Anti-Racist Education Interventions: A Randomized-Controlled Study Examining the Impact of White Racial Privilege, Black Racial Oppression, and Race of Instructor on Affect and Attitude Among White College Students

by

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have written about the emotional agitation among White students in response to race-based issues (Higginbotham, 1996; Tatum, 1994; Vasquez, 2006). Research has implicated the emotional experience of guilt with the anti-racist concepts of White racial privilege and Black racial oppression. However, methodological issues in the research raise questions about our current understanding of this issue, which has implications on the ability of educators to create effective course curricula and optimal learning environments.

Grounded in a theory of guilt and shame and drawing upon tenets of modern forms of racism, I examined the effects of anti-racist education on White students. Specifically, I tested the effects of two factors on four dependent variables. The first factor, called the content factor, was comprised of three levels that exposed participants to statements conveying institutional forms of White racial privilege, Black racial oppression, and a control condition. The second factor, called the race factor, was comprised of two levels that represented the racial background of a confederate instructor: A White instructor and a Black instructor. Interventions (i.e., factor levels), which were embedded within a standardized lecture on racial inequality, were randomly assigned to participants. Exposures to interventions and data collection were facilitated by the use of laptop computers. Main effects and interaction effects among the six conditions on guilt, shame, negation, and racist attitudes were examined. Given the role of

self-awareness in experiencing guilt and shame, identification with Whiteness as a moderating variable was also tested.

A sample of 153, self-identified White students with a mean age of 21 participated in the study. They were recruited from three, large public universities located in the Western, South Western, and Mid Western United States. Categorical predictors were dummy coded and hierarchical multiple regression was used to analyze the data. Findings suggest that the interventions of White racial privilege and Black racial oppression, as institutionally focused concepts, exert no effects on guilt, shame, negation and racist attitudes compared to a control condition. Findings showed a main effect for identification with Whiteness, but not a moderating effect. Implications, limitations, and future research are discussed.

DEDICATION

To my incredible husband, Carlos J. Lopez, and our pack of silly beasts who have kept us young—Vida, Kiko, and Montse.

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INTRODUCTION

In higher education, the ubiquitous topics of race and racism have been described as predictable, emotional triggers for many college students (Garcia & Van Soest, 2000). The emotional agitation among students of White racial background has received notable attention. Conceptual writings have linked their reactions, ranging from helplessness to anger, to curricular interventions related to racial privilege and oppression (Higginbotham, 1996; Tatum, 1994). Empirical research, however, has only recently begun to explore these ties. Meanwhile, scholars continue to call upon White men and women to more fully participate in dialogues on race and racism as a way to alter their awareness and attitude on these issues and to ultimately help bring about comprehensive social change (Johnson, 2001; Tochluk, 2008). Therefore, the question remains: How can colleges and universities help increase White student interest and participation on race-based issues? The current study focuses on this issue by examining the interplay among anti-racist interventions as they relate to affective reaction and racist attitudes. The end goal is to reach a fuller understanding of the experiences of White students towards racial issues so that educators might continue to create optimal learning environments.

It is sobering to think that almost a half-century after the passage of the Civil Rights Act, many racial minorities in the United States still lack full equality. Such is the case for African Americans. Figures from the National

Urban League (2010) show African Americans having a 50% higher unemployment rate than Whites. Less than half of Black families own a home compared to three quarters of White families. Blacks are also almost 50% more likely to be without health insurance compared to Whites. Educationally, Whites are one and a half times as likely as Blacks to hold a bachelor's degree while Blacks are six times more likely than Whites to be incarcerated. Yawning racial divides like these contribute to the disproportionate division of human resources and perpetuate a racially stratified social system (Lipsitz, 1998). This race-bound system stifles the social mobility of Blacks and other racial minorities, which have devastating consequences. For example, racially segregated living communities continue to be a stark reality across America promoting the development of race-based prejudices and biases and hindering healthy intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Glaeser & Vigdor, 2001; Omi & Winant, 1994; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994).

Colleges and universities have historically utilized the academic curricula as an intervention for change. Curricular interventions on socio-scientific issues like racism vary broadly, but typically come in the form of a semester-long course woven out of strands from ethnic studies and are generally referred to as multicultural education (Banks, 1995; Sleeter & Grant, 1987). Today, most colleges require their students to enroll in at least one multicultural course where issues of racism comprise a substantial part of the curriculum. Graduate training programs have followed suit. In counseling and counseling psychology, for

example, governing bodies like the American Counseling Association and the American Psychological Association stipulate that training programs must educate students in identifying oppressive forces and implement strategies to combat discrimination. Interventions at this level have been described as a "single required course with some multicultural infusion in other course content" (Cates, Schaefle, Smaby, Maddux, & LeBeauf, 2007, p. 32).

Supporting the multicultural education movement in higher education is research that suggests semester-long, multicultural courses increase general awareness of racial issues among students and help alter their negative racial attitudes (Lawrence & Bunche, 1996; Lawrence & Tatum, 1997; Lopez, Gurin, & Nagda, 1998; Nagda, Gurin, & Lopez, 2003). Unfortunately, this body of research does not examine what precisely, over the course of 15 weeks, contributes to the observed changes. But perhaps more problematic is that despite the appreciation among educators, multicultural education remains widely unpopular with many students, especially among Whites (Bohmer & Briggs, 1991).

In 1990, Shelby Steele put forth a vision of a racially just society hinged on White men and women courageously engaging in race-related discourse. Based on available accounts, however, we can surmise this vision remains in a distant future. More proximal are the feelings of helplessness, reluctance, anger, and hostility observed among White students in the classroom and in reaction to racial issues (Bohmer & Briggs, 1991; Clearly, 2001; Tatum, 1994). Reactions

like these, collectively referred to here as White racial affect, can be thought of as impacting the educational experience of White students, particularly in regards to their motivation, engagement, and learning (Schutz & Pekrun, 2007). In fact, knowing how someone *feels* has been considered highly suggestive of how a person wants to act (Frijda, 1986). But to better understand White racial affect and their triggers, focus must shift from semester-long, multicultural courses to the interventions that comprise them.

Fortunately, researchers have begun to move in this direction. The focus has been on more aggressive interventions within multicultural pedagogy, referred to as anti-racist education, and their associations with White racial affect. Unlike traditional multicultural education, which has historically promoted the appreciation of diversity and differences, anti-racist education works toward actively dismantling systems of racial inequality by helping students develop the "vocabulary and action strategies for addressing *White* [emphasis added] racism" (Sleeter, 1996, p. 153). Aligned with this movement are seminal works by scholars like Patricia Hill Collins (2000) and Peggy McIntosh (1998) who have promulgated ideas such as hegemonic power, matrix of oppression, and White racial privilege.

Johnson (2001) described the concept of White privilege as one side of the racial inequality coin—the other side being Black racial oppression. These two concepts, used as interventions, serve to increase awareness of contemporary racial issues by highlighting the power imbalance that exists on the basis of race.

Researchers have found that interventions focused on Black racial oppression result in increased feelings of guilt among White students (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). Interestingly, the concept of White racial privilege has also been associated with feelings of guilt among Whites (Ancis & Szmanski, 2001), as exemplified by the following statement: "I feel helpless. There is so much I want to do—to help. What can I do?" (Tatum, 1994, p. 465).

The emotional experience known as guilt has emerged as one central feature of White racial affect. Guilt has been central to our growing understanding of how Whites react to issues of race and racism, so much that it has been referred to as *White guilt* (Swim & Miller, 1999). June Tangney and Ronda Dearing (2002) maintain that guilt is a self-conscious emotion that "develops from our earliest interpersonal experiences… [and] exerts a profound and continued influence on our behavior in interpersonal contexts" (p. 2). Guilt is experienced only after a transgression of some type is perceived, which prompts an evaluation of the self in relation to the transgression. Though generally understood as an unpleasant emotion, guilt has been found to be associated with empathy and personal responsibility (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). As such, the use of White privilege and Black oppression as ant-racist interventions might be considered ideal given their associations with guilt.

Researchers, however, have yet to explain what accounts for the repeated observations by educators that when racial topics are introduced in the classroom,

White students demonstrate a *fierce* rejection of them (Feagin, Vera, & Batur, 2001; Higginbotham, 1996; Tatum, 1994), as illustrated by the following statement: "I disagree that my eating with my mouth open will be overlooked because of my white skin. This is a matter of manner, not skin color or privilege!" (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001, p. 555). So, what might explain the resistance and hostility commonly observed among Whites? Might the self-conscious emotion known as shame—considered more destructive than guilt and resulting in a resentful kind of anger—also be involved?

As it stands, much remains to be learned. The available empirical research is limited in as much as it tends to confound privilege and oppression concepts, neglects more modern conceptualizations of racism, and gives virtually no attention to the construct of shame. Also, in 2007, Branscombe, Schmitt. and Schiffhauer reported that White racial identification (i.e., how strongly a person identifies with their White race) served to moderate the relation between White privilege awareness and guilt, such that stronger identification with one's Whiteness resulted in higher levels of guilt. This finding suggests that the incorporation of *intra*personal variables in future research, like White racial identification, might help clarify the effects of anti-racist interventions.

Similarly, the *inter*personal nature of education and its potential effects on White racial affect and attitudes has gone unexamined. In an educational context, where instructors serve as the primary tool for delivering anti-racist interventions, looking at how the perceived race of an instructor impacts White racial affect

might result in a deeper understanding of the issue. In fact, in 2001 Rudman, Ashmore, and Gary argued that the absence of data on the effects brought about by student perceptions of their instructor's race prevents us from fully understanding the full effects of race-focused curricular interventions.

In the current study, I was interested in reaching a fuller understanding of how the anti-racist concepts of White privilege and Black oppression activated White racial affect as defined by guilt and shame. Hoping to extend the existing literature, I was also interested in understanding how these interventions would impact self-reported racism (i.e., racist attitudes). Drawing upon the principles of modern racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1996), I developed a computer-based intervention comprised of a standardized lecture focusing on the topic of structural racism. Within this lecture my interventions of interest were embedded, which were randomly assigned to participants. Three separate interventions exposed participants to White privilege content, Black oppression content, or a control condition—all reflecting institutional forms of privilege and oppression and collectively referred to as the content factor. The second intervention exposed participants to one of two confederate instructors: a White instructor and a Black instructor—referred to as the race factor. This 3x2 experimental design allowed for the testing of main effects and interaction effects among the different levels of the content factor and the race factor. Last, I tested whether racial self-awareness (i.e., identification with Whiteness) moderated the effects of the six experimental conditions. This variable was operationalized and assessed using a modified

version of the identity subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Measure (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

As mentioned earlier, White racial affect in this study was defined as guilt and shame and measured using the newly developed, scenario-based instrument titled Test of White Guilt and Shame (TOWGAS; Grzanka, 2010). This measure addresses limitations of previous studies by using phenomenological descriptions of guilt and shame. It also assesses for the cognitive defense strategy known as negation, which was important given the conceptualization of modern racism used in this study.

Undergirding the current study was Tangney and Dearing's (2002) theory on guilt and shame, which stipulates that perceived transgressions (i.e., content factor), interpersonal variables (i.e., race factor), and intrapersonal experiences (i.e., identification with Whiteness) form the basis of the emotional experiences of guilt and shame. From here, hypotheses were formulated concerning the effects of the experimental conditions on affect and attitudes as well as on the moderating role of identification with Whiteness. In brief, guilt is activated when the self, in some way, is implicated in a moral transgression. However, when the whole self is the *primary* focus of the transgression, feelings of shame are in order. In the current study, White racial privilege was understood as implicating the *White self* in racial inequality more directly than Black racial oppression. As such, it was expected that exposure to White racial privilege, as an intervention and compared to a control condition, would result in elevated scores on shame whereas exposure

to Black racial oppression as an intervention would result in elevated scores on guilt. Furthermore, because shame has been associated with lower levels of empathy while guilt has demonstrated the converse, it was expected that White racial privilege would result in elevated scores on racist attitudes while Black racial oppression would result in lower levels of self-reported racism.

However, an interaction effect was also expected such that exposure to the White privilege-Black instructor condition, more than any other condition, would result in inward directed attention and, thus, elevated scores on shame and self-reported racism. Participants exposed to the Black oppression-Black instructor condition were expected to experience more outward directed attention, resulting in higher levels of guilt and lower levels of racism. In addition, stronger identification with Whiteness was expected to activate the cognitive defense strategy of negation as a means of self-preservation. Consequently, identification with Whiteness was expected to moderate the effects of the interventions such that participants scoring higher on Whiteness would demonstrate higher scores on negation, rather than on shame, when exposed to conditions that posed a greater threat to the White self (i.e., the White racial privilege intervention and the White privilege-Black instructor condition).

This line of inquiry is timely given that the numbers of non-White Americans are expected to surpass those who identify as White in the next 20 years (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). From this, we can deduce that issues of race and racism will continue to pervade the lives of most Americans, as evidenced by the national

dialogue on the tragic killing of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin. It is reasonable, then, to expect that colleges and universities will continue their curricular efforts to shape students' critical consciousness around issues of race. But until we deepen our understanding of how those educational efforts impact students, we can continue to expect educators demonstrating a high degree of tentativeness and uncertainty for teaching important anti-racist concepts (Goodman, 1995).

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

A Review of Multicultural Education

During the 1960's racial minorities in America fought against the prevailing dominant-subordinate group relations that characterized much of the previous two decades. Within colleges and universities, students-of-color collectively resisted the ethnocentric educational practices of predominantly White institutions (Suzuki, 1979). In other words, they resisted their forced assimilation to look, act, and talk like Whites (La Belle & Ward, 1994). Out of this movement of cultural pluralism emerged multicultural education.

Two movements within academia have helped shape the development of multicultural education, as we know it today. First, the intergroup education movement, championed by theorists like Wirth (1928) and Allport (1954), grew out of racial tensions that arose after World War II and the struggle for dwindling employment and housing (Banks, 1995). Intergroup education is characterized by experiential workshops and daylong retreats. It is premised under the belief that with certain environmental conditions, persons from different racial backgrounds who work together on a common task and towards a shared goal will form more positive attitudes towards each other, thereby altering their prejudicial attitudes (Brewer, 1997; Cook, 1985; Hewstone, 1996; Hill & Augoustinos, 2001).

The Black studies movement, on the other hand, was driven by the goal to increase the self-esteem and cultural pride of young African Americans. This movement is most closely aligned to what Duarte and Smith (2000a) referred to as ethnic studies multiculturalism, which focuses on raising awareness of the sociocultural experiences of groups like African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans and Latina/os. Contemporary ethnic studies programs derived from Black studies are more inclusive and incorporate the concerns of other groups like women, sexual minorities, and those with disabilities (Banks, 1995).

Fueled by Freire (1982) and his ideas of education as a tool to dismantle systems of oppression, developments in intergroup education and ethnic studies multiculturalism have helped advance the use of semester-long courses as interventions for change. In fact, multicultural educational courses are now a standard component of the program curriculum in most disciplines including psychology, social work, English, and philosophy. By covering a wide range of topics like stereotype formation, racial prejudice, and identity development, multicultural coursework is designed to heighten the general awareness among all students of issues related to, but not limited to, the social construction of race, the prevalence of racism, and intergroup tolerance (Cleary, 2001; Kernahan & Davis, 2007; Washburn, Manley, & Holiwski, 2003). Some courses focus on reducing the frequency of racial prejudice (Hill & Augoustinos, 2001) while others aim to enhance intergroup relations (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). In graduate training programs, like counselor education and social work, the goal of multicultural

coursework is increased competence for the provision of culturally sensitive services (Butler-Byrd, Nieto, & Senour, 2006; Garcia & Van Soest, 2000; Hays, Dean, & Chang, 2007; Vera & Speight, 2003).

Empirical support for multicultural courses as interventions.

Research on multicultural course outcomes has yielded promising findings that have helped maintain their popularity among educators. Henderson-King and Kaleta (2000), for example, examined whether a single, required course on race and ethnicity increased students' awareness of racism and their intergroup tolerance. Their findings indicated that after one semester, awareness of racism was higher among students who were enrolled in the course under study compared to those not enrolled in it. The researchers also found that the students in the course experienced a buffer-effect against racial intolerance. A year later, Rudman et al., (2001) examined whether similar results could be found using a sample of college students not required to take a multicultural education course. They found that levels of reported prejudicial biases decreased after 14-weeks of attending the course.

Subsequent research has provided further support for the positive effects of multicultural education courses. Chang (2002) examined 25 courses that centrally positioned an array of multicultural content in the curriculum and concluded that such courses successfully increased student's understanding of race relations as well as decreased their prejudicial attitudes. Controlling for a number of variables known to influence self-reported levels of prejudicial

attitudes, including political ideology, Lopez (2004) found that multicultural coursework helped not only increase general awareness of ethnic inequalities, but also promoted an interest in issues of public policy. Kernahan and Davis (2007) also found that a semester-long, multicultural course increased both awareness of racism and feelings of personal responsibility for enacting change. In sum, research suggests that multicultural coursework has a positive impact on students.

Concerns over the efficacy of multicultural courses. Despite the aforementioned findings, research on multicultural courses as interventions for expanded awareness of racial issues and decreased racist attitudes are not without limitations. Some have claimed that multicultural and other liberal arts education, in actuality, result in no changes and fail to promote intergroup tolerance (McClintock & Turner, 1962; Plant, 1965). Others have noted that the shifts in biased attitudes are not substantial, and at times, absent altogether (Dey, 1989). In 1993, Henderson-King and Kaleta found that White women taking a multicultural course showed a non-significant shift towards becoming more positive and accepting of people-of-color. A few years later, the researchers reported that students enrolled in a multicultural course did not show improvement in their intergroup tolerance (Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000). Other studies have suggested that multicultural courses do not result in increased interest in social justice or the building of cross-racial alliances (Lawrence & Bunche, 1996).

Proponents of multicultural education have historically supported the contention that the more students are exposed to multicultural issues the greater change they will experience (Rich, 1976; 1977). Stated differently, some believe multicultural education has a cumulative effect. Unfortunately, research has not supported this idea. One study found that students who took two or more multicultural courses throughout their academic career did not demonstrate enhanced awareness on diversity issues compared to students who took only one comparable course (Change, 2002).

Methodological issues in the research. A review of some of the methodological shortcomings in this research might help explain some of the inconsistent findings and also highlights the need for new lines of scientific inquiry. First, most of the studies rely on pre-post methods with an average of 15 weeks in between test administration (e.g. Rudman et al., 2001). Such lapse in time can introduce a host of confounds that might occlude the true effects, or lack thereof. Related to this, some have posited that the shifts in race-based awareness and attitudes are actually due to the learning that occurs *outside* the classroom, like in campus residence halls and through sorority and fraternity membership (Wilder, Hoyt, Surbeck, Wilder, & Carney, 1986).

Second, the use of college courses as the independent variable also makes it difficult to obtain random assignment of participants to treatment. This maintains pre-existing group differences that further decrease our ability to detect any changes due to the effects of the course under study, should those differences

truly exist. Third, the use of outdated measures for assessing prejudicial attitudes has been brought into question. One of the most widely used instruments in the research on the effects of multicultural courses is The Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986). The measure is based off of data collected more than 30 years ago, which is reflected in its dated items, such as: "Blacks have more influencing power upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have."

Sears (1988) and others (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; McConahay, 1986) have argued that traditional, overt forms of racism have evolved into more subtle manifestations referred to as aversive racism, symbolic racism, and modern racism. These newer expressions of racial bias and prejudice are often guised as a belief in liberalism and egalitarianism, which the MRS does not assess for. Consequently, the findings from studies using the MRS must be interpreted with caution. Psychometric developments have encouraged the use of instruments measuring specific dimensions of racist attitudes over more global measures. The Color-blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Brown, 2000), for example, measures levels of denial and lack of awareness surrounding issues of race and racism. However, reducing the issue of racism and racist attitudes to a one-dimensional construct increases the risk for inadequately assessing the complex nature of contemporary racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1996).

In sum, multicultural courses as an intervention for increasing awareness of race-based issues and altering prejudicial attitudes among students have demonstrated some effectiveness. Unfortunately, those efforts are not without

limits. Scholars have raised concerns over the absence of random assignment and the use of outdated measures. Hence, the changes that have been observed in awareness and attitude remain tenuous. Moreover, when changes are observed, the semester-long course as the intervention creates a challenge for researchers to identify what specific curriculum factor(s) over a time span of 15 weeks brought about those changes.

Multicultural coursework based on ethnic studies multiculturalism is broad in its approach, lack clearly articulated standards of practice, and have the tendency to emphasize tolerance over systemic changes (Abrahams & Gibson, 2007). But another pedagogical approach has emerged for addressing issues of race, racism, and racial inequities in higher education that has also demonstrated efficacy for altering awareness and attitude. This approach is comprised of concepts that focus in on White racial dynamics and, consequently, on White students themselves.

Anti-Racist Forms of Multicultural Education

Out of the efforts in multicultural education has emerged a different kind of pedagogical intervention known as anti-racist multiculturalism (Duarte & Smith, 2000b). Unlike more traditional forms of multicultural education (i.e., ethnic studies multiculturalism), which as been criticized for reducing complex issues of oppression and inequality to folksongs, food fairs, and holiday celebrations (Sleeter, 1995), anti-racist education focuses on the ways in which race relations in the United States shapes the lives of Whites, not just people-of-

color (Frankenberg, 1993). Anti-racist education confronts the cultural conditioning and practices that are responsible for racial stratification, namely the hegemonic ideology of White supremacy, by helping students develop the "vocabulary and action strategies for addressing *White* [emphasis added] racism" (Sleeter, 1996, p. 153). Thus, it re-shifts the focus of racism and racial inequality from a problem facing racial minorities to a problem stemming from Whiteness.

Out of anti-racist pedagogy have emerged educational concepts aimed at bringing about a transformative experience for students, concepts that:

> … bring into the arena of schooling insurgent, resistant, and insurrectional modes of interpretation and classroom practices which set out to imperil the familiar, to contest the legitimating norms of mainstream cultural life, and to render problematic the common discursive frames and regimes upon which "proper" behavior, comportment, and social interaction are premises. (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995, p. 7)

Congruent with this are concepts like institutional racism, internalized oppression, the matrix of oppression, and White racial privilege (Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Collins, 2000; Johnson, 2001; McIntosh, 1998). The topics of racial privilege and oppression have received notable attention in the literature on multicultural education and have become increasingly subjected to empirical examination.

White racial privilege. White racial privilege has become synonymous with McIntosh's (1998) invisible knapsack that describes a set of unearned assets that benefit those of White racial background. McIntosh states:

> I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented… I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race… I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial… I can be reasonably sure that if I ask to talk to the 'person in charge,' I will be facing a person of my race. (p. 189)

According to Jenson (2003), these set of privileges are not something a White person can decide whether to keep or reject, and most Whites are not aware that they have them, much less are aware that they benefit from them.

The concept of White racial privilege as an intervention within multicultural courses has become more prominent over the years. A study conducted in 2008 found that the topic of White racial privilege appeared more frequently in multicultural course syllabi in counseling psychology and counselor education programs—more than the topics of racial stereotypes, prejudice, or discrimination (Pieterse, Evans, Risner-Butner, Collins, & Mason, 2008). Measures for it have also been developed in recent years. The Privilege and Oppression Inventory (Hays, Chang, & Decker, 2007) assesses the level of awareness of White racial privilege in addition to privilege awareness along dimensions of gender, sexual orientation, and religion. In 2009, the White

Privilege Attitude Scale (Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009) was published, which focuses solely on racial privilege as defined by the willingness to confront White privilege, anticipated cost of addressing White privilege, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse.

Black racial oppression. Anti-racist discourse also highlights the socioeconomic imbalance that oppresses non-Whites. Cleary (2001) broadly described her curriculum efforts to raise awareness of the consequences of systemic inequalities by focusing approximately 9-10 weeks on the "minority experience" (p. 41). Because of the history of race relations in U.S. history, the discourse surrounding the teachings on racial oppression tends to focus specifically on Black oppression (Powell et al., 2005). For Johnson (2001), this is appropriate given that racial privilege and oppression are two sides of the same coin. Therefore, as an intervention for learning, associating White racial privilege with Black racial oppression is conceptually important.

Efforts in using racial privilege and oppression as interventions vary somewhat. For some, it means assigning specific readings on those issues (Cleary, 2001; Lawrence & Bunche, 1996). For others, the concepts are taught using more experiential exercises (Lawrence, 1998). Yet despite this variability, the available literature is consistent in regards to these interventions triggering a range of emotional reactions among White students.

Affective reactions among White students. Garcia and Van Soest (2000) have observed that for many students, learning about issues of oppression

serves as predictable, emotional triggers. Tatum (1994) explained that "learning about racism means seeing oneself as 'oppressor,' one of the 'bad guys'" (p. 462). Anecdotal accounts have maintained that the topic of oppression leads White students to dissociate in class (Goodman, 1995). Others have noted that students react with apathy or demoralization about the future (Moulder, 1997). Tatum (1994) identified the sentiments of one White student that helps illustrate one of the most common reactions to learning about oppression: "I feel helpless. There is so much I want to do—to help. What can I do?" (p. 465). This heightened sense of personal responsibility has been referred to as White guilt: a condition marked by racial vulnerability from a White persons' awareness of being White and not Black (Steele, 1990).

Unlike interventions on racial oppression, the focus on White privilege has been conceptually thought of as a threat to the rights of the White individual and their current way of life (Breault, 2003). Interventions comprised of issues related to White racial privileges have been described as eliciting distinctly different reactions among White students from those related to oppression. Those affective reactions have been described as ranging from denial to minimization to avoidance of responsibility (Vasquez, 2006). Long periods of silence and disinterest have also been associated with White students after the introduction of privilege content (Higginbotham, 1996). White students' increased absence from class has also been observed when the curriculum reaches the topic of privilege (Lawrence & Bunche, 1996). Aggressive reactions like angry outbursts and

blaming others have also been observed (Lawrence & Bunche, 1996; Vasquez, 2006), as illustrated by the following White student: "I disagree that my eating with my mouth open will be overlooked because of my white skin. This is a matter of manner, not skin color or privilege!" (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001, p. 555).

Considering these affect-laden responses, it might become easier to understand why instructors remain tentative to more fully incorporate anti-racist concepts like White racial privilege and Black racial oppression in their curricula (Goodman, 1995), despite the consensus that these concepts are central to helping raise critical consciousness among students of race-based issues and the eventual dismantling of systemic-wide racial inequities (Lopez et al., 1998). More immediately, because these emotional reactions can impede student engagement and motivation (Schutz & Pekrun, 2007), they also have the potential to hinder learning and subsequently stifle students' progress towards achieving a raised awareness of racial issues. As such, it is important we reach a fuller understanding of how anti-racist interventions impact White racial affect.

Affect, Attitude, and Anti-Racist Interventions

As has been mentioned, conceptual links have been drawn among White racial affect and the anti-racist interventions of racial privilege and oppression. But only within the past 15 years has research begun to subject those ties to empirical examination. Affectively speaking, the experience of White guilt has emerged as the focus of attention in this line of inquiry. In 1999, Swim and

Miller conducted four interrelated studies in order to better understand White guilt and its relation to towards racist attitudes and beliefs in racial inequities. First, their cross-sectional studies with over 600 participants found that White guilt was a relevant emotional experience among college and non-student samples. Findings from their studies also indicated a positive relation between beliefs about anti-Black discrimination and White guilt. In other words, greater estimates of discrimination against Blacks (i.e., belief in Black oppression) were associated with higher levels of self-reported White guilt. Their findings also indicated a negative relation between prejudicial attitudes and guilt, such that lower levels of self-reported prejudices against Blacks (i.e., anti-Black racist attitudes) were associated with higher levels of guilt.

Based on conceptual works that suggest awareness of minority oppression leads Whites to want to establish a sense of racial redemption (e.g., Tatum, 1994), we would expect that beliefs about Black racial oppression would demonstrate a positive relation with guilt. Research appears to support this. Surprisingly, Swim and Miller (1999) also found that beliefs of White racial privilege positively correlated with White guilt. In other words, the higher a participant rated their belief in the existence of White racial privilege the higher levels of guilt the participant reported.

In 2003, Iyer et al. conducted two separate studies. The first study found that belief in White privilege, and not belief in Black oppression, predicted feelings of White guilt, suggesting that White guilt was a self-focused emotion.

Their second study looked at whether self-focused or other-focused primers elicited White guilt. Two experimental conditions were used consisting of statements describing racial inequality focused on either the perpetrator (i.e., Whites; e.g., *Many White people use slurs on a regular basis*) or the victim (i.e., Blacks; e.g., *Black people have to deal with racial slurs on a regular basis*). Results indicated exposure to the self-focused primer elicited guilt, whereas the other-focused primer did not.

Then in 2005, Powell et al. randomly exposed White participants to statements describing either White racial privilege (e.g., *White Americans can easily rent or purchase housing in any area that they can afford to live*) or Black racial oppression (*Black Americans often have difficulty renting or purchasing housing, even in areas where they can afford to live*). They found that participants exposed White privilege statements reported significantly higher levels of guilt than participants assigned to the Black oppression condition. They also found that greater levels of guilt were negatively associated with lower levels of racism.

Taken together, the findings from these studies would suggest, with some confidence, that guilt is a self-focused emotion that plays a supportive role in educating students about race-based issues and decreasing racially biased attitudes. Less conclusive are the findings concerning the type of intervention that elicits guilt. Experimental studies have found that conditions focused on White privilege as well as on Black oppression result in greater levels of guilt

among Whites. Those findings appear to contradict the postulations made by other scholars who have observed that interventions on White privilege result in more hostile reactions (e.g., Higginbotham, 1996; Tatum, 1994). It is reasonable to wonder, then, what other emotion might account for that hostility, and what anti-racist intervention might trigger it. A clearer understanding of this can help educators preempt the emotional agitation by taking steps to help students anticipate their own reactions in order to effectively harness their racial anxiety.

Methodological issues affecting the research. The study of anti-racist forms of interventions, racist attitudes, and White racial affect, such as guilt, is no easy undertaking. A review of key methodological concerns can elucidate some of the aforementioned findings, as well as offer direction for future research. First, this line of research involves measuring emotion. This can be difficult given that the measures themselves can easily influence participant response (Crites, Fabrigar, & Petty, 1994). For example, the aforementioned studies utilized scales comprised of items that included the word "guilt" as in: "I feel guilty about the past and present social inequality of Black Americans" (Swim & Miller, 1999); "I feel guilty about the benefits and privileges that I receive as a White person" (Iyer et al., 2003); and "I would feel guilty if I thought that I had behaved in a racially discriminatory fashion" (Powell et al., 2005). Aside from potentially having a biasing effect, these items also assume a shared understanding among participants of the meaning of guilt—arguably a complex construct. Moreover, the conspicuous character of these items allows participants

to quickly discern their intended use. In times of modern racism and widespread political correctness, one has to question whether it is even socially appropriate for a respondent to "feel guilty."

Scenario-based measures (e.g., Test of Self-Conscious Affect-3, Tangney & Dearing, 2002) have emerged as a viable alternative to more adjective-driven scales. In these types of measures, participants are given a series of situations followed by response options that offer a phenomenological description of guilt. This format is advantageous in that it helps minimize a defensive response and, more importantly, does not assume a respondent has accurate knowledge of the meaning of guilt. Grzanka (2010) recently constructed the Test of White Guilt and Shame (TOWGAS), a scenario-based measure that assesses for race-related guilt and shame among White respondents. The measure includes a scale for negation (i.e., denial), a cognitive defense strategy often employed by Whites when confronted with issues of racial inequity (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001).

Second, White racial privilege and Black racial oppression, as experimental interventions, have not been operationalized in ways consistent with definitions by experts in race studies. According to Johnson (2001), while White privilege and Black oppression work in tandem on an institutional level to perpetuate racial inequality, they are distinct social forces. In other words, White privilege concerns the financial, political, and educational imbalance that privileges Whites (e.g., *a White person is more likely to own a home based on race alone*) whereas Black oppression concerns the ways in which that imbalance

oppresses non-Whites (e.g., *a Black person is more likely to be incarcerated during his/her lifetime based on race alone*). As tools for education, using the concepts of White privilege and Black oppression in ways that maintain this difference is arguable important. Unfortunately, the way in which these concepts have been used as interventions in research have made it unclear, at times, as to whether the goal is to draw participant's attention to the White-self or to a non-White-other. This is illustrated in the following statement: "Blacks are more likely than Whites to have skin color taken into account when police decide whether to perform a routine traffic stop" (Mallett & Swim, 2007). The ease in interpreting this statement as either White privilege or Black oppression, in short, might have confounding effects. For research that hinges, in part, on manipulating conditions to be self-focused or other-focused, this issue is important for proper implementation of experimental conditions as well as accurate interpretation of findings.

Last, researchers have repeatedly framed racism as freestanding individual acts, which is incongruent with a modern understanding of societal racism. Consider the following two interventions found in the study by Iyer et al. (2003): "Many White people use racial slurs on a regular basis," and "White-owned businesses probably provide bad service to certain customers because of their race." Bonilla-Silva (1996) has argued that racism today should be discussed less as as individual acts and more as institutional forces that act upon us in more covert ways. In fact, one of the most prominent ideas held by scholars in race

studies is that racism today is more depersonalized than it has ever been. Therefore, interventions in this line of research that neglect the role of institutionalized racism might result in findings not generalizable to current educational settings.

Towards a fuller picture. In light of these concerns, it is reasonable to ask: Is a more complete understanding of White racial affect, racist attitudes, and anti-racist interventions still possible? In addition to the aforementioned methodological issues, one notable concern is the glaring omission of measures for any other affective experience other than White guilt. Evidence suggests that guilt, in fact, might not be the only emotion being activated by anti-racist concepts. In a study of racial awareness among White counseling trainees, Ancis and Szymanski (2001) elicited racial anxiety by using, as the activating agent, McIntosh's (1998) well-known list of White racial privileges. Written reactions were collected and then subjected to qualitative analysis. Almost 60% of the participants were characterized by a complete denial to only partial awareness of racial inequality. Still more striking, perhaps, were the affect-laden responses from participants that, according to the authors, "described 'anger' at 'being made to feel guilty,' 'irritated,' 'offended' by McIntosh's thesis, 'startled' by the inaccuracies of McIntosh's conditions, 'blamed,' and stereotyped by McIntosh. In some cases, students blatantly attacked McIntosh" (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001, p. 555). Although several participants used the word "guilty" to characterize the

emotions they felt, the responses were more characteristic of the self-conscious emotion known as shame.

Shame, unlike guilt, is a negative evaluation of the entire self. In other words, whereas guilt concerns a preoccupation over a specific behavior or act, shame is a feeling that extends out to the *entire* person. It has been described as a negative arousal stemming from a perception of sudden exposure that leads to a heightened state of resentment, irritability, and anger (Tangney, 1990; Tangney, Miller, & Flicker, 1992). And yet despite this important conceptual difference, not to mention the moderate covariance that has been observed between shame and guilt (Tangney et al., 1996), studies on anti-racist interventions and White racial affect have all but neglected the construct of shame.

As will be discussed below, both guilt and shame can exert influence on a person that can have both positive and negative consequences. Thus, guilt and shame as dependent variables to the effects of anti-racist education were considered central to this study. In the next section, I discuss Tangney and Dearing's (2002) theory of guilt and shame and introduce two other variables important to consider when examining self-conscious emotions: self-awareness and racial perceptions of others.

Theory of Guilt and Shame

To better understand how anti-racist concepts like White racial privilege and Black racial oppression might activate White racial affect, I drew from June

Tangney and Ronda Dearing's (2002) theory on guilt and shame. To begin, though guilt and shame are both self-conscious emotions, they differ along one important dimension: the focus of the self. According to Helen Block Lewis (1971), "the experience of shame is directly about the *self*.… in guilt, the self is negatively evaluated in connection with something but is not itself the focus of the experience" (p. 30). Stated differently, shame, unlike guilt, afflicts one's core identity, a notion that has been supported by research (Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994). Research has shown guilt as positively correlated with empathy whereas shame has been found to negatively correlate with empathy (Tangney, Wagner, & Barlow, 2001; Tagney et al., 1996). Findings have also indicated guilt as actually inhibiting anger and aggression (Feshbach & Feshbach, 1982). Shame, on the other hand, has been shown to positively correlate with both the desire to hide (Tangney et al., 1992) and the tendency to externalize blame (Tangney, 1994).

This theoretical articulation of guilt and shame appears to be aligned with the descriptions put forth by multicultural education scholars (e.g., Higginbotham, 1996; Tatum, 1994) concerning the racial anxiety (i.e., White racial affect) observed among White students in response to anti-racist concepts. As such, testing the effects of anti-racist concepts like White privilege and oppression on guilt and shame is important. Such inquiry can help educators and students harness the racial agitation brought about by difficult topics on race. So,

considering the centrality of affect, several theoretical issues are reviewed next that inform the design of the current study

Self-awareness. Before guilt and shame can be experienced, a heightened state of self-awareness must be achieved (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Self-awareness can be understood as inner-directed attention. This can be accomplished in a variety of ways, the most basic perhaps being seeing one's own self-reflection in the mirror (Duval & Wicklund, 1973). This idea extends to viewing oneself as a racial being. For example, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) maintains that the simple act of indicating on a questionnaire whether one is White or Black (i.e., identifying oneself as a member of a racial group) is sufficient for a person to achieve a heightened state of *racial* self-awareness.

Transgression. Guilt and shame are predicated on an individual perceiving a transgression (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). In other words, a situation or incident must occur that induces the feeling of guilt or shame. Lying and stealing are two simple examples, however, no "classic" transgression exists (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Nonetheless, transgressions that are morally based, like the two above, have been frequently implicated in the experience of guilt and shame. Morals standards are beliefs against which people judge their own behavior (Kohlberg, 1981). In the context of race and racism, White morality is believed to involve the staunch belief in a color-blind, egalitarian, and meritocratic racial system—beliefs that, together, comprise the central features of

modern racist attitudes (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). When those beliefs are challenged, as when Whites are made suddenly aware of the pervasiveness of White privilege and Black oppression, White racial affect, as defined by guilt and shame, are in order.

Intrapersonal and interpersonal context. Guilt and shame emerge out of intrapersonal factors (e.g., self-awareness) as well as factors more interpersonally situated (e.g., transgressions)—factors that, in the study of *White* guilt and shame, exist within a racial milieu. As such, racial self-awareness might be an important intrapersonal variable to consider. Racial self-awareness among Whites has conceptual ties to White racial affect in general. Helm's (1995) maintained that different levels of racial self-awareness exist among Whites. Some recognize themselves as belonging to a larger White racial group while others do not. As a result, different affective reactions from Whites who are experiencing the same situation might be observed. For example, a White person confronting his/her own Whiteness and racial prejudices for the first time (i.e., in the Dissonance Phase) might find themselves feeling extreme guilt for not having realized their racial biases earlier. A White person who has achieved an increased awareness of their racial identity and the pervasive reality of racism (i.e., in the Resistance/Immersion Phase) might react with less guilt and more anger towards the self as well as towards other Whites.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) would maintain that the less a person identifies with their racial self, the less important it is for them to protect

it. Conversely, the more a person identifies with their racial self, the more effort to protect it might be expected. Research appears to support this postulation. In 2007, Branscombe et al. reported that White racial identification demonstrated a linear relation with racist attitudes such that as White identification increased so did racist attitudes. White racial identification was also found to moderate the relation between White privilege awareness and racist attitudes. In short, when White identification was high, thoughts of White privilege were associated with higher levels of racism. When White identification was sufficiently low, thoughts of White privilege were associated with lower levels of racism. These findings have been conceptualized as a response to a perceived threat to in-group status brought about by an awareness of White privilege (Branscombe, 1998; Branscombe et al., 2007).

In addition to the intrapersonal nature of guilt and shame, Tangney and Dearing (2002) maintain that guilt and shame are also interpersonally situated. This is especially the case when we consider an educational context. For example, the emotional agitation stemming from discussions of privilege-based issues can lead some students to question the legitimacy of faculty-of-color as experts (Dews & Law, 1995). In this case, the transgression (i.e., privilege awareness) might be perceived differently simply based on the race of the instructor. Unfortunately, aside from being mentioned as a methodological limitation in existing studies (e.g., Chang, 2002; Rudman et al., 2001), this issue has received virtually no attention. As a point of entry, but remaining consistent

with the dominant White-Black racial discourse that makes up our current understanding of anti-racism and White racial affect (Powell et al., 2005), I seek to better understand the effects on affect and attitude that racial privilege and oppression interventions might have as delivered by racially different instructors: a White instructor and a Black instructor.

The Current Study

Gone are the days when, in hopes of eradicating racial injustice, educators present positive images of the oppressed to non-oppressed groups (Breault, 2003). Instead, a bolder and less apologetic approach known as anti-racist education and made up of concepts like White racial privilege and Black racial oppression has become the instructional pedagogy of choice for many. This has engendered emotionally charged reactions among White students generally referred to as White racial affect. Our growing understanding of White racial affect has focused on the self-conscious emotion known as guilt, which research suggests facilitates a decrease in racist attitudes. But less is known about the role of shame in multicultural educational settings, despite evidence suggesting it also comprises White racial affect. Shame is considered to be more destructive than guilt and is associated with hostility and aggression—reactions that have been commonly observed among White students in response certain anti-racist concepts. These negative reactions may be why educators demonstrate tentativeness towards teaching about White racial privilege (Ferber, Herrera, & Samuel, 2007; Goodman, 1995) which scholars have come to expect will only heighten the

emotional agitation among students of dominant background (Garcia & Van Soest, 1999).

The goal of the current study was to deepen our understanding of the effects on affect and attitude of two anti-racist interventions: White racial privilege and Black racial oppression. The incorporation of a control condition would strengthen the findings (Kazdin, 2003). Thus, I was interested in whether two experimental conditions (i.e., exposure to White privilege content and Black racial content) would demonstrate differential effects on guilt and shame when compared to a control condition. I was also interested in the effects of the three conditions as institutionally focused, which scholars on race agree is the primary method by which privilege and oppression perpetuate systemic, racial stratification in the United States today (Johnson, 2001; Lipsitz, 1998). This is a deviation from previous studies, which center mostly on individual expressions of racial privilege and oppression. Expanding on existing studies, I was also interested in testing the effects brought upon by the perceived race of two confederate instructors (i.e., a White instructor and a Black instructor). Finally, I was interested in looking at the moderating role of racial self-awareness (i.e., identification with Whiteness) on all six experimental conditions.

A 3x2 experimental design allowed for the testing of main effects and interaction effects among factor levels. The use of technology, elaborated further in the next section, allowed for random assignment of participant to intervention.

Last, a theory of guilt and shame (Tangney & Dearing, 2002) served as the basis for the hypotheses to the following research questions:

1. What effects do exposures to White privilege content and Black oppression content have on White racial affect and racist attitudes and do the effects differ substantially from a control condition?

   Hypotheses: White racial privilege can be understood as implicating the *White self* in racial inequality more directly than Black racial oppression since the focus of Black oppression is on a different racial group. As such, it is reasonable to expect that White racial privilege, as an intervention and compared to a control condition, would result in elevated scores on shame. Furthermore, because shame has been associated with lower levels of empathy and a tendency to externalize blame, it was expected that this intervention would result in elevated scores on racist attitudes. Black racial oppression, on the other hand, can be considered other-focused when used as an intervention among persons of White racial background. Thus, it was expected that participants exposed to the Black racial oppression intervention would demonstrate elevated scores on guilt. Furthermore, since research has shown guilt as being positively correlated with empathy and negatively correlated with racist attitudes, it was expected that participants exposed to the Black racial oppression intervention would demonstrate lower scores on racism compared to the control condition.

2. What effect does the race of an instructor have on White racial affect and racist attitudes?

   Hypotheses: Both a Black and a White instructor discussing racial inequality have the capacity to highlight for White students their White racial self, either through a physical reinforcement of Whiteness brought upon by a visibly White instructor or by reinforcement of the self as non-Black brought upon by a visibly Black instructor. The latter, however, might also have the effect of priming White students to focus more on racial others (i.e., other-focused). Therefore, the strength of this effect alone was not expected to result in significant differences on the dependent variables.

3. Might an interaction exist among the six experimental conditions?

   Hypotheses: Combined with the privilege and oppression interventions, the race of the instructor might help shift the focus more predictably. Therefore, an interaction was expected such that exposure to the White privilege-Black instructor condition, more than any other condition, would result in the greatest perception of a White moral transgression leading to elevated scores along shame and racist attitudes. Participants exposed to the Black oppression-Black instructor condition were expected to experience more outward directed attention, resulting in greater levels of guilt and lower levels of racism. No significant differences were expected

in the remaining conditions.

4. Does identification with Whiteness moderate the effects of the conditions?

   Hypotheses: A modern understanding of racism maintains that some White persons, when confronted with the idea that they too perpetrate and perpetuate racism, are more apt to deny this idea than admit to feeling guilty or shameful. In fact, stronger identification with Whiteness might activate the cognitive defense strategy of negation when faced with an identity threat. Accordingly, it was expected that participants who scored higher on White identification would score higher on negation rather than on shame after being exposed to the White racial privilege intervention or the White privilege-Black instructor condition. Additionally, because negation is an active defense against negative feelings such as shame, the cognitive energy required for this can leave a person feeling agitated. Consequently, it was expected that participants with stronger White identification facing a threat to their whole self—by way of either the White racial privilege intervention or the White privilege-Black instructor condition—would demonstrate elevated scores on racism. Identification with Whiteness was not expected to moderate scores on any other conditions.

Chapter 3

METHODS

Participants

Table 1 is a summary of the results from the demographic items (see Appendix A) that all 153 participants responded to. All participants in the study racially self-identified as "*White*." Ages for participants ranged from 18 to 29 (M = 21.3, SD = 2.3). In terms of gender, 63% (n = 97) of participants were women while the remaining 37% (n = 56) were men. Regionally, 61% (n = 93) of participants were students at a large university on the West coast, 31% (n = 48) attended a university in the Midwest, and the remaining 8% (n = 12) were students from the Southwest. The majority of participants (65%) were juniors or seniors.

The MacArthur scale of Subjective Social Status (SSS; Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000), a single item measure of a person's self-perceived social rank (1 = *lower class* to 10 = *upper class*), was utilized to assess perceived socioeconomic status. The average participant for this study identified as middle class (M = 6.7, SD = 1.44). The SSS was adapted to assess the political orientation of participants (1 = *extremely liberal* to 7 = *extremely* conservative), with the average participant reporting a moderately liberal orientation (M = 3.3, SD = 1.37). Last, five items were created to assess for the level of exposure to race-related issues in college in a variety of settings. For example, one item asked respondents: *To what extent have you been exposed to information devoted to*

understanding racial issues in class lectures? Response choices ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a great deal*). Alpha coefficient for this sample was calculated at .73 (Appendix A). This sample reported an average level of exposure to race-related issues of 3.4 (*SD* = .69), suggesting a slightly higher than average exposure to, and potentially knowledge of, race-related and diversity issues.

Table 1
Sample Demographics (N = 153)

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*%*
Age	21.3	2.3		
18 to 9			28	18
20 to 22			93	61
Older than 22			32	21
Gender				
Men			56	37
Women			97	63
School Region				
West Coast			93	61
Southwest			12	8
Midwest			48	31
Education				
Freshman			15	10
Sophomore			30	20
Junior			39	25
Senior			60	39
Graduate			9	6
Socioeconomic Status	6.7	1.44		
Political Orientation	3.3	1.37		
Exposure to Diversity	3.4	.69		

Note. Socioeconomic status ranges from 1 to 10; political orientation ranges from 1 to 7; exposure to diversity ranges from 1 to 5.

Materials

Privilege and oppression intervention. A total of 24 statements were created that comprised the three-level content factor intervention: White racial privilege, Black racial oppression, and a control condition. First, a pool of statements for each of the three levels was developed based on previous work (e.g., McIntosh, 1988). The statements were also written to reflect an institutional understanding of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1996). Second, the initial pool of statements were subjected to expert ratings ($N = 3$) on (a) the clarity of the statement, (b) the extent to which the statement conveyed White racial privilege or Black racial oppression, and (c) the extent to which the statement reflected an institutional form of racial privilege or oppression. The Likert-type rating scale ranged from 1 (*not clear/not much*) to 7 (*very clear/very much*). Based on the results, revisions were conducted by the investigator and resubmitted to the experts for rating, while other statements were dropped altogether due to low ratings. Three rounds of revision-and-rating resulted in the final 24 statements—eight for each level (see Appendix B for full list of statements with corresponding mean ratings). An example of a White racial privilege statement was: *In the United States of American, the odds favor a White person securing employment over a person of another race during a recession.* An example of a Black oppression statement was: *In the United States of American, the odds that a*

student will earn a bachelor's degree are dramatically reduced if the student is Black.

Consensus estimates of inter-rater reliability among expert raters were determined using a two-way random, intra-class correlation. One expert rater was unavailable for the final round of rating, resulting in coefficients representing agreement between the remaining raters ($N = 2$). Intra-class correlation coefficients for the privilege items along the clarity of the statement, the extent to which the statement conveyed White racial privilege, and the extent to which the statement reflected an institutional form of privilege were .42, .64, and .55 respectively. Coefficients for the oppression items along the same variables were .63, .91, and .75 respectively.

Theoretically, the experience of a transgression is a precondition for feeling guilt or shame. The implication here is that that the absence of a transgression does not result in feeling guilt or shame. Consequently, I wanted the control condition to minimize the potential that my White participants would experience a transgression from the intervention, all else being equal. The eight statements selected for the control condition were lifted from the other two sets of statements, but reflected *non*-U.S. forms of racial privilege and oppression. An example of a control condition statement was: *In the country of Spain, the odds that a person will own a home during his or her lifetime are dramatically reduced if the person is of the Gypsy race.* To further nullify any effects, should one exist, the control condition was comprised of both privilege-focused and oppression-

focused statements. Stimuli for all three conditions were simultaneously presented in visual and audio format in two sets of four.

Instructor as intervention. The use of a single stimulus to represent a racial category has been previously utilized (Stevens, 1981). Therefore, two confederates, one White and one Black, played the role of the instructor, which comprised the second factor for this study. The investigator initially selected four potential confederates (two White men and two Black men). A headshot photograph was taken of each and an independent sample ($N = 10$) was asked for their perception of each photograph based on racial group membership (*White*, *Black*, *Latino*, *Asian*, *South Asian*, or *Multiracial*), gender (*male* or *female*), and age (18 to 50 in eight increments of four years). Consensus estimates of inter-rater reliability among raters were determined using percent agreement. Percent agreement of 100% was observed for two photographs, one White and one Black (see Appendix C for photographs). Both confederates were given a pseudonym (i.e., *Larry Wilson* and *DeShawn Jackson*) that was prominently displayed during the experiment to reinforce the desired perception of the confederate's racial group membership. Two items, placed at the end of the experiment, served as manipulation checks by asking the participants to indicate the race as well as the gender of their confederate instructor.

Lecture presentation. In order to minimize response bias as well as to maximize generalizability to an educational setting, it was important to create an appropriate context in which to embed all levels of the two factors. Therefore, a

standardized lecture presentation (1 min 33 sec) was created where the 24 content factor statements were embedded in and which the confederate instructors delivered. The lecture was standardized and each confederate instructor was video recorded delivering it. Each instructor wore the same professional attire comprised of a White shirt and yellow tie. The recording and editing focused the viewer (i.e., the participant) to only the upper torso and head of the instructor, along with two stacks of academic journals in education in the background.

The lecture was on the topic of Racialized Social System (Bonilla-Silva, 1996; see Appendix D for full script), a concept that focuses on the institutional nature of modern racism. As such, the instructor focused on the existence of racism as a structural phenomenon maintained by social institutions such as education and the media. The instructor emphasized the association between participation in social institutions and participation in modern forms of racism. The lecture was presented in two parts, Part A and Part B. This facilitated the double exposure of the content focus intervention (i.e., privilege, oppression, and control statements). Those statements appeared on the screen in two sets of four immediately following the conclusion of Part A and B of the lecture.

To ensure a cohesive and accurate presentation, the investigator of the study received consultation from an expert with a doctoral degree in American Studies who was familiar with the topic. The lecture presentation was presented as both visual and audio.

Software, hardware, and design. *SuperLab 4.5* (www.superlab.com), a stimulus presentation and data collection software, was utilized for this experiment. *SuperLab* facilitated the concurrent use of video, audio, and text. It also randomly assigned each participant to one of the six conditions by generating an IEEE 754 double precision number. *SuperLab* was uploaded to two MacBook laptops that were used to run the experiment. Also, to ensure appropriate level of audio sound each participant wore one of two available Sony, on-ear headphones.

All components of the experiment, including the six conditions, the lecture presentation, and the selected measures were sequentially arranged in a series of blocks-and-trials based on the goals of the study as illustrated in the design map in Figure 1 (see also Appendix E). The experiment began with the informed consent (Appendix F) and only after the participant entered a designated code, did the experiment begin. A series of prompts that asked each participant to enter a random number sequence were displayed several times during the experiment immediately prior to and following the exposure to the experimental conditions. This was done to prevent inattentiveness and maximize the effects of the conditions.

Measures

Demographic. Participants were asked several demographic-related questions concerning their age, race, current education level, socioeconomic status, and political orientation (Appendix A). Participants were also asked to

Figure 1. Design Map of the Experiment

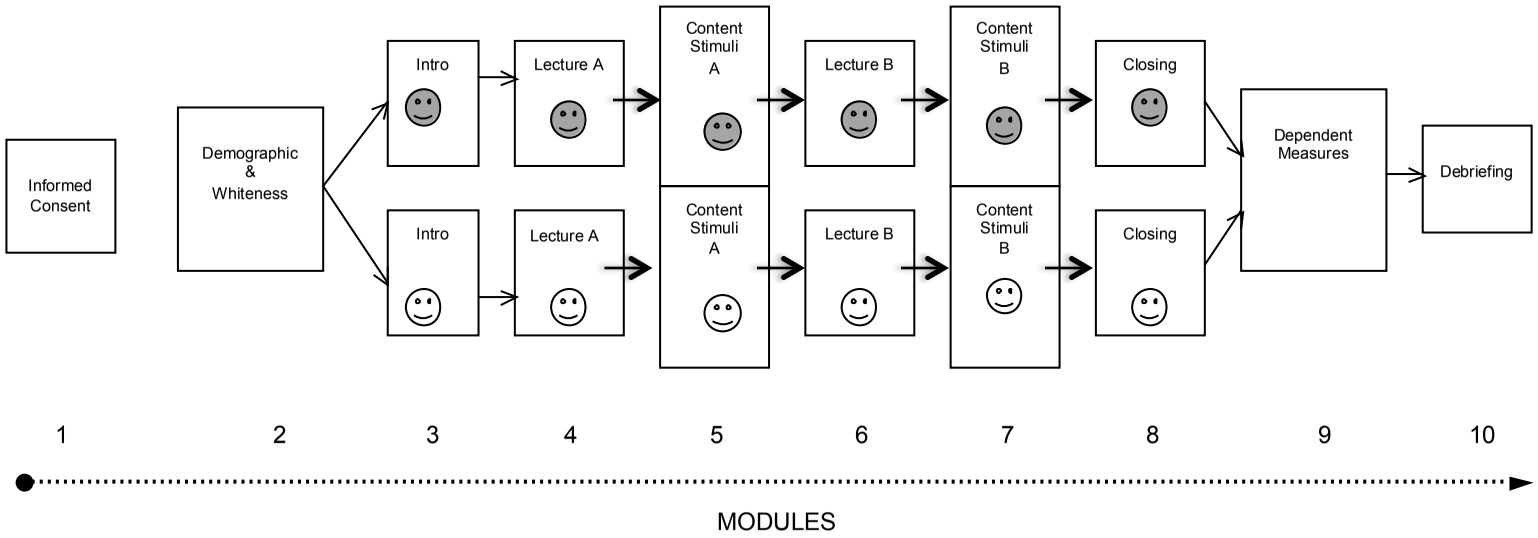

Figure 1. A visual representation outlining the ordering of modules and their respective purposes. Darker shaded faces represent the Black instructor whereas the lighter shaded faces represent the White instructor.

indicate how much exposure they have had to coursework and extra-curricular activities devoted to racial issues.

Affect. The Test of White Guilt and Shame (TOWGAS; Grzanka, 2010; Appendix A) addresses the conceptual and psychometric issues of earlier measures for White guilt and White shame (see also Tangney & Dearing, 2002). It is comprised of seven scenarios designed to elicit a range of White racial anxiety, with each scenario accompanied by several response options that correspond to one of three factors: White guilt, White shame, or negation. Participants are instructed to rate each response item from 1 (*not likely*) to 5 (*very likely*) with the average of all response items for each factor indicating participant's level of proneness to that particular affect. Accordingly, every participant is assigned three scores. As an example, one scenario states: "*you read a Civil War novel about American slavery that describes violent abuse of Black slaves by White slave-owners.*" Participants then rate each of the following response items: (a) *you would feel depressed and sad about the history of racism in the United States*; (b) *you would think: "I wish there was something I could do to make up for all the harm slavery caused Black people*;" (c) *you would think: "Slavery was awful, but people need to get over it and move on*;" and (d) *you would wonder why slavery is still discussed because it happened so long ago*.

Exploratory factor analysis with a sample of White college students helped establish the three factors (Grzanka, 2010). Convergent validity was established with measures for general guilt and shame, as well as with existing measures for

White guilt (Grzanka, 2010). Discriminant validity has yet to be reported. Guilt and shame have been found to exhibit a moderate and positive intercorrelation. Negation, on the other hand, has been found to exhibit a negative correlation with both guilt and shame, and with the stronger correlation associated with the former. In terms of correlations with racist attitudes, both guilt and shame have exhibited a negative one, with guilt again demonstrating the stronger correlation of the two. Negation has demonstrated a strong positive correlation with racist attitudes. Confirmatory factor analysis with an independent sample of White college students supported the three-factor model (Grzanka & Estrada, 2011). Temporal stability has also been examined, with a two-week test-retest reliability coefficient for each subscale ranging from .87 to .90 (Grzanka & Estrada, 2011). Alpha coefficients for the three scales have ranged from .80 to .86 (Grzanka, 2010). For the current sample, alpha coefficients for the guilt, shame, and negation scales were calculated at .81, .85, and .84 respectively.

Racist attitudes. The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002; Appendix A) was designed to assess contemporary racist attitudes across four themes: work ethic, excessive demands, denial of continuing discrimination, and undeserved advantage. One item asks*: Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same*. Item responses are summed and averaged to obtain a single value, with higher values indicating a higher level of modern racism. The response options vary across the measure as well as the direction of the Likert items in order to

prevent agreement bias. Unlike previous self-reported measures for racist attitudes, items for this measure do not make reference to government policies, programs, or involvement and thus minimize the potential for confounding as seen with earlier measures. In essence, the instrument is described as measuring a blend of racial antipathy and conservative values (Henry & Sears, 2002).

Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis has resulted a unitary construct (Henry & Sears, 2002). The instrument has been found to predict conservative racial policy preference while discriminant validity has established negative correlations across measures for traditional racism (Henry & Sears, 2002). A two-week, test-retest reliability coefficient has been calculated at .68 and alpha coefficients with White college students has ranged from .77 to .79 (Henry & Sears, 2002). The alpha coefficient for the current sample was calculated at .78.

Whiteness. The four-item, identity subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Measure (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Appendix A) was used for the current study as a moderator variable. The scale was designed to assess the importance of one's social group membership to one's self-concept with higher averages indicating higher collective self-esteem. All subscales for the collective self-esteem measure, including the identity subscale, underwent principal component factor analysis and have demonstrated sound convergent and discriminant validity. The identity subscale has been found to positively correlate with other measures for collective esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Two-week test-retest reliability

coefficient for the identity subscale has been reported at .68 (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) whereas internal stability coefficient has been observed at .81 and .83 (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Swim & Miller, 1999).

A modified version of the scale focusing on racial identification has been previously utilized (Crocker et al., 1994). For example, one item asks: *Overall, being White has very little to do with how I feel about myself*. Each item was rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) with the average score indicating the level of identification with Whiteness for each participant. Alpha coefficient for the modified racial version has been reported at .84 (Crocker et al., 1994). Alpha coefficient for the current sample was calculated at .77.

Noteworthy, the four items comprising this scale also served to prime participants to think of themselves as part of a larger racial group, a necessary condition for assessing collective racial affect like White guilt and shame (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Therefore, the placement of this scale preceded participant's exposure to the experimental conditions.

Attention. The effects of stimuli in experimental research can often hinge on participant's level of attention (Stangor, 2007). Therefore, eight items were created (Appendix A) to serve as a screening tool only that reflected the content of the lecture presentation. For example, participants were asked: *What powerful social institution was mentioned?* Each item was followed by five answer choices with only one correct response. Correct answers for all eight items were summed, which provided a single value used to assess the extent to which participants

attended to the experiment. These eight items were placed at the end of the experiment.

Instructor Rating. Participants were asked to rate several statements reflecting their perception of their confederate instructor along four dimensions: clarity, enthusiasm, competency, and approachability (Appendix A). Response choices ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). An example item was: *The instructor displayed enthusiasm for the subject*. The responses were summed and averaged to provide a single score. Alpha coefficient for this sample was calculated at .84.

Procedures

Participants were recruited from three public universities spanning the West Coast, Southwest, and Midwest regions of the United States. Participants were recruited by an email invitation (Appendix G) sent through various student listerves. Email listserves belonged to specific social science courses and therefore consent from every professor was obtained prior to email announcement being distributed. The email announcement reached approximately 500 undergraduate and graduate students across three regions of the United States, which comprised the target population for this study. Each participant received a $5 Starbucks gift card for his/her involvement in the study. The study was designed so that any student, regardless of racial background, could participate and therefore no interested participant was refused.

The experiment was conducted on two laptop computers. Private office space was reserved at each of the three universities where data were collected. The layout of each office space, which included two desks and two chairs facing away from each other, coupled with the use of headphones, allowed for up to two subjects to participate concurrently in the experiment. Upon arrival, each participant was instructed to sit in front of a laptop, which displayed the informed consent page. Average completion time for the experiment was 23 minutes. A debriefing page was displayed at the end of the experiment (Appendix F). Last, the investigator remained available after the completion of the experiment for questions or concerns from participants.

The ordering of instruments was important in the current study. Demographic information was collected first, followed by participants' rating of their identification with Whiteness (i.e., the moderating variable)—all prior to being exposed to the interventions. Immediately following the interventions, participants responded to the measure for affect (i.e., TOWGAS), followed by the measure for racist attitudes (i.e., Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale), the measure of attentiveness, and finally the evaluation of the assigned confederate instructor.

After the data were collected, the screening method outlined by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) was employed. The univariate scatterplot for age revealed three participants as potential outliers. All cases were later determined to be an outlier at $p < .01$ using the extreme studentized deviate (Barnett & Lewis, 1985). However, one of the cases appeared more disconnected from the data than

the other two at 8 standard deviations above the mean. That single case was deleted from further analyses. Only one case was identified as having a score of zero for the attention measure and was deleted from further analyses. The final distribution of participants based on attention demonstrated a negative skew of -.75. No multivariate outliers were detected based on critical leverage values (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Because the software used for this study (i.e., Superlab) required that an answer be provided for each item in order to move forward in the experiment, no missing data were found.

In order to minimize the number of statistical tests and thereby decrease problems pertaining to error-rates (Heppner, Wampold, & Kivlighan, 2008), hierarchical multiple regression was utilized to analyze the data. Categorical predictors (i.e., the levels of the two factors) were dummy coded prior to entering them into the regression analyses (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003; Hardy, 1993). The scores for the moderating variable (i.e., identification with Whiteness) were centered and then multiplied with each dummy coded variable to produce the moderated regressors (Fox, 1997).

Chapter 4

RESULTS

All subjects correctly identified the race of their confederate instructor. Hence, manipulation of the race factor was determined to be successful. The correlations among the variables of interest are summarized in Table 2. Negation demonstrated the strongest correlation with self-reported racist attitudes, with higher negation scores associated with higher levels of racist attitudes. Guilt and shame were also associated with racist attitudes, albeit in the opposite direction and with a slightly weaker strength effect. The phi coefficient articulating the association between both factors and the variables of interests showed a virtual absence of effect.

Table 2

Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations (N = 153)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Guilt	---							
2. Shame	.66**	---						
3. Negation	-.56**	-.54**	---					
4. Racism	-.52**	-.58**	.76**	---				
5. Whiteness	.10	.10	-.16*	-.11	---			
6. Race factor†	-.17*	-.09	.10	.15	-.07	---		
7. Privilege††	-.04	.06	.07	.05	.21**	---	---	
8. Oppression††	-.07	-.03	.05	-.02	-.01	---	---	---
M	3.4	2.5	2.3	1.9	3.4	---	---	---
SD	.86	.84	.75	.53	1.3	---	---	---

Note. † White instructor is coded as zero. ††Control condition is coded as zero. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

The results for the variable assessing the instructor along clarity, enthusiasm, competency, and approachability are not included in Table 2. The analysis of the ratings for the confederate instructors was intended to provide further information on the effects of the intervention, and particularly as it pertained to the instructor race factor. Unfortunately, over a dozen participants verbalized their confusion to me after the completion of the study about who they were supposed to rate. Those who spoke to me expressed their confusion about whether they were supposed to rate the instructor on the video (i.e., the confederate instructor) or their *actual* professor from which they heard about the experiment. Having anticipated this, I might have prevented the confusion with additional instructions to the participant. Unfortunately, data were not collected on this issue that might have facilitated a computational solution. Additionally, I assume those who spoke to me about their confusion represented a larger number of students who experienced a similar confusion but did not verbalize it. As a result, I concluded the data collected from these items were inappropriate for analyses.

A summary of the means scores for our dependent variables across each condition is presented in Table 3. The hypotheses concerning the effects of the factors on the mean scores of the dependent variables was tested using hierarchical multiple regression. Because the hypotheses concerned higher order effects, the principle of marginality requires main effects be entered first in the regression model followed by interaction effects (Fox, 1997). Moderated effects

were entered last. Incremental changes in R^2 were examined for significance. As shown in Tables 4 to 6, statistical significance was not reached for the three affect-related models. Specifically, and contrary to the hypotheses, the moderated effects of the six conditions (i.e., the independent variables) on the mean scores of the dependent variables did not differ significantly from each other as measured by guilt proneness, $\Delta F(5, 141) = .602$, $p > .05$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, shame proneness, $\Delta F(5, 141) = 1.33$, $p > .05$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, or for negation, $\Delta F(5, 141) = 1.12$, $p > .05$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$.

Table 3

Group Means and Marginal Means (N = 153)

	Group Means						Marginal Means				
	B			W							
Variable	P	O	C	P	O	C	B	W	P	O	C
Guilt	3.3 (.90)	3.1 (.80)	4.0 (.83)	3.5 (.81)	3.6 (.94)	3.6 (.86)	3.27	3.56	3.42	3.33	3.50
Shame	2.5 (.93)	2.2 (.75)	2.5 (.86)	2.6 (.72)	2.5 (.94)	2.4 (.84)	2.38	2.52	2.56	2.36	2.43
Negation	2.6 (.74)	2.4 (.83)	2.2 (.55)	2.2 (.78)	2.3 (.75)	2.3 (.82)	2.37	2.23	2.35	2.32	2.23
Racism	2.1 (.56)	1.9 (.59)	1.9 (.45)	1.7 (.50)	1.8 (.49)	1.8 (.55)	1.95	1.79	1.91	1.83	1.85
Instructor Rating	5.5 (.97)	5.1 (1.4)	5.7 (.92)	5.1 (.96)	4.9 (1.4)	5.6 (.83)					
Cell sample (*n*)	26	25	25	25	27	25					

Note. B = Black instructor; W = White instructor; P = Privilege condition; O = Oppression condition; C = Control condition. Standard deviations are located inside parenthesis.

For guilt proneness, main effects were observed for the race factor, $t(148) = -2.07$, $p < .05$, as modeled in step 1. In other words, participants assigned to the Black instructor reported, on average, slightly lower guilt proneness scores ($M = 3.3$) than participants in the White instructor condition ($M = 3.6$). This effect, however, was not sufficient to account for the variability in guilt proneness scores in the full model, which was simply attributable to the carving up of shared variance. This effect was also not observed beyond step 1, when the interaction terms were added to the model. No additional main effects were obtained for guilt proneness. Main effects were also not observed in the model for shame proneness.

Table 4

Effects of the Independent Variables on Guilt (N = 153)

Step and Variable	*B*	β	*t*†	Total R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 increment	*F* change	*dfs*
1 Constant	3.65	---	26.05**	.043	.017	.043	1.67	4, 148
Race	-.29	-.17	-2.07*					
Privilege	-.11	-.06	-.649					
Oppression	-.16	-.09	-.943					
Whiteness (W)	.06	.09	1.08					
2 Constant	3.91	---	13.25**	.05	.01	.007	.548	2, 146
Race	.12	.07	.296					
Privilege	-.42	-.23	-1.23					
Oppression	-.32	-.18	-1.32					
Whiteness	.06	.09	1.05					
Interaction A††	-.31	-.17	-.917					
Interaction B†††	-.62	-.33	-1.05					
3 Constant	3.94	---	12.89**	.07	.00	.02	.602	5, 141
Race	.22	.13	.501					
Privilege	-.46	-.25	-1.30					
Oppression	-.35	-.19	-1.37					
Whiteness	.18	.27	.736					

Interaction A	-.34	-.19	-.964
Interaction B	-.75	-.41	-1.23
W x Race	-.19	-.21	-.553
W x Privilege	-.10	-.08	-.358
W x Oppression	-.08	-.06	-.413
W x Interaction A	.04	.03	.143
W x Interaction B	.06	.05	.114

Note. Whiteness was centered prior to analysis. † Degrees of freedom for step 1 = 148, step 2 = 146, step 3 = 141. †† Product of race and privilege. ††† Product of race and oppression. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 5

Effects of the Independent Variables on Shame (N = 153)

Step and Variable	*B*	β	*t*†	Total R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 increment	*F* change	*dfs*
1 Constant	2.51	---	18.13*	.02	.00	.021	.804	4, 148
Race	-.14	-.08	-1.01					
Privilege	.09	.05	.532					
Oppression	-.06	-.04	-.367					
Whiteness (W)	.05	.08	.895					
2 Constant	2.78	---	9.55*	.03	.00	.008	.623	2, 146
Race	.20	.12	.490					
Privilege	-.16	-.09	-.479					
Oppression	-.25	-.14	-1.04					
Whiteness	.05	.08	.916					
Interaction A††	-.37	-.21	-1.10					
Interaction B†††	-.51	-.28	-.872					
3 Constant	2.74	---	9.18*	.07	.001	.044	1.33	5, 141
Race	.16	.09	.363					
Privilege	-.03	-.02	-.083					
Oppression	-.20	-.11	-.785					
Whiteness	.02	.03	.091					
Interaction A	-.32	-.18	-.946					
Interaction B	-.43	-.24	-.713					
W x Race	-.14	.33	-.423					
W x Privilege	-.18	-.15	-.634					
W x Oppression	.15	.13	.823					
W x Interaction A	.15	.14	.563					
W x Interaction B	.15	.14	.313					

Note. Whiteness was centered prior to analysis. † Degrees of freedom for step 1 = 148, step 2 = 146, step 3 = 141. †† Product of race and privilege. ††† Product of race and oppression. *$p < .01$.

For negation proneness, main effects were observed for the moderating variable (i.e., identification with Whiteness) as modeled in step 1, $t(148) = -2.14$,

$p < .05$ and step 2, $t(146) = -2.26$, $p < .05$. In other words, the regression coefficients for Whiteness were significantly different than zero in step 1 and 2 of the model. As with guilt proneness, however, the variability accounted for by this variable was not significant in the full model because of increased carving up of shared variance. No other effects were observed.

Table 6

Effects of the Independent Variables on Negation (N = 153)

Step and Variable	*B*	β	*t*†	Total R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 increment	*F* change	*dfs*
1 Constant	2.15	---	17.57**	.04	.02	.043	1.68	4, 148
Race	.12	.08	1.02					
Privilege	.20	.12	1.28					
Oppression	.09	.05	.582					
Whiteness (W)	-.10	-.18	-2.14*					
2 Constant	2.02	---	7.94**	.07	.03	.023	1.77	2, 146
Race	.15	.10	.409					
Privilege	.18	.11	.593					
Oppression	.22	.14	1.02					
Whiteness	-.11	-.19	-2.26*					
Interaction A††	.26	.16	.878					
Interaction B†††	-.04	-.03	-.079					
3 Constant	2.11	---	8.06**	.10	.03	.036	1.12	5, 141
Race	.19	.13	.503					
Privilege	.11	.07	.370					
Oppression	.12	.07	.538					
Whiteness	.04	.07	.182					
Interaction A	.17	.11	.557					
Interaction B	-.08	-.05	-.155					
W x Race	.36	.46	1.24					
W x Privilege	-.20	-.19	-.829					
W x Oppression	-.25	-.24	-1.59					
W x Interaction A	-.25	-.25	-1.07					
W x Interaction B	-.29	-.31	-.695					

Note. Whiteness was centered prior to analysis. † Degrees of freedom for step 1 = 148, step 2 = 146, step 3 = 141. †† Product of race and privilege. ††† Product of race and oppression. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

The moderated model for racist attitudes (as the dependent variable) accounted for a significant portion of the variability in the scores, $\Delta F(5, 141) =$

2.24, $p = .05$, $\Delta R^2 = .07$ (see Table 7). Significance in the model, however, was driven by the constant, which represented participants assigned to the (a) white instructor and (b) control condition, and whose score on the moderator variable was equal to zero. The significance of the constant coefficient, $t(141) = 9.7$, $p < .001$ simply established the coefficient value as different from zero. The category intercepts for all three moderated main effects did not exhibit a point change from the marginal mean differences greater than .05.

Table 7

Effects of the Independent Variables on Racism (N = 153)

Step and Variable	*B*	β	*t*†	Total R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 increment	*F* change	*dfs*
1 Constant	1.76	---	20.42**	.04	.02	.041	1.60	4, 148
Race	.15	.14	1.75					
Privilege	.10	.09	.921					
Oppression	-.02	-.01	-.155					
Whiteness (W)	-.05	-.12	-1.47					
2 Constant	1.76	---	9.76**	.06	.03	.022	1.70	2, 146
Race	.29	.27	1.13					
Privilege	-.01	-.01	-.027					
Oppression	.02	.02	.141					
Whiteness	-.05	-.13	-1.60					
Interaction A††	.08	.07	.371					
Interaction B†††	-.21	-.19	-.587					
3 Constant	1.76	---	9.70**	.13	.07	.069	2.24*	5, 141
Race	.31	.29	1.20					
Privilege	-.04	-.04	-.197					
Oppression	.01	.01	.065					
Whiteness	-.09	-.22	-.635					
Interaction A	.06	.06	.305					
Interaction B	-.20	-.18	-.555					
W x Race	.15	.27	.727					
W x Privilege	.11	.15	.648					
W x Oppression	-.03	-.03	-.229					
W x Interaction A	-.17	-.24	-1.04					
W x Interaction B	-.02	-.03	-.062					

Note. Whiteness was centered prior to analysis. † Degrees of freedom for step 1 = 148, step 2 = 146, step 3 = 141. †† Product of race and privilege. ††† Product of race and oppression. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

Scholars have written about the emotional agitation among White students in response to race-based issues (Higginbotham, 1996; Tatum, 1994; Vasquez, 2006). Research has implicated the feeling of guilt with the anti-racist concepts of White racial privilege and Black racial oppression. However, methodological concerns, namely the operationalization of privilege and oppression, the absence of an examination of interpersonal factors, and the absence of a measure for shame have raised questions about our current understanding of this issue. Specifically, this study tested the effects of two factors on four dependent variables. The content factor was comprised of three levels that conveyed institutional forms of White racial privilege, Black racial oppression, and a control condition. The second factor was comprised of two levels that represented the race of a confederate instructor: A White instructor and a Black instructor. Main effects and interaction effects among the six conditions were tested on guilt, shame, negation, and racist attitudes. Identification with Whiteness as a moderating variable was also tested. The current findings shed light that might help us better understand how anti-racist educational interventions impact White college students. In short, the findings of this study, which are discussed below, strongly suggest additional research is needed.

The findings did not support the principal hypotheses concerning the effects of the two factors on White racial affect as defined by guilt and shame. Null

results were obtained virtually across all regression models. In other words, there were no significant mean differences along guilt, shame, and negation across the six conditions. Surprisingly, mean differences were not observed despite the use of a control condition, which was intended to reduce the potential for White participants to experience a transgression (by reflecting non-U.S. forms of racial privilege and oppression). The results here seemingly contradict the existing literature that has suggested White guilt increases as awareness of racial injustice increases (Swim & Miller, 1999). One explanation concerns the strength effect of the factors in the current study. It is reasonable to question whether the exposure to White racial privilege and Black racial oppression (two of the three levels in the content factor) were sufficiently strong to activate White racial anxiety. The coefficients for inter-rater reliability, which were as low as .42, were not the most optimal and might have compromised the intended strength effect by introducing too much random variation.

A second explanation for the observed null results concerns the focus of this study on *institutional* forms of racism. As discussed earlier, the use of privilege and oppression concepts as interventions have demonstrated inconsistencies with advances made in critical race studies. Bonilla-Silva (1996) has argued that institutional forces like education and the media are the primary conduits for the maintenance of race-based inequities. Though individual acts of racism still occur, they are not the central problem. Consequently, scholars have called for

increased attention in the classroom to issues of structural racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Johnson, 2001).

The current study adopted this institutional-structural focus (see Appendix B and D), unlike previous studies, which tended to use individual acts of oppression as activating agents for White guilt (e.g., *Many White people use racial slurs on a regular basis*, Iyer et al., 2003). Given the focus here on institutional forms of racism, privilege, and oppression—in the lecture and across all three levels of the content factor—it is reasonable to postulate that this focus might have contributed to the absence of significant mean differences across affect scores. In fact, one of the effects of structural racism has been what Bonilla-Silva (1996) described as a depersonalized experience of racism. Stated differently, structural racism is already once removed from the consciousness of individuals. Since the experience of guilt and shame hinge on a perceived transgression that involves the self (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), the depersonalized nature of structural racism might have mitigated the emergence of those feelings among the current sample. It is possible, given the current results, that the focus on institutional racism might have, on its own, accomplished the intended effect of the control condition. As such, the implication here is that perhaps a course lecture that focuses on structural racism rather than individual acts of racism might serve to lessen the emotional agitation of White students that is now commonly expected. This, in turn, might facilitate the learning that is believed to be critical for the identity

development of White college students (Helms, 1995; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000)

Nonetheless, the ordering of mean scores suggests that White participants were prone to feeling more guilt ($M = 3.4$) than shame ($M = 2.5$) after exposure to the various treatments. This ordering of means is congruent with findings from studies on generalized guilt and shame (Tangney et al., 1996) as well as from cross-sectional studies on White racial affect that have incorporated the Test of White Guilt and Shame (TOWGAS; Grzanka & Estrada, 2011). Guilt is less painful than shame and perhaps more easy to endorse. Still, the observed mean for guilt fell just below average out of a 5-point Likert-type scale. Sufficient research is lacking to conclude what level of White guilt, if any, is optimal when race-based and other diversity issues are concerned. Experiencing *some* level of guilt is believed to be normal, even necessary, for the successful development of a White racial identity (Helms, 1995). This contention seems reasonable given what we know about generalized guilt and its associations with increased empathy (Tangney, 1990). Generalized shame, on the other hand, has been associated with experiencing a threat to one's identity, as well as positively associated with increased levels of anger and hostility (Tangney, 1994). Therefore, the lower mean on shame observed in this sample suggests that participants not only felt relatively low levels of identity threat, but also potential less anger. Negation was endorsed the least ($M = 2.3$), which might reflect the characteristics of this

particular sample as informed by the demographic items, like a higher than average exposure to race related material and more liberal political views.

Interestingly, the moderating variable (i.e., identification with Whiteness) demonstrated a main effect with negation. However, the effect was in the reverse direction such that as identification with Whiteness increased, negation scores decreased. In the current study, identification with Whiteness was expected to behave in a manner congruent with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In other words, higher scores on Whiteness were expected to be associated with more frequent denial of racial inequality as a means of self-preservation. Similar outcomes have been observed in previous research (Branscombe et al., 2007). The finding in this study, however, suggests something distinctly different. It appears that scores on identification with Whiteness were more a reflection of the participant's level of awareness of their White racial self within a racially diverse social milieu. This is more congruent with Helm's (1995) conceptualization of White racial identity development. She contends that a higher awareness of a White identity is suggestive of a more advanced level of White identity development, which is characterized by a more accurate understanding of existing racial dynamics. As such, a person with a higher identification with their Whiteness might be expected to engage in less frequent denial of racism, as was observed in the current study.

Additionally, the lack of a significant correlation between identification with Whiteness and racist attitudes in the current study, which previous research has

shown to exhibit a linear relation, might suggest a methodological flaw in the operationalization of Whiteness. It is possible that respondents might have interpreted differently the items for this measure. For example, one item read: *Being White is an important reflection of who I am*. A more effective way of assessing for awareness of a White racial self as understood through White racial identity development might read: *Being aware of my White race is an important reflection of who I am*. Future studies might clarify this issue.

As with the hypotheses concerning intervention effects on guilt and shame, the hypotheses for effects on racist attitudes were not supported by the data. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) contend that subtle racism is characterized by a denial of positive emotions, like affiliation, rather than the endorsement of negative emotions, like anger. Henry and Sears (2002) argue that modern racist attitudes are characterized by the denial of the existence of racism altogether. Consequently, I might expect that treatment effects resulting in an increase in the cognitive defense strategy of negation might also result in an increase in racist attitudes—as further suggested by the moderately strong, positive correlation observed for negation and racist attitudes in this study. Therefore, given the null results across negation, the absence of an effect for racist attitudes seems appropriate. As mentioned earlier, the focus of the intervention on structural racism might have quelled the need to activate a defense strategy among participants, which might have contributed to the lack of mean differences for racist attitudes across the six conditions. Future studies might test the validity of

this postulation, which, if supported, might have further implications on useful approaches for educating White students about diversity issues.

Reflecting on the correlational findings, racism demonstrated a slighting stronger negative correlation with shame than with guilt. On one hand, this might appear to contradict what we currently know about guilt and its associations with empathy, leading one to anticipate guilt as more strongly and negatively related to racist attitudes than shame. On the other hand, the difference between the two coefficients was only .06. The most parsimonious explanation might be that the difference between the two correlation coefficients is negligible and that the results simply reflect the strong association between guilt and shame. Indeed, the current findings provided further evidence for the covariance between White guilt and shame. Guilt and shame demonstrated a moderately strong positive correlation with this sample, a finding that is reflected in other studies (Grzanka, 2010; Tangney et al., 1996). This supports the contention that, despite the conceptual differences between guilt and shame, they share qualities that makes them behave in similar fashion.

As expected, negation demonstrated a strong positive correlation with racism. This finding provides further evidence that modern racist attitudes are highly associated with the denial of societal racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1996; Henry & Sears, 2002). Based on this, educators might consider incorporating topics and discussions in course curricula related to the existence of different forms of racism. Taken together with the findings showing an absence of mean differences

on affect across the content factor, it might behoove educators to focus on examples of institutional forms of racism when highlighting the pervasiveness of societal racism. Doing so might help curtail the emotional agitation and the tendency to engage in negation, as well as potentially reduce racist attitudes.

Based on this study and with this sample, it is reasonable to conclude that guilt, more than shame, better reflects the affective experience of White college students in relation to anti-racist educational concepts like privilege and oppression. The cognitive defense strategy of negation is also relevant considering the belief held by many that we are in a "post-racial" era where race is no longer relevant. The null results for the principal research questions might lead us to conclude that, despite the presence of guilt and shame, no differences truly exist when activated by interventions on White racial privilege and Black racial oppression. However, this single study does not provide substantial evidence for a conclusive outcome on this issue. Moreover, the null hypothesis testing strategy undergirding the analysis of the data does not involve an examination of whether the null is actually true.

Important to consider at this time are the methodological issues that might have influenced the results. As with any experimental design, the introduction of error might have prevented significant mean differences that truly existed to emerge (Kazdin, 2003). Despite the efforts taken to standardize conditions, particularly with the two confederate instructors, variability in delivery of lecture might have affected the results. This study also only utilized male instructors.

The absence of a female instructor might have resulted in unaccounted variability (i.e., error). It was also clear based on the intra-class correlation coefficients that the intervention statements comprising the content factor were not ideal, which might have introduced additional error into the solution. In fact, the coefficients for the White racial privilege condition were systematically lower than those of the Black racial oppression condition, suggesting that raters had a more difficult time reaching consensus with the statements for White racial privilege. This makes sense when considering that multicultural education, in general, has tended to be comprised of curricula focused on issues of oppression rather than privilege (e.g., Cleary, 2001), perhaps making it easier for scholars to agree on what constitutes Black racial oppression compared to White racial privilege. Also, given that the study was conducted at three different universities, and consequently in three different office locations, environmental changes might have compromised standardization procedures. This might have introduced irrelevancies in the experimental setting.

Further limitations of this study include the inability to examine perceived differences among respondents related to their assigned confederate instructor, as was initially intended. Because of the misunderstanding of the items for that scale, it remains unclear whether the confederate instructors differed along perceived clarity, enthusiasm, competency, and approachability—perceptions that might have influenced respondent's scoring patterns. Also, the lack of established

discriminant validity for the measure of affect (i.e., Test of White Guilt and Shame) might have compromised the observed results.

The results of this study generalize to White college students enrolled in public institutions of higher learning. The design of the study, such as the use of pre-recorded confederates and the presentation of a lecture, was intended to maximize experimental realism and generalizability to a college classroom. Moreover, the fact the study was implemented outside of the classroom by someone other than a college professor, it is reasonable to expect the scoring patterns were not influenced by evaluation apprehension. Also, considering the demographic characteristics of the sample, the findings might be best reflective of students with relatively liberal political values and higher than average exposure to diversity education. Given the current focus on contemporary forms of racism, the implications of this study might not generalize to all forms of multicultural education.

Future research might benefit from using measures that assess for shame in addition to guilt. But as was shown in this study, guilt and shame are statistically related. As such, one recommended procedure is to measure them both and then partial them out (Tangney et al., 1996). This method of teasing-apart guilt and guilt-free shame might clarify the role of guilt and shame in White racial affect among a college population. Additionally, because a wide range of moral transgressions can activate guilt and shame (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), additional studies that examine the effects of different types of perceived

transgressions, such as those related to microagressions (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005) or the awareness of other forms of –isms (Hays et al., 2007), might provide valuable information that will help educators anticipate emotional outcomes. Future studies might also benefit from clarifying the role of racial self-awareness, such as identification with Whiteness, in relation to White racial affect. The current study also did not assess for the level of awareness of racial privilege and oppression resulting from the interventions. Thus, future research might examine how level of awareness of privilege and oppression, and not simply exposure to it, might impact dependent variables.

As colleges and universities expand their diversity and multicultural course requirements (Bataille, Carranza, & Lisa, 1996; La Belle & Ward, 1996; Toporek, Gerstein, Fouad, Roysircar, & Israel, 2006), and as scholars push for further development of "vocabulary and action strategies for addressing *White* [emphasis added] racism" (Sleeter, 1996, p. 153), which will re-shift the argument of racial inequality from a problem concerning non-Whites to a problem stemming from White participation, we can expect White racial affect to remain central to the experiences of many students. Deepening our understanding of this issue will help educators at every level be more effective agents of change. It will also help redress the tentativeness displayed by many instructors when teaching students about difficult topics such as racial privilege, oppression, and societal racism (Ferber et al., 2007; Goodman, 1995). In essence, understanding the affective experience of White students in multicultural educational settings will help us

promote psychological and emotional maturity among students, and will assist us in developing appropriate curricular interventions leading to optimal changes in identity and attitudes.

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APPENDIX A

MEASURES

Demographic Items

1. Type in your age (in years) and hit enter.
2. What is your gender? (1 = *male*; 2 = *female*)
3. What is your college standing? (1 = *first year*; 2 = *second year*; 3 = *third year*; 4 = *fourth year or higher*; 5 = *graduate student*)
4. Assume that the following scale is representative of the full range of social classes in the United States. At the far right of the scale are the people with the most money, the highest quality of schooling, and the most respected jobs. At the far left of the scale are the people with the least amount of money, the lowest quality of schooling, and the least respected jobs. Indicate the point on this scale where you think your family is. (1 = *lower class* to 10 = *upper class*)
5. How would you describe your political orientation? (1 = *extremely liberal*; 4 = *moderate*; 7 = *extremely conservative*)
6. To what extent you have been exposed to information devoted to understanding racial issues in the following five settings: (a) course settings, (b) school sponsored events, (c) class lectures, (d) discussions in class, and (e) community sponsored events. (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *a great deal*; $\alpha = .73$)
7. What is your racial background? (1 = *White/Caucasian*; 2 = *Black/African American*; 3 = *Latino/Hispanic*; 4 = *Asian/Asian American*; 5 = *Middle Eastern/Arab*; 6 = *Native American*; 7 = *other*)

Test of White Guilt and Shame (TOWGAS; Grzanka, 2010)

Below are situations that people are likely to encounter in day-to-day life, followed by several common reactions to those situations. As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate how likely you would be to react in each of the ways described. We ask you to rate all responses from 1 (not likely) to 5 (very likely) because people may feel or react more than one way to the same situation, or they may react different ways at different times.

(Subscale Codes: White Guilt = G, White Shame = S, Negation = N. Reverse codes = R)

1. In a class, you are corrected for your usage of the term, "Blacks."

   a) You would think: "I'm ignorant." G
   b) You would think: "Labels don't really matter." N

   c) You would apologetically ask your instructor for the correct/appropriate usage of the term. G
   d) You would think: "It's not my fault – I can't keep up with all this political correctness." N

2. You read a news story about White students at a large university dressing in "Blackface" for a theme party.

   a) You would think: "That's so awful. I hope they have to face consequences for their behavior." G
   b) You would wish you weren't White. S
   c) You would think: "People make way too big big a deal over stuff like this." N
   d) You would think: "I'm sure the students didn't mean any harm." N

3. In a diversity workshop at school/work you have a conversation with a Black peer/colleague about White privilege.

   a) You would feel miserable because of all your privileges. S
   b) You would think: "I can't be held responsible for being born White." N
   c) You would wish there was a way to make up for all your unfair advantages. S
   d) You would think: "Race doesn't matter as much as people say it does." N

4. One of your White friends uses the N-word in a joke and you laugh.

   a) You would think: "It was all in fun; it's harmless." G (R)
   b) You would feel small and think about it for days. G
   c) You would think: "If Black people can use the N-word, why can't White people?" N
   d) You would stop laughing and tell the friend that you don't think racist language is OK, even when joking. G

5. You read a news article about a recent hurricane in which wealthy White peoplewere able to evacuate a city while the poorer Black majority was left behind; many people died.

   a) You would think: "That's not a race issue. That's a social class issue." N
   b) You would think: "Those people chose to stay behind." N
   c) You would feel sad and send whatever money you could to the relief effort. G
   d) You would feel horrible about being White. S

6. You realize that all characters on your favorite television show are White.

   a) You would feel bad for not noticing earlier but would probably be more critical of the show. S
   b) You would never watch the show again. S
   c) You would think: "It wouldn't be realistic if there were lots of minorities on the show." N
   d) You would think: "I don't care what the characters look like as long as the show is entertaining." S (R)

7. You read a Civil War novel about American slavery that describes violent abuse of Black slaves by White slave-owners.

   a) You would feel depressed and sad about the history of racism in the United States. G
   b) You would think: "I wish there was something I could do to make up for all the harm slavery caused Black people in the United States." S
   c) You would think: "Slavery was awful, but people need to get over it and move on." N
   d) You would wonder why slavery is still discussed, because it happened so long ago. N

The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002)

Tell us your views on the following issues:

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well of as whites. *(1 = strongly agree; 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = strongly disagree)*

2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same. *(1 = strongly agree; 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = strongly disagree)*

3. Some say that black leaders have been trying to push to fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think? *(1 = trying to push too fast, 2 = going too slowly, 3 = moving at about the right speed)*

4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think blacks are responsible for creating? *(1 = all of it, 2 = most, 3 = some, 4 = not much at all)*

5. How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead? *(1 = a lot, 2 = some, 3 = just a little, 4 = none at all)*

6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. *(1 = strongly agree; 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = strongly disagree)*

7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. *(1 = strongly agree; 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = strongly disagree)*

8. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve. *(1 = strongly agree; 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = strongly disagree)*

Collective Self-Esteem: Identity (Luhtanen & Croker, 1992)
(1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = disagree somewhat, 4 = neutral, 5 = agree somewhat, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree)
Consider your race in responding to the following items:

1. *Overall, being White has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

2. Being White is an important reflection of who I am.

3. *Being White is not important to my sense of what kind of a person I am.

4. In general, being White is an important part of my self-image.

*(Reverse code)

Attention

1. The concept of race was created to:
    1 = Establish a modern system
    2 = Incite tension
    3 = Compliment biological differences
    4 = Distribute power and resources
    5 = "I'm not sure"

2. Hierarchical social patterns are based on:
    1 = Kinship
    2 = Genetics
    3 = Interpersonal skills
    4 = Uneven power and resources
    5 = "I'm not sure"

3. Hierarchical social patterns exist to:
    1 = Establish social order
    2 = Justify the use of racial categories
    3 = Increase racial interdependence
    4 = Enhance racial disparities
    5 = "I'm not sure"

4. What keeps hierarchical social patterns in existence today?
    1 = Racial categories

2 = A racialized social system
3 = Asymmetrical power
4 = Social oppression
5 = "I'm not sure"

5. What is considered "the heart" of a racialized social system?
1 = Race
2 = Privilege and oppression
3 = Social institutions
4 = Differences in social status
5 = "I'm not sure"

6. In a racialized social system, privilege and oppression are distributed based on:
1 = Social status
2 = Racial group membership
3 = Accumulated resources
4 = Individual merit
5 = "I'm not sure"

7. A racialized social system operates from:
1 = A personal level
2 = A top-down level
3 = A political level
4 = An institutional level
5 = "I'm not sure"

8. What powerful social institution was mentioned?
1 = The automotive industry
2 = The educational system
3 = The banking industry
4 = All of the above
5 = "I'm not sure"

Instructor Rating

(1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*)

Please rate your instructor for this presentation on the following items:

1. The instructor demonstrated competency on the subject.
2. The instructor presented the material in a clear manner.
3. The instructor demonstrated enthusiasm on the subject.
4. The instructor seems approachable.

APPENDIX B

CONTENT FACTOR

Privilege Statements with Mean Ratings[1]

In the United States of America…

1. The odds favor a White person securing employment over a person of another race during a recession. (*M* = 6.7, *SD* = .52)
2. The odds that a student will earn a bachelor's degree are dramatically improved if the student is White. (*M* = 6.8, *SD* = .41)
3. If a problem arises in a college class, a White student can have peace of mind knowing that the professor that he or she will be speaking with will also be White. (*M* = 5.7, *SD* = .52)
4. A White person can have peace of mind knowing that his or her race will be positively reflected on TV. (*M* = 6.5, *SD* = .84)
5. A White person can expect to feel comfortable in a prestigious job knowing that he or she will be surrounded by other people of the same race. (*M* = 5.8, *SD* = 1.17)
6. A White person is 50% more likely to have health insurance when compared to a person of another race. (*M* = 6.7, *SD* = .82)
7. The odds that a person will own a home during his or her lifetime are dramatically improved if the person is White. (*M* = 6.8, *SD* = .41)
8. Based on race alone, a White person is 6 times less likely to be put in jail. (*M* = 7, *SD* = 0)

Intra-class correlation coefficients for:

(a) clarity of the statement = .42
(b) the extent to which the statement conveyed White racial privilege = .64
(c) extent to which the statement reflected an institutional form of privilege = .55

Oppression Statements with Mean Ratings

In the United States of America…

1. The odds are against a Black person securing employment during a recession when compared to a person of another race. (*M* = 6.2, *SD* = .98)

[1] All means and standard deviations reflect the average across the following three areas: (a) the clarity of the statement, (b) the extent to which the statement conveyed racial privilege or oppression, and (c) the extent to which the statement reflected an institutional form of privilege or oppression. Rating scale ranged from 1 to 7.

2. The odds that a student will earn a bachelor's degree are dramatically reduced if the student is Black. (*M* = 6.5, *SD* = .55)
3. A Black person can expect to feel alienated at a prestigious job due to his or her status as the token Black person. (*M* = 5.3, *SD* = .82)
4. A Black person must contend with frequently seeing his or her race being negatively portrayed on TV. (*M* = 6.2, *SD* = .75)
5. A Black person must struggle with being perceived by others as financially un-reliable simply for being Black. (*M* = 5.7, *SD* = 1.03)
6. A Black person is 50% more likely to be living without health insurance when compared to a person of another race. (*M* = 6.7, *SD* = .52)
7. The odds that a person will own a home during his or her lifetime are dramatically reduced if the person is Black. (*M* = 6.7, *SD* = .52)
8. Based on race alone, a Black person is 6 times more likely to end up in jail. (*M* = 7, *SD* = 0)

Intra-class correlation coefficients for:

(a) clarity of the statement = .63

(b) the extent to which the statement conveyed Black racial oppression = .91

(c) extent to which the statement reflected an institutional form of oppression = .75

Control Statements with Mean Ratings

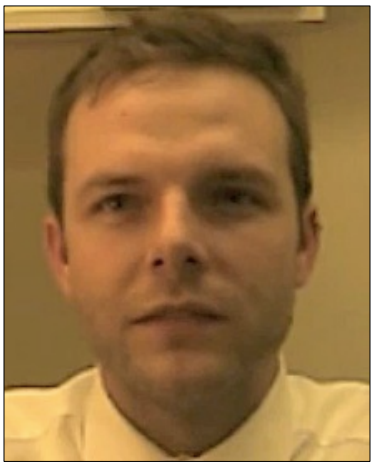
In the country of Spain…

1. The odds are against a person of the Gypsy race securing employment during a recession when compared to a non Gypsy. (*M* = 6, *SD* = 0)
2. The odds that a student will earn a bachelor's degree are dramatically improved if the student is of the Payos race. (*M* = 6.5, *SD* = .55)
3. The odds that a person will own a home during his or her lifetime are dramatically reduced if the person is of the Gypsy race. (*M* = 6.5, *SD* = .84)
4. A person of the Payos race can have peace of mind knowing that his or her race will be positively reflected on TV. (*M* = 5.8, *SD* = .98)
5. A person of the Payos race can expect to feel comfortable in a prestigious job knowing that he or she will be surrounded by other people of the same race. (*M* = 5.8, *SD* = .75)
6. A Gypsy must struggle with being perceived by others as financially un-reliable simply for being Gypsy. (*M* = 6, *SD* = .89)
7. Based on race alone, a person of the Payos race is 6 times less likely to be put in jail. (*M* = 7, *SD* = 0)
8. The odds that a student will earn a bachelor's degree are dramatically reduced if the student is Gypsy. (*M* = 6.7, *SD* = .52)

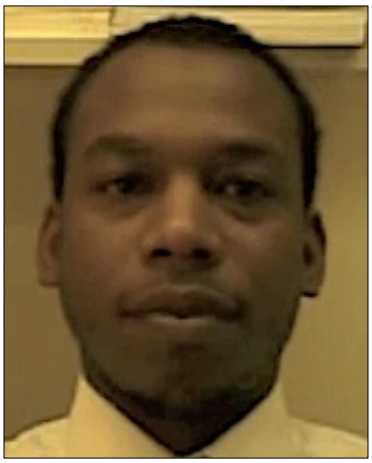
APPENDIX C

RACE FACTOR

Confederate Instructors



Larry Wilson



DeShawnJackson

APPENDIX D

LECTURE SCRIPT

Lecture Script (1 min 33 sec)

Part A

"Hello. My name is [*Larry Wilson/ DeShawn Jackson*] and I teach at a university. I would like you to learn a new concept called racialized social systems. There are 2 parts to this presentation, each about 1 minute long, followed by some questions. Ok, let's get started.

The concept of race, as when I refer to myself as a *White/Black* man, is in fact socially constructed. But why? The answer lies in the idea that modern social systems, such as the United States and Spain, are governed by hierarchical social patterns. These are essentially types of social relations between people based on uneven power and resources. They exist to establish social order.

So, the concept of race was created to help distribute power and resources among people based on physical features and to maintain social order. Today, a racialized social system reproduces these relational patterns. Here are a few examples…"

[*4 privilege/oppression/control statements here*]

Part B

"Perhaps you noticed that the examples made reference to education, the media or some other social institution. That is the heart of a racialized social system. Powerful institutions like the educational system, influence human relations by promoting a real difference in social status. In other words, a real difference in social privilege or social oppression based on race. Therefore, the system is racialized.

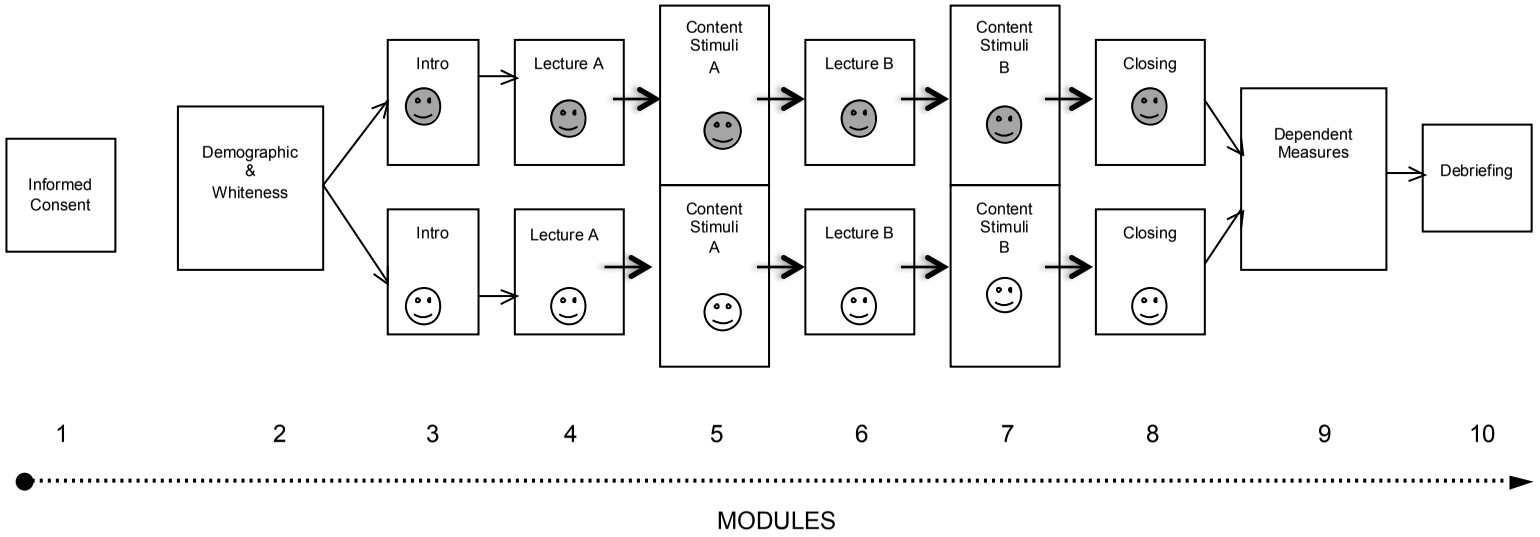
One final note. Because a racialized social system operates on an institutional level, it is racial group membership and not individual choice that dictates whether a person receives privileges or experiences oppression. Let's see a few more examples before we end…"

[*4 privilege/oppression/control statements here*]

"That's the end of the presentation. Before you go, I have some final questions for you to answer."

APPENDIX E

DESIGN MAP


Informed Consent
Demographic & Whiteness
Intro
Lecture A
Content Stimuli A
Lecture B
Content Stimuli B
Closing
Intro
Lecture A
Content Stimuli A
Lecture B
Content Stimuli B
Closing
Dependent Measures
Debriefing
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
MODULES

APPENDIX F

INFORMED CONSENT AND DEBRIEFING SCRIPT

Dear Participant:

My name is Dr. Terence J. G. Tracey and I am a Professor in the Department of Counseling & Counseling Psychology at Arizona State University. My doctoral student (Fernando Estrada) and I are conducting a research study at ASU looking at diversity education.

I am requesting your participation, which involves watching a brief presentation on the topic of racial inequality and completing an anonymous survey. Participation will take place in an office on a laptop and is expected to take approximately 20 minutes. No identifying or personal contact information will be collected except for demographics like age, gender, ethnicity, etc. to determine sample characteristics. Your responses will be anonymous.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You must be 18 years or older to participate. If you choose not to participate, skip questions on the survey or withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. If you are a student at ASU or any other college, your standing as a student will not be affected. The results of the study may be published, but your name will not be known.

The presentation and survey questions will require that you reflect on issues pertaining to race, racial attitudes, and racial inequality. Participating in the study may facilitate your increased awareness of these issues and will also help researchers better understand how these issues impact other students. There are no foreseeable risks or discomfort associated with your participation in this study.

By participating in this study, you will be given a $5 Starbucks gift card.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please call me at (480) 965-6159 or email Fernando Estrada at fernando.estrada@asu.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

If you understand the aforementioned and agree to participate, type the following code in the space provided and hit enter: 4050. Typing in the code and hitting enter will be considered your consent to participate.

Sincerely,

Terence J. G. Tracey, Ph.D.
Counseling & Counseling Psychology
Arizona State University

Debriefing

Thank you for participating in the study. We hope you were able to learn a few things about yourself and the concept of racialized social systems.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the effects of diversity education on the attitudes and affect of college students. Specifically, we are interested in examining whether focusing on White privilege (e.g., "If a recession hits, the odds are in favor of a White person securing employment") versus focusing on Black oppression (e.g., If a recession hits, the odds are against a Black person securing employment") results in differential scoring patterns on the questions you answered. The findings of this study will help educators create optimal learning environments.

At the beginning of the study, you were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: a focus on White privilege, Black oppression, or a control stimulus. In addition, one area that is understudied is the how the race of the instructor influences the aforementioned variables of interest. Therefore, you were also randomly assigned to one of two conditions: a White instructor or a Black instructor.

If you have inquiries or thoughts pertaining to this study, the researchers welcome them. Also, we acknowledge that after taking the study you might remain contemplative about racial issues. If this is the case, we encourage you to talk about your thoughts and feelings to friends, colleagues, or trusted professors.

Below are some resources on the research topic that you might find useful:

For more information on racialized social systems see: Bonilla-Silva, E. (1996). Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation. *American Sociological Review, 62,* 465-480. doi: 10.2307/2657316

For more information on social privilege and oppression see: Kimmel, M., & Ferber, A. (2003). *Privilege: A reader*. Cambridge, MA: Westview.

For more information on race and affect see: Powell, A. A., Branscombe, N. R., & Schmitt, M. T. (2005). Inequality as ingroup privilege or outgroup disadvantage: The impact of group focus on collective guilt and interracial attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*(4), 508-521. doi: 10.1177/0146167204271713

Again, we welcome your inquiries and thoughts immediately following the study or anytime after.

Terence J. G. Tracey, Ph.D. & Fernando Estrada, M.A., Ed.M.
terence.tracey@asu.edu fernando.estrada@asu.edu

APPENDIX G

EMAIL ANNOUNCEMENT

Greetings,

My name is Fernando Estrada and I am a doctoral student in the Counseling & Counseling Psychology department at Arizona State University. My adviser is Dr. Terence J. G. Tracey. We are seeking your participation in a study looking at diversity education.

If you are 18 years of age or older your participation is requested. Your participation will involve watching a brief presentation on racial inequality and completing an anonymous survey. Participation in this study is expected to take 15 minutes and is voluntary.

You will also receive a $5 Starbucks gift card!

If you are interested in participating, email me at fernando.estrada@asu.edu to sign up for a 20 minute slot. Also, if you have questions about the study, email me or my adviser, Dr. Tracey at terence.tracey@asu.edu.

This research study has been approved by the IRB at Arizona State University under protocol number 1103006171.

Sincerely,

Fernando Estrada, M.A., Ed.M.
Doctoral Student – Counseling Psychology
Arizona State University
fernando.estrada@asu.edu

APPENDIX H

IRB APPROVAL

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	Terence Tracey EDB
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair SM Soc Beh IRB
Date:	03/17/2011
Committee Action:	**Exemption Granted**
IRB Action Date:	03/17/2011
IRB Protocol #:	1103006171
Study Title:	White Privilege and Black Oppression in Education: Impact on Affect, Attitude, and Learning Among Students

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.