren't as many

programs or not as many resources were dedicated to our next Ralph Ellison," he

complained.

Compared to their counterparts, well-resourced men were the most critical of the

institution's business emphasis and corporate grooming curriculum. Of the eight low-

resourced men, three highly endorsed the business curriculum, and one spoke positively

but less enthusiastically. If we recall, low-resourced Ramsey was the only critical

member of his group, and two more low-resourced men did not mention anything about

business. Seven of the nine moderately-resourced men referenced the business

curriculum, with the majority of these men describing their participation in it. None of the

moderately resourced men said anything that could be described as negative about their

experience. Among well-resourced men, however, what stands in contrast is not only that

five of the men expressed criticisms, but that the extent and quality of their criticisms far

exceeded most men from other groups.

I can only analyze the reason that well-resourced men were the most likely to criticize the business curriculum by positing that well-resourced men possess forms of class capital that allow them to detect and decipher the class authenticity of courses like LPD and the college's business culture on the whole. When Chet scoffed that "one does not need to know Beethoven" to network with business elites, he did so from the vantage of someone who sees business as the application human capital (his skill sets) and social capital (his networks), not the mimicry of etiquette and decorum. With his upper middle class background and politically connected parents, Chet already possessed the forms of capital that exceed anything he could acquire by impersonating professionalism. Yusef, whose father was a high-powered attorney, was interested in business and finance from the day he enrolled but intentionally steered away from the Business Department. He majored in Economics because he felt the business curriculum only prepared men for middle management. "Business majors end up working for Econ majors," he jested. Like Chet, Yusef entered Morehouse in possession of forms of capital that exceeded anything he could attain from the curriculum. The next section concludes with a discussion of these and other findings.

4.5   DISCUSSION

This chapter was the first effort to connect the data to the theories of culture and institutionalization discussed in the introduction. By arranging the data experientially, this chapter toured the length of a process in which men are branded to the institution, groomed to be Morehouse Men, and presented to the professional mainstream as packaged models of Black male respectability.

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First, this chapter examined the concept and imagery of the "Morehouse Man."

As an idealized masculine type, the institution upholds the Morehouse Man as the

prototype for Black male respectability and hegemonic Black masculinity. As a mythical

archetype, no real men can ever be the Morehouse Man, and yet I found that men had

vivid descriptions of their own images of this man that were similar not by coincidence,

but by institutional design. Consequently, the Morehouse "brand" is a set of class and

gender scripts that are endorsed and promoted by the institution. I found that while the

majority of respondents identified with the Morehouse brand to varying extents,

institutional mechanisms such as rules, rituals, and decorum policies often determined the

extent to which men could structurally participate in the branding process. I found that

the forms of capital men possess or lack from their backgrounds informs how they will be

branded. Well-resourced men like Davis entered the institution already congruent with

many of its promoted forms of middle class masculinity. In contrast, low-resourced

Lucky struggled to comply with rules and rituals, even as he ideologically was not

opposed to them. For Lucky, who lacked the material and cultural resources required to

be congruent with the brand, the institution was a more constrictive and binding

experience than was reported by his higher-resourced counterparts.

Variation in men's branding experiences is not only a result of their backgrounds,

but also how their resources permit them to encounter and navigate the institution. In the

second section I explored how the institution expands and contracts "tissues of

constraint" around its members. There are spaces and times in the partial institution when

these constraints are relaxed. There are also spaces and times such as NSO and LPD

when the tissues contract tightly and the majority of men in the study report feeling

branded. In these experiences, there is less class variation with regard to who felt constrained by the institutional structure, however, some well-resourced men like Yusef and Chet still used forms of economic and cultural capital that allowed them to avoid many of these institutional constraints when they wanted.

As much as men are branded to the institution, some forms of masculinity are also branded out. In the third section I found that "quality control" of the brand is accomplished by not only endorsing promoted forms of Black masculinity, but by systemically weeding out, deemphasizing, or converting forms of masculinity that are incongruent with the brand. The vast majority of respondents endorsed the institution's use of rules and constraints in order to brand undesired forms of masculinity out of the process. In describing these narratives, I came to understand that this process of out-branding had particular implications for the masculinities of the men in this study. Respondents who backed the institution's efforts to out-brand other men did so with an understanding that Morehouse masculinity is indistinguishable from Black male respectability. In branding men out of and away from the institution, these men viewed Morehouse as confirming masculinities that are congruent with Black male respectability.

Finally, this chapter answered a critical question: if the institution is 'branding' men to specific forms of masculinity, who is the intended consumer of this product? Across two-thirds of the respondents, there was a preponderance of data that referred to the heavy influence of corporate business culture on the institution's professionalization and career training curriculum. I found that the masculine culture of business is congruent with the forms of masculinity promoted by the college. Structurally, the institution promotes assertive, conservative, mainstreamed forms of middle class masculinity by

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promoting business careers, while it simultaneously is arranged to de-emphasize feminized career paths such as early childhood education.

The institution's emphasis on business culture and careers also exposes class rifts among students. Low-resourced men were the most likely to major in business and the most likely to say that the business curriculum contributed to their upward mobility. Well-resourced men, however, were the only group where multiple men expressed criticisms of Morehouse's disproportionate emphasis on business, and about the business curriculum itself. I found that low-resourced men viewed the business curriculum as a source of critical information that explained the nuances of class and white-collar environments of which they would have otherwise been unaware. Well-resourced men, conversely, were the only men who objected to the business curriculum on cultural grounds. When looking at the data on men's current occupations compared against their college majors, part of the reason for this difference is explained. More well-resourced men entered business occupations than majored in them, and more low-resourced men majored in business than pursued business careers. Well-resourced men continue to access forms of imbedded capital that the business curriculum can never teach. And while these instructions are useful for the overwhelming majority of low-resource men interested in business careers, they do not level the playing field when compared to men who entered the college already understanding the nuances of class within white-collar professional environments.

CHAPTER 5:
"LOOK TO YOUR LEFT, LOOK TO YOUR RIGHT":
MEN'S RELATIONSHIPS TO EACH OTHER AS SITES OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

While the preceding chapter emphasized the institutional mechanisms that "brand" men into and out of relationships to the college, this chapter explores a second critical dimension of institutionalization: how it is accomplished in men's cultural and structural relationships with each other. In a partial institution, power is not only about the relationship of staff to members, but also of members to each other. The structural elasticity of the partial institution allows men to arrange themselves to each other in ways that extend past how they are organized by the staff. These relationships to each other play a role in their institutionalization that is as critical as their formal relationship to the staff and structure.

As with the previous chapter, men's resources are also fully present factors in these relationships. Men organize themselves in relationship to each other in a way that produces power and privilege for some students more than others, and empowers and privileges some students *over* others. These relationships among members encompass the interactions, behaviors, and thoughts men have about each other that further comprise the institutional process. It is via these relationships that men organize the structures and ideologies that inform their conceptions of their own manhood in relation to how they see other men.

Similar to the "tissues of constraint" that expand and contract around institutional branding in the previous chapter, so do the ties across and between members take different forms throughout the institutional process. At times men's interactions are fluid, such as friendships that emerge casually, study mates that may see each other only for the duration of a single course or placement exam, or casual acquaintances whose names they know but with whom they have had very limited encounters. At other points, relationships are rigid and structured by the institution itself. This can mean roommates with whom they may have conflict, or classmates with whom they are in competition for accolades, scholarships, or opportunities. In this chapter, these various points of relational involvement in men's experiences serve as the analytical device through which we can understand how hegemonic masculinity is created and sustained in this environment and inevitably organizes men into positions of power and subordination relative to each other. This chapter examines three sites of these relationships between men. The first section explores competition and how it determines how men understand their individual relationships to each other. In these arrangements, competition is the result of men's assessments of the resources they bring (or do not bring) into the process, and the resources they understand to either be limited within the process or made limited *by* the process. As we will see, when men learn that hegemonic masculinity is a limited resource within the institution, competition is the sorting device they use to organize a hierarchy of individual students. The second section goes past the relationships of individuals to understand how men categorically arrange themselves in relationship to other categories of men. This section looks at how men use compulsory heterosexuality to organize categories of straight and queer men. By exploring a specific historical incident in which

student government representatives organized to block the charter and visibility of a queer men's organization, this section uncovers how respondents used homophobia and compulsory heterosexuality to gain dominance over other groups of men. When only specific classes of men can access institutional hegemony, homophobia is one of the mechanisms that decide which groups of men can lay claim to this limited resource. Lastly, I examine spaces where men are not in competition for male hegemony either individually or categorically because they can universally access male hegemony over women. This section again explores men's understandings of a specific historical incident: the rape of a Spelman woman by a group of Morehouse students. Here it becomes evident that men's relationships to each other are not always arranged by competition or within-group hegemony. Incidents and understandings of sexual violence reveal that there are points in the experience in which men organize themselves in male solidarity against women. The issues and frameworks laid out in this chapter allow us to understand competition, compulsory heterosexuality, and sexual violence as something more than commonly occurring features of homosocial spaces. Rather, we will see in this chapter how men use these issues as sorting devices to organize themselves in relation to each other. These relationships provide further information about the meanings they make of masculinity, sexuality, and the institutional process.

5.1   MASCULINE HEGEMONY AND THE HOMOSOCIAL INSTITUTION

Any interaction between men is a site of masculine hegemony. Within a gendered, homosocial institution, men must vie and compete for this finite resource of Morehouse masculinity against each other. Hegemony is embedded within any site of institutions, and it was in fact the study of prisons that originally moved Gramsci to frame this pivotal

concept for Marxist theorists after being imprisoned by the Italian Fascist regime in 1926 (1992). For Gramsci, Hegemony captured how social groups are formed and destroyed in the processes of winning and holding power. It is the vocabulary for the ways that the ruling class acquisitions and maintains domination (Donaldson 1993: 645).

Male hegemony, then, should best be understood as the ways that men win and hold power over each other. In this analysis, I make a distinction between the vocabulary of "male hegemony" and "hegemonic masculinity". While I refer to male hegemony to describe the hierarchy of power that men seek over other men (and the subordinance they are subjected to be other men), I employ "hegemonic masculinity" in this setting to critique the set of masculine traits that are required for some men to stay at the top of this hierarchy. If male hegemony can be understood as the operation and maintenance of power hierarchies between men, then hegemonic masculinity in this study should be understood as the forms of masculinity that benefit from male hegemony and occupy dominant positions within it.

Connell (1987) problematizes hegemonic masculinity by explaining that it is always constructed in relation to various forms of subordinated masculinities, as well as in relationship to women. Because the global subordination of women provides the foundation of dominance for men, sites such as homosocial same-sex institutions further exacerbate hegemonic power relations between men simply because women are absent. Connell explains that hegemony, in this sense, is defined as "a social ascendency achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organization of private life and cultural processes" (1987:184). It is the maintenance of practices that elevate men to power and institutionalize their dominance over all women

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and over other subordinated men. The cultural ideals that fuel and sustain male hegemony need not correlate to the actual personalities of the male majority. As a contest, "winning" hegemony often involves creating masculine models that are complete fantasies of manhood or that are completely unachievable ideals (1987:184-185). We will also see in the data that winning hegemony relies on the contribution of men's resources and capital to determine how they will be hierarchically stacked against each other.

Bird (1996) further applies Connell's theories of hegemonic masculinity to the specific context of homosocial male interaction. Homosocial interaction, and homosocial space, refers to the "nonsexual attractions held by men (or women) for members of their own sex" (Lipman-Blumen, 1976 in Bird 1996:121). Among heterosexual men, Bird argues that homosocial interaction "contributes to the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity norms by supporting meanings associated with identities that fit hegemonic ideals while suppressing meanings associated with non-hegemonic identities" (Bird 1996:121). With its homosocial interactions, its masculine institutional structure, and its unattainable fantasies of the institutional archetype, Morehouse is nearly a perfect recipe for the production of hegemonic masculinity.

5.2   THE SOURCES OF HEGEMONY

The fact that hegemony inevitably exists in any relationship between men should not confuse the fact that this hegemony is not at an organic outgrowth of male interactions. To the contrary, hegemony must be created, confirmed and sustained within the structures that arrange men into hierarchies of power. What total and partial institutions have in common is that the source of hegemony is, in part, staff dominance over members. In a partial institution, however such a power dynamic ripples through to

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the hegemony members establish amongst each other as a result of being subordinated by the staff. Within interviews, this was highly visible when men discussed their most impressionable memories. Their earliest impressions of the experience ahead of them seemed to be captured during freshman convocations in one daunting statement that vividly lingers with men till this day: *"Look to your left, look to your right, one of you will be gone."*

Deans and administrators use this popular adage to impart a somber tone about seriousness with which students need take their matriculation in order to graduate from the college. It is the sounding gun for race for resources that has pre-determined that some men will win while others will lose. It is the earliest point at which men learn that hegemonic masculinity is a limited resource. They learn also that they are in zero-sum competition with each other, and that the form of Morehouse masculinity that can only be reached by finishing will not be reached by all of them. What men learn about the limited accessibility of Morehouse Manhood from this statement can leave an indelible mark on their understandings of the institution and themselves.

The scare tactic is based on statistical reality. Morehouse continues to graduate only 60% of its student body within six years, with push-out and dropout rates rising exponentially for men who don't finish within four years. Among push-outs and dropouts, low-income men and scholarship recipients are overrepresented, as are out gay and bisexual students and nearly 100% of the school's actively transgendered students. Memories and accounts of classmates who began but did not complete the process were replete throughout interviews. When asked the size of their freshman class as compared to their graduating class, no respondent could estimate that more than 50% of his

freshman class finished with him. Respondents were most likely to attribute this attrition to students experiencing financial constraints and having academic or personal conduct issues resulting in expulsion. "Every year you would look up and somebody isn't here," Percy said.

But while much of this attrition can be accounted to real economic disparities that can create insurmountable financial and academic hurdles for many students, attrition, as participants discussed it, can also be understood through the lens of hegemonic masculinity. "Look to your left, look to your right…" is a simple enough comment, and one of over hundreds men hear during the dozens of ceremonies, rituals, and convocations they will attend throughout their matriculation. What is analytically rich, then, is how men can ideologically align finishing with forms of dominant manhood, and not finishing with images of weakness or deviance. To not complete the process is to have failed to complete the process. To have failed to complete the process is to have failed as a man by failing to embody the institution's ideals of a man. Such a statement encountered so early in the process begins men down a path of hegemony on which they view competition for Morehouse's brand of masculinity as a zero-sum game between themselves and other men.

The statement is the most repeated phrase within all of the data. While there is no question in the protocol about this phrase, nine of the respondents repeated it, all within the context of their experiences with orientation rituals. The following are accounts by Milt, Dewey, Bird and Ramsey:

> MILT: A few things stand out about NSO. Just those early days when [The Dean of the Freshman Class] would come in and do the thing where you stand up and have to say "look to the left, look to the right, one of you will be done" probably by the end of the year.

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SG: And what did you think about that?

MILT: I think I – at the time I didn't take that literally. I thought it was like a scare tactic to make sure that we actually kind of do our jobs

SG: Did you ever worry that you would be gone? If you would be one of those guys? Because someone is looking to their right to see you.

MILT: Yeah, that was the one thing I was worried about.

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DEWEY: They tell you 'look to your left, look to your right, somebody's not going to be there.' That old saying. Well it was true. There are a lot of those people who would just frustrate the hell out of you your first year and a half and maybe they were the fake thug or the guy who didn't want to be in college or a guy who was just not thinking about education, who, to me, that was part of my experience.

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BIRD: They tell you 'look to your left, look to your right, one of yall are not going to be here.' The whole time back [from graduation] I was like 'it wasn't me!' The entire time I was in King Chapel I was like 'it won't be me!' I know some niggas who it happened to, you know? Everybody is like 'it ain't me!'

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RAMSEY: It was pretty clear everyone was not going to make it. They told your freshman orientation, "You're competing the moment you get there." I just survived. I wasn't trying to succeed. It wasn't a goal.

Milt, Dewey, Bird and Ramsey are only four of the nearly one third of the respondents who cited this phrase during their interview and the context within which they make meaning of the phrase in their experience is varied. Milt remembers being 18 years old and intimidated by phrase and the anxiety he felt over the possibility that the "one of you" could be him. Dewey, the son of a factory worker and retired army veteran, prided himself on playing by the rules and being academically serious. He understands the phrase as a warranted premonition about the fates of men he saw as immature and

impersonating the forms of street culture that administrators rail against. Bird, who came close to not finishing after losing his scholarship, dropping out, working full time for a local telemarketing service, and clawing his way back to re-enrollment against nearly insurmountable administrative and curricular barriers, recalls the phrase as a source of pride that he narrowly defied the odds. Despite resembling the background matriculation profile of many likely dropouts, Bird repeatedly referred to traits of his character such as work ethic and assertiveness that are often associated with stereotypically masculine forms of human capital. Ramsey remembers surrendering to the idea that he may very well be a casualty of this competition and set his aims on merely surviving the process, not beating out other men within it.

But what is common across all four accounts is that men remembered and understood this institutional decree to be information about the pre-determined likelihood that either they or other men would not complete this process, and that the institution never intended for all men to complete it. Thus the experience of being told that they will not all complete the process is one window for understanding the palpable points where men come to understand themselves as arranged within a process that sets them up for competition with each other.

This zero-sum mentality, in which the success of one man to the right means the failure of another to his left, is the source of member-to-member hegemony within the institution. Men enter with disparate levels of capital and resources and yet all vie for the limited resource of hegemonic Morehouse manhood, and this is the entry point through which we can understand how they organize themselves in response. The next section more closely examines the organizing role that competition plays in men's institutional

experiences and the insights that competition provides into our understandings of male

hegemony.

5.3   THE ROLE OF COMPETITION IN MASCULINITY

Sharon Bird (1996) explains that men understand masculinity as competition.

While statements such as "Look to your left/Look to your right" can be reasonably

understood to imply immediate competition, Bird clarifies that the institution does not

need to explicitly instruct men to compete in order for them to understand ascribing to

Morehouse Manhood as a form of inherent masculine competition. Alongside emotional

detachment and sexual objectification of women, she explains competitiveness within

men's relationships with other men, as one of the three central tenets that define how

homosocial spaces perpetuate hegemonic masculinity.

Competition in McCoy's Story

I met McCoy in my early twenties when I was a new graduate student and he a

finishing dental student at the University of Michigan. In Ann Arbor, McCoy and a small

clique of other Morehouse men at Michigan were popular fixtures on the graduate social

scene and had appointed themselves as brotherly guardians who watched out for the best

interests of any Spelman women around them. I have considered McCoy a friend for

nearly a decade. I attended his graduation party and soon thereafter received an invitation

to his wedding. Through social media we never lost touch and with each year I was kept

abreast of his growing dental practice and family. If the criteria for success after

Morehouse can be thought of as a competition of personal and professional

achievements, then McCoy seemed by all regards to be one of the winners.

The notion of competition served as a consistent feature of McCoy's worldview.

Hailing from an upper middle class southern family, McCoy had been instilled with a

sense of intense peer competition from his highly successful parents. His father, who

McCoy lovingly described as the stern patriarch of his family, was an architect and

veteran with a distinguished career as a colonel (ret.) in the United States Army—a path

that McCoy had also followed after graduating dental school and immediately receiving

his officer commission. As a teenager and the eldest of three sons, McCoy had reveled in

both academic and athletic competition with his brothers, as a quarterback on his

parochial high school football team, and as a high achieving high school senior with a

steady stream of academic scholarships to selective colleges. In fact, it was evident from

McCoy's interview that he entered Morehouse with a heightened sense of competition

already rooted in his experiences competing with white students in his racially integrated

high school. Reflecting on his experiences with race and achievement in his K-12

schooling, he recalls:

> McCoy: I remember my father telling me this in first grade. He said if
> those white kids get a 90 you have to get a 100. And you're going to have
> to work harder to get that 100. And this is why I went into math and
> sciences, because I was taught that, you know, math and sciences there's
> an answer. There's no grey. And when you deal with grey it's easy for
> racism to get in there. I was taught life isn't fair and to get the same thing I
> was going to work twice as hard.[...] If I worked just as hard as the white
> guy, well I didn't work hard enough.

At Morehouse his gauge of competition shifted because the field of competition

shifted. Immediately upon entering Morehouse, McCoy went from being a high

achieving exception to the trend in high school Black male underachievement, to

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competing for grades, accolades, and social rank with a field of equally exceptional students. He goes on to explain his take on this shift:

> MCCOY: We used to call it 'gunner bingo'. To be the top gun. There was some fighting and jockeying over that.[…]Basically most of the competition, it started out freshman year because everyone wanted to be 'King Ding-a-ling' because everybody was that in high school. When they were in high school everybody did something and, you know, they wanted to sort of re-establish their dominance in a room full of dominant young men.[…]I mean if you're used to being top dog and then you're not all of a sudden, it's weird.

While it was evident from McCoy's descriptions of himself throughout our interview was that he took academic achievement and competition very seriously, particularly throughout his college years when his goal was already set on admission to a top tier dental school. How he discussed this competition between students frequently blurred the lines between academic and social competition where social dynamics outside of the classroom often influenced how men were perceived within the classroom and vice versa. I asked him directly to explain this understanding of social competition:

> MCCOY: It was competitive socially…I think at Morehouse the social competition had more of the, you-know-who, it was almost like Jack & Jill[36] competitive. Whose parents had dough. Who had the best looking girlfriend. Like that. That's what got you notoriety.[…] Top of the heap is if you had a nice looking girl at Spelman. If you had a nice looking girl at Spelman you're winning. If you had a nice looking girl at Clark[37] you were still winning but it was like a 10 at Clark is a 7 at Spelman. Because she might give you nice looking kids but they might not be smart. I'm not trying to say people who go to Clark are stupid, but that's what it is. People who get into Clark and Spelman go to Spelman.

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[36] Jack & Jill of America is a national social club of predominantly suburban and upper middle class African American mothers and their children, of which McCoy was a member.

[37] Clark Atlanta University (CAU), an adjacent co-ed campus formed in the 1980s by the merger of Clark College at Atlanta University. Compared to Spelman and Morehouse, CAU has more first generation college students and its reputation is less known among Black professionals.

In this shift to a discussion of social competition, McCoy unveils forms of privilege and class hegemony that would not otherwise be apparent in his discussion of academic competition. Hailing from a highly resourced family with well-educated parents, McCoy, perhaps unsurprisingly, understands academic competition almost exclusively through the lens of human capital. In this view, how men fare academically at Morehouse is entirely dependent on their personal drive, intellect, preparedness, and maturity, and, conversely, to fare poorly academically is to be lacking in any or all of these virtues. These are the traits McCoy uses to describe himself and make sense of why he was so academically successful. In stark contrast, a shift to a discussion of social competition that follows reveals that McCoy is highly aware of the role unearned privilege and class hegemony play in the contest for social dominance.

Throughout many of the interviews in both this study and my earlier work on Morehouse men, I have been made well aware that one of the most conspicuous ways men climb the social hierarchy is through the sexual consumption of women (Grundy 2012). It is not coincidental, then, that McCoy correlates his sense of a class hierarchy based on men's economic privilege and noblesse oblige class markers to a sexual hierarchy based on the class stratification of women. Much like he did to describe himself academically, McCoy codes being "smart" as purely human capital, and thus the dating preferences for "smart" women he describes seem speciously simple. However, there is a well-known class divide between the historically Black bourgeoisie at well-endowed Spelman and Morehouse and the less-endowed Clark Atlanta University. This difference is evident to nearly everyone affiliated with these institutions. What McCoy may code as

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a simple dating preference for women who possess the human capital of being "smart" can also be interpreted as class distinction between the institutions. As a sorting device of hegemonic masculinity, McCoy uses competition to distinguish himself from other men, but he also competes with men by using class hierarchies to sexually stratify women. The competition for the sexual consumption of women becomes an acquired form of social and cultural capital in itself, and one that further stratifies the class hierarchies between men. This finding that men arrange themselves in relationship to each other based upon sexual hegemonies over women will also be explored in the last section of this chapter.

A: Tissues of Contest

Narratives like McCoy's are but one example of how men's experiences can be replete with themes of competition. Across interviews, competition was a consistent feature in both social and academic forms when men discussed their interactions with and relationships to other students. However, in spite of the constant presence of competition in this environment, responses varied greatly as to how men viewed the role competition plays on campus. Monk found competition to be a desirable trait for building camaraderie and described the environment as "not competitive in a malicious sense, competitive in a supportive way. Like I'm gonna one up you, you better catch up. But I don't think there was a malicious competitive nature like I'm over here, you're over there, we can't exist together." Similarly, Percy seemed to advocate for the usefulness of competition even as he was highly aware of its pervasiveness and how he felt faculty and staff bolstered it. "We were ranked," he said. "And I think that's just a male instinct too, like you competed in everything. And I think Morehouse set that up." Lastly, Yusef transferred into the college with the intention to be competitive, and the all-male environment only bolstered

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this desire for dominance. "I wanted to very much be a part of what was going on at Morehouse," he told me. "And when I decided to go to Morehouse I said the only way I'm going to Morehouse is if I'm at the top of Morehouse."

If we are to subscribe to Sharon Bird's theories on men's spaces, then competition is an ever-present and definitive feature of every male homosocial environment. Analytical approaches to masculine competition, then, are not insightful on quantitative terms alone. Because competition is a constant institutional feature of the experience, attempts to describe the data in terms of how many men reported experiencing or not experiencing competition, or how many times men reported this experience are not insightful to understanding men's relationships. Competition is subjective. From the data it is evident that when and where this environment is competitive is not a universally agreed upon experience, or even a universally *experienced* experience. Men may be may be unaware of the fields of competition around them or greatly disagree as to the intensity of these contests. A More useful approach to this data, which follows, is an investigation of the quality of these experiences, where they occur in men's interactions, and how men use competition to chart their positions in location to each other.

The various points *when* men spoke up about competition span widely across an experiential timeline from their first memories of applying to Morehouse against a field of elite applicants all the way to their current lives as adult professionals comparing the successes of their early and mid-careers to fellow alumni. The corresponding points *where* men vocalize competition in this experience (e.g. the micro-processes, interactions, and physical spaces where competition is salient) organize many of these experiences into recognizable themes such as the academic, social, and sexual arenas we can recall

from McCoy's previous narrative. Even with regard to when and where these experiences happen, it is clear that competition is the constant inconstant. It is ever-present and yet presents itself differently in each man's experience. Where a notable number or respondents such as McCoy, Clifford, Tadd, and Davis recalled that the academic curriculum was the most competitive part of their experience, a similarly sized group of men including Bird, Archie, Yusef, Dewey, and Chet were just as critical that the environment was academically lax.

Take for example that Tadd was a Biology major and academically diligent about his lifelong goal of becoming a physician. He was keenly aware of intense academic competition as it pertained to navigating the "weed-out" courses that were designed to whittle down an overrepresented group of pre-medical students within the science departments. Even though he didn't struggle with the material or incur any academic troubles, Tadd remembers these selective courses as the most stressful points of competition in his college years. Even years later his tone was resentful when he described witnessing students cheat on exams and coax other students into completing assignments for them. Dewey, by contrast, felt over-prepared by his private preparatory high school for the "soft" academic environment he criticized at Morehouse. When assessing his coursework and the casual attitudes his classmates had towards academics, Dewey thought to himself, "I don't know if this is going to be rigorous enough for me."

This widespread variation is not a result of the happenstance of men's personalities or choices, but is an intrinsic feature of the partial institution itself. Recall from the previous chapter that "tissues of constraint" explain how structures expand and contract within the partial institution to, in the case of Morehouse, "brand" men to the

institution. With regard to men's relationships to each other, consider also that the "tissues of contest" expand and contract at around different points—and different men—within the institution and the process. There are points where the tissues contract tightly, and where men, for example, vie fiercely for academic accolades, for select corporate internships, or for induction into fraternities. For Tadd, who, like McCoy, was raised in a well-resourced family by professional parents who tightly monitored his academic achievements, "weed-out" courses were the first of several constraints on his journey to a prestigious medical career that would separate out hundreds of his pre-med classmates. For Tadd, and, perhaps for most of his classmates as well, a career as a physician comes with the prestige and cultural capital reserved for elite professions within the Black middle class. The tissues contract around Tadd because the contest within these weed-out courses is as much about a competition for future cultural capital as it is short-term grades.

Similarly, these tissues contracted around Horace, who, despite being raised in poverty by his mother in Detroit, went on to become an Ivy League credentialed financier. During Horace's junior year, he remembers how much his friendships changed when the season for applying for career-christening corporate internships arrived. "I think it was extreme," he said. "I don't think it was malicious, but it just got extremely competitive. People were not as cheery-cheery as they were earlier." Interest in these wall-street internships, at Fortune 500 companies like Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley, is not only driven by their generous pay, but by the extensive social capital they provide men like Horace who otherwise had no networks or pathways into the elite business world. For Horace, an internship could result in a full time position immediately

after graduation, which meant that, he would not have to delay the kind of salary typically reserved for professionals with advanced degrees. This wasn't a luxury to Horace. For himself and his family it was an economic reality about which he felt intensely competitive with other men. Horace went on to explain how he felt in these moments:

> HORACE: There were kids who were on a mission. Who knew exactly what they wanted to do. And when you see that competition you make a choice of either I'm going to get left behind or I'm going to get on this train. You realize you need to step up your game if you're going to stand a chance.

Still, there are points where tissues expand, and where men feel highly supported within this brotherly environment. Davis described the environment as brotherly and collegial, and that competition, even in its most intense forms, forged bonds between men that encouraged achievement. Even McCoy, who felt that his junior year was influenced by a "crabs in a barrel mentality", expressed that the high achieving men within his friend networks were ultimately the support system that got him through to graduation and dental school admission. For McCoy, the ultimate round of competition was outside of Morehouse. "We're all going to be doctors," he said. "But the rest of the people outside of here aren't all going to be doctors. The competition is outside of the school." At these points where tissues expand, the competition is no longer between members of the institution but focused externally, towards the white mainstream, or, even, as we will explore later in this chapter, towards Black women.

But while the tissues of contest may explain why men report such variation in their experiences with competition, explaining why the tissues themselves expand and contract at different points must be understood through the lens of resources and capital.

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Competition marks the intersection between the resources men bring (or do not bring) with them to the institution and their understandings of the resources they aim to acquire within the process. How tissues expand and contract, and, subsequently, how men arrange themselves in competition, is not only informed by the quality and amount of the forms of capital with which they enter, but also the resources they understand to be limited within the institutional process. As will be evident in the next section, social, academic, and sexual competition is simply a set of devices for attaining these resources.

B: Competition as Capital

When men are instructed that there is a high likelihood that they or someone they know will not graduate—as they are informed by statements like "Look to your left/Look to your right"—then they learn to view Morehouse masculinity as a limited resource that will only be attained by those who are masculine enough to beat out other men for it. When they compete for pathways to dental or medical school admission, as McCoy and Tadd did, this competition is based on what men view as the limited resource of cultural capital via a prestigious occupation. Both McCoy and Tadd entered Morehouse with abundant family resources, and it is perhaps because they have been privy all their lives to the high stakes of high achievement that they fully understand the culture of academic and professional competition that paves their career paths. When men compete for a select number of elite Wall Street internships, as Horace did, there is a tournament between men who enter the college already stocked with the cultural and social capital that they need for entry into the corporate elite, and men like Horace who view these internships as a chance to make up for the economic and social capital they are lacking.

But competition also contributes another feature to this contest for capital in that competition is itself a form of acquired cultural capital. The expansive knowledge of cultural nuances that is required for one to know how to compete in this upwardly mobile environment renders this race a handicap for the men who are unequally advantaged within it.

In the previous chapter, Lucky's narrative informedthe insight that the "rules aren't rules for everybody" and that well-resourced men are often not subject to the constrictions of the institution which frequently contract around resource-deficient men. Similarly, well-resourced men culturally and structurally navigate the nuances of the classroom, the administrators, campus leadership, and career-building opportunities in a way that greatly advantages them over their less resourced counterparts.

Take for example Davis, who we remember from the previous chapter for his professional perfectionism as a public relations executive, and his impeccable attention to corporate presentation and decorum. In Davis's senior year he committed to pledging a fraternity, and with this exhausting extracurricular commitment his grades quickly began plummeting in Math and Economics courses. He found himself running a high risk of being one of the men "to the right" or "to the left" who would not graduate with his classmates.

Davis had the cultural wherewithal to know that bringing his grades back up was not only going to be a matter of personal work ethic, but a required a conscious strategy to establish rapport with professors. As a well-resourced son of a professor, Davis saw his instructors as "on his side," meaning that his professors shared a mutual interest in his achievement and graduation. This was drastically different from the accounts of lower-

resourced men like Bird, Percy and Ramsey whose academic troubles placed them on the verge of expulsion. For these three men, instructors and professors were gatekeepers of the institutional structures they saw themselves as fighting against.

But Davis knew that he was capable of speaking the language of the institutional and professorial cultures. He knew what to say and not say in order to woo his instructors to his favor. "That's where the 'Cooperate-to-Graduate' kind of came in," Davis laughed. "I'm one of those folks like, okay, I'm not going to get this right on the first try. So therefore I need to enlist others to become just as invested in my success as I am. […] Morehouse taught me this: sometimes you just have to make people like you. And I think I just kind of mastered that."

In my earlier pilot studies on Morehouse, as well as throughout interviews in this study, I heard often of this phenomenon of men informally navigating the process by lobbying or bargaining for one's self interest. Described by one respondent as the "gift of gab," it is a pronounced feature of the unspoken culture of the college. Men who possess the gift of gab are often privileged to opportunities, , jobs, internships, and professional connections that are otherwise inaccessible and invisible to other students. The gift of gab also allows men access to a second set of structures within the institution where the rules and policies that are rigid for other students are relaxed or altered for them. This goes beyond simple class privilege, as men like Davis understand themselves to be actively earning these perks through their own effort and ethos. Davis viewed his gift of gab as his own form of human capital, and thus viewed his advantages in competition as a result of his personal guile, intellect, personality, and ambition.

Even low-resourced men like Horace prided themselves on quickly learn these cultural nuances within the process. For Horace, whose upward mobility was a steep incline from an impoverished childhood in Detroit to the corporate elite world of international finance, learning this hidden curriculum of competition contributed a critical factor to his ability to navigate the unspoken culture of the white-collar professional world. Horace was not alone in expressing that acquiring this "gift of gab" was one of the most valuable resources that the structure and culture of the college, perhaps unintentionally, contribute to men's lives.

However, while this gift of gab may masquerade as human capital in the experiences of men like Davis and Horace, it is exposed as cultural capital in the narratives of men who were unable to acquire it. Recall from the forms of capital discussion in the theory chapter that Bourdieu was himself highly critical of the concept of human capital. For Bourdieu, this focus on the analysis of individual productivity belies the perpetuation of social-class structures (1986). What men attribute to their own gregarious personalities, for example, can be unmasked as a sufficiency of the resources needed to decode the cultural markers of middle class manners and taste.

This notion of competition as capital is most evident, therefore, in the narratives of men who lacked the capital to compete. From his own observations of competition, Ramsey, a low-resourced man from a single mother headed household in Atlanta, understood this form of capital as inherently cultural and social. Men know how and when to compete because they have networks that inform them how.

> RAMSEY: "There were a lot of guys who just had the drive right out of the gate when they got there. I don't know—a lot of them had dads who were already running Fortune 500 companies or at least somewhere in the upper echelon of the company. So I'm assuming they told them from jump

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'You've got to do this to get it. You've got to go to Morehouse and Morehouse guys will take care of you and you'll do fine.' A lot of them were just good at playing the game. They just knew how to take it.

Understanding this interplay between competition and capital is crucial to approaching an analysis of class, culture and masculinity. Men compete for resources with each other when they understand resources to be limited and/or where they enter with limitations to attaining those resources. Where men understand masculinity as a limited resource, they organize themselves into competition with each other across a spectrum of social, academic and sexual contests. The result of this stratification is vast variation in men's experiences of competition, and when and where they experienced competition, and the quality of the contest itself. But there are also points where masculine hegemony is not a limited resource, and, to the contrary is abundantly accessible. In these instances, the members of the institution are organized categorically as men arrange themselves into groups that use hegemonic masculinity to subordinate other types of marginalized masculinity. At these points, vast individual variation of the competition data ebbs away and narratives become remarkably categorical accounts of specific campus-wide incidents. The following section explores how one such campus issue elucidates how heteronormative men use sexual hegemony to organize themselves in solidarity against the queerness.

5.4 COMPULSORY HETEROSEXUALITY AS CATEGORICAL HEGEMONY

Sexual hegemony is a prevalent organizing agent within the institution. Within the membership, male hegemony is accessible to large groups of men when they act in concert to maintain dominance over groups of subordinated men. Compulsory

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heterosexuality, even as the term was not used or recognized by the respondents themselves, was one of the most reoccurring topics across interviews for each respondent. The term was originally coined by Adrienne Rich (Rich, 1980) to describe Rich's theory that heterosexuality is not chosen by individuals, but rather is forced upon us by heteronormative societies. Within the culture of the institution, compulsive heterosexuality is glaringly present within the heteronormativity that surrounds campus rituals such as the Brother-Sister Match ceremony[38], or courses on Black manhood where Clifford, Milt and Mort reported that instructors regularly railed against Black male homosexuality and single Black motherhood[39]. In the immediate sense, this compulsive heterosexuality was undeniably present in interviews, where all of the respondents presented themselves to me as straight.

Compulsory heterosexuality is also informed by a history that is specific to Black masculinity. More than any other group in US history, African Americans have had their collective advancement, morality, and citizenship yoked to notions of sexuality and sexual respectability. Additionally, no group of men in US history has had their manhood and sexuality more vilified, policed, and penalized than Black men. Black male sexuality has been repeatedly indicted by the racist dominant culture. Black men have been denied normative scripts of patriarchal manhood, have been demonized as ravenous sexual brutes, and, most recently in the era of Black male crisis, are stigmatized as deadbeat

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[38] During New Student Orientation, first year Morehouse students are led down a line where they are "matched" with Spelman first-years who will serve as their Spelman "sisters". The Morehouse-Spelman Brother-Sister match is one of several events with Spelman that are officiated by staff and administrators.
[39] In-class discussions of Black male homosexuality were a common theme for men who were social science majors. According to Clifford, instructors in these courses maintained that homosexuality "wasn't really a phenomenon in Africa" and is an outcome of white imperialist attacks on Black/African gender norms.

fathers who produce multiple out of wedlock children with multiple women. In short,

Black men have never had access to normative typologies of sexuality, and thus spaces

like Morehouse, which have hinged their institutional histories to their ability to groom

"respectable" Black men, can be hyperactive about policing the forms of sexuality that

fall outside of the very narrowly defined boundaries of Black male respectability.

There is a hyper-awareness about homosexuality and queerness that seemed to

hover over nearly all the men's interviews like a cloud (over 80% of the points when men

discussed homosexuality were times when I made no inquiry about the topic). As an

institution Morehouse has been tormented by a paradoxical reputation for which it is, on

the one hand, rumored to have a higher proportion of queer students than its HBCU

peers, and, on the other hand, has earned national attention for being one the most

notoriously homophobic institutions of higher education in America. Archie perhaps

phrased it best when he said, "I think the college itself was in the closet about students

being in the closet."

There were almost no respondents who seemed unaware of or unaffected by

either end of this paradox. To the contrary, homophobic ideologies seemed to be

interwoven throughout an array of men's other thoughts and experiences from their

earliest knowledge of the college's reputation, to issues of sex and cohabitation in the

residence halls, to determining the extracurricular activities in which they would be

involved. Homophobia was such a widespread feature of the way men arranged

themselves in relationship to each other and the institution that it forms its own type of

cultural common sense, a form of knowledge that men learn and exchange with each

other that allows them to use homophobia as the compass by which they navigate much

of their time at the college. Even as a student I recall asking a friend how he found out a classmate was gay. "Because he's in the Glee Club," he replied, unfazed. I also remember that it was commonplace for men to discuss openly how they had submitted applications for dorm selections and hoped not to be placed in "the gay dorm" the following year.

How men thought about this college-wide homophobia fell across a spectrum that offers some themes of understanding. Coming from a progressive West Coast city, Monk was genuinely taken aback by the prevalence of homophobia when he arrived on campus and expressed his discomfort with the environment. Archie didn't readily identify with the Morehouse brand and disengaged from campus social networks, and yet still felt humiliated and obligated to defend his college when men from surrounding schools made homophobic jokes about the institution. Mort entered the college with a cemented interest in Black Nationalist radicalism and found an organized community of like-minded men within the student body and faculty. He became increasingly reflective about the homophobic ideologies within this community and his role in perpetrating homophobia after he became involved with HIV/AIDS activism as an adult. Lucky and Dewey managed their bodies and space around their vocalized frustration that other men made regular romantic advances upon them. Roy and Percy understood homophobia inasmuch as they denied that it was a significant problem at the institution. Despite my objections and references to known incidents of homophobic violence within the student body, they were both insistent that in Morehouse's fraternal environment, gay students were treated no differently as brothers than anyone else. Yet, at the far side of this spectrum lies Ramsey, who felt that queer students fared better at the college, and received special privileges and favoritism, especially from closeted faculty. Even when considering this

spectrum of views, we will see in the following narratives that there are points in the experience when homophobia is the tie that bonds groups of men into dominance over other groups.

A: Homophobia as a Structural Organizer

As a social microcosm of institutionalized male hegemony, men at Morehouse structure their own small scale society with elected student government leadership, Greek letter fraternities that operate as de facto political parties, residential dorms with neighborhood-like feels, and even students whose campus-wide popularity raises them to celebrity-like status. With all these features of a micro-society, it is not surprising, then, that groups of men have concerted power over others in this community.

In our second interview, I asked Mingus, as I asked all of the participants, to describe for me any experiences where he felt powerful over other men on campus. Mingus had been an influential officer of the Student Government Association (SGA). His classmates Davis, Roy and Percy had mentioned him by name as one of the most popular and successful graduates in their cohort. At the time of our interview, he was already a managing director at a Fortune 500 investment bank—an achievement that is remarkably rare for anyone who is not yet 35. Mingus began to tell me of the unchecked authority and privilege he and others abused as SGA officers. Mingus was almost laughing at the avarice and foolishness with which SGA elites rented luxury cars on college purchase orders, and exploited the SGA operating budget as the piggy bank for whatever events and parties they wanted hosted on campus. That early introduction into greed and corruption tempered Mingus for the power he holds now as a financial industry executive. "I tell people honestly, my professional career is so solid," he said. "I'm not

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tempted by all this other stuff I see around me. I've already done that shit once. I'm

good."

But his tone turned somber and reflective when memories surfaced about a time

he had led the efforts to deny an SGA charter to a group of gay and transgendered men

who were attempting to organize a student group for queer men on campus to be called

"Adodi" (a plural of the Yoruba word "ado" meaning a man who loves another man)[40]. I

have intentionally included our conversation about this incident in full below:

> MINGUS: Not very proud of this moment, but if we're being honest
> about it [pause] I was pretty homophobic in college. Just, you know—I
> had probably cousins and some family that were gay when I was
> growing up. I see them different though. They were sweet but you
> never really knew. At Morehouse it was very open. [...]When I was
> there it was a gay club. The gay fraternity might have come later, but
> when I was there it was a gay club. And all the clubs had to be
> approved by the student senate. At the time I was secretary of the
> senate and of course the VP [of SGA] was the president. [...]The VP
> was on this witch-hunt to keep them off campus. And while publicly he
> was the one who voiced all the concern, made a grandiose speech about
> it, we effectively orchestrated this coup to make sure they couldn't get
> chartered on campus.
>
> SG: Okay, so what was that process—first of all what was your concern
> about them getting chartered on campus and what did you do to block
> their charter?
>
> MINGUS: It was pure—it's not what Morehouse was about. Like it
> doesn't say 'gay Black man,' right? That was my concern at the time.
>
> SG: Okay. Although it doesn't say 'straight Black man' either.
>
> MINGUS: Yep! You're right. So for me at the time, it was probably pure
> fear. Pure fear.
>
> SG: Have you ever thought about what the root of the fear was? I guess
> I'm asking was there something specific to Morehouse and the
> institution that you were afraid of having this club? Or was this just a
> generic type of homophobia.
>
> MINGUS: I think it was a generic homophobia. I probably couched it in
> it would deteriorate the Morehouse brand. I'm pretty sure we said all
> that b.s. It came down to pure irrational fear that somehow allowing
> them on campus said something about my own manhood. That's what

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[40] See: Stephens, Charles. "A Queer Political History of Morehouse" *The Huffington Post*
N.p. 1 March 2014. Web. 1 March 2014.

it boils down to. If anybody's honest—and I think most people won't say that—but that's what it came down to: irrational fear that them being gay on campus said something about my own manhood. When actually it had nothing to do with me.

Mingus obviously understands the power he welded over other men differently now than he did as a student. In all of the interviews, this conversation was one of the few that felt as if a respondent was confessing something to me that he had not yet emotionally processed for himself. The SGA administration did eventually acknowledge the group as a student club, but continued to deny them an SGA charter that would allow them a representative on student senate as well as grant them to the allotted organization funding from the SGA budget. Now, over ten years removed, Mingus understands how personal fears and a homophobic campus atmosphere colluded to disenfranchise a group of marginalized students. I urged him to tell me more about the motivations behind his actions, and why he felt threatened by men over whom he had so much power. In his explanation, he was ostensibly ashamed:

> MINGUS: Honestly, I associated the Morehouse brand with masculinity. That meant heterosexual to me. And I thought that's what we were protecting, honestly. It's honestly hard for me to talk about now because it's one of the dumber things I've ever done in my life […] The student population was pretty [in support of] us. But honestly that's how I knew something was wrong. It was too much fervor and support, it was too emotionally charged. I knew something out there wasn't quite right, but it was kind of this witch-hunt.

Mingus is accurate in recalling the "fervor" around this issue. Elsewhere in the interviews, Davis, Archie, and Mort, who were also upperclassmen at the time, observed this incident as one of the most memorable campus-wide issues of their years. Archie, who was generally indifferent about SGA and campus events, recalls the incident specifically as a moment of campus-wide tension. "It was a big backlash in the

[Morehouse] community. They were not with that shit. And that's when I thought a fight might happen between Adodis and everybody who was against it," Archie told me. Like Mingus, Mort remembers attending a campus town hall to discuss the issue. Mort regretfully remembers the moment as pivotal point in his consciousness around Black sexuality after he made the comment that there were "other issues that [Adodi members] should be worried about"—with respect to the list of ongoing problems in Black communities—and was jeered by GBTQ students.

When Mingus admits that he felt he was "protecting the Morehouse brand" against a form of masculinity that it "wasn't about," his honesty provides tremendous insight into how men organize to subordinate particular representations of masculinity. This incident is not at all structured by individual action or even individual competition, but categories of men in competition for limited resources. In this instance, the limited resource is the representation of the Morehouse brand itself. Men learn from the institution that there is only one way to embody the Morehouse brand, and thus men who ascribe heterosexuality to the Morehouse Man categorically obstruct queer men's access to the brand. This campus backlash to the Adodi group charter is even less about the existence of queer men within the student body—as queer men are everywhere within the student body—but more about the *visibility* of queerness and the competition to represent the Morehouse brand posed by that visibility. In this respect, homophobia is a sorting device that places men into disparate tiers of masculinity, where they categorically access masculine power by depriving subordinate men of power.

Within this campus "fervor" are also insights into how compulsory heterosexuality owns the ideological domain of Black male respectability. As men learn

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throughout the process to conflate the Morehouse brand with singular forms of respectable Black manhood, they similarly infuse heteronormativity into their images of "good" Black manhood. Heteronormative ideologies can appear in the seemingly innocuous statements that respondents made around the obligation of Black male professionals to marry Black women, or to provide others in the Black community with examples of male-headed "traditional" families.

A conversation I had with Bird struck a chord with this ideology of Black male respectability as compulsory heterosexuality. Like Horace, Bird had experienced a steep ascendancy in his mobility from a low-income childhood in one of the most impoverished areas of his hometown to an elite career in hedge fund management that easily placed him among the top income earners of his graduating class. Along his path of mobility, however, Bird had acquired very specific sexual ideologies about the types of "good" Black masculinity that should be at the forefront of Black families and communities.

> BIRD: If y'all [Morehouse faculty and staff] are trying to teach us how to build strong Black families, I think all these gay cats, kind of, it's a dual message—to the extent that I don't necessarily believe a gay man can raise a strong Black family. So that can be a difference of opinion, there can be statistics to prove me wrong, but that's the belief I have. So, that means they want to have families. So given that we're the Talented Tenth, we're supposed to lead Black families. I don't see how that's a productive endeavor.
>
> SG: Productive endeavor for whom? To be teaching at Morehouse?
>
> BIRD: No, no, to be welcoming and accepting of a blatantly gay lifestyle.[…]So like you can be gay all you want to but the lisp, being feminine, this that and the third? I don't know if that raises a strong, productive family.

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Bird's thoughts echo the sentiments of visibility and respectability that also appeared when Mingus recounted his experience. For Bird, the representation of homosexuality is incompatible with the heteronormativity embodied by the "Talented Tenth" of Black men who, in his view, are obligated to lead Black communities and families. His statement is even more intriguing when considering that Bird insists a man can be "gay all you want" but takes issue with the visibility of stereotypically queer masculinities. Similar to the threat that Mingus felt the Adodi group posed to his own representation of Morehouse masculinity, compulsory heterosexuality informs Bird that there is only one singular, middle class, heterosexual way to embody Black male respectability. In this view, heteronormative masculinity and queer masculinity are mutually exclusive entities competing for the limited resources of masculine respectability. The visibility and representation of one can only exist at the erasure of the other.

The pervasiveness of compulsory heterosexuality throughout the institution propels categories of heteronormative men into positions of dominance over subordinated forms of masculinity such as queer men. Throughout the process, men learn that hegemonic masculinity is a limited resource that is not available to all men. There are other points in the experience, however, when male hegemony is universally accessible and men organize themselves into sexual solidarity against women. In the next section we will see how men organized around an incident of on-campus sexual violence to exercise universal male hegemony over women.

5.5   SEXUAL VIOLENCE AS UNIVERSAL MALE HEGEMONY

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There are points in the process where men don't arrange themselves in relation to each other via individual competition or categorical domination over subordinate groups of men. At these points, male hegemony is universal because all men can access patriarchal hegemony over women. This section explores how a common campus issue of sexual violence can be deployed as a site of patriarchal solidarity when Morehouse men organize their masculinities in opposition to Black women's rape accusations.

Unlike men at other single-sex institutions, Morehouse students have regular interactions with women in the form of faculty and staff at the college, female students at surrounding campuses, and women in the surrounding Atlanta communities. Not only does the structure of the partial institution allow men to move fluidly and frequently throughout spaces with women outside of the college, but members and staff also arrange spaces for interactions with women inside of the institution. There are social spaces on campus such as parties, concerts, and pageants[41] where the presence of women is abundant if not requisite. Small numbers of female students in Morehouse classes is commonplace. Women are permitted to serve in campus organizations such as the student newspaper, departmental clubs, and various other student organizations, although women cannot serve as elected SGA officers[42].

In discussing individual competition, it was quite common for men to talk about women inasmuch as they competed with other men for opportunities to date and sexually consume women. But while the presence of women can spark inter-group male

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[41] HBCUs commonly host numerous pageants to select kings and queens of dormitories, clubs, classes, and the campus on the whole. At Morehouse, only women—overwhelmingly Spelman students—participate in these pageants. I was selected as Miss Morehouse College in 2003.

[42] Miss Maroon & White, the always-female campus queen, serves on SGA as a non-voting member with no constitutional duties.

competition, there are also times in which women are not viewed as limited resources for which men compete, but are themselves the competition as men organize around collective solidarity *against* women.

My conversation with Shadow captured much of this sentiment. Shadow was highly involved with both SGA and *The Maroon Tiger*, Morehouse's official student newspaper, positions that both put him in regular contact with women in the student body and student leadership at the surrounding campuses, particularly Spelman. In discussing the presence and role of competition in his experience, I was caught off guard at how quickly his understanding of competition unfolded into one about the sexual domination of women:

> SG: Who did you feel you were competing against at Morehouse?
>
> SHADOW: Everybody.
>
> SG: That's a broad term. You mean other students? Students who went to other schools? Did you mean White America? Who was the competition?
> SHADOW: I think there's a healthy sense of competition with all my Morehouse brothers, and, for that matter, you know, with other colleges. With Howard, with Hampton, with Clark. With Spelman in a very weird Freudian sexual way.
>
> SG: Explain that. Explain the competition you felt with Spelman.
>
> SHADOW: Well, okay, if your school has more money and it's ranked better, that's great. But then you can conquer by having sex with her.

The all-female Spelman College enjoys the highest endowment of any HBCU and is consistently ranked notches above Morehouse in national rankings of HBCUs and tiers above Morehouse in liberal arts college rankings. While Spelman and Morehouse are popularly thought of as peer sibling institutions, recent decades have seen a widening gap between their endowments, admissions selectivity, and four-year completion rates.

The competition between institutions that Shadow is describing is one in which men at Morehouse understand their individual interactions with Spelman women as micro-level sites of institutional competition. And in this competition, men come to think of their individual interactions with women as contributions to Morehouse's collective institutional hegemony over women. Men continually recreate the masculinity of the institution within these encounters. In order to sustain its masculinity as an institution, Morehouse must be dominant over its members. In order for members to not be effeminized by this subordinate role and share in the masculinity of the institution, they must mimic this dominance in their interactions with those outside the institution, most accessibly in the form of male hegemony over female students.

This phenomenon, in which men organize themselves into universal male hegemony over women, was most pronounced in respondent's narratives about sexual violence, particularly surrounding the alleged rape of a Spelman student in 1997. Sexual violence is the most common form of violence on college campuses, and studies of sexual assault indicate that 25% to 60% of college males have engaged in a form of sexually coercive behavior[43] ((Berkowitz, 1992). According to Berkowitz, rape is but one extreme of this sexual assault spectrum and 15% of college men have admitted to forcing a woman to have intercourse at least once (1992:175).

Like most colleges, incidents of sexual violence at Morehouse are much more frequent than they are reported. While the sex crime data compiled by Morehouse Campus Police is neither accurate nor reliable, assaults *reported* by Spelman students

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[43] According to Berkowitz (1992) Sexually coercive behavior involves a spectrum of acts including "ignoring indications that intimacy is not mutual, threatening negative consequences or use of force, or using force to obtain sexual intimacy." (175)

alone occur annually, with higher profile incidents occurring every 2-3 years. It is not

uncommon for each successive cohort of Spelman and Morehouse students to remember

"the" rape incident of their day. But given the frequency of sexual assault, and, perhaps

more importantly, the regular potential for Morehouse students to commit sexual assaults,

it is alarming that the college still has no formal sexual violence prevention initiative or

policy, even as they have enacted formal policies for dress codes, decorum, and

leadership in the last decade alone.

Respondents' accounts unintentionally informed me of how rarely sexual violence

was discussed in orientations, courses, and events. While Horace and Roy report that they

learned the fundamental "no means no," they also seemed to know very little about

sexual violence beyond the disciplinary repercussions for it, or the consequences to the

institution's reputation because of it. It was apparent from our conversations that this

absence of sexual violence education had resulted in an overwhelming misapprehension

about what constitutes sexual violence. Take, for example, my conversation with Horace

in which he was adamant that he learned that the institution had no tolerance for violence

against women:

> HORACE: You were told this from Freshman Orientation. It was repeated.
> [Administrators] were like "Look, if this happens all hell's going to break
> loose. We will have zero tolerance. We will not tolerate the assault of
> women on our campus. And you gotta realize there are going to be women
> who will want to come over, who will want to stay in the dorm. You are
> an adult now. You need to make that decision. Understand there are grave
> consequences if something happens. Like you cannot have an all-Black
> male school be known for sexual assault against women. It just did not
> work.

> SG: And what was your understanding of what sexual violence included
> or what it was? I mean it's one thing to use the term, but was there any
> sort of depth about what constitutes sexual violence or sexual assault?

HORACE: That's interesting. That's a good question. But I don't know if they really sat down and said this constitutes sexual assault. But you just knew. Most of us kind of knew. But I would say the main rule is like "if she says 'no,' no means no. You don't push. And if you get accused, that's a problem.

Despite his claim that "most of us kind of knew," Horace, like nearly all of the respondents, does not seem to know what sexual violence is. What also resonates from this excerpt is that Horace makes meaning of sexual violence only inasmuch as these potentially criminal allegations *against men* threaten to tarnish the images of Black male respectability and sexual normativity that are promoted by the institution.

This emphasis on the consequences to Black men's formed the meanings made around sexual violence for other men as well. Roy, Mingus, Davis, Mort, Horace, and Archie were the only men in the sample who were enrolled in 1997, and all six mentioned this specific historical incident and the controversy surrounding it. In these six accounts of sexual violence, all but one surfaced at points in the interview where I asked nothing explicitly about the topic of sex or sexual violence[44]. These respondents understood sexual violence in relationship to other issues like crime, national publicity about the college, or conflicts with neighboring institutions.

They also remembered the incident in very similarly revisionist ways—as a "false" accusation made against a group of Morehouse basketball players and their roommates by a Spelman student who was embarrassed by her night of consensual sex with all of them. In these memories the victim is also "proven" to be lying about her assault after being sighted with other men in a Morehouse dorm room weeks after the

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[44] The interview schedule contains questions specifically about sexual violence.

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incident. Below are memories of the campus reactions to the incident given by Roy and

Davis, who were both Student Government Association officers at the time:

> ROY: I remember brothers coming to us, they were accused of rape by the young lady. They were kicked out of school. It became a big media thing that we actually went to court with them to support them and speak on their behalf. And they took a lot of heat and it affected them greatly. And I think that really brought up the question of interaction between female and male, especially Spelman and Morehouse.

> SG: What was ever discussed about that? Was there anything officially done by the college around that?

> ROY: Yeah! The college officially was—they almost considered these guys guilty before trial. I mean before they had a chance to really prove them. As we found out later the girl made a false accusation, So they got off. But then they sued the school because they were already kicked out, etc. So you know as SGA leaders we were there, we were supporting the brothers. Because we thought based upon the evidence that we heard that things were not as accurate as portrayed.

> SG: And so what kind of support did the victim get in that environment?

> ROY: Oh, it was no support for the victim! I mean the victim was looked at as making a false call. So although we know something happened that might have been appropriate, she wasn't raped as she had accused her accusers. So for us, we looked at it as you messed up these brothers' lives. They had to go through immense media scrutiny. They'd been kicked out of school. Two of them weren't able to come back. [The accused were] popular guys, so guys that we thought were reputable. And we were shocked to hear the accusations. It tarnished the relationship for a minute.

> SG: How do you feel it tarnished the relationship?

> ROY: I mean it just had us on—sisters were supporting her, brothers were supporting [the accused]. We had to really have some town halls.

The way Roy frames this incident presents a rare opportunity for an insight into

Black male ideologies that intersect race, class, and gender in the meanings made around

sexual violence. If Roy understands Black male respectability to be a limited and coveted

resource, then he can similarly construct anything that threatens this image as an assault

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on respectable Black manhood. The victim that Roy constructs here is not the raped woman, but the men whose otherwise "respectable" masculinities were "tarnished" by the accusations. Throughout the unfolding of this incident, Roy understands women as having the potential to assail Black male respectability through sex. Below, Davis offers a second account of the campus backlash that echoes much of Roy's sentiment. Note again the similarities in the construction of Black male victimhood and organized solidarity against women:

> DAVIS: Unfortunately one, actually four or five of my Morehouse brothers were brought up on charges of rape. […]So I want to say this was 96 or 97. I know it was my sophomore year.
>
> SG: Was this the basketball players?
>
> DAVIS: Yes. So there was only one young man who was caught up in the whole scandal was not—he was roommates with one of the basketball players but he himself was not on the team. […] I was really really upset at the college's response to supporting these young men initially.
>
> SG: And what was their response initially?
>
> DAVIS: Dr. Massey [then president of Morehouse] felt it was better to let the justice system do what it was going to do and that the college would just wait to see how the whole police investigation went, when it was really some hearsay type stuff. And Johnneta Cole at the time was the president of Spelman. And she was lock, stock, and barrel behind the Spelman student, who turned out to be lying. At least pertaining to my friend, this was a young man who had never been in trouble a day in his life and now he sits in jail accused of rape.

While the ways men remember this rape incident tells us much about how little men understand sexual violence, the ways men make meanings of the aftermath of the incident tells us much more about universal male hegemony and how men organize solidarity around their oppositions to threats to this hegemony. Both Roy and Davis

socially construct rape victimhood based not on who was physically raped, but on who stands to lose the most ground with regard to race, class, and gender respectability. Within this view, an assault on a Black woman by Black men is less of an affront to Black female respectability than rape accusations against Black men that can invoke the historical stereotypes of ravenous oversexed Black male brutes. This is how men are institutionalized to think about intra-racial sexual violence: that assaults on Black women are most problematic because rape accusations threaten propped up images of Black male respectability (Brown 1999 in (Carbado, 1999).

Ideologically framing sexual violence as oppositional gender conflict with Black women is also indicative of the emerging intra-racial gender competitions between aspiring-class African Americans. Since Reconstruction, Black men have historically bested Black women in upward mobility and have historically outnumbered Black women on college campuses. These channels to mobility—college education being chief among them—are resources that have been limited to African Americans by longstanding systemic racism. In recent decades, however, Black women have out-populated men in college degree attainment, and, subsequently have altered the gender landscape of the expanding Black middle class. As a result, an ideology has surfaced that pits middle class Black men as a shrinking minority whose class position has been increasingly encroached upon by Black women.

Issues of sexual violence uncover much of this ideology within the data. Whereas individual competition placed men in competition with each other for women, the male hegemony that infuses understandings of sexual violence pits men in competition *with* women. The class affinity with Spelman women that is referenced elsewhere in

interviews about dating and partner selection is abandoned here in lieu of male solidarity against women. Here, the court system is viewed as white, racist, and historically invested in injustices against Black men. Sexual violence, then, is framed as the point of racial betrayal in which Black women collusions with the state are a direct threat to Black male patriarchy.

5.6   DISCUSSION

Our existing literature on institutions has focused primarily on the relationship of the institution to its members. In doing so, the existing literature has often overlooked the sites of institutionalization that occur within members' relationships to each other. This chapter addressed this oversight by examining how the institutionalization of gender and masculinity is partially accomplished by the ways men organize themselves in relation to other students.

In order to demonstrate these relationships, I took three pervasive campus issues that, while common across American colleges and universities, take on particularly raced, classed, and gendered implications at Morehouse. Masculine hegemony is the organizing principle that universally dictates all men relationships to other men. The accomplishment of this chapter, then, was to expose how masculine hegemony particularly organizes men within the institution in a way that is inextricably linked to their understandings of Black masculinity.

To begin, this chapter examined the source of Morehouse's specific form of male hegemony, which was identified as a statement that men hear early and often in their college careers. "Look to your left, look to your right" was the most frequently occurring phrase throughout interviews and the nine men who referenced it recalled it as a salient point at which they were made aware that the institutional process was not designed for

all Morehouse students to complete it. It is within this statement that men learn that Morehouse masculinity is a limited resource, and that their relationships to other men in the process is one of zero-sum competition to embody and represent the Morehouse Man. From the indelible mark left on men by this announced contest for masculinity, men organize each other into relationships that are consistently mapped by masculine hegemony. This chapter unveiled that there are three primary ways that masculine hegemony organizes men, and also found that there are three predominant issues on campus that move men into these arrangements.

First, the chapter explored how men use interpersonal competition to organize their individual interactions throughout the institutional process. I found that while competition is omnipresent, the varying extents to which men are cognizant of competition is determined by the resources they possess or lack in that specific cultural and structural moment. This was evident when mapping out the vast variation in experiences when men discussed competition. This variation was also a reflection of resources. Men engaged competition by assessing the resources they possessed and comparing them to the future resources they stood to gain by beating out other men for opportunities, internships, grades, etc. While resource-deficient men were likely to rely on human capital to navigate competition, well-resourced men were assisted by their knowledge of the social and cultural nuances of class in their dealings with professors, administrators and recruiters. Competition was a subjective experience that was not only determined by the resources men brought with them into the institution, but also by their ability to anticipate the cultural and material resources they could acquire by besting other men.

Second, this chapter examined how hegemonic masculinity arranges men into categorical conflicts in which some groups of men structure positions of power and dominance over groups of subordinated men. Key to this section was how men use compulsory heterosexuality and homophobia to structure queer men away from access to Morehouse masculinity. In this instance, I found that men categorically organize to minimize the visibility of queer men in order to maintain heteronormativity in the iconic image of the Morehouse Man. In categorically organizing around this issue, low, moderate, and well-resourced men alike could equally access male hegemony by using the institution's structure to subordinate queer masculinity.

Lastly, I examined spaces where men are not at all in competition or in positions of domination and subordination. There are few points in the process when men feel complete male solidarity with each other, but this solidarity is made possible when men universally access patriarchal dominance over women. At Morehouse, universally accessible male hegemony is catalyzed by incidents of sexual violence against women. While rape and sexual assaults are frequent among this population, the college still has no formal sexual assault prevention program in place. Respondents' understandings of what constitutes rape were almost entirely defined by the circumstances under which they felt men could be accused of rape. When high-profile rapes happen and Morehouse students stand accused—as it occurred in 1997 when approximately a fourth of respondents were enrolled—men organize themselves in opposition to female victims and the women who support them. I found that men who otherwise saw themselves involved in competition and conflict with each other, formed ranks of masculine solidarity when Black women challenged male hegemony. I concluded, therefore, that the subordination of women that

is condensed within incidents of high-profile rape cases allowed men to universally access dominant forms of masculinity where they otherwise would vie for this hegemony amongst each other. While competition has been viewed within previous literature as a constant feature of hegemonic masculinity, I observed that men could actually place competition "on pause" when they felt the immediate need to exercise shared patriarchal hegemony over women.

CHAPTER 6:
BEYOND THE GATES:
RELATING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

While studies of total institutions have comprised the majority of our previous

literature on gender and institutions, it is a fact of social life that most of the institutions

that socialize us are in fact partial institutions through which we interact with the larger

world. Many approaches to studies of gender and class institutionalization have ignored

this relational aspect of the communities, spaces, and social climates that surround

institutions. One notable exception is Khan's (2011) study of a highly selective boarding

school in which he centrally locates the institution's relationship to the American elite as

the guiding influence on the school's culture. But in studying a total institutional process

that removes members from the social world and returns them to it as elites, Khan's

boarding school study cannot more fully examine the more commonplace institutional

processes in which members circulate between institutions and the social worlds in which

they are located.

This chapter is an effort to explore the institutional process "beyond the gates,"

and help contribute to our understandings of the agentic roles institutions play both in

their immediate surrounding communities and in a larger ideological sense of shaping the

worldviews of their members. The chapter is bisected into examinations of these physical

and ideological realms. In the first section, men narrate their understandings of the

institution's presence and their interactions in the West End, the nearly all-Black low-

income neighborhood that borders Morehouse's campus. Men's understandings of the

spatial arrangement to this neighboring community are twofold. First, they perceive a class paradox in which a resource-laden college associated with the race leadership and the Black bourgeoisie has a historic and shifting relationship to the resource-starved and problem-plagued neighborhood in which it is squarely located. Second, men formulate views of gender and masculinity for themselves and for each other as they navigate the street culture of the West End. The formulations of gender and masculinity men encounter in the surrounding community challenges the ideas and order of masculine hegemony that they learn within the institution. When the very forms of capital that propel men to the top of masculine hegemony within Morehouse are rendered nearly meaningless when encountering neighborhood men, students can find themselves effeminized by the dominance of neighborhood men in neighborhood territory. This community effect is explored by examining men's narrations of their interactions in the West End.

The second section of this chapter crafts the ideological space in which men see the institutional process through the vantage of their positions within broader notions of Black manhood. This section hones in upon ideological activity and consequences of upward mobility, particularly as men in the moderate and low-resource group experience them. For these moderate and low-resourced men, upward mobility isn't merely the journey of approaching the middle class mainstream, but is also an ideational process of breaking with the worldviews formed from their marginalized backgrounds. In charting this journey of middle class congruence, this section will show how men become ideologically congruent with the middle class mainstream only as they simultaneously become ideologically incongruent with marginalized Black manhood.

6.1   THE STREETS BEYOND THE GATES

Space is often acknowledged only as a feature of ethnographic study, but the community immediately surrounding Morehouse's campus plays an active role in how men see themselves, each other, and the institution. While Morehouse students come and go frequently throughout the campuses of the member institutions of the Atlanta University Center (AUC), they also circulate almost daily through the businesses, public spaces, and residential streets that border campus and comprise the historic West End neighborhood. And while formal and social institutional relationships between Morehouse and the other AUC schools mean that men orient most of their spatial memories towards the sites where they engaged other college students, the physical organization of space in their experiences means that in actuality most men spend more time in the West End than they do on other AUC campuses.

The quality of interactions men have with this neighborhood also differs from their interactions within other spaces. In their everyday lives men, for example, walk the streets of the West End, use nearby public transportation stops to access the rest of metro Atlanta, and it is not uncommon for men to work or volunteer in community businesses and organizations. While non-residential Morehouse students live throughout the city of Atlanta, a large concentration of men lives in West End's affordable apartment communities and single-family homes. Most of their interactions with West End residents are passing exchanges in public spaces and sidewalks, but for a small number of men these interactions reach into private spaces with West End residents who are their neighbors, close friends, or intimate partners. The ways men interact with this community, however, is not only an outcome of their individual encounters with spaces

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and residents, but must be understood within demographic and historical contexts. Much of this context is provided in the next section.

6.2 A HISTORY AND PROFILE OF THE WEST END

Located just over a mile west of downtown Atlanta, Georgia, the history of the West End neighborhood predates the city itself. There is perhaps no neighborhood in Atlanta that better narrates more than a century of the city's slow churning racial history than West End. Settled originally as a frontier outpost and transportation crossroads in the 1830s, the area was mostly rural backwoods and used for strategic Confederate fortification until the end of the Civil War when Federal troops occupied Atlanta and erected Fort McPherson on the southern end of present day West End. This bustling population of Federal troops had the ironic effect of attracting both former slave owners turned New South entrepreneurs to West End as well as the founders of Spelman College, who saw safety for their pupils in the presence of Union forces in the area.

In the decades following the Civil War, these Old South slaveholders turned New South developers purchased large tracts of land and began developing an ideal upper middle class White suburb of Atlanta. The original streets were soon lined by the mansions and cottages of Atlanta's prominent white merchants and politicians, and were named for commanders of the failed Confederacy in order to attract local Whites to the unincorporated town. But this suburban plan for West End was dependant upon racial segregation from the beginning and unofficial racial boundaries were soon established

that divided the Victorian avenues of West End's prominent White residents from the infant Black colleges that had also taken root in the area[45] (Cooper 1945).

In 1885, when the then Atlanta Baptist Seminary relocated to West End, the neighborhood was nearly half Black, but was in full economic upswing for White residents enjoying the prosperity of the 1880s. By the time it reached the West End, what would soon be Morehouse College had already been forced out of its original home in Augusta, Georgia by White racists who threatened the its leaders for openly criticizing the treatment of Augusta's Black residents. It can be understood that Morehouse founders were attracted to the West End in part because of the potential safety of 1) being located next to the already established Spelman campus and 2) occupying fourteen acres of a former Confederate defensive outpost that proved to be one of the safest grounds to protect its students from the continuing climate of racial violence outside the gates (Jones 1967; Warner 1978).

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[45] During Reconstruction, this unofficial racial boundary was a racetrack located near present day Interstate 20.

Image 6-1 Atlanta Baptist Seminary, now Morehouse College (Graves Hall) c. 1890

In its new Atlanta home, however, the college was beset with new challenges of the blight of turn-of-the-century Black urban poverty both in its surrounding community and within its pool of prospective students. During this time, rural Blacks were increasingly fleeing racial hostility by migrating to the Black communal spaces of Atlanta, and the challenges of educating this impoverished and often illiterate population resulted in the restructuring of the institution into "preparatory" (remedial and basic skills), "normal" (high school and college preparatory) and "theology" (post-secondary) schools. By 1897, just three years after West End was annexed into the City of Atlanta, the school had eliminated the preparatory and normal divisions and had officially become a college, thus limiting the institution's impact on and accessibility to West End's Black poor and emphasizing its affiliation towards the Black middle class (Jones 1967; Warner 1978).

In light of the historical exclusion of African-Americans from American higher education, Morehouse formally joined with neighboring Spelman College and the all-graduate Atlanta University (now Clark Atlanta University) in 1929 to form the Atlanta University Center (AUC) (Warner 1978). This institutional consortium was formed for the deliberate purpose of pipelining undergraduates at Morehouse and Spelman to continue on to graduate education at Atlanta University. The result of this coalition was a surge in the West End's Black middle class[46]. The restrictions of Jim Crow housing segregation meant that even the highly educated Black noblesse oblige that were affiliated with the AUC lived dispersed amongst the urban slums that housed most of West End's Black poor. Consequently, these middle class Blacks changed the face of West End's racial landscape by owning single family homes, successfully securing Atlanta's first public park for African-Americans, and erecting the all-black Booker T. Washington Junior-Senior high school in the neighborhood.

But the AUC-affiliated residents also invested in notions of "urban renewal" that called for the forced removal of Black slums from the neighborhood and the establishment of public housing—notably the University Homes and John Hope homes, which, until they were demolished in the early 2000s, were located almost immediately adjacent to the exterior gates of Spelman, Clark Atlanta, and Morehouse (Crimmins 1982).

The forced razing of slum homes, and the forced closing of public housing decades later, left an indelible mark on the relationship between the institutions and West End residents. As the largest and longest running institutional presence in the West End,

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[46] Notable residents included W.E.B. DuBois, a faculty member at Atlanta University, whose *Souls of Black Folk* was heavily informed by his years in the West End.

the AUC has been often organized the spaces and lives of local residents around its own social ideologies about community outreach and racial advancement. The AUC has been the most prominent real estate purchasing presence in the West End, increasingly buying bordering properties and expanding further into West End neighborhoods. The West End of today has long been abandoned by White flight, is only sparsely populated by the Black middle class, and has both antagonistic and cooperative relationships with the AUC schools.

While 19th century White developers may have made West End White, and the emergence of the AUC may have made it Black, decades of economic downturn, Jim Crow segregation, exploitive mortgage fraud, and the construction of Interstate-20 through the heart of neighborhood made it poor. The West End of today has replaced the names of Confederate commanders on its streets with the names of Atlanta's famed civil rights leaders. According to the 2010 US Census, the community population is just over 20,000 year-round residents and is 97% Black. Nearly 67% of households in the West End have an annual income of less than $25,000 and 30% of adults have less than a high school education. The unemployment rate is a staggering 33%, and, as a correlated effect, crime has plagued this community and the West End has a higher crime rate than 91% of Atlanta neighborhoods. The average West End resident has a 1 in 9 chance of being victimized by crime and 1 in 51 chance of being victimized by violent crime[47].

6.3 THE INSTITUTIONAL GAZE ON THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Given the history of the AUC's involvement in the West End, and the preponderance of its present day social problems, it is not surprising that respondents

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[47] City of Atlanta Crime Index (2014)

were highly cognizant of the role the surrounding community played in their institutional experience. The irony was lost on none of the men that they were being groomed for the Talented Tenth just a closed gate away from a community so representative of the social problems facing large swaths of the Black populous. The presence of the community is at once background landscape and a central point of reference throughout men's views of the institution's relationship to widespread Black conditions. The racial uplift ideologies espoused upon men within the gates can provide a stark contrast to how the institution spatially orients them to the community outside of the gates. As Ornette explained it, "I think the AUC has had a very weird relationship with the community around it. This sort of 'inclusive-exclusiveness.'"

This "inclusive-exclusiveness" traces both the ideological and spatial relationships that men learn to have with the West End. The community is within arm's reach and eyesight, and, yet, campus activities are spatially oriented away from its bordering areas. There are unspoken boundaries that separate students from local residents, and West Enders rarely if ever walk through even the handful of public city streets that cross through campus. Campus police monitor the pedestrian entrances to the private grounds to prohibit entry to anyone without a staff or student ID (or more commonly, anyone who fits the physical profile of a low-income passerby). Ideologically, the social problems of Black communities like the West End are regular points of reference within convocations, seminars, and guest lectures. Men learn that leadership of these communities is emblematic of Morehouse Manhood, and, yet four of the men were critical of what they saw as the Morehouse's failed leadership within this community. Clifford, for example, recalled participating in a speech contest during his

senior year in which he indicted the college for its complicity in dislocating public housing residents and thus catalyzing the gentrification in the neighborhood. Five additional men viewed the college as simply uninvolved with issues in the community. In contrast Hubbard claims to have never heard anything about the community from the college outside of student victims of muggings. "I heard nothing about giving back. Nothing," he insisted.

Men's sites of individual involvement with the West End can also run a vast range of informal and formal interactions. Yusef owned and occupied a single-family home just blocks from campus and engaged West End residents as his neighbors. Roy earned much needed income by delivering pizzas throughout West End and prided himself on being both familiar and friendly with men in this neighborhood who may have intimidated other students. Archie, Dewey, and Davis were regulars at West End nightlife establishments and frequently engaged the neighborhood's young adult social scene. Community interaction can also be formalized in the form of community service through campus organizations or scholarship programs. Elvin, Ramsey, Mingus, Mort, and Clifford were some of the men who tutored the neighborhood's K-12 aged children or volunteered at one point or another in their experience with the community's many non-profit agencies.

Explaining this "inclusive-exclusive" phenomenon that Ornette references above is best accomplished by first examining how men come to see their spatial and ideological locations within the West End. Their ideas about the community are formed, in part, as function of the institutional process itself. Early in their college careers, men learn that their most immediate relationship to the West End is one of potential harm.

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New students are cautioned that wearing school paraphernalia about the neighborhood

can make them easy targets for muggers and potentially violent confrontations. Men are

warned against walking alone in the West End, especially at night. I asked Milt, a recent

PhD graduate and adjunct professor, about his earliest impressions of the college. Milt

had arrived on campus from a comfortable suburb of Atlanta, and while he had extensive

familiarity with the campus through alumni relatives, this familiarity had yet to give him

any reason over the years to involve himself in the surrounding neighborhood. His most

vivid memories of his early days on campus include advisories from upperclassmen about

the dangers of daily life outside the gates:

> MILT: [I was told to] be vigilant first and foremost in walking around the
> campus area. I guess in some respects it's still kind of a dangerous
> neighborhood that surrounds the AUC. So they were telling people to be
> aware. I knew a little about the area before coming to Morehouse[…] So I
> knew the area and I knew it was kind of a bad area and it could get
> sketchy when you go farther up.

> Archie, like Milt, was also a native of Georgia who was familiar with the campus

before enrolling as a student. Unlike Milt, however, Archie's spatial familiarity with the

West End was one in which he prided himself on his ability to cautiously navigate the

hazards of the street even as he was socially oriented towards hanging out in West End's

many nightlife venues. It is perhaps because of his familiarity with the West End that

Archie deems it so dangerous:

> ARCHIE: It always surprised me that more people did not get robbed
> walking from Morehouse to the train station. Like at night and shit and to
> Spelman, to the trains? It always surprised me that more people didn't get
> fucked up on that little walk right there. […][Morehouse students] thought
> they were living in a safe place. Outside of the gates is not a safe place for
> anybody to go. It's just not safe. Even for people who live there it's not
> safe. So for you to be nineteen years old hopping around with your
> daddy's credit card in your pocket and Morehouse lanyard on your neck
> and running down the street on Fair Street trying to by some weed? You
> are risking your fucking life every time you do that shit.

The wary view that Milt and Archie have of the West End is validated by much of the reality of daily life in the area. Archie is right: present day West End has not proven to be a safe place for its own residents, let alone Morehouse students. Over the years, multiple residents have been violently murdered within yards of the classroom buildings, some of them in broad daylight. In 2009 a stray bullet struck and killed a first-year Spelman student while she walked through the pedestrian promenade between adjacent campuses. In 2011 a Morehouse student was shot in the head and killed less than 100 yards from the entrance gates. Few Morehouse respondents were surprised to hear that their classmates had been victimized by other violent crimes such as assault when traveling through neighborhood streets that are less commonly used by students. The randomness and frequency of violent crime is a fact of impoverished Black communities in Atlanta, and across the country. In the face of a criminal justice system which has categorically failed to protect Black residents in isolated communities, interpersonal violence provides its own common justice system, or what sociologist Elijah Anderson explains as a "kind of people's law based on a peculiar form of social exchange that is perhaps best understood as a perversion of the Golden Rule" (1999:66). Violence in these communities, then, cannot be viewed as merely an organic offshoot of poverty, but an organized system of interactions that has developed in response to the absence of state protection and a history of violent victimization at the hands of the police and criminal justice system that protects and serves the residents of other communities. Black college students in these spaces are not exempt from the realities of daily violence.

Given the documented frequency of crime and violence in the West End, wising new Morehouse students to the ways they can best avoid harm outside of the gates is the responsible thing for staff and administrators to do. However, such prioritizing of personal safety also highlights a paradox of masculinity in men's experiences. Across the country, college campus safety programs have mostly expanded at the insistence of women, who are more likely to be victimized by violence on and around college campuses. In response to highly disproportionate numbers of assault and other crimes against women on and around college campuses, many campus public safety efforts in recent decades have geared these programs towards women.[48]

Bird (low-resourced) along with Milt, Mort, Roy, Dewey (moderately-resourced) and Tadd, Archie, and Hubbard (well-resourced) all reported first and foremost understanding that their spatial relationship to West End as one in which they could be likely victimized. However, this affiliation of public space with the potential to be dominated or harmed presents a gender conundrum in this process. A central tenet of masculinity is that men are supposed to have the privilege of occupying public space without being continually conscious of the potential threats to their bodies. Men's relationships to the West End presents one site where men of Morehouse are deprived this fundamental hegemonic masculine privilege. Their potential to be victimized at any point by other men on the street places them in constant feminized positions outside of the gates.

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[48] As a criticism, many of these campus public safety efforts have emphasized teaching female students how to avoid victimization rather than teaching male students—who are the most likely violent offenders—the definitions of sexual assault or how to not assault women.

Thus while men learn within the gates that the resources and capital they will gain from the institutional process can situate them at the top of a hierarchy of Black masculine hegemony, their interactions with resident men outside the gates present them with situations where this institutional masculine hegemony is in many ways inverted. Inside the gates, men learn that they can dominate and subordinate Black men who lack the forms of cultural and social capital they are acquiring. Outside the gates, they encounter an environment where they lack the forms of street capital that are necessary to attain hegemony over neighborhood men. Social networks that give men advantages over competitor classmates mean nothing in spaces organized by the social networks of West End residents. The very economic capital that buys their ability to approximate the Morehouse Brand can be a liability that makes them easy targets for conflict with neighborhood men.

How men come to understand the ways the forms of capital necessary to navigate interactions with residents in these public West End spaces also informs us as to how they see themselves, each other, and the institutional process. Just as resources dictate how men are organized into a hierarchy within the college, men understand how a different set of resources organizes masculinity in the West End. The men who they understand to be well-resourced within the college may be viewed as resource deficient in the neighborhood, and vice versa. The following section explores the incongruence of the order of masculine hegemony between the college and the neighborhood.

6.4 NAVIGATING INVERTED MASCULINITY IN THE WEST END

ARCHIE: You know how I feel about [how] Morehouse is perceived in the hood, and [how] shit like that is? If your child goes there, you feel like this is a wonderful thing. But otherwise you feel like it's a bunch of uppity

niggas running around thinking they're better than you. The scene from *School Daze* with Samuel L. Jackson? That scene is the epitome of what it is.

In 1988, Spike Lee, a 1978 Morehouse graduate, released a critically acclaimed film based on a fictionalization of student life at Morehouse and Spelman. The film, entitled *School Daze*, captures the politically charged climate of "Mission College" when intra-racial class and complexion hierarchies, sex, and high stakes racial advancement ideologies all come to a head at the height of the anti-apartheid movement. For American film critics and AUC alumni alike, the film has received cult-like cultural significance as a timeless reference for Black college experiences. The scene to which Archie refers is one which, even in its fictionalized form, almost perfectly captures how conflicts of class and masculinity become mapped onto one another in confrontations between Mission College students the working class men in bordering neighborhoods.

In the scene, a motley crew of Mission men called "The Fellas"—captained by Lee's protagonist, Vaughan "Dap" Dunlap—is confronted by a group of low-income neighborhood residents at a neighborhood Kentucky Fried Chicken. The local men, all clad in velour tracksuits and the period-appropriate Jherri Curls (some wearing shower caps to contain the drippings) have refused to share a salt shaker with The Fellas, passively jeering them until making a direct taunt in which an unnamed character played by Samuel L. Jackson (also a Morehouse graduate) sings in a girlish tone "Yoohoo! Is is true what they say about Mission... *men*?" limping his wrist in mid-air on the emphasis. Insulted, Dap informs the The Fellas that it's time to head out and they retreat—partly in frustration, partly in fear of escalation—to the parking lot, where the local men follow. A crew-to-crew confrontation ensues:

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WORKING CLASS MAN #1: Yo, Missionaries. Mission-ettes! […]How come you college motherfuckers think y'all run everything…you come to our town year after year and take over. We was born here, gone be here, and gone die here, and can't find jobs cause of you! […]We may not have your *ed-u-cation* [emphasizing each syllable], but we ain't dirt neither.

Dap: and ain't nobody said all of that, aiight?
WC MAN #1: you mission punks always talking down to us!

DAP: look brother I'm real sorry that you feel that way, okay. I'm really sorry about that.

WC MAN #1: are you Black?
WC MAN #2: take a look in the mirror man.

DAP: look man you got a legitimate beef aiight, but it ain't with us, ok?

WC MAN #1: [in more somber tone] *Are you Black?*

DAP: Hey look man don't ever question the fact that whether I'm Black! In fact, I was gonna ask your country 'bama ass why you got them drip-drip chemicals in your head! […] And then come out in public with a shower cap on your head!

WC MAN #1: you know I bet you niggas do think y'all white! College don't mean shit! Y'all niggas! And you gone be niggas, forever. Just like us. Niggas.

DAP: (pauses and steps towards WC Man #1, putting his face sternly and directly in WC Man #1's face) You're not niggas.

Although Lee's depiction is fictitious, its account of class conflict between students and neighborhood men rings true for Archie and others. Morehouse students, much like The Fellas, are on neighborhood men's turf when they venture out into the West End. It is men of Morehouse who are perceived as visiting foreigners competing with local men for limited resources like jobs, women, and space. Neighborhood men can view Morehouse students as having fixed bourgeoisie class positions while their own conditions are tethered to the decline and fluctuation of local economies. Conversely, men of Morehouse, as community passers-through, lack any vantage through which they can understand the life-course of the West End and its low-income men. While many Morehouse students have the privilege of abundant resources that help them navigate or

even bypass West End altogether, resident men have home court advantage. Coupled with generic classism, this lack of vantage plays out in students' views of their surroundings. As we will see below, respondents like Archie, Bird, Mort, and Hubbard see themselves as negotiating and learning the street codes of the West End. Just as The Fellas infantilize and repudiate the masculinities of low-income men, so do respondents often view West End men in the same light. Alongside this, the institution itself takes on the masculine form of continually penetrating and encroaching upon the surrounding area through real estate purchases and development. In response, West End men, just like the working class men in *School Daze*, often counter with the most accessible form of hegemony available to them: their ability to effeminize Morehouse men in physical confrontations.

Hubbard was one such respondent who had an exchange in the surrounding community that placed him in a feminized position. Hubbard came from a well-resourced immigrant family and excelled in the sciences at Morehouse once he overcame his initial academic stumbling blocks. Even as he had grown up in proximity to low-income Black neighborhoods in his native New Jersey, Hubbard's upbringing had been spent mostly sheltered from communities like the West End, and thus his view of the neighborhood is detached, and even contemptuous.

> HUBBARD: Oh the surrounding community was horrible. I mean goodness gracious, it was just—horrible. In the sense that you have nice campuses, good educational facilities, but it's just in the 'hood, right? […]You have people there in just projects, right? In this bad state. Just something needs to be done."
>
> SG: What sense did you get that the college was involved in its surrounding community, if at all?

HUBBARD: I didn't find the college was involved at all in the community. At all.

Despite his disdain for the West End and the disconnect Hubbard observed between the institution and community, he ventured on several occasions into West End businesses, notably the West End Mall, a declining strip mall just blocks south of Morehouse's campus. It is here that he vividly recalls an uncomfortable encounter with another mall patron.

HUBBARD: I went to the mall. Actually, I don't know why I was doing this. It was a really bad mall. I was bored. And I went there, I think I was looking for sneakers or something and I was walking through the neighborhood, and as I was walking back I actually noticed someone from the mall was tailing me and he just kept following me. So I just stopped and turned around and was like "Is something going on?" And he didn't say nothing. He just left. Yeah, because I was thinking if he's going to do something, he better do it now.[…] He was getting a little too close and I thought it was best to, you now, it's like this kind of thing. Dogs. Dogs looking for prey or something. You run, they're going to eat you up. […]People saw Morehouse students as ATM machines. They would rough Morehouse students up pretty frequently when I was there.

This experience of being tailed by men, and approached by men, and managing one's body in view of men in public spaces stands out as memorable for Hubbard's experience. Yet the potential dangers that come along with being the object of male gaze in public spaces are routine parts of the public space experiences of both West End women and female AUC students alike. While Hubbard's anxiety in this situation is due in part to the material threat that a potential mugging would have on his property and body, there is also a deep level of discomfort that must be explained by understanding the experience of being effeminized by the male gaze. Ironically, low-income men are also effeminized daily by the gaze of state surveillance and racial profiling throughout West

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End public and private spaces[49]. But for well-resourced men like Hubbard, such an experience alters their understanding of a central tenet of masculinity: that men in public spaces are gazers and not gazed upon.

These types of male-to-male standoffs were the most common types of confrontation that respondents recalled personally having with men in the West End. But just as Hubbard recalls these experiences as marked differences between men of Morehouse and resident men, respondents such as Mort and Bird understand these neighborhood altercations as sites through which they understand class differentiations between students.

Mort and Bird were men from the moderately resourced and low-resourced groups, respectively. Both had been raised in low income communities with high crime rates, and while Mort's parents were financially better off than most of their neighbors, both he and Bird had arrived at Morehouse with a keen sense that west End, like their home communities, was a place of unspoken rules of conduct, particularly between men. Unlike Hubbard, who viewed the neighborhood as a "horrible" space to avoid, Mort arrived on campus eager to engage the thriving social activist and Afrocentric enclaves for which the West End is also known. Mort describes his interactions with Black West Enders as his "saving grace" and points his criticism towards the institution's minimized involvement in the community.

> MORT: For the most part, Morehouse didn't engage the immediate community—I mean the projects [are] right next door—unless a student got his ass kicked from walking through the projects. And typically that happened when a student was like flashing their clothing, or just didn't

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[49] Sociologist Nikki Jones notes that street surveillance and harassment by the state often places young Black men in effeminized positions, from which they can only access male dominance by in turn catcalling or street harassing women.

know some codes of the street, so to speak. […]I think because I was from a poor community I knew how to engage people. I knew how to talk, or when I wasn't supposed to speak to people I didn't speak. You know, it's times when you just don't go into a neighborhood and start running your mouth, you know. […]I knew the rules of engagement. I mean it's that simple.

SG: Name some of them that you're conscious of. What would those be?

MORT: Which were, you walk into other communities of color humbly, that's number one. You don't walk in there wearing your Sunday best or fancy clothes to show you're better than the community in which you're walking through. You just don't do that. Like if you know somebody you say 'What's happening,' or 'What's up'. But even that's contextualized. Like you say 'What's up' a certain way and oh, wow, he turns around and looks at me. And you know it's that whole manhood. […]So those are some of the rules. Or engaging women from those communities. You have to be careful about that, because the way the locals look at it, you know, these college students are coming in here trying to holler at our women.

Mort is keen on the deliberate cultural code-switching he must exercise when moving from the college to the community. Just as Morehouse has its sets of unspoken and hidden curriculums that men must learn in order to navigate their ways around each other, so do communities like the West End have unspoken but universally recognized codes of masculine etiquette that men use to police and organize their relationships to each other. For Mort, this etiquette is nuanced, but not ambiguous. When masculinities happen upon each other in public spaces a delicate negotiation of power ensues in which deference must always be paid to the men to whom the space belongs. But where Hubbard is seemingly unaware of or unable to speak this coded language of street masculinity, Mort understands himself as fluent. Where Hubbard is unable to negotiate his way out of becoming effeminized within the male gaze, Mort strikes a more careful balance in order to avoid being victimized. The risk of becoming effeminized by the male

gaze is that one runs a high chance of being victimized by harassment or physical violence, as women often are in these spaces.

In these contexts, non-residential men have strategies for preserving the masculine privilege of occupying public space without being victimized. First, men can become active participants in the exchange by verbalizing their presence (Mort says "What's happening" or "What's up") thus switching from feminized passive roles to masculinized active roles in the encounter. This hegemony can also be arranged nonverbally with nods or brief and deferential eye contact. This is what Mort means by knowing "when not to speak," in that he negotiates his way out of the passive feminine role through either verbal or nonverbal expression, depending on cues and context.

Bird, too, exercises his ability to code-switch between the masculine etiquettes of privatized white-collar spaces and public streets. At the time of our interview, Bird was an investment banker at a global financial firm. Having learned the codes of masculinity from the streets of his socially marginalized childhood neighborhood, Bird at times expressed frustration about the new set of masculine nuances and cues imposed by the white-collar sector. The unambiguous terms of conflict, escalation, and physical violence that had organized his childhood interactions with men had no role in establishing power and hegemony amongst his coworkers. "I work in investment banking," Bird began to explain to me. "Some people who didn't grow up in that [socially marginalized] environment think they can talk any kind of way and then you're like 'Hold on!" At the end of the day we're man to man. We're not always going to work in the same place, so let's be on the same page. Understand your title. Understand who you're talking to."

When he arrived on campus as an eighteen year old, Bird was already a graduate of an elite all-boys boarding school where he had become well-versed in the roles that cultural, social, and economic capitals play in men's institutions. In transitioning from one masculine institution to another, Bird was culturally equipped to adapt to processes of branding, competition, and the hidden curriculum of the "gift of gab" that guided his college years. But even with his familiarity with this prestigious boys' school, Bird still understood himself to lack many of the forms of capital that had privileged his classmates at boarding school and Morehouse. And for Bird, one of these forms of cultural capital was the nuanced understanding of how men achieve hegemony in encounters with each other. Even as the majority of Bird's life had been spent in elite spaces of institutionalized male hegemony such as his schools and workplaces, he still considered himself to be more comfortable with the culture of street masculinity.

For Bird, the West End was a site that reminded him of the spaces like his home community where he had the advantage of a cultural insider. The neighborhood's codes of masculinity were a language he not only spoke fluently, but that he viewed as easy to understand. In his view, social logic and fundamental absolutes about street masculinity guided this understanding. "Well, the thing with men is you always assume conflict—that talking is going to lead to physical conflict," he explained to me.

His fluency in masculine cultures both inside and outside the gates allowed Bird an understanding of confrontations between men that was absent in my interviews with Hubbard or men who had very little exposure to predominantly Black low income communities. In our conversation, Bird postured himself almost as an interpreter or

cultural middleman explaining and contextualizing the interactions between men of

Morehouse and neighborhood men:

> BIRD: Most Black schools are in a very rough part of town. So there's
> no—it's not against the law for you to punch me in the face, kind of.
> Nobody carries it that way. So you're already in college and you're seen
> as one of the cats that *have*. So if I'm somebody who needs to rob
> somebody, I'm not going to take a chance of robbing somebody that might
> be poor. I'm gonna rob one of these cats who got mommy and daddy's
> money that they got sent down here with. So given that that's where you
> go to school, if you didn't know before you got down here? Somebody's
> gonna teach you the game that you need to be easy with going out by
> yourself. Or watch out when you go over to this neighborhood. […] You
> look at males in their twenties, there's a kind of bravado where—it would
> literally play itself out the same way it did in School Daze. It's like 'Y'all
> think y'all better than us.' And for all intents and purposes, we're on their
> turf.

Bird is keen on the nuances and cues of male-to-male encounters that allow him

not only to safely negotiate the West End without being victimized or effeminized, but

also to physically spend more time in public spaces of the West End than his classmates

who could not recognize these nuances and cues. This ability to safely occupy the West

End with a lowered risk of conflict had direct and important economic benefits for Bird.

He was able to work in West End businesses that were walking distance from campus

when he crucially needed income but didn't have a car. He was able to cheaply and safely

live off-campus in the affordable rentals on nearby blocks and thus significantly reduced

the amount he formerly paid for on-campus room and board.

There is another take on Bird's "interpretation" of male culture in the West End

that is also salient to understanding his worldview. Where our popular mainstream gaze

on male conflicts in marginalized communities often presents the violent activities and

outcomes of these interactions as random and irrational, Bird sees the order, hierarchy,

and occurrence of these conflicts as mostly logical and predictable. Where the institution

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may orient students to the idea of avoiding a community in which they can be surprised by violence and victimization at any turn, Bird is unfazed. His vantage allows him to see the socialized order of action, reaction, offense, and consequence that is played out in every male-to-male encounter. Take, for example, his most violently memorable encounter with a West End resident who threatened a group of pedestrian students. While Bird maintains that the residents' actions were violent and intimidating, he also sees the threat of this violence as it pertains to a logical sense of order, action, and consequence within the public space of the streets:

> BIRD: I remember one dude my freshman year. Dude pulled out a gun was like "I got 17 bullets for 17 students if y'all come on this side of the street.' It was like, well, shit, I guess I'm on the other side of the street. Why are yall up in arms about this? Don't walk on that dude's side of the street.

For Mort and Bird, the relationship to the surrounding community not only arranges categories of difference between neighborhood men and college men, but also stratifies markers of class difference and masculinity between men of Morehouse. Students who can occupy neighborhood spaces without being effeminized by harassment, crime, or the male gaze access a form of gender capital that is only traded in street masculinity. For men who are familiar with navigating these low-income urban communities like Mort and Bird, these street spaces are often one of the few sites where they have a masculine advantage over other men in the college. The culture of masculinity on the streets in many ways inverts the hierarchical order of masculinities within the college. Men who are the most familiar with low-income urban environments fare best in the West End, while more privileged men—those men who are most likely to be removed from low-income urban settings—find themselves unable to decode the

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signals, gestures and languages of masculinity that are necessary to safely navigate the neighborhood.

However, this assessment of who can and cannot access street masculinity doesn't only take class backgrounds into consideration. Archie, Yusef, and Chet were all men from well-resourced families who grew up weaving their lives between the racially integrated suburbs where they lived and predominantly Black urban areas where they socialized. Well-resourced men, then, can also understand themselves as accessing street masculinity vis-à-vis their abilities to adapt, learn, and acquire the forms of gender capital that are necessary to occupy the street.

In *Code of the Street,* Anderson addresses how young persons from "decent" homes can use the streets to test or undermine the socialization they have learned at home. "In other words," as Anderson notes, "the street serves as a mediating influence under which children may come to reconsider and rearrange their personal orientations. This is a time of status passage, a formative stage for social identity, as children sort out their ways of being." And when this status is based upon masculinity, men from various backgrounds can engage the streets as a means to test the gender socialization they have received from within their families and within the walls of the institution. In their everyday interactions with men in the neighborhood, Morehouse men must assess if the forms of capital they have acquired within the institutional process are adequate to preserve their masculinity on the street. For some men, as we can recall in Hubbard's story, these forms of institutional capital (e.g. the social networks, cultural nuances, and ability to conform to institutional constraints that provide men with masculine dominance inside the gates) can prove inadequate when squaring up against residential men in the

neighborhood. But for Mort and Bird, who lack many of the cultural and economic resources required to be dominant inside the institution, the streets represent a reversal of capitals where exchanges between men are traded first in the commodity of respect (Anderson 1999). What makes a man inside the gates is not what establishes manhood outside the gates. And for Mort and Bird, the streets affirm that they still possess adequate forms of masculinity that are resourceful far outside of the institutional process in which they are resource-deficient.

6.5   CONCEPTUALIZING A BROADER RACIAL COMMUNITY

While the institution's location within the West End community is a fundamental feature of the cultural process that forms gender and class ideologies in men's experiences, the physical space of the West End is not the only concept of a community beyond the gates that is formed through this experience. In this study, respondents are also consistently cognizant of the ideological mappings of a broader sense of Black community in which the institution and its graduates are perpetually linked and involved. Even for a partial institution, Morehouse has a relationship with a broader idea of racial community that goes far beyond merely preparing its students for social positions within this larger world. Rather, the particular social position of the institution is one that is wholly identified with middle class Black men when middle class Black men have been highly overrepresented in the historical and contemporary leadership of African-American communities. As a result of this inextricable link to a broader racial community, men within the college employ a double consciousness about the larger racial community where they are at once making sense of an institutional process that prepares them for positions within these communities, but also making sense of

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themselves and their own masculinities through the vantage of how they are viewed within this larger racial context. The evidence of this broader racial community takes two primary forms in the data that will be addressed in this section. First, this section addressed how men ideate a concept of their obligation to address racial conditions for African-Americans, both as examples of normative masculinity and pillars of community leadership. Second, this section examines the ideological consequences of how men ideate these notions of broader community. In this sense of obligation to a broader Black community, respondents also repeat patriarchal ideologies about Black male leadership that not only mute the role of Black women's leadership in these communities, but also repudiate and infantilize images of marginalized Black men.

Many previous approaches to processes of institutionalization limit the biographical field of interest to only the years that respondents were members of the institution. Studies of boarding school students or prison populations, for example, most often limit institutional data to years of enrollment or incarceration, respectively. Such studies are not equipped to explore how these processes of inquiry affect respondents in later stages of life course (Khan 2011). But in asking respondents to narrate their own biographical data from their home communities, high schools, and through their current vantages as adult men who have all had at least ten years of life history since having graduating from Morehouse,[50] this work can contextualize men's relationships to the outside world within the long arc of their mobility through that world. Hence, this work has the capacity to explore men's institutionalized relationships to the outside world not only as they remember their vantages from within the institution, but also how these

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[50] All of the respondents were between the ages of 32 and 37 at the time of their interview.

vantages shift and transform now that they occupy the social worlds for which they were

groomed.

A: The Morehouse Man's Burden

SG: What role do you feel Morehouse men play in improving conditions
for Black men as a whole?

ORNETTE: I think at first, the beginning of it, is to not be a Black man
whose condition needs improving.

An examination of the role that a larger sense of Black manhood and community

plays in the institutional process must first begin by establishing the extent to which men

are cognizant of these broader notions. The ways men talk about the immediately

surrounding West End community as opposed to the abstract concept of a larger racial

community strikes a stark and ironic contrast. All but a few men such as Mingus, Roy

and Davis felt that the college intentionally walled itself off from the West End and was

negligent in involving its resources and students in the improvement of the neighborhood.

In contrast, across the data and across resource categories of respondents, one of the most

consistent topics of discussion and agreed upon views was the perception that Morehouse

graduates have an obligation to improve the more widespread conditions of Black

communities on the whole. Men understood this type of obligation as a guiding feature of

their life course, the meanings they make of manhood, and a fundamental tenet of the

college's mission and institutional process. In this way, there is a ubiquitous double-

consciousness in which men are aware of this larger abstract community and dually

aware of how they, as products of the institution, are perceived by that community.

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Consider, for example, Bird's awareness of this larger community:

> BIRD: At a white school—I think White people in general—you're more so concerned about your immediate family and then doing kind of good for those around you. Whereas at Morehouse it's sort of the same thing except there you have an obligation to the race. So at Morehouse you're taught you have more responsibility because you're like the Talented Tenth. So they kind of drill the Talented Tenth in your head as a way of saying you have an obligation to those who can't be here. I mean, it was even to a point where some professors would be like "I would expect more of a Morehouse Man" or "Oh, I didn't think a Morehouse Man would do that."

For Bird, this obligation of racial uplift is not only a task that awaits men once they are produced from the institution, but also one that intrinsically guides how they are produced within the institution. And even as Bird was one of the most vocal respondents who griped about the nuisances of rules and policies around dress and decorum, he also understood these institutional constraints as a fundamental part of the development of Morehouse men into community leaders. Bird, like the overwhelming majority of respondents, had very few objections to the role that ideologies about the greater community play in the institutional process. To the contrary, he sees the institution as obligated to a sense of community that is inextricably linked to its race and class position. Historically, White colleges and universities have not carried the burden of advancing White communities nor preparing their graduates to uphold this "obligation to the race." Bird also understands this community obligation as hinged to a distinct class position in which Morehouse is even unlike other Black institutions and Morehouse men are even

unlike other Black *people*. His use of the term "Talented Tenth[51]" invokes an oft-

criticized Duboisian view of racial improvement that differentiates the college educated

professional class of African Americans from the Black populous. And for Bird, this

differentiation is not simply accomplished at the site of merit, but at the site of culture, in

which decorum, behavior and the expectation of respectability qualify Morehouse men

for community leadership. This sense of obligation was also shared in the words of Tadd,

Elvin (well-resourced), and Fitzgerald (moderately-resourced) as well:

> TADD: And when you get there, you start getting indoctrinated and
> inculcated with the kind of, "Do you understand where you are?", "Do you
> understand who's walked these halls?", "Do you understand your
> responsibility as a Black man who's coming through this school in terms
> of what you're going to give back?", "Do you understand that you will not
> just exist on this campus, you will be giving back?" […]So it's a process
> as you're there that the expectation level is put on you. I had none going
> into the school.
>
> ********
>
> ELVIN: But then it goes back to if we [Morehouse men] are better, in some
> sense, what's our responsibility? And I think they do a good job of making
> that point. You know, you're supposed to be leaders. And if you're going
> to lead, who are you leading? You're leading people in your community.
>
> *********
>
> FITZGERALD: I learned to volunteer for the community through the
> college. […]But for Morehouse they put another slant on it. They said you
> need to give back because you were given so much. By the way, you're
> special. You're not like the majority of the Black male population. You
> need to give back.

In the above statements, all three men echo the sense of obligatory involvement

Black communities with themes of exceptionality and leadership running throughout.

Ideas of the "responsibility" of Morehouse men to "give back" to this racial community

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[51] A reference to a 1903 essay by W.E.B. Dubois in which he asserts that a tenth of the
Black race may be composed of growing cohort of young college educated African
Americans to whom the task of race betterment should be charged.

pervade Tadd and Elvin's notions of Morehouse men's role in widespread racial conditions. But these statements are not examples of merely a unidirectional relationship in which men understand themselves as being groomed for roles in the larger community. Rather, this ideological conception of broader racial community inversely informs how they understand the institutional process and how they are being made into men within this process.

Fitzgerald's statement in particular concretizes the notion of exceptionality by maintaining that men not only learned that they were obliged to contribute to the broader community, but learned also that this obligation is based in part on the cultural markers that distinguish Morehouse men from other Black men outside the institution. These cultural markers are built squarely upon ideologies of class and masculinity. Overwhelmingly, men conceive the larger racial community as one that is plagued with problems, particularly as those problems are associated with low-income and marginalized African-Americans.

What is also clear in discussions with several respondents is that the institutional process that arranges men's ideologies about a larger community can also institutionalize men to think of these communal problems as intrinsically gendered. In discussions with Hubbard, Horace, McCoy and Elvin I found it noteworthy that in their conceptualizations of widespread social ills facing African-Americans, they were less likely to emphasize issues like poverty, legacies of segregation, mass incarceration or unemployment as the seat of community issues. Rather, these issues were most often framed as outcomes of a fundamental decline in Black patriarchal models in these communities. This is not to say that men were unaware of this laundry list of social problems. To the contrary, these

same men were vocal about the proliferation of these issues throughout Black

communities. But their ideological sense of the source of these problems repeatedly

indicted these problems as the result of deviations from normative models of Black

masculinity within Black families communities. See, for example, McCoy and Elvin

below:

> MᴄCᴏʏ: Your average Morehouse student is going to have a strong family background. And so when I got to Morehouse most everybody had fathers, you know. By and large I think a big problem we have in our community is just a lack of positive male role models. And so most of them had male role models at Morehouse. […] I'm old fashioned. I guess I'm a chauvinist. A woman cannot teach a man how to be a man. A man has to teach a man how to be a man.
>
> <div align="center">***********</div>
>
> Elvin: Any statistic you want to think of, Black men, where they rank, you name it, they're at the bottom—or at the top if it's something negative. So it all goes back to having a Black man in the home, basically.

Here the tones of these notions of broader community are largely

heteropatriarchal. If McCoy and Elvin can view African Americans' widespread social

problems as results of an absence or decline in normative models of Black male

patriarchy within Black families and communities, then it is readily apparent that these

same men also understand Black male patriarchy to be the prominent solution to these

widespread problems. The understanding of broader racial community, then, is not only

one in which men are cognizant of their perceived obligations to these communities. The

relationship to larger community can also directly inform how men understand and assess

the gendered culture of institutional process. If men view the problems of the larger

community as sourced from an absence of normative masculinity and heteropatriarchy,

then normative masculinity and heteropatriarchy are necessary cultural solutions to these

social problems. And if they view the prevalent social problems in Black communities as attributable to a dearth of Black men who assume these normative masculine scripts, then they can also understand Morehouse's process as one that provides forms of normative masculinity that are necessary for racial improvement.

The gendered content of these statements also poses the potential for an additional examination of men's relationships to this larger racial context. In framing racial problems upon the grounds of Black male patriarchy, men can also ideologically draw the cultural lines that delineate the normative forms of masculinity that they are institutionalized to accomplish from the non-normative forms of masculinity that are readily associated with stereotypes of low income Black men. Much like the parking lot confrontation in *School Daze* between working class neighborhood men and college men referenced earlier in the chapter, one of the ways that Morehouse men can come to understand their own masculinity as normative is by repudiating and infantilizing the masculinities of other men within broader Black communities. In doing so, men locate themselves and their paths of mobility in opposition to the most prominent and reviled stereotypes of low income and marginalized Black men. Consider, for example, Horace and McCoy below:

> HORACE: Like you take the stereotype-- you take the stereotypical black male. Lazy, not committed, always wants things given to him. It's the complete opposite, right? People expect more. As a Morehouse man you're gonna have good grades, right? You're not fathering out of wedlock children. You are doing something to give back to the community, helping someone at some point. And you're providing--you're setting an example to other kids who will see you and you're saying this is the way life should be lived. This is the way a Black man is supposed to act. Not that nonsense on tv, this is how it's supposed to happen.

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SG: And what was this return (on the institution's investment in its students) supposed to look like?

McCoy: The return was supposed to look like I guess a pillar of the community. They didn't want to hear any "Oh, he's got twelve baby's mamas," or "He beats his woman," or "Oh he writes hot checks." They didn't want to hear that shit…And so with that expectation being there, that's when I say they were groomed to be the Talented Tenth.

It was Bourdieu's claim that the impact of educational institutions reaches far beyond the ostensible curriculum. In *Distinction* (1979)*,* he maintained that the institutional process of education also informs our notions around such cultural items as aesthetics, taste, morality, and merit. For Bourdieu, these notions are formed not arbitrarily, but in opposition to the notions formed by other classes. In other words, the smallest and most subjective acts of taste or opinion are not organic or pure, but are polluted by the judgments we make on the social world that are afforded by our class positions. But in their ideological relationships to a broader racial community, men's cultural distinctions are hung upon the aesthetics of high art or literature, but rather these distinctions follow the cultural sensibilities they learn within the process about how manhood should be done.

How men see their roles in the broader community undoubtedly informs the ways they come to see other Black men in these communities. In this view, Black men who lack the resources or desire to ascribe to normative patriarchal gender scripts stand in categorical opposition to the Morehouse men who are groomed to assume these normative class and gender scripts. In these statements, non-normative Black men are indicted across a number of class and gender items. Horace and McCoy denounce these

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non-normative men as sexually deviant as they in turn position Morehouse as a process that produces men in opposition to these stereotypes. Their relationship to outside world is not only one of community involvement, but also of distinction from other forms of masculinity. Gender, class, and sexuality provide the ideological grounds upon which Horace and McCoy distinguish themselves and other Morehouse men from Black men outside of the institution.

A conversation with Clifford continues this theme even further. Similar to the previously mentioned men, Clifford also understands an obligation to improve conditions for the broader race in part as a confrontation and repudiation of the most reviled stereotypes of Black men. But unlike the previously discussed men, Clifford does not arrive at this cultural distinction between men as a result of his own ideologies, and in fact he was highly critical of the ways the broader conditions of Black men were discussed—or even ignored—in the institutional process. Clifford, then, shares an account of how these masculine distinctions are structurally institutionalized into the process. In this instance, the classroom was one of the spaces where Clifford most remembers these messages about Black men outside of the institution. As a social science major, Clifford's seminar-style courses provided ample space for discussions of social ailments facing Black communities and the roles Black men could play in addressing them. In these courses, role of Black men in improving the state of Black communities not only informs the curriculum, but *is* the curriculum. In these instructions, Morehouse graduates are urged to take on the posture of responding to the marginalized forms of Black masculinity that they perceive as ailing these communities. Clifford details his classroom experience as follows:

CLIFFORD: It must have been, maybe in a sociology class, a discussion about Black men having more of a multi-dimensional experience outside of deadbeat fatherhood and being incarcerated, not there for their children, that sort of thing. […]The discussion would be more about Black men, you know, what was that statistic about there being more Black men in prison than in college? So discussions around debunking those sorts of perceptions and misconceptions and basically what we would have to be putting forth for a more balanced image of Black fatherhood. And to the extent that I think we understood that we could be men who were there for our children, that there weren't more Black men in prison than in college in the age group we were in. […]So really I think in discussing those pitfalls it was a part of the thought that we could be a part of the ones who were succeeding, not in jail, not [not] being there for our children, not supporting our children, that sort of thing.

The institutionalization of these masculine distinctions, however, is not without consequence. For men whose paths of mobility force them to negotiate a world of systemic and unrelenting racism that awaits them beyond the gates, ideological distance from images of non-normative Black men can mean distance from the actual Black men who are most subject to the penalties of these stereotypes.

For Milt, the undergoing a process that made him into a Morehouse man permanently altered his relationships to the outside world, particularly Black men from his working class home community. As an adult, Milt and his wife reside in a racially integrated metropolitan area populated by similarly high-income earning young professionals. As a scholar and academic married to a corporate attorney, Milt's upward mobility from his blue-collar home community is nearly complete. He explains this transformation of his social networks as follows:

MILT: The image that was projected [re: stereotypes of Black men] was shattered by the reality of day to day being at Morehouse. […] I guess being at Morehouse assured me again, that diversity was there. I think being in that environment, being at Morehouse, really changed who I am. Where if I had not gone to Morehouse, maybe not left [his hometown], maybe not gone to college or something like that or stayed kind of static,

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along the track I would have been on, growing into manhood in that context. Really Morehouse put me in touch with new ways to think about things, introduced me to new hobbies, new perspectives.

SG: Do you still have interactions with guys who stayed back [in his hometown] or didn't go to school?

Milt: Not usually. You know, Facebook friends with a couple of them. But these are guys who just Facebooked me, but just with the exception of friend requests, that would be the extent of the interaction. From a meaningful standpoint the only guys I'm friends with from high school are the guys I came to Morehouse with.

Milt understands the institutional process to not only play an integral and irreplaceable cultural and social role in his journey to upward mobility, but to also shift his worldview of manhood. For Milt, the process of being prepared for a larger outside world provided the forms of social networks and cultural capital that he needed to ascend into the professional class. But as his worldview and networks expanded into the mainstream, so did his interactions with non-upwardly mobile Black men become limited in both frequency and quality. While normative masculinity provides the vehicle upon which men like Milt can become congruent with the cultural mainstream, it also shifts how they interact with the Black men who exist in other spaces in their lives.

6.6   DISCUSSION

Morehouse, as an institution and an institutional process, is intrinsically shaped by its relationship to the outside world. How men come to understand this process and themselves as products of it, then, cannot be understood in a vacuum but must be considered in relation to their understandings of the revolving-door relationship the institution has with the social world and communities beyond the gates.

Men understand this outside relationship on two terrains. First, the impoverished conditions of the immediately surrounding West End neighborhood provide a stark contrast to the experiences of men within the middle class institution. Even as the majority of men felt the college was unnecessarily walled off from the neighborhood, men's individual interactions with neighborhood residents were frequent and necessary features of the spatial arrangement of the neighborhood to the campus. But in these interactions with neighborhood residents, respondents most often recalled their physical encounters with West End men. In these encounters, the very forms of capital and masculinity that are promoted within the institution do not convert to masculine hegemony on the street. In the neighborhood, the very forms of capital they acquire to propel them to the top of masculine hegemony within the institution are almost meaningless when confronting other men on the street. The West End provides one of the few spaces where men who have been institutionalize to be dominant and hegemonic can feel effeminized by the hegemonies of other Black men.

Secondly, men construct an ideological sense of a broader racial community beyond the gates. Even as men criticize the college's limited involvement in its immediately surrounding physical community, they consistently emphasize the lingering presence this larger racial community has within the curriculum and process that shapes them into Morehouse men. Within the institutional process men learn that they are obligated to improving the conditions of this racial community. But this obligation is fundamentally constructed around gender scripts about racial problems that are sourced from a perceived absence or decline of Black male gender normativity. In response, men subscribe to patriarchal ideologies in which they see the absence of Black male patriarchs

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and male-headed households in Black communities as the root of many of this community's social problems. In this context, many men come to see Morehouse as correcting these issues by producing men who will occupy traditional middle class patriarchal positions in Black communities.

CHAPTER 7:
REFLECTION AND CONCLUSION

Among social ethnographers who study social problems, it is an unspoken

tradition to study and explain issues within groups of people who already recognize the

problem. Ethnographers of urban poverty do not need to convince the poor that poverty is

a problem. Ethnographers of unemployment do not need to explain to the jobless that

unemployment is a problem. When I set out to study Morehouse College, however, I did

so from the feminist sociological stance that hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy were

problems at this institution. I saw it as my job, then, to explore and uncover how men

experienced an institutional process that I already felt was problematic. The men who

elected to participate in this study, however, do not agree that the patriarchy and

hegemony this study interrogates is a problem for their lives. To the contrary, men in this

study were overwhelmingly positive in their reflections on their college years, even as

they were ten years or more removed from the experience.

Of the thirty-two respondents, only one was insistent that Morehouse had had a

negative effect on his life, four respondents could best be described as ambivalent about

their experiences, but twenty-seven remaining respondents felt that Morehouse's effect

on their lives had been mostly positive or very positive[52]. Men for whom the experience

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[52] It is of note that the respondents who were ambivalent or who felt negatively about
experience did so on primarily racial, not gendered grounds. Clifford, for example, felt
Morehouse was out of step with Black radicalism and was preparing its students to be
assimilationists.

was mostly positive tended to look back in hindsight on the ways they appreciate the skills and life lessons they learned at Morehouse more now than they did then. Many of these men were grateful for the like-minded Black men they met, many of whom they felt would be lifelong friends. A sizeable third of men who felt the experience was very positive went as far as to credit Morehouse with making them the man they are today, and/or for guiding the development of other Black men as well. As I conclude this study and speak to its overarching points and implications, I feel obligated to be honest about how much the men in this study seemed to love their college, each other, and being Morehouse Men. I have problematized the way that Morehouse "makes" its students into men, but the men in this study are proud products of their experience, and stand by what they feel is an effective, productive, and necessary means of creating exceptional Black men.

This brief conclusion chapter will bridge the findings of this study into the implications for future works in three key scholarly conversations: First, this conclusion will discuss the implications of this study for the field of gender and institution studies. Second, I situate this work's contributions to our understandings of the Black middle class, particularly in the ways this work calls for further gendering of Black middle class studies. Third, I offer this work's implications for our knowledge of Black men in higher education. Lastly, I offer a discussion of what all of this means for life of Morehouse College itself.

7.1 IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDIES OF GENDER AND INSTITUTIONS

We don't simply bring gender with us into institutions; rather we are gendered by institutions—even those that do not completely encompass our lives. I have termed such

institutions "partial" institutions because I found that the structures that institutionalize

men at Morehouse are much more nuanced, malleable, and shifting than the fixed

regimens that dictate life in asylums, prisons, or the military, and yet are no less

efficacious. The ability to empirically examine the nuances of cultural navigation within

the partial institution allows for a multi-layered analysis that does not rely on the

relationship between staff/structure and members alone. This multi-layered analysis is a

more comprehensive approach to gender and institutions than many previous studies

because it analytically accommodates experiences of gender within our most common

form of institutions. The contribution of this work to our studies of gender and

institutions is that it allows for an examination of institutional structure and process that

takes into account the ways that institutionalization is determined by the varying extents

of resources that men retain, gain, or lose within into the process.

This study positioned men to make meanings of an institutional process that was

intentionally structured to make them into Morehouse men. Recalling their years at the

institution, men were reflective about how their understandings of the institutional

process were shaped by various points in their experiences, including New Student

Orientation, the intensive corporate grooming many men underwent as part of the

Leadership and Professional Development course, the competitive internship and

graduate admissions seasons of their upperclassman years, and regular confrontations

with low-income men from the surrounding community. While our existing studies of

gender and institutions are hinged primarily to models of total institutions and emphasize

how gendering occurs in the relationships between institutional staff and members, I

found that Morehouse men have their masculinities institutionalized in ways that exceed

the relationship of staff to members and speak to sites of gender institutionalization that have otherwise been overlooked.

There are visible and hidden curriculums that institutionalize men into Morehouse's promoted forms of manhood. While the institution administers several direct instructions about masculinity such as dress codes that mandate jackets and ties to convocations and discourage feminine clothing or street wear, men also revealed that the gendered curriculum can also be much more nuanced, with unspoken rules and codes that can have similarly serious consequences when broken. Existing studies of gender and institutions tend to have little analytical room for addressing how the backgrounds and worldviews of members come into play in the ways they are institutionalized, or presume that members engage institutional structures inasmuch as they comply with or resist these structures. However, I found that men's abilities to see, decode, and comply with the cultural curriculum were informed almost purely by the capital and resources they carried with them from their backgrounds, not their desires to comply with the process. Men could, for example, want to embody the masculine traits promoted within institutional rituals, but lack the proper suit and tie required for attendance.

We tend to imagine institutions as sites of involuntary conformity where members are made to uniformly engage structures like rules, routines, and procedures. I found that at Morehouse, however, the ways men engaged institutional structures resulted in a great deal of variation. The first form of this variation is that the "tissues of constraint" (a term Goffman coined to explain structural restrictions) expand and contract at different times and spaces in the process. The tissues were particularly fastened around men's inaugural experiences in New Student Orientation, when newly enrolled freshmen were "branded"

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to the institution. Tissues also contracted in the upperclassmen years when men were intensely groomed by a non-academic cultural curriculum for corporate and white-collar professions.

Tissues, however, do not only contract and expand around time and space, but also around different men. Well-resourced men who enter the college already culturally congruent with its promoted forms of masculinity felt the rules were reasonable and fairly easy to follow or navigate around, but resource-deficient men struggled to comply with the constrictions. Simultaneously, the nuanced and hidden cultural curriculum meant that low-resourced men were more likely to violate unspoken rules. As Lucky, a low-resourced Atlanta native phrased it, "The rules wasn't rules for everybody." The ways that Morehouse's structure institutionalizes students is not a consistent or universally experienced feature, and it is clear from narratives that the resulting variation tends to fall along the lines of the capital and resources men possess and acquire.

Existing studies of the institutionalization of gender also tend to emphasize— almost exclusively—that the institutionalization process occurs in the relationships between staff/structure and members. At Morehouse, however, I found that the ways men institutionalize each other, and the ways they are institutionalized by their relationships to the outside world, play equally significant roles in the process. The hierarchies, structures, and constraints of hegemonic masculinity were present agents throughout both of these additional sites. It has been well established by feminist scholars that competition is an ever-present feature of men's hegemonic relationships to each other. Undoubtedly, I found competition to be replete throughout men's experiences, particular as they compete for limited resources like grades, internships, women, recognition, and leadership

positions. They also compete with each other to be Morehouse Men, especially as they learn from the staff that Morehouse masculinity is a limited resource that not all will attain nor will all represent. As it is in all other areas of their experience, men enter competitions as individuals with varying amounts of capital and resources. While competition, for low and moderately resourced men, was an opportunity to assess and acquire more resources (e.g. the human capital of skills or the social capital of professional networks), well-resourced men engaged competition as a form of capital itself. They knew the hidden nuances of how, when, and where to compete.

Individual competition was not the only hegemonic arrangement men had to each other. I found that men's narratives were often layered with compulsory heterosexuality, and the heteronormativity of the environment resulted in narratives that were often deeply laced with homophobia. If we are to concede that hegemony is always at play in relationships of power between men (Connell 2000; Donaldson 1999), then I wanted to know how men use homophobia to disburse power among each other. What I found was that heteronormative men used homophobia to establish categorical dominance over other groups of (queer) men. By arranging themselves and "others" into categories, men were able to concentrate hegemonic power within the dominant group and subordinate queer groups who sought representation and visibility within the Morehouse Man/brand. Our understandings of hegemonic masculinity have concluded that competition is an ever-present feature of male homosocial space, but I found that there are points in the process when men put hegemonic competition with each other on hold. At these points, all men can access male hegemony because men have arranged themselves in hegemonic opposition to women. This became clear after a high-profile incident of sexual assault in

which a Spelman student accused several Morehouse students of gang rape. Men stood in solidarity with each other and with the accused against the female victim and the women's institution that supported her. Such incidents provide gender information for men: they learn that no matter their rank and position along the masculine hierarchy, patriarchy and the ability to subordinate women will always provide them access to hegemony.

Lastly, this study addressed the far too often overlooked effects of the outside world on the institutionalization of gender. Men at Morehouse are not siphoned off from the world. They engage both the physical surroundings of the low-income West End neighborhood that borders the campus, as well as an ideological sense of larger community that is fostered in them by the institution's reciprocal relationship to the broader context of Black advancement. In the West End, men learn that the forms of capital that move men to the top of the Black masculine hierarchy within the college are ineffective in establishing hegemony over low-income West End men. When West End men have home court advantage and the physical ability to cause harm, Morehouse students can find themselves relegated to victimized positions that are otherwise reserved for women. Their relationship to a broader ideological sense of Black community also informs their understandings of the institution and its process. As they understand the institution to have a larger social mission around Black male leadership and respectability, so do they see themselves as being prepared to lead Black communities and represent this respectability. This revolving-door relationship to the broader racial community, in which men understand that they are being prepared to take the helm of these communities, deeply informs how men make meanings of the gender and class constructs of the

process. If they learn from the institution that the "problem" with Black communities is the absence of traditional male patriarchs, then men come to understand patriarchy as a formidable solution to widespread issues within the race. In this view, assuming the ideologies of traditional Black male patriarchy, therefore, is not a problem but a necessary remedy for communities "injured" by non-normative gender roles.

If we have established that institutions gender us, and that the form of institutions most of us will encounter throughout our lives is overwhelmingly partial, then studies of gender and institutionalization must expand to accommodate the ways that everyday institutions craft and inform our gender ideologies, scripts, and behaviors. There remains a critical dearth of gender work that examines nuanced variations of resources and experiences that is most readily observed in our interactions with partial institutions. This work contributes to filling that gap while also calling for more similar approaches to the issue.

7.2   IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDIES OF THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

Studies of the Black middle class have long been associated with studies of Black families (Hirschl, Altobelli and Rank 2003; Lacy 2007; Pattillo 1999; Marsh 2007), wealth and income (Bowser 2007; Oliver and Shapiro 1997), or educational and occupational attainment (Collins 1997; Harris 2010). While other disciplines have made strides in addressing the pervading role of gender in the Black middle class, sociology has been slow to answer the call for works that gender the conditions, ideologies, and experiences of the Black middle class. In this oversight, our understanding of the ways gender dictates and compounds class identities and pathways to upward mobility has been underdeveloped. This study offers up some of this understanding by gendering the experiences of men who are poised for middle class entry. While our existing literature

the likes of Lacy (2007), Landry (1987) and Pattillo (1999) has framed much of our knowledge of middle class African Americans, this work examines how men arrive into the middle class, and how the college experience serves as a threshold of middle class culture and ideology.

I found that the men in this study did all become culturally and economically middle and upper class, with regard to their educational attainment and occupational prestige. I found also that the ways they understood their pathways to class ascension were undeniably gendered. Men's views of their own class trajectories were paved with ideations of Black male respectability. They understood themselves as exceptions to the widespread trend in Black male crisis and distinguished themselves as "good" Black men through normative gender and sexuality markers. Being institutionalized into the mainstream has potent consequences for how Black men conceptualize and perform class, gender, and sexuality (Grundy 2012). Their everyday considerations of dress, decorum, presentation, sex, career, and interactions with women were dictated by their perceived fealty to "respectable" Black manhood. To uphold the standards of the college was to be respectable, and to be respectable was to be professional middle class.

Assessments of the Black middle class have been historically tethered to the progress of Black men. Now that the gender landscape of the Black middle class is changing and women are the dominant demographic, Black men who are poised for middle class entry find themselves outnumbered and, at-times, out-earned by professional class Black women for the first time in the race's history. Such a shift poses a possible challenge to historical patriarchy of black men, and a rich point for examining their

ideologies within the context of a shifting gender terrain. This work will, hopefully, catalyze much of this discussion.

7.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDIES OF BLACK MALES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Black male college graduates have often been fetishized in the popular imagination as odds-beating success stories, but there has been little empirical effort to understand the gendered features of their experience. Higher education is commonly upheld as the panacea for drawing Black men out of the social margins and into positions where they are poised to access the cultural, material, and economic resources of the mainstream (Grundy 2012). The few qualitative studies that have analyzed the experiential data on gender and masculinity for Black males in higher education (Harper 2004, 2012; Dancy 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Davis 1999) have primarily focused on completion rates and achievement outcomes and have rarely stopped to problematize Black masculinity in college from a feminist perspective. The literature has yet to explore colleges as spaces where some men learn hegemonic masculinity, patriarchal ideologies, and apply them to their burgeoning worldviews.

When I applied a feminist sociological lens to men at Morehouse, I found that the institutionalization process arranges men into relationships of male hegemony. In these relationships, men learn that masculinity is itself a limited resource for which they are in nearly constant competition with other men. Accomplishments like grades, awards, opportunities and graduation are also cast as competition under this hegemonic schema. Failing to situate gender within the experiences of Black male collegians, then, is a failure to understand that achievement outcomes are not unrelated to masculine

hegemony, and that the gender experiences of Black men in college complicates their notions and ambitions towards achievement.

Widespread problems that plague American colleges and universities like sexual assault must also be correlated to the most detrimental effects of hegemonic masculinity. In this study I found that men had little understanding of violence against women, and what they did understand was viewed almost solely from a patriarchal vantage. Men used incidents of sexual assault to organize themselves in solidarity against female victims and their female supporters. For these men, sexual assault accusations were a threat to the Black male respectability they all strived to achieve by virtue of being enrolled in college. Any comprehensive sexual violence prevention program targeted towards Black males has a responsibility to understand the role that race and hegemonic masculinity play in their (mis)understandings of violence against women. To be unambiguous about the matter of policy implications at hand, I am urging that Morehouse immediately address the dangerous absence of any formal or comprehensive sexual violence prevention programs on its campus. It is equally imperative that these programs be lead by experts with extensive experience in campus sexual violence prevention.

7.4   IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

This study has, throughout its pages, intended to show that beyond the arc of the lives of the respondents there is an arc of the life of the institution itself. Morehouse is not a fixed entity. Not only has this study shown that the college acts upon social world to which it belongs, but discussions of how students come to see the college's mission as

tied to a larger social project about Black men and Black communities have shown us that Morehouse is also acted upon by the broader social world.

Like the individual respondents, Morehouse has institutional history and memories. Also like respondents, Morehouse can construct memories of itself and the national past that are inaccurate or distorted. Like all institutions, Morehouse can lie—and it does—about its past, about its accomplishments, its legacy, and the impact that it makes on its students. If we recall from the discussion of memory and accuracy in the methods section, the role of the ethnographer is not to hunt down a single positivist truth in order to judge the data against it. Thusly, the lies and inaccuracies Morehouse tells about itself—and that influences that trickle down into the narratives of respondents—are also data. Just as the intention of the ethnographer is to compose an aggregate description of a culture, people, or place, so does this study contribute an aggregated representation of Morehouse that can uncover the overlaps and contradictions between the college's memories and narratives of itself and those of its graduates.

The composite portrait of Morehouse that the memories and brief life histories of respondents paint is one of an institution that is at a crossroad. If Morehouse was initially founded during Reconstruction as a racial project to prove Black moral and intellectual parity with Whites, and evolved into a post-Civil Rights Era project about class assimilation into the white collar cultural mainstream, then it is perhaps overdue that its next chapter should involve a reexamination of its gender mission.

The gendered terrain of American colleges is rapidly shifting. On average, female enrollment in 4-year colleges and universities has slightly edged ahead of males. Organizations and resources for LGBTQ have become increasingly visible, and thus the

progressive national climate around gender and sexuality issues in higher education has rapidly accelerated while Morehouse, in many ways, has rested on the laurels of its gender traditions. While campuses across the country have spent the last decade expanding their policies and facilities to accommodated transgendered students, Morehouse, in 2008, enacted a dress code that strictly forbid students from wearing "women's clothing." While the climate of post-graduate employment at elite PWIs has strongly geared towards entrepreneurship, especially in the famously relaxed technology sector, today's Morehouse has doubled down on its message of formality and acculturating its students to a shrinking sector of white-collar corporate occupations.

Today's Morehouse is swimming against the cultural current of higher education on the whole. The structural rules and policies that police gender in Morehouse residence halls and common spaces are nearly absent on many elite campuses, and the policies against sexual assault and violence against women that have been successfully demanded at many PWIs are absent at Morehouse. The result is that current and future Morehouse graduates are often under-prepared culturally to enter white-collar workspaces alongside PWI alumni who were trained within a drastically different gender landscape. In interviews, there were a small handful of discussions about the ways men had to "unlearn" Morehouse in adulthood when they entered professional worlds that were mixed not only racially and sexually, but where they also encountered other Black men who were equally successful, equally respectable, but were unaffiliated with Morehouse. In many ways, one of the lies that Morehouse may cling to the strongest is the one regarding its own exceptionalism. What this study contributes to our understandings of Morehouse, then, has much to do with the ways they use gender and culture to continue

to tell the lie of their exceptionalism, even in the face of data to the contrary about Black males in white-collar occupations.

While those respondents who felt Morehouse had a positive affect on their lives still overwhelmingly insisted that there was a mark of detectable difference between Morehouse men and Black male alumni of other institutions, this claim is unsubstantiated with regard to many of the tangible markers of middle class attainment and white collar occupational success that academically high-achieving Black male collegians are experiencing nation-wide. The challenge of Morehouse of today and tomorrow may be to further identify and define what exactly the institution provides for Black men's lives that surpasses the rhetoric of exceptionalism and the aging laurels of Black male respectability.

This study hopes to bring together conversations on race, class, gender, and institutions that have long been disassociated within sociological literature. The narratives of men in this study provide windows into the intersecting nature of these issues, and offer us a point of entry to filling the gap between the aforementioned literatures. Our ability to further studies that intersect these camps has the potential to significantly enhance our understandings and approaches to each. Our neglect of the overlap and intersections between these camps will only insure further misunderstandings of the lives of Black men.

APPENDIX A: RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

	LOW-RESOURCED (N=10)	MODERATELY-RESOURCED (N=8)	WELL-RESOURCED (N=14)
FATHER'S OCCUPATION [53]			
K-12 EDUCATION (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
PROFESSOR/RESEARCHER (2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
ATTORNEY (2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
PHYSICIAN (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
SERVICE SECTOR (1)	(1)	(0)	(0)
CIVIL SERVICE (4)	(2)	(2)	(0)
FACTORY/LABORER (2)	(1)	(1)	(0)
MILITARY (3)	(0)	(2)	(1)
ENGINEERING (2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
COMPUTING/IT (1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
BUSINESS/ MANAGERIAL (3)	(0)	(1)	(2)
ODD JOBS (2)	(1)	(1)	(0)
UNEMPLOYED (0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
SELF-EMPLOYED (2)	(0)	(1)	(1)
OTHER (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
UNKNOWN (4)	(4)	(0)	(0)
DECEASED (1)	(2)	(0)	(0)
FATHER'S HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION[54]	(2)	(1)	(0)
SOME HIGH SCHOOL (3)	(4)	(6)	(0)
HIGH SCHOOL (10)	(0)	(1)	(0)
SOME COLLEGE (1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
BACHELOR'S DEGREE (5)	(0)	(0)	(5)
PROFESSIONAL (5)	(0)	(0)	(5)
MASTERS (5)	(0)	(0)	(2)
DOCTORATE (2)	(1)	(0)	(0)
MOTHER'S OCCUPATION			
HEALTHCARE (8)	(4)	(2)	(2)
K-12 EDUCATION (8)	(1)	(4)	(3)
CLERICAL/SECRETARIAL (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
FACTORY WORKER (2)	(2)	(0)	(0)
CIVIL SERVICE (1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
MILITARY/GOVERNMENT (2)	(1)	(0)	(1)
BUSINESS/ MANAGERIAL (3)	(0)	(2)	(1)
SELF-EMPLOYED (1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
STAY-AT-HOME (4)	(0)	(0)	(4)
(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)			
(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)			

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MOTHER'S HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION	(0)	(0)	(0)
SOME HIGH SCHOOL (0)	(1)	(1)	(1)
HIGH SCHOOL (3)	(5)	(0)	(3)
SOME COLLEGE (8)	(3)	(5)	(6)
BACHELOR'S DEGREE (14)	(0)	(0)	(0)
PROFESSIONAL (0)	(1)	(2)	(4)
MASTERS (7)	(0)	(0)	(0)
DOCTORATE (0)			
PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS[55]			
NEVER MARRIED TO EACH OTHER (5)	(5)	(0)	(0)
DIVORCED-SINGLE			
MOTHER (6)	(3)	(0)	(3)
FATHER (4)	(2)	(0)	(2)
DIVORCED/WIDOWED-RE-MARRIED			
MOTHER (4)	(1)	(2)	(1)
FATHER (4)	(1)	(1)	(2)
MARRIED TO EACH OTHER (17)	(0)	(7)	(10)
WIDOWED-SINGLE			
MOTHER (1)	(1)	(0)	(0)
FATHER (0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
PARENTS' ETHNICITY			
MOTHER			
AFRICAN-AMERICAN (29)	(11)	(7)	(11)
CONTINENTAL AFRICAN (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
AFRO-CARIBBEAN (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
AFRO-LATINA (1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
BIRACIAL (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
FATHER			
AFRICAN-AMERICAN (29)	(10)	(8)	(11)
CONTINENTAL AFRICAN (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
AFRO-CARIBBEAN (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
AFRO-LATINO (1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
BIRACIAL (1)	(1)	(0)	(0)
PARENTS' HOUSEHOLD INCOME (ESTIMATED)	(4)	(0)	(0)
<$24,999 (4)	(5)	(0)	(0)
$25K-49,999 (5)	(0)	(0)	(0)
$50K-74,999 (0)	(0)	(5)	(3)
$75K-99,999 (8)	(0)	(3)	(11)
>$100K (14)	(0)	(1)	(0)
UNKNOWN (1)			
HIGH SCHOOL			
PRIVATE/PAROCHIAL (6)	(2)	(1)	(3)
PUBLIC (26)	(8)	(7)	(11)
(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)			
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PAID FOR MOREHOUSE VIA[56]			
FULL SCHOLARSHIP (MERIT & ATHLETIC)(9)	(5)	(2)	(2)
PARTIAL SCHOLARSHIP (6)	(2)	(3)	(1)
FULL LOANS/AID (2)	(2)	(0)	(0)
SOME LOANS/AID (4)	(1)	(3)	(0)
FULL FAMILY CONTRIBUTION (11)	(0)	(1)	(10)
SOME FAMILY CONTRIBUTION (9)	(2)	(6)	(1)
PERSONAL EARNINGS (2)	(1)	(0)	(1)
RESPONDENT'S COLLEGE CONCENTRATION	(0)	(1)	(4)
HUMANITIES (5)	(3)	(1)	(3)
SOCIAL SCIENCES (7)	(0)	(0)	(5)
MATH, NATURAL/PHYS. SCIENCES (5)	(5)	(3)	(3)
BUSINESS (11)	(1)	(3)	(0)
EDUCATION[57] (4)	(0)	(0)	(0)
RESPONDENT'S POST-BACCALAUREATE EDUCATION			
LAW SCHOOL (4)	(0)	(2)	(2)
MEDICAL/DENTAL SCHOOL (2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
BUSINESS SCHOOL (8)	(2)	(3)	(3)
GRADUATE: PhD (5)	(2)	(0)	(3)
GRADUATE: MA (6)	(2)	(2)	(2)
NONE (6)	(2)	(1)	(3)
RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION			
BUSINESS/MANAGERIAL (9)	(3)	(2)	(4)
PUBLIC HEALTH/HEALTHCARE (1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
ACCOUNTING (1)	(0)	(1)	(0)
ATTORNEY (3)	(0)	(1)	(2)
PHYSICIAN/DENTIST (2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
HIGHER ED (ADMIN/STAFF) (3)	(1)	(1)	(1)
PROFESSOR/RESEARCHER (4)	(2)	(1)	(1)
K-12 ED (1)	(1)	(0)	(0)
LAW ENFORCEMENT (2)	(0)	(1)	(1)
GOVERNMENT (2)	(2)	(0)	(0)
SELF-EMPLOYED (2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
UNEMPLOYED (0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
OTHER (2)	(0)	(1)	(1)
RESPONDENT'S MARITAL/FAMILY STATUS	(3)	(2)	(4)
NEVER MARRIED W/ NO CHILDREN (9)	(0)	(0)	(1)
NEVER MARRIED W/ CHILDREN	(2)	(5)	(5)
MARRIED W/ CHILDREN	(3)	(1)	(3)

[1] Includes stepfathers if stepfather was residential parent for majority of respondent's formative years 0-18.

[1] See above.

[1] For majority of respondent's formative years 0-18.

[1] Most respondents funded their college education by using multiple combinations of these categories.

[1] The Early Childhood Education concentration is offered through cross-registration with Spelman College. It is not a concentration offered by Morehouse's curriculum.

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT SCREENING QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____

Date of Birth   ____/_____/_____

Age at time of this interview   _____

Years enrolled at Morehouse   Fall/Spring_____ to Fall/Spring_____

Graduation Year (if applicable)   _____
Reunioning Class (if different from
graduating class)   _____
Degree (BA/BS)

Concentration: _____

Other concentrations held while at
Morehouse (or transfer institution if
applicaple)   _____
                                                              _____

Years enrolled at transfer institution (if
applicable)   Fall/Spring _____ to Fall/Spring _____
Graduation year from transfer institution
(if applicable)   _____
Dates not enrolled at any college (if
applicable)   _____/_____/_____ to
                                                              _____/_____/_____

Highest level of education completed   ___some college
                                                              ___AA
                                                              ___BA or BS
                                                              ___JD   ___MD   ___MBA ____DDS

                                                              ___other professional degree [_____]

                                                              __MS [in _____]

                                                              ___PhD [in _____]

                                                              ___other graduate degree [_____]
Current occupation

Your marital status   ___single
                                                              ___engaged or living with partner
                                                              ___married

	___divorced or separated
How would you identify your race and national origin?	
How would you identify your parents' race/races and national origins?	Mother: Father:
High school graduation year	_____
What type of high school did you attend?	<u>Public</u> ____ <u>Private/Parochial</u> ____ <u>Other (please explain)</u> ____
12. What, if any, is your religious affiliation?	
12a. How often do you attend religious services?	
Parents marital status	___never married/single ___married ___divorced (if remarried, please check here _____) ___separated ___widowed
Parents/Guardians in your childhood household? (i.e. both biological parents, biological parent and step-parent, parent and their partner, custodial relative, primary caretaker, etc)	_____
To the best of your knowledge, what is the annual household income of your family of origin (parents or guardians)?	___ Less than $24,999 ___ $25,000 – $49,999 ___ $50,000 – $74,999 ___ $75,000 – $99,999 ___ $100,000 – $149,999 ___ $150,000 – $199,999 ___ $200,000 – $299,999 ___ $300,000 and more
Parents/primary caretaker's occupations	Mother(s)_____ Father(s) _____ Primary Caretaker(s)_____
What is the highest level of education your parents/ primary caretakers obtained?	Mother(s) _____Father(s) _____ Primary caretaker(s)

Title of Research Study: Examinations of Black Men at Historically
Black Colleges and Universities

Principle Investigator: Saida Grundy. Department of Sociology;
University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109. Email:
grundy@umich.edu

You are being asked to consent to participate in a study about experiences of Black men at your undergraduate college. Your participation is voluntary and it is completely your decision to participate or not to participate. In order to inform your decision, you will need to know the purpose of this study, as well as the possible risks, benefits, and advantages of being in this study. Typical interviews for this kind of study typically range from 30 minutes to an hour. You will not be paid or receive any form of compensation for participating in this study.

In addition to this written document, I will also be speaking with you about this study. Your decision does not need to be made now and you may take this form with you if you need time to decide if you are willing to participate. Feel free to share this form with family, teachers, or members of your community if you need help deciding. However, if you do not sign this document, you will not be able to participate in the study. Even after you have signed this form, you may at anytime withdraw from participating in the study if you so choose. A copy of this form will be made available to you for your records and so that you may contact me for any questions or concerns in the future.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of Black men on historically black campuses. This study aims to learn more about these particular experiences and how these experiences are distinct from those of Black men at predominantly white colleges, and the experiences of Black men in the general population.

Why are you being asked to participate in this study?
Your experience as a Black male enrolled at any time at an historically Black college has qualified you for participation in this study. More specifically, as an individual you may represent experiences that are of particular interest to this study.

How long will you be in this study? How many other people will be in the study?
The duration of this study is approximately two years. The interview to which you are consenting will last approximately 30 minutes to an hour. Any follow-up contact with you will be made within a year of your initial

interview. Your participation in these subsequent interviews is completely voluntary and you may decline participation at any time. Approximately 45 men will be interviewed in this study.

Where will this study take place?
It is up to your discretion, comfort, and convenience as to where your interview will be held. Typically, interviews are held in quiet, private places that are accessible by both the researcher and the participant.

What will you be asked to do?
You may opt to participate in this interview with or without it being audio recorded. All recordings are strictly confidential. You may choose to stop the interview at anytime for any reason or skip any questions you do not want to answer. You will be asked to give information about your college experiences. This may include recalling detailed memories about events, people, and experiences.

What happens if I say no?
There is absolutely no penalty for declining participation in this study. This study is not connected to your college, and you will not be affected if you choose to say no. No record will be kept of your name or institution if you decline participation in the study and you will not be contacted again in the future regarding participation in this study.

What are the risks and benefits of joining the study?
This study covers many serious and sensitive issues that may be associated with social stigmas. However, your participation is completely confidential and I will not be using any identifying information about you (i.e. hometown, name of graduate institution, or names of organizations to which you belong). There are no direct benefits from participating in the study (i.e. compensation). The study aims to document the experiences men at historically Black colleges and universities and serves purely academic aims.

When is the study over? Can I leave the study before it ends?
This study will conclude in May 2010. After this initial interview, you may be asked to do a follow-up interview within the year. However, more than likely, this will be the only interview in which you will participate. Follow-up interviews are completely voluntary and you may withdraw your consent or change the conditions of your consent at any time.

How will confidentiality be maintained and protected?
If you have agreed that your identity nor any information that could be used to identify you should be disclosed in this study, then your participation in this study will remain completely confidential as is required by law. Informed consent is required by federal regulation. The

University of Michigan adheres to these federal regulations in order to protect the human subjects participating in research. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Michigan is responsible for protecting the rights and welfare of research volunteers like you. The IRB has access to study information. Any documents and audio recordings from this interview will be kept secured and locked under my possession. A professional transcriber and/or myself will transcribe all audio recordings. This transcriber is also required by law and the terms of the IRB of the University of Michigan to protect the confidentiality of all participants. These interviews will be used to produce a professional paper that may appear in scholarly journals with national distribution.

Will you have to pay for anything?

There are no costs associated with participating in the study.

Who do you contact if you have questions about your rights and welfare?
Should you have questions regarding your rights as a participant in research, please contact the Institutional Review Board, Behavioral Sciences, 540 E. Liberty #202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

Who do you contact if you have questions about the study?
If you have questions about the research study, please contact me: Saida Grundy ; Department of Sociology; University of Michigan; Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1382; email: grundy@umich.edu

You must sign the consent form indicating your willingness to participate in the research project. You will receive a copy of this consent document. Please sign each of the relevant sections that follow.

<u>Agreement to Participate in the Study</u>
Do you agree to participate in the study? If so, please sign and date here.

Signature _____   **Date:**
_____

<u>Agreement to Tape Record the Interview</u>
Do you agree to let me tape record the interview? If so, please sign and date here.

Signature _____   **Date:**
_____

Permission to be re-contacted
If you agree to be re-contacted for a follow-up interview within one year of your initial interview please sign and date here.

Signature _____   **Date:**
_____

INTERVIEW NUMBER: DATE: _____

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Hello Morehouse Brothers--

My name is Saida Grundy, and I am currently a doctoral candidate in Sociology at the University of Michigan and more importantly, proud member of the Spelman College Class of 2004. I am doing my doctoral research on experiences of manhood at Morehouse, looking specifically for men who finished (they must be graduates!) between the classes of 1998 and 2002. I will need to conduct two interviews with each participant, lasting typically around 90 minutes. All interviews are by phone and are scheduled at the participant's convenience. Interviews focus on reflecting on key developmental points in men's lives, including college selection, NSO, campus life, and post-graduate life to date. My emphasis is on how institutions like Morehouse shapes men's ideas about middle class Black manhood is. For the legal schmegal (but also important to read!) I am attaching an informed consent form for your review which details that your participation is completely confidential. If you are sufficiently agreeable to participate and consent to our interview being recorded, I'd love to schedule something this week with you. I will get your verbal consent at the time of our interview, so you do not need to sign the consent form before participating.

Saida Grundy
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Sociology
University of Michigan

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I sincerely thank you for your participation in this study. I truly value your time and willingness to talk to me. I will be asking you a series of questions about your experiences at Morehouse and beyond. If there are any questions you feel uncomfortable asking or would rather not discuss, please let me know and we will proceed to the next question. Please feel free to ask me for clarification on any questions while we are talking. Do not hesitate to interrupt me should you have questions at any point.

Background and Secondary Education
We will begin with some questions about your background and pre-college years.

[trying to make specific claims about secondary school experiences for post-civil rights black men. This section of questions should provide some insight into the community, family, and scholastic backgrounds of Morehouse men raised post-integration]

- ***Can you describe the community in which you were raised?***
    - o [Racial, economic, and regional demographics]
- ***Your family:***
    - o Describe your family background
    - o What did your primary guardians do for a living?
    - o Was in normal or exceptional in your family (including extended family) for a member to go to college? To finish college?

Pre-College Life

- ***Your secondary school experience:***
    - o Describe your high school [probe: racial, economic demographics, private/public, special curriculum, etc]
    - o Describe yourself in high school (academic performance, you social experience, your interests, etc)
    - o What was the population of Black males in your high school? In your graduating class? What percent would you say were college bound?

- ***College preparation and selection:***
    - o What did you feel you were you looking for in your college experience? What were your top criteria for selecting a college? (i.e. academic rigor, ranking, location, tuition cost and your finances, etc)
    - o What ultimately made your decision to attend Morehouse?

The Morehouse Years
We will begin with some questions about your time at Morehouse.

- ***First Impressions of Morehouse***

- How did you first hear about Morehouse?
- Did you receive recruitment materials (brochures, letters, applications, etc) from the college? Describe these materials.
    - What about these materials stuck out to you? Appealed to you?
    - What was your first impression of the college based on these materials?
- What did you feel was Morehouse's reputation (nationally, in your home community)? Overall reputation?
- Who encouraged you to apply to Morehouse?
- Who in your home community was familiar with Morehouse and what were their reactions to your college selection?
- Who did you know who had already gone to Morehouse?
- How did you think the single sex environment would be *before* you got to Morehouse? How did you feel about the all-male environment once you were there?

- *New Student Orientation*
    - Did you enter Morehouse as a freshman?
        - If you transferred from another institution, can you briefly describe how your experience at Morehouse compared to your previous institution?
    - Tell me about your first general impressions of the college when you first arrived.
        - What was similar to or different than how you had imagined?
    - Was there anything that stuck out specifically to you about the college in those early days? Describe.
    - Did you participate in NSO (New Student Orientation)? Describe for me what your NSO experience was.
    - Tell me about particular moments in NSO that stuck out to you.
        - Why do you think these moments stuck out to you?
    - Tell me about parts of NSO that you enjoyed.
    - Tell me about parts of NSO that you did not enjoy or that made you uncomfortable.
    - What interactions did you have with upperclassmen in NSO? How did you see upperclassmen participate in NSO?
    - When and how did you see administrators, faculty, etc participate in NSO?
        - Can you describe specific interactions you had with these adults?
    - Did you hear the term "Morehouse Man" used during NSO? How and where was it used?
    - What did you think about Morehouse and/or the "Morehouse Man" after NSO ended?

- **Residential Life**
    - Tell me about your dorm at Morehouse. Which dorms did you stay in and which years?
    - Tell me about specific memories that stick out to you about your dorm experience. Any specific conversations?
    - Describe your closest friends in the dorm. Were these also your closest friends at the college?
        - Did you get a sense of these friends' backgrounds? Describe.
        - What did you have in common with them? How were you different?

- o What kind of activities did you do with your dorm friends? How did men typically have fun in the dorms?
- o Tell me about conflicts you had with men in the dorms.
- o Tell me about conflicts you witnessed between men in the dorms.
  - ▪ How did you see these conflicts resolved?
  - ▪ Describe any incidents that escalated to violence.
- o What dorm rules do you remember? Who taught you these rules?
  - ▪ Which rules did you find hard to follow?
  - ▪ Which rules did you or others often break?
  - ▪ Which rules seemed the most serious to you?
- o Was anyone ever kicked out of the dorms? Why do you think?
- o Who were the adults in the dorms and what were their typical responsibilities? Describe typical interactions between residents and these adults.
- o How was it to live communally with that many men?
- o What were some of the traditions or annual activities your dorm had?
- o Did you ever feel like you had to act masculine in the dorm environment? Do you feel others did?
  - ▪ Describe an instance when you felt this way.
- o Did you ever feel pressure to talk about sex in the dorm environment? Do you feel others did?
  - ▪ Describe an instance when you felt this way.
- o Did you or others ever talk about homosexuality in the dorms?
- o Did you ever have a sexual encounter with another man in the dorm?
- o Tell me about sexual encounters you witnessed or heard of between men in the dorms.

- **Campus Life**
  - o Did you feel like you fit in at Morehouse? When and where did you feel like you didn't fit in?
  - o Tell me about social experiences on campus that stick out most to you now.
  - o In what social activities or organizations did you participate? (clubs, campus events, greek letter orgs, honor societies, off campus organizations, etc)
  - o Describe for me students who you felt were popular. Describe some of these students specifically for me-- their background, physical description, campus involvement/activities, academic interests, etc
    - ▪ Did you feel popularity was important in Morehouse campus life? How important was it to you?
  - o What role do you think student organizations, clubs, etc played in campus life?
  - o Was your campus life experience ever uncomfortable or intimidating for you?
    - ▪ If you're thinking of specific instances, can you describe these for me?
  - o Did you ever witness or hear of students intimidating and/or bullying other students on campus? Tell me about these incidents.
  - o Tell me about a time when you felt like you had power over other students. And when other students had power over you?
  - o Where and how were women present in campus life? How important did you feel women were to campus life?
  - o How and when did you talk about sex and dating on campus? How do you think campus life was affected by sex and dating?
    - ▪ How did you talk about sex and dating between men? With whom? Tell me about these discussions.

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- How did you talk about sex and dating between men and women? With whom? Tell me about these discussions.
  - How and where did you talk about homosexuality and bisexuality on campus? And where else did you hear these topics discussed?
  - How and where was race or Blackness discussed on campus?
    - What were informal discussions like among students?
    - Were there more formal discussions on race i.e. workshops, lectures, convocations? Can you describe these for me?
    - Were your conversations about race at Morehouse similar to conversations you had with people outside of the college?
    - Did anything you learned/heard conflict with your existing ideas about race?
  - How and where did you discuss the larger/outside Black community discussed on campus? How/where did you hear it discussed?
  - How and where did you discuss Black Manhood discussed on campus? Where else did you hear it discussed? Tell me about conversations that stick out in your mind.
  - How and where did you discuss racial leadership on campus? How/where did you hear it discussed elsewhere on campus?
    - What did you learn about Black manhood from these discussions? With what about these lessons/conversations did you agree or disagree?
  - Did you ever witness instances of violence on campus? Tell me about the incidents that stick out in your mind.
    - How did faculty/administration intervene in violent incidents?
  - How and where did you notice students talk about issues around social class and money?
  - How and where did you discuss class and money with other students?
  - How and where did you notice when students had different economic backgrounds?
  - How would you describe your class and economic background? Did you feel this allowed you to fit in with other students or did you feel you stood out?

- **Institutional image**
  - Remembering the Morehouse Man that you learned about in NSO, how and where was this image discussed on campus?
  - Define for me your understanding of a Morehouse Man.
  - How did real men on campus compare to this image? Similar? Dissimilar?
  - How and where was college's image to the larger Black community discussed? To mainstream America?
  - Describe for me the image the college promoted of itself to the outside world.
  - Was your experience at the college similar or dissimilar to the image it promotes of itself?
  - How and where were non-Morehouse Black men discussed?
  - What kind of men do you think Morehouse expects its graduates to be?

Life after Morehouse
  - What were your immediate plans after finishing Morehouse?
  - Tell me about your life now.
  - Is your life now how you envisioned it would be 10 years ago as a student?
  - How do you think your life would be different had you gone to another college? Had not gone to college at all?

- How do you think Morehouse prepared you for what you are doing now?
- In what ways do you feel your experience *didn't* prepare you for what you are doing now?
- What influence do you think your college experience will have on the next 10 years of your life?
- How do you think differently about Morehouse now than you did when you were there?
  - Has your opinion of your experience there become more or less favorable over the years? Explain.
  - What changes would you make to your experience at the college if you could?
- How involved are you with the alumni community? Has this increased or decreased over time?
  - Describe conversations you have with other alumni about the college? (the college now as well as your time there)
- What expectations do you think the college had for its students? How are you measuring up to these expectations? And how are you diverging from these expectations?
- How do you feel about being a "product" of Morehouse?
- Do you consider yourself a Morehouse Man?

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