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Racial Discrimination from a Self-Determination Lens

Lindsey Shamp

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION FROM A

SELF-DETERMINATION

LENS

by

Lindsey Shamp, B.A., M.A.

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We hereby recommend that the dissertation prepared by

Lindsey Shamp, B.A., M.A.

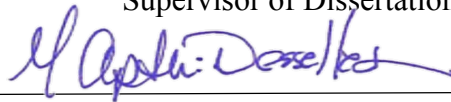entitled   **Racial Discrimination from a Self-Determination Lens**

be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Counseling Psychology

Donna Thomas
Supervisor of Dissertation Research

Marita Apter-Desselles
Head of Psychology and Behavioral Science

Doctoral Committee Members:
./Steven Toaddy
Latoya A. Pierce

Approved:

Don Schillinger
Dean of Education

Approved:

Ramu Ramachandran
Dean of the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

Despite significant advances toward equality, racism and discrimination have been a central feature of America's culture. This inequality has been presented from the history of slavery to the present-day violence against unarmed Black men. Oppression and inequalities have led calls to action from the African American community and activist groups including the Black Lives Matter Movement. Many White individuals are unaware of the existing benefits of their Whiteness and are simultaneously unaware of the significant psychological, emotional, physical, and social consequences for African American individuals. While there are several established theories to address the psychological and social aspects of how individuals exhibit discriminatory thoughts and behaviors, they are often not comprehensive of both individual and social underpinnings. Self Determination Theory proposes that motivations vary not only in social environments or contexts, but also in the source provided within and for the individual. Within the theory, there are two forms of locus of causality including intrinsic and extrinsic which can vary on a continuum of regulations. While racism is manifested in many forms, literature indicates it has moved from an overt, explicit, form to a covert, sublet form. Limited studies have examined overt and covert behaviors on discrimination simultaneously. Likewise, society has shifted in culture to be more intentional with overt acts such as White nationalist "Unite the Right" march rally in Charlottesville, VA

as well as deficiency in punishments for hate crimes and the attempt of reversal of civil rights and social justice policies. The purpose of this study is to examine racial discrimination at both covert and overt levels utilizing self-determination theory as the theoretical framework to explore regulatory motivations on a continuum when individuals are exhibiting discriminatory or prosocial behaviors. Latent profile analysis (LPA), a person-centered analysis, rather than a variable level analysis was utilized to categorize individuals into groups based on similar characteristics to examine how different each group of individuals differs on their motivations.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Racism and the various forms of discrimination are painful to witness or

acknowledge as present in society as many individuals desire to celebrate diversity. Even

with numerous attempts to change racial inequality, little has changed, and racism

continues at significant rates (Alexander, 2010; Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Racism

is a socially constructed concept deep-rooted within the American culture. Since the

beginning of Chattel slavery where Black individuals were worked, sold, or bought as

property or possessions, society has dictated one ethnicity as having more power. Those

in power have historically been White individuals (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011).

However, those in the dominant position of our culture, White individuals, often deny

racism exists as a problem (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Sue, 2003). If White individuals are

unable to acknowledge privilege associated with the color of their skin, then there is a

lack of motivation to address and change it. It would be unrealistic to assume that people

are not impacted by racial biases given the dehumanizing history of expression of White

privilege and the various forms of racism. Even if an individual chooses not to engage in

racist acts, society surrounds us with prejudice and stereotypes at an unconscious level

(Bonilla-Silva, 2003). The media often portrays minority individuals, specifically African

Americans, as the highest rates of welfare recipients and the most likely to cheat the

system. For example, a Republican member of the Mississippi state legislature recounted that "all the African-Americans in his hometown of Walls, Mississippi, are unemployed and on food stamps […] They don't work." (Delaney & Scheller, 2015, February 28). This example supports the attitude that welfare is given too freely, and that African Americans have no desire to work. However, according to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) (2013), distribution of household food stamps by race indicates that 40.2% of White Americans receive SNAP benefits while only 25.7% of African Americans receive them.

The attitudes and behaviors of those in power have significant psychological, emotional, physical and social consequences for African Americans (Brondolo et al., 2016; Carter, 2007; Kaholokula, 2016). For example, chronic disease including cardiovascular disease, and traumatic stress occur in higher rates in African Americans than White individuals (Carter, 2007; Kaholokula, 2016; Winston et al., 2009). Likewise, there are mass incarceration rates and disproportional representation in the criminal justice system for African American males due to disparities in the related drug law, police racial profiling, and longer sentencing (Alexander, 2010). A Distorted and inaccurate picture of history (Alexander, 2010; Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011), fear and guilt from White individuals (Neville et al., 2001), and a lack of inclusivity as cultural minorities are taught to conform to dominant culture leads to cultural racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Both White privilege and colorblind attitudes exist due to inequality in a hierarchy-based society (Neville et al., 2001).

Justification

Due to the adverse consequences related to racial discrimination and the historical climate of the United States, finding methods to evaluate privilege awareness and promoting prosocial behaviors is essential to changing the undesirable behavior. Due to the pervasive nature of racism in our culture, many preventions and interventions have been originated to promote equality and prosocial behavior. Before implementing preventions and interventions for prosocial action, it is essential to adequately assess the nature of racism and the effects it produces on the individuals who are performing these acts. Increased understanding of intentions may have implications for tailoring interventions to be useful, specific, and cost-effective. In three years, 2003 to 2006, the health disparities in the United States for African Americans cost 135.9 billion dollars (LaVeist et al., 2011). Heath disparities are seen in the more recently with the COVID-19 pandemic with 98 out of every 100,000 African Americans dyeing from COVID-19, a third higher than that for Latinos (64.7 per 100,000), and more than double than that for whites (46.6 per 100,000) (Vasquez Reyes, 2020). This is not only due to lack of access to testing) but also underlying conditions that may make COVID-19 (i.e., chronic diseases such as asthma, hypertension and diabetes) (Lovelace, 2020 & Vasquez Reyes, 2020).

Often, individuals believe that discrimination does not exist on an overt level; however, as we know from covert racism, this is not the case (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). As social culture has shifted to include more covert behaviors due to explicit discrimination deemed socially unacceptable, societal change has also shifted to include more direct, overt behaviors. While some individuals truly feel fulfilled by prosocial behaviors of

nondiscriminatory racial behaviors, others may only produce the behavior due to

"political correctness" or fear of negative evaluation. Studies on intrinsic motivation have

determined that the object of "rewards" can predict the strength of the behavior and how

it is reinforced (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Often the literature on racial discrimination

theorizes the social context or individual differences as the source for certain exhibition

of behaviors. It is not necessarily the social control, but rather how an individual

interprets the context of their social environment that will produce either intrinsic or

extrinsic motivation. Accordingly, White privilege and racial colorblind attitudes exist

because White individuals interpret the dominant position as a benefit, conscious or

unconscious, even though it disproportionately affects minority individuals (Bonilla-

Silva, 2003, Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sue et al., 2007). To change discriminatory

behavior, individuals require knowledge of the deficit that exists and also to feel

competent and supported in their actions. Several theories provide different aspects of the

underpinnings of discrimination from in-group-outgroup biases, to changing cognitive

processes, and even provide perspective of hierarchical systems. However, these aspects

are limiting, and often depict a unitary view, as they are not inclusive to taking into

account the interaction of cultural impacts, motivations, and individual choice. The role

of social contexts influences the systematic impact of privilege and oppression on

motives; therefore, it is not a single fixed entity. Self-Determination Theory expands the

existing theories and focuses on the degree to which an individual's behavior is self-

motivated and self-determined within a social context. Likewise, through regulations, one

can determine the specific motivations producing discriminatory or prosocial behaviors.

Literature Review

Racism and Discrimination

Despite significant advances toward equality, racism and discrimination have been a central feature of America's culture, as it is an evolving social classification. Race historically has been utilized as a socially constructed tool for oppression, hardships, and injustices against African Americans, but also to all who are not White. The United States' extensive history of abuse, enslavement, dehumanization, and segregation of Black individuals has been expressed in various forms. When individuals attempt to discuss or explain this phenomenon, terms such as prejudice, stereotype, discrimination, and racism are often used interchangeably, but incorrectly Prejudice is defined as a bias toward other individuals of a particular group, or category conveyed though negative or positive opinions, beliefs, or feelings (Allport, 1954). A stereotype is an inaccurate, inflexible belief that an individual hold about entire member of a specific group (Sue, 2003). These views of shared group characteristics can be positive or negative. An example of a stereotype might include; Asians are good at math. Prejudice is more general, while a stereotype is usually a specific belief. When prejudice has a direct action, this then shifts to discrimination. Sue (2003) defines racial discrimination as, "any action that treats individuals or groups of color differently based on prejudice" (p. 29). Even racial discrimination and racism are different due to the systematic power that a majority group holds. While there are many types of systematic oppression and privilege including sexism, heterosexism, classism, ableism, and ageism, the focus of this research is on racism. Sue (2003) describes racism as "any attitude, action, or institutional structure or any social policy that subordinate's persons or groups because of their color" (p. 31).

Racism is not a simple matter of Black-and-White; however, to understand the underpinnings and impact of racism, it is important to examine the history of how African-Americans became identified as a minority group.

History of Racism

Slavery

The early White settlers of the colonies in the United States desired to strive economically. To achieve this goal, regrettably, White individuals relied heavily on the enslavement of others. For example, in the initial colonization, early 17th century Chesapeake, VA, Blacks were not recognized as slaves (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Though infrequent, they like Native Americans, and some White colonists were indentured servants working in exchange for their travel and freedom (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). As plantations and the need to strive economically expanded, the legalization of slavery appeared in 1660 (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). The slavery laws were met with many rebellions by all individuals. Due to the unwillingness of Native Americans and White English to move from indentured servants to slaves, as well as it being impractical, slave owners strategically extended privilege to poor Whites to cause division in slaves turning against one another (Alexander, 2010). These enacted laws produced Chattel slavery where individuals were to be worked, sold, or bought as property or possessions, losing all individual freedom and explicitly targeted at Africans (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Landowners believed this type of slavery was critical to expand using cheap labor (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Race was culturally constructed through systematic efforts and did not appear until the colonial times to create economic advantages. The establishing of racial categories allowed for hierarchies

to have power differential empowering the White wealthy social class while removing rights and freedoms from Africans and individuals of color. These categorizations also allowed for prejudice attitudes to develop. The protection of "White" is responsible for the racialized hierarchies in our society. Before 1724, the law included provisions for slaves to make plans and agreements for their freedom. However, the 1724 code denied property rights to slaves and they were no longer able to make these arrangements (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). In the mid-1770s, White supremacy maintained as the dominant feature of American society (Alexander, 2010).

Black slaves were treated brutally and callously because they were viewed as property. Franklin and Higginbotham (2011) describe the many inhumane conditions slaves had to endure including families torn apart, parents separated from children and wives from their husbands. For this reason, marriages of Black slaves were disapproved as it was inconvenient for the slave owners. Equally, lack of medical care for childbirth had a significant adverse effect on pregnant slaves and their newborns. It was not uncommon for the rape of a female slave, and the rape was only considered a crime because it involved trespassing on another's "property rights" (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Black individuals were also prohibited from commerce or owning property (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Due to fear of rebellion, slaves were stripped of their culture and often unable to communicate to one another. Franklin and Higginbotham (2011) then describe punishment slaves could receive,

> Most petty offenses were punishable by whipping, but more serious ones are
> punishable by branding, imprisonment, or death. […] The slave represented
> investment, and to deprive the owner of the slave labor for life meant depriving

the slave owner of that property rights, as well as depriving the state of just that

much taxable wealth. Since some of the crimes were viewed as threats and other

social order, they were frequently punished for crimes they did not commit and

were helpless before a panic-stricken group of slaveholders who sought in the

rumor of an insurrection in the slope with certain undermining of the system. (p.

139).

Black slaves struggled to hold onto their families, dignity, and their very

existence. It was not unusual for new slaves to commit suicide. Franklin and

Higginbotham (2011) reported: "In 1807 two boatloads of Africans in a nearly ride from

Charleston starve themselves to death" (p. 153) as they would have sooner died than

become slaves. The ultimate goal of White individuals was to restrict privileges to

safeguard White economic comforts and securities.

Civil War and Reconstruction

While some individuals credit the Civil War in 1861 as a desire to eradicate

slavery, in actuality, the Union and Confederacy were both attempting to preserve their

way of life to retain slavery for economic gain (Jones, 1972). The war, however, worked

in favor of Black individuals as Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation allowing

for freedom from slavery. Following the Civil War was the Reconstruction period, which

allowed more freedom and opportunity for Black individuals. The freedoms produced by

the Civil Rights Act of mid-1800's and amendments to the constitution included freedom

from slavery (13th amendment), citizen rights (14th amendment), and the right to vote

(15th amendment) (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Not only did Blacks have the right

to vote, many voted and held elected government positions (Klarman, 2004). However,

these opportunities were short-lived as White individuals in power were dedicated to maintaining racial hierarchies to preserve control and economic stability. For example, in 1867, within the same year that Howard University was opened to assist in the education of African Americans, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was also assembled (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). The KKK utilized "intimidation, force, ostracism in business and society, bribery at the polls, arson, and even murder to accomplish their deeds […] blacks were whipped, maimed, and hanged" to keep Blacks subordinate (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). These blatant, overt acts prevented Black individuals from rights that were given through the government. While Blacks were legally permitted to vote, the fifthteenth amendment was written to be race-neutral and states fought the federal government by imposing poll taxes and literacy tests to restrain Blacks from voting (Klarman, 2004). Moreover, if the taxes and testing did not hinder individuals from voting, violence was exhibited by the KKK (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Correspondingly, the Black codes were legislation limiting the freedoms Blacks possessed. These laws permitted Whites to charge Black individuals with frivolous crime, arrested if unemployed, disallowed testimony to White individuals in court, limited property rights, limited ability to own firearms and vote (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Although slavery had been abolished, the Black codes and social climate set the stage for American culture.

Plessy v. Ferguson and Jim Crow

Some individuals coveting control and harboring rage about the inability to have slave labor formed efforts to make distinct calculated moves to limit opportunities of economic, education, and advancement of social status for Black individuals (Franklin &

Higginbotham, 2011; Klarman, 2004). In 1869, the supreme court legally sanctioned segregation with the ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* which involved discrimination in the use of the railroads (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). This was the first law that permitted the legal *separate but equal* settings based on race and began the slippery slope of oppression on Blacks for Whites to retain dominance and economic advantage.

The laws that followed were known as the Jim Crow laws, enforcing racial segregation and eliminating any freedom these individuals had previously gained or had opportunities to (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). These legislations included segregation of bathrooms, drinking fountains, restaurants, jury boxes, parks, public transportation, schools, theaters, hospitals, and any other open space deemed appropriate (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011; Klarman, 2004). The quality of these spaces for Black individuals was inferior to those the White individuals had access to (Klarman, 2004). Those in the dominant position, White, made purposeful efforts to perpetuate in-group favoritism and out-group bias by looking for negative aspects of minority group members. Societies' stereotypes of African Americans as inferior to Whites were perpetuated in the 19th century not only by laws, but also in media and science. For example, the term "Jim Crow" originated when a White individual painted his face black and mocked the dance of Black slaves. It was not unusual for a White actor to paint their face black to portray the "blackface" (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Selden (1999) discusses how scientists, media, and many textbooks in the United States supported Eugenics, the genetic improvement through selective breeding, until 1948. He describes textbooks supporting selective mating and the misleading science of "inferior blood." Blacks were intentionally depicted with negative stereotypes to reinforce White

supremacy over Blacks. This has led to the present-day stereotypes of African Americans as lazy, stupid, submissive, irresponsible, or childish. Even with what some would consider significant advances, by the last quarter century of the 1900's, more than 2500 Blacks were lynched (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011).

Civil Rights Act, The New Jim Crow, and the Present Day

Following the Jim Crow era, many activists, including Martin Luther King Jr., lead movements to end segregation. In 1954, the Supreme Court desegregated public schools with the decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* (Klarman, 2004). It was not until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that it became illegal in the United States to prohibit segregation based on race, religion, and national origin (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011). Although this has allowed more opportunities for African Americans, racism persists in subtle forms. The poverty rate for Blacks is disproportional to Whites as 26.2 percent of Blacks were poor compared to 10 percent of Whites (National Poverty Center, 2014). Because of the disproportionate socioeconomic status of many people of color, they often live in segregated, isolated and impoverished neighborhoods (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2016). One example was when hurricane Katrina hit Louisiana in August 2005. The storm devastated many with an overwhelming number of fatalities and residents whom were displaced. Due to discrimination in housing and lending practices, many homes in New Orleans were racial segregated (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2016). Black individuals were more likely to endure the effects of the natural disaster as poor Black neighborhoods experienced the most considerable damage and many individuals felt as though the government's response was slow-moving due to blatant racial bias (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2016). Likewise, the media portrayed

Blacks as "looters" and Whites were "finding" food at local stores (Franklin &

Higginbotham, 2011).

Violence against unarmed Black men has received recent attention in the media.

In 2012, Trayvon Martin was a 17-year-old African American youth who was murdered

by George Zimmerman, head of the local neighborhood watch, in Sanford, Florida. This

tragic shooting outraged the public when George Zimmerman was acquitted for the

shooting for reasons of self-defense, although the youth was unarmed and Zimmerman

"disregarded the 911 operator's directives to remain in his car and leave Martin alone" (p.

1115; Onwuachi-Willig, 2017). Trayvon was one of many Black individuals killed due to

continued oppression, discrimination, and racism. In the article "Policing the Boundaries

of Whiteness: The Tragedy of Being "Out of Place" from Emmett Till to Trayvon

Martin," Onwuachi-Willig (2017) describes the comparison of Emmett Till to Trayvon

Martin. In 1955, J.W. Milam and Roy Bryant, two White men, were charged with and

tried for the murder of Emmett Till a 14-year old African American male in Mississippi.

The men kidnapped Till, callously beating and shooting him, then tying a 74-pound

object to the boy's neck with barbed wire and throwing him into the local river. The men

reported taking Till, but returning him home. Ultimately, the men were acquitted as the

state had failed to prove that the recovered body belonged to Emmett Till. Although these

deaths were more than 50 years apart, during different periods of civil rights movements,

both were influenced by privilege, maintaining White racial separation, and view of

Black males as a threat. Following Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown in Ferguson, Eric

Garner in New York, and Anthony Hill in Chamblee, Georgia were some of the few

unarmed Blacks recently killed by police officers (From Trayvon Martin to Walter Scott,

2015). There is no relationship between police shootings as a response to local-level crime rates, and unarmed Black individuals are 3.5 times more likely to be shot by police than White individuals (Ross, 2015).

The shooting of Trayvon Martin began recent conversations about racial inequality and created a movement for change, not only racial discrimination related to the Trayvon Martin case but also pervasive racial discrimination. The Black Lives Matter Movement is an activist movement created in 2012 as a call to action after Trayvon Martin's death to raise awareness to inequalities and oppression that Black people still experience (Black Lives Matter, 2016). It has gained momentum with hundreds of demonstrations around the world after the shooting of Michael Brown and of other unarmed Blacks who died by police officers (Black Lives Matter, 2016). Police violence and racial bias continue to affect the Black community with many negative consequences for people of color. Police shootings are not the only circumstances that African Americans experience with law enforcement or the criminal justice system. The murders of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, and Breonna Taylor by current or former law enforcement officers in 2020 initiated protests occurring during social-distancing recommendations during the COVID-19 pandemic. Nguyen et al. (2021) examined the changes in public opinions toward African Americans by utilizing Google searches and Twitter of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, and Breonna Taylor. The study found an initial decline in negative Black sentiment and an increase in public awareness of structural racism. However, these findings returned to baseline after a few weeks.

One of the main concerns for minorities is the high rates of involvement in the criminal justice system with the term coined the "New Jim Crow" (Alexander, 2010).

Alexander (2010) asserts not only are people of color more disproportionality represented in the criminal justice system, but this inequality is a means for colorblindness to socially allow race as a justification for discrimination to those of color. Specifically, it is legal to discriminate in employment, housing, resources, voting and other general public benefits when an individual is labeled as a felon or criminal. Black males comprise 65 to 90 percent, 13 to 26 times greater than the rate for White males, of those sent to prison for drug offenses (Human Rights Watch, 2000). Pierson et al. (2017) analyzed police interactions with minorities through approximately 60 million police stops conducted between 2011 and 2015 within 20 states. Not only are African American drivers are stopped more often than White, but they are also more likely to be ticketed, searched, and arrested. The authors examined how often contraband was found during searches to account for variability in driving behavior versus possible prejudice. Blacks were observed less frequently than Whites for contraband even when controlling for age, gender, time, and location of the stop. These statistics are significant though the study did not have data from the states in the south for which historical racism has the highest prevalence for the United States (i.e., Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, etc.). This data indicates that racism is not only present in the deep-rooted south, but also in other areas of the country. This notion is supported by Critical Race Theory (CRT), which attempts to fight and expose racial injustice in the legal system and supports the high rates of involvement within the criminal justice system. Specifically, CRT is a movement that attempts to transform the relationships of race, racism, and power in minority groups through a broad perspective of economics, history, context, interests, legal system, and society at large (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Within the theory,

researchers have examined race, identity, and power through critical Whiteness studies. Because race has been socially defined primarily from White individuals who are in a position that reinforces dominance of one group, the existing social structures will preserve and benefit those in power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

White Privilege

Children in a dominant position of culture experience a very different system than those of minority children. Children learn at an early age the concept of privilege and oppression through implicit learning. A study conducted by Jackson et al. (2006) found a power differential between White and Black children. White children were perceived to have more power than the Black children; however, White children were not aware of their privilege. This early inability to detect privilege only further leads to misunderstandings of systematic oppression due to repeated exposures, which then turn to a schema or automatic thinking and internalization of oppression. Often this type of socialization encourages a sense of entitlement to privilege that minority groups have been denied (Sue, 2003). Because this socialization process is lifelong, gradual, and subconscious, it would then be difficult to be aware of this internalized privilege and oppression forced on others. Frequently, White individuals are unaware of the existing benefit of Whiteness (Israel, 2012). White privilege has been defined as unearned benefits and opportunities to which White individuals have access as a result of their race, and that remain unreachable to minorities (Israel, 2012; McIntosh, 1988). These benefits or advantages can include access to resources, advanced education and societal opportunities, and sense of entitlement (Israel, 2012; McIntosh, 1988; Neville et al., 2001). In McIntosh's (1988) article, she lists several examples of White privilege which

include "I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race."

McIntosh continues to acknowledge her participation in a "damaged culture" examining

her situation:

> Thinking through unacknowledged male privilege as a phenomenon, I realize that
>
> since hierarchies in our society or interlocking, there was most likely a
>
> phenomenon a White privilege which was similarly denied and protected. As a
>
> White person, I realized I have been taught about racism as something which puts
>
> others at a disadvantage, but I've been taught not to see one as corollary aspects,
>
> White privilege, which puts me at an advantage. (p. 191).

White privilege is a conscious, or subconscious, central motivator for individuals in a

dominant position to continue to hold power. Additionally, Sue (2003) draws attention to

the fact that although White American males make up only 33% of the American

population, they hold a disproportionate amount of positions of power. These positions

include higher education (e.g., 80%), the Senate (e.g., 84%), Forbes 400 executive CEO-

level positions (e.g., 92%), and public-school superintendents (e.g., 90%). While there

may be many unearned benefits to White individuals in the United States, this inequality

toward minorities continues to have negative consequences for people of color.

Consequences of Racism for African Americans

Racism can benefit those in the majority; it also has reciprocal substantial

psychological, emotional, physical, and social negative consequences for African

American individuals. Current literature has well documented the impact of racism and

the health disparities it produces on the physical health of Black individuals (Chae et al.,

2012; Kaholokula, 2016; Mathews et al., 2015; Winston et al., 2009). African Americans

have higher rates of chronic disease including cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and obesity than those of White individuals (Kaholokula, 2016; Winston et al., 2009). Even perceived racism is related to poor health outcomes as there is a 60% increased chance of hypertension, which can lead to cardiovascular disease or stroke when a Black individual experiences anti-Black bias (Chae et al., 2012). Overall health disparities exist as hypertension occurs in African Americans at 34% compared to the White population at 25% (Kaholokula, 2016). Blacks have almost twice the infant mortality rate as Whites. Moreover, Black mothers were twice as likely as White mothers to initiate prenatal care in the third trimester, or not receive any prenatal care (Mathews et al., 2015). Racial discrimination has significant and long-term effects on the psychological health of Black individuals. Research has shown effects of increased stress and susceptibility to illness, low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, cognitive vulnerabilities, stress, lower self-esteem, and anger (Brondolo et al., 2016). Likewise, discrimination has been found to be related to substance use during high school years for African-Americans (Gee & Ontniano Verissimo, 2016). Typically, substance use is utilized as a self-medication or as a coping mechanism for racial discrimination.

While some individuals can adapt and pull strength from long-term or frequent and persistent stressful events (Taylor, 1999), research does not typically examine racial discrimination and the trauma it produces (Carter, 2007). Research has shown African American veterans have higher rates of PTSD than their White counterparts which may be associated with the race-based traumatic stress (Carter, 2007). Carter (2007) proposed the race-based traumatic stress model which defines racism as a form of trauma and asserts that the traumatic stress reaction is caused by an injury to emotional and

psychological being. Although distressing, the trauma does not often meet criteria for

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as it is not typically physical or life threatening

(American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Individuals with race-based traumatic stress

may feel chronic fear, hypervigilance, and paranoia (Carter, 2007).

Theories of Racism

There are several established and current theories to address the psychological

and social aspects of how individuals exhibit discriminatory thoughts and behaviors

including a Social Cognitive Approach, Social Identity Theory, Social Learning Theory,

and Social Dominance Theory.

Social Cognitive Approach

The Social Cognitive Approach to Stereotyping, has been used to examine the

underpinnings of prejudice and stereotyping suggesting that the primary motivation is the

result of normal information processing that then categorizes all individuals with similar

traits (Allport, 1954; Hamilton & Gufford, 1976). When making decisions about other

people, individuals tend to use heuristics; however, these mental shortcuts can lead to

prejudice thinking due to the lack of capacity for all relevant information to be processed

(Kahneman, 2011). These shortcuts in an individual's thought process can lead to

stereotypical thinking as individuals tend to be categorized into one group. Often this can

lead to the Fundamental Attribution Error, the inclination to overemphasize personal

characteristics, or disposition, and underestimate the influence of the situation (Myers,

2013). For example, White individuals often view poverty of Black individuals as a

characteristic of poor work ethic or a lack of intelligence and will deny systemic factors

such as inequitable educational opportunities (Feagin, 1972). With time and experience,

these categorizations are reinforced as individuals overestimate the frequency of co-occurrence of unique events thus processing information incorrectly (Hamilton & Gufford, 1976).

Social Identity Theory

Similar to the Social Cognitive Approach to Stereotyping, Social Identity Theory is based on the classification of people. Social Identity Theory maintains that an individual's social identity emerges from the natural process of social categorization because people classify themselves to identify with others like them (Tajfel, 1982). This identity is part of an individual's self-concept such as national origin, social class, or religious affiliation. One such identity is racial identity. It is necessary to note ethnicity (i.e., German, Greek, etc.) and identity (i.e., White) are not interchangeable as both can exhibit different social and cultural outcomes. Helms (1993) defines racial identity as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (p. 3). While these identities can be a source of pride, they can also serve to divide groups of people. The key foundation of social identity theory proposes that individuals in the majority will look for negative aspects of the minority group to enhance their self-image and will assign resources to advance the "in-group" (Tajfel, 1982). Racial categorization of individuals can strengthen stereotypes and perpetuate in-group-outgroup bias or dichotomous thinking. The stronger the identity of one's group, the more likely in-group favoritism exists. Intergroup bias, the tendency to assess an individual's own membership group (i.e., the in-group) more positively than that of a minority membership group (i.e., the out-group), can produce attitudes and behaviors of discrimination or prejudice (Hewstone et al., 2002). Thus, in-

group individuals are likely to make inappropriate generalizations about another group of individuals and exhibiting out-group derogation. Outgroup derogation occurs when the outgroup is perceived as threatening to the in-group (Hewstone et al., 2002).

Social Learning Theory

Other theorists believe oppression is a socially learned behavior. The General Socialization Approach, taken from Bandura's (1986) Social Learning Theory, proposes individual's harmful or discriminatory actions towards others is socially learned in early childhood, their actions are consequences of an act modeled by another individual. For example, repeated observations of a parent or extended family member expressing racism will likely produce higher rates of discriminatory behavior from the child witnessing these acts. Whether the expectation is experienced is irrelevant, but behaviors was reinforced on the strength of the frequency and quantity as individuals place a high weight on the memories of previous outcomes in a similar context (Bandura, 1986). Memories, based on the consolidation of prior behaviors, are used to make social comparisons for anticipating future outcomes. Processing and modeling behavior does not encompass an adequate depiction of the nature of racism as it is only one aspect. Consequently, to understand racism, it's fundamental to recognize the development of power, privilege, and oppression in our society that has developed over time. The dilemma that exists within the Social Cognitive Approach, the General Socialization Approach, and the Social Identity Theory is that these social models place emphasize on the individual. They lack the comprehensiveness to include the power differential that society has presented over time with a group or structural component (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Social Dominance Theory

Another aspect not previously examined is the factor of how consequences affect individuals in the dominant or minority position from an unjust, hierarchical system of societal racism. Social Dominance Theory proposed by Sidanius and Pratto (1999), maintains that group-based inequalities are preserved through arbitrary-set group-based hierarchies to maintain control. The dominating group typically holds a largely disproportionate amount of positive social values or resources that provide power, prestige, and privilege. Often the positive social benefits include economic surpluses such as food or other items necessary for survival. Chattel slavery of African Americans in the United States is a prime example of Social Dominance. The theory also establishes that those individuals who hold power and desire their group to continue to hold the dominant positions and keep those with less "inferior" groups are known to have social dominance orientation. This orientation has been linked to research with social ideologies of political conservatism, just world beliefs, nationalism, sexism, racism, and internal attributions of poverty (Asbrock et al., 2010; Cotterill et al., 2014; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Thomsen et al., 2008). There are some significant criticisms of the theory, including the measure of social dominance orientation as one limited aspect of the approach. Another shortfall of the theory is that the scale measuring orientation disposition has been utilized as a distinct aspect of the theory, as there is no data concerning temporal or motivational influences on Social Dominance Orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The Social Dominance Theory implies that individual's beliefs are fixed as a function of their social situations or hierarchy, given the zeitgeist, modifications do occur but as a function of culture. If

discrimination, or propensity towards it, is fixed as a trait of the person, the theory does not account for situational factors that can alter one's motivation.

Understanding individuals' attitudes about prejudice are important; however, one way to examine individual's decision-making process is to look at the aspects of behavior and intentions. Individuals make daily judgments based on information given from their environment and social contexts to naturally learn, develop, and nurture basic human needs. Several other theories exist (i.e., Authoritarian Personality Theory, Marxism, and Evolutionary theory) all of which contribute a specific aspect to the explanation of racist behavior. Over many decades there has been research on motivation including conformity, obedience, and prejudice (Myers, 2013). The literature and studies suggest that human nature is fixed and with an unfavorable perspective of human disposition as aggressive, selfish, or having a focus towards dominance that is based on the individual's social context (Allport, 1954; Hamilton & Gufford, 1976; Myers, 2013; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Tajfel, 1982). The previously stated theories, along with others in the field, fail to emphasize the universal basic human needs, motivation to learn naturally, and healthy development. They also fail to account for social implications while examining individual motivations. The only comprehensive approach to explain racism-examining motives while taking into account cultural and social consequences is the Self-Determination Theory (SDT).

Self-Determination Theory (SDT)

According to Ryan and Deci (2017), SDT is the interplay of biological, social, and cultural circumstances that produce or thwart psychological growth, involvement, and well-being for intrinsic and individual growth. SDT has been evaluated in research

throughout the last 40 years in many diverse areas on motivation, including biological or

neuropsychological studies (Di Domenico & Ryan, 2017; Marsden et al., 2015); health

and medicine (Ng et al, 2012; Williams et al., 2002); education (Deci et al., 1991; Gillet

et al., 2012; Orsini et al., 2015); organization and work environments (Deci & Ryan,

2014; Guay et al., 2003); parenting (Laurin et al., 2015); psychotherapy (Ryan et al.,

2011; Zuroff et al., 2012); suicide (Bureau et. al., 2012); and virtual environments and

media (Peng et al., 2012; Przybylski et al., 2014). It has also been applied to the dark side

of human motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2017), and prejudiced (Amiot et al., 2012; Legault et

al., 2007; Plant & Devine, 1998).

Different from the previous approaches, SDT proposes that motivations vary in

not only social environment or contexts, but also in the source provided within and for

the individual. Some motivations are entirely volitional, reflecting one's interests or

values, whereas others can be wholly external, as when one is coerced or pressured into

doing something he or she does not find valuable (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Different motives

are not just different in magnitude; they vary in the origins that initiate them. The

underlying nature of the SDT is based on the premise of organismic integration.

Organismic integration suggests that not only do individuals and situations change, but

given the correct conditions of support, people will integrate and strive to resist

oppressive conditions (Ryan & Deci, 2017). The premise of SDT is rooted in the

strength-based approach of positive psychology that people's motivations and drives are

not malicious by nature and they have an inherent tendency for prosocial behavior (Ryan

& Deci, 2017). Ryan and Deci (2017) discuss the "dark side" of motivation including

pathology, prejudice, and aggression. Typically, this type of motivation occurs due to

deficits in psychological needs from a non-nurturing environment whether developmental or situational.

Although there are needs common to all people, individual differences create many factors to obtaining these needs being met. Behavioral motivations, or lack of, are often an attempt to satisfy the fundamental need for the individual.

Basic Psychological Needs

SDT proposes that similar to physiological needs; people have fundamental, inherent, universal psychological needs that are vital for functioning, including autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2017). If an individual's basic needs are satisfied, they are likely to have fulfillment and growth in their well-being and be considered high in self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 2014; Ryan & Deci, 2017). If an individual is self-determined, it can serve as a protective factor against the impact of adverse life events (Bureau et al., 2012). However, if an individual is deprived of their basic needs, this leads to deficits in functioning (Legate et al., 2013; Moller & Deci, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2017). SDT presents the three psychological needs as autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

Autonomy

Autonomy is one of the most studied basic needs of self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 2017). Autonomy is specific actions in which a person self-endorses a behavior out of their volition and willingness (de charms, 1968; Deci & Ryan, 2017). This action is explicitly referring to independence of choice. However, not all decisions that appear to be independent are self-motivating. Autonomy is having the choice of acting out one's own interest in their values. When individuals feel supported in work environments, they

have higher satisfaction, engagement in work, lower anxiety, higher self-esteem and they are also higher in autonomy (Deci et al., 2001; Moreau & Mageau, 2012). Gagné (2003) examined prosocial behaviors and found it to be not only significant in individuals with a higher autonomy orientation, but an individual's autonomy was more influential of engagement of helping behaviors when they received support from others. Deci and Ryan (2017), discuss that lack of independence will lead to aggression and poor regulation as the individual is less likely to internalize empathetic and compassionate behaviors; thus, the individual will often adapt attitudes of defiance due to social pressure.

Competence

An individual feels competent when they experience control of an outcome and experience mastery (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Feeling confident and receiving positive feedback can increase self-motivation; likewise, negative feedback can thwart intrinsic motivation (Vallerand & Reid, 1984). Perceived competence is essential for functioning, as when people have a lack of confidence in their ability this leads to lack of motivation of change. If an individual has low self-confidence, this will also lower persistence (Harackiewicz & Sansone, 2000).

Relatedness

Another facet of the mini-theories is Relationships Motivation Theory, in which Ryan and Deci (2017) state that individuals desire to have interactions in relationships with others, and that it's essential for their well-being to provide high-quality connections. The highest quality relationships are the ones that support autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Relatedness goes beyond the individual, or tangible objects, and integrates a sense of being into a social organization or society (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

Adler proposed people desire to fit in socially and to connect to others. (Ferguson, 1989).

It's important to note there's a difference also between behaving in a way which others

deem culturally appropriate and satisfying a basic psychological need. Individuals can put

lots of time or effort into items or superficial or temporary relationships without actually

meeting that basic psychological need.

Although the focus of SDT research has examined autonomy (Ryan & Deci,

2017), many studies have found their own unique pattern for relatedness and competence.

Research has found that individuals with higher levels of satisfaction in competence and

relatedness also had higher levels of work and relationship satisfaction (Hofer & Busch,

2011). A study conducted by Radel et al. (2012) examined how needs were reestablished

when the psychological need of autonomy was thwarted. This study found that people

would act to restore independence when they felt competent for the task. Similarly, when

an individual had low feelings of skill, they did not have the desire to regain autonomy.

This research suggests not only does each basic psychological need interact with one

another, but also strength in one area can be integrated and increase levels of other areas.

Likewise, high levels of all three basic psychological needs indicate that an individual is

likely more self-determined (Ryan & Deci, 2017). As it has been well documented,

antisocial behaviors are typically a product of psychological needs being unmet

developmentally, and it is also an inability to integrate and internalize basic needs

(Grolnick et al., 1997; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Prosocial behaviors and values are developed

and nurtured through socializations and within a family (Grusec, 2011; Wallin, 2007).

This theory of motivation, particularly relatedness, is also consistent with Bowlby's

attachment theory that deprivation of a caregiver's relationship will have a significant impact on physical and emotional development (Wallin, 2007).

There is limited literature on racial discrimination and motivation from the perspective of SDT's basic psychological needs. Amiot et al. (2012) examined group membership, in-group and outgroup, and norm behaviors of discrimination contrasted with equality to show motivations and self-determined behaviors. They found that in general, individuals that were in support of discrimination were less likely to be autonomous. They placed people in either an equality group or discrimination group. When individuals were in the equality group and behaviors were consistent with the group norm, they were found to be more self-determined. Even the individuals who were pro-discrimination, but placed in a group where the norm was equality, were found to be more self-determined. Whereas the research also found outgroup membership did not influence behavior, this result indicates that not only are group norms strong and pervasive, but prosocial behavior is innate for humans and more natural to integrate. Weinstein and Ryan (2010) examined prosocial behaviors and satisfaction in helping strangers. They found not only did these individuals desire to help people they did not have a relationship with, but also scored high in self-determination, empathy, and higher levels of well-being. This research demonstrates that even when there is nothing to gain, individuals can find satisfaction in helping others. Legate et al. (2013), examined ostracism and thwarting of basic psychological needs. Not only did the perpetrators experience thwarting of basic needs and frustration, a follow-up study found when the pressure was removed for ostracism, individuals attempted to fix their wrongdoing to satisfy autonomy and relatedness needs, not due to external guilt or pressure (Legate et

al., 2015). Although the basic psychological needs are universal to all individuals, individual differences can develop through social contexts. Each individual's focus on needs can vary not only by their social context, but also on personal need.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation

The premise of motivation for SDT originated from the Perceived Locus of Causality (PLOC) which was birthed from the work of Heider (1958) and deCharms (1968). The theory maintains that even an intentional action is not always an automatic or spontaneous choice. There are two forms of PLOC including intrinsic and extrinsic. Extrinsic PLOC originates from the perception that the motivation is external, whether for visible gain or even to avoid an unwanted circumstance or feeling (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Although individuals have a personal choice, at times people feel pressured to make decisions from some outside influence. Internal PLOC is similar to intrinsic motivation in that individuals have because the act or behavior itself is rewarding or enjoyable (Ryan & Deci, 2017). de Charms (1968) explains that intrinsic PLOC is the only authentic action that comes from choice.

The first mini theory developed within SDT was Cognitive Evaluation Theory (CET) which focuses on the social contextual factors that facilitate or undermine intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2017). When a reward is externally administered, the contingencies are based on behaviors outside an individual, external PLOC, which then can eventually reduce engagement because the rewards are used as controlling this disrupting autonomy and competence. People experience both intra-personal and interpersonal circumstances that influence their intrinsic motivation. We live in a society where we are surrounded by teachers, parents, managers, etc., all which influence

motivations. CET is based on how we interpret events and give meaning to the interactions we have with others (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Furthermore, due to ego involvement, people feel pressure to perform in ways to belong to a group (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Typically, this involvement is controlled externally and undermines intrinsic motivation.

Prosocial behaviors come in many forms, including helping others during natural or human-made disasters, pro-environmental behaviors such as recycling, or activism. If we examined prosocial helping behaviors of natural disasters, one would assume lower levels of discrimination should exist. It has been documented that African Americans receive less assistance than White individuals during natural or human-made disasters (Saucier et al., 2005). However, on the contrary, if the emergency level of the situation is considered high, they may receive more assistance due to White individuals' need to feel distinguished in their actions (Saucier et al., 2005). If someone has intrinsic PLOC, their helping behavior is rewarding because they choose it. For example, an individual may be motivated to donate as it increases self-worth, confidence, and overall, they experience pleasure in helping others. People who are higher in intrinsic motivation also are better at getting their needs met and will internalize and incorporate society cultural values resulting in overall higher levels of well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Likewise, they will have motivations of prosocial or nondiscriminatory behavior because they enjoy activism or egalitarianism. However, other individuals may also commit the same helping behaviors to avoid guilt, feel like a hero, or social pressure of "doing the right thing." These latter examples are extrinsically PLOC due to circumstances of social rewards, evaluations, and threats which all are controlled actions (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

External and internal motivations have been connected to discriminatory behaviors. Plant and Devine (1998) made the first distinction to relate social and personal external and internal motives to racially prejudiced attitudes. They found when individuals reported lower racism scores they also reported internalized, personal, motivations. Likewise, those who reported high levels of prejudice report increased social pressure. Similar to Legate et al. (2013), the authors found that when the pressure was removed, individuals were less likely to be prejudice. Those deprived of basic needs was less autonomous and likely rigid or defensive. Studies have examined interpersonal control and lack of autonomy, which produces response in behaving in an antisocial matter (Duriez et al., 2007; Neighbors et al., 2002). This notion corresponds with the social dominance theory and the fear of depletion of resources. Duriez et al. (2007) examine the attitudes of adolescents towards foreigners in Belgium based on extrinsic and intrinsic goals. Within the research, the analysis showed differences in motivation types toward prejudice attitudes. Social dominance orientation was found to partially mediate the relationship of extrinsic goal attaining and prejudice beliefs. The longitudinal analysis found that motivation of goals and a social dominance orientation had reciprocal benefits. These results indicate that situations can produce a more social dominance orientation or that social dominance orientation can produce an extrinsic motivation. Extrinsically motivated individuals depicted higher levels of prejudice than their intrinsic counterparts. The researchers argue that individuals with external goals attain a social dominance stance when they have perceived barriers. Individuals with intrinsic motivation are satisfied with prosocial behaviors thus less likely to participate and prejudice attitude. It's worth noting that the climate of Belgium and United States are

vastly different relative to the history of Chattel slavery of African Americans and this research did not examine racial prejudice or discrimination. Furthermore, the study did not discuss basic psychological needs of SDT and how it may have impacted motivation as goal attainment. The extrinsic motivations associated with nondiscriminatory behavior can vary greatly. The central premise of the theory comes from in organismic viewpoint, that everything evolves, and people will integrate experiences and work towards goals through either supportive social environment for one that works against the natural tendencies for growth; either way, it is an active environment in a social context (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

Internalization and Regulation

According to Ryan and Deci's (2017) mini theory of Organismic Integration, motivation is based on a continuum of self-determination composed of six styles of regulation, Intrinsic, Integrated, Identified, Introjected, External, and Amotivation, which assimilate and integrate social regulations to support or thwart intrinsic motivation. Regulation, the extent to which the motive is internalized, is the process of transforming external values, beliefs, and other behaviors to internal or one's own (Ryan et al., 1985). On a scale from least self-determined, amotivation, has no regulation to the four regulations of extrinsic motivation (i.e., integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation) to finally the most self-determined behavior of intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is self-determined behaviors that are reflecting an individual's choice or value. Whereas, extrinsic motivation is manifested in different processes of integration from cultural socialization and is shaped by the rewards from society (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Society, families, peers, or institutions, often convey

pressures to conform, whether actual or perceived. Thus, the individual feels controlled in the motivation in which an individual acts. When an individual has an extrinsic PLOC, the motives for behaviors can range widely. This concept is fluid, as changing of motives is consistent with the constant changes society demands on an individual. People will integrate their context to fit their needs and adapt their motivations accordingly. The different regulations of extrinsic motivation are based on the amount individuals consider actions to be autonomous. Organismic Integration designates four specific regulations of extrinsic motivation to include integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation, and external regulation.

External Regulation

External regulation is conditional on compliance dependent on reward and punishment (Ryan & Deci, 2017). This regulation has the least autonomous behavior because the reward is the removal of penalty or obedience to an order. For example, contingency management treatment is often used for rehabilitation of substance use problems by giving tangible rewards to reinforce constructive behaviors such as abstinence and decrease substance use. The main criticism for this type of treatment is that it does not get at the origin of the problem as it is based on behaviorism and primarily instrumental lacking personal value. Thus, motivations of underlying processes have no relevance. This also leaves the least impression and is difficult to internalize.

Introjection

The second regulation for extrinsic motivation is introjected regulation. Introjected regulation is conditional on an individual's self-esteem and avoiding uncomfortable feelings (Ryan & Deci, 2017). An example would be a student studying

for exams or doing homework because of fear of disappointing parents or family members. If this behavior were intrinsic, the person would enjoy learning the material because he or she wanted to know more on the topic. Introjection is intrapersonal as the motivation is within the individual as they are dependent on negative appraisals and how others view them, real or perceived.

Identification

The third regulation, identified regulation, has personal importance where the individual values the secondary reward (Ryan & Deci, 2017). An example of identified regulation would be exercising because it can prevent health problems and increase overall health. Ultimately, these individuals understand that the consequences of the motives can be beneficial; however, the purpose is for gaining a secondary motive not because the activity is self-fulling.

Integration

The last regulation is integrated regulation, the extrinsic motivation with the most autonomy. Integration helps individuals assimilate their sense of self to the actions as it is in line with values (Ryan & Deci, 2017). An example would include completing part of a job merely because that is presumed part of the job. The individual may feel indifferent about the task, but not shameful or guilty. However, this is in line with their work ethic values.

Amotivation

Amotivation has been defined as having the lack of intention and motivation for the behavior (Ryan & Deci, 2017). If an action is purposeful with purpose as the foundation, then it is either intrinsic or extrinsic. Amotivation is a result of lack of

perceived competence or lack of interest behavior (Ryan & Deci, 2017). The lack of

behavior is because either the desired outcomes will not be successful because the person

feels hopeless and therefore does nothing, or cannot obtain the desired result and thus has

no commitment to the behavior. Often when a person may have some motivation if they

don't feel confident in their actions, they are likely not to help.

Ultimately, individuals with higher autonomy such as integrated and identified

regulation will feel they have more choice even with motivations that are extrinsic (Ryan

& Deci, 2017). While individuals in introjected and external regulations will have

orientations with more controlling aspects of the environment and feel presence of

external rewards or social pressures thus leading to higher extrinsic regulations (Ryan &

Deci, 2017). Individuals with no motivations, amotivation, will have impersonal

orientation which is just a lack of intention or initiative (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

Many studies have examined internalization and regulation processes of

motivation in many areas. Several studies have assessed actions encompassing lack of

motivation on environmental behaviors (Pelletier, 2002). Prosocial environmental

behaviors may include recycling, limiting water usage, or utilizing fewer resources that

affect the environment (Pelletier, 2002). As documented in various research, when self-

determination and autonomy are present, individuals will express higher levels of

intrinsic motivation, and the behavior will repeat at higher rates (Osbaldiston & Sheldon,

2003; Pelletier, 2002). Pelletier et al. (1999) examine the goals to explain the lack of

consistency and amotivation behavior between attitudes and actions for prosocial

environmental behaviors. The study found strategy, capacity, effort, and helplessness

beliefs were found to be the four types of amotivation. Outcomes indicate competence

and autonomy were not present when people did not exhibit prosocial environmental behaviors. Similar to racial discrimination, even when given available knowledge, individuals continue to have cognitive dissonance with their desired versus actual behaviors due to perceived low competency and lack of control leading to lack of self-efficacy (Pelletier, 2002). Similar to institutionalized racism, if an individual deems a situation as unchanging or they have a lack of control to change, they are unlikely to follow through on prosocial environmental behaviors. Pelletier (2002) draws attention to the relationship of social and contextual influences on the motivation for change.

Pelletier et al. (1998) conducted a four-part study validating the Motivation Toward the Environmental Scale, explicitly analyzing the regulation processes for behaving in environmentally conscious ways. The authors found when the individual was more self-determined, they also were more aware and compelled to fix environmental issues. The study identified the four levels of extrinsic regulation on external motives and how individuals made internalizations. de Bilde et al. (2011) examined the ability to process future goals and learning outcomes mediated by regulation motivations. They found the most influential mediator was identified regulation, which often portrayed personal conviction. Introjected (i.e. guilt and shame) and identified regulations mediated the relationship between the ability to process future goals and ability to handle information.

A study conducted by Legault et al. (2007), examined the regulatory motives on explicit and implicit prejudice bias of sexism and racism throughout three studies. The authors proposed that as self-determination increased, this would also be related to higher levels of intrinsic motivation, or higher ranking on the continuum of self-regulation scale,

which would then lead to less prejudiced attitudes. They found a negative relationship of prejudice (i.e., racism and sexism) with regulation motivations in intrinsic, integrated, and identified regulations. Individuals with Amotivation were also more likely to express prejudice. Interestingly, they found no relationship with introjected regulation and a reported modest relationship of external regulation on racism.

There are several complexities in the research worth nothing. In this study, the authors examined both sexism and racism and found highly self-determined individuals were more likely to have intrinsically regulated motives of attitudes towards non-prejudice. Although these two forms of prejudice are related, they are distinct constructs as prejudice bias attitude and racism are not the same variables. Without the separation of the constructs, it is difficult to define racial prejudice. Likewise, the methodology was inconsistent as the methods changed throughout the studies and the analysis was not stated precisely in Study 3 of how the between-subjects ANOVA was run. In the third study, arbitrary cutoffs of self-determined regulations were set of intrinsic, integrated, and identified as one construct, and amotivation, introjected, and external as another construct. These cut offs have not been consistent in the literature (Pelletier et al., 1998). There was a small sample size therefore if the data were not run dichotomously, there would not have been a larger enough sample (N=62). Some other criticisms include the disproportionate amount of female (study 2 = 81.3%) to male (study 1 = 18.7%) participants. This disparity existed across the three studies. Men and women have different motivations and expressions of racism (Sidanius et al., 1994). Likewise, patriarchy, male privilege, has its own set of benefits. Ultimately, these limitations were not discussed in the article. It was also worth noting; the studied consisted of Canadian

(92%) university students. Similar to the Duriez et al. (2007) study, the climate of Canada and United States are vastly different as of the history of Chattel slavery of African Americans.

Manifestation of Privilege and Oppression

The privilege of White individuals and the cost of racism to African Americans comes in several forms. Research has shown individual, institutional, and cultural racism challenge people of color with unwarranted stress (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Utsey & Ellison, 2000). Sue (2003) defines individual racism as:

> Any attitude or action, whether intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious, that subordinate persons or groups because of their color. It can be manifested in overt, intentional, and conscious efforts to harm (the White supremacist), or it can be subtle, unintentional, and unconscious (well-intentioned persons). (p. 33)

For example, if a White woman believes the stereotype that African American males are criminals, she may actively avoid eye contact or unknowing clutch her purse as she walks by an African American male.

Institutional Racism

Beyond the individual psychological and physical impacts, racial discrimination has social implications that affect the minority individual. Institutional racism is defined as "institutional policy, practice, or structure, in governments, businesses, unions, schools, churches, courts, and law enforcements" treats persons of color as less than those of the majority group (Sue, 2003, p. 33). Some examples would include racial profiling, inequality in housing, or discrimination from employment. Research has shown children

of color have lower educational opportunities than their White counterparts including less

demanding and deficient curriculum, smaller percent in gifted programs, as well as

teachers that are underpaid and possess less experience (Dixson et al., 2016). These

disparities can lead to lower levels of educational attainment, which has been

documented (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2016). Some privileged individuals may argue that

the education a child receives is a choice by the parent, because of living locations and

the availability of charter and private schools. However, Dixson et al. (2016) call

attention to the lack of resources a family has such as transportation, time, finances and

how they can significantly impact and influence "school choice." People of color

experience higher levels of poverty, housing discrimination, and community violence

(Santiago-Rivera et al., 2016). Despite Fair Housing Acts, recent housing discrimination

has been documented with barriers of loan approvals, restrictive housing contract,

selectively raising prices on desirable property (Franklin & Higginbotham,

2011). Furthermore, there is an apparent discrepancy in the mental health disparities of

minority individuals.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS; 2001) examined

mental health within different cultures, races, and ethnicities. They found African

Americans have less access to mental health services and are less likely to receive mental

health services than Whites. When African Americans do seek help, it is likely with

medical doctors in an emergency room due to severity of symptoms. The report

demonstrates various barriers African Americans encounter including poor quality of

healthcare, lack of awareness of cultural issues, bias, and lack of appropriate services. For

example, specific psychological disorders (e.g., schizophrenia), have more errors in

diagnosis for African Americans than for Whites. These barriers cause excessive gain for one group of people while limiting and blocking resources for that of a minority group. These actions by the majority group can be both implicit or explicit, intentional or unintentional, in nature. Even if a White individual does not support a White supremacist view, because of institutional racism, it is likely they are benefiting from the system.

Overt or "Old Fashioned" Racism

Due to the extreme behaviors predominant in the history of the United States, often when White individuals think of racism, they visualize Ku Klux Klan or actions similar to the Nazi regime as racist behaviors. Many individuals assume that overt or "old-fashioned" racism has gone down as the number of lynchings, and explicit acts of violence have decreased (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Sue, 2003). These extreme behaviors have been categorized as "Old fashion" racism and defined as "overt, direct, and oftentimes intentional, usually carried out by the conscious-deliberate racist." (Sue, 2003, p. 47). The intention of overt racism is for it to be visible and expressed publicly.

While egregious and profound actions of overt racism may appear to have declined, this does not indicate that this type of discrimination no longer exists or will not reemerge with changes in societal norms Many believe that overt racism is decreasing, but this is far from the truth. According to the National Research Council (2004), approximately 10 percent of White Americans directly support racial discrimination. After the violence in Charlottesville, a poll conducted in conjunction with the University of Virginia Center for Politics asked Americans about racism and found 8% supported white nationalism as a group or movement and 31% of Americans

identified agreement that "America must protect and preserve its White European heritage." (Ruiz-Grossmn, 2017). It may assume that overt behavior has not significantly decreased after the civil rights movements in the 1960's, because it was only a little over a decade ago that the Hate Crime Sentencing Enhancement Act was established in 1994, to deter bias-motivated violence (Jenness & Grattet, 2001). The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (n.d.) defines hate crimes as "a crime that manifests evidence of prejudice based on race, gender or gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity." According to the U.S. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation (2015), the victimization of hate crimes toward African Americans encompasses 52.2% of all racial hate crimes; this exceeds the hate crimes for both religion or sexual orientation, respectively. After 9/11 hate crimes on anti-Muslim hate crimes increased from 28 incidents a year to 481 in 2001 (Jenness & Grattet, 2001). However, there is a deficit in research examining the recent effects of overt racism in the United States.

Even with insufficiencies in research, recent hate crimes toward African Americans have been portrayed in overt discriminatory acts by individuals and has been well documented in the media. On June 17, 2015, in Charleston, South Carolina, there was a mass shooting at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church killing nine people by a self-confessed White supremacist in "hopes of igniting a race war" (Corasaniti et al., 2015, June 18). After the Charleston church shooting, some individuals placed demands on the South Carolina lawmakers to remove the Confederate flag from the state Capitol in Columbia. (Corasaniti et al., 2015, June 18). The removal of several other monuments, such as the Robert E. Lee statue in New Orleans, have motivated protests by White nationalist Richard Spencer and the Ku Klux Klan (Fausset & Feuer,

2017, August 13). The most recent example of an extreme magnitude of overt behavior was displayed during the White nationalist "Unite the Right" march rally on August 11, 2017, in Charlottesville, VA. The organized protest of the removal of a Robert E. Lee statue from Emancipation Park was a blatant display of overt attitudes and behaviors of racial discrimination and was depicted "as one of the largest White supremacist events in recent US history" (Fausset & Feuer, 2017, August 13). During the rally, many citizens witnessed in media, and in person, the Nazi-era slogan "Blood and Soil" as well as other openly demeaning chants. The White supremacists demonstrated not only with words, but as well with parading the symbols of Nazi Germany and the Confederate flag. One of the worst acts included a car intentionally driven into a group of counter-protesters injuring 19 people and the killing one woman (Fausset & Feuer, 2017, August 13). When individuals feel a negative emotional stance toward a minority group, they are likely to express overt behaviors typical of racists even when they may embrace social norms (Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981).

Covert Racism

While Charlottesville was extreme overt behavior, most people in the United States feel shame regarding the national history and therefore avoid talking about race (Alexander, 2010; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). When Barack Obama was elected president, many White individuals stated that our nation was "post-racial" and that racism no longer a problem; however, this is an indication of colorblindness as the attitude "race does not, or should not, matter" is far from the reality of our society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). While many forms of overt racism have decreased, numerous scholars have established that racial discrimination has evolved into a subtle form. The subtle forms

include symbolic or modern racism (Sears, 1988), colorblind attitudes (Bonilla-Silva, 2003), and racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007). These forms of racism share common features of vagueness or difficulty in distinguishing racism, as the methods of discrimination are typically passive, rationalized, and ingrained in society. Individuals that commit microaggressions are often unaware that they engaging in discriminatory behavior and often unintentional (Sue et al., 2007). Microaggressions typically materialize in three forms: microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation. Microassaults as overt, blatant statements the individual is aware of, either verbal or nonverbal, such as the use of the confederate flag (Sue et al., 2007. Microinsults are interactions that communicate insensitivity or directly demean a person's racial identity (Sue et al., 2007). Microinvalidations are "communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings," or experiences of people of color (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274). This contemporary racism has been labeled as more dangerous because the minimization and denial of racism make it difficult to eliminate (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, Sue et al., 2007).

Colorblind Racial Attitudes

Although many individuals in society would like to believe that the United States is colorblind, this is far from reality as overt behavior of the Jim Crow era has not merely disappeared, but has been replaced with colorblind racial ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. pleaded for a utopian society in which individuals are judged not "by the color of their skin but by the content of their character" (King, M. L., Jr., 1963). White individuals have used this speech and the election of Barack Obama as president as a basis for the justification that significant transformation has occurred to

produce an equal society (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). However, this logic denies institutional or cultural racism and minimizes individual behavior.

Colorblind racial ideology is the "belief that skin color does not play a role in interpersonal interactions and intuitional policies/practices" (p.5) (Neville et al., 2016). This definition has varied across scholars and disciplines because the distortion and minimization of racial discrimination began to be vague (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Neville et al., 2016; Neville et al., 2001; Sue et al., 2007). Colorblind attitudes have been associated with racism against African Americans (Neville et al., 2000) as well as less empathy from mental health providers (Burkard & Knox, 2004). Often colorblind discrimination takes place due to lack of awareness from the person in power; however, it can also be intentional. Nevertheless, the consensus is clear that the goal of colorblind ideology, or attitudes, is to minimize, distort, or deny that racism exists or is endorsed. When faced with dialogues on race, White individuals choose to emphasize commonalities, thus endorsing positive feeling about intergroup relations without putting focus on inequalities that exist (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2003) lists four main frameworks in which he argues color-blindness operates: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism.

Abstract Liberalism

Bonilla-Silva (2003) states that abstract liberalism utilizes political and economic liberalism to explain race abstractly. He describes this frame as the most important and challenging to comprehend. People desire social advancement, but the ambiguity of individual intent makes it difficult to determine genuine motives. Abstract liberalism has also been identified as the Myth of Meritocracy, in which individuals believe that society

is based on equal opportunities and access to social mobility (McNamee & Miller, 2009).

Americans who devalue the social inequalities may be also likely to believe that

individual social standing exists due to one's abilities. Colorblind individuals would have

difficulty identifying an unjust or unfair system, mainly when the "American dream" is

social climbing from an equal opportunity of hard work, determination, and motivation

(McNamee & Miller, 2009). The most often used example for abstract liberalism is the

opposition to affirmative action blaming African Americans for lack of hard work "If you

just work hard enough you can pull yourself up by your bootstraps." That notion denies

the fact that society needs to ensure equal educational and employment access because of

the lack of adequate resources, which results in underrepresentation in higher education

and high-ranking employment positions due as well.

Cultural Racism

Cultural racism depicts African Americans as having deficits in their ability to

adapt to social norms (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Although eugenics and rationale for

biological inferiority have been found unsupported (Selden, 1999), these depictions have

portrayed African Americans as lazy, stupid, submissive, irresponsible, or childish. Due

to these persistent negative stereotypes, cultural racism portrayed African Americans as

having poor family dynamics, overall substandard personal values, and an inferior work

ethic. Cultural racism is also defined as dominance of one's cultural tradition over those

of a minority group (Sue, 2003). This type of racism takes the assumption that the values

most relevant are those of the dominant culture. An example could be regulating that

English be the only spoken language at a place of employment. These attitudes drive

minority individuals to assimilate or acculturate into the majority culture and removing

their own identities to "fit in." Some minority individuals even report learning to feel shame for their cultural customs and history (Delgado-Romero, 1999).

Naturalization

Naturalization is the justification from White individuals to rationalize racism due to innate predispositions or circumstances (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Individuals use the naturalization reasoning to suggest segregation exists because it is "natural" for people to want to exist near individuals who are similar to them. Contrary, history repeated presents redlining and discriminatory practices (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Minimization of Racism

Minimization of racism is the denial that racial discrimination exists and further justifies institutionalized racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). During the hearing of George Zimmerman for the shooting of Trayvon Martin, the judge banned the term "'racial," justifying by stating the case had nothing to do with race which led the jury not to consider race when making the verdict (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Minimization holds power to actively choose to ignore White privilege and the power differentials that support an unjust system. The strategic intent of minimization can also be extremely confusing as it leaves people unclear if they are misunderstanding. For example, often African Americans are told they are "hypersensitive."

Limited studies have examined overt and covert behaviors on discrimination simultaneously. However, the few studies that have examined both overt and covert behaviors find that both forms of discrimination are correlated but distinguishable factors (Akrami et al, 2000; Kettrey & Laster, 2014; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Tougas et al., 2004). For example, Scholars have suggested Internet may provide less marginalization,

however, greater power to white users than users of color (Levy, 2001). Kettrey and Laster (2014) explored of the roles of overt and color-blind Racism in on YouTube forums to examine patterns of overt and color-blind racism. Study revealed both overt and color-blind racism play roles in preserving "white" spaces online. Specially, comments in which users self-identified as a person of color had greater likelihood of eliciting overt racism from other users than comments without a racial identification. Another example is research conducted by Tougas et al. (2004) comparing racism among college students in careers that are leading to law-enforcement examine both over in covert forms of racism towards a physical characteristic of immigrants to Canada. They found that both forms of racism were significant and related but associated with different attitudes and behavioral outcomes. In relation to societal changes, they found that new attitudes emerged as a result of these changes in race relations, indicating that latent beliefs are still found in those who are becoming egalitarian.

Unless someone directly observes discriminatory acts, measuring racial discrimination can be a difficult concept to study even more so establishing a causal relationship. Typically, researchers examine behaviors indirectly on how discriminatory behavior typically affects those of the minority group as they are in the best position to assess the reality of racism (National Research Council, 2004). It has been suggested that asking White individuals to provide evidence that they intend to discriminate is not a good indicator of racial discrimination as they are unlikely to report the behaviors if it's illegal or undesirable (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; National Research Council, 2004). For example, initially items on the Modern Racism Scale were not considered discriminatory; however, individuals have become more sensitive to socially desirable

responses (Fazio et al., 1995). However, these measures may yield a more accurate report of behavior as society and culture have shifted yet again. While there are no known studies, even under reported actions merit investigation as the shift from overt forms of discrimination may not have been as extreme as people once believed. Residual blatant racial beliefs still exist and changes in deep rooted beliefs do not eliminate old views or behaviors leading people to regress to overt prejudiced responses (Devine & Monteith, 1993).

The mechanisms in which discriminatory behavior is processed and impacts on decision making may play an important role in featuring unwanted behavior or identifying alternatives for those behaviors. The goal of this study is to examine racial discrimination at covert and overt levels utilizing self-determination theory as the theoretical framework. Specifically, the study will take a similar approach to Legault et al. (2007) in incorporating Ryan and Deci's (2017) mini-theories of Organismic Integration. This study's purpose is to explore motivation based on a continuum and the regulatory motives individuals utilize when exhibiting discriminatory or prosocial behaviors.

Hypotheses

Defining and classifying patterns of motivation relating to racial discrimination have challenged many researchers (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Legault et al. 2007; National Research Council, 2004). Research has demonstrated conflicting results with the model of motivation on a continuum (Pelletier et al., 1998) as motivations can be expressed in more than one domain. When applied to racial discrimination, people may have similar patterns for motivations to be prosocial or discriminatory. Shifting to use a

new technique may help to identify and distinguish between different types of motives for those who either present discrimination or prosocial behaviors. Latent profile analysis (LPA) is a person-centered latent variable where individuals are assigned to one mutually exclusive profile based on their responses to observed variables of interest (e.g., motivation regulation) to help organize individuals with similar traits (Pastor et al., 2007). This allows the observed variables to be statistically independent with homogeneous groups of individuals who can then be appropriately classified according to typologies of motivation. LPA integrates information, allowing for the interaction of different motivations to identify individuals with common attributes to describe how groups of homogeneous individuals function (Aldendererfer & Blashfield, 1984). Whereas with the typical variable centered approach the variables describe how the behaviors function across individuals (Aldendererfer & Blashfield, 1984). The identification of profile groups allows for greater understanding of the relationships among similar traits of motivations. This form of data analysis will uncover hidden groups from the observed data. This is useful because it is suspected that the model may work differently for different people. Moreover, the motivations may not fall on a clear continuum and will not have independence of observations. LPA is a method closely related to classical Latent Class Analysis (LCA; Goodman, 1974; Lazarsfeld & Henry, 1968) and standard cluster-analysis (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). The difference between LPA and LCA is the use of continuous indicators for LPA versus categorical indicators for LCA (Lanza et al., 2003). The purpose of this data analysis is to divide individuals into homogeneous groups based on their motivations for racial discrimination. Cluster analysis is used to assign individuals into groups. Unlike LPA it is

not model based and needs to be transformed prior to date analysis. Additionally, it has more assumptions than that of LPA (Pastor et al., 2007). LCA and LPA are also different from factor analysis which is concerned with the structure of variables rather than a person-centered approach (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984).

The final number of latent classes is not usually predetermined prior to analysis (Pastor et al., 2007). Unlike previous literature which is taking a variable centered approach examining motivation, this person-centered approach can get more detailed information on the combination of motivation will influence an individual's attitudes of racial discrimination. This analysis allows us to consider different sub dimensions of motivation and identify patterns within individuals which may have been previously hidden.

Justification for Profiles

Based on prior research, the study is expected to identify four profiles or groups of motivation types. Given the significant differences based on theory of intrinsic, extrinsic, and amotivation it is unlikely that there was a cluster of low intrinsic or high amotivation. As intrinsic motivation is freely chosen, we would expect to find a profile on those individuals. This profile would include high in intrinsic motivation regulation, low in extrinsic motivation regulation, and low in amotivation regulation. In contrast, individuals with amotivation most likely to commit racial discrimination as they typically have no motivation or a lack of prosocial behaviors. This profile would be low in intrinsic motivation regulation, low in extrinsic motivation regulation, and high in amotivation regulation. It is unlikely that we would identify profiles of all four extrinsic regulation motivations. Similar to Legault et al. (2007), it is anticipated those in integrated and

identified regulations was profiled as a "low extrinsic" regulation profile. This profile would include high in intrinsic motivation regulation, high in extrinsic motivation regulation, and low in amotivation regulation. Although they are extrinsically motivated, both forms of these regulations find value with an internal PLOC (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Whereas individuals in interjected and external regulations are likely to be profiled as a category of "high extrinsic" motives as they have an external PLOC (Ryan & Deci, 2017). This profile would be low in intrinsic motivation regulation, high in extrinsic motivation regulation, and low in amotivation regulation. According to Ryan and Deci (2017), the social contextual influences on motivation will change based on the individual's differences of causal orientations on how much choice or autonomy they orient towards their environment. However, because profiles have not been extracted in previous studies examining racial discrimination through a profile analysis, this was largely exploratory, as these profiles are hypothetical. The study will not include formal hypothesis of which motivation profiles due to the exploratory nature.

      Research Question 1: When taken into account simultaneously, are there differences in the profile groups in overt and covert racism? What is the pattern if there are differences?

Justification Research Question 1

Given the controversial findings in the literature, one additional goal of the present study is to examine how motivations simultaneously influence overt and covert forms of racial discrimination. Though many individuals consider overt forms of racism to be diminishing, racial discrimination is expressed both in overt and covert forms. Racism is multifaceted and examination in isolation does not reflect the possibility that

some variables will have more variance and needed to be weighed differently than others within the relationship. A type one error can occur inflating significant rates, and it would be unclear the patterns in which overt and covert racism are related to motivation profiles.

Research Question 2: Are there differences in the profile groups in overt racism? What is the pattern if there are differences?

Justification Research Question 2

After establishing reliable profiles on motivation groups, comparisons among these groups was made with regard to outcomes on overt racial discrimination. Based on previous research conducted by Legault et al. (2007) when individuals ranked motivation higher on the continuum of self-regulation, intrinsic, integrated, and identified, they were less likely to have prejudiced attitudes. Likewise, those low on the continuum of self-regulation, Amotivation, were more likely to hold prejudiced attitudes. Individuals with Intrinsic regulation find not only inherent satisfaction in pro-social behaviors, but they also have their basic psychological needs met. Combating racial discrimination is an active willingness to address one's own biases and to pursue justice even when threatened with ostracism (Sue, 2003). These individuals are likely to feel less control from external pressures and more autonomy, competence, and relatedness in their actions (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Similarly, individuals with Integrated and Identified regulations are likely to internalize information from their social world. These individuals still have an internal PLOC and may place importance on assimilation and modify their values. While they are not likely to express explicit prejudice attitudes, they are not actively pursuing pro-social behaviors as a self-rewarding behavior. They may not be fully autonomous,

but will likely be high in competence and relatedness. Lastly, due to the current national climate such as the White nationalist "Unite the Right" march rally in Charlottesville, VA, many individuals who had typically been reserved in overt behaviors may find it more socially acceptable. The justification of white supremacy and overtly racist behaviors has often been deflected as unacceptable after the civil rights movements. Although blatant and overt behavior has rarely been expressed due to punishments by society, this form of racism may have been masked and persisted in other forms. For Introjected and External regulations, there may be a lack of self-control due to the deficiency in punishments for hate crimes and the attempt of reversal of civil rights and social justice policies (Long, 2017; Wilber, 2016). Also, when people feel negatively aroused toward a minority group member, they are likely to have regression of behaviors even when embracing social norms (Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981). Individuals who have motivation lack control and intention of their actions. Likewise, they may lack values of societal standards, and therefore, they are likely to commit overt behaviors because they have no desire for pro-social behaviors.

Research Question 3: Are there differences in the profile groups in covert racism? What is the pattern if there are differences?

Justification Research Question 3

It is unclear how overt behaviors will manifest in the continuum of the regulatory motives; however, covert behaviors are expected to exist in all regulations except Intrinsic motivation. Because covert forms of racism are vague, passive, rationalized, and embedded in society, they have become socially and culturally acceptable. This type of racism is ingrained in institutional policy within governments, businesses, schools,

churches, and the law. As mentioned previously, even if a White individual does not support a White supremacist view, because of institutional racism, it is likely they are benefiting from the system. Without an internal desire to produce prosocial behaviors, individuals likely was influenced by external motives as there is no direct consequences or awareness for their actions. In all extrinsic motivations and amotivation regulations, individuals will have lower autonomy leading to poor regulation as the individual is less likely to internalize empathetic and compassionate behaviors.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants for this study were undergraduate students recruited from a midsized, southern public university. All participants were over the age of 18. Participants that did not identify their ethnicity as White were excluded from this study. Colorblind attitudes often are expressed by White individuals and they exhibit less awareness of White privilege than people of color (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Sue et al. 2007). Additionally, this study is specifically interested in individuals who hold privilege, which literature typically deems as White individuals (Alexander, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011; McIntosh, 1988; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Data were collected from all other self-identified races or ethnicities (Asian, African American, Hispanic, Native American, African, etc.) for exploratory purposes. A power analysis was conducted using G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007). To detect a significant difference at the 95% confidence level for a medium effect size, with two response variables and six predictor variables, a minimum sample size of 213 students was to be recruited. While it was unknown how many profiles would be determined prior to data analysis with regard to racial discrimination, it was unlikely that there would be more than six profiles.

According to the theory of Organismic Integration, within the continuum of motivations, there are only six styles of regulation for motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

Procedure

Upon approval from the Institutional Review Board at Louisiana Tech University, participants were recruited through class announcements or emails made by university instructors or through in-class visits by the investigator. Participants were offered extra credit for participation by the instructor of the class at the discretion of the instructor. There were no anticipated risks associated with participation, however information for mental health services at the college counseling center were made available in the event psychological discomfort occurred. There were no potential benefits other than extra credit offered individually by course instructors.

Participants accessed the study link, and provided informed consent prior to completing the online questionnaire via Survey Monkey. Within the informed consent, information was provided regarding the purpose of the study and information of withdrawal of participation at any time without penalty. Participants were asked demographic information of ethnicity; only White participants completed the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) scale. The scale is intended to measure racial prejudice attitudes that White American individuals may have toward African Americans (McConahay, 1986). Likewise, the MRS (McConahay, 1986) is composed of specific items which can cause psychological distress and not applicable to people of color. An example item includes, "It was wrong for the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in its 1954 decision" (McConahay, 1986). All other scales were administered to all individuals. Participants voluntarily completed questionnaires about motives for discriminatory

behavior and attitudes. Additional measures were administered to gather for informational purposes that were not to be used in the final analysis for the purpose of this study. This information was used for the purposes of directing future research. Following their participation, participants were debriefed regarding the study's purpose.

Instruments

Demographics Questionnaire

The demographic questionnaire included a question to gather information including race/ethnicity, age, and gender (See Appendix A).

Covert Racism

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale

The CoBRAS measures color-blind racial attitudes (See Appendix B), which are defined as covert or subtle forms of racism that assesses the denial of racism. The scale is a 20-item self-reported measure that uses a 6-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree). Confirmatory factor analysis indicated three factors of Unawareness of Racial Privilege (7 items), Institutional Discrimination (7 items), and Blatant Racial Issues (6 items). Higher scores indicate higher levels of colorblindness. The measure was established through five studies composed of college students and individuals from the community. An example item is "Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people" (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000).

This measure has shown well established external validity across multiple samples in various populations (Spanierman et al., 2006; Worthington et al., 2008). Cronbach's alphas ranged 0.71 – 0.83 for Racial Privilege, 0.73 – 0.81 for Institutional Discrimination, and 0.70 – 0.76 for Blatant Racial Issues with a total of 0.84 – 0.91.

(Neville et al., 2000). Test-retest reliability has been adequate for Racial Privilege

($r =$ 0.8), for Institutional Discrimination ($r =$ 0.8), but was low for Blatant Racial Issues

($r =$ 0.34) (Neville et al., 2000). The measure also has adequate split half-reliability

($r =$ 0.72) (Neville et al., 2000). Concurrent validity was established through significant

correlations between the CoBRAS and the Global Belief in a Just World Scale (GBJWS;

Lipkus, 1991), and the Multidimensional Belief in a Just World Scale (MBJWS; Furnham

& Procter, 1988). Non-significant correlations between CoBRAS and Marlowe-Crowne

Social Desirability Scale (Reynolds, 1982) indicate discriminant validity. Women were

found to have lower scores on the CoBRAS than men (Neville et al., 2000). (See

Appendix B for items in scale).

Overt Racism

Modern Racism Scale

This measure was created to examine racial attitudes of White Americans toward

African Americans based on symbolic racism (MRS; McConahay, 1986). In 2004, the

National Research Council reported it was the most commonly used measure to examine

racism. It consists of 12 self-reported items set on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly

Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree). Within the measure, there are two subscales: Old

Fashioned Racism (6 items) and Modern Racism (6 items). Within the literature, Old

Fashioned Racism is also referred to as the Old Fashioned Racist Attitudes scale (OFRA)

There are three levels of scoring including a total score and two subscale scores. Within

the current study only the subscale Old Fashioned Racism (i.e., OFRA) was utilized to

examine overt racism. The Modern Racism subscale measures covert behaviors and has

considerable overlap of construct and multicollinearity with the CoBRAS. Cronbach's

alpha was reported 0.75 to 0.79 on the subscale score of the Old-Fashioned Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986). Construct validity was demonstrated as White individuals were more likely to report higher levels of overt racism to an African American test administrator than a White administrator (McConahay, 1986). Convergent validity was established by comparing attitudes toward busing (McConahay, 1986), preference for a White American candidate in an election, and sympathy toward an underdog (McConahay & Hough, 1976). This measure has adequate external validity as it has been generalized to Anti-Arab Prejudice (Echebarria-Echabe & Guede, 2007) and employment discrimination (Ziegert & Hanges, 2005 (See Appendix C for items in scale). Higher scores on the measure indicate higher levels of reported overt racism.

Regulatory Motivations

Motivation to be Nonprejudiced Scale

The MNPS measures the lack of motivations towards prejudice behaviors based on the theory of SDT (MNPS; Legault et al., 2007). The measure has 24 items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = does not correspond at all to, 7 = corresponds exactly). Confirmatory factor analysis confirmed six constructs including intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation, and amotivation (Legault et al., 2007). Each factor loads with 4 observed items. Participants are asked to rate the extent to which certain items correspond to their "ultimate reasons for avoiding prejudice." An example of an item for intrinsic motivation is "For the joy I feel when learning about new people." The initial sample was validated on three independent samples (Legault et al., 2007). It was found to have concurrent validity with the Internal Motivation Scale (IMS; Plant & Devine, 1998). The measure has high

internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha of 0.76 to 0.90 (Legault et al., 2007). (See Appendix D for items in scale).

Data Analysis

Preliminary Analysis

Missing Data

Patterns of incomplete data were examined for the cause of missing data. Participants with 80% or more responses on each study instrument were included in data analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Missing data (less than 20%) were replaced by using the person mean substitution method (Downey & King, 1998).

Outliers

Based on Kline's (2011) recommendation, univariate outliers were assessed by examining each variable's frequency distribution for z scores > 3.0. For multivariate outliers, Mahalanobis distances were examined to determine the distance in standard deviation units between a set of scores and the sample means for variables (centroids) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). P values provided were examined to determine whether to omit data from the analysis.

Collinearity

Multicollinearity is a threat to the validity of the current study because variables that are highly correlated are not independent of each other and are considered redundant. Ideally, both the overt and covert measures should measure discrimination and be moderately correlated with each other. If correlations are low, they do not measure similar concepts, however, if correlations are extremely high (> 0.9), they should be considered multicollinear and a single measure of discrimination (Kline, 2011;

Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Multicollinearity was determined through correlation coefficients and Tolerance/VIF values. According to Kline (2011), correlation coefficients exceeding >0.90, tolerance <0.10, and VIF >10.0 indicate redundancy or issues with multicollinearity extreme.

Multivariate Normality

The data analysis that was utilized assumes multivariate normality. This was tested with Mardia's coefficient; a critical ratio >5 indicates multivariate kurtosis (Bentler, 2005). However, others note that this test is limited for the current type of analysis due to large sampling, as any small deviation from normal may be statistically significant and should be detected in univariate normality (Kline, 2011). Therefore, although Mardia's coefficient was employed, univariate normality was assessed for each variable.

Univariate Normality

Normality was assessed visually by a histogram, P-P Plot, or Q-Q Plot of the residuals. Skewness (>3) and kurtosis (>10) were reviewed (Weston & Gore, 2006). Data not normally distributed were assessed for violations and transformed. Transformation on data depended on strength and direction of the distribution.

Linearity, Homogeneity of Variance-Covariance Matrices, and Homoscedasticity

Linearity and homoscedasticity were addressed with scatterplots of the residuals. If the data were not linear, data transformation was used to achieve heteroscedasticity (Kline, 2011). Homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was assessed using Levene's test of homogeneity of variance to determine homogeneity of variance. If sample sizes are relatively equal an F_{max} as great as 10 is acceptable (Tabachnick &

Fidell, 2013). If homogeneity is volatile it was corrected by transformation of the DV

scores (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

Latent Profile Analysis

To accomplish the purposes of the study, two steps were utilized. The first step

was to conduct an LPA which classified participants into profiles to help organize

individuals with similar traits of motivation. Because LPA is exploratory, the first step

was to find the most parsimonious model, with the fewest parameters, that maximized the

associations among the observed variables (Lanza et al., 2003). The identification of the

ideal number of classes in LPA was conducted by specifying and testing multiple class

solutions both statistically and with the ability to interpret the classes.

From these models, the best-fitting model was determined by examining the Lo-

Mendell-Rubin Adjusted Likelihood Ratio Test (LMRT; Lo et al., 2001), the Akaike

Information Criteria (AIC; Akaike, 1974), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC;

Schwarz, 1978), and entropy (Ramaswamy et al., 1993). The LMRT was used to evaluate

the extent to which the specified model fit better than a model with one less class (k

latent classes/profiles as compared to a model with k − 1) (Lo et al., 2001). A significant

LMRT test indicates that a more complex model (e.g., 4-class) is a better fit than a less

complex model (e.g., 3- class) (Lo et al., 2001). For both the AIC and BIC descriptive fit

indices, smaller values indicate better model fit. However, the BIC does not provide a

significance test to assess the fit of competing models (Pastor et al., 2007). Entropy

measures how well profiles can be distinguished, or the percentage of individuals that

were correctly classified within the specific model (Ramaswamy et al., 1993). Within

Entropy, higher probability values for each group indicate better classification and

stronger separation (Ramaswamy et al., 1993). It is worth noting that Marsh et al. (2009) recommend that the solution should not only reflect quantitative, but qualitative differences between individuals. As each profile should be consistent with past theory and empirical research.

MANOVA

Lastly, a one-way MANOVA was conducted to examine the extent to which the profile membership of motivations related to measures of racial discrimination. To examine the research questions, a one-way Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was conducted to assess if the motivation profiles predicted overt and covert racism to examine if mean differences exist between groups. MANOVA estimates more than one predictor variable with more than dependent variable by controlling for type one error and providing an analysis of effects to take into account the relationship between both types of racism. Wilk's lambda was used to test the omnibus hypothesis (Weinfurt, 1995). After determining the F-test collectively predicted a significant multivariate effect, individual univariate Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) were performed for each dependent variable as the MANOVA will control for the type I error (Weinfurt, 1995). With significant omnibus F-test, multiple comparison analyses were conducted through post-hoc tests with Tukey's HSD to provide detailed information on where the differences occurred between groups and how the means are significantly different from each other (Weinfurt, 1995).

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

In this chapter, the results of the analyses conducted for this study are presented and discussed. Following the initial data cleaning, this consists of a series of descriptive statistics and a battery of assumptions testing. This is followed by Latent Profile Analyses, a MANOVA based on these results, as well as a series of additional one-way ANOVAs and pairwise comparisons using Tukey's HSD.

Preliminary Analysis

The total survey took an average of 17 minutes to complete. After data collection, the total participants recruited for this study was 606 individuals.

Data Cleaning

Initially, the data were reviewed and cleaned. Any non-conforming responses were planned to have been recoded as missing in the dataset, while participants who were determined to have made invalid responses to the survey items were removed from the dataset. Non-conforming responses were defined as responses made out of the range of these measures. No non-conforming responses were noted, while a total of two participants were removed for providing invalid responses. Invalid responses were defined as having made nonsensical responses, which these two respondents had made in relation to Gender, Other Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Other Race/Ethnicity.

In addition, all survey items were recoded as numeric as needed, with all reversed items reversed for the purposes of the analyses conducted. As was proposed, only white respondents that were not of a Hispanic or Latino/a background were included in this study, this group comprised of 479 respondents.

Descriptive Statistics

Preliminary analyses consisted of the calculation of means, standard deviations, bivariate correlations, and Cronbach's alpha for the estimation of the internal consistency reliabilities present within the study's scale measures. First, the mean age of participants were 20.72 years, with a standard deviation of 3.78 years. With respect to gender, the majority of the sample, 288 respondents (60.38%) were female, with 188 (39.41%) male, a single respondent (0.21%) was transgender and 2 (0.42%) did not respond.

Cronbach's alpha was calculated to ensure that an acceptable level of internal consistency reliability was present. The Cronbach's alpha values found for these three scales did indicate an acceptable level of internal consistency reliability or better. Regarding the OFRS, a Cronbach's alpha of 0.79 was found, with an alpha of 0.89 indicated with respect to both the CoBRAS and the MNPS. These results indicate acceptable internal consistency reliability in the case of the OFRS, and excellent reliability in the cases of the CoBRAS and the MNPS (Cortina, 1993).

Table 1 presents the total and average scores for the scales and subscales included in this study, with the exception of the CoBRAS subscales, and Table 2 presents the information for CoBRAS subscales scores prior to profile analysis.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Variables Including Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach's Alpha, and Correlation Coefficients for Total and Average Scores

							MNPS			
Variables	Mean	SD	OFRA	CoBRAS	IntriR	IntegR	IdentR	IntroR	ER	AR
OFRA	12.64	4.93	(0.83)							
CoBRAS	66.92	15.91	0.42**	(0.89)						
IntriR	19.90	5.25	-0.48**	-0.29**	(0.84)					
IntegR	21.00	5.05	-0.56**	-0.31**	0.83**	(0.84)				
IdentR	19.43	5.00	-0.52**	-0.36**	0.73**	0.74**	(0.77)			
IntroR	19.51	5.87	-.038**	-0.22**	0.65**	0.61**	0.68**	(0.87)		
ER	14.72	5.06	-0.09	0.09	0.34**	0.22**	0.28**	0.48**	(0.75)	
AR	28.00	5.08	-0.38**	0.46**	-0.20**	-0.24**	-0.27**	-0.12*	0.27**	(0.71)

Note. The Cronbach's alphas are shown in parentheses. OFRA = Old fashioned racist attitudes, CoBRAS = Color-blind racial attitudes total score, IntriR =Intrinsic regulation, IntegR = Integrated regulation, IdentR = Identified regulation, IntroR =Introjected regulation, ER = External regulation, AR = Amotivation regulation.
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.001$.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Variables Including Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach's Alpha, and Correlation Coefficients for CoBRAS Subscales

Variables	Mean	SD	URP	ID	BRI
URP	27.13	7.26	(0.83)		
ID	23.69	6.40	0.54**	(0.76)	
BRI	16.10	5.19	0.61**	0.55**	(0.75)
OFRA	12.64	4.93	0.26**	0.33**	-0.51**
IntriR	19.90	5.25	-0.20**	-0.17**	-0.41**
IntegR	21.00	5.05	-0.19**	-0.20**	-0.45**
IdentR	19.43	5.00	-0.25**	-0.26**	-0.43**
IntroR	19.51	5.87	-0.13*	-0.16*	-0.29**
ER	14.72	5.06	0.06	0.13*	0.03
AR	28.00	5.08	0.34**	0.39**	0.45**

Note. The Cronbach's alphas are shown in parentheses. URP = Unawareness of Privilege (CoBRAS subscale), ID =Institutional Discrimination (CoBRAS subscale), BRI = Blatant Racial Issues (CoBRAS subscale), OFRA = Old fashion racist attitudes, IntriR =Intrinsic regulation, IntegR = Integrated regulation, IdentR = Identified regulation, IntroR =Introjected regulation, ER = External regulation, AR = Amotivation regulation.
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.001$.

Assumptions

Initially, a series of tests were conducted in order to test the assumptions associated with the statistical tests proposed. The series of tests consisted of tests of multicollinearity, examining the data for the presence of outliers, examining the data for missing data and replacing missing data using the person mean substitution method, testing for univariate and multivariate normality, as well as testing for the homogeneity of variances, variance-covariance matrices, and homoscedasticity.

Multicollinearity

Analyses were first conducted in order to ensure that multicollinearity was not present in these data. Multicollinearity is a potential threat to the study's validity. The lack of independence present when two or more variables are highly correlated means that they should be considered multicollinear and a single measure of discrimination (Kline, 2011; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). It was expected that moderate correlations would be found between the overt and covert measures of racism included in this study. Spearman's correlations were conducted between all associated items because the measures were not continuous, therefore they were not normally distributed (see Table 1 and Table 2 for correlation coefficients). The non-parametric Spearman's correlation coefficient was preferred as it does not incorporate the assumptions of linearity or normality, as does Pearson's correlation coefficient. The results of these analyses indicated correlations between items associated with the same scale to be positive, and to range from weak to strong, depending upon the correlation in question. Some of the correlations conducted between the MNPS items were also found to be negative. An examination of the correlations conducted between all items associated with the three

scales included in the study found negative correlations in several cases, but generally, positive Spearman's correlations were found. The positive Spearman's correlations ranged in strength from weak to strong. Overall, the results suggest that these scales as well as the items associated with these scales measure similar concepts, but there was no indication of multicollinearity based on the magnitude of these correlation coefficients (Kline, 2011; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Although Tolerance or Variance Inflation Factors were initially proposed, these analyses were not conducted because they are not associated with the MANOVA or ANOVA tests.

Outliers

The data were examined for the presence of outliers. Univariate outliers were determined by examining each variables' frequency distribution for *z*-scores greater than three (Kline, 2011). This would be associated with data points which lie greater than three standard deviations from the mean in either direction. In addition, multivariate outliers were examined using Mahalanobis distance, which is a measure of distance in units of standard deviation between a set of scores and the variables' sample means (centroids) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). First, a set of univariate outliers were found with z-scores greater than three. Initially, standardized versions of all scale items were generated, with their minimum and maximum scores then summarized in order to determine which of these items include univariate outliers. Several scale items associated with the OFRS were determined to include outlying cases, but with regard to the CoBRAS, only a single item was found to include univariate outliers. Additionally, the MNPS did not incorporate any outlying cases. Univariate outliers were removed, which reduced the sample size by 51 cases.

With regard to multivariate outliers, Mahalanobis distances were computed based on all items associated with the three scales included in the study. The distances were compared to the critical chi-square value associated with the same degrees of freedom that was present in the analysis. The degrees of freedom were 51, and was associated with a critical chi-square value of 87.97 at an alpha of 0.001. Using this standard, 23 additional cases were deleted from the dataset because they all had Mahalanobis distances greater than this critical chi-square value.

Missing Data

The dataset was examined for the presence, and extent of, missing data. It was proposed that participants who responded to at least 80% of the items included in the study instrument would be included in the data analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013); a review of all cases found a total of nine respondents who did not respond to at least 80% of the study's survey items; these nine respondents were dropped from the dataset. The person mean substitution method was then applied to the remaining cases in order to replace all relevant missing data present in the study, which pertained only to the items associated with the study's three scales (N = 395) (Downey & King, 1998).

Normality

Both univariate and multivariate normality were examined. Histograms were created for each scale item in order to visually examine the extent of normality associated with the three scales' items. Additionally, measures of skewness and kurtosis were calculated for all scale items. While measures of skewness and kurtosis were found to be within range in all cases, the examination of the histograms indicated substantial non-normality in many cases. While attempts were made to apply the Johnson family of

transformations (Yeo & Johnson, 2000) to the data in order to achieve normality, the resulting transformed measures were not found to be substantially more normal as compared with the original measures. For this reason, the original measures were used in all later analyses.

Homogeneity of Variances, Variance-Covariance Matrices, and Homoscedasticity

Finally, tests were proposed for the assumptions of linearity, homogeneity of the variance-covariance matrices, and for homoscedasticity. First, regarding linearity, as the MANOVA and the ANOVAs conducted incorporated class, which is categorical, tests of linearity were unnecessary because they are relevant only to situations in which pairs of continuous variables are being examined. For this reason, no tests of linearity were conducted. However, tests for homogeneity of the variance-covariance matrices and for homoscedasticity were conducted, along with separate tests for the homogeneity of variances, but these pertain only to the MANOVA and the ANOVAs; therefore, these are discussed later in this chapter in the relevant section.

Identification and Descriptions of Latent Profiles

Following the completion of assumptions testing, an LPA was conducted to classify individuals into profiles in the interest of organizing them into separate, discrete groups which were differentiated on the basis of traits of motivation. The variables entered into the LPA consisted of all OFRS, CoBRAS, and MNPS items, this consisting of seven OFRS items, 20 CoBRAS items, and 24 MNPS items. LPA assumes that there are unobserved latent profiles with generated patterns of responses on observed variables (Lubke, and Muthén, 2005). Therefore, the individual items were analyzed separately from the previously identified clusters to find distinct response patterns (i.e., latent

profiles). After the removal of all non-white individuals, two problematic respondents, respondents removed due to their extent of missing data and other reasons, and cases removed during the analyses due to having missing data, a total sample size of 396 remained. No transformations were made to the variables with the exception of reverse-coded items. This method of analysis was used to generate categorical measures that were used in later analyses and which represented categories of respondents who had similar motivation profiles.

As previously noted, it was first necessary to determine the most parsimonious model with the fewest parameters that maximizes associations between the observed variables (Lanza et al., 2003). This was completed by running analyses containing between two and 10 class solutions and comparing the results. As initially proposed, in addition to the consideration of relevant theory, the best-fitting model was determined on the basis of the Lo-Mendell-Rubin Adjusted Likelihood Ratio Test (LMRT; Lo et al., 2001), the Akaike Information Criteria (AIC; Akaike, 1974), and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; Schwarz, 1978). Although entropy (Ramaswamy et al., 1993) was initially planned to be included, it was not calculated due to the extreme amount of computation time required. The LMRT was used in order to determine the improvement to model fit when comparing pairwise solutions, or solutions with n classes with n-1 classes. Significance in relation to the LMRT test would serve to indicate that a more complex model is better fitting than a less complex model. With regard to the AIC and the BIC, in both cases, smaller values are indicative of a better-fitting model.

Table 3 presents the results of the LMRT tests, as well as the AIC and the BIC values associated with the eight LPAs. With regard to the LMRT tests, in each case, the

results suggest that the model with one additional profile is preferred over the comparison model, through and including the comparison between the models incorporating nine and 10 profiles. This was determined by the calculated test statistic being greater than the associated critical chi-square value in each case, which was 127.69 based on the degrees of freedom of 103 at the 0.05 alpha level. The test would, therefore, likely suggest that a model containing greater than 10 profiles be preferred.

Table 3

Summary of LPA Model Fit

Number of Profiles	LMRT Test (*df*)	AIC	BIC
2	6865.00 (----)	9.55	69272.69
3	1298.91 (103)	67392.25	68212.43
4	740.77 (103)	66714.20	67741.40
5	458.63 (103)	66334.01	67568.25
6	391.59 (103)	66024.60	67465.87
7	484.95 (103)	65616.63	67264.93
8	267.19 (103)	65438.55	67293.89
9	309.98 (103)	65215.29	67277.66
10	188.26 (103)	65120.54	67389.94

In examining the AIC and BIC, the results indicate that the model with 10 profiles is preferred in the case of the AIC, and the model with seven profiles is preferred in the case of the BIC. However, as in the LMRT test, the AIC most likely would be lowest, and hence recommend, a model incorporating more than 10 profiles. Based on these results, as well as the relevant theory, the model incorporating seven profiles was selected for use in the MANOVA and ANOVAs conducted. Statistically, the results relating to model fit indicated that with respect to the LMRT test, values started to decrease more slowly around a four to six class solution, and increased when moving from a six to seven class solution and from an eight to nine class solution. While a very clear indication of

the number of classes to use was not indicated, a seven-class solution appeared to be appropriate based on the LMRT test results. Next, with respect to AIC and BIC, BIC was found to be lowest at a seven-class solution, indicating further support for a seven-class solution, while AIC was found to continue to decrease through to a 10-class solution. Current research is in support of six profiles based on theory (Legault et al. 2007), but previous research supported a model where motivation is on a continuum (Pelletier et al., 1998). Based on all of these results, a seven-class solution was deemed to be, statistically, the most appropriate solution. The seven profiles were identified and renamed on their respective levels of racism and motivation. Renaming was done by examining the various scores of the profiles, overt scale, and covert subscales (i.e., Unawareness of Privilege, Institutionalized Discrimination, and Blatant Racial Issues). In addition, Figures 1 and 2 below consist of line graphs plotting these same data.

Figure 1

A Plot of the LMRT Test Results by Number of Classes
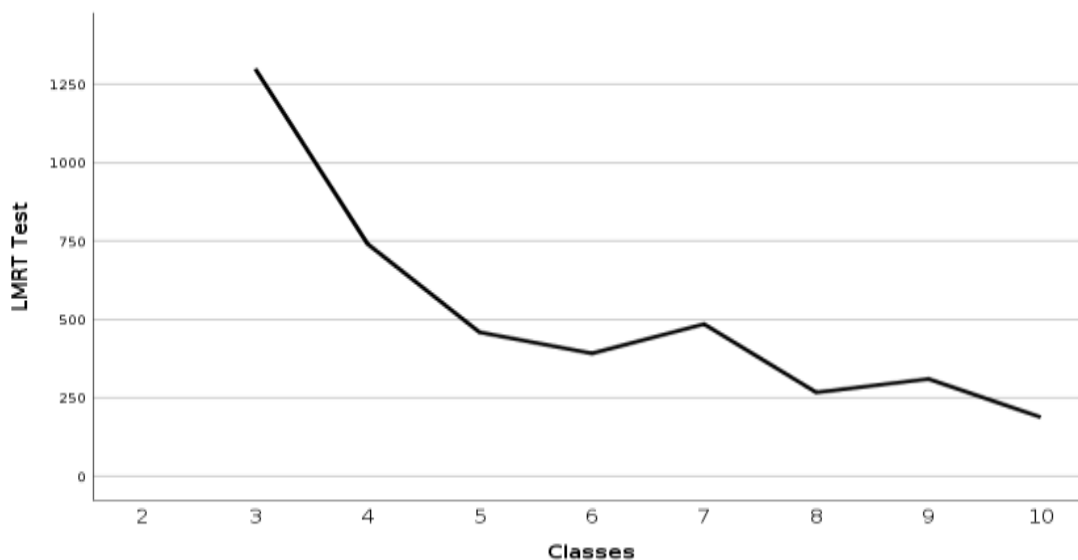
Figure 2

A Plot of the AIC and BIC Results by Number of Classes
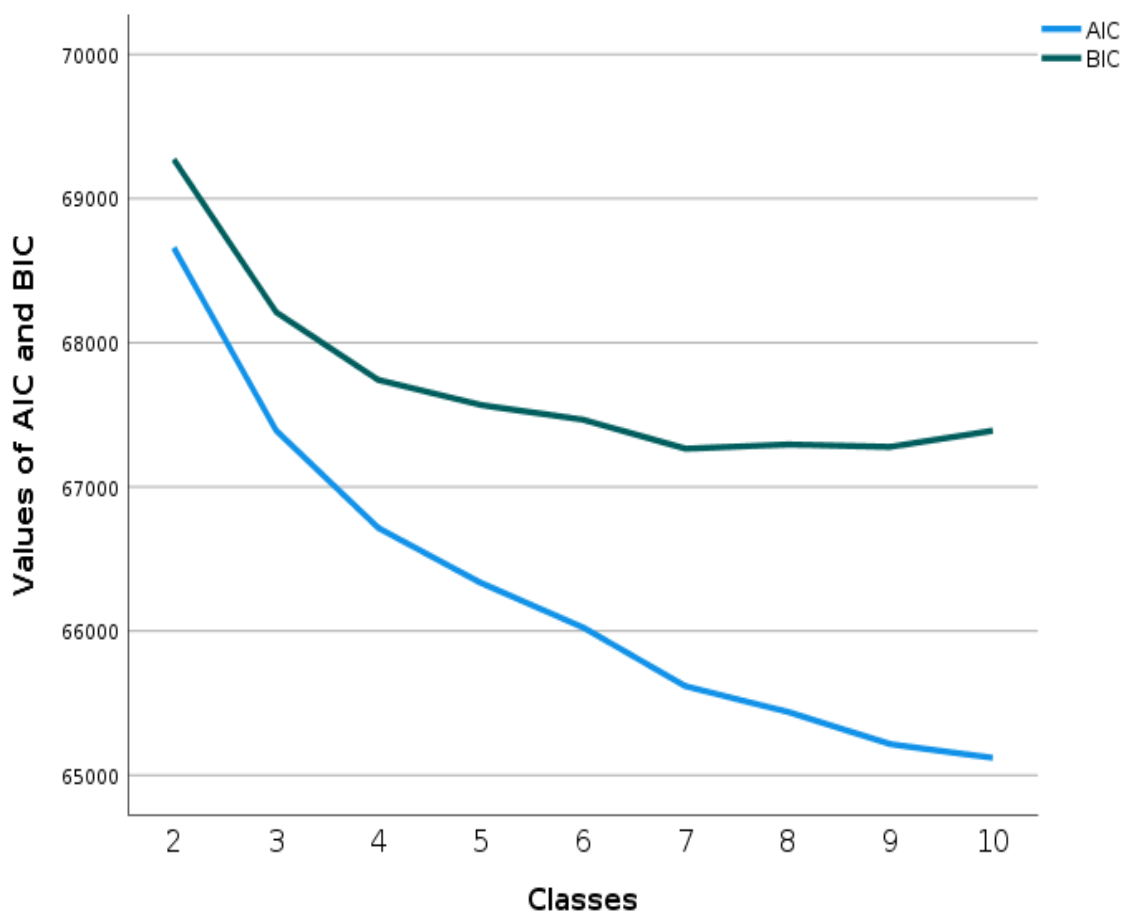
The profiles were relabeled based on their respective results. Profile 1 is labeled "low overt with overall extrinsic motivation" with individuals scoring low on the overt measure, scoring low overall on the covert measure, and motivations scoring are low for amotivation and external (N = 51). This profile has the highest PLOC. Profile 2 is relabeled "low/moderate with overall extrinsic motivation" with participants indicating scoring low to moderate scores on the overt measure, scoring moderate overall scores (i.e., all three subscales) on the covert measure, and motivations scoring low on

amotivation and moderate external (N = 81). Profile 3 is relabeled "low/moderate overt and high covert with overall extrinsic motivation" with individuals scoring low to moderate on the overt measure, scoring high on all areas of the covert measure, and motivations scoring are moderate on amotivation and external (N = 41). Profile 4 is relabeled "unaware and low overt with integrated motivation" with individuals scoring low on the overt measure, scoring high on Unawareness of Privilege, and motivation scoring are low on amotivation and external but higher on integrated (N = 44). Profile 5 is relabeled "moderate overt and blatant with moderate motivation" with participates scoring moderate on the overt measure, scoring high on Blatant Racial Issues, and overall scoring moderate motivations across all motivation types (N = 82). Individuals with overall motivation type have no distinct motivation for their behavior, indicating all motivations are present. Profile 6 is relabeled "overt and blatant moderate motivation" with individuals scoring high on overt racial discrimination measure, scoring high on Blatant Racial Issues, and overall scoring moderate motivations across all motivation types (N = 70). Motivation type for profile 6 is similar to profile 5. Profile 7 is relabeled "overt and unaware low motivation" with individuals reporting high scores on the overt measure, scoring high scoring on Unawareness of Privilege and Blatant Racial Issues, and overall scoring low motivations (N = 26). This profile would be the most similar to that of lowest PLOC. The full results of these seven models and motivations are not presented here, but motivation types for each profile are included in Figure 3.

Figure 3

A Plot of the Motivation Types for Each Corresponding Profile
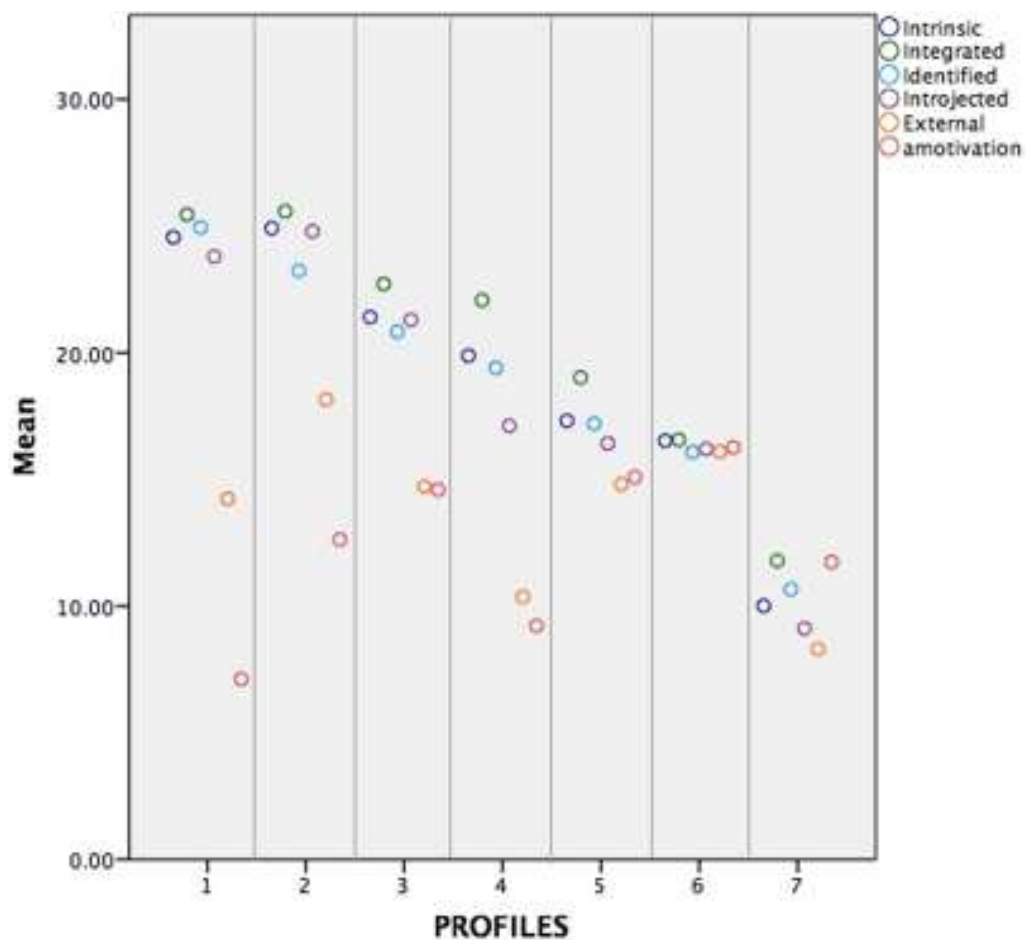
MANOVA

A single MANOVA was conducted to determine the associations among the seven classes, and the outcomes of Overt and Covert discrimination. A series of follow-up ANOVAs were conducted due to the significance found in the initial MANOVA results. First, regarding the scale measures included as dependent variables in this analysis, these were calculated as sums of the constituent items in all cases, with the three subscales used for the COBRA scale, and the OFRA remaining scale. In addition, the profile membership measure was calculated as whichever profile had a value of greater

than .50 for each participant. In the vast majority of cases, there was one specific profile which had an estimate which approached one, or was equal to one, and it was this profile that the participant was then assigned to. The results of the MANOVA found statistical significance when examining Wilk's lambda, indicating that profile membership significantly predicts these scale measures and subscale measures, $W = 0.099$, $F(24, 1347.8) = 52,87$, $p < 0.001$. The test of the equality of covariance matrices indicated inequalities, Box $F(90, 96972.2) = 1.76$, $p < 0.001$; Box $\chi^2(60) = 105.86$, $p < 0.001$. No specific test of heteroscedasticity was conducted as none was found to be available for MANOVA in Stata. See Table 4 for average scores of profiles on OFRAS and COBRA subscales scores).

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of Means for OFRA and CoBRAS Subscales on Profiles

Profiles	OFRA	URP	ID	BRI
1	8.31	*15.80*	14.64	8.46
2	10.21	28.65	24.08	14.62
3	11.39	35.38	30.26	21.59
4	8.70	22.59	19.83	11.89
5	13.19	29.10	25.38	17.05
6	19.33	27.25	25.98	20.03
7	16.15	33/04	24.95	20.54

Note. URP = Unawareness of Privilege (CoBRAS subscale), ID =Institutional Discrimination (CoBRAS subscale), BRI = Blatant Racial Issues (CoBRAS subscale), OFRA = Old fashion racist attitudes

Due to the significance of the MANOVA, post-hoc ANOVAs were conducted on the data. All ANOVAs conducted on the scale and subscales included in the study achieved statistical significance: the OFRS, $F(6, 389) = 116.08$, $p < 0.001$; the CoBRAS - Factor 1, $F(6, 389) = 82.10$, $p < 0.001$; the CoBRAS - Factor 2, $F(6, 389) = 53.00$,

$p < 0.001$; the CoBRAS - Factor 3, $F(6, 389) = 117.16$, $p < 0.001$. The results indicate that profile membership is a significant predictor individually with regard to the OFRS and all three CoBRAS subscales. Levene's tests of the equality of variances were conducted to test this assumption, while Breusch–Pagan/Cook–Weisberg tests for heteroscedasticity were conducted to test for the assumption of homoscedasticity for each of the ANOVAs. First, the Levene's tests conducted achieved statistical significance in some, but not all, cases: the OFRS, $W(6, 389) = 4.12$, $p < 0.001$, the CoBRAS - Factor 1, $W(6, 389) = 0.55$, $p = 0.77$, the CoBRAS - Factor 2, $W(6, 389) = 1.11$, $p = 0.36$, the CoBRAS - Factor 3 - $W(6, 389) = 4.91$, $p < 0.001$. Significance was found in relation to the OFRS and the CoBRAS - Factor 3. With the assumption of the equality of variances violated in these cases, alternatives could be applied in future research to the one-way ANOVA, and the use of Tukey's HSD.

In addition, Breusch–Pagan/Cook–Weisberg tests for heteroscedasticity were conducted in relation to all five ANOVAs. These tests test the null hypothesis of constant variance; statistical significance indicates the rejection of the null hypothesis, or that unequal variance is present and that the assumption of homoscedasticity has been violated. This test achieved statistical significance only in relation to the third subscale of the CoBRAS: $\chi^2(1) = 9.49$, $p < 0.01$. In all other cases, significance was not achieved: the OFRS, $\chi^2(1) = 0.52$, $p = 0.47$; the CoBRAS - Factor 1, $\chi^2(1) = 0.80$, $p = 0.37$, the CoBRAS - Factor 2 - $\chi^2(1) = 2.46$, $p = 0.12$. These results indicate that the assumption of homoscedasticity was only violated in relation to the ANOVA conducted with the third subscale of the CoBRAS.

Pairwise comparisons were conducted using Tukey's HSD to examine between which specific profiles there were significant differences with regard to each of the scales and subscales. First, regarding the OFRS, the results of the pairwise comparisons are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5

Scale 1: Pairwise Comparisons

Comparison	Contrast (*SE*)	Tukey's *t*	95% Confidence Int.	
			Lower	Upper
2 vs 1	1.86 (0.53)	3.51**	0.29	3.43
3 vs 1	3.08 (0.62)	4.93***	1.23	4.92
4 vs 1	0.41 (0.61)	0.67	-1.40	2.22
5 vs 1	4.87 (0.53)	9.19***	3.30	6.44
6 vs 1	11.51 (0.55)	21.04***	9.89	13.13
7 vs 1	7.84 (0.72)	10.95***	5.72	9.96
3 vs 2	1.22 (0.57)	2.14	-0.47	2.90
4 vs 2	-1.45 (0.56)	-2.61	-3.10	0.20
5 vs 2	3.01 (0.46)	6.49***	1.64	4.39
6 vs 2	9.65 (0.48)	19.96***	8.22	11.09
7 vs 2	5.98 (0.67)	8.94***	4.00	7.96
4 vs 3	-2.67 (0.65)	-4.13**	-4.58	-0.75
5 vs 3	1.80 (0.57)	3.16*	0.11	3.48
6 vs 3	8.44 (0.58)	14.43***	6.70	10.17
7 vs 3	4.76 (0.75)	6.39***	2.56	6.97
5 vs 4	4.46 (0.56)	8.03***	2.82	6.11
6 vs 4	11.10 (0.57)	19.42***	9.41	12.80
7 vs 4	7.43 (0.74)	10.11***	5.25	9.61
6 vs 5	6.64 (0.48)	13.73***	5.21	8.07
7 vs 5	2.97 (0.67)	4.44***	0.99	4.95
7 vs 6	-3.67 (0.68)	-5.38***	-5.70	-1.65

Note. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Statistical significance was indicated with respect to the majority of the pairwise comparisons conducted. Mean values on the OFRS were found to be significantly higher than profiles 2, 3, and 5-7 as compared with profile 1, and with profiles 5 through 7 found to have significantly higher means on the OFRS as compared with profile 2. Next, the comparisons conducted with profile 3 found profiles 5 through 7 to have significantly higher means, and profile 4 to have a significantly lower mean. Of the remaining

comparisons conducted, profiles five through seven were found to have a significantly

higher mean on the OFRS as compared with profile 4, and with profile 6 and 7 having

significantly higher means as compared with profile 5. Finally, profile 7 was found to

have a significantly lower mean as compared with profile 6.

Table 6 presents the results of the pairwise comparisons conducted on Scale 2a.

The majority of these pairwise comparisons achieved statistical significance. First,

profiles 2 through 7 were all found to have significantly higher means on Scale 2a as

compared with profile 1.

Table 6

Scale 2a: Pairwise Comparisons

Comparison	Contrast (*SE*)	Tukey's *t*	95% Confidence Int.	
			Lower	Upper
2 vs 1	12.83 (0.87)	14.82***	10.26	15.40
3 vs 1	19.49 (1.02)	19.13***	16.47	22.51
4 vs 1	6.74 (1.00)	6.75***	3.78	9.70
5 vs 1	13.30 (0.87)	15.36***	10.73	15.87
6 vs 1	11.45 (0.89)	12.81***	8.80	14.10
7 vs 1	17.24 (1.17)	14.73***	13.77	20.71
3 vs 2	6.66 (0.93)	7.17***	3.91	9.41
4 vs 2	-6.09 (0.91)	-6.71***	-8.78	-3.40
5 vs 2	0.47 (0.76)	0.62	-1.78	2.72
6 vs 2	-1.38 (0.79)	-1.74	-3.72	0.96
7 vs 2	4.41 (1.09)	4.04**	1.17	7.65
4 vs 3	-12.75 (1.05)	-12.09***	-15.87	-9.62
5 vs 3	- 6.19 (0.93)	-6.66***	-8.94	-3.44
6 vs 3	- 8.04 (0.95)	-8.42***	-10.87	-5.21
7 vs 3	- 2.25 (1.22)	-1.85	-5.85	1.36
5 vs 4	6.56 (0.91)	7.23***	3.87	9.25
6 vs 4	4.71 (0.93)	5.04***	1.94	7.48
7 vs 4	10.50 (1.20)	8.74***	6.94	14.06
6 vs 5	-1.85 (0.79)	-2.34	-4.19	0.49
7 vs 5	3.94 (1.09)	3.61**	0.70	7.18
7 vs 6	5.79 (1.12)	5.19***	2.48	9.09

Note. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

In the comparisons made with profile 2, profile 3 and 7 have significantly higher

means, with profile 4 having a significantly lower mean. The comparisons conducted

with profile 3 found significantly lower means with regard to profiles 4 through 6.

Finally, the remaining comparisons found profiles 5 through 7 to have significantly

higher means on this subscale as compared with profile 4. Profile 7 was found to have a

significantly higher mean as compared with profiles 5 and 6.

Table 7 summarizes the results of the pairwise comparisons conducted with Scale

2b. The majority of the pairwise comparisons achieved statistical significance. First,

profiles 2 through 7 were all found to have significantly higher means on this subscale as

compared with profile 1.

Table 7

Scale 2b: Pairwise Comparisons

Comparison	Contrast (*SE*)	Tukey's *t*	95% Confidence Int.	
			Lower	Upper
2 vs 1	9.36 (0.85)	10.98***	6.83	11.88
3 vs 1	15.63 (1.00)	15.60***	12.66	18.60
4 vs 1	5.20 (0.98)	5.29***	2.29	8.11
5 vs 1	10.75 (0.85)	12.62***	8.22	13.27
6 vs 1	11.34 (0.88)	12.90***	8.74	13.95
7 vs 1	10.31 (1.15)	8.96***	6.90	13.73
3 vs 2	6.27 (0.91)	6.86***	3.56	8.98
4 vs 2	- 4.16 (0.89)	-4.66***	-6.80	-1.51
5 vs 2	1.39 (0.75)	1.86	-0.82	3.60
6 vs 2	1.98 (0.78)	2.55	-0.32	4.29
7 vs 2	0.96 (1.08)	0.89	-2.23	4.14
4 vs 3	-10.43 (1.04)	-10.06***	-13.50	-7.35
5 vs 3	-4.88 (0.91)	- 5.34***	-7.59	-2.17
6 vs 3	-4.28 (0.94)	- 4.56***	-7.07	-1.50
7 vs 3	-5.31 (1.20)	- 4.43***	-8.86	-1.76
5 vs 4	5.55 (0.89)	6.22***	2.90	8.19
6 vs 4	6.14 (0.92)	6.68***	3.42	8.87
7 vs 4	5.12 (1.18)	4.33***	1.61	8.62
6 vs 5	0.59 (0.78)	0.76	-1.71	2.90
7 vs 5	-0.43 (1.08)	-0.40	-3.62	2.75
7 vs 6	-1.03 (1.10)	-0.94	-4.28	2.22

Note. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

In the comparisons conducted with profile 2, profile 3 was found to have a significantly higher mean, with profile 4 found to have a significantly lower mean. Of the remaining comparisons, profiles 4 through 7 were found to have significantly lower means as compared with profile 3, and with profiles 5 through 7 all found to have significantly higher means as compared with profile 4.

Table 8 presents the results for the pairwise comparisons conducted with Scale 2C. The majority of the pairwise comparisons achieved statistical significance. First, profiles 2 through 7 were found to have significantly higher means on this subscale as compared with profile 1.

Table 8

Scale 2c: Pairwise Comparisons

Comparison	Contrast (*SE*)	Tukey's *t*	95% Confidence Int.	
			Lower	Upper
2 vs 1	6.11 (0.56)	10.98***	4.46	7.76
3 vs 1	13.12 (0.65)	20.05***	11.18	15.06
4 vs 1	3.42 (0.64)	5.33***	1.52	5.33
5 vs 1	8.59 (0.56)	15.43***	6.94	10.23
6 vs 1	11.57 (0.57)	20.13***	9.86	13.27
7 vs 1	12.07 (0.75)	16.06***	9.84	14.30
3 vs 2	7.01 (0.60)	11.75***	5.24	8.78
4 vs 2	- 2.69 (0.58)	-4.61***	-4.41	-0.96
5 vs 2	2.48 (0.49)	5.08***	1.03	3.92
6 vs 2	5.46 (0.51)	10.74***	3.95	6.96
7 vs 2	5.96 (0.70)	8.49***	3.88	8.05
4 vs 3	- 9.70 (0.68)	-14.32***	-11.70	-7.69
5 vs 3	- 4.54 (0.60)	- 7.60***	- 6.30	-2.77
6 vs 3	- 1.56 (0.61)	-2.53	- 3.37	0.26
7 vs 3	- 1.05 (0.78)	-1.34	- 3.37	1.27
5 vs 4	5.16 (0.58)	8.85***	3.43	6.89
6 vs 4	8.14 (0.60)	13.56***	6.36	9.92
7 vs 4	8.65 (0.77)	11.21***	6.36	10.94
6 vs 5	2.98 (0.51)	5.87***	1.47	4.49
7 vs 5	3.49 (0.70)	4.97***	1.41	5.57
7 vs 6	0.51 (0.72)	0.71	-1.62	2.63

Note. *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$.

In the comparisons conducted with profile 2, profile 4 was found to have a significantly lower mean, with all remaining profiles found to have significantly higher means. Two significant pairwise comparisons were indicated with respect to those made with profile 3, with both profile 4 and 5 found to have significantly lower means. Next, profiles 5 through 7 were all found to have significantly higher means as compared with profile 4, and with profiles 6 and 7 found to have significantly higher means as compared with profile 5.

Summary

The analysis conducted for this study suggested a seven-profile solution as ideal, based on theory, as well as the metrics of the LMRT, the AIC, and the BIC. The classification of respondents by profile was then used as the predictor of a MANOVA conducted in which the scales and subscales included in the study were incorporated as dependent variables; the MANOVA achieved statistical significance. All four ANOVAs achieved statistical significance, with the majority of the pairwise comparisons achieving significance as well. The following chapter will discuss these results in relation to previous literature and theory, as well as the limitations of this study, possibilities for future research, and conclusions.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Due to the limited research simultaneously examining overt and covert behaviors related to discrimination, this study's purpose was to explore motivations of racial discrimination based on the continuum of regulatory motives individuals utilize when exhibiting discriminatory or prosocial behaviors. This was done in a two-step process: 1) by determining profiles of motivations by separating individuals into discrete groups based on their motivations related to racial discrimination, and 2) examining how the newly created memberships measure overt and covert discrimination. The discussion section will first discuss the profile motivations and then examine how the racial attitudes contribute to the motivations of these individuals.

Latent Profiles and Interpretations

This study was exploratory, therefore, there were no formal hypotheses related to the proposed profiles. Based on prior research, it was initially expected that the analysis would identify four profiles of motivation types. With the current data and theory, the study's results indicated seven profiles would be the best fit. It is worth noting that the model with ten profiles, and possibly more, may be preferred in the case of the AIC. As the profiles increased AIC indicated a better fit. Because LPA assumes that members of one profile share a pattern of responses that distinguishes them from other groups, it is

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likely that more groups could exist. It was not anticipated that several of the profiles would be similar in their motivation types. Due to the inclusion of overt and covert racial discrimination as variables, some of the profile's motives appeared to be similar in that they lack discrimination between PLOC. This is discussed later in this section. The results were significant and based on the results, as well as the relevant theory, the best fitting model was determined to maintain seven profiles and the proposed profiles were partially supported.

The first estimated profile was anticipated to include a primarily intrinsic driven motivation. It was predicted this profile would include individuals high in intrinsic motivation regulation, low in extrinsic motivation regulation, and low in amotivation regulation. This was partially supported for the groups "low overt with overall extrinsic motivation" (profile 1) and "low/moderate with overall extrinsic motivation" (profile 2). Both profiles were higher on intrinsic motivation then all other profiles (profiles 3-7), with no statistical difference between profiles one and, and both lower on amotivation and external motivation then all other profiles (profiles 3-7). The high scores in integrated, identified, and introjected were not anticipated. It is worth noting that these groups differed in the external and amotivation. The "overt with overall extrinsic motivation" (profile 1) was significantly lower in their amotivation and external motivations. This was similar for "low/moderate overt and high covert with overall extrinsic motivation" (profile 3). These profiles are consistent with the projected "low extrinsic" regulation profile, which include high intrinsic motivation regulation, high in extrinsic motivation regulation, and low in amotivation regulation. Within these profiles, individuals are likely to feel they have more choice with motivations but also some

pressure from extrinsic motives. They may feel presence of external rewards or social

pressures, thus leading to higher extrinsic regulations (Ryan & Deci, 2017). The

differences within these three profiles was discussed further when examining the follow

up analyses that were run, as the differences in these three profiles relate to racism

exhibited by these groups.

The other predicted profiles were partially supported. As proposed, there was no

cluster of low intrinsic or high amotivation. Rather, with the groups "overt and blatant

moderate motivation" and "overt and unaware low motivation" (profile 6 and 7,

respectively) all motivation types appeared to be equal and low. This would indicate that

within these groups there is no primary motivation type that is greater than the others. To

clarify, there is not a lack of motivation; rather, no specific motivation type is prominent

for those groups. This is similar for the group "moderate overt and blatant with moderate

motivation" (profile 5), but this profile was moderate. Similar to profiles 1-3, the

differences in these three profiles were discussed further when examining the

MANOVAs. The theory of PLOC supports the idea that intentional actions are not

always an automatic or spontaneous choice (deCharms, 1968; Heider, 1958). It would

appear by the profiles, that individuals have both internal PLOC and external PLOC.

Individuals find motivation because the behavior itself is rewarding or enjoyable (internal

PLOC) and to avoid an unwanted circumstance or feeling (extrinsic). This is consistent

with the literature that social contextual factors undermine intrinsic motivation (Ryan &

Deci, 2017). Because self-determination is based on a continuum of styles, it would

appear fluid, as the motives may change as society's demands on an individual change.

This is consistent with the fact that amotivation is the lack of intention and motivation for

the behavior (Ryan & Deci, 2017). It appears the actions of these individuals are purposeful, whether intrinsic or extrinsic motivations. The results support the idea that racism is multifaceted and examining racism in isolation does not allow for the possibility that some behaviors and attitudes will have more variance within the relationship. This is in line with literature examining motivations and racial discrimination (Legault et al., 2007).

One profile that stood out as different from the others on motivation was the "unaware low overt with integrated motivation" (profile 4). This motivation profile was low on amotivation and external, moderate on all other external motivations (i.e., Identified regulation and Introjected regulation) but higher on integrated. This profile reflects the highest motivation autonomy and PLOC. This outcome is likely due to covert attitudes that the group is exhibiting and was discussed further later in this section.

MANOVA and Post Hoc

The aim of the MANOVA was to analyze how different motivations can be predicted for overt and covert racial discrimination. Utilizing the three subscales of the COBRA scale as the covert measures and the OFRA scale as the covert measure, this analysis was imperative for understanding differences presented in each newly created profile. This analysis focused more on the predictive power of the profiles than identifying causal effects, as those were included in the LPA.

Overt

The first follow up analysis conducted was to examine differences among the profile groups on overt discrimination attitudes. Research suggests that racism is now increasingly more covert than in the past (Bonilla-Silva, 2003), however, the results of

the current study suggest that overt attitudes are present within several profiles of individuals. This is consistent with previous research that both forms of racism are significantly related but also associated with different attitudes and behavioral outcomes (Tougas et al., 2004).

The analysis found significant differences overall as well as directly between several profile groups. There were two distinct profiles that reported low overt attitudes including "low overt and low covert with overall extrinsic motivation" (profile 1) and "unaware with low overt with integrated motivation" (profile 4). An interesting difference between these profiles was the expression of colorblind racial attitudes, with profile 1 having low covert and profile 4 having high covert attitudes.

Another noteworthy finding was related to the profiles high in overt racism. The two profiles with the highest averages in overt attitudes was "overt and blatant moderate motivation" (profile 6) and "overt and unaware low motivation" (profile 7). While both of these groups had significantly high averages, profile 7 was significantly higher than profile 6. The current national and societal climate has made it more acceptable to express overt behaviors that previously have been socially unacceptable. The climate has regressed for those in minority groups as there has been a decrease in punishments for hate crimes and increases in attempts to reverse civil rights and social justice policies, such as 1) voting for constitutional amendments banning same-sex marriage and against expanding hate crimes to include sexual orientation, reversing policies protecting transgender individuals from employment discrimination; 2) banning Muslims from entering the United States; and others. (Long, 2017; Wilber, 2016). Therefore, individuals

with higher overt attitudes may be more likely, and comfortable, to express these behaviors.

There were no significant differences with profiles 2-4 indicating a moderate level of overt attitudes. This would indicate that individuals in these profiles maintain thoughts of overt behavior but may be less likely than profiles 6 and 7 to exhibit overt behavior. These results imply that latent beliefs are still maintained in those who have varied motivations, which may be a result of social changes and is consistent with recent literature (Tougas et al., 2004).

Covert

The study's last aim was to determine whether there were differences in the profile groups with respect to attitudes on covert racism. It was predicted that covert behaviors would exist in all regulations except the projected intrinsic motivation group. This prediction was predominantly supported as the data did not exclusively find a profile of only intrinsic motivations. When examining covert attitudes, the study utilized the three factors of Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Institutional Discrimination, and Blatant Racial Issues previously established with the original measure (Neville et al., 2000). The subscales were utilized to gather further information on how covert discrimination was presented within the profiles, as much of the current literature has focused on covert behaviors. With the results of the study, it appears covert attitudes may be embedded in society and they have become socially and culturally acceptable (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, Sue et al., 2007). This can be seen in several of the profiles.

When examining the results for covert attitudes, the first three profiles stood out as having overall consistent results. These results indicated overall low (profile 1),

moderate (profile 2), and high (profile 3) in all three factors: Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Institutional Discrimination, and Blatant Racial Issues. There were variations among covert behaviors, but one profile stood out with the lowest averages on these attitudes. Individuals in Profile 1 were significantly more aware of racial privilege, intuitional discrimination, and Blatant Racial Issues compared to all other groups. These findings indicated that individuals within this profile have an overall lower mindset of covert racism when compared with all other groups.

The results with covert attitudes are consistent with the low reported overt attitudes. In terms of their motivations, they were more likely to have prosocial behaviors with higher PLOC and intrinsic behaviors. Likewise, this profile was lowest in amotivation and significantly lower in extrinsic motivation. It appears individuals within this profile are more likely to have both a predisposition and internal desire to produce prosocial behaviors. However, it is worth noting these individuals are somewhat externally motivated by these behaviors. Contrasting Profile 1, the profile "low/moderate overt and high covert with overall extrinsic motivation" (profile 3) had reported the highest levels of covert discrimination. This group of individuals had low overt attitudes similar to the first profile. In terms of their motivations, they were more likely to be predisposed to higher PLOC and intrinsic behaviors. Although their intrinsic and amotivation is not as significantly low as that of the first profile, it is still significantly lower than the other profiles. They also self-reported higher PLOC and intrinsic behaviors. These results for profile 2 and 3 would suggest that these groups could use overall education in the area of covert racism and their motivations to be non-prejudice. Courses on racism, prejudice, and exposure to minorities create the ability to raise

awareness of privilege and discrimination for others (Kernahan & Davis, 2007; Rudman et al., 2001), which would then hopefully reduce bias and stereotypes. However, findings of the effectiveness of these courses have been mixed (Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000). It is likely that the mixed findings could be explained by individuals' motivations. Nevertheless, overall education would likely benefit these groups as they have consistently overall covert attitudes.

When examining the similarities and differences of the remaining profiles, two subscales specifically stood out: Unawareness of Privilege and Blatant Racial Issues. With both profile 4 and profile 7, unawareness of White Privilege is high. The primary difference between these two profiles is motivation type and overt behaviors. Low scores in overt behavior and high integration scores of the profile "unaware low overt with integrated motivation" (profile 4), may indicate that they lack intrinsic motivation due to the unawareness of their privilege. While unawareness can be intentional, colorblind discrimination often takes place due to lack of awareness. When individuals are unable to acknowledge white privilege, there is no motivation to change it. It has been well documented that privilege is a learned and socialized trait (Jackson et al., 2006) and therefore, can be unlearned. The research and education of these individuals could possibly alter their motivations, producing more prosocial behaviors.

The second subscale that stood out within the study was Blatant Racial Issues. Three profiles scored high within this type of covert racism including "moderate overt and blatant with moderate motivation" (profile 5), "overt and blatant moderate motivation" (profile 6), and "overt and unaware low motivation" (profile 7). Profiles 5 and 6 were similar on motivations and covert attitudes. The differences among these

groups were their overt attitudes. Profile 7 was highest on overt ideology and low motivations; this is consistent with those individuals having strong beliefs of Blatant Racial Issues and Unawareness of Privilege. The data indicated that this group was the closest to having amotivation. Amotivation was hypothesized for this group because covert forms of racism are vague, passive, rationalized, and embedded in society. Additionally, they are deep-rooted in institutional policy in all aspects. Individuals within these profiles potentially lack a desire to produce prosocial behaviors because they benefit from a system which is an advantage to White individuals.

Limitations, Future Research and Implications

The findings of the current study are important, but they have limitations. One of the first limitations is that the data were self-reported. Self-reported intentions may not measure actual behaviors or actions and therefore are not sufficient to establish causality. Furthermore, individuals may have responded with social-desirability bias, to present themselves in a positive light and to refrain from reporting possibly embarrassing impressions. This has been documented in research that social desirability is common in research related to attitudes regarding racism (An, 2015; Krumpal, 2013).

A second limitation was the measure utilized to assess overt racial discrimination. To date, there are very few instruments established and validated to assess attitudes or behaviors expressing overt racism. The current measure utilized in the study was created to examine racial attitudes of White Americans specifically toward African Americans (McConahay, 1986) and is the most commonly used measure to examine overt racism (National Research Council, 2004). But the scale was established 35 years ago and may not represent current trends in overt behavior. Developing an up-to-date

instrument that could be utilized to examine current overt behaviors would be

a significant asset in identifying overt racist attitudes. This is particularly important as

overt racial beliefs are not diminishing as previous research has suggested.

Another limitation of the study and improvement for future research was the

exclusion of outliers within the study. As mentioned in the methods, frequency

distribution for z-scores which were greater than three were assessed for univariate

outliers and then removed. This technique has been supported in the literature to decrease

variability or inappropriate response (Kline, 2011). However, removing these individuals

reduced the sample size by 51 cases from extreme scores on the OFRAS. It is worth

noting that the cases removed may have led to identifying response patterns among a

group of individuals with extreme high or low overt racism. This possible profile may

have different motivations than the ones listed. If these cases had been included, profiles

for intrinsic or amotivation may be found. Future research should include separate

analysis to identify possible profiles within this group of individuals.

Another limitation of the current study was an inability to generalize from the

current sample. It is possible that individuals not encompassed within a university setting

or even those in other geographical regions have different experiences that influence their

beliefs. Therefore, the study may not fully reflect all individual motive types. Future

research should expand to include other geographical regions, educational attainment,

and greater variety in ages. Other demographic variations that may affect racism (e.g.,

socio economic status, political views, geographic areas, etc.) were not included in the

current study. Additionally, research shows that variables such as religiosity (Kirkpatrick,

1993), political views (Hutchings & Valentino, 2004), and other characteristics may

influence racial discrimination ideation. Although the current study has limitations; the current study offers potential for improving interventions.

Education of racism to be more prosocial has received much attention in the literature. Though some students have resisted learning about race and racism (Dixson et al., 2016), it's important to look at what is happening as students learn. If there is an understanding of motivation profile types and the type of racism expressed (i.e., overt vs covert) this could add to the educational outcomes. Further research should examine interventions to decrease racial discrimination by motive type. It may be likely that persons with motivation of introjected regulation are uncomfortable or defensive with discussions on inequality of race because the motivation is dependent on negative appraisals and how others view them, real or perceived. This would particularly be the case with the profile "unaware overt with integrated motivation" with high overt, high on Unawareness of Privilege, with motivation low on amotivation and external but higher on integrated motivation. Therefore, education aimed at understanding White Fragility could be the best method in educating individuals with these motives. A comprehensive form of education is further confirmed in research, as it has been suggested to move away from educating specifically on general approach to color blind racist attitudes and toward more thorough models to include understanding white privilege, race as a social construction, and White fragility (i.e., anger, guilt, shame, and denial) (Kernahan, 2016). Ultimately, individuals were much more likely to endorse the idea of prosocial behaviors or identify the need for change with systematic racism and policy if they can bring awareness to their motive(s) and reason(s) for their discrimination.

Summary

Despite the progress made on equality, racism continues to be a national problem. The present study contributed to the current research on motivations for racial discrimination, specifically overt and covert racism. The results indicate seven latent profiles of motivations. Within those profiles there were mixed results of motivations when including overt and covert discriminatory attitudes. This study highlights the need for further examinations of motivations as the results are not as clear as prior research has suggested. Additional research is needed to understand how motivations more directly affect different types of racism. Future research should replicate this study with additional measures and populations.

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APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questionnaire

How do you identify your race/ethnicity?
   a. White [non Hispanic/Latinto(a)]
   b. Native American
   c. Black/African American
   d. Latino(a)/ Hispanic
   e. Asian/Pacific Islander
   f. Other (please identify) _____

What is your current gender identity?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Transgender
   d. Other (please identify) _____

Age:_____

APPENDIX B

COLOR-BLIND RACIAL ATTITUDES SCALE (COBRAS)

Directions. Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues <u>in the United States</u> (U.S.). Using the 6-point scale, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you <u>personally</u> agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers. Record your response to the left of each item.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.

2. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.

3. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.

4. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.

5. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.

6. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.

7. Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.

8. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.

9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.

10. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.

11. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.

12. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

13. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.

14. English should be the only official language in the U.S.

15. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.

16. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.

17. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

18. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

19. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

20. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.

APPENDIX C

MODERN RACISM SCALE (MRS)

Old Fashioned Racism Items

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree Strongly				Agree Strongly

1. I favor laws that permit black persons to rent or purchase housing even when the person offering the property for sale or rent does not wish to rent or sell it to blacks.

2. Generally speaking, I favor full racial integration

3. I am opposed to open or fair housing laws

4. Black people are generally not as smart as whites

5. If a black family with about the same income and education as I have moved in next door, I would mind it a great deal

6. It was wrong for the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in its 1954 decision

APPENDIX D

MOTIVATION TO BE NONPREJUDICED SCALE (MNPS)

Participants rate the extent to which items correspond to their "ultimate reasons for avoiding prejudice" on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = does not correspond at all; 4 = corresponds moderately; 7 = corresponds exactly).

Intrinsic Motivation
Enjoyment relating to other groups
Pleasure of being open-minded
For the joy I feel when learning about new people
For the interest I feel when discovering people/groups

Integrated Regulation
I appreciate what being understanding adds to my life
Striving to understand others is part of who I am
Because I am tolerant and accepting of differences
Because I am an open-minded person

Identified Regulation
Because I value nonprejudice
Because I admire people who are egalitarian
I place importance on having egalitarian beliefs
Because tolerance is important to me

Introjected Regulation
Because I feel like I should avoid prejudice
Because I would feel guilty if I were prejudiced
Because I would feel ashamed if I were prejudiced
Because I would feel bad about myself if I were prejudiced

External Regulation
So that people will admire me for being tolerant
Because I don't want people to think I'm narrow-minded
Because biased people are not well-liked
Because I get more respect/acceptance when I act unbiased

Amotivation
I don't know; it's not a priority
I don't know; I don't really bother trying to avoid it
I don't know why; I think it's pointless
I don't know, it's not very important to me

APPENDIX E

HUMAN USE APPROVAL LETTER

LOUISIANA TECH
UNIVERSITY.

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF SPONSORED PROJECTS

TO: Ms. Lindsey Shamp and Dr. Donna Thomas

FROM: Dr. Richard Kordal, Director of Intellectual Property & Commercialization
            (OIPC)
            rkordal@latech.edu

SUBJECT: HUMAN USE COMMITTEE REVIEW

DATE: April 23, 2018

In order to facilitate your project, an EXPEDITED REVIEW has been done for your proposed
study entitled:

<div align="center">

"Attitudes on Prosocial Behaviors"

HUC 18-122

</div>

The proposed study's revised procedures were found to provide reasonable and adequate
safeguards against possible risks involving human subjects. The information to be collected may
be personal in nature or implication. Therefore, diligent care needs to be taken to protect the
privacy of the participants and to assure that the data are kept confidential. Informed consent is a
critical part of the research process. The subjects must be informed that their participation is
voluntary. It is important that consent materials be presented in a language understandable to
every participant. If you have participants in your study whose first language is not English, be
sure that informed consent materials are adequately explained or translated. Since your reviewed
project appears to do no damage to the participants, the Human Use Committee grants approval
of the involvement of human subjects as outlined.

Projects should be renewed annually. *This approval was finalized on April 23, 2018 and this
project will need to receive a continuation review by the IRB if the project continues beyond
April 23, 2019.* ANY CHANGES to your protocol procedures, including minor changes, should
be reported immediately to the IRB for approval before implementation. Projects involving NIH
funds require annual education training to be documented. For more information regarding this,
contact the Office of Sponsored Projects.

You are requested to maintain written records of your procedures, data collected, and subjects
involved. These records will need to be available upon request during the conduct of the study
and retained by the university for three years after the conclusion of the study. If changes occur
in recruiting of subjects, informed consent process or in your research protocol, or if
unanticipated problems should arise it is the Researchers responsibility to notify the Office of
Sponsored Projects or IRB in writing. The project should be discontinued until modifications can
be reviewed and approved.

Please be aware that you are responsible for reporting any adverse events or unanticipated
problems.