PROMOTING RACIAL INTEGRATION AND INCLUSION IN HISTORICALLY SEGREGATIONIST FRATERNITIES

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Historically White and segregated college fraternities are fixtures of the American university system and reservoirs of racism. Organizations' operations and routines around racial access and inclusion are interdependent upon the actions of stakeholders within and outside of the fraternity. This systematic review of literature identifies actors shaping historically racially segregated fraternities, their policies, and routines. Then, this paper leverages the concepts of racialized organizations and (counter)hegemony to posit how actors may leverage relationships, leadership, and force to challenge racism and unintentional segregation in fraternities. This paper can inform the development of inter-organizational networks to do so.

Keywords: race, inclusion, access, fraternities, systemic change

Historically racially segregated White fraternities (henceforth, WFs) gatekeep resources and further secure a privileged social status for groups already in power (Joyce, 2018; Muir, 1991). WFs operate in over 800 college campuses across the U.S. and Canada (Hagerdy, 2011); while members of these organizations make up only 2% of the U.S. population, they are overrepresented in positions of power across sectors. For example, they have composed 63% of Congresspeople since the 1900s, and in 2014, comprised 80% of Fortune 500 board members and CEOs (Chang, 2014). Also, fraternal connections create pipelines to high-status leadership positions for majority-White members and reinforce the homogenous composition of leadership across institutions (Robbins, 2002; Weiss, 1992). Access to membership in WFs and benefits from membership are largely inaccessible to people of color, perpetuating resource distributions that benefit groups in already socially privileged positions (Ray, 2019). Institutional inertia helps maintain the status quo and on-campus presence of these organizations (Joseph, 2002).

WFs are steeped in segregationist tradition, and some argue their practices and traditions are immutable (e.g., Marcus, 2020). However, the concepts of hegemony and counterhegemony frame systematic change as possible across contexts (Joseph, 2002). In other words, it is possible that individuals can challenge accepted norms and practices and promote equitable resource redistributions (invitations for membership, networking) to interrupt social reproduction (Joseph, 2002). So, I argue that actors can leverage their agency to (re)shape cultural hegemony, including the "structures, practices, and conventions" that promote poor social and material conditions of people of color (Jo-

seph, 2002, p. 9).

WFs exist within an ecosystem with many stakeholders that help shape the organizations; they are part of a complex governance structure. Literature shows WFs contend with a complex governance structure and myriad pressures from internal (e.g., chapters) and external (e.g., universities) actors that inevitably shape their norms (Ray, 2019). Without considering each actor within that ecosystem, driving systemic change across WFs to desegregate and challenge inequitable resource distributions and racial climate concerns is not possible. Instead, the potential for change-making is contingent upon collaborative efforts that engage actors across sites (Joseph, 2002).

The purpose of this paper is to examine what actors contribute to the contemporary racial dynamics and composition of WFs and how they do so. It also examines how actors leverage their positionality to shape racial diversity and inclusion policies, practices, approaches, and norms in WFs. The piece concludes with practical recommendations for actors across all organizational levels to challenge racist norms in WFs to move towards diversity and inclusion. Understanding these relationships uncovers the complex system that governs and helps shape WFs. That understanding can help universities identify who to engage in inclusion-related initiatives in WFs.

Conceptual Frameworks

I draw from Ray's (2019) racialized organization theory to illuminate that WFs a) diminish the agency of racial groups, b) legitimize unequal distribution of resources, c) decouple formal rules from organizational practices in issues of diversity and inclusion, and d) treat Whiteness as a credential. In essence, homophilic tendencies of WF members and the racialized nature of the organizations promote racial segregation. I also leverage the concepts of "hegemony" and "counterhegemony" (Joseph, 2002) to understand WFs' cultural norms, practices, and expected routines. I argue that hegemony in WFs reflects a framework of racialized organizations. These theoretical concepts also allow me to examine possibilities for change through either leadership and collaboration or force and dominance.

This empirical and systematic analysis of literature draws upon a framework of racialized organizations (Ray, 2019) and hegemony (Joseph, 2002). The concept of counterhegemony affirms that WFs' structures are not fully rigid. Furthermore, counterhegemony can provide guidance for how to leverage WFs' agency, based on their positionality within a larger organizational system, to push for change (Joseph, 2002).

Ray's (2019) framework provides a roadmap to disrupt inequity. He outlines four characteristics that make up racialized organizations: decoupling stated missions of inclusion and equity from practice, Whiteness as property, the relegation of people of color to the bottom of the social hierarchy, and the legitimization of inequitable resource distri-

butions that is the root of social inequity. In turn, to disrupt racialized dynamics and inequity, the following conditions must be met: accountability to the stated mission, rejection of race-neutral framings of social context, examination of racial schemas and the value placed on whiteness, and a fiscal commitment to change-making.

Ray (2019) also describes racialized structures as part of a broader three-level ecosystem that needs to collectively change to foster systemic change. At the micro level lies the individual; the individual is nested within an organization at the meso level, and that organization is nested within a social structure at the macro level. Importantly, WFs are unique in that they are embedded within the institutions and governed by external entities. Therefore, I do not situate WFs in any of the named levels above (macro, meso, micro). Instead, I adapt Bronfenbrenner's (1976) ecology of education model to situate WFs between the micro and meso levels, or between the behaviors and schemas of individual members and the structures, policies, and practices across overseeing governing (e.g., national board) and advising (e.g., offices of sorority and fraternity life) bodies (see Fig. 1).

An ecological lens helps make clear if and how each of those actors relates to one another. This framing can help illuminate connections between actors to identify what reinforces racialized norms collectively.

Figure 1

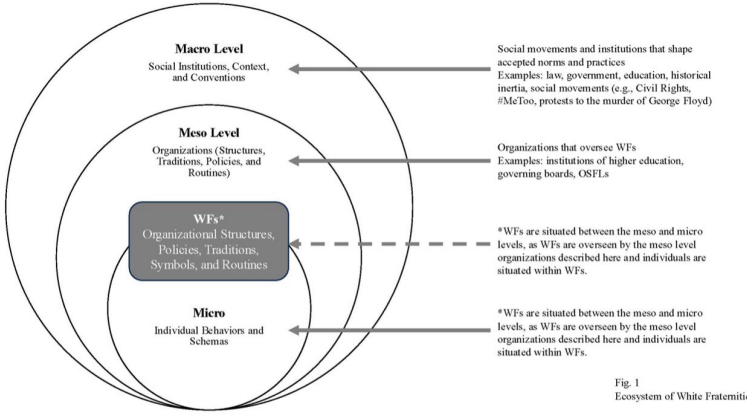

Fig. 1
Ecosystem of White Fraternities

Together, these frameworks guide the findings and recommendations presented in this paper. First, this piece describes what actors across organizational levels contribute to and/or disrupt the four characteristics of racialized organizations in WFs and how they do so. The discussion section then provides recommendations for actors across the ecosystem to leverage their positionality and relationships to push for change across WFs. It also provides recommendations for how to

prioritize relationship building and collaborations to challenge segregationist racialized norms within WFs.

Methodology

Data

The data for this systematic examination and synthesis of literature are 46 peer-reviewed pieces of literature. Peer review helps to ensure rigor (Evans et al., 1993). The literature includes a collection of essays, book chapters, and historical manuscripts and 31 empirical studies across the fields of history, sociology, psychology, and education from various databases (e.g., EBSCO). The references of each article helped identify potentially missing literature of relevance. The search criteria were intentionally broad and had no temporal limits.

Guiding the analysis of the literature are two guiding queries. First, who or what shaped and now shapes norms and approaches to racial diversity and inclusion in WFs? Second, how do those identified actors leverage their positionality to help shape approaches to racial diversity and inclusion in WFs? Informed by the data's responses to the questions above, this paper then provides recommendations to challenge segregationist and racist norms in WFs.

To ensure relevance to the context of interest (WFs) and their racialized nature, each piece is about a historically segregationist, male, fraternal organization within a U.S. 4-year post-secondary institution (e.g., college, university) with information about WFs' racial norms. Literature about fraternal organizations outside of the U.S. collegiate or that did not specify what forms of fraternal organizations (e.g., historically White, Black, Latinx/a/o, Asian Greek letter fraternal organizations) were the foci of the piece was excluded. Finally, literature about historically Jewish fraternities was excluded given Judaism's racialization in the U.S.

Each piece gives insight into the actions, policies, routines, and/or individual behaviors of actors that help shape WFs (as shown in Fig. 1). Through a racialized organizational lens (2019), the literature provides a holistic understanding of who and what shapes racialized organizational norms in WFs, and through what venues (policy, behavior, etc.) the shaping occurs. Then, the concept of hegemony provides a framework to understand how they leverage their agency to help shape racialized norms in WFs (Joseph, 2002).

Analysis

Each piece's purpose, question(s), framework(s), methodology, and findings were recorded in structured annotations to ensure their relevance to and alignment with the main purpose of this piece. Each annotation then received descriptive codes reflecting the actors in each piece that shape WFs (Saldaña, 2016). Etic coding followed, guided by Gramscian concepts of (counter)hegemony, as Joseph described in 2002 (Maxwell, 2013). Literature describing the reproduction of the racialized and segregationist status quo received a "hegemony" label.

Similarly, literature describing resistance to racist and segregationist racial norms in WFs received a "counterhegemony" label. I then conducted several rounds of subcoding to examine nuances not captured with holistic codes (Saldaña, 2016). For example, the one or multiple actors described in a piece were situated at one of the three organizational levels; subcoding was also helpful for understanding the actors shaping racial norms in WFs and how they do so, as shaped by their positionality.

Findings

Informed by the concepts of racialized organizations (Ray, 2019) and hegemony and counterhegemony (Joseph, 2002), this piece's findings reflect who, what, how, and why different actors have helped shape racial norms in WFs and provide opportunities to make change to the WF system. The findings are first organized by the type of contribution (hegemonic or not) to the four racialized characteristics of WFs, and then, by the actors' respective organizational levels. The findings also reflect how actors are interrelated and how they leverage their agency to help shape WFs, contingent on social, organizational, and ecological positionality.

Hegemonic Racialized Organizational Norms

Research shows that WFs' hegemony makes them racialized organizations (Ray, 2019). Members of color face hostile environments that relegate them to the bottom of the social hierarchy (Cabrera, 2014; Hughey, 2010) and limit opportunities to participate on campus and in broader society (A. M. Lee, 1955). In WFs, Whiteness provides access to organizational resources, legitimizes hierarchies, and expands White agency (Ray, 2019). WF members hold homophilic tendencies (Cabrera, 2014) and seek members who fit the "culture" of the organization (Joyce, 2018). This identity-neutral framing of the organization's culture is a performance of access and inclusion, masks the credentialization of Whiteness, and promotes the legitimization of unequal resource distributions across racial groups (Joyce, 1998; Ray, 2019). This same phenomenon captures the decoupling of formal rules from organizational practices around race. WFs have been desegregated since the 1960s, yet they are not integrated (Cabrera, 2014; Joyce, 2018). Indeed, hegemonic norms and practices in WFs preserve social inequality. As described below, actors spanning organizational levels contribute to hegemonic norms in WFs.

History and Social Context at the Macro Level

History is inescapable and continues to shape the function and structure of WFs, partly due to organizational inertia (Joseph, 2002). As Beatty & Boettcher (2019) state, "the origin and history of these organizations stem from racism and white supremacy, which continue to perpetuate racial segregation in [the sorority and fraternity] community even today" (p. 41). Therefore, it is of no surprise that WFs serve as "reservoirs of traditional racism," (Muir, 1991, p. 93).

The social context in which WFs helped establish a structural hegemony is rooted in White dominance within WFs. In fact, throughout the first half of the 1900s, WFs limited their membership to Whites of Aryan blood in official fraternity policies (J. W. Lee, 1955; Messer-Kruse, 1999). The entrenchment of the structural hegemony of WFs was, in part, facilitated by the macro-level social acceptance of racial segregation. Without social resistance, WFs were able to further entrench the hegemonic norms within these racialized organizations (Messer-Kruse, 1999). Even now, WFs carry traditions, such as racially themed parties (Patton, 2008) or selection processes that provide preference to "fit," that are vestiges of legal and socially legitimized segregation (Johansen, & Slantcheva-Durst, 2018).

Therefore, the homophily of WFs contributes to the diminished agency of racially marginalized communities to participate in civic processes. Ultimately, people are excluded from the resources WFs provide which perpetuates inequitable resource distributions and racial inequality.

Oversight Entities (Meso Level)

Macro-level social acceptance of segregation diminished during the Cold War and WWII era (Johansen, & Slantcheva-Durst, 2018), but policies and practices that promote White-only membership remain unchanged within WFs at the meso level (Joyce, 2018). Through pressure to integrate by universities at the meso level and social movements at the macro level, national boards and members doubled down on segregationist practices; WF national boards sought to preserve White dominant policies and practices in membership selections (Holtzman, 1956; Gist, 1955). While White-only membership clauses are no longer a part of WF governing documents, the dominance of Whiteness within WFs lingers, and it is ingrained in micro-level members' racial schemas, which inertia, homophilic tendencies, and cultural isolation (Parks & Parisi, 2019) help reproduce. In the deep South, for example, staunch support for segregation continues in the WF community, disguised as "Old Southern Values" (Walker-DeVose et al., 2019).

Alumni and Governing Boards. Since the founding of WFs, governing boards and other alumni without elected positions have reinforced the racialized norms of the organizations by protecting racist traditions. For example, while institutions called for desegregation in all social student organizations, Lawrence (1955) found alumni and national organizations actively resisted changes to segregationist policies with threats of litigation.

Resistance to integration has been constant. In 1991, for example, Muir wrote that as integration efforts continued throughout the deep South, WFs continued to reinforce segregation and served as "reservoirs of traditional racism," perpetuating racial stratification by excluding Blacks from opportunities to become part of "national elites" (pp. 3-4). Today, WF men continue to reproduce the "hegemonic Whiteness" of these organizations by prioritizing "fit" with a largely racially

and culturally homophilic membership (Joyce, 2018). In that way, people of color still contend with a barrier to entry, cultural assimilation.

More recently, universities have faced pressure to decouple their missions of inclusion from policies and practices on campus. For example, at Harvard University, administrators have asserted their support for inclusion and are mandating integration within their finishing clubs (i.e., WFs) (Harvard University, 2017). However, alumni are leveraging their collective influence and threatening Harvard with litigation as a last resort should the administration not back away from challenging normative organizational operations (Engelmayer & Xie, 2019).

This demonstrates that even when universities at the meso level attempt to shift WF policies and practices, without the support of other meso-level actors (e.g., national governing boards and alumni), they are unlikely to achieve their goals.

Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs). Institutions—particularly PWIs—insidiously reproduce racial hierarchies. Students of color face harm from racism, and when universities ignore underlying racial schemas and systemic racism, they compound upon that harm (Beatty & Boettcher, 2019). For example, universities accept the ownership and consumption of people of color when they accept WFs' traditions, policies, and practices (Patton, 2008). Similarly, universities treat Whiteness as a credential when WFs and their members receive more credibility and leniency when compared to their racially marginalized peers (Ray & Rosow, 2012) due to what Patton (2008) describes as a "guise of humor" (see Higgins & Valandra, 2015 for a personal narrative). The same applies when universities impose an image of "white innocence" upon WFs, as they remove responsibility for inclusion and racial climate from White students (Dagbovie-Mullins, 2019; Ray, 2012).

WFs are particularly powerful in shaping racial climate at PWIs. There, WFs and their members are more likely to engage in race-motivated hate crimes when compared to their peers. That is the case especially on college campuses with a very small representation of students of color (between 9% and 17%). Van Dyke and Tester (2014) found for each additional WF at a PWI there is an 8% increase in racially motivated hate crimes.

At PWIs, White students are more likely to join a WF (Chang & DeAngelo, 2002), and less likely to engage in interracial friendships (e.g., Kim, et al., 2015; Park, 2014; Park & Kim, 2013), conversations across racial differences, or schematic reflection (Wood & Chesser, 1994). Racial isolation (Stearns et al., 2009) fosters ideologies of White victimization and race-evasiveness at the micro level for WF members (Cabrera, 2014). These phenomena have contributed to students of color perceiving fraternities as promoting racial discrimination (Biasco et al., 2001) and feeling excluded within the broader fraternity system of WFs (Garcia, 2019). Ultimately, these phenomena demonstrate the racialized norms of PWIs, which extend to WFs.

Offices of Sorority and Fraternity Life (OSFLs). OSFLs contribute to hegemonic racialized norms in WFs because they distribute resources (e.g., time) disproportionally, supporting WFs over culturally based organizations; respond tepidly to hateful incidents; and insufficiently train students and staff on leadership and inclusion (e.g., Beatty et al., 2019). For example, students who are members of culturally-based fraternal organizations feel excluded and marginalized within the OSFL system (Garcia, 2019); yet, OSFLs do not provide as many resources or support (e.g., time dedicated to them from administrators) for historically Black, Latinx/a/o, or Asian and Asian-American organizations when compared to the time dedicated to WFs (Harris, et al., 2019).

Also, OSFLs do not critically examine and address the racially homogenous composition or embedded racism within the WF system. Instead, they turn to policies and practices undergirded by the myth of meritocracy (Beatty et al., 2019). OSFLs further promote exclusion when they are silent in the aftermath of racist and harmful incidents and when student and employee leadership development is race-evasive (Beatty & Boettcher, 2019; Beatty, et al., 2019).

Members' Racial Schemas at the Micro Level

WF members shape the day-to-day practices and interactions within the organizations, thereby shaping and maintaining a racialized cultural hegemony (Ray, 2019). Members diminish the agency of racial groups by placing people of color in a lower social status within the organizations and in general society (e.g., Hughey, 2010). They legitimize unequal resource distributions by adopting a meritocratic ideology that renders racism and White dominance invisible (Cabrera, 2014). Further, members treat Whiteness as a credential by preferencing "fit" to White dominant norms in their selection processes (e.g., Joyce, 2018). Finally, WFs' public support for diversity and inclusion is decoupled from daily practices, including traditions of racist parties (Patton, 2008).

Racial schemas of WF members are, in part, driven by WFs' homophilic composition (Wood & Chesser, 1994). When surrounded by others with similar beliefs, White members dismiss or deny racialized power dynamics, which creates an environment in which hegemonic Whiteness is unquestioned and reinforced (Joyce, 2018). As a result, WF members relegate racially marginalized communities to the bottom of the social order (Hughey, 2010) and dehumanize people of color. For example, even when White WF members do not outwardly reject integration or interracial relationships, they are most comfortable if Blacks are kept at a lower social status (e.g., no management position) (Combs, et al., 2016).

Further, White WF members' consumption of people of color's culture and simultaneous rejection of communities of color is expected (Patton, 2008). Relatedly, when compared to other White students, White WF members are more likely to negatively stereotype their racially marginalized peers and uphold Whiteness as a norm within the organization (Joyce, 2018).

WF members minimized racial issues with various tactics. They deeply believed in meritocracy and believed racism was only possible with negative intent (Cabrera, 2014). They also reframed the meaning of diversity to include things like college major, not only race (Joyce, 2018); further, they highlighted their racial diversity relative to other WFs on campus to justify their majority-White composition (Morgan et al., 2015). In addition to a minimization of racial issues, WF members resisted race-conscious ideologies; for example, they affirmed the existence of reverse racism and that racially marginalized individuals have privilege over Whites (Cabrera, 2014). Thus, it is no surprise that in 1982, Parker & Dougan (1982) found WF members disinterested in cultural activities, issues of social justice, and cross-racial interactions.

Reticence for cross-racial engagement has been longstanding in the WF system. In 1956, Holtzman conducted a survey to gauge Whites' tolerance levels to integration at the University of Texas at Austin's Law School after the landmark Sweatt v. Painter decision in 1950 that desegregated the School. He found that WF members were outliers in a sample of 546 students in their (self-reported) racial intolerance and staunch support of segregation. Almost four decades later, Morris (1991) found something similar: WF members were significantly less tolerant of desegregation in majority White friend groups (e.g., WFs, historically White country clubs) when compared to White non-members.

More recently, Braxton & Caboni (2005) observed that White fraternity men continue to not see racial bias as even moderately distasteful. Almost 15 years later, scholars find that WF members (at one Southern PWI) still accept and support segregation, viewing it as natural and appropriate (Walker-DeVose et al., 2019). White WF members still refuse to investigate the racial dynamics within their organizations and instead accept the assumptions that underlie meritocratic ideologies, which ignore all historic social inequality (Cabrera, 2014; Morgan et al., 2015). Thus, they continue to normalize resource disparities and uphold Whiteness as a credential.

Actors that Challenge Hegemonic Racialized Organizational Norms

The power of hegemony is "never structurally stable, and counter-hegemonic actions can negotiate power, co-opt it, or negate it" (Hughey, 2006, p. 26) through leadership or force and domination (Joseph, 2002). The following section outlines the actors (e.g., students, universities, faculty), captured in extant literature that have and continue to engage in counterhegemonic acts and describes how they do so. Most of the initiatives outlined below do not shift the foundational values, traditions, and paradigms of WFs and their members; however, they can be the catalyst for change long term, thereby shifting the norms of WFs.

Various actors contribute to counterhegemonic movements and challenges to norms in WFs, and they span organizational levels. Each is described below.

Oversight and Governing Entities at the Meso Level

Governing Boards and Other Alumni. Alumni with or without leadership positions have challenged segregation for decades to some success by using power from their elected leadership positions to force change from the top down and then building consensus at the micro level to create change from the bottom up. In other cases, boards and alumni were successful because of leadership and coordination across multiple sites. Unfortunately, many of these challenges are unaccompanied by an examination of members' micro-level racial schemas which limits long-term change. Also, as leadership transitions occur, there is no guarantee that new governing board members will continue these initiatives (McGovern & Samuels, 1998).

For example, Delta Kappa's national organization refuted a member's proposal to add a White only membership clause to their national governing documents, distancing themselves from racial segregation at a time when others clung to it (Lawrence, 1955; Marcson, 1955). The top-down campaign of the "new age man" in the Troubadors is another example (Anderson, 2007), and leadership was able to curb racist and sexist behaviors with some success. Members demonstrated "inclusive masculinity" (i.e., acceptance of Queerness and racial diversity) which helped shift their selection criteria: they did not consider individuals who would not adhere to those ideals at the micro level, in alignment with the national governing board's requirements and expectations for membership. Increasing social acceptance of LGBT+ and other marginalized communities at the macro level contributed to the success of the "new age man" at the meso level as they sought to address micro-level practices and interactions across racial differences.

Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs). PWIs have the agency to force counterhegemonic initiatives upon WFs because the organizations are, for the most part, subsidiary entities that depend on university resources (e.g., housing). For example, A. M. Lee (1955) and Marcson (1955) described how Princeton University threatened its exclusive dinner clubs (WFs) with dissolution and no housing if they did not racially integrate; by 1941, all admitted students were guaranteed admission to at least one of those WFs. Pressure to preserve the university's longstanding traditions and exclusivity came from alumni without any positions of leadership and the university was able to manage it (A. M. Lee, 1955; Marcson, 1955).

Universities have also developed educational programs to improve the racial climate. For example, Parker & Wittmer (1976) described a university communication program to increase interaction across racial lines in the fraternity system; as a result, new friendships and collaborations between historically White and historically Black fraternities arose. Another institution targeted WF members for a one-semester course that centered Blackness. The university did not face resistance (Howard-Hamilton, 1993), and there is ample opportunity to advance similar initiatives in a contemporary context.

Individual Members (Micro Level)

More recently, with survey data from over 600 participants, Harris & Harper (2013) found members of Alpha Beta disrupted the sexist, homophobic, and racist cultural hegemony in the organization once there was a member of color. Participants emphasized the desire to be the best versions of themselves by embracing the mantra that "a brother is a brother" regardless of race, religion, or sexual orientation. Members engaged in "calling people out" and used formal disciplinary processes to identify and address racism, sexism, and homophobia.

People of color who are members of WFs can also leverage their agency to challenge organizational norms. As previously discussed, members of color contend with a racialized, White dominant hegemony in WFs that limits their agency and ability to make use of WF resources (e.g., networking opportunities; Hughey, 2010). However, the mere presence of people of color passively disrupts WFs' hegemony through composition, and micro-level interracial interactions can "transform" WFs' racialized structures (Schmitt et al., 1982). For instance, the "a brother is a brother" mentality in Alpha Beta would not exist without the presence of members of color.

Large-Scale Social Movements at the Macro Level

In the wake of the Black Lives Matter and #MeToo social movements, there has been backlash from students, including fraternity members, to the WF system. Micro-level actors who disaffiliated from a WF named segregation, racism, inequality, misogyny, and sexual assault as motivating factors to leave the system (Marcus, 2020; Nguyen, 2020; Yarger, 2020).

Across the nation, swarms of students have defected from their WF (Marcus, 2020; Nguyen, 2020; Yarger, 2020). For example, at Northwestern, more than 75% of Sigma Nu (a WF) candidates withdrew themselves from the recruitment process (Yarger, 2020). Moreover, students (Marcus, 2020) and faculty (e.g., Lawrence, 1955) have called for the elimination of WFs from the higher education landscape. However, these micro-level actors have been unsuccessful, perhaps in part due to a misalignment of goals with meso-level actors. In fact, meso-level national governing boards have reaffirmed the importance of WFs and omitted disaffiliated members' concerns. (Marcus, 2020; Nguyen, 2020; Yarger, 2020).

Micro-level actors exiting the organizations are leveraging their collective agency to try and force change within WFs, in part by illuminating how university and WF policies of race and ethnicity are decoupled from their daily practices that are steeped in White dominance. Some are leaving; others are remaining within the organizations in hopes of reforming them from within (Marcus, 2020; Nguyen, 2020; Yarger, 2020). However, these micro-level actors encounter some challenges. Those leaving and/or outside of the system have little positional power, as they are no longer tied to nor have any governance over the orga-

nizations. The actors that remain within the organizations face similar positional challenges; however, individuals can leverage leadership strategies to enact some form of change in WFs.

The discussion below provides strategies for actors, at each organizational level, to utilize their positionality and relationships with other actors to advocate for change in WFs. Without working across organizational levels, systemic change is not possible (Ray, 2019). Recommendations can support actors across the ecosystem to prioritize their network and relationship development with others and to strategically think about the actions they can undertake in their context.

Discussion

Imagine if people of color were welcomed and integrated into the organization at the meso level via selection processes and were able to access academic and professional opportunities. To realize that potential, there is much work to do. While none of the actors that help shape norms within WFs can directly challenge the structural hegemony cemented by the passing of time, they can help shape cultural hegemony (i.e., accepted social practices and racial schemas of members). New cultural practices that become tradition can alter the structural, hegemonic, racialized structures of WFs. Therefore, initiatives that examine racial dynamics and self-identity should be constant, and ideally, the priorities of meso-level actors should be aligned in issues of race and ethnicity to increase potential for success (Katz et al., 2004).

Changing engrained organizational routines, norms, and traditions is no small feat. However, the possibility for change-making exists. Combining concepts from Ray's (2019) racialized organizational theory as well as hegemony and counterhegemony (Joseph, 2002), I posit that actors can contribute to and challenge racialized organizational norms across organizational levels, either individually or collaboratively. I argue that meso-level actors can enact change through dominance, whereas micro-level actors are more likely to be successful through grassroots initiatives when they involve various sites (e.g., micro-level actors from other universities), particularly when their actions align with macro-level social conventions or meso-level interests.

Recommendations for PWIs at the Meso Level

Many perceive the WF system as immutable and unlikely to disappear from higher education (e.g., Marcus, 2020), but universities do have some power to reinforce or disrupt the hegemony of WFs because WFs exist within the bounds of post-secondary institutions. However, institutions face outside pressures (e.g., litigation) that, in part, shape whether they reify or challenge the reproduction of White dominance on campus and in WFs (Garces et al., 2021). Again, collaborations with other actors at the meso level (e.g., national governing bodies), may increase the potential for success of future counterhegemonic initiatives. When priorities align, successful interventions are more likely (Katz et al., 2004).

Understanding how various actors engage across organizational levels may inform how higher education institutions seek to instill change within WFs. For example, they can develop educational opportunities that examine Whiteness at the micro level, or work with other meso-level actors to develop collaborative initiatives that address racism and segregationist practices. Engaging with stakeholders across organizational levels can lead to shared goals and an understanding of the status and need for diversity and inclusion in WFs. Initiatives adopted by numerous actors can become a tradition and effectively change the structural hegemony of WFs.

As universities work to shift racialized organizational norms within WFs, they must first examine their own underlying racial schemas and embedded racialized norms within their organizations. Universities should also clarify and strengthen their student conduct processes for perpetrators of bias incidents (Higgins & Valandra, 2015). Arguments of ongoing litigation against bias response teams and student codes of conduct are rooted in the First Amendment's provision of freedom of speech, which presents challenges for universities. That said, university leaders can work with their Office of General Counsel to develop language that stands up to legal scrutiny and promotes accountability. The same applies to any courses universities may want to develop; in that case, they may need to engage with their own university governing boards, state legislative bodies, and provost. More broadly, universities should create spaces for connecting and conversing across racial and other social differences.

As discussed in the findings, universities cannot always succeed alone. In fact, they often require some cooperation from other meso-level actors that participate in WF governance, such as national boards and alumni, to make change. That is particularly the case when all actors have governance power over WFs through elected or appointed leadership positions. Therefore, universities may choose to work directly with OSFLs to (re)shape micro-level racial schemas of members, with an examination of Whiteness and privilege, to address racialized organizational practices. Also, universities have been able to implement inclusion practices within WFs with support from micro-level actors. In fact, even with resistance from national boards and other alumni to integrate throughout the 1960s, some students' racial ideologies and desires for integration at the micro level aligned with changing macro-level social conventions around desegregation and meso-level university integration priorities.

Recommendations for OSFLs at the Meso Level

OSFL professionals shape the daily lives of students and help govern WFs' operations. Therefore, they are in a position of power to impact experience and even traditions. Self-reflection and acknowledgment of the White supremacy embedded in the WF system are prerequisites to any intervention that can effectively disrupt racial norms in WFs. In other words, administrators must first recognize the racialized practices

within their own structures.

OSFLs may be able to take a hands-on approach to challenge the compositional and cultural status quo of WFs, as Beatty & Boettcher (2019) suggest. For example, Harris, et al. (2019) recommend OSFL staff more equitably distribute support between all fraternal organizations. Other scholars recommend that administrators commit to diversity initiatives (e.g., Boschini & Thompson, 1998) and enact assessment strategies to gain a better understanding of students' experiences with and within the WF system (e.g., Beatty & Boettcher, 2019). Researchers have also recommended that OSFLs carry out restorative justice programs (Goettsch & Hayes, 1990), create race-conscious diversity and inclusion educational programming for students, and hold WFs to a higher standard of behavior (Harris et al., 2019). Scholars also advocate for administrators to encourage student leaders to work with one another to increase cross-racial understanding (Beatty & Boettcher, 2019). Relatedly, there may be opportunities to work with universities (and perhaps national governing boards) to develop clear student conduct processes for perpetrators of racist incidents (e.g., Higgins & Valandra, 2015).

OSFL professionals can learn from colleagues affiliated with professional associations like the Association of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors. During organizations' annual meetings, OSFL professionals may consider delivering workshops and training on race-conscious leadership development.

Recommendations for Individuals at the Micro Level

Positionality matters: influence is not evenly distributed across individuals. While a current chapter leader may have direct access to national leadership, voting power for policy and practice, and influence over other members, an individual who recently disaffiliated will not. That is not to say that they should remain or that they should desist in their actions. Instead, those who leave can still build and engage in relationships with other micro-level actors who remain within the organizations or even with meso-level actors, like universities, that can potentially help advance their efforts to address the racialized organizational structure of WFs.

Collaborative initiatives across actors at various organizational levels have proved most fruitful in advancing racial diversity and inclusion in WFs. For example, in micro-level actions, collaborating with other micro-level actors (perhaps multiple chapters) increases opportunities for success of counterhegemonic initiatives, specifically when priorities align (Katz, et al., 2004) and with strong interorganizational networks (Popp et al., 2014). In the case of the Troubadours, the national board at the meso level forced the "new age man" campaign upon micro-level actors. With the latter's buy-in, the campaign was successful in shifting micro-level processes that promoted racism and exclusion.

Individual chapters and members at the micro level can demand

change because they are what comprise meso-level WFs. To survive, the organizations must adapt to the changing macro-level social context, the micro-level members' racial schemas, and any counterhegemonic initiatives with new policies. This is most likely to occur when the interests of micro-level actors are supported by other actors at the same level (e.g., universities) and/or macro-level conventions around race and ethnicity and/or when individual members leverage leadership for counterhegemonic initiatives.

Individual WF members have challenged the organizations' hegemonic racialized norms in various ways but have not examined the racist schemas that undergird the organizations, their policies, and their daily practices, leaving the structural hegemony undisturbed. Like other actors, they must examine their racial schemas and the systematic racialized dynamics.

To resist and reshape racialized organizational norms, I found that collaborations across levels (e.g., alumni, students, national boards, social movements) are necessary, particularly when one or more actors resist changes. I also found that when unable to gain traction in collaborative initiatives, some actors are uniquely positioned to challenge the social reproduction that emanates from unequal access to resources. For example, universities host the organizations, and students constitute the organizations. While universities use their institutional power to mandate changes to the organizations, individual members have engaged in grassroots-style movements to demand changes to racialized norms of WFs through coalitions with other micro-level actors.

Conclusion

A complex interplay of actors at various organizational levels shapes the racial norms of WFs. At the macro level, historical and social contexts have established and sustained racialized norms within WFs, leading to the perpetuation of segregationist and racist practices. Relatedly, oversight entities at the meso level, such as national governing boards and alumni, have historically resisted integration, further entrenching these norms. At the micro level, individual members' racial schemas reinforce exclusion and inequality, making it challenging for members of color to exist within these organizations.

Despite entrenched norms, efforts to challenge and disrupt racial norms in WFs are well documented. For example, alumni and governing boards have promoted inclusive values and challenged segregationist practices from the top down. Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) have leveraged their authority to impose integration initiatives and foster cross-racial interactions through educational programs. Also, individual members – in part motivated by social movements – have played a crucial role in grassroots actions of ongoing resistance to systemic racism and exclusion in the WF system. Their efforts can shape universities' and others' approaches to challenging racism and segregation in WFs.

To achieve meaningful change, coordinated efforts across all organizational levels are essential. Universities and Offices of Sorority and Fraternity Life (OSFLs) can implement race-conscious policies and training programs, while individual members and alumni can advocate for inclusive practices and challenge entrenched racial norms. By prioritizing relationship-building and leveraging their positionality, actors can create a unified front to address systemic issues within WFs, promoting a more inclusive and equitable environment. This study underscores the importance of understanding the interconnectedness of these actors and the need for sustained, collaborative action to achieve systemic change within WFs.

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