



2017

Towards a Model of Internal/External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice: An Examination of White Racial Identity and Affect

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TOWARDS A MODEL OF INTERNAL/EXTERNAL MOTIVATION TO RESPOND
WITHOUT PREJUDICE: AN EXAMINATION OF WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY AND
AFFECT

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science
at Virginia Commonwealth University.

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December, 2017

Acknowledgement

First, I would like to give thanks to my family for their support and love, particularly Samuel Manu, who has been there every step of the way. Further, I would like to thank my lab mates and the beautiful Black and Brown psychologists in training in the department for their persistent strength and encouragement. I would also like to extend thanks to Shawn Utsey, Faye Belgrave, and Vivian Dzokoto for their effort as co-chairs of my committee, and for their guidance through this process.

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Abstract

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The current study explored how White racial identity influences the relationship between affective reactions to racism and one's internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice. The first aim was to examine the bivariate relationships between White racial identity ego schemas and affective reactions to racism. The second aim examined the bivariate relationships between affective reactions to racism and an internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice. The third aim explored whether Phase I or Phase II White racial identity ego schemas explained the relation of affective reactions to racism and internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice. PROCESS mediation models were used to assess the direct and indirect effects. Results indicated that the affective reactions "fear of others" and guilt, were related to the Phase I ego schemas, Disintegration and Reintegration. Guilt and Empathic reactions to racism were correlated with the Phase II ego schema Immersion/Emersion. The

Phase I ego schemas, Disintegration and Reintegration, mediated the relation between all affective reactions and an external motivation to respond without prejudice. The Phase II ego schema Immersion/Emersion failed to mediate the relation between any of the affective reactions

Only recently has psychological literature begun to explore how an endorsement of a White racial identity impacts psychosocial functioning. Understanding the function of White racial identity is to understand America's racialized social system, to explore the implications of who is considered human, and to understand the reproduction of White hegemony. Being unable to reconcile racism and discrimination is the most relevant piece of a collective White American identity—particularly how experiences of racism are perpetuated against non-White people at all social, economic, and political levels. Assessing White racial identity as a marker of one's awareness of race and racism ought to help explain the ways in which racism elicits affect as well as motivates individuals to behave prejudicially or not.

Parham, White, and Ajamu (1999) assert that racism in its covert or overt forms is solely a "White problem," and as such needs to be challenged by White individuals. They argue that a true understanding of the harm that racism causes can only come about when White Americans recognize the ways in which their White identity perpetuates individual, institutional, and cultural racism. Spanierman and Heppner (2004) extrapolate on this idea. In an appeal to legitimize the ramifications of racism, they assessed that racism is not only harmful for its victims, but is also harmful for its perpetrators. They propose that in order to explore White racial identity, it is pertinent to examine the ways in which racism impacts White people. They found that the effects of racism on White people are affectual and can be understood in three contexts: White empathic reactions toward racism, White guilt, and White "fear of others". Spanierman and Heppner (2004) believe that they were able to make White Americans able to recognize how racism is intrinsic to their racial identity by describing the ways in which White Americans generally react to racism, and how these reactions are unproductive and costly.

Despite the negative affective implications of racism for White individuals—guilt, empathy, and/or fear—Plant and Devine (1998) illustrate that White Americans’ self-reported attitudes towards Black people and other racial and ethnic groups have become more positive within the last 50 years. Plant and Devine (1998) explain this contradiction by positing that it is the societal pressure to behave in a politically correct manner that incentivizes White people to suppress affect and respond without prejudice when that may be incongruous to how they actually feel. They found that a White individual’s motivation to respond without prejudice predicted their endorsement of racial stereotypes of Black people. The source of their motivation was classified as either internal—focused on the implications of appearing prejudiced to oneself—or external—focused on the implications of appearing prejudiced to others (Plant and Devine, 1998). When in the presence of a presumed non-prejudiced audience, those White identifying individuals who were externally motivated to respond without bias seemed to adjust their expressions of prejudice to conform to social pressure to appear non-racist. Essentially, Plant and Devine (1998) found that although an individual may behave in a seemingly non-racist way did not mean that they themselves were not racist or did not hold prejudiced thoughts or feelings about Black people.

Thus, there is a discrepancy between affect and behavioral motivation, particularly regarding how emotions or feelings stemming from racism translates into motivation to appear non-prejudiced. The current study centers White racial identity as the link between these two variables. White racial identity will explain the relation between affective reactions to racism, and one’s motivation to respond without prejudice.

Literature Review

Evolution of Whiteness

To understand the significance of contemporary conceptualizations of a White racial identity in the United States, it is important to recognize how this racial identity has evolved over time. Race, as a social construct, is circumstantial to history and the ways in which groups of people have navigated their sociopolitical landscapes. As such, the concept of race, and by relation, Whiteness, is also fluid and circumstantial to context. The evolution of a White racial identity is the result of many contributing factors.

Roediger (2007) posits that Whiteness functioned as a labor status beginning in the 18th century, where slavery became the fulcrum that designated individuals to racial categories. To be White, essentially, was the antithesis of being a slave and Black. Whites were workers and were identifiable by their freedom and their skin color. These qualities were deemed dignified. Conversely, Black individuals were not free. They were enslaved. Their work was undignified, and inherently so was their race. Thus, race was defined as a status of labor (Roediger, 2007).

Although Roediger's (2007) perspective is important in recognizing the role of social class and social structure in determining race, it fails to take a more nuanced look at the ways in which the sociopolitical landscape was also changing at this time and played a role in defining racial categories. Jacobson (1999), rather, identified how Whiteness was defined by European immigration patterns in the late 18th to the mid-20th century, and the ways in which these new European immigrants had to reconcile an American identity. Jacobson (1999) repudiates the idea that race functions within a dichotomous "black"/ "white" binary based on labor and social status. Instead, Jacobson (1999) argues that race comprised an interplay of ethnicity, nationality, and religion constantly in flux to contend with new waves of immigrants.

Until 1840, European immigration was relatively low, and therefore, the racial binary was upheld. However, after 1840 until 1930, European immigration was consistent. This period Jacobson (1999) describes as one of “variegated Whiteness” in which certain European groups were considered “Whiter” than others. Often those European groups that were considered less than others—including Irish, Jewish, and Polish peoples—were considered so because of their indentured labor status, or for not following the Protestant faith, and thus considered more savage. This was a period where those of European descent were themselves battling to understand the hierarchy of their humanity based on skin color, language, country of origin, economic status, and religion (Jacobson, 1999). The country’s economic decline, and Franklin D. Roosevelt’s plan to reverse this decline resulted in a conglomeration of ethnic identity for European Americans into a general White identity. With job growth rates increasing as the U.S. entered WWII, employment opportunities were less focused on ethnic heritage while hiring European Americans to meet wartime demands (Jacobson, 1999). Thus, the depression era, marked the beginning of the use of terms like “White” and “Caucasian” as applicable for those of any European background. This new framing of Whiteness also went hand-in-hand with a general opposition to sharing this new power and privilege with people of color (Jacobson, 1999).

Thus, with the shifting time periods and the utility of maintaining social, political, and economic dominance, Whiteness has shifted in its utility from biological, to economic, to cultural. However, central to these transitions, is the fundamental idea that being inculcated into the White racial category brought with it power, status, and privilege. These privileges were intentionally and vehemently denied to those on the other side of the color line, and can be categorized simply as racism. Jim Crow laws in the South segregated Blacks from Whites and

empowered hate groups, like the KKK, to violently reinforce the division via burnings, lynchings, and murders (Reid, 2007). Blacks were also politically disenfranchised despite gaining citizenship rights via the Fourteenth Amendment (U.S. Const. amend. XIV), and were discriminated against in accessibility to education, housing, and work nationwide (Kennedy, 1973).

Contemporary Conceptualizations of Racism

To understand the interactional nature of White racial identity with racism, it is necessary to understand what racism is, and how has been conceptualized within the psychological literature. Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams (1999) define racism as “beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation”. The racial traumas that Black people have endured in the United States can be characterized as interminable and inventive. Although the presence of racism is endemic and institutionalized at systemic levels, in interpersonal interactions, some argue that racism, much like society, is changing with contemporary times. Within the psychological literature, contemporary racism has been conceptualized as modern (McConahay, 1986) symbolic (Sears, 1988), and aversive (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002).

Modern and symbolic racism towards Black subjects depicts anti-Black resistance based on an adherence to “moral” or “traditional” values whose supporters believe Black people do not embody (McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988). Modern and symbolic racism are representational of the politicized nature of racism, and have been associated with a conservative political viewpoint. Aversive racism, on the other hand, while political in nature represents a liberal viewpoint characterized as less overt, and more adaptive, ambiguous, and disguised (Wing Sue et

al., 2007). As such, aversive racism is perhaps more nebulous because the perpetrators may not be conscious of their own biases either because they view themselves as generally liberal, or because they know that social custom does not sanction overt racism (McConahay, 1986).

Contemporary forms of racism often manifest in actions known as racial microaggressions. Racial microaggressions describe covert or subtle racial discrimination sometimes delivered passively or unconsciously (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Types of racial microaggressions include behaviors or messages that assault, invalidate, and/or insult and are perpetrated either consciously or unconsciously. These exchanges may be perceived as inoffensive when in fact they are detrimental. Another contemporary manifestation of racism is holding a colorblind racial attitude. Colorblindness refers to a form of privilege whereby White people ignore or deny the importance of race as meaningful to the identities and lived experiences of individuals of color (Neville, Lilly, Lee, Duran, & Browne, 2000). Endorsing such a worldview is reflective of an ignorant belief that racial equality is achievable by ignoring race, and not an ability to see that this behavior is oppressive and the antithesis of egalitarianism.

Racism Today

Wing Sue (2005) depicts how contemporary forms of racism exist at individual, institutional, and cultural levels. Individual racism refers to interpersonal forms of discrimination. Institutional racism is present in systems and organizations. It pertains to the policies, practices, and structures that subjugate and limit underrepresented groups of people. Cultural racism pertains to higher-order racism in both its institutional and individual forms, but is also more pervasive and encompassing of White supremacy ideology.

Examples of these forms of racism are ever-present within a contemporary context. The election of Donald Trump as America's 45th president, a man who has condoned and expressed

misogynistic, xenophobic, homophobic, Islamophobic, anti-differently-abled, anti-Black, and anti-Mexican rhetoric and actions, is a particularly salient example. Similarly, his cabinet engenders a White nationalist group of individuals. Meanwhile, the media continues to sensationalize and substantiate the murders of unarmed Black men, women, genderqueer, and trans people in Ferguson, Milwaukee, New York City, Dayton, Cleveland, Charleston, Baltimore, and many more cities across the country. On a systemic level, the constitutionality of race-conscious affirmative action programs has been called into question; Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act (1965) was found unconstitutional making it unenforceable to question changes to eligible districts' election laws and procedures; and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) is essentially moot, as schools and communities are more racially segregated today than they were a decade ago. Mass incarceration continues to jail mostly Black men (Alexander and West, 2012), and mandatory minimum sentences continue to sentence and detain Black people for non-violent drug offenses at disproportionate rates for charges of using or selling drugs that are either now legal to possess or use recreationally or possess in twenty-six states (Alexander and West, 2012), or have starkly different sentences for the same drug in different forms because of the race of the person typically using or dealing it.

It is imperative that these individual, institutional, and cultural challenges to Black sovereignty by a White collective be understood as racist (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Kinder and Sears (1981) explain that these forms of racism continue to exist due to the notion that Black people somehow threaten White livelihood, insomuch as they represent the antithesis of American moral and traditional values. Thus, racism manifests as resistance to Black Americans' fight for equality. For the White American collective to affirm that individual, systemic, and cultural transformation is necessary for the equality of Black people, would imply that the status

quo is flawed, and that White hegemony is immoral. Rather, it remains acceptable to believe that Black people are threatening, and violate traditional moral values by expecting recompenses.

Models of White Racial Identity

Within the psychological literature, White identity has been described using two models, White Racial Consciousness (Rowe, Bennet, & Atkinson, 1994), and White Racial Identity Development (Helms, 1990). Both models emphasize that research that replicates a unidirectional approach of observing how racism affects people of color, is problematic. Rather, both models posit that those who perpetuate racism against people of color ought to be scrutinized.

Rowe, Bennet, and Atkinson (1994) define White Racial Consciousness as one's awareness of their Whiteness, and the implications of this awareness. The model comprises two statuses, Unachieved White Racial Consciousness and Achieved White Racial Consciousness. Unachieved White Racial Consciousness encompasses the attitude types of individuals who choose to avoid concern for racial issues, those who endorse White racial identity but do not reflect what this endorsement implies, and those whose attitudes reflect an openness to receive information that challenges their self-concept, but are not willing to make a commitment towards action or change. The Achieved White Racial Consciousness status encompasses attitude types of those who acknowledge majority dominance over minority culture, those who consciously oppose blatant discrimination but do not endorse actions designed to eliminate discrimination, those who are aware of discrimination and aware of their White privilege, and those who acknowledge their White racial identity, White privilege, and also work to create social change for equality of underrepresented and historically oppressed groups.

Helms' (1990) model of White Racial Identity Development, on the other hand, is the most heavily referenced within the psychological literature. The model explains that White racial identity is the way in which White individuals interact with racism, and how this interaction influences their psychological functioning, social beliefs, and behaviors. By examining White racial identity, one can understand the schemas that govern how a White American interprets racial information. The degree to which a White American identifies with their racial identity is something Helms' (1990) argues is constantly in flux. Individuals are in an unremitting process of evaluating and exploring the implications of their racial group membership and are impacted by changing worldviews and shifting societal mores and norms. The model proposes a bidirectional linear process of identity development that describes how White people progress through a series of ego schemas that pertain to differing levels of awareness of racism and consciousness of their own Whiteness. The model describes two Phases and six ego schemas, and solely focuses on the construct of White identity as it pertains to a symbiotic relationship with Black people.

Per Helms' theory of White racial identity, White Americans progress and regress through two Phases comprising six ego schemas. Phase I contains the ego schemas Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration. Phase I racial schemas describe the ways in which White Americans attempt to become non-racist. The Contact ego schema describes an encounter, either ideologically or physically, with Black people. This schema is characterized by a lack of awareness of cultural and institutional racism, white privilege, and racial issues. The Disintegration ego schema implies an acknowledgement that the treatment of Black and White people is not equal. This may lead the White individual to feel discomfort and may include feelings of shame, guilt, denial, or ambivalence because of a lack of desire to identify as White,

but an inability to relate with a Black experience. Reintegration describes the ego schema marked by an acknowledgement of White identity, as well as the transition of feelings of guilt or anxiety into feelings of fear and anger toward Black people. In this schema, White individuals either passively or actively express their beliefs by choosing to deliberately remove themselves from environments where Black people may be encountered, by treating Black people as inferior, or by treating Black people violently, so as to protect their own White privilege, and positive regard for their own racial group.

The second Phase of Helms' model, defining a nonracist White identity, includes the ego schemas Pseudo-independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy. Phase II ego schemas describe how White Americans make progress in their development of a non-racist White identity. Pseudo-Independence describes the ego schema that Helms' (1990) typifies as entering a positive White identity. The individual begins to self-examine their own contribution to the perpetuation of racism, and seeks to gain a more intellectual understanding of Black culture due to an event that may trigger this change. The ego schema Immersion-Emersion describes the ways in which White Americans internalize how their White identity defines and shapes them, as well as pushes them to act against racism. This schema is characterized by a replacing of myths and stereotypes about White and Black people with accurate information that contextualizes identity within the realm of historical events. Emotional and cognitive restructuring takes place in this schema, that will provide the White individual with the capability of tackling racism and oppression. The final ego schema, Autonomy, describes White Americans' taking on a non-racist identity that incorporates a space for the respect and value of other racial groups, as well as their own. The White individual no longer feels a need to oppress or denigrate people on the basis of

group membership characteristics. An Autonomous person has internalized a positive worldview that is non-racist and open to learning from other cultures in order to abolish racial oppression.

Helms' (1990) model of White racial identity development features a bidirectional movement of development of White racial identity as it pertains to racial relationships between Black and White Americans. This model has informed empirical work that aims to qualify the consequences of racism on White people, including the development of such constructs as White privilege, White guilt, and White fragility as well as other cognitive, behavioral, and affective outcomes.

White Reactions to Racism

Spanierman and Heppner (2004) add to the psychological literature about White racial identity by taking a social justice-oriented approach. By allowing White individuals to be able to label and identify the ways in which they react to racism, as well as by being able to understand how these reactions can negatively impact their psychological functioning, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) hope to elucidate awareness and foster antiracism. Essentially, the recognition of the psychosocial costs of racism on White people would allow these individuals to move towards what Helms (1990) would describe as progress towards a non-racist identity.

Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) original conceptualization of this psychological phenomena derived from sociological literature that assessed how one's membership in a dominant group that historically oppresses others for its benefit, can have negative consequences on its own members (Bowser & Hunt, 1996; Goodman, 2001; Kendall, 2006; Kivel, 2002). Bowser and Hunt's (1996) seminal work highlights the impacts of racism on White Americans. The sociologists highlight the disproportionate amount of literature about the effects of racism on its targets. In a collection of essays, Bowser and Hunt (1996) discuss the ways in which overt

bigotry and internalized hatred impacts psychological functioning, and promotes inauthenticity in interpersonal interactions.

Kivel (2002) describes the intricate ways in which oppression and identity are intertwined, and discusses the necessity to recognize and reform the notion that Whiteness is normative and superior. Kivel (2002) also illustrates that the defenses White Americans exhibit to dissociate themselves from racism have consequences. These costs include loss of culture, maintaining a distorted picture of history, loss of relationships, having a distorted sense of danger and safety, lower self-esteem, and spiritual depletion. Kivel (2002) coined the phrase “costs of racism to Whites” to describe these defenses, as well as to describe the ways in which racism and intolerance in all of its forms, is detrimental to White Americans.

Spanierman and Heppner (2004) draw from this ontogeny to inform and to create their own conceptual framework for their empirical measure. Their proposed construct of the costs of racism to Whites included three categories: affective costs, behavioral costs, and cognitive costs. Spanierman and Heppner (2004) define affective costs as the emotional reaction to experiences of racism. These affective costs take many forms, but typically describe sadness, anger, guilt, anxiety, shame, apathy, and fear. Behavioral costs describe the restrictive actions taken to avoid racialized situations. Cognitive costs were defined as distorted thoughts about oneself, others, and reality (Goodman, 2001). Essentially these distortions highlight aspects of one’s lack of self-awareness about one’s racial identity, reliance on racial stereotypes to inform one’s worldview, or a color-blind racial attitude that negates the impact race plays in everyday interactions.

The measure, Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) quantified the affective component of Spanierman and Heppner’s conceptual model. Three factors emerged that captured these affective costs in separate subscales for the measure. They include, White Empathic

Reactions Towards Racism, White Guilt, and White “fear of others”. White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism quantifies the affective response to racism such as anger, helplessness, and sadness. White empathic reactions are associated with more racial awareness and ethnocultural empathy (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The White Guilt subscale reflects the respondent’s feelings of guilt and shame. Those who do not endorse these types of affect may have little exposure to people of color, or a general lack of awareness about race and institutional racism. The White “fear of others” subscale quantifies those who fear and distrust non-White people. Those who endorse more fear also endorse lower levels of racial awareness.

Most of the research conducted using the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) has been used to assess college students. For example, research has used the measure to assess how White college students’ PCRW type changes during the course of a year (Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009); how a video intervention could bring about changes in White students’ attitudes towards and reactions to racism (Soble, Spanierman, & Liao, 2011); and the ways in which one’s affect according to the PCRW could predict various dimensions of multicultural counseling competencies (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008). Most of the literature using the PCRW has several commonalities: 1) Women tend to score higher on all factors of the PCRW than men, and 2) Many White students have only limited exposure to people of color at this stage of life (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, & Armstrong, 2006; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008; Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009).

Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice.

While Spanierman and Heppner (2004) quantified the affective reactions to racism on White individuals, Plant and Devine (1998) explore the motivation behind behavioral reactions. They challenged the validity of self-reported measures that show a shift towards endorsing more

positive racial attitudes. Plant and Devine (1998) posited that the trend towards political correctness in contemporary society, speaks to the ways individuals who would likely respond in a discriminatory manner would be perceived, and not to the discriminatory feelings themselves. Thus, Plant and Devine (1998) implied that the social pressure to not be perceived as prejudiced or racist, would impact one's behavior in a similar fashion.

Past literature on the ways in which norms dictate prejudiced behavior suggest that White Americans have shifted overt forms of racism and discrimination to more covert and subtle forms (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986; McConahay, 1986; Sears & Kinder, 1985). Little research has considered conceptualizing the sources of motivation to respond in this fashion. Dunton and Fazio (1997) created a self-report measure designed to assess motivations to control prejudiced reactions (MCPR), and bifurcated internal and external motivations as the driving force of people's behavior. Plant and Devine (1998) continue in this vein and operationalize internal motivation as the personally important standards an individual holds for themselves to not behave in a prejudiced manner. External motivation is defined as the pressure from society that makes an individual comply to non-prejudiced social norms in their behavior and interactions with others. Internal and external motivation both rely upon one's underlying self-regulatory efforts.

Summary and Purpose of the Current Study

Recent studies have explored how White racial identity and affective reactions to racism, are related to multicultural competencies, particularly of trainees in graduate counseling psychology programs. Research suggests that White individuals disengage from training and conversations that require them to address race and privilege because of the strong emotional reactions elicited, like guilt and defensiveness (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Utsey & Gernat,

2002; Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005). Spanierman, Poetat, Wang, and Oh (2008) found that reacting with a combination of empathy, guilt, and fear to multicultural competence training predicted a White individual's knowledge of the impact of racial oppression. While, an empathic reaction predicted lower levels of Eurocentric bias and an increased level of multicultural awareness and observed multicultural competence. Similarly, a study by Constantine, Warren, and Miville (2005) indicated that individuals whose White identity progressed toward non-racism, à la Helms' (1990) Phase II ego schemas, were able to promote exploration of racial and cultural issues, whereas those who were still in the process of becoming non-racist tended to devalue and dismiss racial and cultural issues.

Yet no study has explored how White racial identity influences the relationship between affective reactions to racism and one's internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between White racial identity attitudes, affective reactions to racism, and one's motivation to respond without prejudice. I proposed that White racial identity was the a predictor of one's motivation to respond without prejudice. I also proposed that White racial identity would explain the relationship between affective reactions to racism and motivations to respond without prejudice.

Hypotheses

This study assessed whether White racial identity mediated the effect of affective reactions to racism on an internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice. First, it was assessed whether white racial identity was related to affective reactions to racism, as well as related to an internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice. Next, the relation between affective reactions of racism and internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice was explored. Finally, mediation analyses were run to determine if Phase I and Phase

II ego schemas mediated the relationship between affective reactions to racism and an internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice.

Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis one examined if White racial identity, as measured by the White Racial Identity and Attitudes Scale (WRIAS; Helms, 1990) was associated with White affective reactions to racism, as measured by the Psychosocial Costs to Racism Scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). It was hypothesized that respondents' expression of "fear of others" and guilt would be positively related to the Phase I ego schemas, while expression of guilt and empathy would be positively related to the Phase II ego schemas.

Hypothesis 2a-c. The second aim of the study was to examine if White affective reactions to racism were associated with an internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice.

A) It was hypothesized that respondents' expression of "fear of others" would be positively associated with an external motivation to respond without prejudice.

B) Expression of empathy was hypothesized to be positively associated with an internal motivation to respond without prejudice.

C) The expression of guilt was hypothesized to be positively associated to both an internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice.

Hypothesis 3a-b. Finally, if White affective reactions to racism were associated to one's endorsement of an internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice, and White racial identity was related to both of these constructs, then it was plausible that a White racial identity may better explain the link between affective reactions to racism and one's motivation to respond without prejudice for White-identifying people.

- A) I hypothesized that Phase I ego schemas would mediate the relation between affective reactions to racism and an external motivation to respond without prejudice. Thus, higher levels of guilt and “fear of others” would be associated with higher endorsement of all Phase I ego schemas and higher levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice. Empathy, however, would be negatively associated with the Phase I ego schemas and lessen an endorsement of external motivation.
- B) I also hypothesized that Phase II ego schemas would mediate the relation between psychosocial costs and internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Thus, higher levels of guilt and “fear of others” would be negatively associated endorsement of all Phase II ego schemas, and lesser endorsement of internal motivation. Higher levels of empathy would be positively associated with all Phase II ego schemas and higher levels of internal motivation.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited from undergraduate psychology courses at a large urban mid-Atlantic university. Students received extra credit in exchange for participation in the study. Inclusion criteria specified that participant’s must self-identify as White or Caucasian and must be 18 years-of-age or older.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Respondents were asked to indicate their gender, age, the race of their biological parents, home state, education level, and education level of caregivers.

White Racial Identity. White racial identity was measured using the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990). The self-report measure comprises 60

items that assesses ego schemas of White racial identity development. These schemas are represented by six subscales: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy, respectively. Each subscale comprises 10 items measured using a five-point Likert type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Scaled scores are derived by taking the sum of each subscale. Cronbach's alphas for each subscale have varied in several studies. In this sample, a Cronbach's alpha of .49 was found for the Contact subscale, .67 for the Disintegration subscale, .84 for the Reintegration subscale, .41 for the Pseudo-Independence subscale, .82 for the Immersion/ Emersion subscale and .53 for the Autonomy subscale. These low reliability estimates have been consistently reported throughout the literature.

Affective reactions to racism. White reactions to racism was measured using the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The self-report measure comprises 16 items that assess negative affective, cognitive, and behavioral consequences of racism experienced by White people. These three factors are represented by three subscales, White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism, White Guilt, and White "fear of others". The White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism subscale consists of six items, such as "I become sad when I think about acts of racial injustice." This subscale is representative of the respondents' emotional response to racism. Higher scores indicate higher affective costs of racism. The White Guilt subscale comprises five items, such as "I never feel ashamed about being White." This subscale is representative of feelings of shame or guilt associated with identifying as White. Higher scores indicate more experiences of guilt and shame. The White "fear of others" subscale consists of five items, such as "I often find myself fearful of people from other races". The subscale is representative of the respondents' fear of non-White people, where higher scores indicate more fear. Respondents will indicate their experiences of empathy,

guilt, or fear using a six-point scale that ranges from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 6 (*Strongly agree*). Cronbach's alphas for this sample was .78 for the Empathic Reactions Toward Racism subscale, .83 for the White Guilt subscale, and .72 for the White "fear of others" subscale.

Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice. Motivations to respond without prejudice was measured using the Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scales (IMS & EMS; Plant & Devine, 1998). The Internal (IMS) and external (EMS) subscales have five items and use a nine-point scale that ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). The IMS subscale measures the implications of appearing prejudiced to oneself. An example of an IMS item is, "Being nonprejudiced is important to my self-concept". The EMS subscale measures the implications of appearing prejudiced to others. An example of an EMS item is, "I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others". Cronbach's alphas for the IMS subscale for this sample was .80, and .64 for the EMS subscale.

Procedure

Students were recruited from undergraduate psychology classes through SONA Systems Ltd., which is a human subject pool management system. Respondents received extra credit or course activity points for participating in the research studies through SONA. After IRB approval, the study was active online on both SONA and RedCap for participants to take the survey. Before beginning the study, respondents' informed consent was collected. Only students who completed the informed consent form were allowed to participate. Respondents were then asked to complete the survey and demographic items.

Results

Data Preparation

SPSS 24.0 was used for all data analyses. Mediation analyses were assessed using PROCESS (Hayes, 2012). The data were cleaned and descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, and frequencies, were calculated to verify that data met the assumptions of the analyses. First, data was checked to ensure that values submitted met inclusion criteria. 21 cases were removed because they violated the inclusion criteria stating that respondents identify their race as White. A missing values analysis was conducted to determine cases with missing values. Results indicated 46 cases were missing 100% of values, and 2 cases were missing 94% of values. These cases were moved from the dataset. Next, data were reviewed to assess for skewness, kurtosis, and outliers. Skewness and kurtosis were assessed as normal if the test statistic fell between -1 and +1. The ego schemas Disintegration and Reintegration were positively skewed, while the ego schemas Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, and Pseudo-Independence were kurtotic. Outliers were removed from the dataset which reduced skewness and kurtosis and created a normal dataset. Finally, data were checked for multivariate normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, and multicollinearity. Data sufficiently met these assumptions. A power analysis was conducted to determine that an a prior sample size of at least 68 respondents was needed for analyses with a medium effect size, an alpha level of .05, power of .80, and two predictors. The current study comprised 170 respondents, which was sufficient to detect an effect.

Descriptive Statistics

Demographic data were examined (Table 1). On average, respondents were 19.85 years of age ($SD=5.65$). Respondents were primarily women (60.6%), identified as White (95.3%),

with 63% of respondents with some college education. 91% of respondents' biological parents identified their race as White, and that 59.5-63% of caregivers received an associate's degree or higher. Table 2 indicates the means and standard deviations of the measures. Table 3 shows the bivariate relations between the variables of interest.

Table 1
Respondent Demographic Characteristics (M, SD)

Variable	N	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Woman	103	60.6
Man	56	32.9
Transgender	1	0.60
Gender non-conforming/other	4	2.35
Missing	6	3.52
Age (19.85, 5.65)		
18	85	50
19	38	22.40
20	18	10.60
21	7	4.10
22	2	1.20
23	5	2.90
25	1	0.60
27	1	0.60
29	1	0.60
46	1	0.60
47	1	0.60
52	1	0.60
66	1	0.60
Missing	7	4.10
Biological Parents' Identify as White		
Yes	155	91.20
No	6	3.50
Don't Know	2	1.20
Respondent's Race		
White	162	95.30
Missing	8	4.70
American Citizen		
Yes	162	95.30

No	1	0.60
Missing	7	4.10
Home State		
Virginia	143	84.10
California	2	1.20
Delaware	1	0.60
Florida	1	0.60
Georgia	1	0.60
Illinois	1	0.60
Maryland	2	1.20
Massachusetts	1	0.60
Missouri	1	0.60
New Jersey	3	1.80
New York	1	0.60
Ohio	1	0.60
Pennsylvania	3	1.80
South Carolina	1	0.60
Texas	1	0.60

Education, Caregiver 1

Some H.S.	4	2.40
H.S. or GED	33	19.40
Some college, no degree	24	14.10
Associates	12	7.10
Bachelors	50	29.40
Masters	27	15.90
Professional	12	7.10
Don't know	1	0.60
Missing	7	4.10

Education, Caregiver 2

Some H.S.	4	2.40
H.S. or GED	22	12.9
Some college, no degree	27	15.9
Associates	8	4.70
Bachelors	54	31.8
Masters	34	20.00
Professional	11	6.50
Don't Know	3	1.80
Missing	7	4.10

Education, Respondent		
H.S. or GED	37	21.80
Some college, no degree	108	63.50
Associates	10	5.90
Bachelors	5	2.90
Masters	1	0.60
Professional	1	0.60
Missing	8	4.70

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations on the Affective Reactions, White Racial Identity Ego Schemas, and Behavioral Motivation Measures

Variable	N	M	SD
Psychosocial Costs of Racism			
Empathy	162	27.69	5.37
Guilt	162	15.10	6.03
“fear of others”	162	11.38	4.29
WRIAS Ego Schemas			
Contact	170	30.86	4.57
Disintegration	170	22.96	5.21
Reintegration	170	18.95	6.23
Pseudo-Independence	170	34.19	3.94
Immersion/Emersion	170	30.58	6.78
Autonomy	170	34.94	4.61
Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice			
Internal Motivation	165	24.18	8.95
External Motivation	165	36.06	8.17

Table 3
Pearson Correlation Coefficients of Affective Reactions, White Racial Identity Ego Schemas, and Behavioral Motivation Measures

	Empathy	Guilt	Fear	Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-Independence	Emersion	Autonomy	Internal Motivation	External Motivation
Empathy	_____										
Guilt	.482**	_____									
Fear	-.395**	-.188*	_____								
Contact	.252**	.170*	-0.077	_____							
Disintegration	-.489**	-.185*	.606**	0.106	_____						
Reintegration	-.567**	-.369**	.639**	-0.039	.704**	_____					
Pseudo-Independence	.469**	.206**	-.217**	.463**	-0.146	-.351**	_____				
Emersion	.456**	.618**	-0.126	.213**	-0.108	-.370**	.339**	_____			
Autonomy	.501**	.220**	-.427**	.279**	-.397**	-.502**	.551**	.403**	_____		
Internal Motivation	-0.026	0.074	.363**	-0.002	.406**	.217**	0.044	.157*	-0.094	_____	
External Motivation	.734**	.446**	-.433**	.281**	-.469**	-.611**	.504**	.499**	.612**	0.056	_____

** $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed).

* $p < 0.05$ level (2-tailed).

Correlational Results

Hypothesis 1. The first aim of the study was to examine if White racial identity, as measured by the White Racial Identity and Attitudes Scale (WRIAS; Helms, 1990) was associated with White affective reactions to racism, as measured by the Psychosocial Costs to Racism Scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). It was hypothesized that:

- Respondents' expression of "fear of others" and guilt would be positively related to the Phase I ego schemas, Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration
- Expression of guilt and empathy would be positively related to the Phase II ego schemas, Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy.

The results mostly supported these hypotheses, and indicated that there was a strong positive significant association between "fear of others" and the Disintegration ego schema, $r(168)=.61, p<.001$, as well as "fear of others" and the Reintegration ego schema, $r(168)=.64, p<.001$. There was no evidence to suggest an association between "fear of others" and the Contact ego schema, $r(168)=-.08, p=.33$. There was evidence to suggest that guilt had a weak positive association with the Contact ego schema, $r(168)=.17, p=.03$. Guilt had a weak negative association with the Disintegration ego schema, $r(168)=-0.19, p=0.02$, and the Reintegration ego schema, $r(168)= -.37, p<.001$. However, due to the unacceptable reliability coefficient for the Contact subscale, these results should be interpreted with caution.

Guilt was found to have a weak positive association to the Pseudo-Independence ego schema, $r(168)=.21, p=.01$, a strong positive association to the Immersion/Emersion ego schema, $r(168)=.62, p<.001$, and a weak positive relationship to the Autonomy ego schema, $r(168)=.22, p=0.01$. Empathy, was found to have a strong positive association to the Pseudo-Independence, $r(168)=.47, p<.001$, the Immersion/Emersion, $r(168)=.46, p<.001$, and the Autonomy ego

schema, $r(168)=.50, p<.001$. However, due to the unacceptable Cronbach's alphas of the Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy subscales, these results should be interpreted with caution.

Hypothesis 2. The second aim of the study was to examine if affective reactions to racism were associated with an internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice. It was hypothesized that:

- Respondents' expression of "fear of others" would be positively associated with an external motivation to respond without prejudice.
- The expression of empathy would be positively associated with an internal motivation to respond without prejudice.
- The expression of guilt would be positively associated to both an internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice.

The results did not support the hypotheses. There was evidence to suggest that there was a moderate and negative association between "fear of others" and an external motivation to respond without prejudice, $r(168)=-.43, p<.001$. There was no evidence to suggest a relation between empathy and an internal motivation to respond without prejudice, $r(168)=-.03, p=.75$. Nor was there evidence to suggest a relation between guilt and an internal motivation to respond without prejudice, $r(168)=.07, p=.35$. However, there was a moderate and positive association between guilt and an external motivation to respond without prejudice, $r(168)=.45, p<.001$.

Mediation Results

Hypothesis 3. Several bootstrapping analyses were conducted to examine the indirect effects of affective reactions on behavioral motivation via Phase I (*See Figure 1*) or Phase II (*See Figure 2*) ego schemas using PROCESS (Hayes, 2012). Thus, higher levels of guilt and "fear of others" would be associated with higher endorsement of all Phase I ego schemas and

higher levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice. Empathy would be negatively associated with the Phase I ego schemas and lessen an endorsement of external motivation. It was also hypothesized that Phase II ego schemas would mediate the relation between affective reactions and an internal motivation to respond without prejudice (*See Figure 2*). Thus, higher levels of guilt and “fear of others” would be negatively associated with an endorsement of all Phase II ego schemas, and lesser endorsement of an internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Higher levels of empathy would be positively associated with all Phase II ego schemas and higher levels of internal motivation.

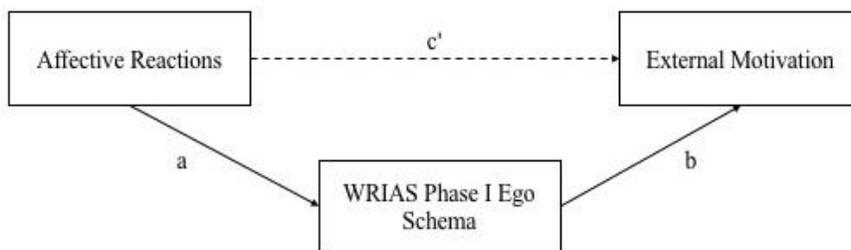


Figure 1. Example of mediation models 1-6 with external motivation outcome. Affective reactions: fear, empathy, guilt; WRIAS Phase I ego schemas: Reintegration, Disintegration.

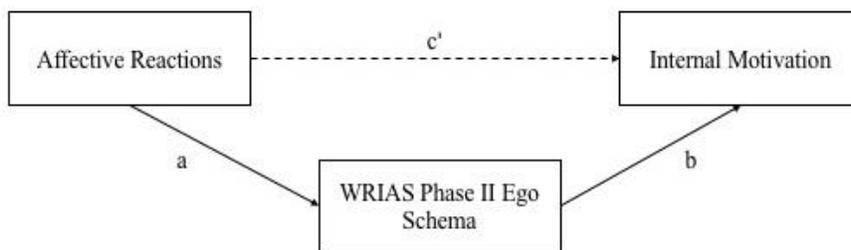


Figure 2. Example of mediation models 7-9 with internal motivation outcome. Affective reactions: fear, empathy, guilt; WRIAS Phase II ego schemas: Pseudo-Independence

Multiple simple mediation models were used to test the remaining hypotheses. The following subscales were removed from analyses due to unacceptable Cronbach's alphas: WRIAS subscales Contact, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy. Therefore, the Phase I ego schemas for the analysis included Disintegration and Reintegration. The Phase II ego schemas used for analysis included Immersion/Emersion. Mediations 1-6 tested the relation between affective reactions, Phase I ego schemas, and an external motivation to respond without prejudice, while mediations 7-9 tested the relation between affective reactions Phase II ego schemas, and an internal motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the first mediation model "fear of others" was modeled to affect external motivation to respond without prejudice through the Disintegration ego schema (*see Table 4, model 1*). This model, conducted with 5,000 bootstraps, yielded a mean bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect of -.38. Because the 95% confidence interval did not include 0 (-.61 to -.17), we concluded that Disintegration partially mediated the effect of "fear of others" on external motivation to respond without prejudice. That is, "fear of others" predicted a greater endorsement of the Disintegration ego schema, which in turn predicted led to less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the second mediation model "fear of others" was modeled to affect external motivation to respond without prejudice through the Reintegration ego schema (*see Table 4, model 2*). This model, conducted with 5,000 bootstraps, yielded a mean bootstrap estimate of the indirect of -.69. Because the 95% confidence interval did not include 0 (-.94 to -.48), we concluded that Reintegration mediated the effect of "fear of others" on external motivation to respond without prejudice. That is, "fear of others" predicted a greater endorsement of the Reintegration ego

schema, which in turn led to less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the third mediation model, guilt was modeled to affect external motivation to respond without prejudice through the Disintegration ego schema (*see Table 4, model 3*). This model, conducted with 5,000 bootstraps, yielded a mean bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect of .10. Because the 95% confidence interval did not include 0 (.03-.19), we concluded that Disintegration partially mediated the effect of guilt on external motivation to respond without prejudice. That is, higher levels of guilt predict less endorsement of Disintegration, which in turn led to less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the fourth mediation model, guilt was modeled to affect external motivation to respond without prejudice through the Reintegration ego schema (*see Table 4, model 1*). This model, conducted with 5,000 bootstraps, yielded a mean bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect of .26. Because the 95% confidence interval did not include 0 (.17-.38), we concluded that Reintegration partially mediated the effect of guilt on external motivation to respond without prejudice. That is higher levels of guilt predicted less endorsement of the Reintegration ego schema, which in turn led to less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the fifth mediation model, empathy was modeled to affect external motivation to respond without prejudice through the Disintegration ego schema (*see Table 4, model 5*). This model, conducted with 5,000 bootstraps, yielded a mean bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect of .11. Because the 95% confidence interval did not include 0 (.003-.03), we concluded that Disintegration partially mediated the effect of empathy on external motivation to respond without prejudice. That is, empathy predicted less of an endorsement of the Disintegration ego

schema, which in turn predicted less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the sixth mediation model, empathy was modeled to affect external motivation to respond without prejudice through the Reintegration ego schema (*see Table 4, model 6*). This model, conducted with 5,000 bootstraps, yielded a mean bootstrap estimate of the indirect effect of .25. Because the 95% confidence interval did include 0 (.02-.05), we concluded that Reintegration partially mediated the effect of empathy on external motivation to respond without prejudice. That is, empathy predicted less of an endorsement of the Reintegration ego schema, which in turn predicted less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the seventh mediation model, “fear of others” was modeled to affect internal motivation to respond without prejudice through the Immersion/Emersion ego schema (*see Table 4, model 7*). However, “fear of others” failed to significantly predict endorsement of an Immersion/Emersion ego schema, $b=-.2$, $p=.11$. Thus there is no evidence to suggest that an Immersion/Emersion ego schema mediates the relation between “fear of others” and internal motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the eighth mediation model, guilt was modeled to affect internal motivation to respond without prejudice through the Immersion/Emersion ego schema (*see Table 4, model 8*). However, guilt failed to significantly predict endorsement of an Immersion/Emersion ego schema, $b=.11$, $p=.35$. Thus there is no evidence to suggest that endorsing an Immersion/Emersion ego schema mediates the relation between of guilt and an internal motivation to respond without prejudice.

In the ninth mediation model, empathy was modeled to affect internal motivation to respond without prejudice through the Immersion/Emersion ego schema (*see Table 4, model 9*). However, empathy failed to significantly predict the Immersion/Emersion ego schema, $b=-.04$, $p=.75$.

Table 4
Unstandardized Coefficients for all Mediation Models

Model	Path a	Path b	Path c	Path c'
1	.75**	-.51*	-.83**	-.45*
2	.92**	-.75**	-.83**	-.14
3	-.16*	-.62**	.61**	.51**
4	-.38**	-.69**	.61**	.35**
5	-.48**	-.22*	1.12**	1.01**
6	-.65**	-.38**	1.12**	.87**
7	-.20**	.27*	.76**	.82**
8	.70**	.24	.11	-.06
9	.58**	.28*	-.04	-.21

* $p<.05$.

** $p<.001$

Discussion

The aims of the current study were to explore the relation between White racial identity, affective reactions to racism, and the internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice. The first aim was to assess whether White racial identity was correlated to affective reactions to racism, as well as to the internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice. The second aim was to examine the correlation between affective reactions to racism and internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice. The third aim explored whether Phase I or Phase II ego

schemas of White racial identity mediated the relationship between affective reactions to racism and an internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice.

Regarding the first aim, it was hypothesized that the affective reactions “fear of others” and guilt, would be positively associated to the White racial identity Phase I ego schemas, Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration. Results supported this hypothesis, finding a strong positive association between White “fear of others” and the Disintegration ego schema. White “fear of others” describes a fear and distrust of non-White people (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The authors also depict how this fear is associated with less racial awareness (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The positive association between the two constructs may speak to this idea. For example, the Disintegration ego status is marked by psychological conflict surrounding the reality of racism. Disintegration implicates affective reactions of discomfort but an inability to relate to Black people. The positive correlation between White “fear of others” and a confusion about relatability to the Black experience speaks to this lack of awareness. A similar strong correlation was found between White “fear of others” and the ego schema Reintegration. This ego schema is said to capture affective components of identity that include fear and anger towards Black people. (Helms, 1990; Siegel & Carter, 2014). In this study, the large effect size of this positive relationship spoke to this research. No correlation was found between White “fear of others” and the ego schema, Contact. This could be explained by the subscales unacceptable Cronbach’s alpha.

It was also hypothesized that guilt would also be positively related to the WRIAS Phase I ego schemas. The results did not support this hypothesis. Rather, an affective reaction of guilt was inversely related to both the Disintegration and Reintegration ego schemas. Thus, the more guilt harbored the less likelihood of endorsing an ego schema of Disintegration or Reintegration.

Research suggests that expression of White guilt implies a need for redemption, restitution, and expression of remorse (Allport, 1986; Steele, 1990). Because the ego schemas Disintegration and Reintegration are categorized as Phase I ego schemas, which depicts a recognition and attempt to become non-racist, the negative association may imply that guilt is associated with Phase II ego schemas, which are more progress-oriented.

The rationale is supported by our results, which indicated that guilt was positively associated with all three Phase II ego schemas, Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy. Due to the unacceptable Cronbach's alphas of the Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy subscales, these results should be interpreted with caution. The strongest correlation existed between the affective response, guilt, and the ego schema Immersion/Emersion. The ego schema Immersion/Emersion describes the ways in which White Americans internalize how their White identity defines and shapes them, as well as pushes them to act against racism, which speaks to the themes of guilt spawning actions of redemption and restitution (Allport, 1986; Steele, 1990). Empathy was also found to have a strong positive relationship to all Phase II ego schemas, which is consistent with the psychological literature about empathy and effective cross-cultural interaction and ethnic identity formations (Peifer, Lawrence, Williams, & Leyton-Amarkan, 2016; Wang et al., 2003). However, due to the unacceptable Cronbach's alphas of the Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy subscales, results pertinent to these subscales should be interpreted with caution.

The second aim of the study was to assess the relation between White affective reactions to racism and an internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice. It was hypothesized that respondents' expression of "fear of others" would be positively associated with an external motivation to respond without prejudice. This hypothesis was not supported. Rather,

there was an inverse relationship between the constructs indicating that higher levels of fear were associated with less endorsement of an external motivation to respond without prejudice. This may be indicative of the nature of the relationship between motivation and action. Research on dehumanization shows that fear is associated with a more liberal capacity to inflict harm on or aggress against Black people by Whites (Mekawi, Bresin, & Hunter, 2016). Perhaps the inverse relationship between “fear of others” and an external motivation to respond without prejudice speaks to the lack of salience of politically correct social norms or the unimportance of third-party appraisal when fear is concerned.

Our hypotheses about the positive relationship of empathy and guilt on internal motivation were also unsupported. Neither empathy, nor guilt were significantly correlated with an internal motivation to respond without prejudice. The literature suggests that the internal motivation to respond without prejudice construct relates to the personal importance of not behaving in prejudiced capacity because it would conflict with that individual’s self-concept (Plant & Devine, 1998). White empathic reactions are associated with more racial awareness while White guilt reflects feelings of shame (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). These affective and behavioral states conceptually seem to be aligned. Perhaps the data is reflective of those who do not endorse these types of affect, or those who may have little exposure to people of color, or reflects a general lack of awareness about race and institutional racism. A test of social desirability may have highlighted such an outcome.

Another explanation of this phenomena may be that the data adequately captured the saliency of external motivation, and how appraisal of others is most important. This could be particularly relevant to the population, which comprised of mostly emerging adults in a college setting. This developmental time-period is often marked by changing self-concept. Literature

suggests that young people in this developmental time-period are navigating multiple changes such that this transitional period actually decrease self-concept clarity (Crocetti, Moscatelli, Van der Graaf, Rubini, Meeus, Branje, 2016). Perhaps an external motivation to respond without prejudice is more easily tapped in this time-period than an internal motivation due to more variability around internal processing. These results may speak directly to this developmental period, and can perhaps explain further supported by positive association between guilt and external motivation.

The final aim of the study was to explore whether White racial identity ego schemas could explain the link between the affective reactions and behavioral motivation. The Phase I ego schemas, Disintegration and Reintegration, mediated the relation between all affective reactions and external motivation to respond without prejudice. That is, “fear of others”, as well as guilt predicted a greater endorsement of both the Disintegration and Reintegration ego schema, which in turn predicted less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice.

Conceptually, this fits as both periods of development are marked by discomfort about Black people that manifests as fear and anger toward Black people. Again, the inverse linear relationship between “fear of others” as well as guilt, and an external motivation to respond without prejudice speaks to the lack of salience of politically correct social norms or the unimportance of third-party appraisal. Rather, what may be attended to are feelings of being threatened, which are more salient in the Disintegration and Reintegration identity schemas. These results partially supported our original hypotheses. Empathy predicted less of an endorsement of the Disintegration and Reintegration ego schemas, respectively, which in turn predicted less of an endorsement of external motivation to respond without prejudice. These

results conceptually speak to the inverse relation between ethnocultural empathy and ego schemas that are representative of discomfort with Blackness.

Finally, the Phase II ego schema, Immersion/Emersion failed to mediate the relation between any of the affective reactions and internal motivation. For the affective reaction, “fear of others,” this was due to a lack of a predictive relationship to the Immersion/Emersion ego schema. For the remaining affective reactions, guilt and empathy, both failed the assumptions of mediation due to lack of a predictive relation to an internal motivation to respond without prejudice for the aforementioned reasons that implicate the developmental period of emerging adulthood. There were however, paths that were significant. For example, it was found that fear positively predicted internal motivation, guilt predicted the Immersion/Emersion ego schema, empathy predicted the Immersion/Emersion ego schema, and the Immersion/Emersion ego schema predicted an internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Conceptually, this fits the operationalization of this ego schema, which is a period of identity where White people internalize the meaning of Whiteness while simultaneously working to act against racism. It seems likely that the affective reaction of guilt would be a part of this ego schema. Similarly, the predictive relationship between Immersion/Emersion and an internal motivation to respond without prejudice also conceptually fits, as both the identity ego schema and the behavioral motivation deal with elements of rectification of self.

While the current study has many strengths, there are several limitations to consider. First, the sample comprised of college students. As mentioned previously, this could have impacted the validity of the data capturing an internal motivation to respond without prejudice due to its tapping of self-concept, and the ways in which self-concept is variable during emerging-adulthood. Also the results from this sample may not generalize to a nonstudent

population. Second, all measures used in the study were self-report, and therefore may not adequately capture affect, identity, or behavioral motivation due to a respondent's engagement of social desirability when taking the survey. Similarly, social desirability was not controlled for during the study. Also, the unsatisfactory reliability coefficients for several WRIAS subscales speaks to the insufficiency of the measure's psychometric properties. Perhaps an alternative or further validated version of the WRIAS could be used in future studies.

Still, the study is important in recognizing the instrumental role that racial identity plays in explaining how affect and behavioral motivation are linked. An understanding of racial identity speaks to the an understanding of how emergent racial identities, attitudes, and ego schemas impact self-concept, and influence one's motivation to behave by way of affect. A strength of this study is that it mires White identity as the point of critique. The ability to do this centers the phenomena of White racial identity as important. While some psychological literature examines White racial identity, this identity category generally gets less credence than research that has examined racial identity of Black people and other underrepresented racial-ethnic groups.

Racial-ethnic meaning-making has been examined as influential of feelings of pride, self-esteem in people of color to foster intervention and promote positive psychological wellbeing. However, it is necessary to make the distinctions about the function that racial identity plays in majority individuals. Research has shown that racial centrality for White individuals have led to endorsement of colorblind attitudes that deny experiences of racism and harboring of racial prejudices (e.g., Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009; Perry, 2002). By recognizing White identity as a series of fluid developmental ego schemes that comprise attitude and identity markers, it is plausible to be able to see how particular ego schemas relate to other

psychological factors. The information provided, therefore is not static, but dimensional in a way that allows for a better understanding of the ways in which affect and behavior are linked, as well as speaks to the fluidity of racial identity development.

Future research that examines White racial identity, affective reactions to racism, and behavioral motivation to respond without prejudice ought to employ a mixed-methods approach to capture these constructs via interpersonal interactions. Also, a more diverse sample is also recommended to increase sampling of various age groups that are also non-specific to a college convenience sample. Using Helms' (1990) WRIAS scale, although one of a few White racial identity measures, may be replaced with a measure that is more psychometrically valid. Lastly, because this research helps pinpoint how these racial ego schemas impact affect and behavioral motivation, future research could explore how interventions could be implemented to increase a non-racist self-concept and decrease discriminatory and racist behavior and reactions.

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