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EXAMINING THE PREDICTORS OF THE WHITE RACIAL JUSTICE ADVOCATE

by

Danielle N. Franks, M. A.

A Dissertation Proposal Presented in Partial Fulfillment

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, race and racial justice issues have been at the forefront of political and academic discourse. Despite claims that the United States has moved into a “post-racial” era with the election of Barack Obama in 2008, empirical evidence unequivocally demonstrates that racial disparities still exist. While the system of racial oppression clearly has deleterious effects on people of color, some argue that White individuals are also negatively affected, albeit indirectly, by this system. Because the system of racial oppression affects White individuals, it is important that they too make efforts to dismantle the system of racial oppression. As White individuals are often perceived as more legitimate due to their privileged racial status, they can use this perception to intervene in instances that would be more difficult for people of color (e.g., interactions with other Whites). Thus, the present study aims to extend upon previous inquiry into White racial justice activism. Outgroup activism has generally received little attention in the activism literature and even less investigation has been made into White antiracist activism. Previous studies have largely employed qualitative methodology and have found the role of emotional engagement (e.g., empathy) and White privilege attitudes to be important factors motivating White activists to engage in racial justice efforts. It was hypothesized that empathy, ethnocultural empathy, and White privilege attitudes will predict general activist orientation and specific anti-racist activism behaviors. Results from a college student sample and an activist online sample suggested that ethnocultural empathy and White privilege attitudes, but not general empathy, predicted activist orientation and antiracist activism behaviors. These results provide support for previous qualitative studies suggesting a link between empathy, White privilege, and engagement in antiracist activism. Furthermore, the results have important implications for training White antiracist advocates and those within professions that value social justice (e.g., counseling psychologists). Given these findings, it would be prudent to further investigate the role of empathy in activism, the developmental trajectory of activist identity, and the development of White antiracist advocate training interventions

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You may write me down in history/ With your bitter, twisted lies,
You may trod me in the very dirt/ But still, like dust, I'll rise.
Maya Angelou

Some may claim that a dissertation is a labor of love; a culmination of one's passion and knowledge in tangible form. Experience has shown me that there is only one ingredient needed to complete a dissertation: persistence. This is quite fitting given my dissertation topic. Resisting deeply rooted systems of oppression is daunting and progress is often painfully slow. I want to thank every person who has helped me persist through this arduous journey. Thank you to my chair, Dr. Walt Buboltz, and committee members Dr. Jeffrey Walczyk, Dr. Latoya Pierce, and Dr. Julie Koch, for your support and guidance; without you all, completing this journey would not have been possible. Thank you, Dr. Melanie Wilcox, for igniting the flame in me to resist and persist and for encouraging me to realize that I do belong in this field.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Race and racism have garnered much attention in recent academic and political discourse in the United States. With the election of President Barack Obama in 2008 and again in 2012, many argued that the United States had entered a post-racial era (Dawson & Bobo, 2009; Lum, 2009). Although there is substantial empirical evidence that racial attitudes in the United States have evolved over time (Jones, 2016; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; Poteat & Spanierman, 2012), there is also considerable evidence demonstrating the persistence of racial inequity (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Oswald, Mitchell, Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013). Further, research has demonstrated that the system of racial oppression has detrimental effects on persons of color, including physical (Krieger et al., 2008; Williams, Yu & Jackson, 1997) and mental health detriments (Pieterse & Robert, 2007; Pieterse & Carter, 2010; Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2011), lower socioeconomic status (McCartney, Bishaw, & Fontenot, 2013), and a higher likelihood of incarceration (Carson & Anderson, 2016; Hayward, Cummins, Miles, Yang, 2000).

While the literature clearly demonstrates that the system of racial oppression is detrimental to persons of color, there is also evidence to suggest that racism has negative effects on Whites (Kivel, 2002; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Kivel (2002) noted that although the costs of racism that Whites experience are not equivalent to the discrimination, harassment, or even violence that persons of color experience, Whites do incur costs. For example, Kivel (2002) stated that Whites engage in an assimilation

process in which they are socialized to disregard the customs and traditions of their own ancestors, are given inaccurate versions of history that exclude the achievements of people of color, are taught to hold feelings of superiority, are taught false conceptualizations of danger and safety, and perhaps most importantly, Whites' relationships with people of color suffer due to systemic racism. Spanierman and Heppner (2004) expanded on these ideas and argued that Whites experience psychosocial costs of racism and that these costs fall under three domains: White guilt (i.e., the overwhelming shame that White individuals feel when confronted with the reality of racial inequity), empathic reactions to racism (i.e., emotional states that occur when a White person is confronted with racism), and fear or mistrust of those from other racial groups. According to Spanierman and Heppner, these psychosocial costs can have detrimental effects on White individuals' cognitions, behaviors, and emotions. This further demonstrates that racism affects White individuals in addition to persons of color.

Several researchers have proposed that, because Whites suffer from the system of racial oppression and because Whites created the system of racial oppression, Whites have a responsibility in dismantling this system (Perry & Shotwell, 2009; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). In this way, Whites can use their privileged status to help correct the system that advantages their group. One example of this can be found in educational settings. Teaching undergraduate diversity courses in predominately White institutions (PWI's) is one way to teach students from privileged backgrounds about the reality of systemic injustice. Often these courses teach White students about the realities of White privilege (i.e., the unearned advantages that Whites receive due to their race, McIntosh, 1997). In teaching this material, instructors of color are often met with challenges to their

authority or credibility when teaching White privilege to White students (Perry, Moore, Edwards, Acosta, & Frey, 2009). One faculty member of color in Perry and colleagues' study stated that White instructors often do not face these sorts of challenges from students, "They [students] are more willing to listen; they are more receptive to white teachers. Even in the [diversity-education classroom], they are more receptive to a white person than to me" (p. 90).

It is also problematic that professors of color are not perceived by students to be as competent, reflected in poorer course evaluations (e.g., Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008). These findings have two important implications for Whites. First, the system of racial oppression affords Whites racial privilege and, with this privilege, comes increased perceived legitimacy. In other words, because Whites (i.e., White instructors in this example) are perceived as more legitimate, they receive more positive course evaluations and students receive their message more positively. In this way, White privilege can be used as a platform to dismantle the system of racial oppression. Second, as stated previously, Whites are also negatively affected by the system of racial oppression. Taken together, this suggests that not only does the system of racial oppression directly affect Whites, indicating a vested interest in changing it, they also have a unique role in changing it because of their privileged status.

Those Whites who use their privileged status to dismantle the system of racial oppression are often named White antiracist activists, White allies, or White antiracist advocates (Tatum, 2017; Sue, 2017). While there is some debate within the literature regarding which term is most appropriate (e.g., Powell & Kelley, 2017), this author will

use these terms synonymously in an effort to be inclusive towards the White individuals who engage in antiracist work and the scholars who have previously studied them.

Tatum (2017) and Sue (2017) argue that there is a sharp distinction between White antiracists and White nonracists. White nonracists believe racism is wrong, yet do nothing to change the system (Tatum, 2017; Sue, 2017). Tatum and Sue assert that the difference between antiracists and nonracists lies in the result of the antiracist's efforts compared to the nonracist's lack of effort. The antiracist's explicit efforts to dismantle racial oppression may result in some systemic change, although it may be small. The nonracist's lack of effort, as Tatum argues, is no different from an individual who holds overtly racist attitudes and acts upon them: in both instances the system of racial oppression continues to persist. As will be discussed later, it is the behavioral distinction between antiracists and nonracists that arguably lead to social change.

Due to their privileged status and lived privileged experience, White antiracist activists have something unique to contribute to antiracist activist coalitions. First, their privileged status allows them to highlight and amplify the voices and experiences of people of color to the White mainstream. They may also be more likely to persuade other Whites about the realities of systemic injustice because they are not viewed as "outsiders." Additionally, as discussed in the education example earlier, one facet of White privilege is perceived legitimacy. White antiracists can use this perception to highlight the importance of antiracist movements and the role that Whites have in uprooting racism. For these reasons, it is important to gain a better understanding of White antiracists (e.g., what motivates them, how they began their work, why they

continue their work, etc.) so that measures can be taken to support these activists and train new activists.

Statement of the Problem

Currently, the research concerning White antiracists is limited. This could be due to the small number of White individuals who not only identify as antiracists, but are also able to consistently do the work of a White antiracist (Spanierman, Poteat, Whittaker, Schlosser, & Avalos, 2017). Sue (2017) posited that one reason the population of White allies is so small is due to the difficult nature of the work. Specifically, White allies are called to understand their own White identity and its associated privilege; have a firm commitment to using their White privilege to dismantle racial oppression; engage in activism to interrupt racial oppression; engage in coalition-building with persons of color; and overcome the social forces that suppress White silence (Spanierman & Smith, 2017). In addition to the ongoing introspection and external efforts, White antiracists are also frequently chastised by other Whites (Sue, 2017) and are met with mistrust by persons of color (Parham, 1993). Further, White antiracists struggle to work within a system that has not prepared them adequately. As Sue (2017) stated,

But we fail to prepare our White brothers and sisters for the alternative roles they will need to play to be effective; we do not provide them with the strategies and skills needed for antiracist interventions; and we do not prepare them to face a hostile and invalidating society that pushes back hard, forcing them to either readopt their former White biased roles or maintain their silence in the face of White supremacist ideology and practice (p. 713).

The empirical literature on White antiracists is limited, however, there is a small collection of studies regarding White antiracists employing qualitative methodology (e.g., Case, 2012; Eichstedt, 2001; Hughey, 2012; Kordesh, Spanierman, & Neville, 2013; Smith & Redington, 2010; Spanierman et al., 2017). Overall, the findings of these studies suggest that engagement in White antiracist efforts comes as the result of introspection and acknowledgement of one's Whiteness and associated White privilege (Case, 2012; Eichstedt, 2001; Smith & Redington, 2010) as well as an ability to connect emotionally and cognitively to those experiencing racial injustice (Eichstedt, 2001; Warren, 2010). This emotional and cognitive connection can be conceptualized as empathy, which is one's ability to connect emotionally with others, by sharing emotions and engaging in perspective taking (Decety & Yoder, 2016). Warren (2010) argues that forming and maintaining this emotional connection keeps activists invested in their work, which could point to empathy playing an integral part in an activist's development.

In addition to these findings, Curtin (2016) noted that the research on White activists has struggled to differentiate between supporters (nonracists) and advocates (antiracists). It is important to understand how nonracists differ from antiracists, so to better understand how to facilitate Whites' development as antiracist allies, which is to say, individuals who actually work to dismantle the system of racism. As will be discussed later, activist behaviors change systems of oppression. While egalitarian attitudes are important, arguably because they are the catalyst for activist behaviors, but they do not in themselves change systems of oppression. Thus, the present study will explore whether White privilege attitudes and empathy predict antiracist behaviors as well as one's general proclivity towards activism.

Justification for the Present Study

Given the importance of Whites' engagement in antiracist activism, the apparent relative rarity of White antiracist allies, and the limited preparedness Whites receive for antiracist activism (Sue, 2017), it is important to empirically examine White antiracist activism. By examining the predictors that allow these activists to engage in their work, we can begin to gain a better understanding of how the identity of a White antiracist activist is formed. This understanding, in turn, can shed light on how to train others in becoming White antiracist activists. It is important to note that the predictors chosen in the present study (i.e., White privilege attitudes/awareness and empathy) are generally conceptualized as attitudes and skills, not traits (Gerdes, Jackson, Segal, & Mullins, 2011; Gillespie, Ashbaugh, & Defiore, 2002). That is, White privilege attitudes and empathy can arguably be taught and problematic attitudes can be changed. Possessing these skills and attitudes may then facilitate the development of antiracist beliefs and behaviors. In sum, the present study aims to advance the understanding of the predictors of White antiracism in hopes of contributing to the small, yet growing, literature base. This increased understanding can then be applied to support existing activists and facilitate the development of future activists.

Review of the Literature

The Evolution of Racism in the United States

Racial attitudes have developed throughout America's history. Much of the empirical inquiry into racial attitudes began during the Civil Rights Movement. The prevailing racist attitudes toward Black individuals during this time were later classified as "old-fashioned racist attitudes", (e.g., believing that persons of color are less intelligent

than Whites or subscribing to de jure or law-enforced segregation; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). After the Civil Rights Movement, racist attitudes were eventually dubbed “modern racist attitudes.” Modern racism, according to McConahay and colleagues (1981), developed as a way to make racism socially acceptable, and is characterized by beliefs that perpetuate discrimination (e.g., beliefs that minorities place themselves in situations where they are not wanted, and the beliefs that minorities receive preferential treatment through programs such as affirmative action). McConahay and colleagues argue that modern racist attitudes are fundamentally affective in nature and developed in childhood, making them difficult to change. They posit that even though segregation and discrimination laws are in effect, those in power still hold modern racist attitudes, leading them to continue to perpetuate policies that are discriminatory in nature (McConahay et al., 1981). One specific type of modern racist attitudes that allows for the perpetuation of discrimination is the color-blind racial perspective.

Color-blind racial attitudes. As the racial landscape in the U.S. continued to evolve, Neville and colleagues (2000) argued that contemporary racial attitudes became even more covert. One way this occurred is through the development of color-blind racial ideology. Color-blind racial attitudes are characterized by the belief that race should not and does not matter in daily life. Neville and colleagues assert that although this belief sounds promising in theory, color-blind racial attitudes are problematic because discrimination is a reality. That is, those who hold color-blind racial attitudes deny the existence of the very real racism experienced by people of color.

Neville and colleagues (2000) made the important distinction between racism and color-blind attitudes. They claim that racism is the belief in racial superiority and the

support of institutions that perpetuate social inequality. Because of this, Neville and colleagues further state that racism has both ideological and structural factors. Color-blind racial attitudes only include the ideological component of racism. A belief specific to color-blind attitudes is the denial of racial dynamics and discrimination in society. Neville and colleagues also argue color-blind attitudes do not necessarily endorse racial superiority, but rather a denial that racism exists.

In this way, White individuals who hold color-blind racial attitudes essentially deny that race is a relevant factor in social discourse. Because of this, they are likely to believe that persons of color have the same types of opportunities that they do as White people. They are blind to the ways in which their Whiteness advantages them. In fact, one dimension of colorblindness is unawareness of privilege (Neville et al., 2000). In order for White advocates to better understand the system of racial oppression, it is important that they understand their roles in the system. In doing this, they can gain a better understanding of the construct of Whiteness, the system of White privilege, and how this affects their own conceptualization of themselves as racial beings (i.e., racial identity development).

Whiteness

Whiteness is a complex social construct. Helms (2017) defines Whiteness as “the overt and subliminal socialization process and practices, power structures, laws, privileges, and life experiences that favor the White racial group over all others” (p. 718). The construction of Whiteness in America began during the late 1600’s, before America gained its independence from England (Allen, 1994). This occurred when the English ruling class attempted to gain better control of the working class of both European and

African ancestry. As tensions between the ruling class and working class mounted, eventually reaching its climax during Bacon's Rebellion in 1691, the ruling class attempted to regain power by creating division among the working class. After Bacon's Rebellion, many colonies began using the term "White" to distinguish between European and African working class members. White laborers were afforded more privileges (e.g., an extra barrel of corn, a musket, and the ability to serve on a jury). To perpetuate this division, the ruling class also allowed White laborers to legally marry one another, but did not allow Black laborers the same right, and did not allow marriage between White and Black laborers. These practices set the foundation for the inhumane treatment of Black slaves and the preferential treatment of poor White laborers, evidenced by the Naturalization Act of 1790 which afforded citizenship in the United States to "all free white persons" (p. 22, Jacobson, 1998). Through these legal actions and the behavioral implications of these sanctions, the system of White supremacy (i.e., a system that advantages those of White European ancestry and disadvantages those who do not possess this ancestry, Bonilla-Silva, 2001) was engrained within the fabric of America.

Over time, the label of "White" in America expanded to include other European groups from Eastern and Southern Europe (e.g., Greeks, Armenians, Italians, Poles; Diller, 2011). These groups, often referred to as "White ethnics," immigrated between the 1880's and 1920's and shared less cultural traditions and values with their Western European immigrant counterparts. Yet, over time, White ethnics began to be included in the White racial group. While the bounds for what can acceptably be deemed as White has expanded to include groups like White ethnics, it has remained clear that those who are Black cannot be labeled as White, hence establishing a dichotomy with

accompanying moral assertions. Kivel (2002) illustrated that the system of White supremacy is integral to not only the U.S., but other countries as well. This can be seen in the moral connotations of words associated with Whiteness and Blackness. Words associated with Whiteness are assumed to be pure, clean, scientific, human, sane, and civilized, whereas words associated with Blackness are assumed to be evil, dirty, obscene, immoral, pagan, and malicious. Kivel went on to argue that Whites with the most power created this false dichotomy that serves to further legitimize their claim to power. According to Kivel, if other Whites question or challenge this power structure, they run the risk of being labeled a “race traitor,” “un-American,” or a “communist” (p. 20).

In sum, Whiteness in America is a social construction created by the English ruling class during the colonial era in an effort to create division amongst the working class of both European and African descent. In this way, the relationship between race and class began as systems of oppression for different groups of individuals (Spanierman, Garriott, & Clark, 2013). Although both African and European laborers were of low social class, the European laborer’s “Whiteness” afforded them privileges not available to the African laborers. As will be discussed next, this system of racial advantage continues to persist.

White Privilege

The dichotomy of Blackness and Whiteness, described by Kivel (2002), has important social implications. While some White individuals are willing to accept the reality of racism, that is, that persons of color are the targets of unjust treatment because of their race, they are much less likely to acknowledge that they personally receive

preferential treatment based on their Whiteness (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). In other words, many Whites accept the reality of racism, but not their own White privilege. McIntosh (1997) defines White privilege as a set of unearned advantages provided to Whites based on their skin color. She noted that one function of privilege (in this case, White privilege) is to keep privileged groups oblivious to the advantages they receive, further perpetuating the system of oppression. While McIntosh listed several privileges afforded to Whites; she noted that the general theme linking these privileges is that Whites are “taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow ‘them’ to be more like ‘us’” (p. 293). The general theme of White normativity perpetuates what Sue (2004) refers to as ethnocentric monoculturalism, or the belief held by many Whites that the White Euro-American worldview is the only worldview, or in the very least, the superior worldview. Sue argues that ethnocentric monoculturalism perpetuates a belief in one’s superiority as well as the belief in the inferiority of other groups.

This sentiment is demonstrated in a study of White privilege by Branscombe, Schmitt, and Schiffhauer (2007). Branscombe and colleagues found that when White participants were asked to think about White privilege, they demonstrated more racist attitudes compared to groups of participants who were asked to think of neutral topics. This finding, however, was only true for participants who identified highly with their racial group. Racial group identification was measured via a 5-item scale developed by the authors, with items referring to White pride, “I believe that White people have a lot to be proud of” and “I am not embarrassed to admit that I am White” as well as comfort in one’s Whiteness “I am comfortable being White” and “Being White just feels natural to

me” (p. 208). When examining these items, it becomes more clear why participants high in racial group identification demonstrated higher racist attitudes when asked to think about White privilege. For these individuals, being White is a source of pride and emotional comfort and when this is challenged through the White privilege prime, participants respond negatively to the perceived threat (i.e., persons of color). For participants who do not gain pride and emotional comfort from their Whiteness, this relationship did not apply. While the authors did not utilize a comprehensive measure of White identity, these results suggest that introspection into one’s Whiteness may have an effect on racial attitudes.

Introspection into one’s Whiteness and associated White privilege can be an emotional experience involving guilt and shame (e.g., Boatright-Horowitz & Soeung, 2009, Wise, 2011). However, if this is acted on, revelation of White privilege may also perpetuate new feelings of accountability and responsibility. Prior to acknowledging privilege, Whites likely enact oppressive behaviors unknowingly. While enacting oppressive behaviors may still occur after one has accepted the reality of privilege, the person’s new sense of accountability will hopefully decrease these behaviors. This phenomenon is demonstrated in Todd, McConnell, and Suffrin’s (2014) study of White college students at a religious university. They found that participants’ awareness of White privilege was positively related to participants’ interest in social justice and commitment to social justice endeavors. Additionally, participants’ willingness to confront White privilege was positively related to participants’ social justice interest and commitment. These results suggest that both the awareness of the reality of White privilege as well as the willingness to confront and change the system of White privilege

predicted one's interest in justice issues and a commitment to make the world a more just place. This interest in and commitment to social justice may translate into activism to change an unjust social system.

Activism

Activism can be defined as “any behavior undertaken with the intention of creating some kind of social improvement” (Curtin, Stewart, Duncan, 2010, p.944). Within this definition, there is an acknowledgement from the activist that some social situations require improvement and after this acknowledgement occurs, the activist engages in behaviors to enact this social improvement. According to Curtin and colleagues (2010), activism can include: membership within a particular activist group, contacting policy makers in an effort to change unjust policies, attending protests or rallies, and many other behaviors. Activism will now be discussed from the systemic level (i.e., literature concerning social movements) and from the individual level (i.e., literature concerning activists).

Social Movements. The empirical study of social movements spans several decades and academic disciplines. McCarthy and Zald (1977) define a social movement as “a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution in society” (pp. 1217-18). McCarthy and Zald proposed Resource Mobilization Theory to explain the development of social movements. Within the theory, individuals who are active in social movements can be categorized as: adherents (those who support the goals of the movement), constituents (individuals who provide resources for the movement), beneficiaries (those who stand to benefit from the movement attaining its goals), conscience adherents (those

who are supportive of a social movement, but do not stand to gain the benefits of a social movement's success), or conscience constituents (those who contribute resources to a social movement but do not stand to gain from the movement's success). According to McCarthy and Zald, one way that social movement organizations attract conscience adherents and constituents is by broadening the scope of the potential benefits that can be earned if the movement is successful (e.g., creating a better society). Such benefits are termed "secondary benefits" (p. 1222).

According to McCarthy and Zald (1977), traditional social movement theorists argued that those involved in social movements were only those who were directly affected by a common grievance toward an issue. They argued, however, that from a resource mobilization perspective, members of social movements do not necessarily have to be the beneficiaries of the social change that is sought (e.g., conscience adherents and constituents). According to this perspective, the more resources that conscience adherents and constituents possess, the more likely society will respond to the movement's desire for social change. That is, when resources from both beneficiaries and conscience constituents are pooled, the more capital the social movement holds, and the more likely they are to be successful.

In sum, McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue that committed activists within social movements do not have to directly benefit from the social change for which they are fighting. In fact, when conscience constituents contribute their resources to social movements, these resources can be pooled with beneficiary activists to create a stronger movement that may be perceived as more legitimate by society at large. The resource mobilization perspective can easily be applied to cases of White nonracist and antiracist

efforts. In the words of McCarthy and Zald, White nonracists would be considered conscience adherents because they believe that the system of racial oppression is wrong and likely support movements that work towards racial equality. White antiracists, on the other hand, would be considered conscience constituents because they contribute resources towards the social movement in spite of the fact that they do not stand to receive direct benefits from their contributions. Conscience constituents' resource contribution could involve monetary donations or donation of one's time and efforts (e.g., participating in a march or protest). Another intangible resource White activists provide to racial justice movements is their use of White privilege to shine a light on issues of racial injustice or provide added legitimacy to the movement. By contributing these resources, activists are explicitly working to change the system of racial oppression from which they benefit. It is important to gain a better understanding of activists in general, but also those who engage in activism for which they do not stand to receive a direct societal benefit.

Activists. Curtin and McGarty (2016) defined activists as “people who actively work for social and political causes and especially those who work to encourage other people to support their causes” (p. 228). Again, it is important to note that activism can take many forms and can involve many roles (e.g., paid or unpaid positions, part time or full time positions in activist organizations, independent activism work). Despite the variation in types of behaviors and roles that can occur under the umbrella of activism, Curtin and McGarty note that social movements are unlikely to take place without the efforts of activists. Because these individuals are the fire that often ignites social change, it is

important to understand who activists are, what traits they possess, and what motivates them to pursue this type of work.

General investigations into activists have found that they often possess similar demographic characteristics and life experiences. For example, activists tend to come from middle to upper social class backgrounds (e.g., Block, Haan, & Smith, 1969; Flacks, 1967; Franz & McClelland, 1994; McAdam, 1986). This finding makes logical sense given that activism takes time and resources, which tend to be luxuries of those with more economic privilege. Similarly, McAdams (1986) found that activists also tend to have “biographical availability,” which is the relative lack of personal responsibilities such as a family, children, or a full time job (p. 70). Also related to social class is educational background. Activists tend to be more highly educated than their non-activists, but did not have a significantly higher intelligence quotient than non-activists (Franz & McClelland, 1994).

Regarding activists’ life experiences, Block and colleagues (1969) found that the parents of student activists encouraged self-expression, encouraged sexual curiosity, and demonstrated low punishment orientation scores. Block and colleagues concluded that, in general, activists’ parents prepare their children to be productive members of society who act in accordance with a set of inner-directed goals and values. Longitudinal studies have found that college student activists were more likely to be politically engaged and informed on political issues as adults, suggesting a level of consistent social engagement in activism (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988). This is consistent with cross-sectional studies that have found that women activists had higher levels of social responsibility, which in turn, predicted their level of political involvement (Cole & Stewart, 1996). Also regarding

politics, Kerpelman (1969) found that student activists tended to be politically left-oriented, a phenomenon demonstrated in several other studies (e.g., Cole & Stewart, 1996; Fendrich, 1977).

In a longitudinal study of civil rights activists, Franz and McClelland (1994) found that activists had more interest in self-expression, possessed less respect for authority, and were more likely to value understanding others, making gifts to social causes, and displayed higher scores on moral development. Interestingly, most of these group differences were consistent across time, suggesting that there may be a tie between characterological traits and one's engagement in activism. Indeed, previous research has demonstrated that activists tend to possess similar traits and orientations towards certain behaviors.

As personality refers to a relatively stable manner of behaving and interacting with the world, it follows that personality impacts engagement in activism. Curtin, Stewart, and Duncan (2010) examined the role of Openness to Experience, an individual's tendency to seek out and enjoy novel experiences, and Personal Political Salience (PPS), the extent to which one personalizes political events, as predictors of activism. Specifically, these researchers found that Openness to Experience predicted activism behaviors in a sample of young adults and in a sample of middle-aged adults. They also found that PPS mediated the relationship between Openness to Experience and activism behaviors. These results are consistent with Duncan and Stewart (2007) who found that PPS predicted women's rights activism, civil rights activism, and general activism. The results of both of the studies suggest that the personality trait of PPS plays a noteworthy role in activism behaviors. Curtin and colleagues discuss the nuanced difference between

PPS and general political knowledge. They state that those high on PPS may not *know* more about political events, rather they tend to *care* more about these events because they draw personal connections, or empathize, with them. As will be discussed later, this affective component of caring about injustice helps motivate activists.

Also within the domain of personality is an individual's orientation towards activism. Corning and Myers (2002) defined an activist orientation as "an individual's developed, relatively stable, yet changeable orientation to engage in various collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviors spanning a range from low-risk, passive, and institutionalized acts to high-risk, active, and unconventional behaviors" (p. 704). In their review of the activism literature, Corning and Myers identified several key behaviors and experiences common to activists. These include engagement in activist behaviors ranging from low risk (e.g., petition signing) to high-risk behaviors (e.g., physical confrontation with police), connection to an activist network, engagement in resource procurement for the social movement, and previous experiences regarding activism (e.g., intergenerational activist socialization). Corning and Myers (2002) developed the Activism Orientation Scale (AOS) to identify activists and their behaviors. These researchers found that activist orientation scores were higher for career activists (i.e., those employed by an activist organization) compared to a group of nuns dedicated to social justice. These results demonstrate that activists possess a unique set of behaviors and attitudes that can be distinguished from those who may support a social movement, but do not engage in activist efforts for the movement.

The AOS's ability to discriminate between activist and non-activist groups was also seen in Beer, Spanierman, Greene, and Todd's (2012) study of social justice commitment

in counseling psychology graduate students. According to Beer and colleagues, activism is an important part of social justice engagement, which is a value held by this subfield of psychology. Beer and colleagues found that a sample of counseling psychology graduate students could be distinguished from a sample of undergraduate students based on their AOS scores. Further, the counseling psychology students could also be distinguished from a group of student activists (i.e., graduate student labor union). Here, there are documented differences between self-identified activists, those who value and are working towards activism, and the general college non-activist population. Another noteworthy finding from Beer and colleague's study is that activist orientation was the strongest predictor of confronting discrimination in the sample of counseling psychology students. This suggests that not only can activist orientation distinguish groups on their engagement in activism, it can also be informative regarding other egalitarian, activist-related behaviors.

Consistent with Beer and colleagues' (2012) findings, Klar and Kasser (2009) found that activist orientation was significantly positively related to well-being. In a separate analysis, Klar and Kasser also found that activists recruited from an online activism database were more likely to demonstrate significantly higher well-being scores than participants recruited from a general community population. These results, similar to other studies using activist orientation, suggest that those who identify as activists tend to have higher activist orientations, which is associated with confronting discrimination and well-being.

In sum, those who identify as activists tend to possess similar traits and backgrounds such as higher socioeconomic status, higher educational status, come from

authoritative parenting style backgrounds, have more interest in self-expression and political engagement, are more open to new experience, and have higher PPS regarding political events. Additionally, increased activist orientation scores were associated with confronting discrimination and increased well-being while activist identity was associated with increased moral reasoning. The majority of these results were drawn from a generalized sample of self-identified activists who were not necessarily tied to one particular cause (e.g., LGBT rights activists, racial justice advocates). One common area that activists dedicate their efforts towards is the upheaval of discrimination and mistreatment based on one's racial background. Through their efforts, these antiracist activists aim to dismantle the system of racial oppression, which, as previously stated, has been a defining feature of American culture.

In-group Versus Out-group Activism. As previously stated, in social movements, there are activists who stand to benefit from their activist efforts (in McCarthy and Zald's (1977) words, beneficiaries) and those who do not directly stand to benefit from the social change they are working towards (in McCarthy and Zald's words, conscience adherents and constituents). In other words, there are activists who work towards the advancement of their in-group and there are activists who work towards the advancement of an out-group (ally activists).

The motivations and implications for engaging in activism may differ for in-group activists versus out-group activists. For example, activists of color may engage in antiracist activism in order to better their own community and create a better society for themselves and their family (Taylor, 2016). On the other hand, White antiracist activists do not stand to directly gain from their activist efforts and may be motivated by moral

reasons (Warren, 2010) or White guilt (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, & Louis, 2016). In the same way, the implications of engaging in antiracist activism would also differ from in-group and out-group activists. For example, as many authors have suggested, White activists must be able to continually manage their biases, explore the ways in which their own development on racial issues affect their activism, resist the urge to shift the attention away from the voices of those who are marginalized, and resist the urge to have activists of color to educate them on racial matters (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, & Louis, 2016; Helms, 1993; Parham, 1993). In other words, because White activists come from a place of racial privilege and from a racial group that enacts racial oppression, they are held to a higher standard when they engage in activism (Parham, 1993). However, just because the implications of White activism may be different than that of activists of color, this does not mean they should abandon their efforts. According to Mio and Iwamasa (1993), this means that they must persist: “Will they [White advocates] receive criticisms from various sources, including the very individuals whom they would otherwise feel are advocates? Of course. Should this prevent them from continuing their pursuits? Of course not” (p. 207). Next, antiracist activists are discussed. Antiracist activists are first discussed in general terms, then in-group antiracist activists (i.e., activists of color) are briefly discussed, and finally out-group antiracist activists (White allies) are more thoroughly discussed.

Antiracist Activists

Previous inquiry into antiracist activism spans several decades and numerous topics. Much of this research first occurred during the Civil Rights Movement of 1960's. These studies demonstrated that many civil rights activists were college students and that

the motivation for participating in civil rights activism was moderated by race (Fendrich, 1977) and gender (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991). That is, Black civil rights activists were motivated to engage in activism because of their group's current and perceived future relative deprivation of resources while White civil rights activists were motivated to engage in activism because of their concern for those in their out-group (Demerath, Marwell, Aiken, 1971).

Regarding gender and civil rights activism, there is a trend towards Black women being more involved in movements compared to their male counterparts and compared to Whites (Payne, 1990). Given this overrepresentation, it is worth noting that the civil rights activism literature has thoroughly addressed the differential attention and treatment that activists experienced while engaging in their work. For example, leadership roles and the accompanying notoriety and prestige were often afforded to male members, leaving female members (especially Black female members) with less-prestigious supportive roles in the organization (Barnett, 1993; Blumberg, 1980; Blumberg, 1990; Irons, 1998; Robnett, 1996). This phenomenon speaks to the effects of intersecting privileged and oppressed identities of activists and how they impact their efforts. While an oppressed identity may be one of the motivations for joining an activist effort, these identities can also play a role in the dynamics that occur within the activist organization and how one's activist efforts are perceived by society in general.

In the years that followed the Civil Rights Movement, antiracist activists have had to respond to the shift from overt racism seen during the Civil Rights Movement to the more covert color-blindness observed today. One such type of covert racism that has received much attention in the literature is racial microaggressions, which are "brief and

commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intention or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (p. 271, Sue, et al., 2007). As these new forms of covert racism have become more common place, new forms of antiracist activism have also developed. In addition to the traditional methods of activism, such as forming grassroots activist organizations, protesting, and contacting policy makers, current antiracist activists utilize the resources unavailable to their civil rights predecessors such as social media, online organizing, and online publications. Furthermore, this new generation of antiracist activists bring new perspectives. Contemporary antiracist movements are more inclusive towards various cultural identities. For example, the Black Lives Matter Movement is led by queer women of color, something that would be less likely during the civil rights era (Taylor, 2016). This trend of increased diversity and intersectionality is a general theme within the Black Lives Matter Movement, including members of various racial groups, sexual orientations, gender identities, citizen statuses, and previous experience with the criminal justice system (Taylor, 2016).

Although there has been much research into the practice of antiracist activism, when it comes to teaching others how to get involved, the literature falls short. Pieterse, Utsey, and Miller (2016) argue that much of the education aimed at developing antiracist advocates focuses on attitudes, beliefs, and awareness, while the behaviors of antiracist activism are often neglected. They noted that this is particularly the case in counseling and psychology training programs in which students are encouraged to develop awareness and knowledge of racial privilege and oppression, but are not taught the behavioral dimension of antiracism. In fact, several scholars have argued the importance

of the behavioral component of antiracist work, best described in the Chinese expression “talk does not cook rice” (p. 20, Pedersen, Walker, & Wise, 2005). Many have theorized about the developmental process that moves White people from a position of unawareness to a stance of activism (e.g., Derman-Sparks & Phillips, 1997; D’Andrea & Daniels, 1999; Helms, 1990). Indeed, the final stage in all of these models emphasizes action against the system of racial oppression, again highlighting the importance of behaviors above and beyond awareness and knowledge.

In an effort to emphasize and measure the behavioral component of antiracism in counselors and psychologists, Pieterse, Utsey, and Miller (2016) developed the Anti-racism Behavioral Inventory (ARBI). The ARBI is divided into three domain-specific factors: individual advocacy, awareness of racism, and institutional advocacy. Individual advocacy refers to behaviors in which an individual can engage to address racism, and do not require the support of a system or a group of people (e.g., intervening in an interpersonal racist act). Awareness of racism refers to the cognitive and emotional reactions to racism. Institutional advocacy refers to activist behaviors that are associated with a group, institution, or organization. Interestingly, Pieterse and colleagues found that counseling students who had taken a multicultural counseling course did not differ from students who had not taken the course in the individual and institutional advocacy subscales, but did differ on the awareness of racism subscale. This illustrates that diversity education increases individuals’ awareness of racism, but might not necessarily have much bearing on whether the person engages in antiracist action. Because the ARBI is a relatively new scale, research using the scale is scarce, which again highlights a gap in the antiracism literature regarding specific behaviors.

White Antiracist Activists

As previously discussed, White antiracism is one type of ally or out-group activism. White allies may have many motivations for engaging in activism, and they often experience a host of cognitive and emotional processes before feeling the agency to act. For example, Sullivan (2014) discusses how well-meaning White people must confront the reality that their racial identity is inherently associated with racism and that this connection often leads to immense White guilt (i.e., feelings of shame associated with one's implication in the system of racial oppression). These feelings may lead the person to a place of paralysis, not being sure how to proceed. One way to move from this paralysis, Sullivan claims, is to take responsibility and then act. Acting will likely come with its own set of challenges such as being labeled a "race traitor" by other Whites or meeting the feelings of mistrust from people of color (p. 139, Sullivan, 2014). This developmental process is further discussed in the narratives of White antiracist advocates who participated in qualitative studies.

Qualitative Studies with White Antiracist Activists. As previously stated, most studies involving White advocates are qualitative (e.g., Case, 2012; Eichstedt, 2001; Hughey, 2012; Kordesh, Spanierman, & Neville, 2013; Smith & Redington, 2010; Spanierman et al., 2017). These studies generally yield similar themes, including racial identity, the recognition of White privilege, and the reality of racial inequality. Of note, White racial identity development refers to the process in which a White individual develops a perception of collective identity based on their racial group (Helms, 1990). This development, according to Helms (1990), involves stages in which the individual

recognizes then abandons racism, followed by the development of a positive White identity independent of the system of racial oppression.

In their study of White activists, Smith and Redington (2010) found seven key domains. The first domain was Conceptualizations of Race, Racism, and Whiteness. This domain addressed participants' acknowledgement of their Whiteness and how it is situated in the historical context of racism in America. Some participants named their White privilege and how it is an integral part of Whiteness. Interestingly, participants spoke about their Whiteness not only from a cognitive perspective, but also from a moral, ethical perspective. That is, participants acknowledged the moral implications of possessing White privilege in their activist work. The second domain was labeled Personal Definition of Antiracism, and this domain addressed participants' beliefs about what antiracism work means to them. Several participants demonstrated knowledge and awareness of systemic racial oppression, while also understanding that antiracism work involves an active effort to eliminate the system of racial oppression. Within this domain, participants also described how they specifically engaged in antiracist work (i.e., through leadership positions, membership in an antiracist organization, and daily intentional communication regarding racism). Many participants highlighted the importance of moving past the cognitive acknowledgement of racial oppression into a stage of action, incorporating antiracist activities into their daily lives. Also within this domain, participants named the role of taking responsibility for learning and listening to people of color regarding their antiracist work.

Smith and Redington's (2010) third domain, Turning Points and Developmental Experiences, addressed participants' first experiences acknowledging the system of racial

oppression. This involved witnessing racism, the influence of family members, reading influential antiracist texts, or attending an antiracist training. Within this domain, Smith and Redington note the universal importance of participants analyzing these experiences from a new perspective. The fourth domain, Personal Meanings and Rewards of Antiracist Work, addressed the meaning that participants assigned to their antiracist work. Many noted the platform the work gave them to make a difference, while others noted the moral and ethical importance of the work and how it is inherently rewarding and fulfilling. Domain five, Everyday Obstacles and Sources of Support, involved the consequences associated with being an antiracist advocate. Some of these include career path implications, difficulty with time management, and strain within relationships with other Whites not engaged in antiracist work.

Domain five from Smith and Redington's (2010) study, *Strategies for Reaching out to White People*, addressed participants' suggestions on how to engage and educate other White people as well as the importance of finding a supportive community of antiracist allies. The last domain, *Continuing Personal Development and Hopes for the Future*, involved participants' desire to maintain the work as an advocate while becoming more proficient, involved, passionate, and compassionate in the work. The domain also included participants' desire to transmit their antiracist identity to their children and other White people. Taken together, Smith and Redington's findings suggest that, for this sample, antiracist work involves a continued understanding of one's Whiteness and the implications of one's White privilege, continued efforts to move from awareness to action, critical analysis of past experiences, personal moral and ethical ties to the work, and an understanding of the challenges associated with the work.

Case (2012) conducted a qualitative analysis of female White activists, known as White Women Against Racism (WWAR). Case found similar, but more exhaustive, themes using grounded theory methodology. Case analyzed the qualitative data collected from two WWAR discussion sessions. The themes that emerged from the data included: Collective White Racial Identity; “Racism Affects My Life”: Recognizing White Privilege (how racism affects one’s life); Intersections of Whiteness, Gender, and Power; Antiracist Action for Social Change; Silence Versus Interruption of Racism; Taking Action to Interrupt Racism; and Encountering Resistance: Strategies for Interrupting Racism, Self-Work as a Lifelong Process; Challenging Invisible Racism; Social Support, Privacy, and Isolation; Using Privilege to Promote Justice; and Behavioral Contradiction of Anti-Racist Values.

Similar to Smith and Redington (2010), Case (2012) found that participants discussed their White identity and the privilege associated with it. Also similar to Smith and Redington (2010), Case’s (2012) participants noted the importance of concerted efforts and action as a part of antiracist practice. Interestingly, they noted that activism can take many forms (e.g., teaching, protesting, intervening when others are engaging in racism). Due to the sample of Case’s study, it is important to note that the majority of participants in this study acknowledged the link between sexism and racism, stating that experiences with sexism helped them better understand racism. This speaks to how the experience of oppression from one marginalized identity can aid in understanding other types of oppression not experienced by the individual.

Another important theme in Case’s study (2012) involved participants’ recounting an event when they had been silent during instances of racism. Many of the women felt

stifled and unsupported by others around them during the situation and/or felt pressure to avoid conflict. As perhaps a reply to this domain, almost all participants also recounted an instance in which they had intervened during instances of racism. The participants also discussed common reactions to their interventions (e.g., distancing or walking away, changing the subject, and defensiveness). Furthermore, some participants offered strategies for intervention in instances of racism (e.g., finding common ground, gentle challenging using humor, confronting the individual privately, and providing information).

Similar to Smith and Redington (2010), Case (2012) found that participants acknowledged the importance of an analysis of the self as a racial being. It is also noteworthy that participants acknowledged how the antiracist consciousness requires continual, lifelong work in order to fight against racist socialization. Additionally, Case notes the invisibility of racism among the homogeneous group of White women. She states that groups such as WWAR may miss the subtleties of racist interactions among the group that people of color could easily detect. Case suggests that one way WWAR and groups like it can work against this is by making personal connections to the effects of racism and white privilege in their daily lives. Another theme similar to sentiments given in Smith and Redington (2010) is participants' discussion of using their White privilege to promote racial justice. This involved using their Whiteness as a tool to challenge other Whites as well as the system that affords them the privilege itself. Case's last theme, Behavioral Contradiction of Anti-Racist Values, speaks to a phenomenon that occurs often for White advocates. Many participants noted the internal conflict between social desirability and acting in accordance with one's morals when witnessing instances

of racism. Case mentions that these inevitable situations are opportunities for personal growth and exploration. In sum, Case presented many common experiences that occur for White advocates. Like other studies in this area, several of the themes address the advocate's acknowledgement of Whiteness and privilege, experiences that brought them to advocacy work, and how they choose to address (or ignore) instances of racism when they occur.

In another qualitative study, Eichstedt (2001) conducted interviews with 16 White antiracist activists. Of these participants, 14 identified as lesbian and 2 identified as gay. Eichstedt notes that at the time of her publication, many theorists argued that self-interest was the driving force engaging advocates into action. Through her interviews with the advocates, the following themes emerged: Naming Selves as White, Definitions of Racism, Relationship of Self to Racism, and Crosscut Nature of Oppression.

Regarding the Naming Selves as White theme, participants addressed what being White meant to them (Eichstedt, 2001). For most participants, awareness of their Whiteness occurred during the teen or adult years of their life and usually occurred through significant interactions with people of color (e.g., friends, experiences in college). Regarding the Definitions of Racism theme, all but one participant described racism as a system of power that disproportionately advantages Whites. Eichstedt notes that this is a clear distinction from other Whites who describe racism as a type of prejudice (e.g., Doane, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; Gallagher, 1997). According to Eichstedt, this insight suggests participants' acknowledgement of the system of White supremacy and their role within it. This sentiment is also seen in the Relationship to Self and Racism theme. Participants discussed their role in the system of racial oppression as

White people. They also acknowledged the White privilege that accompanies this system of oppression. Eichstedt observed that the acknowledgement of one's White privilege is one of the markers that separate nonracists from antiracists.

Finally, Eichstedt's (2001) theme of Crosscut Nature of Oppression addresses participants' intersecting identities and how these identities, either privileged or oppressed, helped the participants better understand racial oppression. Many participants noted how the complexity of intersecting identities helped them see that no one is truly an oppressor or oppressed, rather a multifaceted amalgamation of privileged and oppressed identities. By coming to this understanding, many participants were able to move past wallowing in White guilt to a stance of action. It is also important to note the cultural makeup of the sample. With all of the participants identifying as either gay or lesbian, it makes sense that participants would discuss the ways in which experienced heterosexism helped them relate to racism. These experiences, Eichstedt notes, aided participants in making not only intellectual, but also emotional connections to the system of racial oppression. This is consistent with Kleiman, Spanierman, and Smith's (2015) finding that White gay men demonstrated less color-blindness and more cultural empathy than their heterosexual counterparts. Additionally, Kleiman and colleagues found that gay men's experiences of heterosexism related to cultural empathy and less color-blindness. This led the authors to suggest that experiences of heterosexism could lead to antiracist activist engagement. Both Eichstedt's and Kleiman and colleagues' studies highlight the importance of a nuanced understanding of the system of racial oppression and one's role within it as a White person in the context of all of one's cultural identities.

In another study of White advocates, Warren (2010) conducted an expansive study in

which he conducted three-hour semi-structured interviews of 50 White antiracist activists. These activists lived in various cities and their activist work was either in the educational, criminal justice, or community organizing sectors. In analyzing the transcripts of the activists, Warren (2010) found that virtually all White activists he has encountered have experienced a “seminal experience” in which the individual is confronted with the reality of injustice. For many activists, this event occurred during college, while others experienced their seminal experience after finding themselves in work that had a racial social justice component. Warren states that simply witnessing an instance of injustice itself is not the catalyst for change, rather the interpretation of the event. If the individual interprets this event as counter to one’s beliefs, cognitive dissonance is created. Following this, individuals typically responded with shock, outrage, and for some, the commitment to activism. In other words, in order for the seminal experience to have a lasting effect, the individual must make a conscious effort to change their behavior to align with their beliefs whilst understanding that this change is incongruent with cultural norms. In fact, several of the activists Warren interviewed commented on the need for constant vigilance against being pulled into the White enclaves and the norms associated with them.

According to Warren (2010), the commitment to activism, however, is not immediate, rather a developmental life change occurs, “seminal experiences represent part of a series of events and factors that shape commitment and eventual activism” (p. 34). Such commitment is sustained via a continual anger at injustice. This sense of injustice propels White activists’ commitment in activism because it “focuses on the righteous anger that puts fire in the belly and iron in the soul.” (p. 33, Gamson, 1992 as cited by Warren,

2010). In this way, witnessing instances of injustice compels the person to act in order to keep their values consistent with their deeds. Warren called this compulsion to act the moral impulse.

According to Warren, after advocates have experienced their seminal experience, there then tends to be a shift from what he calls the “do-gooder” approach to a more collaborative approach. In other words, advocates learn to work with persons of color rather than on behalf of them. Once an ally develops deep, lasting relationships with people of color, racism and systemic injustice become personal.

According to Warren (2010), the cognitive component of racial injustice (i.e., learning about racial oppression, slavery) seems to not be as effective as the emotional component. Although it is important to be a well-informed activist, Warren claims that cognitive components are not what compel Whites to act. Only when injustice is interpreted as violating one’s values will one be motivated to act.

Another important theme that emerged in Warren’s (2010) study was White advocates’ relationships with other White people. Several participants discussed how they choose to confront and address the racist thoughts and behaviors of other Whites. Some of this involves educating others about the reality of White privilege. They discussed how this can be a challenging process, as confronting another’s racist thoughts or actions is often perceived as a judgment of one’s character (i.e., you are a racist versus you are doing racist things). One participant argued that the goal in these situations is to bring the person in, rather than alienating them:

“It is really important to draw White people in and make them allies, not enemies.

That doesn’t mean don’t confront; that doesn’t mean don’t express anger as a

pedagogical approach. But it does mean that your goal is to want people to join with people of color or with others against racism as opposed to being made the enemy” (p. 118).

In addition to addressing the racism of other White individuals, Warren’s (2010) participants also acknowledged the importance of continually working through their own internalized racist messages and White privilege. Working through these problematic beliefs can take many forms. For example, some participants highlight the importance of self-reflection, especially when operating in ethnically diverse spaces. Similarly, participants argue the importance of “checking themselves” when in racially mixed spaces. This involves making continual efforts to minimize power differentials and ensuring that all voices in a space are heard and respected. The participants also communicated that rewriting one’s ideas regarding race and White privilege is a lifelong journey. White individuals have received racialized messages for their whole lives and rewriting these messages likewise takes a lifetime. As one participant notes: “... If someone is on a path of unpacking white privilege, that takes a lot of time. It’s not just one conversation or one workshop. That’s actually a lifelong project that all white people have to do” (p. 118).

Finally, Warren (2010) presents the Head, Heart, and Hand model, which synthesizes the findings of the qualitative study. This is a cyclical model comprised of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components. Warren argues that although a White activist can begin their journey as an advocate at any part of the model, for most participants in the study, the process began within the cognitive domain. That is, most participants began with the cognitive understanding of the enduring presence of racism

and White privilege. The person then realizes that this injustice is at odds with their values, which, in turn, elicits anger (i.e., emotional response). This leads the individual to have a moral impulse to act to change the system. In an effort to change the system of injustice, White activists may form coalitions with people of color. This is an important developmental milestone because the relationships formed with people of color make racism a personal issue for the activist, which in turn elicits an empathic response from the activist. This emotional response then perpetuates and reinforces the motivation to change the system of racial oppression. According to Warren, simply being aware of the system of racial oppression is not enough to propel a White person to act; it is not until the reality of injustice elicits both moral and emotional responses that the person is inclined to act.

Given the results of Warren's (2010) study, it is important to examine the emotional connection that White antiracist activists have to people of color and the emotional reactions that are elicited when they are confronted with the reality of racial injustice. This emotional component to antiracist action will be discussed in terms of empathy. First, general empathy is discussed followed by empathy's relation to prosocial behaviors. Finally, ethnocultural empathy is introduced and discussed in terms of activist engagement.

Empathy

Empathy is a complex psychological construct that has received much attention in the literature. Many researchers (e.g., Aderman, 1970; Deutch & Madle, 1975; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Stotland, 1969) have defined empathy as a complex skill involving

emotional and cognitive factors. According to Decety and Yoder (2016), empathy involves: sharing one's emotions with others and becoming emotionally aroused when seeing others who are emotionally aroused (i.e., affective sharing), concern for the welfare of others and the motivation to act on this concern (i.e., empathic concern), and the ability to put oneself in the perspective of another (i.e., cognitive empathy).

Another conceptualization of empathy involves a developmental process. Marshall, Hudson, Jones, and Fernandez (1995) propose a stage-like model for empathy. This model involves (1) recognizing the other person's emotional state, (2) the ability to perspective take and put oneself in the position of the other person, (3) the eliciting of an emotional and/or compassionate response, and (4) taking action in effort to help the other person who is in distress. Similar to Decety and Yoder (2016), Marshall and colleagues (1995) argue that empathy involves emotional components (stage 3), cognitive components (stages 1 and 2), and motivational components (stage 4). This illustrates that although there is some debate in the literature over the exact definition of empathy, most authors tend to agree that it involves some combination of emotional, cognitive, and motivational factors.

Several studies have found neurobiological evidence of the empathic response. For example, Masten, Morelli, and Eisenberg (2011) found that participants scoring high on self-reported empathy had more activation in the areas of the brain associated with social pain (i.e., anterior insula and dorsal anterior cingulate cortex) when shown a video of a person being excluded from a group. These results suggest that those who report being more empathic are more likely to demonstrate brain activation similar to when they experience social pain themselves. This suggests empathic individuals truly do feel what

others feel. Because empathic individuals experience emotional, cognitive, and motivational states relative to others, it makes sense that those who are empathic would also want to engage in behaviors that help others. In other words, because empathic individuals feel what others feel, they may also want to help others in need.

There has been much empirical investigation into the relationship between empathy and prosocial behaviors (i.e., behaviors that are done to benefit another, without personal benefit; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). In their review, Eisenberg and Miller (1987) found that early investigation into these phenomena yielded mixed results, with some studies claiming that there was no significant relationship between the constructs and others claiming that there was a weak relationship. Eisenberg and Miller attributed these conflicting results to the ways in which both empathy and prosocial behavior motivation were operationally defined in these studies. Some studies (see meta-analysis by Underwood & Moore, 1982) have measured empathy by presenting scenarios and asking participants to report their emotions, others recorded facial expressions, and still others examined other behaviors such as gestures and vocal reactions. Due to such differences, it led some to conclude that there was a limited relationship between empathy and prosocial behavior. Another weakness of early studies was that many used child participants. Eisenberg and Miller argued that humans integrate behavioral and emotional components more as they become older. That is, as we age, we are more likely to demonstrate behaviors (e.g., prosocial helping behaviors) that are consistent with our emotional states (e.g., empathic understanding).

More recent investigation into the relationship between empathy and prosocial behavior has found a link between empathy and prosocial behavior. For example, Batson,

Håkansson, Chermok, Hoyt, and Ortiz (2007) found that participants who expressed empathic concern and value for a person in need were more likely to engage in helping behaviors. In fact, despite early studies' methodological shortcomings, more recent studies have observed that children as young as 1-2 years of age exhibit emotional distress at the sight of another person in distress and will often make attempts to help the person (see review by Eisenberg, Effum, and Giunta, 2010). Furthermore, this relationship is consistently seen in the literature on dispositional empathy (i.e., an individual's tendency to be empathic) and various measures of prosocial behaviors and intentions (Lockwood, Seara-Caroso, & Viding, 2014; Taylor, Eisenberg, Spinrad, Eggum, & Sulik, 2013). In sum, the literature regarding empathy as well as empathy and altruism is vast with mixed results in older studies. However, more recent studies have demonstrated a rather solid link between these two factors.

Empathy and Activism. Often the goal of activism efforts is to change systems that disadvantage different groups in society. Both in-group and out-group activism can be seen as prosocial behavior. Even though in-group activist efforts may subsequently benefit the activist as an individual, these efforts can be seen as prosocial because the group as a whole (not just the individual) also benefits. While the literature on the relationship between empathy and activism is sparse, there has been some investigation into the relationship between empathy and justice sensitivity (i.e., the amount of concern and importance one places on justice towards the self and others, Baumert, Rothmund, Thomas, Gollwitzer, & Schmitt, 2013). Decety and Yoder (2016) found that individuals high in concern for others (motivational empathy) and perspective taking ability (cognitive empathy) were more likely to demonstrate more sensitivity to the injustice

incurred on others. The authors argued that if individuals possess enough empathic motivation and perspective taking ability, they may be propelled to act on the injustice they witness because they are motivated to help others and are able to cognitively understand the position of the person experiencing injustice. Interestingly, Decety and Yoder found that the emotional empathy factor did not predict justice sensitivity to self or others. They surmised that this finding could be due to the intense emotionality those high on this factor experience. According to the authors, it is possible that this level of distress leads to an egoistic motivation to stabilize one's own emotional state instead of being concerned with whether others are being treated justly. They go on to surmise that when emotional empathy is paired with a sense of morality, individuals are more likely to act upon the emotions they feel.

Because Decety and Yoder (2016) were unable to measure actual prosocial behaviors, they were only able to surmise how empathy and justice sensitivity would relate to actual engagement in prosocial behaviors. Other studies have examined the role of empathy and prosocial behavior in activist populations. This type of sampling partially corrects this issue because the engagement in activism is already assumed when gathering data from activist populations. One such study was conducted by Omoto, Snyder, and Hackett (2010) who examined the motivational factors that propelled AIDS activists to get involved in activism work. These authors gathered data not only sampled from an activist population, but they asked participants to report how often they engaged in activist endeavors. They found that greater other-focused motivation, increased universal orientation (i.e., a feeling of connectedness to others), increased communal orientation (i.e., empathic concern for others), and lower personal distress (i.e., lower emotional

empathy) significantly predicted more frequent AIDS activism engagement. Similar to Decety and Yoder's findings, motivational factors and empathic concern positively predicted activism behavior. Unlike Decety and Yoder, Omoto and colleagues found a negative correlation between emotional empathy and activism behavior, indicating that as emotional empathy increases, AIDS activism frequency decreases. Although the authors did not discuss why they believed this correlation resulted in a negative relationship, it is possible that Decety and Yoder's assertion may also apply here. That is, those who are high on personal distress (i.e., emotional empathy) may not be in the right frame of mind to engage in activism because they are likely more concerned with regulating their own emotions.

Although the literature regarding empathy and activism is scarce, there is a documented link between empathy and prosocial behaviors. One type of prosocial behaviors is activism. As activism, particularly White antiracism activism, is of particular interest in the present study. It is important to better understand the nuances between empathy and this specific type of prosocial behavior. More recent literature in this area has investigated the empathic responses one feels for those of different cultural groups (i.e., ethnocultural empathy). Ethnocultural empathy is of particular interest in the present study because White antiracists are advocating for individuals outside of their cultural group.

Ethnocultural Empathy. According to Wang, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, and Bleier (2003), ethnocultural empathy refers to empathy experienced for individuals outside of one's own racial or ethnic group. Early theorists in this area (Ridley & Lingle, 1996) argued that cultural empathy involved cognitive, affective, and communicative abilities.

The cognitive dimension involves the ability to perspective take regarding another's cultural background and the ability to make cognitive distinctions between one's own culture and the culture of another. The affective dimension involves the emotional contagion and concern for others outside of one's own cultural group. The communicative dimension involves the ability to express accurate understanding regarding another's culture. Wang and colleagues (2003) built upon Ridley and Lingle's (1996) model and also drew upon conceptualizations of empathetic multicultural awareness (Junn, Morton, & Yee, 1995), cultural role taking (Scott & Borodovsky, 1990), ethnic perspective taking (Quintana, Ybarra, Gonzalez-Doupe, & Baessa, 2000), and ethnotherapeutic empathy (Parson, 1993) in order to develop the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE).

The SEE (Wang et al., 2003) is a multidimensional measure of ethnocultural empathy. These dimensions include Empathic Feeling and Expression (i.e., the emotional component of this factor that refers to the emotional responses to someone outside of one's own racial or ethnic background as well as the emotional responses to racial or ethnic injustice), Empathic Perspective Taking (i.e., the cognitive component of this factor that involves understanding and taking on the viewpoint of others from racial or ethnic backgrounds different from one's own), Acceptance of Cultural Differences (i.e., the understanding and valuing the cultural traditions of those outside one's own racial or ethnic group), and Empathic Awareness (i.e., the knowledge of experiences of those outside of one's own racial or ethnic group). Research with the SEE has found that ethnocultural empathy is linked to general empathy (Rasoal, Jungert, Hau, & Anderson, 2011; Wang et al., 2003), psychosocial costs of racism to Whites (Spanierman &

Heppner, 2004), universal diverse orientation (Wang et al, 2003), student's perception of their school's multicultural emphasis (Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009), intentions to attend undergraduate diversity courses and positive perceptions of the course (Cundiff, Nadler, & Swan, 2009), and the social issues advocacy scale (Nilsson, Marszalek, Linnemeyer, Bahner, & Misialek, 2011). The last of these findings is particularly relevant to the present study because it provides preliminary support for the assertion that ethnocultural empathy is linked to a proclivity towards advocacy, which may, in turn, include activist action.

The Present Study

The present study aims to better understand the phenomenon of White advocacy for racial justice. First, because much of the empirical investigation into White allies utilized qualitative methodology, the present study employs quantitative methodology in hopes to substantiate these findings using a different methodology. A second aim of the present study was to determine whether the themes found in qualitative studies of White antiracist advocates (e.g., recognition of White privilege) in fact predict antiracist activism and activism in general. The general hypothesis of the present study is that White privilege attitudes and empathy will significantly and substantially (i.e. determined via measures of effect size and standardized regression weights) predict engagement in antiracist activism and general activist orientation. Specific hypotheses of each path of the proposed model are discussed below.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. White privilege attitudes and awareness will be significantly and positively related to one's general activist orientation.

Justification for Hypothesis 1. As previously stated, much of the qualitative inquiry into White antiracist advocates suggests (e.g., Case, 2012; Eichstedt, 2001; Smith & Redington, 2010), awareness of one's White privilege is often a precursor to activist engagement. While these studies focus on antiracism activism, it is possible that White privilege attitudes and awareness may have implications for one's general activist orientation because one's awareness of White privilege arguably highlights the presence of social injustice which may in turn prompt the person to act.

Hypothesis 2. White privilege attitudes and awareness will be positively related to one's engagement in antiracist activism.

Justification for Hypothesis 2. This hypothesis directly addresses White individuals' engagement in antiracist behaviors. As qualitative studies have demonstrated (Smith & Redington, 2010; Warren, 2010), awareness of one's White privilege is one common factor among White activists and may contribute to their motivation to act.

Hypothesis 3. General empathy (interpersonal reactivity) will be positively related to one's general activist orientation.

Justification for Hypothesis 3. While the relationship between empathy and activism is less explored in the literature, there has been evidence of empathy being linked to prosocial behaviors (Batson et al., 2007; Eisenberg et al., 2010; Taylor et al., 2013) and sensitivity to injustice (Decety & Yoder, 2016). These results suggest that there may be a link between empathy and activism, a specific type of prosocial behaviors. The lack of empirical investigation into the relationship between empathy and activism warrants further investigation and the present study aims to shed some light on the issue.

Hypothesis 4, Path 4. General empathy (interpersonal reactivity) will be positively related to one's engagement in antiracist activism.

Justification for Hypothesis 4. As discussed above, the relationship between empathy and activism has been less explored in the quantitative literature. Qualitative studies, however, the emotional connection with people of color and the emotional reaction experienced when faced with the reality of racism are strong motivators that push White activists to begin the work and persist with the work over time (Warren, 2010). In fact, this emotional process is integral to Warren's (2010) Head, Heart, and Hand model that, according to his findings, sustains White antiracists in their efforts.

Hypothesis 5. Ethnocultural empathy will be positively related to one's general activist orientation.

Justification for Hypothesis 5. As discussed in Hypothesis 3, there is little literature regarding the relationship between empathy and activism. There is, however, a documented link between empathy and prosocial behaviors (Batson et al., 2007; Eisenberg et al., 2010; Taylor et al., 2013) and sensitivity to injustice (Decety & Yoder, 2016), which suggests there may be a link between general empathy and activist orientation. The lack of literature in this area warrants the exploration of this relationship.

Hypothesis 6. Ethnocultural empathy will be positively related to one's engagement in antiracism activism.

Justification for Hypothesis 6. As discussed in Hypothesis 4, qualitative findings (e.g., Warren, 2010) suggest that emotional connection with people of color is one motivator that inspires Whites to engage in antiracism activism. Due to this finding, it is expected that this particular relationship between ethnocultural empathy and antiracism

activism will be the strongest relationship when compared to the other empathy and activism variables because they are race-specific variables.

Hypothesis 7. The proposed measurement and structural models will demonstrate a good fit for the data (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).

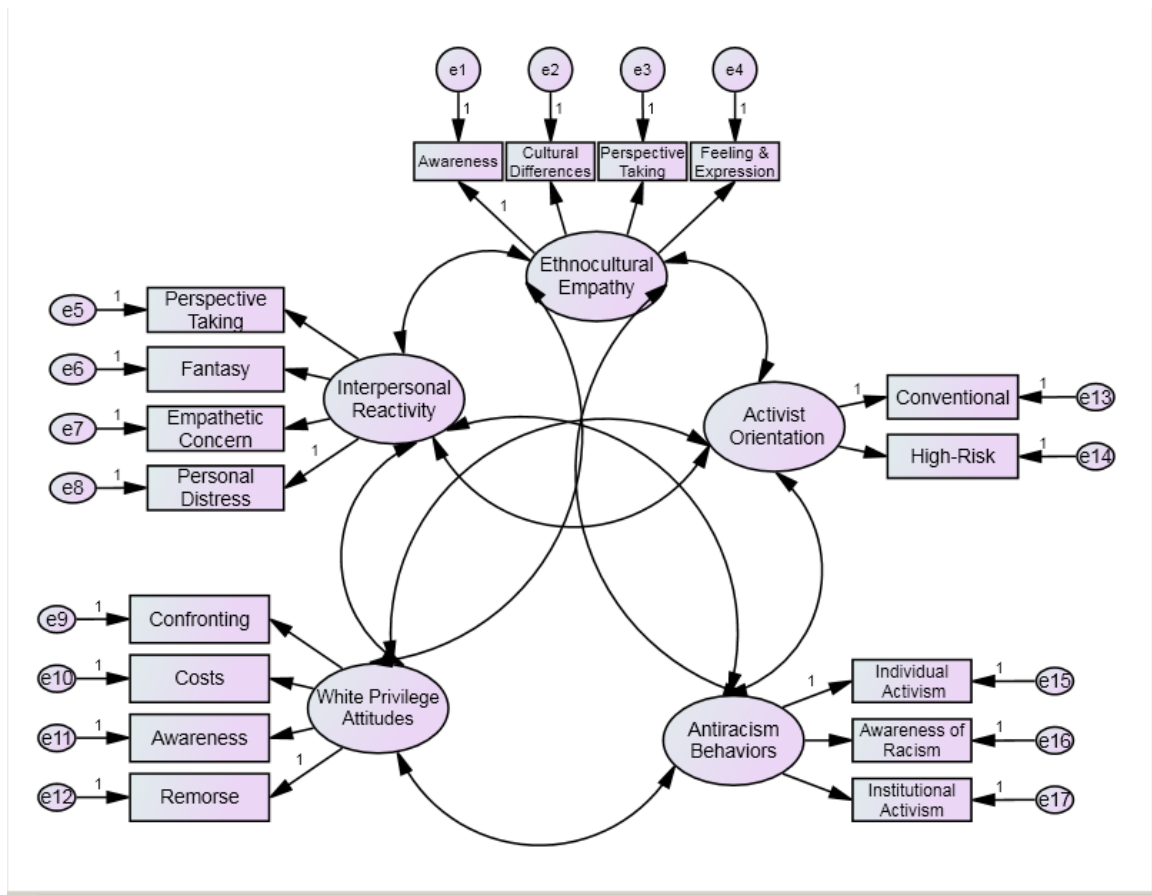


Figure 1. Proposed Measurement Model

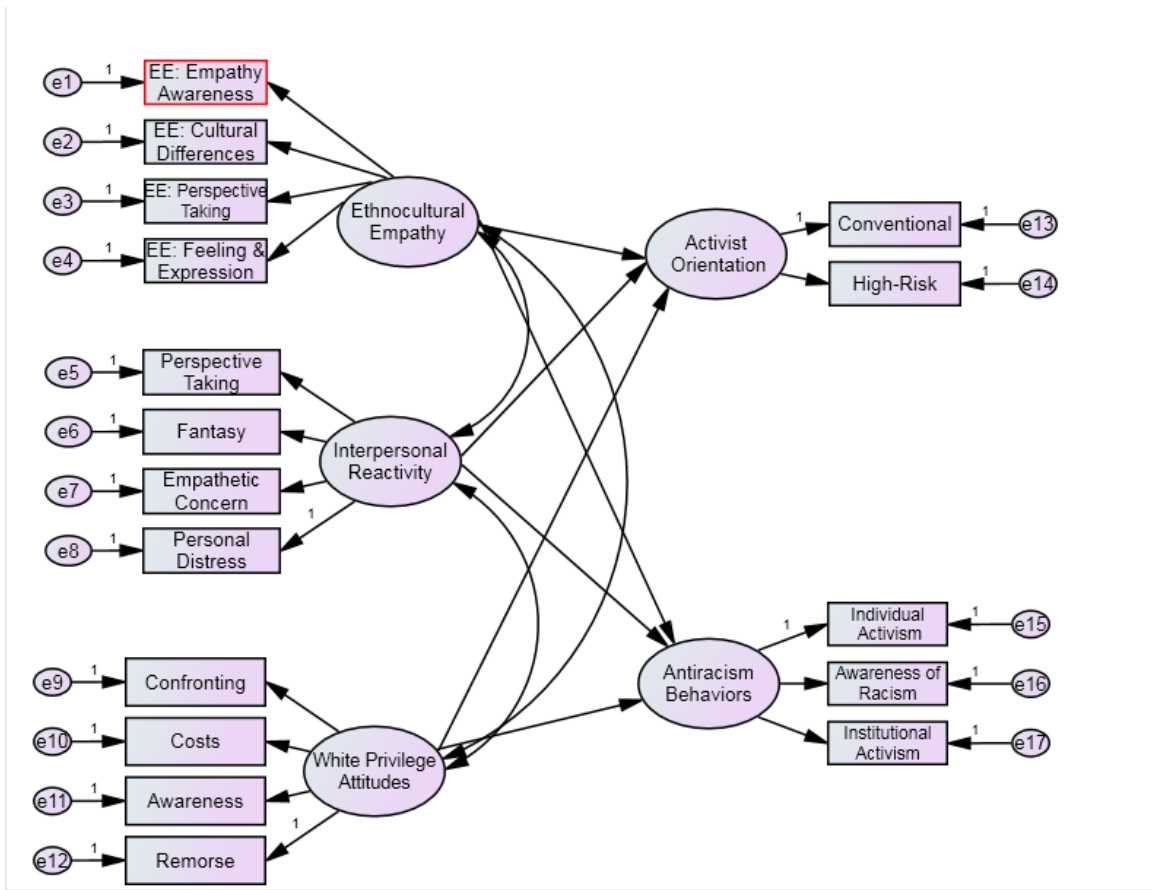


Figure 2. Proposed Structural Model

Chapter II

Method

Participants

An a priori power analysis using G*power (Faul & Erdfelder, 1998) was conducted to determine the appropriate number of participants for the present study. The power analysis results were based on the linear multiple regression analysis and power was set to .80 to increase the probability of obtaining significant results (Cohen, 1977). The alpha level was set to .05. Based on the information above, the power analysis suggested that a minimum of 89 subjects would be necessary to obtain sufficient statistical power. However, because the analysis chosen for the present study [i.e., structural equation modeling (SEM)] requires larger sample sizes to obtain sufficient power, this minimum was increased. Weston and Gore (2006) recommended a minimum sample of 200 when conducting SEM under ideal conditions; thus, the author attempted to obtain a sample of at least 200 participants. A total of 620 participants accessed the online survey and consented to participate. After eliminating participants who did not complete at least 80% of every measure, participants who did not meet inclusion criteria (i.e., participants who reported that they were younger than 18), participants who identified as a person of color, and outliers, a total of 414 participants were retained for the final sample.

Sample Characteristics. This study recruited participants from a midsized southeastern university and also used online snowball sampling methods. Inclusion criteria for the study required that all participants' age be 18 years or older and that participants were fluent in English. Regarding participant demographics, only data from

participants who identify as White were analyzed. Data from participants who did not identify as White were not included in the present study, but were collected for a larger project examining activism in American adults.

Participants' age ranged from 18 to 77 years ($M = 27.46$, $SD = 13.79$).

Participants from the university sample had a lower mean age ($M = 20.31$, $SD = 3.93$) compared to participants from the online sample ($M = 41.72$, $SD = 15.28$, $Mdn = 36.50$). The majority of the sample identified as female ($n = 294$, 71.2% of the sample), 26.9% identified as male ($n = 111$), 1.0% identified as gender queer or gender non-conforming ($n = 4$), and .9% identified as trans male/trans man, trans female/ trans woman, or different identity ($n = 4$). Regarding sexual orientation, the majority of the sample identified as heterosexual ($n = 333$, 80.6%), 7.0% identified as bisexual ($n = 29$), 5.1% identified as gay or lesbian ($n = 21$), 2.4% identified as pansexual, 2.4% identified as asexual, and .5% of the sample ($n = 2$) declined to respond.

Most participants identified as Christian ($n = 228$, 55.2%), 25.9% of the sample reported having no religious identity ($n = 107$), 9.4% identified as Catholic ($n = 39$), 1.7% identified as practicing Judaism ($n = 7$), 1.0% identified as Buddhist ($n = 4$), 6.1% identified another religious identity ($n = 25$), and .7% declined to respond ($n = 3$). Regarding political orientation, 44.1% ($n = 182$) identified as liberal, 17.4% ($n = 72$) identified as politically neutral, 38.2% identified as conservative ($n = 157$), and .5% declined to respond ($n = 2$). Regarding household annual income, 34.4% of participants reported earning \$0-\$20,000 annually ($n = 142$), 14.1% reported earning \$20,001-\$55,000 ($n = 58$), 32.9% reported earning \$55,001-\$100,00 ($n = 136$), 17.2% reported earning \$100,000 or more ($n = 71$), and 1.5% declined to respond ($n = 6$). Additionally,

participants reported their socioeconomic status using the MacArthur Subjective Social Status Scale (MacArthur Foundation, n.d.). Participants were asked to rate their relative social status in relation to others in their community and others in the United States using a 1 to 10 Likert-type metric, with 1 being those with the lowest standing and 10 being those with the highest standing. Relative to their community, participants reported an average socioeconomic status of $M = 5.85$ ($SD = 1.58$, $Mdn = 6$). Relative to others in the United States, participants reported an average socioeconomic status of $M = 5.82$ ($SD = 1.62$, $Mdn = 6$). Table 1 provides further information regarding sample characteristics and for the sake of clarity, this information is also broken down by sample source.

Table 1

Sample Demographic Characteristics

Variable	University Sample		Online Sample		Total	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Educational Attainment						
Some High School	1	.4	0	0.0	1	.2
High School Diploma/GED	41	14.7	3	2.2	44	10.7
Some College	215	77.3	20	14.8	235	56.9
Bachelor's Degree	8	2.9	25	18.5	33	8.0
Some Graduate Training	4	1.4	9	6.7	13	3.1
Graduate Degree	9	3.2	78	57.8	87	21.1
Gender						
Male	91	32.7	20	14.8	111	26.9
Female	184	66.2	110	81.5	294	71.2
Trans/Gender Nonconforming	3	1.1	4	3.0	7	1.7
Different Identity	0	0	1	.7	1	.2
Sexual Orientation						
Heterosexual	241	86.7	92	68.1	333	80.6
Bisexual	11	4.0	18	13.3	29	7.0
Gay or Lesbian	10	3.6	11	8.1	21	5.1
Pansexual	6	2.2	4	3.0	10	2.4
Asexual	8	2.9	2	1.5	10	2.4
Different Identity	1	.4	7	5.2	8	1.9
No Response	1	.4	1	.7	2	.5

Relationship Status						
Married	15	5.4	55	40.7	70	16.9
Single, Never Married	154	55.4	23	17.0	177	42.9
Single, Committed Relationship	97	34.9	15	11.1	112	27.1
Separated, Divorced, Widowed	1	.4	15	11.1	16	3.9
Cohabiting	7	2.5	15	11.1	22	5.3
Remarried	1	.4	6	4.4	7	1.7
Different status	3	1.1	6	4.4	9	2.2
Religious Identity						
Christianity	193	69.4	35	25.9	228	55.2
Catholicism	30	10.8	9	6.7	39	9.4
Judaism	0	0.0	7	5.2	7	1.7
Buddhism	1	.4	3	2.2	4	1.0
None	45	16.2	62	45.9	107	25.9
Different Identity	7	2.5	18	13.3	25	6.1
No Response	2	.7	1	.7	3	.7
Political Orientation						
Extremely Liberal	9	3.2	60	44.4	69	16.7
Moderately Liberal	27	9.7	53	39.3	80	19.4
Slightly Liberal	24	8.6	9	6.7	33	8.0
Politically Neutral	70	25.2	2	1.5	72	17.4
Slightly Conservative	40	14.4	3	2.2	43	10.4
Moderately Conservative	90	32.4	6	4.4	96	23.2
Extremely Conservative	18	6.5	0	0.0	18	4.4
No Response	0	0.0	2	1.5	2	.5

Design

The present study utilized a correlational, cross-sectional design. The predictors in the model included: White privilege attitudes, empathy (interpersonal reactivity), and ethnocultural empathy. Criterion variables included activist orientation and antiracism behaviors.

Measures

Anti-racism Behavioral Inventory (ARBI; Pieterse, Utsey, & Miller, 2016).

The ARBI is a 21-item measure of one's knowledge and awareness of racism and the subsequent behaviors associated with this knowledge and awareness. The scale utilizes a 1 to 5 Likert-type metric, with 1 being *strongly disagree* and 5 being *strongly agree*.

After reverse-scored items have been addressed, higher scores indicate more antiracism activism. The ARBI contains three subscales: individual activism, awareness of racism, and institutional activism. The individual activism factor measures one's involvement in antiracism advocacy efforts that can be completed by a single individual. A sample item from this factor is "I often speak to my friends about the problem of racism in the U.S." The awareness of racism factor measures one's perception and feelings associated with racism. A sample item from this factor is "Because of racism in the U.S., Blacks do not have the same educational opportunities as compared to Whites." The institutional activism factor measures advocacy behaviors undertaken with the help of or in association with an institution or organization. A sample item for this factor is "I volunteer with anti-racist or racial justice organizations."

Pieterse and colleagues' original analysis of internal consistency for the ARBI yielded a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .91 for the entire measure, .80 for the individual

activism factor, .88 for the awareness of racism factor, and .79 for the institutional activism factor. For the present study, Cronbach's alpha for the entire measure was .96, .93 for the individual activism factor, .94 for the awareness of racism factor, and .89 for the institutional activism factor. Regarding validity, the ARBI established convergent validity via its significant positive correlation with the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al., 2000) and the Quick Discrimination Index (Ponterotto, Potere, Johansen, 2002) and the significant negative correlation with the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (Pinterits et al., 2009) for each of the ARBI's subscales. To establish divergent validity, Pieterse and colleagues demonstrated a nonsignificant relationship between the ARBI's subscales and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Stahan & Gerbasi, 1972), suggesting that the ARBI is not affected by socially desirable responding.

White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinteritis, Poterat, & Spanierman, 2009). The WPAS is a 28-item measure of one's attitudes regarding White privilege from the cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains. It utilizes a 6-point Likert-type metric with 1 being *strongly disagree* and 6 being *strongly agree*. After reverse-scored items are addressed, higher scores on the WPAS indicate more developed cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of White privilege attitudes. The WPAS has four subscales: willingness to confront White privilege, anticipated costs of addressing White privilege, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse. The willingness to confront White privilege factor refers to an openness to address White privilege with others or to explore it within themselves. The anticipated costs of addressing White privilege factor refers to respondents' level of comfort in addressing White privilege. The White privilege awareness factor refers to the cognitive understanding of the phenomenon of White

privilege. The White privilege remorse refers to the affective dimension that is associated with being part of the racial majority.

Regarding internal consistency, Pinteritis and colleagues' original confirmatory factor analysis of the WPAS found Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .93, .78, .84, and .89 for the willingness to confront White privilege, anticipated costs of addressing White privilege, White privilege awareness, and the White privilege remorse subscales respectively. In the present study, the Cronbach's alpha for the entire scale was .94, .94 for willingness to confront White privilege, .82 for anticipated costs of addressing White privilege, .88 for White privilege awareness, and .93 for White privilege remorse.

The WPAS also yielded adequate 2-week test-retest reliability scores for all subscales, with reliability coefficients ranging from .70 to .87 for the four subscales of the measure. Regarding convergent validity, the WPAS subscales demonstrated significant correlations with the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville, et al., 2000), Modern Racism scale (McConahay, 1986), and the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) in the hypothesized directions. Regarding divergent validity, Pinteritis and colleagues found a nonsignificant relationship between the WPAS subscales and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form A, suggesting that the WPAS is not affected by socially desirable responding.

Activist Orientation Scale (AOS; Corning & Myers, 2002). The AOS is a 35-item scale that measures "an individual's developed, relatively stable, yet changeable orientation to engage in various collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviors spanning a range from low-risk, passive, and institutionalized acts to high-risk, active, and unconventional behaviors" (p. 704). The AOS utilizes a 0 to 3 Likert-type metric

with 0 being *extremely unlikely*, 1 being *unlikely*, 2 being *likely*, and 3 being *extremely likely*. After reverse-scored items are addressed, higher scores indicate higher reported likelihood to engage in activist behaviors. The AOS has two subscales: conventional activism and high-risk activism. The conventional activism subscale refers to activism behaviors that are relatively low risk (e.g., participating in an election). A sample item from this subscale asks the participant the likelihood of them, “Display[ing] a poster or bumper sticker with a political message.” The high-risk activism refers to activism behaviors that are thought to be unconventional or risky. A sample item from this subscale asks participants the likelihood of them “engage[ing] in a political activity in which you knew you would get arrested.”

Regarding internal consistency, Corning and Myers (2002) found that the AOS total scale yielded a Cronbach’s alpha of .96, while the conventional activism subscale was .96 and the high-risk activism subscale was .91. For this study, the total scale had a Cronbach’s alpha of .98, the conventional activism subscale had an alpha value of .97 and the high-risk activism subscale had an alpha value of .93. Furthermore, convergent validity was established via significant positive relationship between AOS total scale and subscale scores and collective relative deprivation, egoistic relative deprivation, and collective behavior on behalf women. Divergent validity was established via the nonsignificant relationship between AOS overall score and subscale scores with a locus of control scale and an interpersonal control scale.

Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI; Davis, 1980). The IRI is a 28-item multidimensional measure of empathy. The IRI uses a 5-point Likert-type metric with 1 being *does not describe me well* and 5 being *describes me very well*. The IRI has four 7-

item subscales: Perspective Taking, Fantasy, Empathic Concern, and Personal Distress. Perspective Taking refers to the ability to adopt another's point of view. A sample item from this subscale is "I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision." Fantasy refers to one's tendency to adopt the point of view of fictitious characters (e.g., characters in movies, novels, or television). A sample item from this subscale is "I really get involved with the feelings of the characters in a novel." Empathic Concern involves an ability to have sympathy and concern for others. This scale is focused on the feelings that the respondent has for others. A sample item from this subscale is "I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me." Personal distress involves feelings of anxiety and tension in interpersonal situations. This scale focuses on self-oriented feelings in interpersonal situations. A sample item from this subscale is "In emergency situations, I feel apprehensive and ill-at-ease."

In Davis' (1980) original study, Cronbach's alpha for the whole measure ranged from $\alpha = .71$ to $.77$ and test-retest reliability ranged from $\alpha = .62$ to $.71$. The present study yielded a Cronbach's alpha of $.84$ for the whole measure, $.75$ for the Perspective Taking subscale, $.83$ for the Fantasy subscale, $.80$ for the Empathic Concern subscale, and $.75$ for the Personal Distress subscale. Davis (1983) addressed convergent and divergent validity of the subscales of the IRI. He found that the Perspective Taking subscale was significantly related to extraversion and self esteem, but did not yield a significant correlation with intelligence. The Fantasy subscale was significantly correlated with emotional vulnerability, but not with self-esteem. The Empathic Concern subscale was significantly related to non-selfish emotionality and no significant relationship with

intelligence. Personal Distress were associated with poor interpersonal functioning like shyness and anxiety but was unrelated to intelligence.

The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE; Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, Bleir, 2003). The SEE is a 31-item self-report scale that measures the level of empathy one feels for individuals outside of their own racial or ethnic group. Items are rated on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) metric. After reversed scored items are reversed coded, higher scores on the SEE indicate more ethnocultural empathy. The SEE has four subscales: Empathic Awareness, Acceptance of Cultural Differences, Empathic Perspective Taking, and Empathic Feeling and Expression.

Empathic Awareness involves the understanding that one's experiences are likely different from the experiences of someone outside of one's own racial or ethnic group. This can involve the acknowledgement of discrimination and systemic oppression of those outside of one's racial or ethnic group. A sample item from this subscale is "I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own." Acceptance of Cultural Differences involves acknowledging and valuing the traditions and customs of individuals outside one's own racial or ethnic group. A sample item from this subscale is "I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me" (reverse scored). Empathic Perspective Taking refers to the attempts made to understand the emotions and experiences of those outside of one's own racial or ethnic group by trying to view the world through that individual's perspective. A sample item from this subscale is "It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own." Empathic Feeling and Expression refers to the thoughts, feelings, or deeds that occur in

response to the discriminatory actions or prejudicial attitudes enacted on individuals outside one's own racial or ethnic group. A sample item from this subscale is "I share the anger of those who face injustice because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds."

In Wang and colleagues' original study (2003), Chronbach's alpha for the entire scale was .91, .89 for Empathic Feeling and Expression, .75 for Empathic Perspective Taking, .73 for Acceptance of Cultural Differences, and .76 for Empathic Awareness. These figures are similar to other studies using the SEE (e.g., Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The present study yielded Cronbach's alphas of .94 for the whole scale, .94 for Empathic Feeling and Expression, .63 for Empathic Perspective Taking, .81 for Acceptance of Cultural Differences, and .89 for Empathic Awareness. Evidence for adequate test-retest reliability was also found (Chronbach's alphas ranging from .64 to .86). The SEE demonstrated adequate concurrent validity in that the SEE total and subscale scores significantly and substantially correlated with the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (Miville et al., 1999) and the Perspective Taking and Empathic Concern subscales of the IRI (Davis, 1983).

The SEE demonstrated acceptable discriminant validity in that the overall score and subscale scores did not substantially correlate with the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Impression Management Scale (BIDR; Paulhus, 1984, 1991). Although the Acceptance of Cultural Differences subscale in the SEE did significantly correlate with the BIDR, it only accounted for less than 4% of the variance, thus, the authors concluded that this provided evidence for discriminant validity.

Demographics Measure. The demographics measure included questions regarding race (this item was used to eliminate the people of color from the analysis),

gender, sexual orientation, educational attainment, partnership status, and socioeconomic status. Of note, socioeconomic status was measured using the MacArthur Subjective Social Status Scale (MacArthur Foundation, n.d.). On the MacArthur Subjective Social Status scale, participants were asked to rate their socioeconomic standing, from 1 (*those with the lowest standing or who are the worst off*) to 10 (*those with the highest standing or who are the best off*), as compared to their communities and as compared to the rest of the U.S. The scale thus yields two scores, each ranging from 1 to 10.

Qualitative Items. Participants were asked to write about their experiences (or lack thereof) in antiracism activism or activism in general.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from a midsize southeastern university and by online recruitment methods. Purposive sampling methods were utilized in an effort to sample more activists. As previously stated, the population of White antiracist activists is small compared to the general White American population. Online recruitment entailed soliciting online activist social media pages and email recruitment of activist organizations. Participants who were recruited online were encouraged to share the survey with others. The survey was administered through an online survey platform (i.e., Survey Monkey). After consenting to the study, participants completed the ARBI, AOS, SEE, IRI, WPAS, qualitative items, and the demographics measure in counterbalanced order to protect against order effects. Survey logic was utilized to route the participants who identified as people of color to the appropriate measures (i.e., participants of color were not administered the WPAS).

After completing the survey, participants viewed a page encouraging them to share the survey link with others. Participants who were recruited from the university may have been offered extra credit from their instructors (i.e., extra credit was offered at the discretion of the instructor). At the end of the survey all participants were presented with a page thanking them for their participation and stating that as a token of appreciation for their participation, the author would donate to the following charities [i.e., National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund, The Trevor Project, American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA), and the American Cancer Society (ACS)] at a rate proportional to the amount of votes for each charity. In other words, participants chose one charitable organization to which they would like the author to donate. A total amount of \$150 was then divided amongst the charities at a rate proportional to the amount of votes each organization received. Participants voted in the following manner 18% for NAACP legal defense fund, 22% for the Trevor Project, 23% for ASPCA, and 37% for the ACS.

Chapter III

Results

Data Cleaning and Preparation

Before testing the significance of the proposed structural model, data were cleaned, missing data were addressed, and the assumptions for a general linear model were assessed. Participants who did not complete at least 80% of a given measure or who were less than 18 years old were eliminated. Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test was then conducted to determine whether the remaining missing data were missing completely at random. The results of Little's MCAR determined that the missing data were not MCAR ($\chi^2 [10890] = 11916.548, p < .001$). As discussed in Tabachnick and Fidell (2013), missing data can be classified as MCAR, missing at random (MAR), or missing not at random (MNAR). Unfortunately, only missing values that are MCAR can be identified via a statistical test. Although the significant Little's MCAR result is not ideal, missing data for all items fell below the 5% missingness value suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) and Schafer (1999). When missing data represent a small portion of a larger dataset, but is not occurring completely at random, Tabachnick and Fidell suggest retaining the cases with missing data and performing a data replacement method while interpreting the subsequent inferential results with caution. The expectation maximization method was used to replace missing data. According to Tabachnick and Fiddell (2013), this method is superior to other data replacement techniques (e.g., mean replacement) and is more efficient than other more complex techniques (e.g., multiple imputation).

Assessing Assumptions

The assumptions for general linear model were then assessed for the entire data set and for each sample (i.e., university sample and online sample). These assumptions include independence of errors, absence of outliers, normality of the residuals, linearity, homoscedasticity, and absence of multicollinearity. The independence of errors assumption was assessed by examining the Durbin Watson values for each dependent variable. The values yielded were close to the desired value of 2 (i.e., 1.96 for ARBI and 1.83 for the AOS for the overall sample, 2.01 for ARBI and 1.96 for the AOS in university sample, and 1.92 for the ARBI and 1.94 for the AOS in the online sample). The absence of univariate outliers assumption was assessed by examining the standardized scores for each study variable. No data points exceeded the suggested cutoff of $z = \pm 3.29$, indicating the absence of univariate outliers. The absence of multivariate outliers assumption was then assessed by examining Mahalanobis distance, leverage, discrepancy, and influence results. Cases were considered for deletion whose Mahalanobis distance value exceed the critical value found on the chi square table (when $df = \text{number of predictors}$ and $p < .001$), when leverage values exceed the calculated average leverage value ($3k + 1/n$, when $k = \text{number of predictors}$), and Cook's distance values were greater than 1. Ten cases met at least two of these criteria and were deleted. This resulted in a final total sample size of 414 participants.

The residual normality assumption was assessed by examining histogram graphs of the standardized residuals for each dependent variable. The graph for both dependent variables resembled a normal curve, suggesting that the assumption was met.

Additionally, skewness and kurtosis values were assessed to test residual normality for each dependent variable. All values were close to zero (i.e., ranging from -.023 to .686), which indicates that residuals were quasi-normally distributed. Additionally, the Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov values for each dependent variable were examined to further test normality. Non-significant test values provide support for the assumption being met. All but one value was non-significant (i.e., Shapiro-Wilk for the total sample ARBI dependent variable, $p = .010$). Because all other evidence indicated that the residual normality assumption had been met, data were not transformed due to the one problematic Shapiro-Wilk result.

The assumption of linearity and homoscedasticity were assessed by examining a scatterplot graph of residuals. In order for the linearity assumption to be met, the bivariate scatterplot of the regression standardized residual and regression standardized predicted value should fall in an oval shape and should not indicate curvilinearity (e.g., data falling in a “U” shape). Additionally, matrix scatterplots of relationships among all variables were examined to assess the linearity assumption. Both graphs indicated that the assumption was met. Regarding homoscedasticity, the scatterplot of the standardized residuals was examined for each dependent variable. Ideally, data should fall in no distinct pattern if the assumption is met (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). The scatterplot for the AOS dependent variable for the overall sample demonstrated a slight cone shape, indicating some heteroscedasticity, but when the plots were examined for each sample, this pattern was no longer observed. As will be discussed, the data were later analyzed by sample. For this reason, transformations were not conducted.

The multicollinearity assumption was assessed by examining the variance inflation factor (VIF), condition index, and tolerance levels of the predictors for each dependent variable. All VIF values were less than four, indicating that the assumption was met (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Additionally, Belsely, Kuh, and Welsch (1980) recommended that the condition index all below 30 and that no dimension have more than one variance proportion greater than .50. This recommendation was also met for both dependent variables. Tolerance levels also exceeded the recommended .10 value for both dependent variables. For means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between study variables for the university sample and online samples, see Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2

Correlation Matrix and Descriptive Statistics for the University Sample

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
1. WPAS _a	1	.733**	.379**	.367**	.518**	81.01	20.58	.942
2. ARBI _b	.733**	1	.534**	.359**	.647**	51.98	16.24	.928
3. AOS _c	.379**	.534**	1	.190**	.315**	28.66	22.34	.966
4. IRI _d	.367**	.359**	.190**	1	.563**	94.41	13.76	.845
5. SEE _e	.518**	.647**	.315**	.563**	1	120.71	21.62	.894

Note. _a White Privilege Awareness Scale (Pinterits, et al., 2009), _b Anti-racism Behaviors Inventory (Pieterse, et al., 2016), _c Activism Orientation Scale (Corning & Myers, 2002), _d Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1980), _e Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang, et al., 2003).

** $p \leq .001$, $n = 278$

Table 3

Correlation Matrix and Descriptive Statistics for the Online Sample

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
1. WPAS _a	1	.753**	.513**	.218*	.504**	105.99	15.99	.916
2. ARBI _b	.753**	1	.754**	.191*	.747**	82.04	15.51	.934
3. AOS _c	.513**	.754**	1	.051	.490**	65.91	19.66	.948
4. IRI _d	.218*	.191*	.051	1	.304**	100.96	11.90	.832
5. SEE _e	.504**	.747**	.490**	.304**	1	156.95	17.04	.888

Note. _a White Privilege Awareness Scale (Pinterits, et al., 2009), _b Anti-racism Behaviors Inventory (Pieterse, et al., 2016), _c Activism Orientation Scale (Corning & Myers, 2002), _d Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1980), _e Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang, et al., 2003).

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .001$, $n = 135$

Primary Analysis

After data cleaning, replacement, internal consistency, assumptions, and best procedures were completed, the proposed structural model was tested. IBM AMOS was used to assess the structural model (Arbuckle, 2014). Predictor variables in the model included: White privilege attitudes, interpersonal reactivity (empathy), and ethnocultural empathy. Criterion variables were activist orientation and antiracism behaviors.

First, the measurement model was assessed, ensuring that the manifest variables appropriately define the latent variables. The following goodness of fit indices were used to determine whether the data appropriately fit the model: chi square (χ^2), comparative fit index (CFI), and root-mean-square of error of approximation (RMSEA). According to Hu and Bentler (1999), χ^2 values should be non-significant, CFI values should be $\geq .95$, and RMSEA values should be $\leq .06$. The original proposed model provided a poor fit for the

data, $\chi^2 = 918.56$, $p < .001$, $df = 109$, CFI = .841, RMSEA = .134. For this reason, attempts were made to modify the model to improve model fit.

Because it is recommended in SEM that each latent variable have at least three indicators (Byrne, 2016), item parcels were created for the AOS scale because it only has two subscales. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was then conducted to determine factor loadings and inter-correlations for each item. Surprisingly, 14 items (i.e., items 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 33, 34) demonstrated problematic cross loading patterns on both factors and were eliminated for this reason (Costello & Osborne, 2005). The remaining items loaded on their respective factors as enumerated in Corning and Myers' (2002) original validation study. Because the Conventional Activism subscale had several more items when compared to the High-Risk subscale and because inter-correlations among items within both subscales were about equal, the three item parcels consisted of the first remaining seven items on the Conventional Activism subscale (i.e., items 2, 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18), the next eight items on the Conventional Activism subscale (i.e., items 19, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32), and the remaining items from the High-Risk Activism subscale (i.e., items 5, 14, 16, 17, 28, 35). Item parcel totals were then calculated and added into the measurement model in place of the original AOS subscale totals. This model modification slightly improved some of the model fit indices ($\chi^2 = 957.03$, $p < .001$, $df = 125$, CFI = .858, RMSEA = .127), but these indices were still not within an acceptable range.

In examining the factor loadings of each indicator of each latent variable, it was determined that the IRI Distress subscale did not significantly load to its respective latent variable and produced low standardized regression weights (i.e., $\beta = -.046$). This subscale

was then eliminated from the model to determine if this would improve model fit. This modification drastically reduced the chi square value, but this change was not reflected in other fit indices, $\chi^2 = 865.31$, $p < .001$, $df = 109$, CFI = .869, RMSEA = .130. At this step, all indicators significantly loaded to their respective latent factor, but two indicators (i.e., the WPAS Costs subscale and the SEE Perspective Taking subscale) still demonstrated low standardized regression weights (i.e., $\beta = .171$ and $\beta = .369$ respectively). First, the WPAS Costs subscale was removed and then the SEE Perspective Taking was also removed in an attempt to improve model fit. Removing the WPAS Costs subscale improved the model fit somewhat, $\chi^2 = 741.63$, $p < .001$, $df = 94$, CFI = .885. RMSEA = .129 and removing the SEE Perspective subscale also improved model fit, $\chi^2 = 635.618$, $p < .001$, $df = 80$, CFI = .899. RMSEA = .130, but the significant chi square and RMSEA values were still not within acceptable ranges. Modification indices at each of the modification attempts noted above did not produce results that would drastically change model fit. In other words, adding a covariance term to one or more of the indicators did not significantly change model fit. See Table 4 for more information regarding the model modification process.

Table 4. *Measurement Model Modification Attempts*

Model	Comparison Model	χ^2	$\Delta \chi^2$	df	Δ df	CFI	Δ CFI	RMSEA	Δ RMSEA
Baseline	-	918.56	-	109	-	.841	-	.134	-
AOS Item Parcels	Baseline	957.02	38.46	125	16	.858	.017	.127	.007
IRI Distress Removal	AOS Item Parcels	865.31	91.71	109	16	.869	.011	.130	.003
WPAS Costs Removal	IRI Distress Removal	741.63	123.68	94	15	.885	.016	.129	.001
SEE Perspective Taking Removal	WPAS Costs Removal	635.62	106.01	80	14	.899	.014	.130	.001

After several attempts to improve model fit indices for the proposed measurement model, a one-way MANOVA was chosen to analyze the data. One reason that the model demonstrated poor fit for the data could be due to multi-group invariance between the two samples (i.e., participants recruited from the university and those recruited online). Because the two samples were unequal in size (university sample $n = 278$, online sample $n = 135$, and $n = 1$ no response) and both samples are rather small, it would not be advisable to test this theory via SEM (Boomsma & Hoogland, 2001; Byrne, 2008). The one-way MANOVA (sample source as independent variable and study variables as dependent variables) determined whether there was a significant difference between the samples on the study variables. There were significant differences between the samples for all study variables at the $p < .001$ level. For this reason, the two samples were analyzed separately using a multivariate multiple regression. Multivariate multiple regression was chosen because it assesses the significance of the model, the significance of each independent variable to each dependent variable, and provides standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients. Although this analysis does not account for

measurement error and does not provide as much information as a structural model, it provides a good alternative for analyzing the data given the poor fit statistics and group differences between samples.

Just as with the proposed SEM model, the WPAS, SEE, and IRI were predictor variables and the AOS and ARBI were criterion variables. This model was tested for the university sample ($n = 278$) and online sample ($n = 135$) separately. The one participant who did not respond to this item was removed from the analysis. For the university sample, multivariate tests indicated that the WPAS (Wilk's $\lambda(2, 273) = .622, p < .001, \eta^2 = .378$) and SEE (Wilk's $\lambda(2, 273) = .795, p < .001, \eta^2 = .205$) significantly predicted the dependent variables, but the IRI did not (Wilk's $\lambda(2, 273) = .991, p = .275, \eta^2 = .009$). The model's R^2 and adjusted R^2 values for the AOS were $R^2 = .163$ and adjusted $R^2 = .154$ and $R^2 = .639$ and adjusted $R^2 = .635$ for the ARBI.

Univariate tests provided a more detailed description of the relationships between the study variables. Specifically, White privilege attitudes significantly predicted activist orientation, $F(1, 274) = 20.902, p < .001, \eta^2 = .071$, and the relationship produced a standardized regression weight, $\beta = .297$ in the hypothesized direction. White privilege attitudes also significantly predicted participants' antiracism behaviors, $F(1, 274) = 166.484, p < .001, \eta^2 = .378$, with an even stronger beta weight, $\beta = .551$ in the hypothesized direction. Ethnocultural empathy significantly predicted activist orientation, $F(1, 274) = 5.316, p = .022, \eta^2 = .019$, and this relationship also produced a standardized regression weight in the hypothesized direction, $\beta = .168$. Ethnocultural empathy also significantly predicted antiracism behaviors, $F(1, 274) = 69.564, p < .001, \eta^2 = .202$, and this relationship produced an even stronger standardized regression weight in the

hypothesized direction, $\beta = .401$. Interpersonal reactivity did not predict activist orientation, $F(1,274) = .040$, $p = .842$, nor antiracism behaviors, $F(1,274) = 2.417$, $p = .121$. See Table 5 for more information regarding the results of the multivariate multiple regression for the university sample.

Table 5

Multivariate Multiple Regression for University Sample.

Source	Dependent Variable	R^2	Adj R^2	F	p	η^2	B	β
Corrected Model	AOS	.163	.154	17.808	< .001	.163		
	ARBI	.639	.635	161.356	< .001	.639		
WPAS	AOS			20.902	< .001	.071	.323	.297
	ARBI			166.484	< .001	.378	.435	.551
SEE	AOS			5.316	.022	.019	.174	.168
	ARBI			69.564	< .001	.202	.301	.401
IRI	AOS			.040	.842	< .001	-.022	-.014
	ARBI			2.417	.121	.009	-.081	-.069

For the online sample, a similar pattern emerged. Multivariate tests indicated that the WPAS (Wilk's $\lambda(2, 130) = .548$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .452$) and SEE (Wilk's $\lambda(2, 130) = .555$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .445$) significantly predicted the dependent variables, but the IRI did not (Wilk's $\lambda(2, 130) = .972$, $p = .155$, $\eta^2 = .028$). The model also produced adequate R^2 and adjusted R^2 values for the AOS ($R^2 = .351$ and adj $R^2 = .336$) and the ARBI ($R^2 = .754$ and adj $R^2 = .748$).

Univariate results were similar to the university sample. White privilege attitudes significantly predicted participants' activist orientation, $F(1, 131) = 20.285$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .134$, and the relationship produced a moderate standardized regression weight, $\beta = .368$, in the hypothesized direction. White privilege attitudes also significantly predicted participants' antiracism behaviors, $F(1, 131) = 103.263$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .441$, with an even

stronger beta weight, $\beta = .511$ in the hypothesized direction. Ethnocultural empathy significantly predicted participants' activist orientation, $F(1,131) = 16.979$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .115$, producing a moderate standardized regression weight in the hypothesized direction, $\beta = .345$. Ethnocultural empathy also significantly predicted participants' antiracism behaviors, $F(1,131) = 98.884$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .430$, and this relationship produced an even stronger standardized regression weight in the hypothesized direction, $\beta = .513$. Interpersonal reactivity did not predict activist orientation, $F(1,131) = 3.288$, $p = .072$, nor antiracism behaviors, $F(1,131) = 2.825$, $p = .095$. See Table 6 for more information regarding the results of the multivariate multiple regression for the online sample.

Table 6

Multivariate Multiple Regression for Online Sample.

Source	Dependent Variable	R^2	Adj R^2	F	p	η_p^2	B	β
Corrected Model	AOS	.351	.336	23.610	<.001	.351		
	ARBI	.754	.748	133.737	<.001	.754		
WPAS	AOS			20.285	<.001	.134	.453	.368
	ARBI			103.263	<.001	.441	.496	.511
SEE	AOS			16.979	<.001	.115	.398	.345
	ARBI			98.884	<.001	.430	.467	.513
IRI	AOS			3.288	.072	.024	-.222	-.134
	ARBI			2.825	.095	.021	-.100	-.077

Chapter IV

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to contribute to the existing literature regarding White antiracist activism using a quantitative methodology. The present study aimed to extend previous qualitative findings by choosing two of the most frequently cited predictors of White antiracist activism (i.e., empathy and acknowledgement of White privilege) and determining if quantitative measures of these constructs would predict participants' antiracism behaviors and general orientation towards activism. It was hypothesized that: (1) White privilege attitudes and awareness would significantly predict one's general activist orientation, (2) White privilege attitudes and awareness would predict one's engagement in antiracist activism, (3) general empathy (interpersonal reactivity) would predict one's general activist orientation, (4) general empathy (interpersonal reactivity) would predict one's engagement in antiracist activism, and (5) ethnocultural empathy would predict one's general activist orientation, (6) ethnocultural empathy would predict one's engagement in antiracist activism, and (7) the proposed model would fit for the data.

Sample Characteristics and Analysis

The proposed measurement model did not provide an adequate fit for the data and this may be partly due to multigroup invariance between the two sample sources (i.e., online and university samples). A one-way MANOVA determined that the two sample groups were significantly different from one another on every study variable (i.e., WPAS, SEE, IRI, AOS, and ARBI) supporting this assertion. Because the sizes of the samples were relatively small, tests of multigroup invariance were not conducted and two

multivariate multiple regressions were conducted to analyze the data for each sample. Some possible reasons for the differences between the samples could be due to the age of participants within each sample (mean age for university sample was 20.31 and 41.72 for the online sample) and the relative life experiences that tend to accompany age. It is possible that participants in the online sample had more experience with activism and/or had more time to think about the implications of their White privilege. Relatedly, the participants who were recruited online were found via different activist or social justice-oriented groups or listservs. Because these participants have gone out of their way to join online communities geared toward activism, they may have had stronger attitudes about activism and their White identity compared to a southern university sample. Additionally, there was a difference in the level of educational attainment between the samples (24.1% of the online sample had some graduate training or higher compared to 4.6% of the university sample). While this makes logical sense that the university sample would have less educational attainment because they are currently working towards this goal, this may have affected whether participants received formal courses in diversity education in which the likelihood of introspection about one's racial identity may be higher. The group differences between the samples and the populations they represent deserve further investigation to advance the understanding of the developmental trajectory of White racial justice advocates.

Discussion of the Present Study's Findings

Because there were significant differences between the online sample and the university sample on all study variables, the samples were analyzed separately. The same pattern emerged between the samples however, with the online sample yielding relatively

stronger relationships between variables compared to the university sample. Specifically, hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported; more developed White privilege attitudes and awareness positively predicted one's orientation towards activism and the proclivity towards antiracism activism. Additionally, hypotheses 5 and 6 were supported, higher levels of ethnocultural empathy positively predicted participants' orientation towards activism and their proclivity towards antiracism activism in particular. Hypotheses 3, 4, and 7 were not supported. General empathy (interpersonal reactivity) did not predict general activism orientation or proclivity towards antiracist activism, and the proposed model did not provide an adequate fit for the data. Possible reasons for these outcomes will now be discussed.

Discussion of results for hypotheses 1 and 2. The findings regarding the relationship between White privilege attitudes and activism orientation and antiracism activism are consistent with the qualitative studies of White activists that highlighted the importance of the acknowledgement of White privilege (Case, 2012; Eichstedt, 2001; Smith & Redington, 2010). The significant relationship between White privilege attitudes and antiracism activism found in the present study and in other qualitative studies suggests that the acknowledgement of White privilege may be an important first step toward White racial justice advocacy. Indeed, Smith and Redington (2010) found that several of their participants described their realization of White privilege as not only learning new information, but also as a moral reckoning which called them to act.

Given these findings, it is also plausible that understanding the implications of one's White privilege is an important part of being a White activist. Because the WPAS includes items that address the implications of White privilege (e.g., Anticipated Costs of

Addressing White Privilege Subscale), it is likely that one task White activists face is to not only understand that White privilege is a reality, but also to be aware of how it manifests in everyday situations. Not having the ability to do this may cause detrimental harm to the people of color the White activist is working with or advocating for. For example, White activists who are unaware of the implications of their White privilege can perpetuate dynamics of White supremacy in working with colleagues of color by talking over them, interrupting them, taking up more space during dialogues, or by committing other microaggressions.

The significant relationship observed between White privilege attitudes and general activist orientation is also encouraging. This may suggest that those who are involved in activism have engaged in more introspection about how they fit into the world around them. This assertion is consistent with Fendrich and Lovoy (1988) who found that activists tend to be more politically and socially engaged. Taken together, these results suggest that an understanding of one's White privilege may be an integral initial part of one's journey as an activist.

Discussion of results for hypotheses 3 and 4. The null results regarding general empathy (interpersonal reactivity) and its relationships with general activist orientation and antiracism behaviors also warrant discussion. Contrary to what was hypothesized, general empathy did not predict participants' general orientation towards activism or their proclivity to antiracist activism. One possible reason could be that ethnocultural empathy and interpersonal reactivity are different constructs and that ethnocultural empathy is a more accurate predictor of activism. Another possibility is that the IRI's questionable

psychometric properties (i.e. lower Cronbach's alphas, problematic factor loadings in the measurement model) in the present study's samples may have affected the results.

Discussion of results for hypotheses 5 and 6. The findings regarding ethnocultural empathy and its relation to general activist orientation and antiracism behaviors is also encouraging, as it provides support for Warren's (2010) Head, Heart, Hands model. As previously discussed, Warren argued that as White advocates build emotional connections with people of color, racism becomes personal and the White advocate feels a moral impulse to act. In other words, when ethnocultural empathy is built, racism no longer affects "outsiders;" it affects everyone. This finding has important implications for training future White antiracist activists because, as previously discussed, empathy is an emotional skill that can be honed and refined through education and training. Consistent with hypothesis 6, the relationship between ethnocultural empathy and antiracism behaviors demonstrated the strongest relationship compared to the other empathy and activism pairings. This suggests that developing ethnocultural empathy may be an integral part of becoming an antiracist activist. It is noteworthy, however that the relationship between the White privilege awareness and antiracism behaviors yielded the largest partial eta squared and standardized regression weights for both samples, suggesting that the development of a nuanced understanding of one's White privilege may be slightly more important, or perhaps a precursor to ethnocultural empathy, in activist development. Further research is needed to better understand these relationships and how they develop over time.

Discussion of results for hypothesis 7. The proposed measurement model did not provide an adequate fit for the data. Therefore, the structural model was not tested.

There are several possibilities as to why the model did not provide an adequate fit for the data. First, it is possible that the conceptualized model does not reflect how these variables relate to one another. Another possibility is that there was likely an issue of multigroup invariance that affected fit statistics. Also, the problematic psychometric properties of the IRI affected the overall fit indices. If these issues were to be remedied, it is possible that the model would have provided a better fit for the data.

The two samples in the present study were analyzed separately there were significant mean differences between the samples on all study variables. However, the same trends were observed in both samples. This provides further support for the role of White privilege attitudes and ethnocultural empathy in general activism and race-specific activism. It is noteworthy that the online sample generally produced stronger relationships between the study variables compared to the university sample. This difference could be due to several factors. First, the university sample was collected from a PWI. This relatively homogeneous social and educational environment may not provide the opportunities for White students to examine the implications of their Whiteness and privilege associated with Whiteness because the majority of their peers and instructors are also White. Also, because the online sample consisted of participants recruited from activist-oriented online groups, it is likely that these individuals' attitudes towards the study variables were stronger than those of the university sample because they have gone out of their way to join activist-oriented groups. Another notable difference between the two samples was the difference in age between the groups. Namely, the average age of the online sample was higher than the university sample, which may suggest that the online sample had more experience engaging in activism, which, in turn, affected their

attitudes towards activism. The difference in age might also entail differences in maturity level and life-focus between the samples. It is possible that the online sample participants also had a more nuanced understanding of themselves, social issues like racism, and how these two intersect. Because the variable of age was not controlled for in the analysis, this assertion cannot be confirmed.

Strengths

The present study has many strengths. First, it is unique and contributive to the literature on ally activism. To the author's knowledge, this is one of the first studies using quantitative methodology to investigate White antiracist activism. Furthermore, the concept of ethnocultural empathy has not been explored in the realm of antiracist activism and may provide some new insight into White activists' desire to engage in antiracist activism.

Limitations

Because the present study is a correlational cross-sectional design, causation cannot be inferred from the results. This may be considered a limitation as the results do not definitively indicate that developing a more nuanced perspective of White privilege and ethnocultural empathy will cause one to engage in activism. Additionally, the present study is limited by self-report bias. In this way, the author cannot be sure if participants' reported attitudes and behaviors are subject to social desirability or self-serving bias. Similarly, the measures in the present study have not demonstrated predictive or criterion validity in the literature. Furthermore, the present study is also limited by mono-method and mono-operation biases in that data were gathered using one method and the study variables were assessed using only one instrument. These limitations threaten the internal

validity of the study. Regarding data analysis, one limitation is the relatively small sample and the inability to test the multigroup invariance issue using SEM. In future research, it would be prudent to gather a larger sample or collect data from one recruitment source. Similarly, the proportionately large number of female-identified participants in both samples threatens the external validity of the study. Future research should attempt to obtain a sample that is more representative of the population of interest.

Implications for Future Research

The findings and limitations of the present study pose several implications for future research. First, the role of White privilege attitudes and ethnocultural empathy in antiracism activism deserves further, in-depth investigation. For example, it would be helpful to determine whether one of these factors precedes the other in activist development or if one of these factors is more important to activist development or aids the activist in persisting in their work. A longitudinal study examining White antiracist identity development could address these concerns. Additionally, it would be prudent to further investigate the role of general empathy in White antiracism activism to determine if the null results in the present study were due to psychometric issues or reflect a true nonsignificant relationship between the variables. In doing this, it can be determined whether it is just ethnocultural empathy that predicts White antiracism or if general empathy also plays a role as well.

Although the differing sampling sources posed an issue in data analysis, it also demonstrated that the online participants had stronger relationships between the variables compared to the university sample. Future research could examine the role of age, and perhaps, the amount of time one has engaged in activism and how this relates to the study

variables. Regarding the role of age, Warren (2010) notes that many White antiracist activists began their activist journey while they were in college. It would be worthwhile to further investigate how the age of activists, or the age at which one becomes an activist, affects one's activist orientation and the types of activism one chooses.

Another worthwhile avenue for future research is in developing interventions for raising awareness of White privilege and increasing ethnocultural empathy. As the present study and previous qualitative studies have demonstrated the importance of these variables in White individuals' engagement in antiracist activism, a logical next step is to inculcate these attitudes and skills to others. Although previous research (e.g., Corvin & Wiggins, 1989) has proposed theoretical developmental models for training White antiracists, intervention-based studies appear to be lacking in this area. Future studies could examine the effect of consciousness raising activities aimed at increasing White privilege awareness and ethnocultural empathy on participants' engagement in antiracist activism. Future studies could also compare White antiracist activists to antiracist activists of color. It would be interesting to determine whether there are similar motivations to engage in the work for these different groups of activists. Because activists of color do not possess White privilege, White privilege attitudes are likely not a significant predictor of activism, but empathy and personal experiences with racism may play a role in predicting their behaviors.

Practical Implications

The results of the present study suggest some preliminary recommendations for diversity educators, antiracist activist groups, and other groups who value social justice. For diversity educators, these results suggest that multicultural and diversity educators

should value the importance of ethnocultural empathy and search for ways to build such empathy in their students. This might involve perspective-taking activities in which students are asked to think about how they would feel if they were a person of a different racial or ethnic background facing various situations. These results also suggest that it is important for White students to engage in introspection about not only the reality of their racial privilege, but also the implications of this privilege in everyday life and how this privilege provides unfair advantage. It would also be helpful for diversity educators to facilitate dialogues concerning how White privilege can be used to dismantle racial oppression. Through these types of activities, students move past the acknowledgement of the reality of racial privilege and move towards taking action to change it.

For antiracist activist groups, these results suggest that Whites are more likely to engage in antiracist activism when they have gained a more nuanced understanding of their privilege and have empathy for others from different racial or ethnic backgrounds. This information can be helpful for activist groups looking to increase their numbers and build a coalition of activists of differing backgrounds. By engaging in difficult dialogues about these topics during meetings, it is likely that cohesion within the group will increase, which may, in turn, facilitate greater productivity of the activist group as a whole. These findings also have implications for White antiracist activists who are currently engaged in activist efforts, suggesting that White activists should continue to grow in their understanding of White privilege and their ability to emotionally connect with those from differing backgrounds. Because the implications of White privilege and ethnocultural empathy are so widespread and complex, it is very likely that even the most seasoned activist still requires introspection regarding these topics.

For other groups that value social justice, these results serve as a reminder to White individuals to continue to engage in the intrapersonal and interpersonal growth that is required to be an antiracist activist and an ally to people of color. One such group is the field of counseling psychology. As a profession, counseling psychology has named engagement in social justice efforts an integral pillar of competent practice (American Psychological Association, 2017; Vera & Speight, 2003). In placing social justice as one of its core values, it is important that White counseling psychologists continually explore the implications of their privilege and build ethnocultural empathy. These efforts will arguably enhance their work as educators, clinicians, and researchers because they will be approaching their work with a broadened, more realistic view of the world that encompasses the diverse experiences and backgrounds of those with whom they work.

APPENDIX A
HUMAN SUBJECTS CONSENT FORM

APPENDIX A

HUMAN SUBJECTS CONSENT FORM

The following is a brief summary of the project in which you are asked to participate. Please read this information before signing the statement below. You must be of legal age or must be co-signed by parent or guardian to participate in this study.

TITLE OF PROJECT: Prosocial Behaviors in Adults

PURPOSE OF STUDY/PROJECT: The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of individuals' engagement in various prosocial behaviors and the attitudes they have towards others.

SUBJECTS: In order to participate, you must be 18 years or older and fluent in English.

PROCEDURE: Participation is voluntary. Participants can skip any question without any penalty. Participants will be directed to follow a hyperlink to the survey platform and complete a demographics measure and the attitude measures.

BENEFITS/COMPENSATION: Participants who are recruited from Louisiana Tech may receive extra credit points from their instructor upon completion of the study. The amount of extra credit points, however, is at the discretion of the instructor. If you do not wish to participate, an alternative opportunity will be presented for you. Additionally, at the end of the survey participants will be able to choose one of four charities/organizations they would like the principle investigator to donate in exchange for their completed survey (e.g., The ACLU, The Southern Poverty Law Center, NAACP, American Cancer Society). The principle investigator will then allocate a proportion of \$150 to each charity that is proportional to the number of votes each charity/organization receives.

RISKS, DISCOMFORTS, ALTERNATIVE TREATMENTS: The participant understands that Louisiana Tech is not able to offer financial compensation nor to absorb the costs of medical treatment should you be injured as a result of participating in this research. This study involves no treatment or physical contact. All information collected from the survey will be held strictly confidential. No one will be allowed access to the survey other than the researchers. If participants feel distressed after completing the study, they will be directed to call the crisis call center at 1(800)273-8255 to further address these feelings. Participants who are students of Louisiana Tech can also seek counseling services at the university counseling center in Keeny Hall 310, (318) 257-2488.

The following disclosure applies to all participants using online survey tools: This server may collect information and your IP address indirectly and automatically via "cookies".

I attest, by clicking “continue” that I have read and understood the following description of the study, "(Prosocial Behavior in Adults)", and its purposes and methods. I understand that my participation in this research is strictly voluntary and my participation or refusal to participate in this study will not affect my relationship with Louisiana Tech University or my grades in any way. Further, I understand that I may withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any questions without penalty. Upon completion of the study, I understand that the results will be freely available to me upon request. I understand that the results of the material will be confidential, accessible only to the principal investigators, myself, or a legally appointed representative. I have not been requested to waive nor do I waive any of my rights related to participating in this study.

CONTACT INFORMATION: The principal experimenters listed below may be reached to
Answer questions about the research, subjects' rights, or related matters.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: _Danielle Franks, dnf004@latech.edu_

CO-INVESTIGATOR: __Walt Buboltz, buboltz@latech.edu__

Members of the Human Use Committee of Louisiana Tech University may also be contacted if a problem cannot be discussed with the experimenters:

Dr. Richard Kordal, Director, Office of Intellectual Property & Commercialization
Ph: (318) 257-2484, Email: rkordal@latech.edu

APPENDIX B
DEMOGRAPHICS MEASURE

APPENDIX B
DEMOGRAPHICS MEASURE

Please indicate the following

1. Please indicate your gender
 - Male
 - Female
 - Trans male/Trans man
 - Trans female/Trans woman
 - Genderqueer/Gender non-conforming
 - Different Identity (please state _____)

2. What sex were you assigned at birth, meaning your original birth certificate?
 - Male
 - Female

3. How do you identify your race/ethnicity
 - Native American/First Nation
 - Black/ African American
 - Hispanic/Latinx
 - White, non Hispanic/Latinx
 - Asian/Pacific Islander
 - Biracial or Multiracial
 - Different Identity (please state _____)

4. What is your partnership status (please indicate the item that best describes your situation)?
 - Single, never married
 - Single, in a committed relationship
 - Cohabiting
 - Married
 - Separated or Divorced
 - Widowed
 - Remarried
 - Different Status (please state _____)

5. What is your age? _____

6. How would you identify your sexual orientation?
 - Heterosexual
 - Bisexual

- Gay/Lesbian
- Pansexual
- Asexual
- Different Identity (please state _____)

7. What is your level of educational attainment?

- Some high school
- High school diploma or GED
- Some college
- Bachelor's degree
- Some graduate training
- Graduate degree

8. What is your current annual household income?

- 0-\$20,000
- \$20,001-35,000
- \$35,001-55,000
- \$55,001-75,000
- \$75,001-100,000
- \$100,001-150,000
- \$150,001 or above

9. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in their communities.

People define communities in different ways; please define it in whatever way is most meaningful to you. At the top of the ladder are people who have the highest standing in their community. At the bottom of the ladder are the people who have the lowest standing in their community. Where would you place yourself on this ladder? There are 10 rungs on the ladder, numbered from 1 (those with the lowest standing) to 10 (those with the highest standing); please select the number associated with the rung on the ladder which represents where you think you stand at this point in your life, relative to other people in your community.



Which rung of this ladder represents where you think you stand at this point in your life, relative to other people in your community

- 1 (Those with the lowest standing)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 (Those with the highest standing)

10. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the United States. At the top of the ladder are those who are the best off - those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are people who are the worst off - who have the least money, the least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom. Where would you place yourself on this ladder? There are 10 rungs on the ladder, numbered from 1 (those who are the worst off) to 10 (those who are the best off); please select the number associated with the rung on

the ladder which represents where you think you stand at this point in your life, relative to other people in the United States.



Which rung of the ladder represents where you think you stand at this point in your life relative to other people in the United States?

- 1 (Those who are the worst off)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 (Those who are the best off)

11. With what religion do you most closely identify?

- Christianity
- Catholicism
- Judaism
- Islam
- Buddhism
- Sikhism
- Hinduism
- Other (please specify _____)

- None

12. Using the following continuum, how would you rate your political orientation?

- Extremely liberal
- Moderately liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Politically neutral
- Slightly conservative
- Moderately conservative
- Extremely conservative

13. In what state do you currently reside?

APPENDIX C
OTHER MEASURES

APPENDIX C

OTHER MEASURES

Activism Orientation Scale (AOS)
Corning & Myers (2002)

How likely is it that you will engage in this activity in the future?

Extremely Unlikely				Extremely Likely
0	1	2	3	

1. Display a poster or bumper sticker with a political message? 1
2. Invite a friend to attend a meeting of a political organization or event? 1
3. Purchase a poster, t-shirt, etc. that endorses a political point of view? 1
4. Serve as an officer in a political organization? 1
5. Engage in a political activity in which you knew you would be arrested? 2
6. Attend an informal meeting of a political group 1
7. Organize a political event (e.g., talk, support group, march)? 1
8. Give a lecture or talk about a social or political issue? 1
9. Go out of your way to collect information about a social or political issue? 1
10. Campaign door-to-door for a political candidate? 1
11. Present facts to contest another person's social or political statement? 1
12. Donate money to a political candidate? 1
13. Vote in a non-presidential federal, state, or local election? 1
14. Engage in a physical confrontation at a political rally? 1
15. Send a letter or email expressing a political opinion to the editor of a periodical or television show? 1
16. Engage in a political activity in which you feared that some of your possessions would be damaged? 2
17. Engage in an illegal act as part of a political protest? 2
18. Confront jokes, statements, or innuendoes that opposed a particular group's cause? 1
19. Boycott a product for political reasons? 1
20. Distribute information representing a particular social or political group's cause? 1
21. Engage in a political activity in which you suspect there would be a confrontation with the police or possible arrest? 2
22. Send a letter or email about a political issues to a public official? 1
23. Attend a talk on a particular group's social or political concerns? 1
24. Attend a political organization's regular planning meeting? 1
25. Sign a petition for a political cause? 1
26. Encourage a friend to join a political organization? 1
27. Try to change a friend's or acquaintance's mind about a social or political issue? 1
28. Block access to a building or public area with your body? 2

29. Donate money to a political organization? ¹
 30. Try to change a relative's mind about a social or political issue? ¹
 31. Wear a t-shirt or button with a political message? ¹
 32. Keep track of the views of members of Congress regarding as an issue important to you? ¹
 33. Participate in discussion groups designed to discuss issues or solutions of a particular social or political group? ¹
 34. Campaign by phone for a political candidate? ¹
 35. Engage in a political activity in which you feared for your personal safety? ²
-

¹ Factor 1: Conventional Activism Items

² Factor 2: High-risk Activism Items

White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS)

Pinteritis, Poteat, & Spanierman (2009)

Please read each of the following statements and indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly
DisagreeStrongly
Agree

1 2 3 4 5 6

1. I intend to work toward dismantling White privilege 1
2. I want to begin the process of eliminating White privilege 1
3. I take action to dismantle White privilege 1
4. I have not done anything about White privilege * 1
5. I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes White privilege 1
6. I'm glad to explore my White privilege 1
7. I accept responsibility to change White privilege 1
8. I look forward to creating a more racially equitable society 1
9. I take action against White privilege with people I know 1
10. I am eager to find out more about letting go of White privilege 1
11. I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White * 1
12. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White privilege 1
13. I am anxious about stirring up bad feelings by exposing the advantages that Whites have. 2
14. I worry about what giving up some White privileges might mean for me 2
15. If I were to speak up against White privilege, I would fear losing my friends 2
16. I am worried that taking action against White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites 2
17. If I address White privilege, I might alienate my family 2
18. I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself to eliminate White privilege 2
19. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White privilege is really White-bashing * 3
20. White people have it easier than people of color 3
21. Our social structure system promotes White privilege 3
22. Plenty of people of color are more privileged than Whites 3
23. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White 4
24. I am ashamed of my White privilege 4
25. I am angry knowing I have White privilege 4
26. I am angry that I keep benefitting from White privilege 4

27. White people should feel guilty about having White privilege 4
28. I feel awful about White privilege 4
-

* Reverse scored

- 1 Willingness to Confront White Privilege Subscale
2 Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege Subscale
3 White Privilege Awareness Subscale
4 White Privilege Remorse Subscale

Anti-Racism Behavioral Inventory (ARBI)

Pieterse, Utsey, & Miller (2016)

- | | Strongly
Disagree | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly
Agree |
|--|----------------------|----------|-----------|-------|-------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
1. When I hear people telling racist jokes and using negative racial stereotypes, I usually confront them. ₁
 2. I actively seek to understand how I participate in both intentional and unintentional racism. ₁
 3. I actively seek to educate myself about the experience of racism. ₁
 4. I interrupt racist conversations and jokes when I hear my friends talking that way. ₁
 5. I have challenged acts of racism that I have witnessed in my workplace or at school. ₁
 6. I make it a point to educate myself about the experience of historically oppressed groups in the US (e.g., slavery, internment of Japanese, American-Indians, and the trail of tears, etc.) ₁
 7. I often speak to my friends about the problem of racism in the US, and what we can do about it. ₁
 8. I do not like to talk about racism in public. * ₁
 9. I interrupt racist conversations and jokes when I hear them in my family. ₁
 10. I feel guilty and ashamed when I think of the history of racism and slavery in the US. ₂
 11. It bothers me that my country has yet to acknowledge the impact of slavery. ₂
 12. The US should offer some type of payment to the descendants of slaves. ₂
 13. The US has not acknowledged the impact of slavery. ₂
 14. Because of racism in the US, Blacks do not have the same educational opportunities as compared to Whites. ₂
 15. Within the US, racism is largely perpetuated by the White racial majority. ₂
 16. The police unfairly target Black men and Latinos. ₂
 17. I give money to organizations working against racism and discrimination. ₃
 18. When I read articles in newspapers or magazines that are perpetuating racist ideas, I generally write a letter to the editor. ₃
 19. I am actively involved in exposing companies that uphold exclusionary and racist practices. ₃
 20. I write letters to local and state politicians to voice my concerns about racism. ₃
 21. I volunteer with anti-racist or racial justice organizations. ₃

* Reverse scored, ₁ Individual Advocacy Subscale, ₂ Awareness of Racism Subscale, ₃ Institutional Advocacy Subscale

19. I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people. ²
20. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds. ²
21. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.* ²
22. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own. *²
23. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.*³
24. I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English.* ³
25. I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak English.* ³
26. I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream. * ³
27. I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing. *³
28. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own.⁴
29. I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes. ⁴
30. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society⁴
31. I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own. ⁴

* Reverse scored

- ¹ Empathic Feeling and Expression Subscale
- ² Empathic Perspective Taking Subscale
- ³ Acceptance of Cultural Differences Subscale
- ⁴ Empathic Awareness Subscale

23. When I watch a good movie, I can very easily put myself in a place of a leading character²
24. I tend to lose control during emergencies⁴
25. When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while¹
26. When I am reading an interesting story or novel, I imagine how I would feel if the events in the story were happening to me²
27. When I see someone who badly need help in an emergency, I go to pieces⁴
28. Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how *I* would feel if I were in their place¹
-

* Reverse scored

¹ Perspective Taking Subscale

² Fantasy Subscale

³ Empathic Concern Subscale

⁴ Personal Distress Subscale

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